

# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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Borneo Research Bulletin

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

I would like to preface these, my first notes as editor, with a few well-deserved, if wholly inadequate, words of appreciation for my predecessor.

Professor Vinson Sutlive assumed the editorship of the *Borneo Research Bulletin* in 1975. For the last twenty years, the output and scope of the *Bulletin*, and the work of the Research Council generally, have grown enormously. Today the *Bulletin* publishes over 200 pages of research reports, notes, reviews, and bibliographic items annually, covering virtually every field of study concerned with the peoples, social institutions, history, and environment of Borneo. In addition, its mission has come to be supplemented by regular biennial meetings, proceedings volumes, and a monograph series. So far as the *Bulletin* itself is concerned, it would come as a surprise to most readers, I think, to discover the extent to which its production remains, despite this phenomenal growth, very largely a "one-man operation". Having had a chance to make this discovery first-hand, I can only express my awe and personal admiration and extend, on behalf of us all, our profound appreciation for the energy, imagination, and wisdom with which Professor Sutlive has nurtured and guided the *Bulletin* over these twenty years of growth.

I hasten to add that Professor Sutlive remains an invaluable source of advice and, as editor, I look forward to his continuing counsel. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Rick Fidler (Rhode Island College) for his superb editorial help and Dr. Phillip Thomas (Library of Congress) for his work in processing textual materials and photographs for publication.

Dr. Thomas and I will be working this coming year to streamline the *Bulletin's* operations in order to make better use of computer technology. We are both on E-mail: <thomaspl@acm.org> <clifford.sather@reed.edu>, and I am prepared to receive texts from contributors directly and exchange editorial comments and revisions by E-mail. In this manner, I hope for future volumes that we can shorten the turn-around time needed between submission and publication of items. With Phillip's technical help, I also plan to establish shortly a homepage address for the *Bulletin* on which I can post timely news announcements, schedules of forthcoming meetings, recent publications, and other items with narrow time-horizons, a service that it is difficult to provide at the moment. At the BRC meetings in Brunei, the desirability was posed of compiling a directory of institutions and scholars engaged in research, education, and publication relating to Borneo. Dr. Rita Armstrong has offered to coordinate the project and anyone who wishes to assist her, or has names and addresses for inclusion, please contact either Dr. Rita Armstrong (Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, NSW 2006, AUSTRALIA) or myself. In the next *BRB*, I will report further on the project's progress. In the meantime, Rita and I would welcome your suggestions.

(Continued on last page.)

## MEMORIALS

[**Editor's note:** Mike Reed's personal reflections were one of several eulogies presented during funeral services for Henry Gana at St. Thomas' Cathedral, Kuching, on September 17th 1995. Paul Beavitt's note was written expressly for this memorial.]

HENRY GANA NGADI  
1948-1995<sup>1</sup>

Henry Gana joined the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Hull in 1987 to read for an MA in Southeast Asian Studies. He had previously taken a Diploma in Translation at the University of Malaya as part of his professional career development in the Borneo Literature Bureau and then the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. His school years were spent at St. Augustine's School (Betong), Saratok Secondary School and finally Tanjong Lubang College (Miri).

In his obvious commitment to the study of Malaysian, and in particular Sarawak cultures, Henry had made a strong impression upon us prior to his coming to Hull. He was engaged in translating Augustine Anggat Ganjing's *Basic Iban Design* from Iban into English (published by DBP in 1988) and in compiling a *Kamus Bahasa Iban-Bahasa Malaysia* with Hussain bin Jamil (published by DBP in 1989). Henry more than lived up to our expectations. He proved to be a most conscientious postgraduate student, untiring in his pursuit of knowledge and always eager to discuss his coursework with his tutors and lecturers. Subsequently Henry wrote an excellent dissertation on Iban rites of passage, which was based on his own research and experience, particularly in his home area of the Paku in Sarawak.

The dissertation is soon to be published by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Malaysia and it represents a genuine contribution to our knowledge about Iban culture.

After completing his MA Henry returned to his post at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuching, but he was determined to continue with his research on Iban oral tradition. It seemed to me to have become something of an obsession with him, that he should record, translate and interpret important parts of this tradition before it was lost to his people. He therefore began his doctoral studies at Hull in 1990 assisted by a British High Commissioner's award and a grant from The Sarawak Foundation in London. At some sacrifice to himself and with the considerable goodwill of the Dewan Bahasa, Henry managed to secure unpaid leave of absence so that he could find time to undertake his research.

It is a tragedy that Henry should be taken from us while he was in the final stages of completing his recording and analysis of Iban *pengap* (invocation of deities at major rituals). He had accumulated an enormous amount of data from knowledgeable Iban

<sup>1</sup>With the author's permission, reprinted from *ASEASUK News*, no. 18, Autumn 1995.

bards (*lemambang*), and this material must represent a unique resource for the study of Iban culture and history.

In many respects Henry was an Iban 'nationalist', though not as overtly political as that term might suggest. He was justly proud of his people's achievements, and he wanted to bring the record of these achievements to a wider audience. When he was talking about Iban culture to outsiders he showed that pride and forthrightness which are among the outstanding characteristics of the Iban community. In a public forum Henry had the ability to draw you into Iban culture with the power of his oratory; he was always wanting to convert you to the Iban worldview. He was a marvelous conversationalist who had considerable knowledge of his people's culture. Yet, in his quieter and more private moments, he was a rather modest man, often willing to admit that he was a mere student of Iban culture, only a faithful recorder and interpreter of the wisdom of the bards.

Henry also had a wider interest in the oral traditions of Sarawak. In the last letter which I received from him dated 8 August 1995, he had just returned from field research in Bidayuh (Land Dayak) villages along the Upper Sadong river. He was completing a project there on oral tradition for the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. He wrote to me as follows: 'It was my worst fieldwork ever because I was sick. It is a stomach ailment, and I have had a very poor appetite since the end of June. A doctor told me that I was in no condition to do any fieldwork because of the state of my health.... I insisted that I had to go because I am really running against time as the material has to be ready for printing by September.'

Henry was already bravely fighting against the stomach tumour which was eventually to defeat him some six weeks later. But such was his dedication to his work.

Henry will be missed. I shall miss him deeply. Although we had a formal relationship as tutor and student, we also became friends, and I benefited from knowing Henry and talking with him about his research. I hope that Henry's knowledge of Iban traditions will not be lost to us, and that we might find a way of bringing his material to publication. This is what he would have wanted and we shall do our best to ensure that Henry Gana's contribution to the study of Iban culture is not forgotten. (V.T. King, University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull HU6 7RX, UK).

#### HENRY GANA NGADI: A PERSONAL REFLECTION

I first met Henry at Hull University in 1990. I was not one of his oldest friends in Britain, as he had already completed his masters degree at Hull in 1987. Before he returned to do his Ph.D. he was already something of a legend in the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies and I was eagerly looking forward to meeting the British university system's first Iban anthropologist.

Henry and I became friends from the moment we met. He was researching the Iban oral tradition, and it was easy to understand why, as he himself was a great conversationalist and storyteller, with a passion for the English language. Henry was very popular with both the staff and the students of the Centre for Southeast Asian

studies, for he was friendly, charming, outgoing, helpful and generous with his knowledge. He was always ready to lend a hand to others, whether it be translating Malay texts, reviewing an essay, explaining the finer points of anthropological fieldwork or simply talking through a problem. His door was always open to friends and colleagues.

Henry also had a wide circle of friends from outside the department. He was equally at home with Zulu accountancy students, Iraqi engineers and Japanese sociologists. What was particularly unusual was his lack of academic snobbery; unlike many senior postgraduates, Henry was happy to spend time with and enjoy the company of young undergraduates. This lack of pretension made Henry popular with people from all walks of life, not just those in the university.

As well as his academic track record, Henry will be remembered by his friends and colleagues at Hull for his love of life, his sense of humour, and his cooking. You may be surprised at this last point, but Henry's curries and fish soups were something of a legend in Hull, and he gave many young students their first introduction to authentic and delicious Malaysian food. Yet he was also very much at home with the British way of life; he enjoyed our traditions, our architecture, our countryside, our culture, in fact anything to do with his temporary home. He even liked our weather, and Hull is one of the coldest, wettest and windiest places in Britain.

One of the best examples of this is a short holiday we took in the Scottish Highlands together with three Indonesian students who were new to Britain. Henry was a better guide to Britain than I was; his knowledge of and enthusiasm for his host country left me speechless. I will always remember that trip with Henry and the Indonesians as one of the most enjoyable weeks of my life.

You've probably heard enough from me; I would like to read you a short message from Professor Victor Terry King, Henry's friend and mentor, addressed to Henry's brother:

We heard the news of Henry's death from Mike Reed in Kuching. All members of the Centre staff join together in conveying to you and to Henry's family deepest and sincerest condolences. We shall all remember Henry's contribution to the life and work of the Centre, and his unfailing good humour and generosity of spirit. We shall be thinking of Henry and his family on Sunday, the day of the funeral.... I am particularly saddened about this news because of all the effort and time that Henry had devoted to his studies of Iban oral tradition. I hope that this important and valuable material will not be lost to us. Again, I would appreciate hearing from you about Henry's data, and anything we might be able to do on Henry's behalf to bring this material to a much wider audience.

Professor King sums up very well the importance of Henry's work. Henry was a leading scholar in the field of oral tradition, and his work is too important to leave unfinished. His deep and profound love for his own people is reflected in the commitment and thoroughness he brought to his work, and he would always use any opportunity to add to his knowledge and understanding.

It is not only myself, Professor King and his Hull colleagues who recognise the importance of Henry's unfinished work. His contributions to the understanding of human societies and traditions will be sorely missed by his friends throughout the international academic community, at Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Universiti Malaya, Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, the Sarawak Foundation in London, the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University, the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University, the University of Leicester, Australian National University, Monash University, Cornell University, the University of Hawaii, Gajah Mada University, the Department of Indonesian Studies at Moscow University, and of course the Tun Jugah Foundation here in Sarawak, whose support made his research possible.

These are only the ones that I am aware of; Henry was widely respected in his field and had made thousands of friends worldwide through his valuable contributions at international conferences and seminars, and he was a passionate advocate of the importance and relevance of the science of anthropology. I sincerely hope that there are young social scientists here in Sarawak who feel equal to the challenge of completing Henry's unfinished work.

I am sure we all have our own personal ways in which we want to remember Henry, as brother, son, friend, neighbour, colleague. I will remember him as a friend, and a wise one at that, but I will also be forever grateful that Henry introduced me to his beloved Sarawak. Henry had a boundless passion for his home state, and not just for his own Iban people but for all of Sarawak's peoples and traditions. This passion was infectious, and over the years it has won for Sarawak many friends throughout the world. I would like to remember Henry Gana Ngadi most of all as an ambassador; the best cultural ambassador that Malaysia, Sarawak and the Iban people could possibly have. (Mike Reed, Kuching, Sarawak).

#### HENRY GANA: A FURTHER REFLECTION

With the death of Henry Ngadan Gana a truly great Iban has been lost. Henry was immensely proud to be an Iban and personified many of the great Iban qualities. He had a superb understanding of Iban *adat* and an encyclopaedic memory for *tusut*. His sense of humour frequently found expression in recounting Iban exploits, both ancient and modern. He was highly amusing in recounting stories of contemporary Iban working overseas, particularly in far off places such as the United States or on North Sea oil rigs.

He spoke with emotion about Iban culture; on one occasion when we had both probably drunk too much our conversation turned to head-hunting, and when Henry spoke of his grandfather's *parang*, with its association of past conquests the passion in his voice caused me some apprehension. I was glad the weapon in question was not to hand, but the next day I felt I had had an insight into the heightened psychological state which must have accompanied Iban warfare.

My fondest recollection of Henry is of taking him from Leicester to Plymouth to visit the Brooke graves. We traveled by train and must have caused the other occupants of our carriage great amusement with our loud and animated conversation concerning

Iban relations with Bukitan in the Paku. Henry never hesitated in his recollection of the genealogical relationships of the leaders of migrations to the new farming settlements. In Plymouth we borrowed a car to visit Sheepstor. What I expected would be a visit of a few minutes lasted for at least two hours. Henry painstakingly recorded every detail concerning the Brooke family, including the extent of the Brooke contribution to repairs to the church. The graves were photographed from every angle and every name in the visitors book carefully scrutinized. Even after we left the churchyard Henry continued to record details of the route by public transport from Plymouth to Sheepstor so that he could direct future visitors from Sarawak to make the pilgrimage. Our visit finished at the Plymouth old fish market, which from its architectural similarities with the fish market in Kuching, stimulated Henry to suggest that it could have provided the inspiration for the design of the latter. We bought freshly caught crabs from the market and took them live on the train for Henry to cook, Sarawak style, in Leicester.

The visit was a wonderful illustration of Henry's attention to detail in recording information and also of the great affection many Sarawakians still hold for the Brooke rajahs. This affection however did not imply a passive respect for authority. In 1963 and 1964 I taught in Sarawak, in Saratok Secondary School, where Henry became a pupil a year after I left; he certainly made his mark at the school and news of some of his exploits reached me in England. Our paths did not quite cross at the beginning of his education and neither did they at the end. His untimely death prevented the submission of his Ph.D. thesis which I was to examine. Both academically and as an Iban full of potential, his death is a tragic loss. (Paul Beavitt, School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7RH, England).

#### TAN SRI DATUK GERUNSIN LEMBAT 1924-1995

On Tuesday, 12 December, 1995, Tan Sri Datuk Gerunsin Lembat passed away at the Normah Specialist Hospital, Kuching. He was buried on the morning of 16 December, 1995, according to his wishes in the Christian Cemetery at Simpang Jalan Ulu Awik, Saratok.

Tan Sri's death is keenly felt by the Majlis Adat Istiadat, which he headed from 1987 until his death, since it was during his tenure that the Majlis formulated an agreed format for the codification of the customary laws of the various Dayak groups. Under this format the *Adat Iban*, 1993, *Adat Bidayuh*, 1994 and *Adet Kayan-Kenyah*, 1994 were codified and gazetted into legislation. Several *adat* were in various stages of codification at the time of his passing. His vast knowledge of the customs and traditions of the various Dayak groups and his wisdom and counsel are a great loss to Malaysia and Sarawak, and particularly the Dayak community.

Tan Sri Datuk Gerunsin Lembat was born on 15 March, 1924 at Rumah Lembat, Nanga Mitas, Awik, Saratok. He first went to school at St. Peter's School, Saratok in January, 1934. Then from September, 1936 to August, 1939 he attended St. Augustine's School, Betong, where he passed Standard VI, the highest class at that time. During the

second and third terms of his last year he studied in the evening and taught during the day as he and four others were recruited as teachers.

The late Tan Sri was poor at sports, but prize giving day was his day. He won prizes every year for Scriptures and good conduct. Three times he won prizes for being the top student in his class. His favourite subject was scriptures, which included the Old Testament, New Testament and the Christian way of life. Years later he recounted fondly that his views of and interest in Iban oral tradition were greatly influenced by his study of the Old Testament. He felt that the difference in the two being that the Old Testament is written and Iban oral tradition is handed down by word of mouth.

His teaching career lasted until December 1941 when the Japanese invaded Sarawak. During the Japanese Occupation the late Tan Sri returned to the longhouse and a life of farming. During the off-farming season his main occupation, like most young men of that time, was learning *tusut* (genealogy) and the complex array of Iban customs and traditions.

The late Tan Sri believed that the Japanese Occupation had a positive impact on Iban customs and traditions. It forced the Iban of his generation to return to and re-examine their customs and traditions. It slowed down the process of change since they no longer had access to formal education and modern medicine. He felt that this benefited the Iban of his generation as they had time to study *adat*.

In 1946, after the Japanese Occupation, he joined the Census Department as an Enumerator for the Awik Block. The following year he joined the Teachers' Training School at Springfield and Madrasah Melayu. This was the training school for teachers prior to the opening of the Centre at Batu Lintang. However, on 4 September 1948 he was on board *Rajah Brooke* on her maiden voyage to Singapore. He was enroute to the United Kingdom to take up an appointment as a Research Assistant in Iban language at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He spent two years at the School. The product of those two years was the production of *A Dictionary of Sea Dayak* in 1956 by N.C. Scott. He spent another year at the School preparing for a matriculation examination but he failed Latin and was not permitted to start a degree course. N.C. Scott appealed on the late Tan Sri's behalf to do his first year degree course and re-sit Latin, but the examination board was strict and did not agree to the suggestion. As a consolation, the Education Department, Sarawak, through the Colonial Office in London, offered him a one-year course (1951-1952) to study English at the Regent Polytechnic, London.

After returning to Sarawak in September, 1952, he joined the Sarawak Junior Administrative Officers' Training Course for one year. At the conclusion of the course in August, 1953, instead of being posted to an outstation, he was attached to the Information Department as editor of an Iban monthly magazine, *The Pemberita*. In addition to editing the magazine he was asked by the Sarawak Government to run a series of newsletters, a weekly radio programme of 15 minutes for the Sarawak Rangers serving in the jungles of Malaya. In 1954 he became one of the pioneer members of Radio Sarawak Broadcasting Service, holding the post of Programme Assistant. In January, 1956 he was promoted to the Head of the Iban Service.

One month later in February, 1956, he was promoted to Superscale A Division II when he became Assistant Principal, Rural Improvement School, Kanowit. Ironically his assignment was to close down the school so that a Government Secondary School could be built on the same site. He returned to broadcasting in April 1957 and he was appointed Feature Writer/Producer for the Iban Service. His script was the central script for the other language programmes.

In 1962, when the formation of the Federation was discussed he was attached to the Solidarity Consultative Committee and was a member of the Sarawak delegation to the Inter-Governmental Committee. As a member he acted as an interpreter for the Dayak representatives who did not speak English.

In February and March, 1963 he attended a course with the Australian Broadcasting Commission. From September 1963 to January 1964 he attended a course in broadcasting at the BBC London. He was promoted to the post of Deputy Director of Broadcasting, Sarawak in May 1964.

On 15 May 1965 he was promoted to Deputy State Secretary, Sarawak. In September, 1965 he left for England to attend a special course for Overseas Administrators (1965/1966 session) at Oxford University. On his return to Sarawak in August, 1966 he was appointed as Acting State Secretary. The following month he was made State Secretary, the highest post and head of the Civil Service. He retired on 15 March 1979.

During his service with the State Government he was conferred the State awards of *Pegawai Bintang Sarawak* (PBS) on 5 October 1964, *Panglima Negara Bintang Sarawak* (PNBS) which carries the title of 'Datuk' on 3 August 1979 and the Federal award of *Panglima Setia Mahkota* (PSM) which carries the title of "Tan Sri" on 6 June 1973. In recognition of his contribution to broadcasting in Malaysia, the late Tan Sri was awarded the *Tokoh Penyiar Sarawak* in February, 1995.

Eight years after his retirement, the late Tan Sri was appointed Head of the Majlis Adat Istiadat. He held that post until his death on 12 December 1995.

Under the leadership of the late Tan Sri, the Majlis moved quickly to produce the *adat* of the Dayak. At the time of his death the Adat Bisaya, Adat Lun Bawang and Adet Kelabit were waiting to be submitted to the Supreme Council for approval into legislation, while the Adet Kajang and Adet Penan were in advanced stage of drafting. During the period of his leadership, the Majlis also collected a wide array of Dayak oral tradition including epics, legends, myths, oral history, folk stories, prayers, chants, poetry and songs.

The late Tan Sri was essentially an 'outstation' man. His love of travelling to the *ulu* led him to accompany the researchers in the Majlis. He travelled as far as remote Penan settlements. These trips provided the late Tan Sri with the opportunity to discuss and exchange views with the longhouse folks on their *adat*. Despite the late Tan Sri's vast knowledge of *adat* of different Dayak groups he was not hesitant to seek clarification from the longhouse folks. He drew parallels between the practices of the different communities if he thought that this would clarify people's understanding of *adat*. He was able to see *adat* from an historical perspective which enabled him to

understand the implications of change on the *adat* way of life. He was a good listener who was able to incorporate different views of *adat*.

As the head of the Majlis he was the custodian of *adat*. His vast knowledge of *adat* made him a suitable person to hold this position. The late Tan Sri, with the Tun Jugah Foundation, organized the Manang Conference or *Aum Bala Manang* held in Kapit in August, 1995. The aims of this conference were to recognize the *manang's* contribution to society, to understand the work of the *manang* and the way they see the world. The late Tan Sri's participation showed his concern and desire to preserve Dayak *adat*.

The late Tan Sri was concerned about the confusion that he noticed among many Dayak with respect to the role of *adat* in modern society. The converts to new religions thought that their *adat* was no longer appropriate for their new way of life. For instance ritual propitiation involving animal blood sacrifice is an essential part of Dayak *adat*. It restores the 'balance' disturbed by a breach of *adat*. However some Dayak Christians did not want to include this in the *adat*. The late Tan Sri was able to convince them to maintain this part of *adat*. He argued that blood sacrifice was important in major religions such as Judaism (the sacrifice of Isaac), Christianity (the partaking of holy sacrament symbolizing the blood of Christ) and Islam (the slaughter of a lamb on *Hari Raya Korban*). He recounted the chapter in the Old Testament where Abraham was willing to sacrifice Isaac, but when God saw Abraham's faith in God, a lamb was exchanged for Isaac.

The late Tan Sri did not see a conflict between religion and *adat*. Religious belief is a personal commitment between the individual and the Creator. Individuals in a community are free to choose their beliefs. *Adat*, as the late Tan Sri saw it, is shared community values. It is a means to hold the community together. *Adat* provides the community with its identity, and it helps the community adjust to change. According to him a community without *adat* is like a boat without a sail. A boat without a sail is difficult to steer and therefore a community without *adat* has difficulty finding a course.

Through *adat* a state of 'balance' between individuals and the community is achieved. A breach of *adat* disturbs this 'balance.' 'Balance' is restored when the offenders provide restitution. The late Tan Sri believed that amicable solution to conflicts is important to maintaining 'balance' in a community. He believed in the Iban saying of *utai besai gaga mit, utai mit gaga nadai*, or 'a big matter make it small, a small matter make it nothing!'. His advice to headmen and community leaders who are responsible for settling disputes was to resolve differences amicably rather than by going to court.

As head of the Majlis Adat Istiadat and an Iban elder statesman, the late Tan Sri did not force his ideas on people. He allowed people to express their opinions and used his wisdom to chart the direction of *adat*. The same can be said of him when he was the State Secretary. A man of integrity, he kept the British tradition of neutrality of the Civil Service. As Datuk Peter Tinggom noted in his eulogy of the late Tan Sri [below], "people of different political beliefs found it easy to come see him and discuss matters because he was 'neutral' and did not hold a strong brief for any political party."

The late Tan Sri was a quiet and humble man. Beneath this he was an extremely articulate man, well read and a good conversationalist. He was a fine orator though in

his public life he seldom gave speeches. His knowledge of the *adat* of all the Dayak groups was unsurpassed. Yet, despite his large reservoir of knowledge he remained modest, admitting that he was merely a student and a faithful custodian of the *adat*. Attempts to tape some of his more serious discussions on the *adat* lest what he knew and experienced were lost to posterity were met with a polite "no," for he reasoned that there was nothing that he knew that others didn't know. He was not mean when it came to sharing knowledge, he was simply modest.

The late Tan Sri is a man who will be missed for his knowledge, his inquisitiveness and his words of wisdom. He is missed most by his beloved wife, children and grandchildren. (Jayl Langub, Majlis Adat Istiadat, Level 4, Wisma Satok, 93400 Kuching, Sarawak).

#### JAKU' KENANG FOR TAN SRI GERUNSIN LEMBAT

**[Editor's note:** During the final funeral services for Tan Sri Datuk Gerunsin a number of eulogies were delivered (in Iban, *jaku' kenang*). These were tape-recorded, and have since been transcribed by the Majlis Adat Istiadat staff. Below are translated excerpts from two of these eulogies. [Here I wish to thank Jayl Langub and the Majlis staff for allowing BRB to publish these tributes. Full transcriptions, in Iban, are available in the Majlis archives, Kuching. Tape recordings of the *jaku' kenang* are also available in the Tun Jugah Foundation archives. The services at which these eulogies were delivered were held on December 15th, at Rumah Jelemin, Saratok. Other speakers included Datuk Amar Dunstan Endawie, Penghulu Bakit, Tuai Rumah Jelemin, Councillor Nicholas Bawin, and Datuk Temenggong Tra Zehnder. Datuk Temenggong Tra Zehnder succeeds Tan Sri Gerusin as Head of the Majlis Adat Istiadat and the BRB takes this occasion to wish her every success.

For the record, Datuk Tra Zehnder was the first woman member of the Council Negri from 1960 to 1963, and, prior to her appointment to the Majlis, which began officially on March 1st, 1996, she was active in social work and women's rights issues in Sarawak.]

#### Boniface Jarraw (Majlis Adat Istiadat):—

The reason why [the Majlis staff] asked me [to speak] is because I mixed with Tan Sri, not only at the Majlis Adat Istiadat, but, if I am not mistaken, I have known him since my school days, when he was with the Rural Improvement School at Kanowit... At that time, his late brother, Radin, was my classmate in Primary 5. That is why...he knew my name, and, as for my part, since he was older and held an important job, I knew about him. I often went with Radin across [the Kanowit Bazaar] to visit [Tan Sri's family].

... In 1961 I applied for work with the Radio [RTM Sarawak]. I was working at the time for Tuan Tuai at Entabai. [My application] was accepted. However, Tuan Tuai would not allow me to go to work for the Radio, but retained me with him in the Ulu. "Tuan Tuai"'s real name was J.K. Wilson. So, at that time, in 1961, Tan Sri, because he

was with the Radio, and was head of the Iban Section, wrote an unofficial letter to Tuan Tuai telling him [that the section] needed an Iban from the Batang Rejang [for its broadcasts]. That is why [Wilson] allowed me to join the Radio.... That...[was] in July 1961. From then onward, we always mixed together because we in the Iban section were not many in those days, only five or six persons.

Later Tan Sri became State Secretary. It was also the same. He regularly asked me to accompany him when he went travelling and I took my tape recorder with me because that was what was usually done.

At that time he started to do [important] work for the country. I feel that the most important job he did at the time was his work with the Committee [the Inter-Governmental Committee on Malaysia] which discussed the formation of Malaysia, of which Tun Jugah was a member. At that time, they, including Datuk Montegrai, frequently travelled [on business] to Sabah, Singapore, [and] Malaya with the Committee. There were many other things in addition, such as the Cobbold Commission Report (which we had to translate into Iban). Those were important tasks....

We in the Majlis Adat Istadat feel the same way as you do in Malong. I feel that we miss him more because there are so many things that he left, which, without him, we will find it hard to complete. These are things that will need to be done by whoever replaces him.... [Tan Sri was very exacting.] One of his attitudes towards work was that he did not like people to hand in work without having first thoroughly checked on the correctness of the facts. For instance, when we undertook a project, he saw for himself that we got the facts right.

Because of this, he not only travelled to Iban areas, but to other communities, for example to Penan areas, Kayan areas, Kenyah areas, to the Ulu Rejang, using logging roads, or any other means of transportation available, using Land Cruisers, just like a young person. This is not to say that he did not trust us, but that he wanted to meet the people whose adat we were recording. This was to make sure that we recorded the facts correctly. He was concerned not only about Iban adat, but with all groups....When he became head of the Majlis, he did his best to complete the work begun by his predecessors.... Thus Iban adat was completed in 1993 and Bidayuh and Kayan-Kenyah adat in 1994. By completed, I mean that these adats were gazetted by the government and approved for official use by [these] communities. In addition, work on Adat Kelabit, Adat Lun Bawang, and Adat Bisaya was completed, but these have not yet been officially discussed [and approved] by the Cabinet. According to [Tan Sri] these should have already been gazetted, so that we should now be working on Melanau adat.

To those of us who worked under him, his advice to us was "I am not strict with office hours, or where you do your work, but when I want an assignment to be shown to me, I expect you to show it...." Now, however, as is required by the government, we have to sign an attendance book to show when we come to the office and when we leave. But he always said, "as far as I am concerned, as long as you have done your work, your time reporting...is not important".

When he was appointed the head of Majlis, he was already retired, but was asked by the government to serve again. I observed how he mixed with his officers, with the people whom he worked with, he like to discuss things with them. Every morning, if he

needed to discuss something, he would call one or two of us to discuss our work. If we didn't come to him for advice or to talk over what we were doing, he would telephone us, asking us to come and see him.... There were so many matters and topics that he wanted to know about and discuss.

He did a lot when he was with the Majlis. In addition to the adat projects that I have mentioned, he began studies of the *pelian*, *pengap*. We recorded quite a lot together. And this is only the work of the Iban section. There are also other sections, Orang Ulu and Bidayuh. Even the Bidayuh material, for example, he wanted to see, whether this was the *adat asal* or things that [the staff] had recorded. As he said, *adat asal*, or traditional knowledge—*jerita* or *ensera tuai*—these are all very important because they are like an identity card for each ethnic group. If we don't have *adat asal*, traditional knowledge, that means we don't have a race, because we don't have a culture.

In addition, when there were important seminars, the government frequently asked him to write papers, so that he could impart some of his knowledge. In this way he wrote a number of papers describing [the results of the work of the Majlis]. Another recent job he had [was in connection with] the Bakun Hydro project that we hear so much about. He was one of those consulted to help decide upon the appropriate ceremony for cleansing the territory (*mujah menua*), in the Bakun [where the dam is to be built]. At that time, two or three months ago, the cleansing ceremony was performed so that nothing untoward would happen...so that the dam might be built [safely]. That is what the people who live in the area wanted, in accordance with their beliefs. And so, Tan Sri himself headed up the Committee, so that those people who will be building the dam will not simply build it [without regard to the spiritual aspects of the environment].

... The most recent plans we made together...was to confirm research materials we had gathered with the *tuai rumah* (longhouse headmen) in Saratok who were coming to attend a Tuai Rumah's course at Saratok [bazaar]. We had made arrangements with these tuai rumahs to meet them at the course. On 6th December I went to Saratok because on the 7th December I was to give a talk to the Women's Bureau and on the 8th December I was to go to Pakan. [Tan Sri] said, "I'll follow you, using the bus; you wait for me in Saratok". I said that was fine. On the day I left, Tan Sri said that he was not able to make it. I was to go alone to see Pemanca Mandi because he said that he was not feeling well. "Tell the Pemanca I can't come to visit him just yet". That is what he said.

When I returned from Pakan to Saratok, I found that he had telephoned his P.A. to inform me. "Tell [Jarraw] to get ready [for the TRs' course]. Probably I can't make it to Saratok". That was his message. His intention, which we discussed earlier, was [clearly] to come to Saratok. "There are things that I want to do in my longhouse and in between I want to discuss things [with the TRs] at the course." That is what [Tan Sri] said.... People attending the course were expecting him to come...., they didn't expect this to happen.

Having said all this, now we must talk in his memory, and of the work that Tan Sri did, as mentioned by Penghulu Bakit just now. It is always our way when we do this kind of work, that those of you [of this longhouse] who have this unfortunate task to perform, ask for a response, opinions and answers, from us who sit at 'the top' [*ari atas*,

i.e. the principal guests), and that is why I have spoken, because I have been asked to talk on behalf of the Majlis, to say a word or two, to the best of what I know.

As for the adat that was discussed and agreed upon. This was explained by Tuai Rumah Jelemin. We have no objection to what was discussed and agreed to. Firstly, because it is the adat followed here. [in this place]. Secondly, it is appropriate, as Penghulu Bakit said, and so we do not object to *sigi' menaga*.... If the adat were lower than what was agreed to, we might have had some comments. This is because we must take into account [Tan Sri's] work as an Iban leader who held high office, and who took part in big decisions, as I mentioned just now, like the formation of Malaysia. He not only took care of his family, but involved himself in world affairs, in the affairs of Sarawak....

Lastly, on behalf of the Majlis, I want to extend our condolence to his family, to Puan Sri, his children and grandchildren that he has left behind. We in the Majlis also feel the same sense of loss because when we go back [to Kuching], and see his table, it is hard for us. Going back to find that there are lots of things left unfinished that have to be completed and things that were planned that we must now start. Of those things that have already been achieved, I have mentioned them here. But what can be done, for, as the priest just said, the time always comes when we must leave for a new world. So, once again, I want to say thank you.

#### **Datuk Peter Tinggom:—**

First of all, on behalf of my family and all of us from Kerangan, I wish to convey our sympathy and condolence to Puan Sri and her family on the sudden death of her beloved husband, Tan Sri....

Before I dwell on other things, I want to pay my respects to Datuk Amar Dunstan Endawie and Datin; to Tuai Rumah Jelimin who looks after this longhouse; to Nicholas Bawin, the Timbalan Ketua Majlis and his colleagues; the Majlis Secretary, Jayl Langub, and all of the others. Also I want to pay my respects to all of the Penghulus who are present here; all of the Tuai Rumahs and all friends....

We have heard the story of Tan Sri's life as told by Datuk Amar and also the adat decided upon as told to us by the Tuai Rumah.... The life history that was narrated is in my view complete and clear.... Tan Sri was the first [local person] to be appointed State Secretary of Sarawak following Independence. As Datuk Amar mentioned, Tan Sri's training in England was cut short because Datuk Kalong [the first Chief Minister of Sarawak] asked him to come home to organize those of us who were then in the civil service. That is why four or five of us acted as his deputies—Yusuf Puteh, Bujang Nor, Yao Ping Hua, Arni Lampan, and myself.... It was...a heavy responsibility to assume, as we were then newly independent.

Before Independence, as narrated by Jarraw, Tan Sri went to England a few times, not only to act as interpreter for Tun Jugah, but as a member of the delegation [that was created] to discuss the formation of Malaysia. When the late Tun [Jugah] passed away, Tan Sri had a feeling that the Chief Minister didn't want him to take over from the Tun, as the post [of Ketua Majlis] was of lesser status than that of State Secretary. We also discussed this when he retired. Later, I took over from the Tun. As we heard from Datuk

Ujang this afternoon, it was easy to work with Tan Sri because he did not "play politics". He worked as well with opposition parties as he did with parties in the government. [As I came to appreciate] he strongly held that the civil service should behave according to rules [of impartiality], because, as the White Men [British] told us, if you hold a job in the civil service in a country that practices Parliamentary Democracy, such as what we have now, [you] must remain neutral. This means that people who work as civil servants should not side with one political party [for another]. That's what Tan Sri always practiced and is why it was so easy to mix with him. People were not shy to seek his advice or discuss matters with him because he did not belong to any one political party. This was not because he didn't have political beliefs. If he had them, he didn't campaign for them, or display them publicly. That was because he held that the job of a civil servant must always be kept separate from party politics.

He continued to keep that trust later on when he held the post of Head of the Majlis Adat Istiadat.... Earlier, people who held the post got replaced quite often. I myself didn't stay long because I wanted to go into politics. Just two years. During this time, I mustn't forget to mention, Datuk Temenggong Tra Zehnder demanded that the [compilation of] Adat Dayak be completed. We didn't know when we could finish and held meetings after meetings. Another person took my place and the same thing happened [he also took up politics]. Datuk Temenggong [Tra Zehnder], however, kept demanding, "Where is this Adat Dayak?", she asked. "We women face a lot of difficulties because of our men" [referring to men who desert their wives]. This is what she said, she always demanded action.

Therefore Tan Sri was appointed, although the position was lower than that of State Secretary. At the time, there was no other person [so well qualified]. That is why I supported him, also because he was still active and strong.... I felt he was the right person to head the Majlis. When I lived in Kuala Lumpur, once or twice a year I came to see him and we frequently discussed matters when I passed through Kuching. He was really the ideal man for the job. But what are we to do, as I said earlier, if according to our wish, it is still not time for him to leave us. Despite his age, which was 71 years, he was still like us, able to get about. I had hoped he would be [head of the Majlis] for a very long time. The reason I hoped he would remain—when I was in Kuala Lumpur, I always talked about this with people—was that the job he held was to look after the *adat asal* of this state, to look into the application of penalties [for breaches of custom and tradition] and other issues effecting non-Muslim natives. I also told Malays about this. "The reason is that", I said, "because life for the Dayaks is getting more complex. Before we adhered to *adat lama* [ancient traditions], but now many of us are Christian. That's the main responsibility of the Majlis Adat Istiadat. And that is why I feel there was no one other person [than Tan Sri fit to hold the job].... But now the government must look for another person to take his place. But, as for that, I don't want to think about it....

Coming back to the time when we were together, we were studying together at St. Peter's School. After that, we parted. The others went to Betong, while I went to Kuching. I went to Kuching because my late uncle was there working as a policeman. The reason why I was not sent to Betong was that I was the only boy [in the family].



There was nobody else, only Indai Jambu [sister] and I, so, as my uncle was in Kuching, I was sent there.

My uncle, unfortunately, in 1938, because he was a football player, injured his leg and the medical board recommended against retaining him in the police force. He did not return to his longhouse, however, but because the government gave him a small amount of money, he went to Kelantan and died there. That was that. He was the reason I was sent to Kuching. If it wasn't for him, I would not have gone to Kuching because my mother told me "there is no necessity for you to continue your studies. Standard Three is enough. We haven't much property for you to calculate [i.e. with the arithmetic skills learnt in school]. Standard Three at Saratok is sufficient". As mentioned earlier by Datuk Amar, I was together with Tan Sri during the Japanese Occupation. One of the problems we faced at the time was [a shortage of] rice. Together we brought provisions from Saratok. When we arrived in Kuching, we sold them on the black market. That is how naughty we were. As Datuk Amar mentioned, we brought rice together, we farmed together. At the time, during the Occupation, I didn't really like farming. What I did like to do, was, before clearing, was to go to.. look for *upa tepus* [wild ginger]. That was the kind of life Tan Sri [and the rest of us] experienced....

That is how, when we were together...planting vegetables and other things, I came to know he really worked hard.. Not only did he work hard when he was in the civil service, but he also worked hard in the countryside and in the longhouse....

Lest people say that I didn't respond to the *adat pemat*, I wish to conclude by saying something of it here.... In our area, at death, if we are in the longhouse, the *adat* for a male person is usually set at *tiga igi jabir*. If the person holds a position, such as *tuai rumah*, the number of *jabir* will be more. I suspect that there are people here who don't know what *sigi menaga* is. *Sigi menaga* means *enambelas jabir* or *enambelas mungkul*. There were people who mentioned *sigi rusa*. That is the *adat* given to Tan Sri....

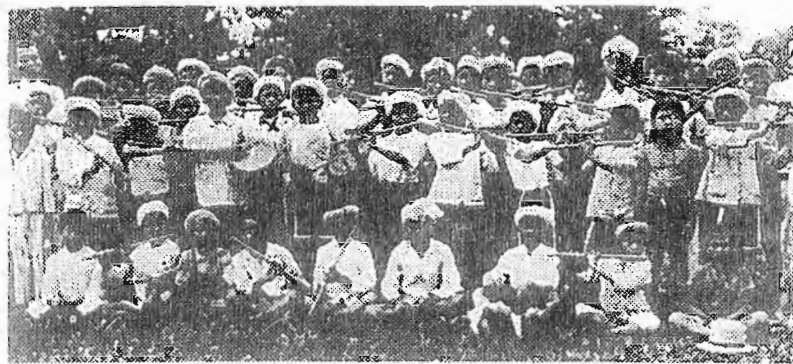
As Penghulu Bakit said, "we consider what was decided to be low." If it were to be put higher, we wouldn't object. That is what he meant and that is why the rest of us, like me, not only don't disagree, but say that this *adat* [given to Tan Sri] should serve as an inspiration for future generations, for the people who live after us [to strive to equal]. Because he was the first person from Saratok to be given the title of Tan Sri and because of his position as State Secretary, it is appropriate that he should be entitled to an *adat* of *sigi menaga* or *enambelas igi jabir*.



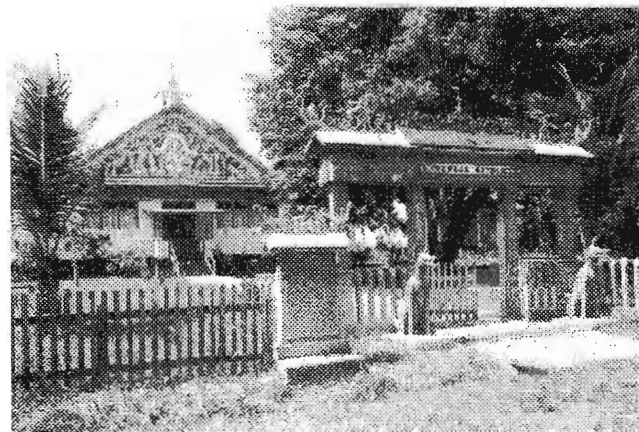
Tan Sri Datuk Gerusin Lembang



Pastor Ding in his early seventies (photo by Stephanie Morgan)



Class Picture of the Mendalam Volksschool in 1930, the boys still long-haired, with their school-issue flutes. Ding Ngo behind and probably to the left of the boys with the drums, Juk Linge probably third from the left among those seated. (Photo from Stephanie Morgan.)



Pastor Ding's Church (photo by Rick Fidler)



Pastor Ding Ngo's sarcophagus and monument between the church and the Pastor's house in Padua (photo by Rick Fidler)

PASTOR A. J. DING NGO, S.M.M.  
1916 - 1995

On the sixth of June, 1995, a good man and a fine scholar died in Borneo. Pastor Aloysius Johannes Ding Ngo laid down the burden of his body at the Biara Montfortan in Sintang ten months before his eightieth birthday, and just a hundred days before the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination as the first Dayak priest. Before the sudden stroke that crippled him in 1992, he had been responsible for nearly a quarter-century for the spiritual well-being of most people in his own home community, the Kayans of the Mendalam in West Kalimantan, first as visiting Pastor based in Putussibau, an hour or so downriver, and since 1979 as head Pastor of Paroki Mendalam, living within a few minutes' walk of the site of his birth. I recall my wonder and pleasure when in 1972 I first saw his little parish church then just two years old, with its brightly-painted frieze of dragons and masks and tigers, and its altar inlaid with white disks carved from cone-shells, noble ornaments from another system of spiritual power. There were no benches then; we sat on the floor and looked upward at the altar and crucifix and the ceremonial display-fence erected in front of them, round which elder women in sequin-studded skirts gravely danced, holding a ring of rope and chanting sonorous invocations, in the old harvest-festival ritual Pastor Ding had adapted and preserved.

Ding Ngo spent his boyhood in a Mendalam Kayan culture not much changed from that seen by Nieuwenhuis twenty years earlier, though maybe richer in rubber. He left it first at the age of twelve, for two years of school in Putussibau; then, after a third year at the Volksschool newly opened in the Mendalam (see the class picture), he went down to Nyarumkop near Singkawang to begin the long years of training, travel and pastoral duty that would keep him away from home, but for holiday visits, for nearly four decades. Nyarumkop, seminaries in Pontianak and Ledalero (Flores, where he spent the Japanese occupation), noviciate in the Montfortan order in Meerssen in Holland, a pilgrimage to Lourdes, a medical course in Rotterdam, then postings to Bika, Sejiram, Benua Martinus and Sintang (where for three years he was a member of the DPRD-GR, and from which he went to Rome for Vatican Council II), then Bika again: all this, before the Mendalam became part of his regular rounds in 1968, distanced him from his culture of origin at the time of its greatest changes.

Coming back as an agent of change, but also as a Kayan coming home, he found in scholarship a way to bridge the gap. Paran Lii' recalls the questions he asked as they walked between villages or during ceremonies: what's that called? what's that bird, this epiphyte? what's this for? how is it different from that? He was sharp about his questioning, focused, and he wrote everything down. Only in this did he differ from ordinary responsible Kayans, who (as he notes in his *History*) when they held a ritual requiring traditional expertise, would ask "How's this done? Is it like this?" until they had it right. They had to ask, "because everything was memorized, nothing written." There were those who didn't know, those who claimed to know but didn't, those who couldn't explain clearly even to him, a native Kayan; there were those who gave half an answer and stopped, waiting for the right question; those who were afraid of spirits' anger if they spoke of them lightly, outside ritual and without an offering; and there

were those who said "It's been thrown out, why take it up again?". But he found some who knew, people who had studied and thought and sought for information and understanding with an intensity like Ding's own, chief among them Stefanus Lii' Long, singer of the Lawe' tales, the *dayung aya'* or noble priestess Kristina Tipung Jawe', and Daniel Sangiaang Aging; and he worked them hard, as he did himself. In the heat of midday, visitors heard typing from the house by the parish church, or silence. They'd knock, to ask for headache or fever pills or just to visit, and be turned away. Come back later. "You don't know what I'm working on. Heavy labor." In the end he set a signal: if the windows were open, he was available; if not, go home.

What was important, he told Tipung, was that tradition be put into books, *adat dibukukan*. He meant that literally: from the airless dispensary little books emerged, typed in a dozen hand-corrected carbon copies, stapled and covered in plastic, photos pasted in as illustrations. Once written down right and completely, tradition was preserved, and practice could be manipulated to fit with modern ways and Catholic belief. Thus he and Tipung edited the harvest ceremony to a tenth of its length for church performance, taking out the spirit-journeyming and keeping all that made it prayer. Church worship was his first concern; and his earliest inspiration, he says in his *Autobiography*, came from those European priest-scholars he had seen in Flores, compiling vernacular dictionaries to make prayerbooks for services more appealing to their flock. Work on the *Takna' Lawe'* and other tales was only a sideline, he wrote to Benedict Sandin in 1972, when it still seemed that the Lawe' books might be published in Sarawak; his first goal was to collect Kayan words to make a dictionary, a *Kamus Kayan-Indonesia*.

To collect words Ding collected texts, beginning, as Paran and Tipung remember, with his own mother, Ubung Nyipa', herself a noble *dayung*. She became ill, and he turned to Tipung to continue. Around 1970 he also began to work with Lii' Long, an expert singer and like Ding a scholar-traveler, struggling with and (as he said of himself) for progress, to prove that progress and Kayan culture were not at odds. Like Ding, Lii' Long hungered to make books; he had already tried to, but his collaborator J. C. Oevaang Oeray, once a schoolfellow of Ding's at seminary, took the job of Governor of West Kalimantan and had no time for editing. Ding had, and for him Lii' Long wrote until at times his hand hurt too much to hold a pen. Sometimes his family heard him laughing, alone in his room. Paran and Alel, his sons, read the day's output back to him, argued and joked about it, and sometimes helped to write it. Out of these sessions came the tales Lii' Long was most often asked to sing, five tales of the spirit-hero Lawe', his lady-loves and his enemies; and other tales, seven long epics and a score of short stories, most of them till recently existing only as limp school notebooks filled with lines of spidery ballpoint, or as handmade books in Ding's typescript, scattered among colleagues and friends.

Lii' Long's notebooks, the tales that the younger singer Juk Linge wrote down, and the *dayung* invocations that Tipung sang provided more than words for Ding Ngo's *Kamus*: they confronted him with all the questions of transcription, spelling, editing, presentation, word meaning, poetic translation, formulas and themes and cultural exegesis that shape the methodologies of text work in oral literature. To these problems

he was forced to develop his own solutions, drawing on his own rigorous education and all his experience with language, which was considerable. He read and wrote letters and narratives in Dutch, German, English, and Latin as well as Indonesian and Kayan, he started a Taman song book, and he could find his way around in Italian and French. "Hidden away in the cool of the forests", as T. H. G. Mering's 1986 article in *Kompas* put it, he sought and valued communication with those of us who care about what he was doing: he corresponded for fifteen years at least with Jérôme Rousseau, whom Lucas Chin had asked in 1972 to evaluate the Lawe' book I brought to the Museum; for several years each with Bernard Sellato and Antonio Guerreiro; for eight years with a traveller, Karl Maget, who undertook to translate Lawe' into German; for nineteen years with me; all this, and perhaps more, alongside a constant flow of Church correspondence. He managed, too, to make three major expeditions to the Kayan regions of Borneo, first in 1974 to the Baram, the Tubau and the Balui in Sarawak, then in 1977 overland from the Kapuas to the Mahakam in East Kalimantan and down it to Samarinda, then in 1980 to the Apo Kayan; and he made a book of each trip, part journal and part ethnography, and sent it to friends and colleagues.

Those were also the years of his painful search for a publisher for the five tales of Lawe' that he had translated and explained. They were just too long, in the exotic original and in translation. Prof. Jan van Baal, Director of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, wrote to Rousseau in 1976 that Professor Teeuw of Leiden University "firmly confirmed my apprehensions that it is unimaginable that any institute in the western world could be found willing to sponsor an English translation of this extremely long text...." In Indonesian perhaps, because "the majority of those interested in the text may be expected to have at least a reading knowledge of Indonesian." No sponsor appeared, though there were occasional donations. Gajah Mada University Press took the books at last, with a dowry of a million rupiah, which Ding managed to raise. They were printed in 1985, and the publishers asked him for a list, which he provided, of potential buyers they might notify, "the number of persons interested in these books being extremely limited". The set sold for 61,000 rupiah, and Ding received five free sets and a royalty of 425,000, which he shared with Lii' Long. He typed a list of errata, which could not be printed. The books cost RM 350 in the Holiday Inn in Kuching, where in July 1996 a couple of sets were still on sale.

After this mixed victory, and the publication in the same year of his small Kayan prayerbook *Alaan Telaangjulaan* (The Road to Heaven), Ding Ngo concentrated on writing. His friend Tus Oevaang Mering took him for a trip round the world to America in 1989, two weeks of tightly scheduled adventure, and he wrote about that, in Indonesian and English. "The more developed we are, the more expensive our life becomes! Why? You earn much, but you spend much too. That seems to be the same as to earn a little, but to spend a little too. And what does it mean then to be more developed? ..." That year too he finished his *History (Sejarah Orang Dayak Kayan dari hidup primitif ke hidup modern)*, covering all of traditional Kayan life in the Apo Kayan, migrations and relations between settlements, mythology, festivals and ceremonies, economics, art, family life, healing and funerals, and the history of Mendalam Kayans up to the time of writing. Appended to it are summaries of his travel

books, Tipung's *dayung* invocations, and his critical comments on mistakes made by foreign ethnographers, especially A. W. Nieuwenhuis. Finally, too, he completed his *Kamus*, though not to his entire satisfaction, typing it from A to Y by 1992; and last he undertook his Autobiography, *Kenalilah Orang Dayak*, based on 35 years of journal-keeping (*Daghoek* until 1961, *buku harian* thereafter). He wrote it in the school notebooks fashionable in 1992, with covers of film stars and anthropomorphic hamburgers, and he left it unfinished, complete only to 1980, when the stroke took from him the ability to compose and write and read. Quinine had already taken much of his hearing, age his sight, and a tumor of the larynx all but a whisper of his voice. He had been given, it seemed to me, a good long time to detach his spirit from worldly concerns, among them perhaps the drive to publish. Most of what he had said he wanted to complete, he had done: tradition was in the books, and the books would be preserved. He was gentle, when I visited him in those last years. When he finally let go I was in Sarawak; but later I saw the pictures of his last journey home to the Mendalam and his parish church, the crowds, the stricken faces, the opening and closing of the concrete sarcophagus that holds his remains.

Pastor Ding Ngo is not buried; he rests beside the church in a modern Kayan *salung*, a grave hut that he helped design, Tus's gift, four meters high, a coffin supported on the brows of two red-eyed cobra dragons modeled in concrete, erect upon their green-scaled tails. It looks like the Mendalam's most remarkable monument, until you read what was written by the man inside it. (Stephanie Morgan, P. O. Box 1179, Pontianak 78011, Indonesia).

#### JACK PRENTICE (1942 - 1995)

David John Prentice died on the 29th of April, 1995, in Leiden, from Hepatitis B, at the age of 53.

Jack was born on 14th January, 1942 in Wigan, Lancashire (England). He studied Malay language and literature at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, where he obtained a B.A. Honours in 1964. In 1965 he went to Canberra with a Ph.D. scholarship from the Linguistics Department of the Research School of Pacific Studies (Australian National University). He was awarded a Ph.D. in 1969. His thesis was a description of Timugon Murut, a language of Sabah. In the following years he had subsequently a research assistantship (1969), a lecturership (1970-1973) and a senior lecturership (1974-1976) in the Indonesian Department of the "School of General Studies" (nowadays known as "the Faculties") of the Australian National University. Between 1973 and 1976 he was also seconded as Director of the English-Malay Dictionary Project (to which project he continued contributing until the publication of the dictionary 1992). In June-August 1974 he was a Temporary Aid Expert with the Australian Development Assistance Agency assigned as a teacher at the Workshop on Lexicography in Tugu, Indonesia.

In 1976 he was appointed as Senior Lecturer at Leiden University in the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, where he

continued to work until a few weeks before he died. In January 1991 he taught in a Postgraduate Workshop on Lexicography at the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa in Jakarta.

Jack was a member of the Sabah Society, the Asian Society of Canberra, the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (Leiden) and the *Werkgemeenschap Zuidoost-Azie en Oceanie* (Netherlands).

Jack's main interests were Timugon Murut, Malay and Tagalog. But he also had many other passions: Malay influence in Afrikaans and in South African English, Chinese dialects, Celtic (and other) place names in Great Britain, to name only a few.

Although Jack did not publish a great deal, what he did write has had a strong impact on Malay and Austronesian linguistics. He did pioneering research in Sabah and his Murut grammar became a model for many other descriptions of Austronesian languages, in Canberra as well as in Leiden.

His article on the structure of Indonesian (1987) is remarkable for its clarity and shows that he had an intimate knowledge of the language, and that he tried to convey that knowledge in the simplest and most democratic possible way to his readership.

Jack made a very important contribution to the monumental English-Malay dictionary that was published by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in 1992.

The earlier editions of *Langkah Baru*, one of the most frequently used course books of Indonesian, clearly bear his mark. But most of all Jack provided invaluable feedback on many linguistic (and other) publications written by his colleagues and students of the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania in Leiden. Although he probably should have, he never refused to edit our English. He did so in a very careful way, respecting our own style and only correcting what was grammatically wrong or stylistically awkward. Up to 1989, almost everything I wrote was thoroughly proofread and commented on by Jack. In the final stages of preparing my thesis, I used to go and see him at night (sometimes at 12.30 am) to discuss what I had drafted. Although he sometimes had some resistance to undertaking a task, once he got involved in it he would dedicate himself to it completely, no matter whether it concerned his own projects or those of others.

Jack had a sharp eye for linguistic details, and he knew how to get others interested in them: his students loved him and knew him as an excellent teacher.

It is to be hoped that his Timugon Murut dictionary and his lecture notes on Indonesian and Malay grammar will be published one day.

With Jack's death Leiden, Canberra, Austronesian linguistics and Bornean studies lost one of their dearest and most erudite scholars. Those who knew him will find it no overstatement to say that Jack was one of the most human, understanding, unprejudiced, helpful and knowledgeable colleagues we ever had. He was extremely good company, never short of interesting conversation topics and devoid of any snobbery. He liked a good atmosphere and had time for everyone. In fact, he liked people to the extent that he was often unable to see their shortcomings. He never seemed a very happy man, and there was a certain melancholy about him in spite of his sociability and great sense of humour.

Our sympathy goes out to Sue and to Jack's son and grandson in Australia, to the Murut family that had adopted him. and to his beloved friend, Jaime Ayong.

*Maalur pana ra mato, maaar ak ra quang.*<sup>2</sup>  
Though the eyes be far away, the heart is near.

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<sup>2</sup>The last line on Jack's death announcement, in Murut.

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In preparation (with J.T. Collins): Annotated re-edition and translation of Francois Caron's *Tsjeremin Acan Pegang Agama* [...], Amsterdam 1691 (a collection of 40 Malay sermons from Ambon, 1660-1674)  
(Sander Adelaar, Department of Applied Linguistics and Language Studies, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052, Australia)

## RESEARCH NOTES

CONFIRMATION OF AN EARLY DATE FOR THE PRESENCE OF RICE IN BORNEO: PRELIMINARY EVIDENCE FOR POSSIBLE BIDAYUH/ ASIAN LINKS

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Examination by Peter Bellwood and Ipoi Datan in 1989 of sherds of pottery from the cave site of Gua Sireh in Sarawak, indicated that husks had been used as a *temper* which had been added to clay to prevent breakage during the firing process. A rice grain was also found as an accidental inclusion in pottery from an earlier phase at the site. When dated by the technique known as Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS), this revealed a surprisingly early date for the presence of rice in the Equatorial and Island part of South-East Asia (Ipoi Datan and Bellwood 1991, Bellwood *et al* 1992). This date was  $3850 \pm 260$  P.B., or a mean date of 2334 B.C. if calibrated (CAMS 725). In many ways this very early date is surprising for Borneo given that traditions and historical accounts indicate that much of the population was dependent on hunting wild animals and eating wild sago until a relatively short time ago. With the exception of some interior areas, such as the Kelabit uplands and some lower river areas the spread of rice cultivation was thought thus to have been largely a phenomenon of the last five hundred years and a consequence of Iban and Kayan migrations, and in many interior areas only of the last fifty years (Tuton Kaboi, personal communication). There is indeed still a significant present-day population of hunter-gatherers living in the interior forests. The date normally assumed for Austronesian colonisation of

Borneo (c. 1000 B.C.) (Bellwood 1995: 102) would have been expected as the date from which rice was introduced. Sather (1995) argues that from this point the economies of pre-existing foragers would have been transformed, through small scale, probably swamp rice cultivation linked with expanded forms of foraging and trade. He writes (Sather 1995: 259)

...evidence from Borneo suggests that Austronesian settlement involved, initially, neolithic populations possessing a diverse economy combining secondary foraging, hunting and fishing with varied forms of horticulture, including the cultivation of sago, fruit and tuber crops, as well as rice, with individual groups radiating, as they settled the island, into a multitude of local economic niches

An obvious question following this discovery by Peter Bellwood of the Australian National University and Ipoi Datan of the Sarawak Museum, is why if the introduction of rice is so early at Gua Sireh, did rice take so long to make much impact over the rest of the island? Should we even consider this to denote the presence of rice as a cultivated crop at this early time in Borneo? If this rice grew in Borneo, this is unlikely to be a wild relative of cultivated rice, as this part of Island South East Asia is outside the natural distribution of wild rices. The pottery containing the rice husks could possibly have been traded from elsewhere in Asia in exchange for Borneo's forest products which were certainly greatly sought after at least in more recent Ming and Ch'ing periods. These forest products included rhinoceros horn, hornbill "ivory," edible birds nests and the gall stones of a number of exotic animals used in traditional Chinese medicines. In this trade, pottery jars from China were a major commodity entering Borneo, and one could suggest that the Gua Sireh pottery was a very early precursor of this trade. However, arguing against this view is the fact that the pottery is of a rather plain greyware, simply decorated with wooden carved or cane-beaters; indeed in other contexts such pottery is assumed to be of local origin.

The present project therefore sets out to look for other evidence for the early presence of rice in Sarawak. If, at that time, rice was grown in the plain below the cave as it is today by local Bidayuh populations, it is likely that rice husks and straw would have been brought into the cave—assuming that the cave provided shelter for the population. Rice, like other grasses, contains a large amount of silica and other minerals and retains its distinctive 'skeleton' long after all of the organic materials have decomposed. The chequer-board pattern, on the surface of the husk, can be seen with a low-power microscope. This 'skeleton' eventually disintegrates and its constituent elements, called phytoliths, which are themselves of distinctive shape in rice, can be extracted from the cave sediments and examined microscopically.

The 1989 excavations by Bellwood and Ipoi Datan have fortunately remained undisturbed because they were carried out inside the fence built to protect the cave drawings on the walls of a part of the cave. In addition to the AMS date, the excavations also have provided a good stratigraphic sequence with a series of radiocarbon dates from shell and charcoal. These indicate the earliest occupation of the cave occurred from about 20,000 years ago with a significant deposition of debris on the cave floor between 5000 and 4000 years ago (Ipoi and Bellwood 1991).

Supported by grants from Leicester University Research Board and the British Academy South-East Asia Fund Paul Beavitt visited Gua Sireh in December 1994. Edmund Kurui of the Sarawak Museum and Beavitt collected a monolith sample of the cave sediments in a series of metal boxes which were driven into the section and then sealed, providing continuous samples of the sediments deposited in the cave over this 20,000-year sequence. These will in due course be prepared for phytolith analysis by Dr. Gill Thompson of Bradford University. However, preliminary macroscopic examination of the sediments found at the same level as the pottery has revealed abundant evidence of rice. Here relatively large amounts of inorganic material, still aligned in their distinctive chequerboard pattern, can easily be observed.

Accordingly there seems no doubt that at this early date of about 2300 B.C. rice was indeed present as a cultivated crop in the northern part of Borneo. Gua Sireh lies some sixty kilometres from the coast and so there is every reason to suspect that the initial arrival of rice in Borneo may well be some time earlier. Further analysis of the sediments should enable confirmation of the date within the occupation sequence at which rice was first brought into the cave. Examination of charcoal in the samples might also throw light on which other food-stuffs preceded and accompanied rice as major items in the diet of the early population.

The present research contributes to the debate on the spread of rice cultivation. The earliest known evidence for rice (6000 B.C.) is near the Yangtze River in northern Hunan Province in China; Southern China and northern Thailand have indicated dates of around 3500 B.C., Borneo and India 2500-2000 B.C. and the Philippines 1700 B.C. The Gua Sireh date confirms this as the location of the earliest evidence for the presence of rice in Equatorial and Island South-East Asia. Peter Bellwood has suggested (personal communication) that the early date for rice at Gua Sireh may indicate possible Austro-asiatic links with Southern Thailand and the Malay Peninsula. Clifford Sather has drawn my attention to suggestions by K. A. Adelaar (Adelaar 1995) indicating linguistic parallels between Land Dayak and Aslian languages. Similarities in a limited number of words in both languages suggest to Adelaar the possibility of a language shift on the part of some original Aslian speakers in Borneo. Although



presentday Land Dayak languages are predominantly derived from proto-Austronesian roots, this suggests a possible Asian substratum.

The early presence of rice in this area, linked with the possibility of linguistic parallels and suggestions of pottery similarities with West Malaysia and Thailand (Bellwood, personal communication), are exciting new developments in our understanding of the prehistory of Borneo. In addition to the phytolith analysis, it is intended to follow up this work with studies of similarities in the pottery of the two regions, together with a study of pottery and sediments from the Sarawak cave sites at Niah and Mulu.

### Postscript

Fieldwork at Niah in April 1996 revealed a sherd of cord decorated pottery which contained a clear impression of a rice husk within its fabric. This sherd was found in the debris of a hut within the west mouth which had been used for storing pottery prior to marking and transport to Kuching. The hut has been burned and with it the trench location and depth of the sherd. Examination of labelled sherds in Kuching has produced similar sherds from locations associated with Neolithic burials. Some of these sherds will shortly be examined for evidence of rice temper.

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### POSTSCRIPT

Examination of a number of sherds from neolithic burials at Niah in January 1997 by Dr. C. Doherty of The Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University, confirms impressions of rice husks and suggests the possibility of carbonised grain adhering to pottery. These include a sherd from beneath the corpse of Burial 21 and a sherd from Burial 99. (Radio Carbon dates for collagen rich samples within the cemetery range from 1870 B.P. to 4650 B.P. with an average date from 18 samples of 3112 B.P.) The British Academy Committee for South East Asian Studies which funded this research have agreed to support a further study in March 1997.

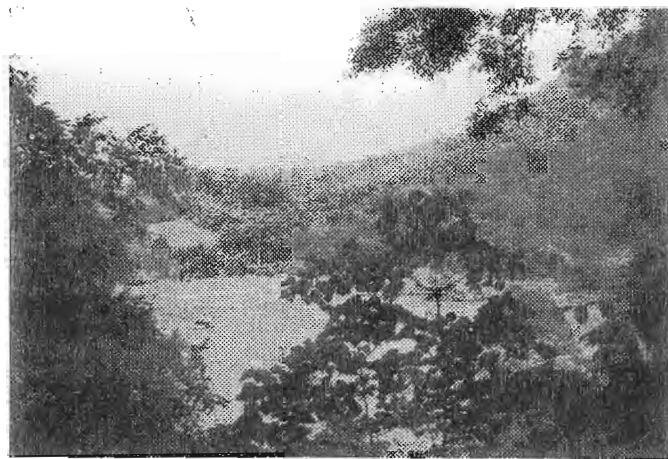


Plate 1. Gua Sireh: view from cave mouth towards present day rice-fields.

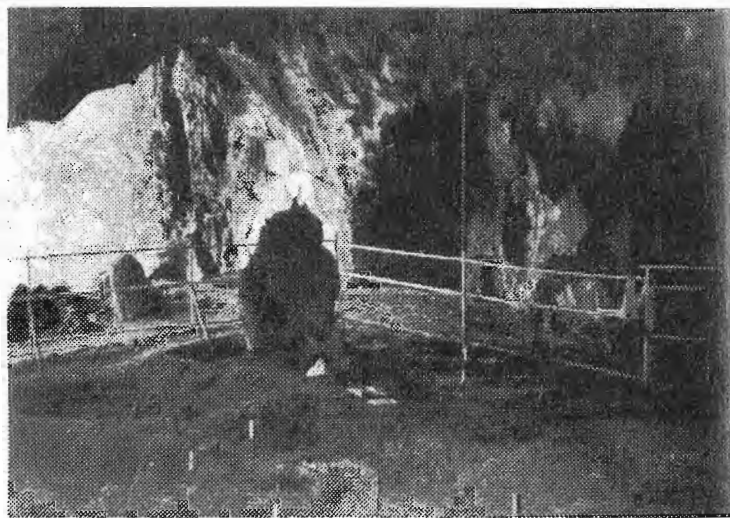


Plate 2. Gua Sireh: 1989 excavations in the cave mouth.

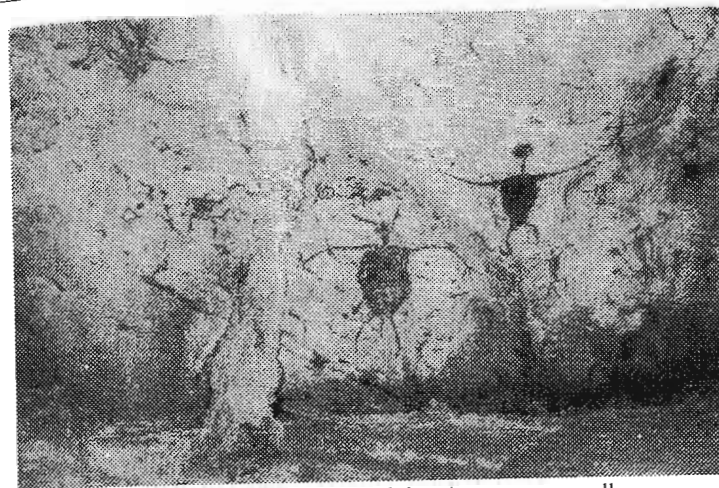
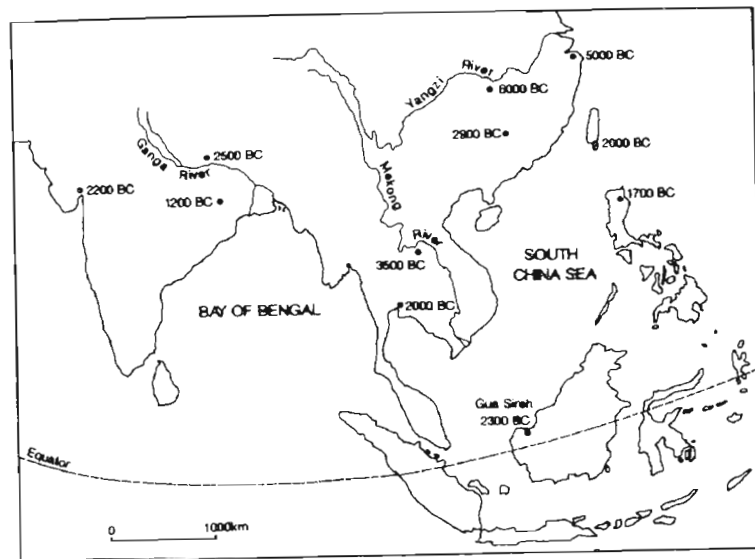
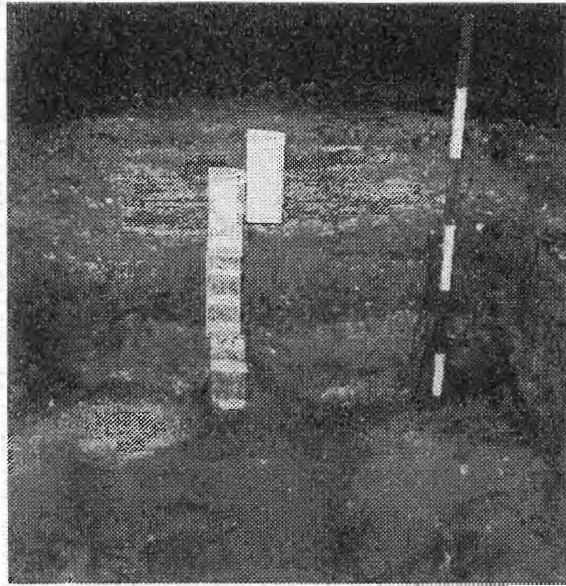


Plate 3. Gua Sireh: charcoal drawings on cave wall.



Map 1. Dates for evidence of rice in China, India and South-East Asia (after Bellwood et al. 1992)



1994 Monolith sample in position on section of the 1989 excavation

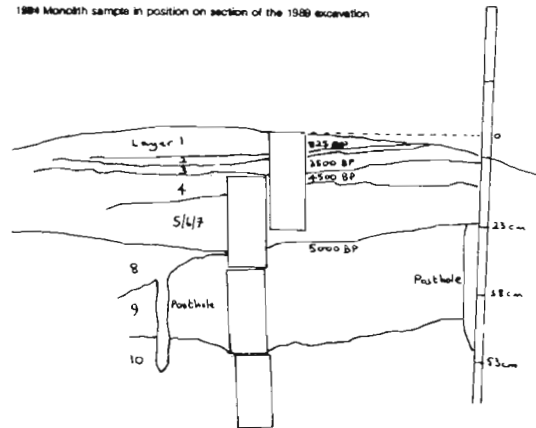
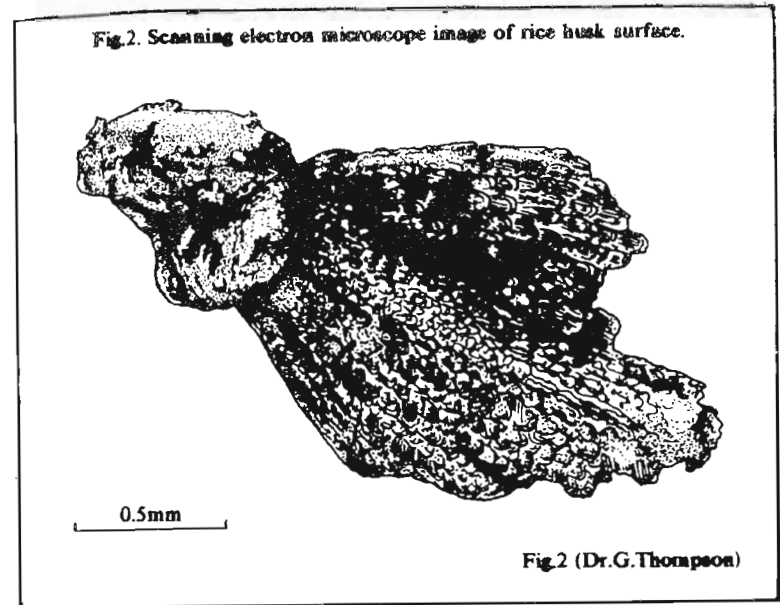


Plate 4 and Figure 1. 1994 monolith sample in position on section wall of the 1989 excavation by Bellwood and Ipoi Datan (layers and dates from Bellwood *et al* 1992).



## BRIEF COMMENT

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Cliff Sather has asked me if I wish to comment on this important discovery of rice remains in the sediments within Gua Sireh. It is very gratifying that they support the previous findings of rice remains in potsherds and hopefully the planned phytolith analysis will give even stronger support. My own view has been for many years that rice cultivation in the Austronesian world was spread from China via the Philippines into Indonesia. So the possibility of another origin from the Austroasiatic region of mainland Southeast Asia is of great interest. The only question is, if Austroasiatic-speaking peoples once inhabited parts of Borneo, what happened to them? Why do no Austroasiatic languages survive here today and, if there has been a language shift, why has it been so one-way? Have former Austroasiatic populations in Borneo, as perhaps in many of the Tai- and Tibeto-Burman speaking regions of mainland Southeast Asia, been absorbed by in-coming populations (in this case, Austronesians) with little but substratum traces remaining of their former presence? Other dated evidence for rice and paddle-impresed pottery, perhaps from future work at Niah, could help to clarify the situation. A thorough comparison of the Neolithic pottery from Sarawak with that from central and southern Thailand plus Peninsular Malaysia would also be of help.

## A FLORENTINE SOURCE FOR NINETEENTH CENTURY SARAWAK HISTORY

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One of the advantages of research into nineteenth century Sarawak history is that the documentary sources are well recognized and, by and large, well catalogued and indexed: not for most Sarawak historians the pioneering search of archives to locate relevant material. In such a well explored area, the chances of locating hitherto unknown records are remote.<sup>1</sup> Even if such records were discovered, the wealth of existing material means that any new sources would be unlikely to significantly advance to our understanding of the period.

In researching my doctoral thesis, *Power and Conflict in Sarawak, 1835-1868*,<sup>2</sup> I became intrigued by Lord Cranbrook's passing reference to rumours that the album of photographs which Margaret Brooke gave to Odoardo Beccari was preserved in the Florence Botanical Museum.<sup>3</sup> A photograph on p. 20 of Beccari's book suggested that such an album might contain evidence of value to an historian interested in factionalism among the Sarawak Malay elite and other political conflict in Sarawak. If nothing else, how the Brooke family chose to represent their regime to the world in the new medium of photography might further my understanding both of the nature of the Brooke state and of the people whose support maintained it. Finally, the rumoured survival of an album at the Florence Botanical Museum suggested the possibility of an archive, and it was clear from reading Beccari that he and Charles Brooke had become firm friends.

With help from the Italian Embassy in Canberra, I worked out that the Florence Botanical Museum referred to by Lord Cranbrook was probably the *Biblioteca Botanica* at Florence's *University Degli Studi*. My letter to the *Biblioteca* (in English) seeking any information on the Beccari album went unanswered.

Although my original plans to visit Florence at the beginning of 1993, following a research trip to Britain, were abandoned, I was able to spend four days there in March 1994. At the *Biblioteca Botanica* I confirmed that many of the photographs, though not

<sup>1</sup>R.H.W. Reece has detailed his discovery of primary sources for the later Brooke period. See his "Sarawak Fever," in Victor T. King and A.V.M. Hortoi (eds.), *From Buckfast to Borneo: Essays presented to Father Robert Nicholl on the 85<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of his birth, 27 March 1995*. Special Issue of the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1995, pp. 309-324.

<sup>2</sup>J.H. Walker, *Power and Conflict in Sarawak, 1835-1868*. University of New South Wales: Ph.D., 1995.

<sup>3</sup>Earl of Cranbrook, "Introduction," to Odoardo Beccari, *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989 (1904), p. viii.

the album, given to Beccari by Lady Brooke survive. The photographs were not particularly useful to my research, however.

Of greater significance than the photographs were a collection of previously unnoticed letters from Charles and Margaret Brooke to Beccari. The letters from Charles Brooke comprise a new source of information about Sarawak history; and I shall describe them first. There are 13 letters from Charles, totalling just less than 5000 words. The first was written from Simanggang on 11 April 1867 to tell Beccari of an ape that Fitz Cruikshank had shot for him at Sibul. The last letter in the collection, written on 2 January 1902, acknowledged receipt of Beccari's book, *Nelle Foreste di Borneo*. This last letter reflects a sentimentalism in Charles Brooke which, however mild, is at variance with the portraits of his character painted by both Margaret and Sylvia Brooke in their famous books. "How I wish you could manage to visit me again in Sarawak with Madame [Beccari]". Brooke wrote.

I should show you some developments and we would visit Matang again where there is a Coffee plantation of about 400 acres—Liberian. The same house I built when you were with me, stands there as good as ever—made of belian wood principally.

...Could you tell me if Marquis Doria is still alive. I have never heard of him since he left....

Bearing a lively remembrance of all the scenes we went thro' together so many years ago & hoping also that you do not quite forget them.<sup>4</sup>

Charles's letters present evidence of hitherto unsuspected whimsical traits, though he kept them subject to his undoubted seriousness of purpose. Brooke thought to recruit an Italian orchestra whose members might also serve as crew for a gunboat. He wrote to Beccari, apparently in all seriousness,

I am going to ask yr advice on a point which I should like to carry out one of these days—it is if you think I could engage about 8 of your country men as bandsmen to serve [indistinct word] as crew of gun boat to be called on if events required their service, to carry arms—or as fortmen—but to be considered at all other times bandsmen. I should try & get them a passage out by the P & O—free of charge by their playing aboard & of course they would receive presents themselves from the passengers—to serve for not less than 5 yrs and pay to be from \$8 to \$10 a month—instruments & [indistinct word] provided—perhaps you might hear of some enterprising young fellows who would like a lark of this kind—but they must stipulate to be good musicians both on brass and string'd instruments. I can't think I should be able to have them out at once but if possible I should like to do so another day *when we are richer*.<sup>5</sup>

As Brooke's reference to Matang and Liberian coffee indicates, however, most of his letters concern his attempts to develop his plantation at Matang and other economic

<sup>4</sup>C. Brooke to O. Beccari, 2 January 1902. *Biblioteca Botanica, Universita Degli Studi, Florence*.

<sup>5</sup>C. Brooke to O. Beccari, 9 December 1870. *Ibid.* (original emphasis).

activities. Brooke wrote to Beccari, often specifically to seek his advice, on botanical issues, and to detail his progress (and failures) in developing a more sound economic basis for the state. Thus the principal interest of Charles's letters lies in the detail they provide about Sarawak's economic development. Brooke tells Beccari about his hopes for coffee, silk, gambier, cattle, pepper, coal, cinnabar and silver. Ominously for the future of Borneo's forests, in June 1868, Brooke recorded the origins of Sarawak's timber industry:

A Chinese wood merchant has arrived direct from Canton & is about to put on 400 coolies in the Rejang to work wood on his own account he is very wealthy. & and I trust this will be a stepping stone for others—and will bring about an important and direct [indistinct word] with China.<sup>6</sup>

Lady Brooke's 35 letters to Beccari are written in French.<sup>7</sup> They are, largely, undated. Their numbering bears little relation to the order in which they were written and further research is required to establish their true sequence. All of the letters are short, normally of no more than a paragraph or two, and they are of less immediate or obvious importance to Sarawak history than are Charles's. Should the Ranee, herself, become the subject of detailed study, however, this correspondence would be valuable. After translating her letters, John Holloway observed that she emerged as "an enthusiast; bossy, intelligent and dedicated to the cause of Sarawak."<sup>8</sup> Similarly, scholars of Beccari should find Margaret Brooke's apparent role in initiating and in the completion of *Nelle Foreste di Borneo*, and of its translation, *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo*, significant.

Margaret's letters confirm Lord Cranbrook's view that she "was instrumental in persuading him to take up his pen once again."<sup>9</sup> Margaret wrote to Beccari on 7 December,

As for your notes on Sarawak, Sarawak is my country and I would really love to read them. Why don't you publish them? Have you thought about having them appear in English? If such an idea appeals to you would you like me to be in charge of the translation? I know enough Italian to be able to read them fluently and to translate them. People know so little about Borneo in general, and our country in particular has never been [the] subject of scholars like you, except for Wallace,<sup>10</sup> and you have studied the country better than he!<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup>C. Brooke to O. Beccari, 13 June 1868. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>All translations of Margaret's letters in this article are by John Holloway. I am grateful for his permission to quote from them.

<sup>8</sup>Personal correspondence with the author.

<sup>9</sup>Earl of Cranbrook, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

<sup>10</sup>Botanist, Alfred Russel Wallace, 1823-1913. His *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-Utan, and the Bird of Paradise* was published in 1869. Other publications relating to Sarawak included "Notes of a Journey up the Sadong River, in North-West Borneo," *Royal Geographic Society, Proceedings*, vol. 1, 10.11.1856, p. 197. Wallace's autobiography, *My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions*, was published in 1905.

She appears to have read and commented on drafts of chapters of *Nelle Foreste di Borneo* as they were written:

Please send me whatever you have finished, as you finish it. I will come to Florence in January because we need to discuss this enterprise. It gives me great pleasure to undertake this work with you.<sup>12</sup>

"I was enchanted with your first chapter and I have worked on it with a passion," she wrote from Genoa. "There are one or two, very small, details which I would humbly wish to raise with you."<sup>13</sup> At the same time, Margaret had begun on her own book, *My Life in Sarawak*.<sup>14</sup> It seems likely that a comparison of her text with that of Beccari might be rewarding, since she and Beccari met to discuss their books. "Please send me your manuscripts and I will start work on them and if you wish I could bring a sample of my own work which we could correct together," she wrote.<sup>15</sup>

The photographs that Margaret gave to Beccari were taken especially to illustrate his book, and her letters document their discussion of his needs.

Do you believe that enlarging the photographs will lose something? In that case I will maintain the objective of making them to the 9 x 12 format. But if you believe that if, in enlargement, some detail will be lost, I will take both apparatus with me.<sup>16</sup>

Margaret had learned photography especially to help Beccari,<sup>17</sup> and she took a strongly proprietorial interest in his work.

I will do my best for the photographs for *our* book. I am sending you the 12.2 francs for the camera.... I will certainly come to Florence on my return so that we can discuss *our masterpiece*.<sup>18</sup>

Notwithstanding Margaret's support, Beccari had difficulty finding an English publisher for his work. Both Heinemann's and Blackwood's appear to have declined the manuscript, and Margaret recorded her frustration that publishers preferred Ling Roth's collection of ethnographic observations: "it is nothing but a rehash of the Sarawak Gazettes whilst your work is original and is of the greatest scientific value," she told Beccari.<sup>19</sup> In the face of these difficulties, Beccari decided to publish first in Italian. At the end of 1899 or the beginning of 1900, Margaret was therefore "delighted to hear you

<sup>11</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 9, 7 December, *Biblioteca Botanica, Università Degli Studi, Florence*.

<sup>12</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 7, nd. *Ibid*.

<sup>13</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 2, nd. *Ibid* (original emphasis).

<sup>14</sup> It was published by Methuen in 1912.

<sup>15</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 5, Sunday. *Ibid*.

<sup>16</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 3, nd. *Ibid*.

<sup>17</sup> See M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 13, nd. *Ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 8, Tuesday. *Ibid* (emphasis added).

<sup>19</sup> See M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 27, 19 September 1896; and M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 29, 3 February 1897; both *ibid*. Henry Ling Roth's compilation, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, was published in 1896.

will have your book published."<sup>20</sup> Two years later she wrote to Beccari to express her joy at receiving copies of *Nelle Foreste di Borneo*:

The book is so wonderful that I am still in state of shock. The reproduction of the photographs makes them better than their originals.<sup>21</sup>

With all but one of Charles's letters written between 1867 and 1875, this correspondence provides information about the final years of the reign of the first Rajah and the first years of Charles's own reign. Since the documentation for this period is uncharacteristically poor, this collection will be a welcome new source of information. Charles's focus on economic activities, including on the management of the Matang Estate, provides information to supplement the pioneering studies by Loh and Reece of early economic development under the Brookes.<sup>22</sup> Margaret's correspondence is of significance primarily to scholars of Beccari, suggesting, as it does, that her role in the production of *Nelle Foreste di Borneo* was even more central than has been previously recognized. For any future biographer of the Ranees, her letters provide insights into her life in Italy, when she was, essentially, estranged from her husband and removed from Sarawak. They testify to her intellectual capacities, as Beccari's collaborator, and to her commitment to advancing her own vision of Sarawak.

The Beccari archive at the *Biblioteca Botanica* is extensive, with thousands of letters to Beccari preserved in alphabetical order. Although I did not locate any further letters relating to Sarawak, time constraints meant that my search was limited to looking for the most obvious possible correspondents, Crookshank, Cruikshank, etc. With my chance visit uncovering almost 50 letters from Charles and Margaret Brooke, the archive might repay a more thorough examination.

<sup>20</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 1, nd. *Ibid*.

<sup>21</sup> M. Brooke to O. Beccari, Letter no. 8, 6 January 1902. *Ibid*.

<sup>22</sup> See Loh Chee Yin, "Matang Coffee Estate," *Sarawak Gazette*, XCI, no. 1291, 30 September 1965, pp. 279-283; and R. H. W. Reece, "Economic Development under the Brookes," in R. A. Cramb and R. H. W. Reece (eds.), *Development in Sarawak*. Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University: Monash Paper on Southeast Asia, no. 17, 1988, pp. 21-34.

WINGS OVER BORNEO:  
MARTIN AND OSA JOHNSON, 1935-1936<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

"Adventure has been our object in a lifetime of seeking the unusual, the unknown, and, with all, the wonderful feeling of freedom." So wrote Martin Johnson (1935:v) after he and his wife Osa flew 60,000 miles over Africa. Martin and Osa Johnson were adventurers—and photographers, filmmakers, lecturers and authors. According to British East African pilot Beryl Markham (1942:245), the Johnsons were "professional jungle-trotters." They traveled to exotic places and documented scenery, wildlife, and natives for audiences in the United States.

The first Johnson adventure was Martin's 1908 trip with author Jack London in the South Seas. Shortly thereafter Martin, who had grown up in Lincoln and Independence, Kansas, married Osa Leighty of Chanute, Kansas. They immediately became a team in work as well as marriage. From the beginning, technology played a key role. At first it was still photography. Later it was motion picture film, initially silent and later sound. With those technologies mastered, the Johnsons added aircraft for a novel element and for the popular appeal that aviation might add to their films. The airplane gave them a new "wonderful feeling of freedom" (M. Johnson 1935:v).

During their careers they produced silent features like *Head Hunters of the South Seas* (1922), sound features like *Simba* (1928), and silent lecture films like *Wonders of the Congo* (1931). They lectured, often to narrate one of their silent lecture films. Both were authors. Among his books were *Through the South Seas with Jack London* (1913), *Camera Trails in Africa* (1924), and *Congorilla* (1932), and her books included *Jungle Babies* (1930), *Four Years in Paradise* (1941), and *Bride in the Solomons* (1944). They were adventurers, not anthropologists or naturalists, and their products reflect this, and also reflect the racism of their time. Their lectures, books, and films were popular with American audiences of the 1920s and 1930s.

On trips to Africa in 1933-34 and to Borneo in 1935-36, Martin and Osa Johnson used Sikorsky aircraft for transportation. Both were licensed pilots, but they hired professional pilots to fly them over Africa and Borneo. They flew over water, mountains, and jungles, also African deserts and Borneo rain forests. Their planes appear in the films of these expeditions—*Wings over Africa* (1934), *Baboona* (1935), and *Borneo*

<sup>1</sup>[Editor's note: The Johnsons' 1937 film 'Borneo' was shown in Brunei during the Fourth Biennial BRC Conference. We are grateful to Dr. Millbrooke for providing us this sketch of the Johnsons and their aviation in Sabah.]

(1937)—and in their books about their aerial expeditions—his *Over African Jungles* (1935) and her *Last Adventure* (1966), about Borneo.

### Africa

In 1933 the Johnsons began their fifth expedition to Africa, their first involving the airplane—a novelty introduced in part to attract movie-going audiences to the theater to see another African film by Martin and Osa Johnson (M. Johnson 1934:597). They knew the land well from their previous expeditions. But flying in Africa would be a different type of safari. Maps, air fields, radio facilities, the telegraph system, weather reports, and even fuel were inadequate (Heath 1928).

Given the primitive flying conditions in Africa, the Johnsons purchased two good amphibious aircraft capable of landing on either land or water, for Africa had many more lakes than airports, especially in remote regions with no air fields. For the principal safari work, they selected a two-engine Sikorsky S-38BS amphibian, license NC-29V, with powerful Pratt & Whitney "Wasp" engines rated at 450 horsepower. For reconnoitering, they chose the single-engine Sikorsky S-39CS, license NC-52V, and the Pratt and Whitney "Wasp Junior" engine with 375 horsepower. Fitted for passengers, the S-38 could carry ten and the S-39 five. The Johnsons named and painted their planes. The larger became *Osa's Ark* with zebra stripes, and the smaller, *The Spirit of Africa* with giraffe spots. Martin Johnson (1933:138) called the paint schemes "nonsensical."

The S-38 aircraft was known appropriately as an "explorer's air yacht" (Capelotti 1995). The Johnsons acquired a B model, Special—specially adapted for their needs. Instead of seats for ten passengers, *Osa's Ark* had a leather-upholstered couch and two chairs; the chairs folded down to form another couch. The plane also had a variety of storage racks and compartments, unipods mounted to the plane for holding cameras, a lavatory, and a gas stove. The Johnsons later reported that they "lived aboard as comfortably as if we had been on a motor cruiser or a small yacht" (M. Johnson 1934: 600). Yet it was the smaller S-39 that they used to survey the land in preparation for specific aerial safaris.

Martin Johnson described his book *Over African Jungles* (1935) as "the record of a glorious adventure over the big game country of Africa, 60,000 miles by airplane." They literally flew lengthwise across the entire continent of Africa, from Capetown on the southern tip to Cairo and Tunis on the northern shore. The trip was accident free, with only a few flat tires, an occasional stuck-in-the-mud situation, some overdue flights, many weather delays and weather detours, but no major mechanical difficulties or accidents. Back in the United States, Martin Johnson produced *Baboona* about the African adventures. To promote the film prior to its release, he projected *Baboona* aboard an Eastern Air Line transport plane in late 1934; that was the first in-flight show of a sound motion picture (Imperato and Imperato 1992:184-5).

### Borneo

Borneo too was a dangerous place to fly in the 1930s. The Johnsons knew that. They had been there before—in 1920. That is when they first added wildlife pictures to

their photography of exotic peoples and scenery. Martin used motion picture film as well as glass-plate negatives. One of the disappointments of that early trip was insects eating the gelatin off photographic plates and films left out to dry. On that expedition the Johnsons had still been hunters. Martin (1921:127) described one day as "a monotony of crocodile shooting"—shooting with both gun and camera. Osa Johnson was the marksman of the pair. On the 1920 expedition they traveled far up the Kinabatangan River to a Tenggara village near the headwaters, by launch from Sandakan to Lamag, beyond there up by gobong (native canoe made of hollowed tree) and down by raft. In Sabah, or British North Borneo, as it was then officially named, Martin observed (1921:129), "the waterways are the highways." In 1935-36 those waterways became runways for the Johnsons' S-39.

For this new Borneo expedition the Johnsons renamed the plane *The Spirit of Africa and Borneo*. Its fuselage remained spotted like a giraffe. In Borneo they added, painted, an eye on the side of the plane's nose. According to native legend, the eye represented the god who guides vessels to their destinations. Taking the plane was a late decision, for after the African expedition, Martin and Osa Johnson had authorized the Sikorsky company to sell both the S-38 and the S-39 (the Martin Johnsons). They withdrew the S-39 from the market, and they employed James Laneri of Hartford, Connecticut, as pilot. Laneri had worked with the Pratt & Whitney company that made the Wasp Junior engine (Borneo-Bound). Also in the party were sound-engineer Joe Tilton and Osa's gibbon, Wah.

The party and the plane traveled aboard the Dutch freighter *Kota Pinang* bound for Singapore. Apparently the freighter fell behind schedule, because the Johnsons and Laneri got off at Belawan, Sumatra, and proceeded by air and without a map. Tilton and the expedition's cargo remained aboard the freighter. Laneri flew the S-39 southeast down the Sumatra coast and across the Straits of Malacca to Port Swettenham (Port Kelang, near present day Kuala Lumpur), in the Federated Malay States. There they spent a mosquito-filled night and acquired a good map of the course to Singapore. They flew to Singapore, where they remained over a week while extra fuel tanks were installed on the plane and while their cargo was transferred to another ship, the *Maradu*. Tilton traveled with the cargo, as the Johnsons and Laneri flew east.

From Singapore they flew to Borneo—757 miles over water to Pemangkat. Osa Johnson (1966:114) fondly remembered this flight with "not a bump in the air." She recalled that both she and Martin took their turns flying the plane, which had dual controls that made it easy for Laneri to release control to a person sitting in the co-pilot's seat. Also, Osa believed that this flight gave her the distinction of being the first woman to fly over the South China Sea. They landed on the bay at Pemangkat in Dutch Borneo, but due to a misunderstanding were unable to get gasoline that they had arranged to be delivered to them there.

They managed to fly on another hundred miles, over jungle, guided by compass, to Kuching in the British territory of Sarawak. En route, Laneri continually spotted rivers and creeks as potential landing sites, in case of emergency. They landed at Kuching with less than two gallons of gasoline remaining. They filled the fuel tanks. The white Rajah [Vyner Brooke] of Sarawak entertained them that evening with dinner and pageantry.

The next morning they flew north, refueled at Bintulu and Miri, and reached Labuan Island. At all these stops, the S-39 landed on water, as there were no airfields on land in Borneo until Kuching opened its field in 1938 (MAPA 1981).

From Labuan to Sandakan, across the interior of British North Borneo, they flew at altitudes up to 14,000 over the forests and mountains. But it took them two attempts to reach their destination. Both times they departed from Labuan Bay, flew east to Weston, turned north, and at Kimanis Bay turned east again, across the Crocker range and into the then crudely charted interior. On the first attempt they encountered a tropical storm in the interior. In this monsoon, according to Laneri (1937:9), "the blind flying instruments did hand-springs and cartwheels." These instruments were the horizontal stabilizer, the turn-and-bank indicator, and the airspeed indicator. Laneri steered by the compass and climbed for a safer altitude. Once out of that storm they encountered another, turned to avoid it, and eventually landed back at Labuan Bay.

The next day the party turned again at Kimanis Bay toward the interior and flew over the Crocker Range. They passed south of Mount Kinabalu, at 13,450 feet the highest peak on the entire island of Borneo. This day remained sunny and clear. They safely reached Sandakan harbor, from which the jungle explorations would begin. As was noted in a recent biography of the Johnsons (Imperato and Imperato 1992:187), "This was the first flight over the interior of North Borneo, and permission for it was first denied on the grounds that it was too dangerous." An alternate, safer route would have taken them up the west coast of Sabah to Kudat and then down the east coast. They had considered this alternative, but chose the shorter interior route, even after their frightful and unsuccessful first attempt. Being the first to fly over the interior of Borneo was important to the Johnsons, for their personal sense of achievement as well as for advertising the movie they came to film.

The aviation facilities in Borneo were even more primitive than in Africa. Sandakan, for example, maintained a wind sock atop the customs house. That was all. Principally a seaport, Sandakan was at the time the capitol of British North Borneo, and it served as the urban headquarters of the Johnson expedition, but aviation facilities were more developed in western Borneo where oil companies and the Royal Air Force flew seaplanes. The Johnsons and their pilot found maps of Borneo "a hopeless mess," except for the coastal charts (O. Johnson 1966:21). The heat and humidity in Borneo, which did not cool even at night, corroded parts of the airplane.

The first application of the S-39 to the expedition was flying over jungles as Martin Johnson scouted for a site suitable for their field headquarters. He found a clearing beside the Kinabatangan River near a native village called Abai. There the Johnsons built camp "Johnsonville." They constructed a hangar for the S-39 at this jungle camp—a structure of bamboo and palm fronds. Since most landings were on water, they did not construct airfields.

Both Martin and Osa Johnson took turns at the controls of the S-39 in Borneo, but Laneri piloted the plane most of the time. Laneri routinely flew the S-39 back and forth between the jungle camp and Sandakan for supplies, and he transported exposed film to Sandakan. An American writer living in Sandakan at that time observed (Keith 1939:73), "The Johnsons' plane was the first to fly regularly in North Borneo." Laneri



flew scouting expeditions over the jungle. On most of the actual safaris into the jungle, the Johnsons again traveled mostly by boat, occasionally by foot. On at least two occasions, Laneri used the S-39 as an air ambulance—once ferrying a native bitten by a monkey to the hospital in Sandakan, and another time transporting a native injured during the capture of an orangutan. While in Sandakan, Laneri assisted a British physician named Dr. Stokes to order, assemble, and learn to fly an Aeronca plane. Dr. Stokes then initiated a flying physician service (Lamb and Blanche 1989:40).

In Borneo the Johnsons filmed elephants, rhinoceros, temadau (wild cattle), deer, orangutans, various kinds of monkeys including the rare proboscis, as well as natives of different tribes and people of Chinese and Malay heritage. At the end of the expedition, the Johnsons traveled by ship from Sandakan to New York City.

### Conclusion

Martin and Osa Johnson were "professional jungle-trotters" who filmed nature and natives in exotic locales for an American movie-going public. After their Borneo expedition (1935-36) they opened a lecture tour in Salt Lake City. From there they intended to go to California, to Burbank. California was an aviation center in the 1930s. It had regular, scheduled airline service, and state-of-the-art airports and airways equipped with radio ranges so that the airlines could fly by radio beam when weather obscured visibility. California did have occasional bad weather, as on the morning of January 12, 1937. For the flight to Burbank that morning, Martin and Osa Johnson boarded a Boeing 247D airliner owned and operated by Western Air Express. Due to the weather, the pilot made an instrument approach, and the plane crashed at 3,550 feet elevation on the side of Los Pinetos in the San Gabriel Mountains. Everyone aboard was injured or killed. Martin Johnson died the next day. The copilot and three others also died. Osa Johnson and the pilot were among the injured who survived (U.S. Department of Commerce 1937; Johnson et al 1941; and Imperato and Imperato 1992:205-06).

Martin Johnson died not in the wilds of Africa or Borneo, but from injuries sustained in an airplane crash near the developed Los Angeles suburb of Burbank. The relatively new technology of radio-range navigation led to decisions that would never have been made under visual flight conditions that guided the Johnsons' flights in Africa and Borneo. In Africa and Borneo, with known bad weather, the Johnsons waited on the ground or attempted to fly around bad weather. They flew by sight, in visual contact with the ground, as much as possible; by dead reckoning only when absolutely necessary, like during their first attempt to fly across Sabah. Instrument flying by radio beam was designed for bad weather conditions, conditions which the Johnsons avoided as best they could in Africa and Borneo, but conditions into which they willingly flew in California.

Osa Johnson appropriately entitled her autobiography *I Married Adventure*. That adventure, like her book, ended with the airplane crash in 1937. Her book about their two trips to Borneo, *Last Adventure*, and their final film, *Borneo*, were finished after Martin's death. For that reason, Lowell Thomas narrated the film, which 20th Century Fox released in 1937. *Borneo* is available on video from the Martin and Osa Johnson Safari Museum (Chanute, Kansas). Osa's *Last Adventure* appeared years after her death.

She died in 1953, and biographer Pascal James Imperato edited the manuscript, which appeared in print in 1966. The International Museum of Photography (George Eastman House, Rochester, New York) has a large collection of the Johnsons' photographs, and the American Museum of Natural History (New York, New York) has a collection of the Johnsons' negatives. The single best source of information about the Johnsons is the recent biography *They Married Adventure*, by Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato.

With the airplane, the Johnsons reduced distance as defined by travel time. With the plane, they also bridged the distance between technologically oriented—or at least technologically familiar—audiences in the United States and the exotic yet primitive cultures filmed in Africa and Borneo. Furthermore, films like *Borneo* quickly transported audiences to far away places. Others had discovered and explored these places, but the Johnsons shared their adventure travels with the general public. That was their career. The airplane was a tool they used to supplement their primary media—film and print.

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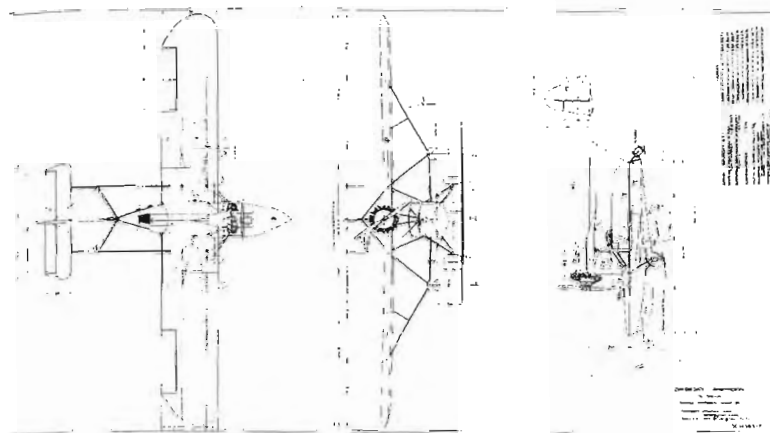
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Three-view drawing of the single-engine Sikorsky S-39 amphibian (Photo courtesy of United Technologies Corporation).



Martin and Osa Johnson, the Spirit of Africa and Borneo (note the painted eye on the side of the plane) in Sabah (Photo courtesy of United Technologies Corporation)

## AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PENAN OF BRUNEI

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**Introduction**

The Penan of Sukang village inhabit an eight-door longhouse on the left bank of the upper reaches of the Belait River in the interior of the Belait District, Negara Brunei Darussalam (henceforth Brunei). They have been settled since 1962, when they were persuaded to relinquish a nomadic way of life by the Dusun<sup>1</sup> with whom they were barter trading at the time. Besides Dusun and Penan, *mukim*<sup>2</sup> Sukang is also inhabited by Iban, there being altogether seven native settlements in the *mukim*.

The Penan of Sukang are historically, culturally and genealogically part of the ethnic stratum described as Eastern Penan.<sup>3</sup> It is not unreasonable, however, to consider the Penan of Brunei as being an isolate of sorts, due to their physical location, their affiliations within Brunei and their current socioeconomic position. These features mark them off as distinct from the Penan of eastern Sarawak and are consequently of particular interest in relation to other settled Eastern Penan groups in neighbouring East Malaysia. The aims of this annotated bibliography are to foreground aspects of the particular circumstances of the Brunei Penan and to review the available literature concerning them in order to indicate some of the gaps that exist in our current knowledge of the group.

**The Penan Sukang in Relation to the Eastern Penan of Sarawak****1. Location**

The Penan of Sukang have been geographically isolated in their habitation apart from other Eastern Penan groups in Sarawak at least since they settled in the interior of the Belait district of Brunei in 1962, and during the intervening period, have had only sporadic contact with their nearest relatives, the Penan of Long Buang of the Apoh

<sup>1</sup>The Dusun are one of the seven *puak jati* of Brunei, i.e. the seven ethnic groups officially considered indigenous to the state, which also include the Belait, Bisaya, Kedayan, Malay, Murut and Tutong groups.

<sup>2</sup>A *mukim* is an area under the control of a government appointed headman or *penghulu*.

<sup>3</sup>As first distinguished by Needham (1954: 73-83) in his article 'Penan and Punan', in which he clarifies the differences between Eastern and Western Penan and between Penan and different Punan groups.

River in the Baram District of Sarawak.<sup>4</sup> Typically, the Eastern Penan in the interior of the Baram Division maintain considerable social contact with other Penan villages, but this has been much less so with the Penan Sukang (due to international border restrictions), who have formed additional, rather than alternative, social relationships, particularly with Ibans in *mukim* Sukang (Sercombe 1994:10).

**2. Affiliations and Influences**

The ethnic composition of *mukim* Sukang, and the Malay domination of Brunei both numerically and culturally, has meant that the Penan Sukang have been subject to different influences over the last thirty odd years than their Penan relatives in Sarawak. In Sarawak, the Eastern Penan, apart from those who have settled and been assimilated into Malay coastal culture in the areas of Suai and Niah (cf. Needham 1963, Yaman 1979), generally live near Kayan, Kenyah, or Kelabitic groups, all of which are highly stratified as well as having strong Christian evangelistic or Catholic leanings. An important consideration then is that many Penan in Sarawak have embraced Christianity. While many have not abandoned traditional belief systems, there seems to be a growing sentiment among settled Penan that their traditional animistic beliefs are suggestive of 'ignorance' and 'backwardness'.

In the village of Sukang the Penan neighbour a group of Dusun but are otherwise surrounded by Iban villages, the Iban being the most numerous native group in *mukim* Sukang. The Penan also come into frequent contact with Malays in local government service besides those who reside in the adjacent, downriver *mukim* of Bukit Sawat. Iban is the lingua franca for the *mukim* and the Penan speak it fluently and identify closely with their Iban neighbours. The author (Sercombe 1994:10) has witnessed a Penan from Sukang referring to himself as *kitai Ivan* ('I/we Iban') in conversation. Cultural borrowing from other groups, however, is not uncommon among the Penan, as has been noted by Needham (1972: 177) and Whittier (1973: 17), among others. Both the Penan and the Iban are traditionally acephalous and to some extent maintain animistic beliefs, showing a degree of continued cultural integrity and suggesting less effective cross-cultural interchange. However, a number of Iban in the adjacent *mukim* of Melilas (which has only one longhouse) have converted to Islam, as have some Dusun in Sukang. There is a *surau*<sup>5</sup> in Sukang Village, and the Penan Sukang are also being influenced by Malay coastal culture, as can be seen by the conversion to Islam of three Penan families and the presence of Malay lexis in Penan discourse (Sercombe 1994:1-15). The remainder of the Penan still profess adherence to their traditional belief system, although they rarely practise the few rituals associated with it. At the same time they remain proud of their Penan identity, a sense of pride that is not always obvious among the Eastern Penan of Sarawak.

From the above it can be seen how the Penan in Brunei vis-a-vis those in Sarawak inhabit an atmosphere permeated by differing religious and cultural persuasions. The

<sup>4</sup>For further details of the consanguinity of these two groups, the reader is referred to Martin and Sercombe (1994: 165-178).

<sup>5</sup>A *surau* is a small Muslim chapel in an area where there are too few people to justify the presence of a mosque.

ever-increasing intercultural contact taking place in the *mukim* is likely to increase the extent of cultural change among the Penan, as potential originators of change are further exposed to different cultures. Moreover, the demarcation between Malaysia and Brunei will probably ensure differing futures for the Penan groups in each country (c.f. King 1978: ix).

### 3. Socioeconomic Position

While the Penan Sukang are not affluent in terms of material possessions (in relation to many urban dwellers in Brunei), they generally live in easier circumstances than many of the Penan in the interior of Sarawak. This is largely because the Penan Sukang have access to an abundance of primary and long-standing secondary-growth forest for hunting and gathering, forest that is both thinly populated and where the use of firearms is prohibited. The Belait River next to which the Penan live remains virtually free of pollution and provides an adequate source of fish (even though fish is not traditionally an important source of nutrition for Penan). In addition, there are wage jobs available within the village under the aegis of the Brunei government's local district office. Each family also owns a boat and an outboard engine, allowing easier and faster access to shops and offices downriver. The situation is quite different for many Penan in Sarawak. Here a large percentage live in the middle reaches of the Baram where the forest is not only more depleted but also more heavily populated and where there is extensive use of shotguns.<sup>6</sup> Besides this, rivers are subject siltation and pollution. There is access to wage labour but it entails living away from home, a condition many married Penan will not accept. Perhaps because of these advantages, the Penan Sukang have been able to maintain certain customs, such as sharing wild game, now abandoned among their nearest relatives, the Penan of Long Buang, due largely to economic hardship (personal communication Ayak Wing, Long Buang).

### 4. Group Size

The Penan Sukang number less than 50 people, a figure that has not greatly increased since their number was first recorded at 29 (Davis 1948:5), and later at 34 (McLoughlin 1976: 101-105). In contrast the Penan of Long Buang have nearly tripled in number from 85 in 1951 (Needham 1971: 209) to around 230 in 1993 (personal communication Avun Julong, headman Long Buang). This increase illustrates a feature of the Penan (and other nomadic groups) who have made the transition from nomadism to settled life, whereby numbers tend to grow (compared to the optimum number for a nomadic group of between 20 and 40), whether this be due to sedentism or sociocultural changes, or a combination of both (cf. Bender 1978: 204-222). The Penan Sukang are an anomaly in this regard compared to other now-settled Penan groups. There has been some out-marriage, but no fatal epidemics or significant migration, apart from the early years, prior to settlement, when some Penan males from Sukang married into the Long Buang community and remained in Sarawak (Bantong 1986: 24).

<sup>6</sup>Caldecott, in a report of a conservation management study for hunted wildlife in Sarawak, states, 'Slightly more than every second family in the interior owns a shotgun, by far the majority being single-barrelled and 12-bore' (1986: 29).

### Annotated Bibliography of the Penan Sukang

The references included here comprise published sources whose focus is largely on one of the following: a particular feature or features of the Penan Sukang, or a reference to the group in a discussion of other aspects of Brunei (1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24 and 25); the Eastern Penan (6 and 13), both the Eastern and Western Penan (3, 14, 17 and 18); both the Penan and Punan (23); the role of sago among groups indigenous to Borneo (7); the topic of hunter-gatherers throughout the island of Borneo (20). The list is necessarily brief, for to date the Penan of Brunei have received little in-depth attention from scholars. Among the references listed here, all contain some mention of the Penan Sukang, although six refer to the group only briefly or in passing, namely Harrisson (1949 and 1975), Urquhart (1959), Needham (1971), Sellato (1991), and Brosius (1992). These articles are pertinent, however, since the Penan Sukang can be considered integral to the Eastern Penan. The sources have been (among others) useful for informing the author's interest in the Penan Sukang. More comprehensive bibliographies of the Penan, can be found in Lambert (1975), Rousseau (1988), and Stuster (1974).

1. Azmi Abdullah (1990) Orang Penan: asal usul dan bahasanya. *Beriga*, Bil. 28:3-34, Brunei: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

This article begins with a general historical background to the Penan of Borneo and a discussion of Penan-Kenyah relatedness, as well as the manner in which the Penan arrived in Brunei. The main focus of the text is a consideration of the manner in which the Penan Sukang pronounce Malay, and how they are believed to distort certain Malay phonemes in speech. According to the author this is due to the shape of Penan mouths, which have been shaped through the constant use of blowpipes. It is predicted that this trend will change with the declining use of blowpipes among the group.

2. Bantong Antaran (1986) Puak Penan: sebuah tinjauan ringkas meengennai dengan rangka sosial dan ekonomi. *Berita Muzium*, 8:1:23-33.

This article remains the most comprehensive attempt to describe the life of the Penan in Brunei. It commences with an introductory outline that encompasses cultural features that, while not stated as such, are applicable to the Eastern Penan. It continues by describing the previously nomadic habits of the Sukang group. Thereafter ensue synopses of the Penan Sukang in terms of their history, economy, social structure, beliefs and art. Since it was published it has inevitably become dated in certain respects, an example being barter trade, which no longer takes place, reflecting the extent of socioeconomic, as well as other kinds of change among the Penan Sukang.

3. Brosius, Peter J. (1992) Perspectives on Penan development. *Sarawak Gazette*, Vol. CXIX, No. 1519: 5-22.

The author's stated goals include discussion of four main areas: ethnographic information relating to the Penan, including a clarification of significant differences between the Eastern and Western Penan; the sentiments of the Penan towards development; the writer's own comments about policies and programs of development affecting the Penan; and deliberation about the role of the Penan in their own development. Apart from the ethnographic information, the remainder of this article is

particular to the circumstances of the Penan of Sarawak, since the development issues raised relate largely to the areas inhabited by the Penan in Sarawak.

4. Ellen, Roy and Jay Bernstein (1994) *Urbs in ure: cultural transformations of the rainforest in modern Brunei*. *Anthropology Today* Vol. 10, No. 4: 16-19.

This largely comprises a discussion of changing attitudes towards the environment in Brunei. Within Borneo, Brunei alone has managed to retain a far larger proportion of its primary rainforest than neighbouring states, having been able to rely for income on its large oil and gas reserves to maintain a relatively small population. The authors believe, however, that the attitudes of the dominant Malays towards the forest have influenced the rest of the population, even those who previously depended on the jungle for their livelihood. The effect is that native forest dwellers, among whom are the Penan, are gradually developing notions of the forest as a recreational resource rather than the basis for a traditional way of life.

5. Groome, J. and P. Waggit (1990) Penans in Ulu Belait. *Borneo Research Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 2: 148-149.

This consists of nine separate comments as follow-up to Sellato's (1990) article (19) and is concerned with: the reasons for the location of the present Penan longhouse in Sukang, the tendency towards paid labour among the Penan (in addition to subsistence farming) and decline in the production of blowpipes. In addition the authors also raise interesting questions, arising from archaeological evidence, about the previously occupied, but now largely uninhabited area between the Belait and Tutong Rivers in Brunei.

6. Harrison, Tom (1949) Notes on some nomadic Punans. *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. V, No. 1: 130-146.

The author commences with then-current census figures of the number of nomadic Punan known to exist in Sarawak and Brunei. He continues with a brief discussion of the meaning of the word 'Punan', and the lack of detailed information concerning Punans in general. He gives a list of the locations where he met Punans, and the areas where they have settled. The article continues with an impression of Punan physical characteristics and apparent linguistic differences between groups (although conceding that these may be due to local variation). Brief details follow about material culture, common myths about Punans, and lists of vocabulary that have been collected.<sup>7</sup> The remainder of the article concentrates on the Magoh Punan,<sup>8</sup> their origins, social habits and migratory patterns.

7. Harrison, Tom (1975) The place of sago (and other palms) in Brunei and Borneo life. *Brunei Museum Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 3: 41-42.

This brief paper discusses the significance of sago among both interior and coastal groups indigenous to Borneo. In reference to the Penan as jungle dwellers and their

<sup>7</sup>These lists are in Ray (1913: 115-195), and while there are a number of cognates with Eastern Penan, the collections are drawn from Western Penan and related languages.

<sup>8</sup>The Magoh is a tributary of the Tutoh River and is located to the southeast of Mount Mulu.

dependence on sago as a dietary staple, the author refers to a small group of Penan who move back and forth between the Tutoh River area in Sarawak and the interior of the Belait District in Brunei.

8. Macdonald, D. (1972) Chapter Seven: 'Gentle nomads', pp. 135-156. IN: *Expedition to Borneo*. London: Dent.

This chapter forms part of a book-long account of an expedition to Borneo. That part of the chapter pertinent to the Penan Sukang contains a largely diary-type description of a trip into the interior of Brunei by helicopter during which the author conveys his impressions of a 'Punan' household and its occupants. He also refers to a 'Punan' medicinal cure, as described by Baartmans (1966:81-86), mistakenly assuming that the Punan are the same as the Penan. In fact the group referred to by Baartmans are the Punan Bah, a traditionally stratified society with a long history of settled agriculture (cf. Langub 1989: 169-189).

9. McLoughlin, Paul (1976) Anthropometric and anthroposcopic studies of the Punan. *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. XXIV, No. 45 (n.s.), pp. 101-105.

This is a brief report based on a physical morphological study of the Penan Sukang. It confines itself by not generalizing to the Penan ethnic category assumptions based on findings concerning Penan Sukang physical features, due to the small sample involved. It concludes, however, that all members of the group are 'well-built, healthy and well-nutritioned'.

10. Martin, Peter (1992) Lexicography in Brunei: an overview. Presented at the *First Asian International Lexicography Conference*, Manila, Philippines, 5-9 October 1992.

This article provides a comprehensive overview of lexicographic work on languages indigenous to Brunei. Taking each language group in turn, the author considers the work carried out to date on local Malay isolects, lexicographic work on the Lower Baram languages, the Dusun-Bisaya languages, and the Kelabitic-Murut language groups, including early wordlists and dictionaries. The aim, as stated, is to stimulate interest in lexicography in Brunei. The brief reference to Penan in Brunei draws attention to the dearth of information available on the language.

11. Martin, Peter and Peter Sercombe (1992) An update on the Penan of Brunei. *Borneo Research Bulletin*, Vol. 24: 86-91.

This paper deals with the historical background of the Penan in Brunei. Referring to the limited amount of literature concerning the Eastern Penan in general, it highlights the considerable social changes taking place among the group in Sukang.

12. Martin, Peter and Peter Sercombe (1994) The Penan of Brunei: patterns of linguistic interaction. IN: P. Martin (ed.) *Shifting Patterns of Language Use in Borneo*. Williamsburg: Borneo Research Council, Proceedings Number 3.

Commencing with a brief description of both the ethnic composition of *mukim* Sukang and the circumstances of those who inhabit Sukang Village, the paper continues with a very brief consideration of the historical background of the Penan Sukang. The main concern however is a discussion of the sociolinguistic situation among the Penan Sukang, focusing on the way languages are used both inter-ethnically and intra-ethnically, with the observation that language shift appears to be taking place among the

Penan. The conclusion offered is that in the not too distant future, the Penan language might be replaced by Iban as the code of intragroup communication.

13. Needham, Rodney (1971) Penan friendship names. IN: T. O. Beidelman (ed.) *The Translation of Culture*. London: Tavistock.

Following an introduction in which the author gives details of the Penan population, the extent of the areas they inhabit in Borneo and significant features of their social life, the article goes on to deal with the distinctions between different types of Penan nomenclature: autonyms, teknonyms, necronyms, and the significance of these in comprehending the Penan way of life. The main focus of the paper, however, is friendship names (a phenomenon apparently unique to the Eastern Penan), giving a detailed account of how the Penan of Long Buang on the Apoh River in the Tutoh District of Sarawak employ innovative personal names to signify friendships with individuals, Penan or otherwise. In the course of the discussion reference is made to some recent immigrants to Long Buang coming from the Penipir River area of Southern Brunei.

14. Needham, Rodney (1972) Penan-Punan. IN: Frank M. LeBar (ed.), *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1, pp. 176-180. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.

This general outline description must stand as the seminal introduction to the Bornean ethnic category Penan. In four pages the author succinctly yet lucidly describes the major sociocultural areas relevant to our knowledge and understanding of these people: demography, history, cultural relations, settlement and housing patterns, trade, economy, kinship and marriage, sociopolitical organization and religion. An instructive distinction is also made between Western and Eastern Penan, a source of confusion over a long period, both prior to and since. The author acknowledges material and social change among the Penan, suggesting that in the not too distant future, the Penan will no longer exist as an entity distinguishable from other Bornean groups.

15. Nothofer, Bernd (1991) The languages of Brunei Darussalam. IN: H. Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics*, No. 1: 151-176, *Pacific Linguistic*, A-81.

This is a consideration of the linguistic situation in Brunei: the various Malay isolects which constitute the most widely-used dialects in the country, along with non-Malay isolects, including Penan. Nothofer gives the relative cognacity percentages between local languages, and Penan is seen to be 34 percent cognate with the adjacent non-Malay isolects of Tutong and Belait, based on a comparison using the Swadesh 200 word wordlist. The degree of cognacity with Malay, given as 29 percent for Penan, reflects a perhaps the limitations of the Swadesh list given Needham's (personal communication) estimation that Eastern Penan and Kayan are only 4.12 percent cognate based on a comparison using Southwell's (1980) dictionary of Kayan, where the Penan equivalents for Kayan were known. The point here is that Eastern Penan and Kayan have had considerable contact in certain areas of Eastern Sarawak over the last century, allowing for more likelihood of borrowing between the two languages.

16. Pudarno Binchin (1991) A note on the Penan games: learning survival techniques at an early age. *Brunei Museum Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3: 26-30.

After an introduction stating that the Penan in Sukang identify themselves as Pelutan Penan<sup>9</sup> who have now adopted swidden agriculture techniques from the local Dusun, the author briefly describes five games used by the Penan for entertainment and as practice for developing strength, hunting and gathering skills, and the capacity for survival. *Telikat*: throwing a spear-like stick through a moving rattan hoop; *keleput*, using hollowed bamboo for firing mud pellets at a fixed target; *meteah*, a weight-lifting exercise using a child as the weight; *nakuja kelap*, where one person is an attacking animal who attempts to catch one of a group of others until finally catching one, who then becomes the attacker and so on; and *mukat layu*, which involves climbing over and around the bodies of two people joined by their arms, without touching the ground.

17. Seitz, Stefan (1981) Die Penan in Sarawak und Brunei: ihre kulturhistorische Einordnung und gegenwartige Situation. *Paideuma* 27: 275-311.

As titled, this is a description of Penan culture history, as well as a classification of the Penan and an explanation of their current situation. Following initial references to other nomadic groups in Island Southeast Asia, the author outlines significant published accounts of the Penan up until the time of the article. Following is a description of the distribution of settled Penan in Sarawak and Brunei by geographical area. The reference to the Penan of Brunei is brief with little ethnographic information that may separate them from other Penan groups, although given their own section heading. A number of other sections follow. These describe the Penan ethnohistorical situation, their position as hunter-gatherers, their linguistic and racial relations, a discussion of the terms Punan and Penan, a section on Penan cultural features and research into these to date. There is also a discussion of the Penan as specialist sago-gatherers, whether or not they are self-sufficient or depend upon trade with settled groups; the position of the Penan in relation to other Dayak groups; a consideration of the different subgroupings of the Penan ethnic category according to where in Sarawak they live; the problems of the Penan in settling permanently in one place; and a consideration of Penan migration habits and the origins of the Penan.

18. Seitz, Stefan (1988) Die Penan (Punan). IN: H. Harrer (ed.) *Borneo*, pp. 163-191. Innsbruck: Pinguin Verlag.

An abbreviated version of number (17).

19. Sellato, Bernard, J. L. (1990) A note on the Penan of Brunei. *Borneo Research Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 1: 37-42.

This note is, as stated, the outcome of a two-hour visit to Sukang village. The author observes the present location of the Penan, their farming habits, the extent of their former nomadic territory, and the manner in which they came to settle in Sukang, as revealed by the Penan headman Luyah Kaling. It asserts that the Penan in Brunei are an isolated and unconnected Penan group, while evidence makes it clear that the Penan of Sukang are an integral part of the Eastern Penan grouping and retain strong

<sup>9</sup>The Pelutan River is an eastern tributary of the Baram River in its upper reaches, just north of the Usun Apau area in northeastern Sarawak.

consanguinal and affinal ties with the Penan Long Buang in the Apoh River area of Sarawak, besides making occasional visits to Long Buang to maintain these ties.

20. Sellato, Bernard, J. L. (1991) Des hommes dans la forêt. IN: A. Guirrero & P. Coudere (eds.) *Borneo: Des Chasseurs de Tetes aux Ecologistes*. Serie Monde. HSN 52: 172-184, March 1991.

Readers are initially reminded by the author of some of the myths and misunderstandings that have been transmitted through the literature about the inhabitants of Borneo, particularly in the nineteenth century. By referring to some of the more significant studies of Borneo's hunter-gatherers, dating from the middle of the nineteenth century until more recent times, the author goes on to describe the following: the confusion arising from inconsistent terms of reference in naming various nomadic groups, the value of trade between nomads and agriculturalists (especially for the latter), economic and social features which distinguish hunter-gatherers from settled groups, and the social organization of hunter-gatherers, arising from which the author emphasises the continued uncertainty as to the origins of hunter-gatherers. There is also a discussion of the transition from hunting and gathering to an agricultural lifestyle and the sociocultural effects of this, as well as the future for nomads in terms of a sedentary existence; and the difficulty they have (and will continue to have) in adapting to physically static situations, and the problems of the continued application of hunter-gatherer habits and lifestyles in settled circumstances.

21. Sercombe, Peter (1994) Ethnolinguistic change among the Penan of Brunei: some preliminary observations. Paper presented at *Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, Leiden, Holland, 22-27 August 1994.

The author attempts to show how the use of non-Penan lexis in Penan discourse reflects a pattern of ethnolinguistic change among the group in Brunei, based on an analysis of recorded discourse among the Penan in Sukang and those in Long Buang in Sarawak and a brief comparison. Analysis of the recordings is juxtaposed with a consideration of certain social features to try to build a picture of a dual process of assimilation and acculturation into Iban culture at the local level and Malay culture at the national level, which currently appears to be taking place among the Penan Sukang.

22. Sercombe, Peter & Peter W. Martin (1995) Penan Sukang: suatu gambaran ringkas. *Beriga*, Bil. 46: 42-47, Brunei: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

This draws largely on the paper, *An Update on the Penan of Brunei* (10), and was written in Malay particularly for the interest of local scholars.

23. Urquhart, Ian A. N. (1958) Nomadic Punans and Pennans. *Sarawak Gazette*, November 30, 1958, pp. 205-207.

This is a transcription of a radio talk first broadcast over Radio Sarawak, and as the author states, intends to inform the reader of the different kinds of Punans and Penans and the areas which they inhabit. The author suggests that the 'Pennan' are 'perhaps in the ulu Belait.' Besides outlining distinctive personality traits of the Penan, the author also informs the reader of distinctive features of the lifestyle of the Penan and consequently, what makes them so different from other, settled, native groups in Sarawak.

24. Voeks, Robert A. (1994) Useful plants of the Penan: a quantitative comparison of hunter-gatherer and swidden ethnobotanical knowledge. Presented at *The Third International Conference on "Geography of the ASEAN Region"*, 25-29 October 1994.

This paper sets out to explore the notion that agriculturalists are familiar with a wider range of useful wild plant species than traditional hunter-gatherers in a given type of lowland dipterocarp forest. Results from a study based on a comparison between the settled Dusun and the (previously nomadic) Penan of Sukang uphold the hypothesis, a finding which is further supported through corroboration with similar results from an analogical situation in Brazil. The author reasons that the requirement for a wider range of useable plants is greater among agriculturalists than it is among hunter-gatherers (except in relation to wild food species), due to the greater range of agricultural activities they perform.

25. Zainuddin Hassan (1986) Senarai perkataan puak Punan. *Berita Muzium*, 8:1: 23-25.

This constitutes the first published attempt to provide information about the variety of Penan spoken in Brunei: it provides a list of sixty-seven words of Sukang Penan in current use and is accompanied by a note stressing the value of making a record of the language as a source on the cultures and languages of Brunei, and as a reference for other scholars.

### Concluding Note

This bibliography of the Penan Sukang lists sources the majority of which are concerned with the Penan in terms of ethnography, although, apart from Bantong (2), none deal with the Penan of Brunei in great depth. The eastern variety of the Penan language has received some treatment in terms of lexis (25), phonology (1) and sociolinguistics (11 and 21), but there has been little consideration of Penan as a system.<sup>10</sup> Among the more recent information there is indication of an irrevocable process of mutation in terms of culture, socioeconomics, language, and affiliation, as modernization and probable long-term absorption into the mainstream of Bruneian society takes place (1, 4, 10, 11, 19, 21 and 22). Given their position apart from other Penan groups, the Penan Sukang can provide an alternative window for observing the manner in which a previously nomadic group is adapting to a settled existence, at the same time maintaining certain traditional cultural features (e.g. the custom of sharing wild game and, to a minor extent, their spiritual beliefs) which, to some degree, have disappeared among settled Penan in the interior of Sarawak. Further study of the group's present social structure, habits and language can provide us with not only a valuable record of the group, but in addition, the opportunity for observing the manner in which sociocultural change in Brunei is taking place.

<sup>10</sup>Presently the only attempt to consider Eastern Penan as a language system has been Asmah's (1983: 651-672) work, although this is based on input from only one Penan informant (originating from a village in the Tutoh River district of Sarawak).

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## FIVE BRUNEI MALAY SPATIAL DEICTICS

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The concept of deixis refers to words whose meaning is defined with respect to the standing, position, or status of the speaker. These are known as deictic forms (from the Greek word for 'pointing') and the conditions governing their use have attracted special attention in recent semantics. They fall into three main types (Crystal 1987: 106):

- *Personal deixis*: The use of pronouns, such as I and you, which identify who is taking part in a discourse.
- *Spatial deixis*: Forms that distinguish the position of the speaker in relation to other people and objects, such as *this/that, here/there..., bring/take, come/go*. Come, for example, implies direction towards the speaker: *Come here!*
- *Temporal deixis*: Forms that distinguish time with reference to the speaker, such as *now, yesterday, then*, and various kinds of tense markers.

All three of these types are present in Brunei Malay. Deixis is a wide-ranging linguistic phenomenon whose full consideration must include attention to phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical discourse, and language-contextual features. The present study is an initial consideration of spatial deixis in Brunei Malay and will describe the basic core of two interactive modalities; the aqueous-oriented dualities of *ulu/laut*, "upstream/downstream", and *laut/darat*, "sea/land", and the relative position contrastives *sana/sini*, "there/here", as they are used in a Temburong village.<sup>1</sup>

The core element of the aqueous-oriented deixis is the ocean or sea versus that which is at some sort of remove from it. The pair, *laut/darat*, "sea/land", expresses the contrast between terra firma and the briny deep.

*darat*, land; dry land (as opposed to water); the interior (as opposed to the coast); ... *orang d.*, upcountry people, people living far from the sea or from large riverine settlements (Coope 1978:60).

The pair, *ulu/laut*<sup>2</sup> expresses the contrast between the region away from the sea and the region near the sea; this is also true in Standard Malay.

<sup>1</sup>The author wishes to thank her Brunei Malay family who taught her the language and who have encouraged her continued development in it over the years. She also wishes to thank Dr. Erika Bourguignon for her many years of encouragement and urgings to delve deeper into linguistics. Thanks also to Sharon Ashley for technical assistance on this and other writing projects.

<sup>2</sup>Standard orthography writes, *hulu*; in Brunei Malay the *h* is silent and so is not written here.

*laut*, sea

*hulu*, ... The upper waters of a river; the interior of a country (Coope 1978:160, 99).

In Brunei Malay *ulu* can also have connotations of "dark, mysterious, jungly interior, place where headhunters lived." When the place-at/in-which morpheme *di* precedes, *di ulu, di laut*, mean "in an upstream place", "in a downstream place". When the motion-toward-which morpheme precedes, *ka ulu, ka laut*, mean, "towards upstream", "towards downstream"; these two morphemes, *di* "in/at-which", and *ka*, "towards-which", can occur with all the spatial deictics considered here.

For watermen, the pair *sungai/laut*, "river/sea," expresses different realms, which necessitate different types of boats and nautical techniques. Both can be used deictically. To say that someone is *arah sungai*, "in the vicinity of the river," is to use two deictic components. First, the person referred to is either near the river or, perhaps, on the quay preparing to board a boat. The hearer must interpret based on micro-geographic contextual knowledge. Second, which river is meant can be ascertained only by knowing where the speaker is.

In spatial deixis, everything is relative to the geographic location of the speaker. Thus, for example, in the inland areas of the Brunei-Maura District there is a three-way contrast of *di darat*, "on dry land," *di sungai*, "on the river," and *di laut*, "on the sea," with *di laut* often used to mean, "far out at sea." These same speakers in inland Brunei-Maura District understand *di ulu* as "in the remote inland," commonly taken to mean Temburong District. But in Temburong, *di ulu* means the inland regions above the rapids in the hills; for Temburongites the Brunei-Maura District is *di laut*, "seawards." In Temburong rivers flow past villages, and the ocean is some distance away downstream.

The three-way contrast for a speaker in Temburong is *di laut, di darat, and di ulu*, "at sea," "on land," and "in the hills above the rapids interior." They understand *di bandar* as a non-deictic "city area" which refers specifically to the area of the Brunei Muara region whose hub is Bandar Seri Begawan. Any other town or urban locale is specified by name, for example, *di Bangar*, "in Bangar," *ka Tutong*, "to Tutong." The phrase, *ka bandar*, states motion toward the city (meaning Bandar Seri Begawan), and this is understood as motion toward a land locale from which one is separated by much water. The journey there involves going downstream to an arm of the South China Sea, and then upstream through channels to Bandar Seri Begawan.

The particular spatial deixis examined here will be that of a riverside village in Temburong. The village is located on an alluvial agricultural plain, upstream from the coastal swamp and near the first range of inland hills. Two main rivers follow through the village; each has several small tributaries which do not enter into the present discussion. Main River extends upstream far into the interior hills, and has major reaches above various rapids. It is navigable for some distance into the hills, and villagers use the phrase, *di ulu tarek prau*, "in upstream pull boat" (i.e. where you have to pull a boat over the rapids) to indicate far interior. Downstream Main River debauches into the Temburong River, which in turn empties into an arm of the South China Sea. The other river is Side River, which is an important tributary of Main River.

The fundamental operative principle of the spatial deixis at work in this Temburong village is a triadic conceptual map of directions. Villagers know that the waters of Main River have come from the far interior and ultimately enter into the sea. The basic directionality of anything on Main River is *ulu-laut*, "upstream-downstream"; and all physical features along it are so recognized with respect to each other. The same holds true for Side River, which is considered to flow through a *darat*, a single land area. Main River does not flow through a *darat*, "land mass"; the land on each side of it is considered to be a separate *darat*-entity.

If one is on the land, the basic directionality is perceived as being that of inland versus mainstream-ward, *darat-laut*. This means that anything which is closer to Main River than is the speaker is also closer to the sea, and thus is *di laut*; anything situated further away from Main River than is the speaker is more inland, thus, *di darat*. The movement form of the deixis contains an built-in assumption about the means of locomotion used and thus about the destination reached. The form *ka darat*, "toward a more landward area", implies motion on foot. The form, *ka laut*, "toward a more downstream area", implies motion by boat. The form *ka sungai*, "toward the watercourse", implies motion on foot but not by boat. The phrase, *turun ka sungai*, "descend to the river", implies motion on foot to the river, followed by descent down by boat, and all the activity that might happen before the boat casts off. These motion-implied deictics still hold even if another mode of transportation, such as riding a bicycle is used; localized social knowledge of the usual transportation modes used by different people at various times provides a built-in clarification of details.

Villagers generally understand that the third deictic component, *ulu*, refers to the more upstream regions of Temburong that are within the hills. From a building near Main River, or Side River, the hills in the as-the-crow-flies direction are *ulu*; but from a location in, or at the foot of, those hills any village building in the as-the-crow-flies direction away from the hills is *di laut*, "seaward". However, someone who is far upstream on Side River, even though still in the alluvial plain, may be considered as being *di ulu*, as having gone *ka ulu*; this has a dual semantic import, meaning both "upstream" in the literal sense, and also "away from the known reaches of the familiar".

Although vehicular access lanes now link most of the villages this was not true in the past when, except for a few often impassable footpaths, the only means of going from one place to the other was by boat. The spatial deictics used still reflect this waterborne travel. Thus, *di subarang* indicates the *darat* (land mass) on the other side of Main River, or on the other side of Side River from the speaker. This use of *di subarang* is deictic because it can be interpreted only if one knows the geographic locale of the speaker.

The deixis of *laut-darat* "sea-land" applies to the position of anything or any persons on the land. If a person or thing is further away from Main River than the speaker, or if it is considered in some absolute sense to be not close to Main River, it is *di darat*, "on the land"; it is closer to Main River than the speaker, or is considered in some absolute sense to be close to Main River, it is *di laut*, "at sea". However, if Main River interposes between the speaker and the person or thing mentioned, the deixis changes; the person or thing mentioned is *di laut* if one would need to go downstream to

reach it, *di ulu* if one would need to go upstream to reach it, and *di subarang* if one would cross Main River to reach it, but not go very far upstream in doing so.

Because *ulu*, "upstream", also contains the meaning of "remote, alien, and probably dangerous", the familiar upstream locales, such as the village school, store, and mosque are referred to by name, and the *ulu* deictic is not used, or is used only in conjunction with the familiar place-name, thus bringing it into the realm of "familiar region", and removing the "alien, remote, dangerous" semantic component. Such use of specific-naming also occurs when clarification of other deictics is needed. For example, if a hearer is unclear about just where a *di laut* deictically indicated place is, the speaker will add clarifying specifics, such as, *arah rumah si-ano*, "near the house of so-and so", *ka kabun piasau*, "to the coconut grove"; but, because of the intense social awareness of other people's lives and activities, such clarification is usually not needed.

If more specificity is required, a dual deictic may be used. For example, *di laut, di subarang*, "seaward, on the opposite shore", *ka ulu skolah, subarang sana*, "to upstream of the school, on the shore there [= opposite from the shore of Main River the speaker is on], *di lautan, subarang sini*, "at sea [near] this shoreline" (i.e. the shoreline along which Main River empties into the sea), *di subarang sini*, "in/on the this shore" (i.e. on the same side of Main River as the speaker is located).

The *ulu-laut*, "upstream-downstream", *laut-darat*, "sea-land", and *subarang*, "opposite shore", deixes apply to spaces of medium to large size. They interact with a second deixis, that of *sana-sini*, "there-here", which has a dual usage, for things within immediate ken and for things beyond immediate ken.

Things within immediate ken are in the spatial-geographic area which is the close-in region of ongoing interpersonal interaction and discourse that is limited to the confines of a building or working area, and perhaps including a peripheral zone which might potentially be included directly in an ongoing interpersonal interaction and discourse. A more remote locale, but one still within the realm of customarily-used space, is *sabelah sana*, "over there." Both *sini*, "here", and *sana*, "there", are within the range of things within immediate ken when used as deictics.<sup>3</sup> Alternatively, this dyad refers to that which is beyond ken. Then, it is applied to a very large-scale universe, with *sini* being the known interactional world, which may extend far beyond the village, as contrasted with *sana*, which applies to the realm that is remote and outside the region of direct knowledge. In this usage, *sini* is roughly equivalent to American, "hereabouts," and *sana* to the colloquial, "other parts."

Within immediate ken usage, the fundamental contrast is that of *sini*, "near to the speaker," which refers to the zone that is more than a hand's breadth away from the speaker, but within a long arm's reach of the speaker, as opposed to *sana*, "away from the speaker," which is the zone that is more than a long arm's reach away from the speaker, but still within an easy reach of ongoing interaction and discourse conducted in a normal speaking voice.

<sup>3</sup>Different area referentials may be involved when they are used as relative adjectives/adverbs.

This *sana-sini* deixis also has special uses; *sana* may refer to a zone beyond the reach of speech in a normal voice, though still within the range of potential spoken contact<sup>4</sup>, and *sini* may refer either to a zone less than a hand's breadth away from the speaker, or to a pin-point location. In these instances, phonological and kinesic deictics are used to indicate the specialized subset of lexical meaning which is intended.

If the referent is far away, but can be seen unimpededly from where the speaker is, phonetic modification occurs.<sup>5</sup> The initial *-a-* of *sana*, "there", is enunciated on a slow-rising pitch contour, the height of pitch attained and the duration of the rising contour area phonetic deictic which indicate how far away the person or thing referred to is from the speaker, the higher the pitch and the longer the duration of the rise, the further the item indicated is away from the speaker.<sup>6</sup> The co-occurring kinesic deictic is a turning of the head in the direction of the item indicated so that the eyes can look directly at it; this is accompanied by a slight raising of the eyebrows and a slight backward tilt of the head as the eyes glance exaggeratedly at the person or thing. If the person or object referred to cannot be seen unimpededly by the speaker, the kinesic deictic is exaggerated by a strong head-turning in the direction of the referent, and an increased eyebrow lift. In these far-range uses of *sana* the mouth opens unusually wide, by means of the jaw dropping, during the enunciation of the vowels in the word. If this happens only on the first vowel in *sana*, it is a normal "distance away" indicator. In any case, the further away the person or thing referred to, the wider the mouth opens.

The *sini* kinesic deictic both parallels and mirrors that for *sana*. In the *sini*, "here", kinesic deictic, the speaker glances directly at the object or place meant. The speaker's head tilts forward, the eyebrows are lowered slightly, and tongue-root withdrawal on one or both vowels of the word provides a neck-tightening muscle-movement cue of nearness.

The *sini*, "here", phonetic deixis is a very rapid rise to a high pitch on the initial *-i-*, and a sustaining of that high level of pitch; the higher the pitch and the longer its duration, the closer to the speaker or the closer to the indicated pin-point location the referent is located. Pitch deixis on the first vowel of *sini* is a normal "right here" indicator; but if both vowels are modified, with the second *-i-* having a straight fall back to the basic pitch of the word, it indicates "right over here [and you should already have figured that out]."

In the enunciation of *sini* the lips are in a neutral position, being neither rounded nor prolate. (Prolate means that the outer corners of the lips are pulled to the side, the opposite extreme from rounding.) However, if the speaker is annoyed, he or she will use a prolate enunciation of *sini*, "here". Just as the greater the jaw drop the greater the annoyance in *sana*, so too the greater the prolateness the greater the annoyance in *sini*.

<sup>4</sup>There is a special long-range whooping call that can reach a quarter of a mile or more; that is far outside the range of the deixis here.

<sup>5</sup>These and other acoustical data were derived from special listening-imitative analyses; more detailed studies would need to use acoustical spectrographic analyses.

<sup>6</sup>There is a gender difference in the rising pitch curve; for men it is a relatively straight line, for women convex.

If the hearer is disoriented, or otherwise obtuse in understanding the deictically indicated locale, the speaker will repeat the relevant word thrice over, thus, *sana-sana-sana*. "hey, it's over *there*", or *sini-sini-sini*, "hey, it's right *here*". In each case a curt form of the looking and head gesture is used. In all the foregoing *sana-sini* deictics the phonetic and kinesic deictics aid in guiding the hearer to the correct locale: the greater the guidance needed, the stronger are the non-lexemic deictics. The addition of the emphatic particle, *-bah*, to *sana* or *sini* both makes the statement emphatic and indicates the speaker's considerable annoyance; thus, *sini-bah!* "right over *here* [and why is it taking you so long to figure that out?!]", *sana-bah!* "right over *there* [and why is it taking you so long to figure that out?!]."

When *sana* and *sini* are used to indicate a person or thing within their normal spatial expanses in the zone of immediate ken, a very mild form of the phonetic and kinesic deixes may emphasize or clarify them. Often, this is a brief glance at, and a slight pointing of the chin toward, the referent.<sup>7</sup>

When *sana-sini* are used as deictics for referents beyond ken, slightly different phonetic and kinesic deixes may occur, most commonly with *sana*, "there." To indicate remoteness and otherness, the high level part of the pitch contour of the initial *-a-* in *sana* may be slightly higher than normal, and slightly longer than its usual virtual non-existence. The most commonly used deictic is a vague toss of the head toward the direction in which it is thought that the referent might be, usually to seaward for other lands, and to upstream-ward for strange phenomena. Thus do the thought world, the speech world, and the geographic world meet.

The foregoing has considered two types of Brunei Malay spatial deictics, that of the aqueous-centered *laut*, "sea", *ulu*, "upstream", *darat*, "land", and that of immediate ken and beyond ken, *sana-sini*, "there-here". Analysis of their outworkings in the geographic-linguistic context of one Temburong village has pointed to the existence of co-occurring phonetic and kinesic deixes which are used in certain contexts. Much more remains to be learned about spatial deixis in Brunei Malay.

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<sup>7</sup>Brunei Malays indicate directions or objects by pointing with the chin.

## FOREST CONVERSION AND THE ROLE OF SLASH-AND-BURN AGRICULTURE IN LOWLAND KALIMANTAN

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**Summary:** Secondary vegetation on fallowland associated with slash-and-burn agriculture was surveyed in lowland Kalimantan. Several plant communities were classified and their seral relations were tentatively compiled. Man's impact has played an important role in forest conversion. Slash-and-burn agriculture by recent migrants has destroyed the logged-over original vegetation and replaced it with degraded plant communities. Not only has biomass decreased and species conversion occurred, but a further problem has been the invasion of exotic immigrant plants and the establishment of *Imperata cylindrica* (alang-alang in Indonesian) grassland. Frequent wildfires disturb normal succession (orthosere) and probably expand grassland areas. Forest plantation in alang-alang grassland seems to offer the best prospect for fire prevention and land restoration.

### Introduction

Slash-and-burn agriculture<sup>1</sup> survives in Kalimantan. Some secondary forests regenerate almost the same succeeding forest after slash-and-burn use. Therefore, the operation seems acceptable. However, other forests degenerate to different, degraded communities after slash-and-burn farming. In these latter situations, the operation is considered unacceptable. Why do succession patterns differ as between these two cases?

One of the authors (Kiyono) worked for the Tropical Rain Forest Research Project at PUSREHUT (The Center for Reforestation and Rehabilitation Studies in The Tropical Rain Forest, Samarinda) from 1991 to 1994. During his stay in Kalimantan, the authors surveyed secondary vegetation in slash-and-burn fallowland and classified the fallow

<sup>1</sup>Slash-and-burn agriculture is here classified as swidden agriculture and shifting agriculture, after Whitten et al. (1987:577). Swidden agriculture, in its purest sense, is the repeated use of a patch of forest land for the cultivation of crops and is characterized by long fallow periods between short periods of production. Shifting agriculture, on the other hand, encroaches upon forested areas.

vegetation by dominant species (Fig. 1). Following this, seral relations among the plant communities observed were tentatively compiled.

### Communities sensitive to slash-and-burn agriculture

Figure 2 shows seral relations among plant communities in lowland Kalimantan. The vertical axis refers to biomass, represented by community height. Heights range from 50 m to 1 m. The horizontal axis represents the history of past slash-and-burn use. It ranges from 10 to 20 years to probably more than 300 years.

The original vegetation of lowland Kalimantan is Dipterocarp-*Eusideroxylon zwageri* (ulin in Indonesian) forest (Goldammer and Seibert 1990:27-28). However, this forest has been degraded by human activities such as agriculture, forestry, housing, mining, etc. The Indonesian Selective Felling System (Soerianegara and Kartawinata 1983) has been practiced extensively in the region's natural forests. Drought and forest-fires in 1982-1983 destroyed 3,100,000 ha in Kalimantan, mostly primary and logged-over forest (Whitmore 1989:207). *Macaranga gigantea*, a fast growing tree of the Euphorbiaceae family, appeared and closed canopy gaps in the disturbed forest. Typical stands are found at Bukit Soeharto Forest (Taman Hutan Raya Bukit Soeharto), East Kalimantan (A type in Fig. 1).

As a result of agricultural use, the secondary forest around Bukit Soeharto has been gradually cleared, both before and after the 1982-1983 forest-fires. After the first period of slash-and-burn cultivation (a community usually cultivates upland rice for a period of 1-2 years), *M. gigantea* rarely regenerates and small trees such as *Macaranga tanarius*, *M. trichocarpa*, *Mallotus paniculatus*, *Homalanthus populneus* appear (C type in Fig. 1). Each species forms a more or less pure colony. Because their seed trees are absent or scarce in dipterocarp-ulin and *M. gigantea* forests, they probably derive from seeds buried in the soil. Janzen and Vazquez-Yanes (1991:147) describe the seed soil bank as made up almost entirely of pioneer species with a high turnover rate, whose seed trees inhabited new light gaps or river banks, etc. After the second period of slash-and burn cultivation, most small trees rarely regenerate<sup>2</sup> and shrub species such as *Austroepatorium inulifolium* (rumput jepang in local Indonesian) and *Piper aduncum* (sirih-sirihan in Indonesian) dominate the fallow. Both are exotic plants from America.<sup>3</sup> *A. inulifolium* seed has hairs and is wind dispersed. Fruits of *P. aduncum* taste sweet and

<sup>2</sup>The mortality of trees when cut and burned for cultivation was experimentally investigated in and around Bukit Soeharto in June-November 1994. The mortality was 100% in *M. gigantea* (105 trees were tested), 98% in *M. paniculatus* (59 trees), and 0% in *S. wallichii* (28 trees) and *V. pinnata* (94 trees).

<sup>3</sup>Probably first planted in the Botanical Garden of Bogor (Kubur. Raya) 100 or more years ago and then spread to other regions. Deserted shifting cultivation sites in West Sumatra are rapidly overgrown with *A. inulifolium* and can be used again for shifting cultivation in 3-4 years (usually after 6-8 yr) (Stoujesdijk 1935). Distribution in East and South Kalimantan was surveyed (Kiyono 1994:68-69). These plants seem to be spreading along roadways and alter the early stages of forest succession after they have come to be dominant.

hot and so its seeds are dispersed by children and animals. Both plants are tolerant of felling and sprout from stumps after burning. It seems to be true that the more often slash-and-burn agriculture is repeated, the lower the succeeding stand height. Stand heights at five years are 10 m in the case of *M. gigantea* forest, but for small forest, 6 m, and for shrub communities, only 2 m. Because biomass decreases and the original plant species are replaced by exotic plants, slash-and-burn agriculture appears inappropriate under such conditions.

Small-tree forests and shrub communities are often converted to plantations of *Acacia mangium*, para rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*), Rambutan (*Nephelium lappaceum*), pepper (*Piper nigrum*) or vegetables after obtaining a harvest of upland rice. Some plantations have been abandoned<sup>4</sup> and reclaimed by *Imperata cylindrica* grassland. According to our survey around Bukit Soeharto, 20 out of 21 sites formerly cultivated in fruit or pepper were covered with *alang-alang* grass. Cattle breeding is practiced on a small scale and contributes to the appearance of shrub communities of *Melastoma marabathricum*. Even in *alang-alang* grassland, slash-and-burn agriculture is sometimes practiced using herbicides (for instance at transmigration villages near Muara Wahau, Balikpapan, and Pagatan in Fig. 1). This practice became common around Bukit Soeharto in the 1980s. Wildfires spread from slash-and-burn agriculture and other sources have also disturbed normal succession (orthosere) and probably contributed to the growth of grassland areas.

Such agricultural activities were carried out by recent migrants from Sulawesi, Java, and South Kalimantan along roadways in and around Bukit Soeharto (Kiyono and Hastaniah 1993:1), mostly between 1970 and 1990. The roads themselves attract migrants (Vayda and Sahur 1985:110). Slash-and-burn agriculture has been practiced in this area for only some 10 to 20 years<sup>5</sup>.

#### Communities insensitive to slash-and-burn agriculture

On the other hand, in areas of Dayak settlement, slash-and-burn agriculture has been practiced for a long time. Some Benuaq-Dayak farmers say that they first settled their village more than 300 years ago. Here two localities were selected for survey. One was Desa Mencimai (Fig. 1) located on the middle course of the Mahakam River. It takes one day by boat to reach Desa Mencimai from Samarinda. This community is a Benuaq-Dayak settlement. The other locality is near Tanah Grogot (Fig. 1) in Kabupaten Pasir, southern East Kalimantan, and is a Dusun-Dayak community.

<sup>4</sup>Fruit and spice tree (*Syzygium aromaticum*) plantations were abandoned in the course of suffering wildfires, mostly in 1982-83, and in and around Bukit Soeharto, pepper planting was greatly affected by fluctuations in white pepper prices in the late 1980s (Kiyono 1994:43-44).

<sup>5</sup>Forest conversion of the original Dipterocarp-*ulin* forest to small forest or shrub communities is also occurring in other regions (C type in Fig. 1): viz., along the over 10-year-old logging road near Pajai on the middle course of the Mahakam River, the roadway connecting Roa Kulu and Kota Bangun, and the several-year-old highway connecting Samarinda and Bontang.

*Schima wallichii* (*puspa* in Indonesian), *Peronema canescens* (*sungkai*), and *Vitex pinnata* (*laban*) are the dominant fallow species at both of these localities (B type in Fig. 1). All are pyrophytic trees and sprout from stumps after slash-and-burn farming. They grow to relatively tall stands during the fallow period. At Mencimai, these stands reach 10 m. after an average fallow period of 10 years. If the stands are long fallowed, their heights may increase to 30-40 m. In Dayak areas, succeeding vegetation after slash-and-burn agriculture is usually stable in floristic composition and in bioeconomics. The fertility potential of soil which is used for swidden agricultural recovers after the fallow period has passed 5 to 8 years (Ruhayat and Lahjie 1992:18). Although species of original forest have possibly been converted, the operation of slash-and-burn agriculture there seems to be acceptable for human societies.

The difference in succession patterns between these two series results from, firstly, differences in crop cycles. In the Dayak case, the fallow period at Mencimai is about 10 years, while in the case of recent migrants, it is only about 5 years. Secondly, and more important, in the former case, tree species which are tolerant of slash-and-burn dominate the fallowland. In the latter case, most trees are sensitive to felling and fire and so rarely survive slash-and-burn agriculture. Such forests rapidly degrade to shrub communities. *Paspas*, *sungkai*, and *laban* are, on the other hand, hardy trees selected consciously<sup>6</sup> or unconsciously after a long cycle of slash-and-burn use.

#### Conclusion

- (1) Man plays the most important role in forest conversion in lowland Kalimantan.
- (2) Slash-and-burn agriculture, as practiced by recent migrants, rapidly destroys the original vegetation and leaves behind degraded plant communities. Signs of degradation include biomass decrease, species conversion, and invasion of exotic immigrant plants.
- (3) While degraded vegetation is often converted to plantation, plantation abandonment triggers off the establishment of *alang-alang* grassland. Frequent wildfires disturb normal succession and act to expand grassland areas.
- (4) Forest plantation in *alang-alang* grassland seems to be the best method to prevent fires and restore the land to future use.

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<sup>6</sup>Although an accurate history is unknown, the people at Kab. Pasir have cultivated *sungkai* around their houses and in their farm sites for a long time. *Sungkai* has many uses. Houses are often covered with strips of *sungkai* bark. Pole-sized stems are used in the construction of houses, fences, palings, etc. Houses and fields are often hedged off with *sungkai* cuttings.

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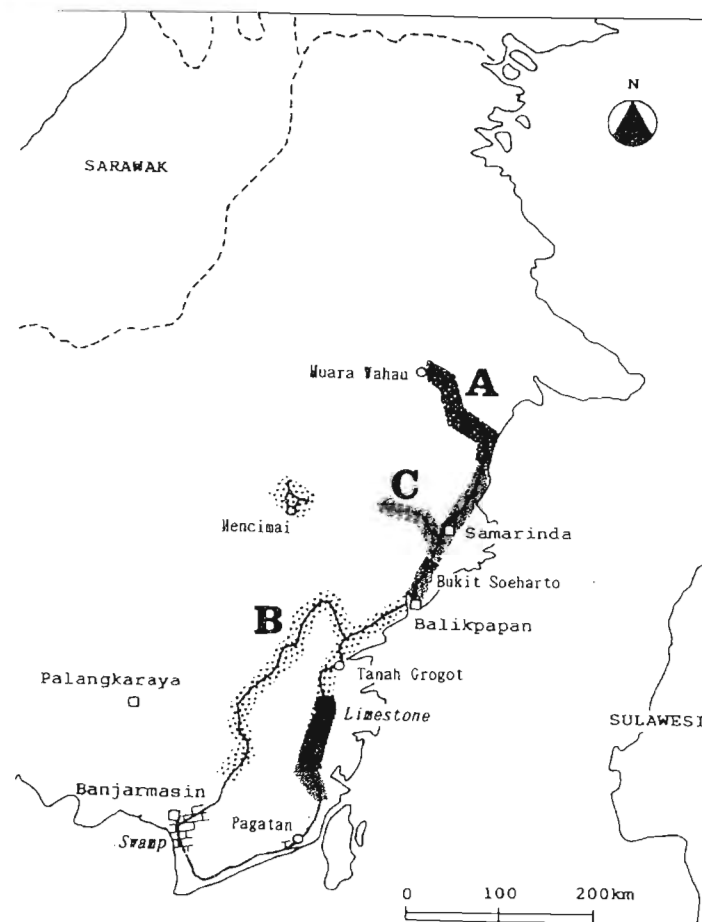


Figure 1. Vegetation Type Along Survey Route. A Type: Primary and the logged over forest<sup>1</sup>; B Type: Pyrophyte tree<sup>2</sup> forest; C Type: Small tree<sup>3</sup> forest and shrub<sup>4</sup> community. Grassland is found in places in B and C types.

Dominant species: 1Dipterocarp, *Macaranga gigantea*, etc. 2*Schima wallichii*, *Vitex pinnata*, *Peronema canescens*, etc.; 3*Macaranga tanarius*, *M. trichocarpa*, *Mallotus paniculatus*, *Homalanthus populneus*, etc.; and 4*Austroepatorium inulifolium*, *Sorghum halepense*, *Piper aduncum*, et al.

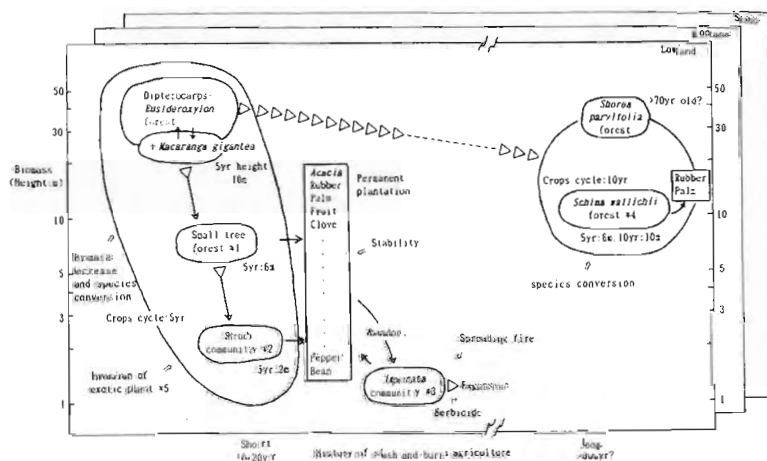


Figure 2. Seral relations of plant communities in lowland Kalimantan.

➤ Conversion, Δ Crops of slash-and-burn agriculture, ⇒ Problem, □ Plantation: \*1 *Macaranga tanarius*, *M. trichocarpa*, *Mallotus paniculatus*, *Homalanthus populneus*, etc., \*2 *Austroepatorium*, *Sorghum halepense*, *Piper aduncum*, etc. \*3 *Pteridium auilinum*, *Melastoma malabathricum*, etc. \*4 *Vitex pinnata*, *Peronema canescens*, etc. \*5 *Austroepatorium inulifolium*, *Piper aduncum*, etc

## BORNEO BIOMEDICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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This bibliography has been assembled with two goals in mind. One is to delineate what is and is not known about human biology, particularly health, in Borneo. The other is to encourage the compilation by research workers of base-line data on neglected biomedical topics. Sustained biomedical research can contribute both to an illumination of practical problems and to an historical/evolutionary perspective on health and culture.

The reports referenced here all deal with Borneo. Recent papers published in peer-reviewed journals and edited books accessible through computer databases or libraries were favored for inclusion. Dutch language materials were omitted, but many are cited in Rousseau (1988). An earlier medical-anthropology review provides background information, specifically on groups in the Malaysian state of Sabah (Appell, 1968). Rousseau's (1988) bibliography on Central Borneo contains pertinent references on health, demography, botany, and other topics. Another bibliography (Cotter, 1965) contains little biomedical information.

The selected reports provide an overview of the health status of ethnic Bornean groups, based largely on studies in East Malaysia. Yet a coherent picture is elusive, since the studies were done at different times and places with disparate aims. No single report provides a thorough health survey of any particular group, one in which all ages were surveyed, demographic features of the group were ascertained, and past and present medical conditions were noted. Moreover, even for so dire a disease as malaria, little longitudinal information is available, despite the fact that 70% of reported malarial cases in Malaysia in 1990 were from Sabah (Lim, 1992). Rather, an early malarial survey of Sawarak and Brunei (De Zulueta, 1956) provides reliable information only on age 2-9 yrs. at single time points in various areas, despite known seasonal and annual variation in malarial parasitemia. Recent malarial reports have not built systematically on this 1956 survey base.

The cited reports do highlight some long-standing health problems in Borneo. These include both childhood and adult malnutrition, filariasis, intestinal parasites, malaria, and some microbial infections. For example, Schwenk (1975) reports that the Iban once had "one of the highest" incidences in the world of tetanus neonatorum, or newborn lockjaw; this resulted from cutting the umbilical cord with an unsterilized

bamboo splinter and controlling bleeding of the cord with kitchen-fire ashes. The effect of these practices on infant morbidity and mortality has not been assessed.

Conditions on which little has been published include complications associated with pregnancy or childbirth (that is, female reproductive health), geriatrics, childhood communicable diseases, venereal diseases, and genetic disorders, to name a few. With notable exceptions, health-oriented demography has also been neglected, especially the many parameters of fertility and viability. Thus it is unclear which medical conditions are major causes of age-specific morbidity and mortality among Bornean ethnic groups now, or which were the major causes in the past.

The bibliography is divided into thirteen sections, the first covering general and miscellaneous topics. Later sections cover cancer, demography, dengue, filaraisis, genetics, goiter, leprosy, malaria, mental health, nutrition, tuberculosis, and typhus. These section headings are meant to provide entryways for both biologists and anthropologists to the Bornean biomedical literature. For many of the references cited, the name(s) of the ethnic group(s) studied and the location of the study site is noted.

Bornean ethnic groups have received vastly different amounts of attention in biological or biomedical journals. The only biomedical reports on the Kenyah are on nutrition and malaria, while at least eight biomedical topics have been studied on the Iban.

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121. Yap, S. B. A study of the prevalence of endemic goitre in an inland Iban community. *Med. J. Malaysia* 40 (3):243-246, 1985.

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### VIII. Leprosy

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125. Chen, P. C. Bringing leprosy into the open. *World Hlth. Forum* 9:323-326, 1988b. (On Iban, Bidayuh, Kayan)

### IX. Malaria

126. Bakir Abisudjak, et al. Field survey of malaria in South Kalimantan, Indonesia; applicability and validity of inhabitants' malaria history to primary health care. In *Health Ecological Survey in Indonesia in 1983/1984*. Part 1. S. Suzuki and O. Soemarwoto, eds. Tanaka Publ. Co., Shibukawa, Japan, 1985. Pp. 125-133.

127. Chang, M. S., et al. Malaria and filariasis transmission in a village/forest setting in Baram District, Sarawak, Malaysia. *J. Tropical Med. and Hyg.* 98(3):192-198, 1995. (On Punan and others)

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133. Foong Kin. Human behavioral factors in malaria transmission and control among the Muruts of Sabah. University of Malaya, Department of Social Medicine, Ph. D. dissertation, 1991. Kuala Lumpur.

134. Hii, J. L., et al. Transmission dynamics and estimates of malaria vectorial capacity for *Anopheles balabacensis* and *An. flavirostris* on Banggi island, Sabah. *Ann. Trop. Med. Parasit.* 82 (1):91-101, 1988.

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136. Kardono, L. B., et al. Cytotoxic and antimalarial constituents of the roots of *Eurycoma longifolia*. *J. Natural Products* 54 (4): 1360-1367, 1991. (On traditional remedies from the Borneo-and-viceinity tree pasakbumi/tonkat ali)

137. Khoo, K-K. The treatment of malaria in glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase deficient patients in Sabah. *Ann. Trop. Med. Parasit.* 75:591-595, 1981. (On Kadazans, Bajau, Chinese)

138. Leake, D. W., and J. L. Hii. Observations of human behavior influencing the use of insecticide-impregnated bednets to control malaria in Sabah. *Asia-Pacific J. Pub. Hlth.* 7(2):92-97, 1994.

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### X. Mental Health

143. Doolittle, A. A. *Latah* behavior by females among the Rungus of Sabah. In *Female and Male in Borneo*. V. H. Sutlive, Jr., ed. Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, Vol. 1. Borneo Research Council, Williamsburg VA, 1991. Pp. 121-152.

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#### XI. Nutrition

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151. Anderson, A. Subsistence of the Penan in the Mulu area of Sarawak. *Sarawak Gazette*, 30 Nov.:204-216, 1979.

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153. Benster, R., and J. Stanton. Primary health care for the children of Sarawak. *Brit. J. Hosp. Med.* 42 (6):488-490, 1989. (On nutrition in Iban and Kayan groups)

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159. Hong, E. *Natives of Sarawak*. Institut Masyarakat, Penang, Malaysia, 1987.

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161. Khor, G. Malnutrition among Semai children. *Med. J. Malaysia* 43:318-326, 1988. (Note: Found Sabah and Semai children similarly malnourished.)

162. Kiyu, A., et al. Nutritional status of children in rural Sarawak. *Southeast Asian J. Trop. Med. Pub. Hlth.* 22 (2):211-215, 1991. (On 41 villages)

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167. Strickland, S. S., and S. J. Ulijaszek. Resting energy expenditure and body composition in rural Sarawakian adults. *Amer. J. Hum. Biol.* 5:341-350, 1993b.

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#### XII. Tuberculosis

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(See also ref. 124)

#### XIII. Typhus

173. Taylor, A. C., et al. A serological survey of scrub, tick, and endemic typhus in Sabah. *Southeast Asian J. Trop. Med. Pub. Hlth.* 17 (4):613-619, 1986. (On Tidong, Dusun, Murut, Iban)

THESES ON SARAWAK AND SABAH PRESENTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA, WITH SOME GENERAL REMARKS.

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Since the formation of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Malaya, in 1970, its students have produced many academic exercises (for the B.A. degree). A list of these exercises was compiled by me and published as an Appendix in *Dimensions of Tradition and Development in Malaysia* (Rokiah Talib and Tan Chee Beng, 1995). This list included among its headings both "Sabah" and "Sarawak Studies". The list below is based on this compilation but has been updated to include more recent exercises submitted from the 1992/93 academic session to the present (1995/96). Following this list, I make some general remarks concerning the nature of these studies and discuss briefly other work done at the University of Malaya by advanced degree candidates and others relating to Malaysian Borneo.

#### Academic Exercises on Sabah

Abdul Raim Tapah

Penyertaan Politik Di kalangan Penanam-penanam Padi: Satu Kes Kajian di Mukim Ranay, Kota Marudu, Sabah (Political Participation of Padi Farmers: A Case Study in Mukim Ranay, Kota Marudu, Sabah). 1985/86

Benedict Asmat

Perubahan Sosio-ekonomi dan Identiti Masyarakat Kadazan Kampung Telupid, Sabah (Socio-economic Change and Identity of the Kampung Telupid Kadazan, Sabah). 1990/91

Billy Yumbod

Kemiskinan Di Kalangan Petan Kadazan: Satu Kajian Kes di Kg. Sunsuran, Tambunan, Sabah (Poverty among the Petan Kadazan: A Case Study in Kg. Sunsuran, Tambunan, Sabah). 1980/81

Dayangku Fatimah Hj. Pg. Jalaluddin, Hjh.

Budaya Politik di Kalangan Bumiputera Islam Luar Bandar: Kajian Kes di Mukim Sitompok, Kuala Penyu, Sabah (Political Culture among Rural Muslim Bumiputera: A Case Study in Mukim Sitompok, Kuala Penyu, Sabah). 1994/95

Frederick Y. Subah

Kadazan Kinship and Marriage in Tambunan, Sabah, Malaysia. 1973/74

Hamdan Mohammed

The Persiangan Muruts: A Brief Study. 1973/74

Hamiddun Udin

Masyarakat Kadazan/Dusun Di Daerah Ranau: Kajian Identiti Dan Interaksi Antara Agama (The Kadazan/Dusun of Ranau District: A Study on Identity and Inter-religious Interaction). 1991/92

Hassan bin Ahmad

Latarbelakang Penghuni Sekolah Akhlak: Satu Kajian Kes di Sekolah Tunas Bakti, Asrama Bukit Kapak, Inanam, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah (Backgrounds of the Inmates at an Approved School: A Case Study of Sekolah Tunas Bakti, Bukit Kapak Hostel, Inanam, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah). 1986/87

Helen Luin Richard

The Putatan Kadazans in a Transitional Period & Their Changes from Their Simple to a More Complex Society: A Case Study of the Effects of the Resultant Changes. 1975/76

Jainisa Nurrajin

Kinship and Marriage among the Bajaus (Sama) in Kota Belud, Sabah: A Study of Bajau (Sama) Customs on Kinship, Transmission of Property, Marriage and Divorce. 1976/77

Jennith Mahibol

Satu Kajian Kes Identiti Etnik Sino-Kadazan di Pekan Papar (A Case Study on the Sino-Kadazan Ethnic Identity in Papar Town). 1993/94

Kelana bin Jaman

Penghijrahan Orang-orang Filipina ke Sabah: Satu Kajian Sosio-ekonomi di Sandakan (The Migration of Filipinos to Sabah: A Socio-economic Study in Sandakan). 1993/94

Low, Peck Ee (Jessica)

Perubahan Pucuk Pimpinan Di Sabah (Leadership Change in Sabah). 1989/90

Marcus Shapi

The Economy of the Tagal Murut of Tenom, Sabah (East Malaysia): An Ethnographic Study. 1988/89

Martha Anthony Bongkok

Beberapa Masalah Dalam Pengeluaran Ekonomi Pekebun-Pekebun Kecil: Satu Kajian Kes Kampung Malangang Baru Kiulu, Tuaran, Sabah (Some Problems in the Economic Production of Small-holders: A Case Study in Kampung Malangang Baru Kiulu, Tuaran, Sabah). 1980/81

Obidan Ontoi

Ekologi Dan Taraf Pemakanan Penduduk Luar Bandar: Kajian Kes di Kampung Roun dan Kampung Labuaya, Tuaran, Sabah (Ecology and Rural People's Standard of Food: A Case Study in Kampung Roun and Kampung Labuaya, Tuaran, Sabah). 1979/80

Paul Porodong

Sigah: Kajian Satu Aspek Kebudayaan Kebendaan di Sabah (Sigah: Study on an Aspect of Material Culture in Sabah). 1991/92

- S. Abdullah Hassan  
Kepercayaan-Kepercayaan Dan Ilmu Dukun di Kelompok Taou-Sug (Suluk), Daerah Sandakan (Beliefs and Spiritual Healing Among the Taou Sug (Suluk), Sandakan District). 1976/77
- Siti Aishah Mohd Asri  
Community Development Programme in the Sabah Community: An Exploratory Study. 1976/77
- Sukartin Wakiman  
Pertubuhan Belia Kebangsaan Sabah (SANYA) [Sabah National Youth Association (SANYA)]. 1976/77
- Sulaiman Mohamed Asri  
Sumbangan SANYA Di Dalam Proses Pembangunan Sosio-Ekonomi, Negeri Sabah (SANYA's Contribution in the Process of Socio-Economic Development, Sabah). 1984/85
- Zulkiflie Hassan  
Kegiatan Sosio-ekonomi Pendetang Filipina Di Sabah: Satu Kajian Kes di Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah (Socio-economic Activities of the Philippines Immigrants in Sabah: A Case Study in Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah). 1993/94

#### Academic Exercises on Sarawak

- Affendy Morni  
Sistem Perubatan Tradisional di Kalangan Masyarakat Melayu Sarawak (Traditional Medical System among the Malays of Sarawak). 1989/90
- Barnabas Ak Ahjam  
Pembangunan dan Taraf Sosioekonomi Masyarakat Bidayuh Sadong: Kajian Kes di Kampung Gahat Mawang (Development and the Socio-economic status of the Sadong Bidayuh: A Case Study in Gahat Mawang Village). 1995/96.
- Chan, Chok Khuang (Henry)  
Sambutan Orang Kayan Terhadap Ugama Kristian: Satu Kajian Antropologi di Rumah Kahai, Belaga, Sarawak (Kayan Response to Christianity: An Anthropological Study at Rumah Kahai, Belaga, Sarawak). 1988/89
- Chieng, Leh Bing  
A Chinese Primary School in a Bi-ethnic Bazaar: A Study of Education and Academic Achievement in Song Bazaar, Sarawak. 1994/95
- Chong, Chen Chen  
Wanita Di Ulu: Satu Kajian Kes di Long Bulan (Kenyah Uma Bakah), Daerah Belaga, Sarawak (Women in the Ulu: A Case Study at Long Bulan (Kenyah Uma Bakah), Belaga District, Sarawak). 1995/96
- Collin Lo @ Collina Lo  
Kajian Sosio-ekonomi dan Identiti Masyarakat Iban: Satu Kajian Kes Ke Atas Rumah Panjang Bebanggai Kanan di Daerah Betong, Bahagian Sri Aman, Sarawak (The Socio-economic Dimension and Identity of the Iban: A Case Study

- on Bebanggai Kanan Longhouse in Betong District, Sri Aman Division, Sarawak). 1993/94
- Doris Bala Lian  
Batu Lawih: The Kelabit Heritage. 1987/88
- Dzulkornain Masron  
Hubungan Etnik Di Kalangan Masyarakat Iban di Empangan Kabong, Sri Aman, Sarawak (Ethnic Relations and the Iban at Empangan Kabong, Sri Aman, Sarawak). 1990/91
- Foo, Choon Fen  
Kebajikan Wargatua: Satu Kajian Rumah-rumah Orang Tua di Kuching, Sarawak (Old Folks' Welfare: A Study of Old Folks' Homes in Kuching, Sarawak). 1993/94
- Francis Gider Marin  
Why Sarawak Joined Malaysia? 1975/76
- Gas bin Kadiron  
Kemiskinan Di Kalangan Penduduk Perkampungan Nelayan Di Kampung Buntal, Kuching, Sarawak: Satu Analisis Mengenai Teori Kemiskinan Dan Taraf Sosio-ekonomi Nelayan (Poverty Among the Fishermen Community at Kampung Buntal, Kuching, Sarawak: An Analysis of Theory of Poverty and the socio-economic Status of Fishermen). 1985/86
- Josephine Yaman  
Socio-cultural Change Among the Penans of Kampung Tanjung Belipat, Batu Niah: A Study Conducted in Sarawak. 1978/79
- Julayhi Tani  
Sosio-Ekonomi Komuniti Kadayan: Satu Kajian Kes Di Kampung Setap Situti, Sarawak (Socio-economic Study of the Kadayan: A Case Study in Kampung Satap Situti, Sarawak). 1981/82.
- Khadijah binti Hipni  
Proses Sosialisasi Membentuk Identiti Melayu: Kajian di Kampung Stunggang Melayu, Lundu (Socialization and the Formation of Malay Identity: A Study in Stunggang Melayu Village, Lundu). 1995/96
- Lim, Mei Ling (Patricia)  
Institusi Kebajikan Warga Tua: Satu Kes Kajian di Rumah Sri Kenangan Sibul dan Rumah Rawatan Sibul Benevolent Society, Sibul, Sarawak (Old Folk's Homes: A Case Study of Sibul Sri Kenangan Home and Sibul Benevolent Society in Sibul, Sarawak). 1993/94
- Masmery bte Sirat  
Kampung Budaya Sarawak: Proses Pemeliharaan Kebudayaan Etnik (Sarawak Cultural Village: The Process of Promoting Ethnic Cultures). 1995/96
- Norrha binti Abd Rahim  
Warga Tua: Satu Kajian Mengenai Kehidupan Warga Tua di Rumah Orang Tua Muslim Tidak Berwaris dan Yang Tinggal Dalam Lingkungan Keluarga (Old Folks: A Study of the Life of the Old Folks at a Muslim Old Folks' Home and Old Folks living at Home), 1995/96

Paimon Fashar

Kajian Sosio-ekonomi Masyarakat Jawa di Sarawak: Satu Kajian Kes di Kampung Sri Arjuna (Socio-economic Studies on the Javanese of Sarawak: A Case Study in Kampung Sri Arjuna). 1993/94

Pan, Hai Lung

Identiti dan Hubungan Etnik di Kalangan Komuniti Melanau: Satu Kajian di Kampung Petanak, Mukah, Sarawak (Identity and Ethnic Relations of the Melanau Community: A Study in Petanak Village, Mukah, Sarawak). 1993/94

Patrick Anak Mandon

Migrasi Tenaga Kerja di Kalangan Suku Kaum Bidayuh dari Sarawak ke Semenanjung Malaysia: Satu Kajian Kes di Sekitar Lembah Kelang (Labor Migration among the Bidayuh from Sarawak to Peninsular Malaysia: A Case Study in the Kelang Valley) 1995/96

Raki Sia

The Lun Bawang of Lawas District: Social Change and Ethnic Identity. 1989/90

Satimah Syed Abdullah

Struktur Sosial Dan Ekonomi Di Bahagian Pertama Sarawak (Socio-economic Structure in the First Division of Sarawak). 1974/75

Sikim Gandek

Orang Bidayuh Dalam Politik Sarawak: Satu Kajian Kes Di Kampung Sapit, Padawan, Kuching, Sarawak (Bidayuh in Sarawak Politics: A Case Study in Kampung Sapit, Padawan, Kuching, Sarawak). 1991/92

Sio, Ming Chuan

A Case Study of A Rubber and Pepper Reprocessing Factory in East Malaysia. 1980/81

Suffian bin A. Rahim

Customary Lands Rights of the Ibans in Sarawak With Special Reference To the Second Division. 1973/74

Sulaiman Sahari

Satu Kajian Exploratory Ke Atas Komuniti Nelayan Di Kampung Jepak, Daerah Bintulu, Sarawak (An Exploratory Study on the Fishermen Community in Kampung Jepak, Bintulu District, Sarawak). 1979/80

Sylvester Michel Mijel

Politik di Kawasan Undi N.17, Engkilili, Sarawak (Politics in N.17 Constituency, Engkilili, Sarawak). 1989/90

Yasir Abdul Rahman

The Mukah Melanau: A Cultural Case Study. 1979/80

### Some General Remarks

As can be seen, quite a number of academic exercises have been written on Sarawak and Sabah, especially in recent years. A number of them are very good. The quality depends on the initiative of the student as well as the effort of the supervisor. A well-supervised a.e. by a diligent student is generally of good quality and very informative, especially if it is written by a student on his or her own community. Such

an exercise may provide a perspective which is not easily gained by an outside investigator doing short-term research. An a.e. is compulsory for final-year undergraduate students in the Department. They do their field research in the long vacation preceding the beginning of their final academic year, which begins in July, that is, for one to two months between the end of April and the end of June. Writing begins in July while the student attends courses (for students majoring in Anthropology and Sociology, the a.e. is equivalent to two courses, but for those doing a double major, it is equivalent to only one course). Students are expected to submit the a.e. by November or December. Considering the short time allowed for writing, done while students attend lectures and write other essays, I have been quite impressed by the performance of most students who have come under my supervision. A draft of the a.e. is usually submitted to the supervisor for comments and, if necessary, students make final revisions before submitting their finished work.

Of course not all a.e.s are good. Some knowledge of a student's background is useful. For example, Hamiddun Udin is himself a Muslim Kadazan/Dusun and his a.e. is very informative on questions of identity and interaction between Muslim and Christian Kadazan/Dusun in Ranau. Jennith Mahibol is herself a Sino-Kadazan and her a.e. is enlightening on the experience of the Sino-Kadazan. Paul Porodong, a Rungus, wrote on the *sigah* (head-gear of the Kadazan, Rungus, etc.) at my encouragement after the *sigah* became a major issue in the national election. It was distorted by the press and politicians to cause Muslim distrust of a major opposition Muslim leader after he campaigned in Sabah wearing the *sigah*. (see Tan 1991).

In Sarawak, Collina Lo studied an Iban community in the Betong district. It was quite an experience for her as she had to rely on her uncle (MB) whose wife was from Betong to gain the trust and cooperation of those she was studying, as they were at first not co-operative because of her Sebuyau origin, the Sebuyau and Betong Iban having had a history of past conflict. Dzulkornain Masron, a Malay from Kabong, studied the Iban of the region with whom he was already familiar. It is an informative a.e. on ethnic relations. He was a good field researcher who was clearly well-liked by the Iban. Similarly, Pan Hai Lung, a Chinese from Sibu, already had some familiarity with Mukah before he began his research. The research allowed him to learn more about the Melanau who accepted him fully. Like Dzulkornain with the Iban, Pan Hai Lung interacted very well with his informants, including felling sago palms and eating sago worms. His a.e. is very informative on the present-day Melanau of Kampung Petanak. Raki Sia, a Lun Bawang, writes informatively about social change and ethnic identity among the Lun Bawang in Lawas. Paimon Fashar is of Javanese origin and he writes about his own community at Kampung Sri Arjuna, Kuching, where the villagers all speak Javanese and are proud of their Javanese identity. A number of students in the village like Paimon, attended Chinese primary school, and Paimon himself speaks Mandarin fluently.

I mention here some examples of the kinds of studies done by students who were supervised directly or indirectly by me, as I know their work best. In addition, I should like to mention Doris Bala Lian's a.e. which I have found useful in my own research. Her writing provides a comprehensive description by a Kelabit on Batu Lawih, a



culturally significant mountain which Kelabit community leaders have sought to preserve (cf. Tan 1994: 119). For those who are interested, Sylvester Michel Mijel's a.e. offers an interesting account of patron-client politics in Engkilili, Sarawak, by an Iban from the area. For those who are interested in local politics in an interior Bidayuh area in Padawan, Sikim Gandek, who is from the area, provides a local Bidayuh perspective on development and identity.

In the Sarawak section above, I have included a 1995/96 a.e. by Chong Chen Chen on the women in Long Bulan, a Uma Bakah Kenyah community in interior Balui. This is a significant study, considering the lack of studies on women in the Belaga District, an area that will be affected by the Bakun hydro-electric project. Chong Chen Chen's study was made possible under the Community Studies programme in Bakun HEP Area Project (1995) coordinated by me, and sponsored by the Sarawak State Planning Unit. A Chinese from Sibu, Chong Chen Chen had never before even visited Kapit, and the research was a real experience for her. Partly due to my earlier contacts with individuals in the community, she was well accepted and this gave her access to much ethnographic information. In addition to Chong Chen Chen's a.e., there are a number of other 1995/96 a.e. on Sarawak. Two of them are on the Bidayuh (Barnabas ak Ahjam and Adrian Anderson Maseh), one on the Malays of Lundu (Khadijah Hipni), one on a Muslim old folks' home in Kuching (Norraha Abd. Rahim), and one on the Sarawak Cultural Village (Masmery Sirat). Of these, the a.e. of Barnabas and Patrick Mandon are especially important. Despite ill-health, Barnabas managed to write a useful study of socio-economic life among rural Bidayuh in a region previously studied by William Geddes, while Patrick Mandon's a.e. is the first study of Bidayuh migrants to Peninsular Malaysia. This latter work has implications for rural development in Sarawak as Patrick shows that Bidayuh participants in SALCRA oil-palm estates will readily leave for better paid work elsewhere, including Peninsular Malaysia.

There is only one post-graduate thesis on East Malaysia from the Department. This is the M.A. thesis by Hew Cheng Sim, viz. "Agrarian Change and Gender Relations: Rural Iban Women at Batang Ai Resettlement Scheme, Sarawak" (1990). Ms Hew, who is now a lecturer at the Universiti Sarawak Malaysia (UNIMAS), has since written a number of papers on this topic, including a recent one published in the Department's twenty-year anniversary book (see Hew 1995). Thus the Department has contributed to the pioneer study of gender issues in Sarawak through the theses of Ms Hew and Ms Chong Chen Chen. I should like to report two other post-graduate theses which are indirectly linked to the Department. Chan Chok Khuang was an undergraduate student of the Department and wrote his a.e. on Christianity and the Kayan of Rumah Kahai, Belaga (1988/89). His M.A. thesis entitled "Historical Development of the Belaga Kayans and their Land Tenure System: A Case Study of a Kayan Community in Sarawak" (1991) was submitted to the Institute of Advanced Studies, University of Malaya. At present Mr. Chan is a Ph.D. candidate at the same institute and is writing his thesis on Punan Vuhang (Punan Busang), a little known group in interior Belaga.

There is a Ph.D. thesis submitted by Ms Foong Kin to the Department of Social Medicine, University of Malaya. It is indirectly linked to the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in that it was co-supervised by me and Dr. K. Chandra

Shekhar of the Medical Faculty. The thesis is entitled "Human Behavioural Factors in Malaria Transmission and Control among the Muruts of Sabah" (1991).

Theses from the Department of Anthropology and Sociology may be read at the Department's reading room with the permission of the Head of the Department. They are also available at the university's main library. For a full list of other a.e. titles, including works on the Orang Asli, see Tan (1995). Finally, it should be added that there are also a.e.s and theses on Sarawak and Sabah submitted to other departments of the Universiti Malaya, including the History Department, Malay Studies Department, Faculty of Economics and Public Administration, and the Islamic Academy.

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## BACK TO SQUARE ONE: THE 1995 GENERAL ELECTION IN SABAH AND SARAWAK

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Malaysia held a general election on 24-25 April 1995 for the Federal Parliament and 11 State Assemblies. The ruling Barisan Nasional (BN or National Front) coalition government under Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad was reelected with a landslide victory—taking 162 out of 192 parliamentary seats. The BN also took control of 10 of the 11 state legislatures. In the Eastern Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak, only parliamentary elections were held as both states had held fairly recent state elections—Sabah in February 1994 and Sarawak in September 1991.

The peninsular campaign and results have been covered in some detail elsewhere and this paper will concentrate on East Malaysia. The first section will deal with Sarawak, and the second, Sabah.

### Section I: Sarawak

In terms of physical size, Sarawak is the largest state in the federation. Sarawak's population of 2 million is roughly made up as follows: Ibans 30 percent, Chinese 30, Malay/Melanau 25, Bidayuh 8, other indigenous peoples (Orang Ulu such as the Kayan, Kenyah, etc.) 7. The Iban, Bidayuh and other indigenous peoples are also collectively called 'Dayak'. Since 1970, Sarawak has been ruled by the Sarawak BN coalition. From 1970 to 1983, the Sarawak BN coalition consisted of three parties: Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB), Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) and the Sarawak National Party (SNAP); collectively called BN3.<sup>1</sup> From 1983 until 1987, Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS), a breakaway party from SNAP, was the fourth coalition member of the Sarawak BN. In March 1987, PBDS and Persatuan Rakyat Malaysia Sarawak (Permas) forged an alliance, 'Kumpulan Maju', to try to topple the incumbent chief minister, Abdul Taib Mahmud. Permas was essentially created by PBB dissidents and led by former PBB president and Sarawak chief minister, Abdul Rahman Yakub. A snap state election was

\*I would like to thank Lim Phay Ing, Margaret Clark and Carol Legge for their assistance with this paper.

<sup>1</sup>The early political history of Sarawak is covered in M.B. Leigh, *Rising Moon: political change in Sarawak* (Sydney: SUP, 1974); R.S. Milne & K.J. Ratnam, *Malaysia: New states in a new nation: Political development of Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia* (London: Frank Crass 1974) and M. C. Roff, *Politics of Belonging* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974).

held in April 1987 and Sarawak BN survived by winning 25 of the 48-seats in the Council Negri, Sarawak's state legislature. From then on, PBDS was in a peculiar position in the Malaysian party system: it was in opposition at the state level but a full member of the BN at the federal level. In mid-1994, PBDS was readmitted into the Sarawak BN (more later). Although PBDS and Permas failed to unseat BN3, PBDS won 15 Dayak-majority constituencies by campaigning on ethnic nationalism—"Dayakism". Dayakism was essentially a call for Dayak political unity under PBDS, an exclusive Dayak-based party, so that a Dayak could become the chief minister.

Broadly speaking, PBB represents the Malay/Melanau community, SUPP the Chinese, SNAP and PBDS the Dayak. However, substantial Dayak membership and support is found in PBB and to a lesser extent, in SUPP. The only other party worth noting is the Sarawak Democratic Action Party (DAP), an offshoot of the Peninsular-based opposition party. Like its Peninsular counterpart, Sarawak DAP is mainly supported by the Chinese community and has limited appeal outside the main urban centres where the Chinese community is concentrated.

The principal characteristic of Sarawak politics since the 1970s has been the constant manoeuvring between the three main politically significant groupings: the Malay/Melanau, the Chinese and the Dayak. The Malay/Melanau successfully engaged the Chinese against the Dayak and vice-versa, thus ensuring PBB's central role and continuity of ethnic politics. Within these three groups, the elite are the Melanau-Muslims and the Foochow Chinese. Both Rahman Yakub and Taib Mahmud are Melanau-Muslim and that community has dominated the political process since 1970. The Foochow Chinese are generally acknowledged to be most dynamic segment of the business community in Sarawak, controlling slightly more than half of all Chinese commercial enterprises. The politics of the state have also been driven by patron-clientism and patronage, specifically the awarding of timber concessions as rewards or bribes, to those close to power.<sup>2</sup> This use of the state's timber resource has been so rampant that even the chief minister has referred to Sarawak politics as 'politics of timber'.<sup>3</sup> Generally, voting since 1970 has been along ethnic lines, with PBB winning most of the Malay/Melanau-majority seats; SUPP the Chinese seats; and SNAP and PBDS the Dayak-majority seats.<sup>4</sup>

### The 1990 General Election

The last general election was held in October 1990. Then, the BN took 127 out of the 180 parliamentary seats, thus securing the all-important two-thirds majority, despite a strong opposition under Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, a former vice-president of UMNO and Finance Minister in Mahathir's cabinet. Razaleigh established the Semangat 46

<sup>2</sup>This observation was made as early as in the late 1960s. See R.S. Milne, 1973. 'Patrons, Clients and ethnicity: The case of Sarawak and Sabah in Malaysia' *Asian Survey*, Vol. XIII, No. 10, (October), pp.891-908.

<sup>3</sup>Taib Mahmud's description during the 1987 crisis.

<sup>4</sup>The only exception was in 1974 when SNAP, then in opposition, was able to win some non-Dayak seats. SNAP joined the SBN in 1976.

(Spirit of 46 or S46) party and created an alternative multi-racial coalition, Gagasan Rakyat Malaysia (People's Might), with two other main opposition parties: the Chinese-based Democratic Action Party (DAP) and the Malay-based Parti Islam Malaysia (PAS). There was much excitement at the possibility that Gagasan could win enough seats to create a genuine two-party system in Malaysian politics, long dominated by the BN.

In Sarawak, Gagasan's 'two party system' challenge did not create much excitement as S46 and PAS had no branches in Sarawak. In Sarawak, the election was fought basically on local issues. The only real opposition to the Sarawak BN came from the Sarawak DAP (which was in any case mainly after the Chinese-based urban SUPP seats) and PBDS. The other problem faced by Sarawak BN was 'Independent' candidates, who in reality were secretly (or openly) backed by one of the Sarawak BN coalition parties. As mentioned earlier, PBDS was an opposition party at state level. Officially, the BN seat allocations for Sarawak's 27 parliamentary constituencies were: PBB 10; SUPP 8; SNAP 5 and PBDS 4. However, PBDS openly backed an additional four candidates as 'Independents' in Serian, Selangau, Baram and Hulu Rajang (formerly Ulu Rajang) constituencies. In Serian and Selangau, the official BN candidates came from SUPP, in Baram and Hulu Rajang from SNAP. Additionally, PBB was accused of backing an 'Independent' in the Kanowit constituency, the seat held by Leo Moggie, PBDS's leader.<sup>5</sup> A SNAP vice-president also resigned just before nomination day to contest the official BN-PBDS candidate in Julau.<sup>6</sup>

Dayakism and local factors also played an important role in the victories of the four PBDS-backed 'Independents'. For instance, in the Serian constituency, the PBDS-backed candidate, Richard Riot, had strong grassroots support and was widely believed to have the ability to win the seat on his own, with or without covert PBDS support. In the Baram seat the PBDS-backed candidate, Harrison Ngau, was well-liked in this predominantly Dayak electorate because of his anti-logging campaigns. Ngau was also detained under the Internal Security Act (ISA) in 1987 for his anti-logging activities, and this created a reservoir of sympathy votes. The four PBDS-backed Independents were also the only four successful Independents nation-wide in the 1990 general election.

The other two successful opposition candidates, both from the Sarawak DAP, won the constituencies of Bandar Kuching and Lanang. DAP's win in Bandar Kuching was expected, given that its candidate, Sim Kwang Yang, had held the seat since 1982. However what was not expected was the wide margin of victory - DAP won by 3,184 votes. Although Sim, better known by his acronym SKY, was a popular figure ('never fear, SKY is here'), he faced a SUPP heavyweight in the person of SUPP party chairman, Stephen K.T. Yong. Yong at that time was also a federal cabinet minister. Despite this, Sim decisively defeated Yong in a straight fight. What had happened was that Yong's candidature was not supported by at least one of Kuching's three SUPP branches. Several other factions were also against Yong's candidature with the result that there was poor co-ordination in Yong's campaign as well as elements of sabotage by

<sup>5</sup>See *Borneo Post* 16 October 1990

<sup>6</sup>He lost and was subsequently re-admitted to SNAP.

some SUPP members. In the new parliamentary constituency of Lanang, the DAP candidate, Jason Wong Sing Nam, mounted a skilful campaign against the incumbent, SUPP's Tieu Sung Seng. Jason Wong, who had established himself as a 'clean and young' politician, used Tieu's age and health as the key issues. Tieu, who suffered from ill health and could not actively campaign in person, was described as 'old' and 'incapable of working for the people'.<sup>7</sup> Sibiu town's air pollution problem received considerable attention from DAP, as SUPP was in charge of the federal ministry responsible for environmental matters.<sup>8</sup> These issues were enough to ensure Jason Wong's victory, albeit by a margin of 3,973 votes, small for this constituency.

The results of the 1990 parliamentary election in Sarawak were: Sarawak BN 21 seats (PBB 10, SUPP 4, SNAP 3, PBDS 4), DAP 2 and 'Independents' 4. PBB and PBDS won all their allocated seats. SNAP lost two, while SUPP lost four. Given the four 'Independents', PBDS effectively had eight MPs, and the Sarawak BN's net loss was just two seats. In other words, 'Dayakism' was still a force to be reckoned with.

#### The 1991 State Election and Its Aftermath

A state election was held slightly less than a year after the October 1990 parliamentary election. Before this, the Council Negri was enlarged to 56 seats. On the opposition side, PBDS fielded 34 candidates, including seven Chinese. DAP fielded 18 candidates. Permas fielded 11 (all in Malay/Melanau areas), Parti Negara 28 candidates, and there were also 14 Independents. Despite this large number of candidates, the real fight was always between PBDS and the BN3 and between the DAP and SUPP. Permas was widely seen as spent-force when the party's founder and main financial patron, Abdul Rahman Yakub, ditched it, while Parti Negara was widely seen as a 'mosquito' party.

In the Dayak-majority constituencies, PBDS used many of the same issues it used successfully in 1987 and 1990 to entice the Dayak voters. However, the PBDS strategy failed when its leader, Leo Moggie, did not stand as a candidate, thus undermining 'Dayakism' - ('how could PBDS be serious about replacing BN3 as the state government when its leader was not even in the race?')

The DAP, too, used many of the same issues against the SUPP. The entire DAP campaign was based on getting the voters 'to break the egg'; the 'egg' in Mandarin denotes a 'zero' and this metaphor was meant to prompt the Chinese voters to elect at least one DAP legislator, thus symbolically 'breaking the egg'. Since its establishment in Sarawak in 1978, the DAP has never been able to win a single state constituency despite winning regularly at the parliamentary level. This state of affairs can be explained by the fact that Sarawak Chinese cast their vote differently at different electoral levels: at the state level, they vote for SUPP; at the parliamentary level, the same voters will happily vote for DAP. It is commonly referred to as 'wanting it both ways', i.e., to be represented in government as well as in the opposition. The Chinese understand that

<sup>7</sup>Interview with an SUPP official, who was a co-ordinator on Tieu's campaign team. See also *Hua Daily News*, 31 October 1990

<sup>8</sup>The federal minister was Stephen K. T. Yong.

economic opportunities and other resource allocations are mainly decided at the state level, in this case, by the Sarawak Barisan Nasional in Kuching. Thus, voting for the SUPP is widely seen as the only rational choice, for SUPP, as part of the Sarawak BN, can ensure that the Chinese community is represented when resources are divided up. At parliamentary level, the situation is very different. SUPP is just one of the 14-member federal BN coalition and is largely ineffective given UMNO's omnipresence in the federal government. Hence, electing DAP to the federal Parliament is seen as 'better value' given the DAP's vocal record of highlighting Chinese grievances *vis-a-vis* what are perceived as the government's discriminatory policies against non-bumiputeras.<sup>9</sup>

Sarawak BN took all but seven seats when the results came in. All the seven opposition seats were won by PBDS. All were Iban majority constituencies, which suggested that Dayakism was now only attracting Iban votes. However, PBDS was still able to attract a sizeable vote from other Dayaks and in fact, its total share of votes increased from 17.63 per cent in 1987, and to 21.48 per cent in 1991.<sup>10</sup> However, two factors forced PBDS to seek re-admission into Sarawak BN straight after the polls. First, federal pressure was exerted on both PBDS and BN3 leadership by the prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad. The federal BN chairman did not like the abnormal situation in which PBDS and BN3 were both members of the federal BN and yet opposed to each other at the state level. Second, PBDS knew that the longer it spent in the opposition, the greater its chances of being completely marginalised in the Sarawak political equation. With only seven state legislators, it knew that Dayakism was no longer politically viable (for the time at least). Moreover, it was clear that BN3 was quite capable of governing without PBDS. Despite strong opposition from SNAP, negotiations started in late 1992 and an agreement was signed in early 1994. PBDS agreed to most of the conditions laid down by BN3, including the thorny issue of future seat allocation. On this, it was agreed that Mahathir and Taib Mahmud would have the final word.

### 1995 Campaign and Results

Initially there was support, especially among SNAP and PBDS leaders, for a proposal that the state election be held concurrently with the parliamentary election. However, PBB and SUPP were against it, mainly because they knew that a state election would unleash a 'free for all' situation where all the different component parties would field 'independents' against each other. The PBB leadership knew that with fewer seats at stake, a parliamentary election would be easier to control.<sup>11</sup> With PBDS back in the Sarawak BN, the 1995 election essentially became a contest between the SUPP and the Sarawak DAP. Within the BN, seat allocation went quite smoothly as most of the issues relating to the four seats held by PBDS-Independents were agreed upon before PBDS

<sup>9</sup>Under the New Economic Policy (1970-1990), quotas were set for bumiputeras in all social and economic spheres. The New Development Policy (NDP), which has replaced the NEP, has retained almost all the racial discriminatory policies of the NEP.

<sup>10</sup>See James Chin, 'Sarawak's 1991 Election: Continuity and Change', paper presented at the BRC Conference in Pontianak, July 1994

<sup>11</sup>See *Sarawak Tribune* (ST) 26 January 1995

was readmitted into the Sarawak BN. While officially it was agreed that seat allocation be left to the discretion of the BN chairman, Mahathir, and state BN chairman, Taib, unofficially it was understood that each component party would get one of the four PBDS-Independent seats. SUPP was thus given the Serian constituency, primarily because it was historically a SUPP seat; moreover, the incumbent Richard Riot had quit PBDS and joined SUPP. SNAP was given Baram and PBDS kept the Selangau constituency. The last constituency, Hulu Rejang, was to be allocated to PBB but this was disputed by the other three component parties. They felt that PBB already had too many seats<sup>12</sup> and both SNAP and PBDS were adamant that Hulu Rejang 'belonged' to it. In what was essentially a public-relations exercise, it was agreed that, in line with BN's avowed political philosophy of 'multi-racialism', Hulu Rejang was to be a direct BN constituency (Malaysia's first)—in which the BN candidate would not represent any of the Sarawak BN component parties. Under this arrangement, the incumbent, Billy Abit Joo, was able to stand again. In reality, this meant that PBDS would keep Hulu Rejang. Thus the four PBDS-Independent constituencies were allocated as follows: two to PBDS and one each to SUPP and SNAP. SNAP felt rightly that PBDS got away with seats at its expense.<sup>13</sup>

The final seat allocation for the whole state was as follows: 10 PBB, 7 SUPP, 6 PBDS and 4 SNAP. Contrast this with 1990's seat allocations of 10 PBB; 8 SUPP; 5 SNAP and 4 PBDS, it was obvious that PBDS gained the most.<sup>14</sup> SNAP was not too happy with PBDS's allocation but was unable to do much about it. Many SNAP supporters never forgave PBDS, since it was largely formed with SNAP members in 1983 and took away much of its Iban/Dayak support. SNAP's unhappiness was to result in senior individuals in the party sponsoring a few Independents, almost all against PBDS candidates.<sup>15</sup> Within SNAP itself, veteran SNAP MP, Luhah Wan, stood as an

<sup>12</sup>PBB already held 10 out of 27 parliamentary seats.

<sup>13</sup>See 'Hands off this seat, SNAP advises PBDS', *ST* 24 January 1995

<sup>14</sup>One of PBDS' founders, Daniel Tajem, was dumped from the Sri Aman seat despite strong endorsement from the PBDS Sri Aman branch. The PBB leadership never forgave him for switching over to Rahman Yakub's side in 1987; then as deputy chief minister, he was the most senior cabinet and Iban minister to defect. In recent years, his relation with the PBDS leadership has also been strained over differences in policies. Shortly after the 1995 elections, he was given a diplomatic post in New Zealand. See *ST* 6 January 1995

<sup>15</sup>At the time of writing (December 1995), SNAP's second most senior leader, Patau Rubis, was expelled from the Sarawak cabinet for 'disciplinary problems', i.e., he backed several 'Independents' against official BN candidates. Patau has never been popular with other BN leaders, one PBB leader told this writer that Patau has been too "outspoken" and his abrasive behaviour was "unlike typical Bidayuns". The SNAP central executive committee (CEC) has put on hold any moves to expel him from the party although he has been 'suspended' as the party's senior vice-president. In an interview with a senior SNAP figure (28 December 1995), this writer was told that "...

independent against the official BN-SNAP candidate, Jacob Dungau Sagan, when the former was not nominated for the Baram constituency.<sup>16</sup>

On nomination day, nine constituencies were won by Sarawak BN unopposed (6 PBB, 2 PBDS and 1 SUPP) (refer to Table 1). In almost all cases, they were seats where the opposition did not stand a chance against the incumbent. For example, the Kota Samaharan constituency had been held by Abdul Taib Mahmud since the late 1960s, and the Kanowit constituency had been held by Leo Moggie since the 1970s, etc. The high number of unopposed PBB constituencies could be accounted for by the fact that PBB's main antagonist, Permas, was moribund.<sup>17</sup> With PBB winning 5 of 7 Malay-Melanau seats unopposed, these areas basically became a 'no contest'.

The DAP fielded 6 candidates: four in Chinese-majority constituencies (Bandar Kuching, Sibul, Lanang, Miri) and the last two in Dayak-majority constituencies (Mas Gading, Bintulu). There was some excitement when Parti Bersatu Sabah fielded three candidates but only one had any real prospect of winning—Harrison Ngau Laing, the incumbent in Baram.

Like preceding elections in East Malaysia, Peninsular issues like the Land Acquisition Act involving questionable land acquisition by the government for projects undertaken by private developers, the Rahim sex scandal involving the former chief minister of Melaka with an underage girl, the share scandal whereby children of senior UMNO ministers were given shares in publicly listed companies at a pre-list discount, etc.<sup>18</sup> were not the principal issues, although they were brought up by the opposition. The physical divide between East and Peninsular Malaysia means that a Peninsular issue will gain prominence in East Malaysia if it involves federal policies that affect the East Malaysian states or, if some East Malaysian politicians are involved. In almost all instances, it is local issues and personalities that dominate the outcome of the elections. Moreover, as so many constituencies were won by the Sarawak BN on nomination day, the 1995 election generated little enthusiasm; one could say that the election was drowsy; the little excitement was confined to urban areas, to the SUPP's rivalry with DAP.

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its not so simple to throw Patau out [of SNAP]. He has grassroots support among the Bidayus. If we throw him out, he will go and tell the Bidayus:

"Look, I've spoken up on behalf of the Bidayus. [Because of that] I've been sacked from the cabinet by a Melanau and thrown out of SNAP by Ibans and a Chinese [James Wong]. Why should the Bidayus support an anti-Bidayuh government?"

"Moreover his backing of several independent candidates against PBDS was well known among the party leadership".

<sup>16</sup>See *ST* 17 January 1995.

<sup>17</sup>In fact, Permas and another opposition party, Sarawak United Labour Party (PLUS), were both deregistered on 5 April when both failed to comply with statutory requirements. See *New Straits Times* (NST) 31 May 1995

<sup>18</sup>For details see Chin (1994), op. cit.

The BN's slogan for this election was 'Vision, Justice and Efficiency' and, as in previous elections, it emphasised BN's record in economic management and development. The BN manifesto promised that per capita income would double in 10 years, and would reach RM40,000 by the year 2020 or *Wasasan 2020* (Vision 2020), Mahathir's goal of turning Malaysia into a developed nation by the year 2020. The BN's three basic messages were: (i) BN is non-communal and moderate, (ii) The BN has a 'proven' track record in development, and (iii) BN equates to Malaysia's continued political stability and economic prosperity.

The Sarawak DAP campaign was two-pronged. One was in the urban corridor where its Chinese support was known to be strong. The other was in the rural constituencies.

In the Chinese electorates, the focus was on the Bandar Kuching 'battle royale' between DAP's Sim Kwang Yang and SUPP's Song Swee Guan. Unlike the 1990 election when the SUPP Bandar Kuching candidate was chosen close to the election, Song Swee Guan was chosen nearly a year earlier in June 1994.<sup>19</sup> The SUPP leadership chose Song primarily for three reasons. First, they wanted a well-known candidate with instant name recognition—Song fitted these criteria as he had been the mayor of Kuching as well as its state assemblyman since 1983. Second, the SUPP leadership wanted a candidate who could match Sim's wide appeal among the Kuching electorate—again Song fitted this criterion as he was a popular mayor and was generally seen to have run the Kuching municipality well. Moreover, Song had beaten Sim before in the 1983 state election. Third, the SUPP leadership did not want a repeat of the 1990 campaign when some SUPP factions in Kuching did not support its candidate and in fact sabotaged the campaign. Song received strong support from the other two SUPP state assemblymen, Sim Kheng Hui and Chan Seng Khai, whose state constituencies formed part of the Bandar Kuching parliamentary boundary.

Song began to campaign in earnest and by the time of the election in April 1995, he had already been campaigning for at least ten months. SUPP campaigned on Song's commitment to bring more 'development' to Kuching while attacking Sim for 'doing nothing' since 1982. In many ways, this strategy worked because Sim ran an unusually lacklustre campaign. While Song was seen in almost every public event and held extensive ceremonies, Sim was not widely seen in the electorate and did not undertake any serious door-to-door canvassing. Sim's behaviour could be explained by the fact that he spent more time on DAP's attempts to capture the rural vote.<sup>20</sup> Sim's absence, described by a journalist as a case of 'Desperately Seeking Sim'<sup>21</sup>, was to cost him his seat.

<sup>19</sup>Interviews with Song Swee Guan and other senior SUPP officials in June-July 1994.

<sup>20</sup>In several conversations, Sim said he was not particularly impressed with the Kuching Chinese whom he felt wanted him "far away in KL making noises" while he could be more effective as a state assemblyman. The same voters who consistently voted for Sim at parliamentary elections are also the same ones who voted for SUPP during state elections. Moreover, in recent years, Sim has developed an interest in

The SUPP campaign in Kuching was also boosted by the announcement that SUPP had raised a government allocation to build several badly-needed new buildings for Chinese schools.

In the Foochow heartland, the Sibubintagor-Sarikei triangle, the SUPP fielded Tiong Thai King and incumbent Robert Lau Hoi Chew in Lanang and Sibubintagor respectively. Both men were not only prominent businessmen but came from elite Foochow families. The Tiong family controls the Rimbunan Hijau Group, which is reputed to be the biggest timber contractor in Malaysia, while Lau's family runs the KTS and See Hua group of companies, which are involved mainly in property, print media and timber businesses. Tiong started soliciting votes vigorously in late 1993 when he was confirmed as the candidate for Lanang.<sup>22</sup> With their unlimited funding, both these men easily outperformed the DAP. The DAP incumbent in Lanang, Jason Wong Sing Nam, was in a weak position given that his seat was a marginal one—he won it in 1990 with less than 14 percent majority. Although the DAP tried to use the Bakun Dam<sup>23</sup> project as its key issue, the SUPP successfully countered this by bringing 'experts' from China to testify that similar dams in China were safe.

While the Bakun Dam issue did not make any headway in the Rejang Delta, it was used successfully in the marginal Bintulu constituency. The DAP candidate, Chiew Chiu Sing, was widely expected to topple SNAP's president, James Wong Kim Min. Wong beat Chiew in 1990 by only 287 votes, or by less than two per cent of the vote. Chiew, a former SUPP youth leader, successfully ran a campaign with the Bakun Dam and the high living cost in Bintulu as the key issues. James Wong also suffered from scant support from the other BN component parties: in particular grassroots PBDS supporters backed Chiew. It was evident that at the grassroots level, SNAP and PBDS supporters had not resolved their differences.

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environmental issues, and is deeply involved with the Sarawak rural anti-logging campaign.

<sup>21</sup>*The Sun* 20 April 1995

<sup>22</sup>A measure of Tiong's wealth can be found in a newspaper report that during the run-up to the election, unemployed youths in the Lanang constituency could secure a job in the Tiong family-owned timber factories by simply supporting his candidature. See *The Sun* 7 April 1995

<sup>23</sup>The Bakun Dam project will be one of the largest projects ever undertaken in Sarawak. It will create a reservoir the size of Singapore and displace several thousand indigenous people who live in the area. It is controversial because many environmentalists believe the dam is unsafe and that the ecological cost will be too high. Moreover, there is a nagging suspicion that the go-ahead for the project was made on political and not economic rationality, as the company awarded the project is owned by, amongst others, two of Taib's sons and Ting Pek King, a Foochow contractor close to Diam Zainuddin, Mahathir's confidant. See *The Economist*, 8 April 1995 & *Aliran Monthly*, 15 (6), 1995.

Generally, the DAP's main problem this time in the Chinese areas was the lack of any real issue. A past key issue had been the official discrimination against non-bumiputera (read Chinese) community in the three "Es"—Employment, Education, Enterprise (or business opportunities); however, the three "Es" were no longer a viable argument in the face of a booming economy. Malaysia has been growing at a rate of more than eight percent annually for the past eight years and this boom has been accompanied by a loosening of the discriminatory policies, e.g. the official shift towards use of the English language, open encouragement by Mahathir to learn Mandarin and Chinese culture and the opening up of the private tertiary education system to cater primarily to the non-bumiputera population.

The DAP's push into rural areas started in the early 1990s when it launched the 'Go Rural' strategy.<sup>24</sup> Under this strategy, DAP concentrated on the rural, predominantly Dayak population. The rationale for this was the belief that Sarawak DAP's political future lay in the non-Chinese population outside the urban corridor. The DAP wanted to build up its non-Chinese following in order to shed its image of a West-Malaysian, Chinese-based party. Another significant reason was the belief that the rural constituencies offered the best chance for DAP to win a state seat. As mentioned above, the DAP had been frustrated at every state election due to the "wanting it both ways" mentality of the Chinese voters. With sufficient support among non-Chinese voters, the DAP hoped to enter the Council Negri through a rural mixed constituency.

The issues raised by the DAP in the rural areas were basically related to indigenous land rights. The DAP argued that the authorities had scant regard for the indigenous people's rights over their land. The state's politically-connected timber concession system, the high social and environmental costs caused by logging, the forced resettlement programme of indigenous people living in the Bakun project area and the refusal of the state government to recognise land claims were some of the key issues raised during the campaign. This strategy worked to a limited extent among the more educated indigenous youths who feel disenfranchised by the political system. Unfortunately for the DAP, this strategy did not appeal to the older voters, who were tied into the extensive patronage network built up over the past 30 years by the BN machinery. Many of the village and longhouse headmen are appointed by the government, receive an allowance and are thus bonded to the state. The amount of money and projects brought in by the authorities, especially during the campaign period, also ensured that the rural voters knew that physical development depended entirely on the way they voted. Under the current system, only government legislators had access to the minor-rural-project (mrp), a slush fund used for small community projects. Mrp is used at the discretion of the Member of Parliament; thus it is no coincidence that the grants under mrp rise significantly during election years. DAP was also hurt by its 'Chinese' tag; many rural Dayak voters, despite their anti-establishment leanings, will not vote for a 'Chinese' party.

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<sup>24</sup>This section is based on interviews with various DAP leaders conducted in May-July 1993.

DAP's success in capturing the Dayak-majority Bintulu constituency should not be interpreted as a success for the 'Go Rural' strategy. As stated earlier, the DAP's victory was mainly due to PBDS supporters backing Chiew because of their animosity towards the SNAP president, James Wong. Moreover, Chiew also received substantial support from the Chinese voters because of his past association with SUPP Youth.

Although the Parti Bersatu Sabah had three candidates, only Harrison Ngau Laing was a serious contender. Ngau, an environmentalist who won in 1990 with covert PBDS support, was unable to keep up the momentum on the anti-logging issue this time round. Although PBDS would have liked to keep Ngau, his intimate involvement with the international anti-logging lobby meant that he was not acceptable to the PBB and federal leadership.<sup>25</sup> Ngau lost due to a lack of financial resources—the Baram constituency is geographically large, and without sufficient financial resources candidates cannot hope to reach the scattered voters. Ngau was reported to have said that "... it was impossible for me—with limited manpower and resources—to over a constituency which is as big as the state of Perak."<sup>26</sup> It is widely accepted that to campaign efficiently in a large interior constituency like Baram would require a minimum outlay of M\$1m.

When the results came in, the DAP had lost both its incumbents but had managed to win the Bintulu constituency for the first time. PBS and the Independents simply did not stand a chance.

#### Voting Patterns

A statistical analysis of the 18 constituencies provides some interesting observations. The BN took 63.56 percent of the total vote, DAP 20.84 percent; PBS 1.47 percent and the combined Independents took 14.13 percent (refer to Table 1).

In the Chinese constituencies, SUPP won with 59 percent of the vote; the DAP won 36.32 percent. In the 1990 parliamentary election, the Chinese voters were almost evenly split between the SUPP and DAP (refer to Table 2). Given that the Chinese voters traditionally supported the DAP at parliamentary level, a ten percent increase for SUPP was significant. The strong vote for SUPP suggests the Sarawak Chinese vote was in tandem with the Peninsular Chinese who also swung towards the MCA and Gerakan against the DAP.

<sup>25</sup>Harrison Ngau Laing angered Taib Mahmud and federal leaders when he helped Western NGOs make several anti-logging television documentaries. DAP's Sim Kwang Yang was also singled out by BN leaders for 'blackening Sarawak's name overseas' when he appeared on an Australian current affairs programme about Rimbunan Hijau's operations in the Pacific. As mentioned, Tiong Thai King, one of the owners of Rimbunan Hijau, stood and won against a DAP candidate in the Lanang constituency.

<sup>26</sup>*Asiaweek*, 3 November, 1995.

Table 1. Results of the 1995 Sarawak Parliamentary Elections

	BN	DAP	IND	PBS	
<b>Malay-Melanau</b>					
Santubong	*11702		1791		
Batang Sadong	*9700		2646		
Petra Jaya	Unopposed				
K. Samarahan	"				
Kuala Rejang	"				
Batang Lupar	"				
Mukah	"				
Total	21402	0	4437	0	25839
%	82.83	0	17.17	0	
<b>Davak</b>					
Mas Gading	*14871	2085	4087		
Serian	*12116		6237	1753	
Batang Sadong	*9700		2646		
Sri Aman	*11017		5211		
Saratok	*10115		4843	677	
Julau	*10730		1612		
Selangau	*8021		3108		
Kapit	*7917		5539		
Hulu Rejang	*6731		3084		
Bintulu	10370	*12164	185		
Baram	*8829		1010	3106	
Bukit Mas	*12891		5522		
Lubok Antu	Unopposed				
Betong	"				
Kanowit	"				
Total	123308	14249	43084	5536	186177
%	66.23	7.65	23.14	2.97	
<b>Chinese</b>					
B. Kuching	*27514	24330			
Lanang	*18221	15813			
Sibu	*15317	10472	937		
Padawan	*19258		7368		
Miri	*23977	13592			
Sarikei	Unopposed				

Total	104287	64207	8305		176799
%	58.99	36.32	4.70		
Total (State)	239297	78456	53180	5536	376469
%	63.56	20.84	14.13	1.47	

(Source: Raw data from *New Straits Times, The Star*)

Table 2. Selected Chinese Constituencies in the 1990 Sarawak Parliamentary Elections

	BN-SUPP	DAP	IND	
B. Kuching	19409	25573		
Lanang	11432	15405		
Sibu	11914	9906	162	
Padawan	16362	9751		
Miri	18904	10723	3242	
Total	78021	71358	3404	152783
%	51.07	46.71	2.23	

(Source: Raw data from Election Commission)

Table 3. Comparison of the PBDS vote in 1991 and 1995

1995	BN-PBDS	IND	
Sri Aman	11017	5211	
Julau	10730	1612	
Selangau	8021	3108	
Hulu Rejang	6731	3084	
Total	36499	13015	49514
%	73.72	26.28	

1991	BN	DAP	PBDS	NEG ARA	IND	
Bukit Begunan	3470		4004			
Simanggang	4818		4621	39	227	
Pakan	2787		2192			
Meluan	3144		2917	224		
Tamin	2943		3455		124	
Kakus	2274		2996	296	72	
Baleh	1858		4183		188	
Belaga	2884	91	825			
Total	24178	91	25193	559	351	50372
%	48.00	0.18	50.02	1.11	0.70	

(Source: Raw data from *New Straits Time, Sarawak Tribune*)

As mentioned earlier, PBDS was readmitted to the Sarawak BN (SBN) in mid-1994, and thus the question arises as to whether the party's Dayak supporters followed suit. An indication can be gathered by looking at the PBDS vote in 1991 and comparing it with this election (refer to Table 3). We shall take the four PBDS parliamentary constituencies won by PBDS in 1995 and compare them with their respective state constituencies' results in 1991. From Table 3, it is fairly obvious that not all PBDS voters voted for the party in 1995. In 1991, the vote was almost equally split between PBDS and BN, in 1995 BN-PBDS was only able get about 70 percent of the total vote. In numerical terms, given that total voter turnout was quite similar in both elections, BN-PBDS should have received about 50,000 votes (24,178 BN + 25,193 PBDS votes); instead it received just 36,499 votes, or about 25 percent less. This suggests that about one-quarter of the voters in these constituencies were either anti-establishment or against PBDS joining BN. There is no accurate way of telling, but an informed judgement was that the 25 percent was probably made up of disgruntled PBDS supporters who do not support the leadership's decision to re-join SBN. If the same pattern emerges in the next state election, it will help confirm this analysis.

The winners in this election are the PBB and the SUPP. PBB won the election unchallenged, and with the demise of Permas, it has no organised opposition on the horizon. SUPP's victories in the two urban constituencies, one held for more than 12 years by the DAP, gives the party a huge psychological boost. Moreover, for the first time since 1982, SUPP won all the parliamentary seats it contested.

For PBDS, the 1995 election must be seen as a transition period as it adjusts back into the ruling coalition. The real test for PBDS will be the next state election, when there is little doubt that all the major components, SNAP, PBB, SUPP and PBDS will, officially or otherwise, field 'independents' against each other.

The big losers are SNAP and Sarawak DAP. SNAP was the only Sarawak BN component party to lose to the opposition. The results reaffirmed the conventional wisdom that SNAP has lost much of its political support among the Iban Dayak population to PBDS. However, SNAP will not disappear from the political scene as long



as its leaders, like James Wong, can sustain the party financially. Moreover, SNAP's history as the first Dayak party means that there will always be pockets of support for it, and especially for its more transparent policy of multi-racialism. In the coming years, SNAP will also become a political vehicle for politically ambitious non-Iban Dayak. The SBN will also keep SNAP as a junior coalition partner, as this will further divide the Dayak vote.

While on the surface the Sarawak DAP has suffered a significant defeat in the polls, in reality the 1995 results merely confirm the well-known idea that there are about 30 percent in the urban constituencies who are 'hardcore' DAP supporters or anti-establishment voters. The key to DAP's political victories thus will be DAP's ability to win over the 20 percent 'floating' voters who can decide the outcome in the next election.

## Section II: Sabah

Sabah is demographically quite similar to Sarawak. Its 1.7 million population is made up of about 35 different ethnic groups; the Kadazan and a closely-related group, the Dusun, and the Muruts together constitute about 40 percent; Chinese 22 percent; Malays and the Bajaus 32 percent; Others 6 percent. However, these figures are only estimates as it is impossible to get precise figures. In the 1980 census, a broad category 'pribumi' was used to count all bumiputera groupings (including non-bumiputera who had converted to Islam). Likewise, there is a sizeable number of Sino-Kadazan, children of inter-marriage between the Kadazan and Chinese, who do not easily fit into any existing category.<sup>27</sup> A better measure is to regard the population as roughly 40 percent Muslim bumiputera (MB), 40 percent non-Muslim bumiputera (NMB) and 20 percent non-bumiputera (i.e. Chinese and other non-indigenous peoples). The MB includes Malay, Bajau, Suluk, Brunei Malay, Tidong, Cocos Malay, Ikaan and Bugis. The NMB include Kadazan-Dusun, Muruts, Rungus, Orang Sungei and other minority groups. State politics, as in Sarawak, are a mixture of tensions and deals among these three groups. Again, like Sarawak, Sabah politics have been driven by patronage—timber concessions, contracts and business opportunities.<sup>28</sup>

### Sabah Politics: USNO to PBS

One unique feature of Sabah politics is the rapid shifting of electoral loyalty that results in the ruling party or coalition falling from power in less than a decade. For

<sup>27</sup>For some years, Sino-Kadazan were counted as 'bumiputera' and even some ethnic Chinese were counted as 'bumiputera' because they had been issued pribumi 'certificates'. On the problems of collecting demographic data, see P. Regis, 'Demography' in J.G. Kitingan and M.J. Ongkili (eds.), *Sabah: 25 Years Later* (Kota Kinabalu: IDS Sabah, 1989), pp.405-458.

<sup>28</sup>For a discussion on how timber is tied into the political system and leadership of the Chinese community, see Edwin Lee, *The Towkays of Sabah: Chinese Leadership and Indigenous Challenge in the last phase of British rule*. (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1976).

example, Tun Mustapha Harun, a MB, and his party the United Sabah National Organisation (USNO), ruled from 1967 to 1975. Mustapha Harun is remembered for his dictatorial ways, forcing mass conversion to Islam and an attempt to take Sabah out of the Malaysian federation.<sup>29</sup> This caused the then Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, to sponsor a new political party, Bersatu Rakyat Jelata Sabah (Berjaya), to challenge Mustapha. Berjaya was led by two former Mustapha allies: Tun Mohammad Faud Stephens and Harris Salleh. In the April 1975 state election, Berjaya easily trounced USNO.<sup>30</sup> Stephens became Sabah's chief minister but was replaced by Harris Salleh a year later when the former died in a plane crash. Harris, a Muslim Malay/Indian, began to emulate the dictatorial ways of Mustapha. Harris antagonised almost all segments of Sabah's diverse population when he gave the sovereignty of Labuan, an island off the east coast of Sabah, to the Federal government, thus reinforcing the image of his being a federal lackey who sold out Sabah's interests. Together with allegations of wide-spread corruption and forced Islamisation, this action caused a group of Berjaya dissidents, made up primarily of NMB and led by a Kadazan Catholic, Joseph Pairin Kitingan, to challenge Harris. When he was compelled to resign from Berjaya and his constituency of Tambunan, Pairin stood as an independent and easily won re-election in December 1984. Pairin's strong stand against the encroachment of Islam and the promotion of Malay culture easily made him the champion of the non-Muslim community in Sabah. Harris then decided to call for an early state election in order check Pairin's rising popularity. Just before the 1985 state election, Pairin founded a new political party, Parti Bersatu Sabah (United Sabah Party or PBS). PBS went on to win the poll with 26 seats, USNO 16, Berjaya 6; hence the Berjaya administration fell within a decade. PBS won mainly on the NMB and Chinese votes.<sup>31</sup> The PBS victory became a personal setback for Prime Minister Mahathir as he had earlier pledged to 'sink or swim' with Berjaya. The federal BN was also unhappy with PBS as, unlike Berjaya, Pairin had formed the party without the blessing of the federal government.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>See Ed Hunter, *Misdeeds of Tun Mustapha* (Hong Kong: Ed Hunter, 1976) and R. Tilman 'Mustapha's Sabah 1968-1975' *Asian Survey*, 16 (6)(June 1976) pp. 495-509

<sup>30</sup>For details see Sin Fong Han, 'A constitutional coup d'etat: an analysis of the birth and victory of the Berjaya party in Sabah, Malaysia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1979 (April) pp. 379-389.

<sup>31</sup>*Far Eastern Economic Review (FEER)*, 9 May 1985. See also K.T. Kalimuthu, 'The Sabah State Election of April 1985', *Asian Survey*, 26, 7 (July 1986) pp. 815-837 & Marvis Puthuchery, *Federalism at the Crossroads: The 1985 election in Sabah and their implications for the federal-state relations* (Kuala Lumpur: ISIS Malaysia, 1985)

<sup>32</sup>For a discussion of Sabah's political development and PBS's formation, see James P. Ongkili, 'Political Development in Sabah 1963-1988', in J.G. Kitingan and M.J. Ongkili, *Sabah: 25 Years Later* (Kota Kinabalu: IDS Sabah, 1989), pp. 61-79 & Francis Loh Kok Wah, 'Modernisation, cultural revival and counter-hegemony: the Kadazans of Sabah in the 1980s' in Joel Kahn and Francis Loh Kok Wah (eds.), *Fragmented Vision: culture and politics in contemporary Malaysia* (Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin, 1992) pp. 225-253.

Initially, Pairin had trouble ruling as USNO and Berjaya, which had formed an alliance of convenience, started a campaign to depose the PBS government. It included a failed power-grab by Mustapha which was reversed by the then deputy-premier, Musa Hitam, a legal challenge filed by Mustapha against Pairin's appointment, and bomb explosions in the capital, Kota Kinabalu. The dissidents had hoped that with a breakdown of security, the federal government would impose emergency rule in Sabah, thus indirectly bringing the PBS government down. These actions were supported by certain federal UMNO factions<sup>33</sup> who wanted to force PBS into a coalition government with USNO.<sup>34</sup> Facing pressure from all sides, Pairin opted for a snap election in May 1986, with the result that PBS greatly increased its majority from 26 to 34 seats. PBS' share of the popular vote also increased correspondingly from about 30 percent in 1985 to 53 percent a year later.<sup>35</sup> After such a convincing electoral victory and for political expediency, PBS was admitted to the BN.

Hence, Sabah was in a position where one component of the BN coalition, PBS, was in power while another BN component, USNO, was the main opposition, a situation similar to PBS' in Sarawak from 1987 to 1994 (see above). During the July 1990 state election, as both PBS and USNO were BN components, the federal UMNO-led BN publicly took a neutral position in the PBS-USNO tussle. Privately, UMNO backed the Muslim-based USNO. Despite this, PBS easily won re-election when it took 36 out of 48 seats—with 53.92 percent of the popular vote—while USNO took the other 12. Berjaya was by then a spent force in Sabah politics.<sup>36</sup>

The uneasy relationship between PBS, which championed the cause of the non-Muslims and state rights, and UMNO, which championed the rights of the Muslims and Islam, was to manifest itself when PBS withdrew from the BN a few days before the October 1990 general election. Pairin alleged that the federal government had disregarded many of PBS' requests on such issues such as a Sabah university, a separate television channel for Sabah and that the federal government had ignored many of Sabah's rights under the '20-point' agreement signed when Sabah joined the federation in 1963 (more later). In what Mahathir phrased 'a stab in the back', PBS threw its support behind Mahathir's arch rival, Tengku Razaleigh, and *Gangasan Rakyat*.<sup>37</sup>

USNO's dismal performance in the state election earlier meant that, like Berjaya, it was a spent force in Sabah politics. Moreover, many USNO members were known to be attracted to PBS's strong regionalism stand. Under such circumstances, Mahathir immediately announced that UMNO and its main partner in the Peninsula, the

Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), would intervene directly by setting up branches in Sabah. This move was highly significant, as hitherto no Peninsular-based BN parties had spread their wings to Sabah, or to Sarawak.

Although the BN coalition easily won re-election, in Sabah PBS managed to win 14 of the 20 parliamentary seats, taking some MB seats as well. BN won the other six seats, three with very small majorities.

### The 1994 State Election<sup>38</sup>

From then on, federal pressure and harassment of the PBS government began. Pairin was charged with three counts of corruption, and his brother, Jeffrey Kitingan, was detained without trial under the Internal Security Act (ISA) for allegedly plotting Sabah's secession from the federation. Jeffrey was also charged with corruption involving kickbacks from business dealing with the Sabah Foundation, which he headed.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the federal government actively neglected Sabah economically and during the period 1990 to 1995, the state's economy consistently performed below the national average. Locals referred to the situation as a 'political recession'.

Meanwhile, in order to strengthen Sabah UMNO, Mustapha Harun was asked to resign from USNO and his constituency so that he could contest as an UMNO candidate in the by-election. Mustapha easily won the seat again and became UMNO Sabah liaison chief. Mahathir also appointed him the federal minister for Sabah affairs in 1992, a portfolio unfilled since the 1970s.

USNO came under the control of Mustapha's son, Amirkahar. In late 1992 USNO joined PBS in a coalition government. This was hardly surprising as many USNO members did not like the intrusion of UMNO, seen as an outsider, into Sabah politics and in particular, UMNO's moves to try to replace USNO with Sabah UMNO. USNO was subsequently deregistered as a political party by the federally-controlled registrar of societies and all USNO candidates were forced to stand as PBS candidates in the 1994 polls.

Pairin called for the election in February after the courts fined him M\$1,800 for corruption, just short of M\$2000, the amount which would mean legal disqualification from the chief ministership. A month earlier, Jeffrey Kitingan had been released after two years' detention.

The PBS campaigned on the theme 'Sabah for the Sabahans' and Kadazan-Dusun nationalism. It argued that a BN victory would lead to 'colonisation' by Kuala Lumpur. The issue of state rights centred on the 'Twenty Points', signed in 1963, which had stipulated Sabah's (and Sarawak's) rights and privileges under the proposed Malaysian

<sup>33</sup>Audrey Kahin, 'Crisis on the Periphery: The Rift Between Kuala Lumpur and Sabah', *Pacific Affairs*, 65 (1) (Spring 1992) p. 41

<sup>34</sup>*FEER*, 10 April, 1986

<sup>35</sup>*FEER*, 15 May 1986; Bala Chandran *The Third Mandate* (Kuala Lumpur: Bala Chandran, 1986)

<sup>36</sup>*FEER*, 26 July 1990

<sup>37</sup>See Khoong Kim Hoong, *Malaysia's General Election 1990, Continuity, Change and Ethnic Politics*, (Singapore: ISEAS Research Notes and Discussion Paper no 74, 1991).

<sup>38</sup>This section is based mainly on James Chin, 'Sabah State Election of 1994: End of Kadazan unity', *Asian Survey*, Vol 34 (10) 1994, pp. 904-915

<sup>39</sup>Jeffrey Kitingan had been charged with accepting hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash and company shares in return for political and business favours, some allegedly doled out in his capacity as director of the state-owned Sabah Foundation. The charges were later dropped for 'lack of evidence', reinforcing the image that he had 'sold out' to the BN.

federation. According to PBS, many of the Twenty Points, which include guarantees for state autonomy over immigration, education and religion, have been routinely violated or curtailed completely by the Federal government.<sup>40</sup> The chauvinistic elements in PBS asserted that if the Kadazan did not vote PBS, the chief minister's post would go to a non-Kadazan with the result that the Kadazan and NMB community would be discriminated against, as it had been during the Mustapha and Harris administrations. Pairin's corruption charges were portrayed as a political vendetta by the federal BN authorities against the Kadazan community, a serious indictment given that Pairin was the *Huguan Siou* (paramount chief) of the Kadazan. PBS also demanded an increase in petroleum royalties from 5 percent to 15 percent, the setting up of a university, a separate TV station for Sabah, and the return of the island of Labuan.

The illegal immigrants from the southern Philippines also became a key issue as they were widely blamed for the huge rise in petty crime, as well as for taking employment opportunities away from the locals. PBS blamed the illegal migrant problem on the federal government (and UMNO, as it controlled the federal administration) as national security came under the purview of Kuala Lumpur. Religion was also a prime issue as UMNO was criticised for trying to stamp its Muslim-Malay brand of politics on a state where the Malays are in a minority, whereas the majority of natives are Christians and where there is a sizeable Chinese population. The religious factor had an added political consequence as it was widely believed that the majority of the illegal Filipinos were Muslims, and on this basis, were issued blue Malaysian identity cards (a sign of citizenship), which would make these Filipinos eligible to vote. These Filipino Muslims were almost certainly expected to vote for the champion of Islam, Sabah UMNO. Although it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of such voters, their open presence in many constituencies made Islam an important electoral issue.<sup>41</sup> In a surprising move, Mustapha Harun defected to PBS.<sup>42</sup>

The BN's campaign was based on the carrot that it alone had the resources to develop Sabah economically. Its manifesto promised huge infrastructure projects as well as the state's first university. To counter PBS's accusation that UMNO would 'colonise'

<sup>40</sup>For a discussion on PBS's grievances over the 'Twenty Points', see Herman Luping 'The Formation of Malaysia Revisited' in J.G. Kitingan and M.J. Ongkitt, *Sabah: 25 Years Later* (Kota Kinabalu: IDS Sabah, 1989)pp.1-60. For a partisan view, see Khusairie Talib, *Kontroversi 20 Perkara: Sabahan vs Sabahan* (Kota Kinabalu: Goldana Corporation, 1993) and Patrick bin Sindu & Abdul Malek Unar. *Isu 20 Perkara: jaminan dan perlindungan* (Penampang, Sabah: Studio 3, 1993).

<sup>41</sup>See 'The shadow life of Filipinos in Sabah', *Asiaweek*, 30 April 1994.

<sup>42</sup>Although Mustapha was not a candidate himself, two of his sons (Amirkahar and Badaruddin) stood as PBS candidates. Mustapha fell out with UMNO when one of his main mentors in Peninsular UMNO, Ghafar Baba, was forced out of UMNO's deputy presidency in an internal UMNO party election. Mustapha was one of the UMNO divisional chiefs who supported Ghafar in his struggle with Anwar Ibrahim. When Anwar won, Mustapha saw his grip on UMNO Sabah loosened as Anwar's supporters tried to ignore him.

Sabah, the BN promised that if elected, the chief minister's post would go to a Sabahan. In order to secure the NMB and Chinese vote, Mahathir announced that under a BN administration, the Sabah chief ministership would be rotated every two years equally between MB, NMB and Chinese communities.

The BN campaign received a major boost when Yong Teck Lee, the highest-ranking PBS ethnic Chinese member and deputy chief minister, defected and established a new party, the Sabah Progressive Party (SAPP). Yong's blunt message was simple: the Chinese business community, which has a seventy percent share of Sabah's economy, would suffer if PBS were re-elected.

The results were surprisingly close: PBS won 25 seats while the remaining 23 were won by the BN (UMNO 18; SAPP 3; LDP 1; AKAR 1). Of the 436,448 votes cast, PBS took 215,952 votes (49.66 percent), BN 201,374 (46.3 percent) and the rest went to the smaller parties and Independents.<sup>43</sup> The voting pattern was clearly racial: PBS won all 15 NMB-majority constituencies and UMNO took all 18 MB constituencies. With the Chinese vote partially split by SAPP, the seven Chinese-majority constituencies were divided between PBS (which won 4) and BN (3).

Almost immediately, intense jockeying began. BN tried to persuade a few PBS legislators to defect with promises of financial windfall<sup>44</sup> and positions in the next administration. The governor, Tun Mohamad Said Keruak, initially refused to swear-in Pairin.<sup>45</sup> Pairin was forced to start a vigil outside the gates of the governor's mansion. After 36 hours outside the mansion, Pairin was formally sworn in as Sabah's chief minister.

Less than two weeks later, three PBS state assemblymen and a PBS MP became the first of many PBS legislators to defect. Even Jeffrey Kitingan, Pairin's younger brother, announced that he would quit PBS and join BN. Pairin tried to call for another state election but the governor flatly refused, insisting that it was too soon to call a new election, and since BN clearly had the confidence of the majority of the assemblymen, it should be given a chance to form the next administration. With only five state assemblymen left in this party, Pairin formally tendered his resignation and was immediately replaced by Sakaran Dandai, Sabah UMNO's chief.

Defection by senior members of PBS spawned a host of new political parties. The former PBS secretary-general, Joseph Kurup, formed the Parti Bersatu Rakyat Sabah (PBRS), while the former deputy chief minister, Bernard Dompok, formed Parti Demokratik Sabah (PDS). Jeffrey Kitingan also tried to form a new party, Parti Demokratik Sabah Bersatu (PDSB). However, he was unable to register the PDSB and instead opted to join Angkatan Keadilan Rakyat Bersatu (AKAR) as the deputy

<sup>43</sup>*NST* 21 February 1994.

<sup>44</sup>According to Pairin, the going rate for a PBS defector was M\$3 million.

<sup>45</sup>The governor was hardly impartial as his son had just been elected, standing as a UMNO Sabah candidate. Moreover, the governor himself was appointed by the federal government.

president.<sup>46</sup> In addition to these Kadazan-Dusun parties, as mentioned earlier, former PBS Chinese deputy chief minister Yong Teck Lee formed the Sabah Progressive Party (SAPP).

In December 1994, Sakaran Dandai, the Sabah UMNO chief minister, resigned to take the state governorship. He had been facing opposition from several Sabah UMNO legislators as well as from the federal side. Mohammad Salleh, son of Sakaran's predecessor as Governor, Tun Said Keruak, took over as the new chief minister.

### The 1995 Campaign and Results

Although the parliamentary election was not announced until April 1995, the campaign in Sabah had begun the moment the PBS administration fell in March 1994. The only way for PBS to regain its political strength was through the next election—in this case, the parliamentary election. PBS had long argued that only an election would decide the 'people's will' and to that end, it had worked hard at consolidating its grassroots and preparing them for the next election, from March 1994 onwards.

The Sabah BN parties were also busy preparing for the next electoral fight. Knowing that it lacked political credibility (after all, many of the new BN legislators were elected under PBS), the Sabah BN administration decided early on that economic development would be the key to its legitimacy. A host of projects submitted earlier by the PBS administration were suddenly 'approved' by the federal authorities. Sabah BN also reaffirmed that it would keep to all the promises made in its manifesto; federal money poured into Sabah and a new university was established. Other public relations exercises undertaken by the new BN administration included a widely publicised inquiry into the Sabah Foundation and several other government statutory organisations. The motive was to expose corruption under the previous PBS administration. Hence, by the time Prime Minister Mahathir announced that a parliamentary poll would be held, all the contestants were ready and campaigning had been underway for about a year.

Seat allocation in Sabah BN was quite a straightforward affair. All the MB-majority seats were given to Sabah UMNO with the exception of Tawau which was given to SAPP. The five NMB constituencies were divided among the three Kadazan-Dusun based BN parties (2 AKAR, 1 PDS, 2 PBRs). The Chinese constituencies were allocated to the Chinese BN parties (2 SAPP, 1 LDP) with the exception of Kinabalu which was allotted to PDS. Sabah UMNO fielded 10 candidates, SAPP 3, LDP 1 and AKAR, PBRs and PDS 2 each. The Chinese-based LDP and the three Kadazan-Dusun parties were initially unhappy, believing that they were entitled to more seats, but had to back down in face of the federal UMNO leaders' blank refusal to discuss the issue. LDP was unhappy because it was worried that it might be eclipsed by SAPP (both are Chinese-based), while the three Kadazan-Dusun BN parties wanted some 'safe' MB seats. Five incumbents were also dropped because their loyalty to Sabah BN was suspect.

On the opposition side, PBS fielded candidates in all the constituencies.<sup>47</sup> Because PBS and DAP were unable to come to an agreement, chiefly over seat allocation

<sup>46</sup>AKAR was formed by another PBS dissident, Mark Koding, who left after a quarrel with Pairin in 1991. AKAR joined the BN coalition straight after its inception.

disputes, DAP fielded 4 candidates, three of them in Chinese constituencies. PAS fielded one (mainly to show the flag) and there were 10 Independents. Despite the presence of other parties and Independents, the real fight was always going to be between BN and PBS; the other parties were never taken seriously by the electorate.

Like Sarawak, peninsular issues were non-issues in Sabah. The issue that really mattered was Sabah UMNO's legitimacy and PBS' ability to retain its support among the Sabah electorate. As mentioned, right from the start the Sabah UMNO-led administration suffered from creditability and internal friction. Sabahans were unhappy with the way the new administration was formed by defections and the ground was generally supportive of PBS. Prior to the election, a small number of AKAR, PDS and PBRs members resigned and went back into PBS, with the damaging claim that the Kadazan-Dusun community was being victimised by Sabah UMNO.

Apart from the nation-wide manifesto, a special BN supplementary manifesto targeted at Sabah voters was assembled. The Outline Perspective Plan for Sabah (OPPS) promised that Sabah would be on par economically with Peninsular Malaysia by 2010. Needless to say, to achieve this voters had to support the ruling BN, for federal co-operation was crucial in achieving this target. The manifesto also claimed that Sabah had developed rapidly since the BN took over. During the campaign period, projects amounting to more than M\$2 billion were announced by federal leaders such as Mahathir and Anwar during their 'flying' visits.<sup>48</sup> In essence, the BN's message was simple: BN was the key to further federal funds and economic prosperity. Vote buying was also rampant in both urban and rural constituencies.

The whole PBS campaign was built around the 'political frogs'—a term which referred to BN candidates who had won their seats as PBS candidates in 1990. The PBS manifesto promised to enact legislation to stop 'party hopping'.<sup>49</sup> It promised to restore 'PBS and Sabah's honour,' which it claimed was tarnished by the PBS defectors. It argued that the Sabah UMNO-led administration was illegitimate as it had no mandate from the people. PBS candidates also signed a public pledge not to 'hop' after the elections. Other issues raised by the PBS—state rights under the Twenty Points, the large number of illegal Muslim Filipino 'phantom' voters, forced Islamisation, discrimination against non-Muslims, 'colonisation' by Kuala Lumpur—were similar to the ones raised in the 1994 election. PBS also argued that since Sabah UMNO's accession to power, racial and religious polarisation had reached new heights. In essence, PBS was selling Kadazan-Dusun ethnic nationalism as well as Sabah

<sup>47</sup>For the very first time, PBS also fielded candidates outside Sabah in Penang, Johor, Kedah and Sarawak. Given that PBS was founded as a regional party, the PBS candidates outside Sabah must be seen as an attempt to 'test the water' for possible future expansion of PBS into a nation-wide party. Because none of its non-Sabah candidates won or came close to winning, it is unlikely that PBS will be able to transform itself into a nation-wide political party in the near future.

<sup>48</sup>*Borneo Mail*, 18, 19 April 1995.

<sup>49</sup>See the 1995 PBS manifesto. See also *Daily Express*, 19 April 1995

nationalism: vote PBS as a protest against the Peninsular-based UMNO and those former PBS legislators who betrayed the Kadazan-Dusun and Sabah by deserting to Sabah BN.

The explicit choice facing the voters is best summed up by the Sabah UMNO chief minister himself: 'The election provides the people with a choice between BN's politics of development or PBS politics of sentiment'<sup>50</sup>

The outcome was: BN won in 12 constituencies (Sabah UMNO 8, SAPP 3, LDP 1) and PBS 8.

### Voting Patterns

The 1995 results differed little from the 1994 state election. The BN took 52.68 percent of the vote, or about 5 percent more than in 1994. PBS took about ten percent less at 42.3 per cent of the popular vote, a drop of about seven percent compared to 1994. Again, similar to the 1994 election, voting was clearly along ethnic/religious lines.

Sabah UMNO clearly dominated in the MB constituencies where it took 62.47 percent of the popular vote, compared with PBS' 36.63 per cent. In 1994, in the MB areas, BN received 55.91 percent while the PBS got 41.0 percent. Sabah UMNO has strengthened its hold on the MB territory while PBS has lost ground. This suggests that Sabah UMNO is close to its aim of taking over the entire Muslim USNO vote.<sup>51</sup>

In the 1994 election, the Chinese community was equally split between PBS (49.96 percent) and BN (46.96 percent). This was repeated in 1995. BN received 43.58 per cent of the vote while PBS was close at 37.16 percent. DAP took a significant 16.7 percent of the vote. Assuming that DAP voters would have voted for PBS if the party had formed an alliance with PBS against BN, one could argue that more than half of the voters in the Chinese constituencies were against BN; hence the Chinese vote had split. From Table 4, it can be seen that had there been an alliance, the opposition could easily have won at least 2 constituencies (Gaya and Sandakan). This was the political price paid by the inability of PBS and DAP to form an alliance. In other words, SAPP and LDP's victories were the result of the split in Chinese votes. This is again borne out when we look at Table 5; DAP gained at the expense of both BN and PBS. This would suggest that while about half of the Sabah Chinese voters were potential opposition voters, about one-fifth were hard-core supporters of the DAP. The Sabah Chinese vote also went against the nation-wide trend where the urban Chinese voted for the BN ruling coalition.

In the NMB areas, PBS managed to win nearly 60 percent of the popular vote versus BN's 40.67 percent. The domination by PBS in the five NMB constituencies meant the total defeat of all Kadazan-Dusun-based BN parties. Any notion that these

<sup>50</sup>NST 25 April 1995

<sup>51</sup>In October, Amirkahar Tun Mustapha, the former USNO president who switched over to PBS and won under the PBS ticket, resigned from PBS and joined Sabah UMNO, clearly indicating that he did not think that PBS was capable of holding on to the Muslim vote.

parties had credibility among Kadazan-Dusun voters was dispelled in this election. This is illustrated by the defeat of BN's Jeffrey Kitingan, who was decisively defeated by PBS' Maximus Ongkili, Jeffrey's nephew.<sup>52</sup> Jeffrey was one of the key PBS' leaders whose defection to BN caused the collapse of the PBS state government in March 1994. Another defector, Bernard Dompok, was also decisively defeated by a PBS candidate. Pairin put it succinctly when he said '... the [Kadazan-Dusun] people sentenced them [former PBS legislators who defected to the BN] to their political deaths.'<sup>53</sup> Almost all the votes won by Kadazan-Dusun BN parties came from Muslim-bumiputera who have consistently voted for BN. The Penampang constituency is an example—its votes are made up of 40.33 percent MB, 36.47 percent NMB, 21 percent Chinese and 2.2 Others. The PBS candidate, Paul Nointien, obtained 51.90 percent of the vote and his opponent, Bernard Dompok, received 45.87 percent of the vote. Assuming that the MB vote is solidly behind any BN candidate, Dompok only secured about 5-8 percent of the non-Muslim vote.

However in percentage terms, the BN machinery has made a significant gain in the NMB areas. Compared to the 1994 results (BN 28.94 percent PBS 64.73 percent), BN has managed to swing about 12 per cent of the NMB vote in its favour. However, only half of the BN's gain came from a shift in PBS supporters; the other half came from the floating voters who had supported independents in the 1994 polls. Many of the 1994 independents were funded by the BN to split the vote and therefore likely to support the BN this time.

The defeat of the Kadazan-Dusun BN parties also meant that all the Kadazan-Dusun representatives in the federal government dissipated—Jeffrey Kitingan was a deputy federal housing and local government minister while Dompok was a minister in the Prime Minister's Department.<sup>54</sup>

The results also suggest that the Kadazan-Dusun community identified more with the PBS party than its personalities. For example, many of the candidates from AKAR and PDRS were former senior PBS office bearers. BN candidates like Jeffrey Kitingan and Bernard Dompok were at one time regarded as possible successors to Pairin as party leader. Yet both men were defeated as much because they were not PBS candidates as for the fact that they were widely seen to have betrayed the PBS party when they defected to BN after the 1994 election. Other BN candidates who lost primarily because they defected from PBS were Monggoh Orow (Tuaran constituency), Othman Menudin (Kinabalu) and Joseph Voon Shin Choi in the Chinese-dominated Tanjung Aru constituency.

<sup>52</sup>Jeffrey Kitingan's inability to win support is also reflected in his own party, AKAR. At the time of writing, his attempt to take over the presidency of AKAR with the open endorsement of incumbent party president Mark Koding was rebuffed when 34 of 45 AKAR supreme members refused to accept his leadership.

<sup>53</sup>NST 27 April 1995

<sup>54</sup>After the election, in an apparent snub to the Kadazan-Dusun community for voting against the BN, Mahathir appointed the LDP president as a member of the federal cabinet, a post usually reserved for a non-Muslim Kadazan.

Overall, the BN probably also gained from the 'phantom' illegal Muslim Filipino vote, whose number cannot be ascertained accurately but is in the region of 50,000, according to PBS estimates.<sup>55</sup> Altogether, BN gained about 6.5 percent while PBS lost about 7 percent of the popular vote. Table 5 shows clearly that BN's gains were mainly made in the MB and NMB areas while PBS suffered most in the Chinese areas

Table 4. Results of the 1995 Sabah Parliamentary Constituencies

	BN	PBS	DAP	IND	PAS
<u>MB</u>					
Marudu	10766	*10880			
Belud	*17368	10327			
Papar	*12131	9015		257	
Beaufort	*14719	10076		221	
Sipitang	*9732	5208		162	
Beluran	*5869	5679			
Libaran	*12777	5453		215	
Kinabatangan	*6431	4533			
Silam	*15815	6737			
Semporna	*17006	4788			
Tawau	*20168	11037		372	825
Total	142782	83733		1227	825 228567
%	62.46	36.63		0.54	0.36
<u>NMB</u>					
Bandau	5851	*10716		162	
Tuaran	10108	*12114			
Penampang	12982	*14652			
Keningau	8736	*17510			
Tenom	7025	*9949		105	
Total	44,702	64941		267	109,910
%	40.67	59.08		0.24	
<u>Chinese</u>					
Gaya	*12336	12127	1541	431	
Tanjung Aru	8788	*10306	4142		
Kinabalu	6462	*7973		1953	
Sandakan	*12892	4103	9818		
Total	40478	34509	15501	2384	92872
%	43.58	37.15	16.69	2.56	

<sup>55</sup>See Joseph Pairin Kitingan's speech in the Dewan Rakyat in *NST*, 15 June 1995.

Total State	227962	183183	16902	3878	825	432750
%	52.67	42.33	3.91	0.89	0.19	

Key: MB-Muslim Bumiputera  
NMB-Non-Muslim Bumiputera/Kadazan-Dusun  
\* Victorious party

(Source: Raw data from *New Straits Times, The Star*)

Table 5. Comparison of the Sabah vote, 1994 and 1995

	1995 (%)	1994 (%)	Change
<u>MB</u>			
BN	62.46	55.93	+6.53
PBS	36.63	41.01	-4.38
<u>NMB</u>			
BN	40.67	27.82	+12.85
PBS	59.08	64.76*	-5.68
IND	0.24	4.66	-4.42
<u>Chinese</u>			
BN	43.58	46.96	-3.38
PBS	37.15	49.96	-12.81
DAP	16.70	2.69	+14.01
<u>Total Sabah</u>			
BN	52.67	46.16	+6.51
PBS	42.33	49.48	-7.15

\* The 1994 figure includes the two 'mixed' seats of Tenom and Inanan; as both had more non-Muslim voters, I've included them into the NMB category

Note: Figures do not add up to 100% because some minor parties and independents are not included.

(Source: *New Straits Times, The Star* and author's own data)

### Conclusions and Prospects

One important reason for the BN's consistent victories in Malaysia is the benefits enjoyed by being the incumbent. These include a monopoly of the broadcast media, a near monopoly of the print media and unlimited financial resources.

In Sarawak and Sabah, these two distinct advantages go a long way in explaining the electoral support enjoyed by the BN, especially in the non-urban areas. The BN's monopoly of the mass media is impressive. All the major daily newspapers in Peninsular Malaysia and the vernacular ones are owned by individuals closely connected with

UMNO, MCA and MIC. In Sarawak, all the major newspapers are owned by interests close to PBB and SUPP. The *Sarawak Tribune*, *Utusan Sarawak* and *People's Mirror* are controlled by PBB interests; for example, the executive editor of the *Sarawak Tribune* is a PBB state assemblyman. The *Borneo Post* and *See Hua Daily News* are owned by interests close to SUPP and PBB.

In Sabah, the situation is more fluid. The *Borneo Mail* is owned by PDS-related interests and therefore tends to support the BN openly. While the *Daily Express* is more independent in its reporting, nevertheless it gives prominence to the BN campaign. The Sabah edition of the *Borneo Post* is owned, as mentioned, by SUPP-related interests in Sarawak. In general, Sabah newspapers support the state government in power. During the opposition PBS years, the newspapers took a more independent line, treading carefully between PBS and the BN; this was understandable as the federal government issues the newspaper publication licenses, which are renewed annually.

There are only three television stations in Malaysia—the government-owned RTM I and II and UMNO-controlled privately-owned station TV3. All three devote extensive and openly biased coverage to the BN. More often than not, all the lead items in television news are about Mahathir and other BN leaders, economic prosperity under a BN administration, ethnic and religious harmony with a subtle warning that voting for the opposition would risk turning Malaysia into a situation like Bosnia, etc.<sup>56</sup> In Sabah and Sarawak, the radio services in the indigenous languages are an extremely powerful tool in disseminating government propaganda in the interior, where the source of daily information is usually the radio.

Unlimited financial resources gives the BN an impressive head-start to any electoral contest. Not only does it allow the BN to publish as much election propaganda as it likes, more importantly, it allows the BN to hire campaign workers to reach the maximum number of voters. Campaign workers are not cheap and can cost up to M\$100 a day in an urban constituency and much more in the remote interior. The costs incurred are significant, anywhere from M\$500,000 to M\$1m in a parliamentary constituency. The financial factor is significant in the rural constituencies of Sabah, and especially in Sarawak. Sarawak's geography means that a candidate standing in constituencies like Hulu Rejang, Telang Usan or Bukit Mas has to travel several thousand kilometres in tropical jungle conditions. Access to serious financial resources means a candidate can 'short-cut' the campaign by hiring a helicopter and planting campaign workers in remote settlements to ensure that the voters are constantly being reinforced.

Additionally, cash is needed as many rural voters expect to be 'bought'—either by direct cash inducements or material goods. In some instances, candidates do not even bother to express their political platform as the voters are only interested in the amount in exchange for their vote.<sup>57</sup> Vote buying is becoming more widespread in both Sabah

<sup>56</sup>For a discussion on how the Malaysian press promotes the BN and belittles the opposition, see Clare Boulanger, 'Government and Press in Malaysia', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XXVIII, 1-2 (1993) pp. 54-66.

<sup>57</sup>One common comment made by Sabah and Sarawak politicians was the pervasive power of the cash inducements in deciding the outcome of elections. One told

and Sarawak as many voters, including the younger educated ones, expect some form of financial reward for their political support.

The 1995 parliamentary elections in Sarawak and Sabah produced no major surprises. There was never any doubt that the BN would win in both states. This was especially so in Sarawak when PBDS was readmitted to the Sarawak BN. The near-total Sarawak BN domination became clear on nomination day when nine seats fell to the BN without a fight.

What was surprising was the margin of loss suffered by DAP's Sim Kwang Yang in Kuching. Many had expected a closer finish. As mentioned earlier, Sim's loss was primarily due to his lacklustre campaign and a long, well-planned campaign, skilfully executed by the Kuching SUPP. The voting pattern of the Sarawak Chinese paralleled the nation-wide trend in which the largely urban Chinese electorate backed the Chinese-based Barisan component parties.

The 1995 election also saw the demise of any real opposition to PBB. With Permas politically defunct, PBB is virtually unbeatable in the Malay/Melanau constituencies. Ironically, the dominance of the PBB in its constituencies means that the old fault lines in the party, Malays vs Melanau, will appear. With no clear external political challenge to solidify the party, jockeying has started among the senior PBB leaders for the position of party leader.

Sarawak's next focal point will be the state election, which must be held by the end of 1996. The current term of the Taib administration expires in September 1996, but it is almost certain that he will call an election earlier rather than later. Given the pro-establishment mood of the electorate, and that there will be no real opposition, he is likely to be tempted to ride the current wave. The danger on the horizon is that, as in previous elections, all the BN components will put up 'Independents', especially in Dayak areas. The Chinese electorate might be tempted to send a single DAP candidate to the Council Negri given the party's disastrous performance in the 1995 election. The urban Chinese mood is difficult to predict—sympathy for DAP may be the significant factor in the next state election.

In Sabah, the 1994 voting pattern was reconfirmed in the 1995 polls. Despite attempts to dilute the NMB constituencies, the solid support of the Kadazan-Dusun community for PBS meant that PBS was virtually unbeatable in Kadazan-Dusun majority constituencies. Despite this, the Kadazan-Dusun BN parties fielded candidates. The reasons are obvious—these Kadazan-Dusun BN parties could not claim NMB constituencies as they belonged to Sabah UMNO. Moreover, there was a question of credibility. In any case, these Kadazan-Dusun-based BN parties have now lost all credence in their claims to 'represent' the Kadazan-Dusun politically. This reality was

me confidently that he did not need to visit or worry about any longhouse votes in his consistency as long as he could afford to pay for the votes. Money, according to him, 'is everything'. In the urban areas since the 1980s, it is common for gamblers to bet millions on the outcome of elections and this factor alone can also effect the outcome of elections.

reflected in statements made by Jeffrey Kitingan that the Kadazan-Dusun should be united under one party. Federal leaders also know that parties such as AKAR, PDRS, etc., are in effect parties with 'too many chiefs and not enough Indians'. As a snub to the Kadazan-Dusun community, Mahathir appointed the leader of the small Chinese-based LDP party to be the Sabahan representative in the federal cabinet. This post had traditionally gone to a Kadazan-Dusun.

However, as shown earlier, PBS lost some ground in the NMB and MB constituencies. If the trend continues, PBS might be in trouble at the next state election, due by 1999. While the PBS may enjoy majority NMB support, its prospects are not bright. The longer PBS stays in the opposition, the weaker it becomes, as the government machinery will ensure that the economic patronage network is extended into PBS strongholds. Sabah BN has shown that pumping massive financial resources into Sabah can return some votes. This in turn will push PBS more and more into a Kadazan-Dusun issue party, similar to Dayakism, as espoused unsuccessfully in neighbouring Sarawak. Whether PBS can carry Kadazan-Dusun nationalism while in the political wilderness remains to be seen. Sarawak's PBDS carried it for seven years before capitulating after the 1991 polls.

In the immediate future, the political focus will be on the rotation-system for the state's chief minister as promised by Mahathir in 1994. The next change is due in March 1996 when either a NMB or a Chinese will take over. If the change takes place as scheduled, Sabah BN's legitimacy will almost certainly improve; if the change is cosmetic, then the PBS will have a powerful issue at the next electoral encounter.

In summary, the 1995 parliamentary elections did not change the political environment in either Sarawak or Sabah. For both the ruling coalition and the opposition, it was back to square one.

## URBANISATION AND RURAL DEPOPULATION IN SARAWAK

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By 1991 Sarawak had recorded the largest rural population in its history. This is in spite of an increase in the area defined as urban and a common perception that rural areas were losing population. The early 1990s however may well be the last period in which Sarawak's rural population exceeds a million people. With the overall population growth rate slowing, the continued expansion of towns and cities will ensure the gradual reduction in the numbers living in rural areas.

The rate of labour disengagement from agriculture is presently much higher than the rate of urbanisation and this is partly responsible for the high youth unemployment rate. The form that non-rural settlement takes is therefore a matter of some urgency. While the current debate considers patterns of population growth generally within the state, the critical discussions are over whether the restless young rural population should be encouraged to migrate to the large urban centres or be directed to planned rural growth or so-called 'intermediate centres'. Policy discussion focuses on the latter as an integral part of the accelerated commercialisation of agriculture and downstream processing of land based products.

This paper addresses the measurement of the relationship between rural depopulation and urbanisation using data released from the 1991 census of population and dwellings. As such it complements several previous interpretations of urbanisation in Sarawak (see Sutlive, 1985, 1986 and 1989; Ko, 1985, 1987 and 1989; Kedit, 1993 together with earlier discussions by Austin, 1977; Lee, 1970 and Jackson, 1968).

The discussion begins by introducing the latest census results on the level of urbanisation then turns to the redistribution of population over the Sarawak settlement system. The analysis highlights the unusually rapid growth in the largest three urban centres in the state and questions the ability of potential intermediate centres to redirect the stream of rural urban migrants.

## URBANISATION AND POPULATION GROWTH

Statistically speaking urbanisation is a simple concept. It refers to the combined effect of an increase in the proportion of a population as well as an increase in the absolute number of people living in urban areas. Sarawak appears to be at a critical phase in its this transition. Table 1 shows that there has been a marked increase in the rate of urbanisation; the proportion living in cities rose slowly from 15.5 percent in 1970 to 18 percent in 1980 but then more than doubled to 37.6 percent in 1991. The average annual growth in the urban population was 4.42% between 1970 and 1980 and twice this rate at 9.18% between 1980 and 1991.



TABLE 1. Population of Sarawak, level of urbanisation and rural population growth, 1970-1991

	Population in thousands				Percentage change		Average annual % change	
	1970	1980 (adj)	1991 (adj)	1980-70	1991-80	1980-70	1991-80	
Population	976.30	1307.60	1718.40	33.93	31.42	2.92	2.48	
Urban proportion	0.16	0.18	0.38					
Urban population	151.33	235.37	646.12	55.54	174.51	4.42	9.18	
Rural population	824.97	1072.23	1072.28	29.97	0.00	2.62	0.00	

Note: Adj refers to adjustment for undercount

Source: Department of Statistics Malaysia Vol. 1, Table 2.2, page 26.

Even with this increased level of urbanisation, population growth was still high enough to cause the number living in rural areas to continue to rise throughout the 1980s. One component of this growth in the rural population of Sarawak was the number of (occupied) dwelling units (*bileks*) in longhouses. This count rose by nearly 20 percent between the last two census years, from 54,670 to 65,065.<sup>1</sup> When compared with the 5.2% average annual rate of increase for dwelling units as a whole the increase of 2.6 percent per year in the number of dwellings in longhouses was substantial (Department of Statistics 1995c, Table 2.3, p 11).<sup>2</sup> Although many more longhouses are now within commuting distance of non-agricultural employment centres due to transport improvements, the rise in the number of such dwelling units is still indicative of the low levels of industrialisation and the precarious nature of alternative non-farm employment opportunities within the state. It is in this context that we need to explore the changing characteristics of the Sarawak settlement system.

#### The Sarawak settlement system

We can distinguish at least four qualitatively different forms of settlement in Sarawak beginning with the large urban centres. The first three levels are broadly consistent with the proposed national settlement hierarchy (see Dandot, 1993:17).

1. The fully grown towns which contain a wide variety of commercial, administrative and recreational functions.

2. The second level of settlement are the smaller towns which typically have a wider variety of specialist as well as general shops, an administrative headquarters up to subdivision and in some cases divisional level. Large health centres and secondary schools may also appear.

3. The third level of settlement are the trading centres and bazaars positioned along the rivers and increasingly the roads and which often serve a widely scattered rural population. Bazaars typically contain several shop houses, often a health clinic and sometimes a primary school. It is a selection of settlements at this level of the hierarchy which have been proposed as the basis for rural growth centres.

4. The fourth level of settlement is the rural village, kampong or longhouse. These rural settlements were developed to serve the immediate accommodation, administrative, security and community needs of rural households themselves. The longhouse proved to have a number of advantages in exploiting a particular agricultural form, notably the

<sup>1</sup>The post enumeration survey (PES) after the 1980 census revealed undercoverage of 0.5 percent and suggested an adjustment of the 1980 figure to 55,000. The results of the 1991 PES have not yet been released but can be expected to point to an undercoverage as well.

<sup>2</sup>The reporting of the geography of longhouses differs between the two census. The 1980 census simply classifies all longhouses as rural but the inclusion of built-up areas in the definition of urban in 1991 probably accounts for the classification of 1.5 percent of longhouses as urban (Ibid Table 2.5: 14) Nearly seventy percent (68.0%) of all Iban households in rural areas lived in longhouses—compared to 15.7% of Bidayuh and 43.6% of 'Other Indigenous' (Ibid).

forest fallow system although today the longhouse, like the kampong, often forms a residential base for a much more diversified 'rural' economy which can include commuting and circular migration to employment in larger settlements within the hierarchy (see Morrison, 1993).

A settlement system defined in this way stands in contrast to the simple dichotomy of urban and rural which are used to organise many of the census results. While such a dichotomy may appear to introduce some consistency with the rest of Malaysia, as a classification it is not particularly sensitive to the much more fluid urban-rural continuity which strikes the student of Sarawak. In order to address this point, we turn to the definitions of urban as they have been applied to Sarawak in the latest population census.

#### *Defining urban in Sarawak*

Officially two distinct criteria are used in defining settlements, a numerical one and an administrative one. The department of statistics in its definition of stratum makes a distinction between four types of urban area according to their population: what they called metropolitan  $\geq 75,000$ , urban large  $\geq 10,000$ , urban small  $1,000 < 10,000$  and rural  $\leq 999$  (Department of Statistics, 1983).

The size of an urban area and hence its population depends on how the term urban itself is defined. Clearly the presence of non-agricultural activities and the population density are important. As a city grows it will expand so that areal extent cannot be fixed over time without undercounting the increase in the urban population. There was belief in Malaysia that such undercounting occurred between 1970 and 1980 so, rather than simply declaring an area with 10,000 people or more 'urban' as in the 1970 and 1980, in the 1991 census "adjoining built-up areas which had a combined population of 10,000 or more" were also designated as urban. In order to be so defined, these built-up areas contiguous to a gazetted area also had to have 60 per cent of their population (aged 10 years or more) engaged in non-agricultural activities and at least 30 percent of their housing units had to have modern toilet facilities (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 1992b:12).

As a result of applying these criteria to Sarawak seven 'urban' areas were identified in 1991: Kuching, Sibü, Miri, Bintulu, Sarikei, Sri Aman and Limbang and it is these seven 'urban' areas which are used to calculate the official level of urbanisation of 37.4% (or 37.6% using the population adjusted for undercounting). As Table 2 shows, according to this definition over two thirds of the urban population in the state is concentrated in only two urban areas, Kuching and Sibü and over eighty percent when the third largest centre, Miri, is added.

TABLE 2. Number of persons in urban areas, town and built-up areas, 1991.

Urban area	Total urban	Proportion of urban population	Cumulative proportion of urban population	Townland	Built-up area
Kuching	277,346	44.99	44.99	147,729	129,617
Sibü	133,471	21.65	66.65	126,384	7,087
Miri	102,969	16.70	83.35	87,230	15,739
Bintulu	52,020	8.44	91.79	11,415	40,605
Sarikei	21,136	3.43	95.22	19,256	1,880
Sri Aman	18,526	3.01	98.23	4,095	14,431
Limbang	10,940	1.77	100.00	10,940	0
Total urban	616,408	100.00		407,049	209,359
Total urban adjusted	646,111				

Sarawak Population - unadj = 1,648,217; adj = 1,718,380.

Urbanisation rate - unadj. = 37.4; adj. = 37.6

Note: Adjusted population and urbanisation rates from Department of Statistics, 1995a, Table 1.1.

Source: Department of Statistics Malaysia, 1992c, Table 10, page 55 (unadjusted counts).

Although identifying size of urban areas helps modify the rural-urban dichotomy, the concept of urban present in the numerical criteria still creates an artificial breakpoint in what is a much more fluid settlement system. We turn therefore to settlements defined by administrative criteria.

#### *Settlements defined by administrative criteria*

In contrast to the numerical criteria which divide Sarawak into urban and rural areas on the basis of urban size, administrative criteria use governance in order to distinguish between settlements. The administrative classification also uses a loose population criteria and an appreciation of the variety of services centres providing urban type functions. Such divisions are largely historical with periodic changes made to reflect changes in the distribution of population and the changing needs of governance.

The administrative basis for classifying settlements is the Local Authority Area or LAA system. These administrative areas form another level of administration within the District for LAAs are usually gazetted consolidations of towns and villages (including new villages). They are administered by City Councils, Municipal Councils and District Councils formed in Sarawak under the provisions of the respective enactments of the Local Government Ordinance (1977) (Department of Statistics Malaysia 1992b:9).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In Sarawak there is only one City Council, two Municipal Councils, 19 District Councils, two rural district councils and a development board making a total of 25 local authorities (Ibid:Appendix 1 :189). In Sarawak, LAAs extend fully to the district boundaries but in some cases they cover more than one district. The data produced in the

Within the LAA there are two additional settlement concepts, townlands and bazaars. Typically a District will have at least one townland (if not an urban area as defined under the numerical criteria) and several bazaars. These may or may not be within or absorbed by the built up surrounds of the urban area. Figure 1 illustrates these various concepts from the numerical and administrative definitions.

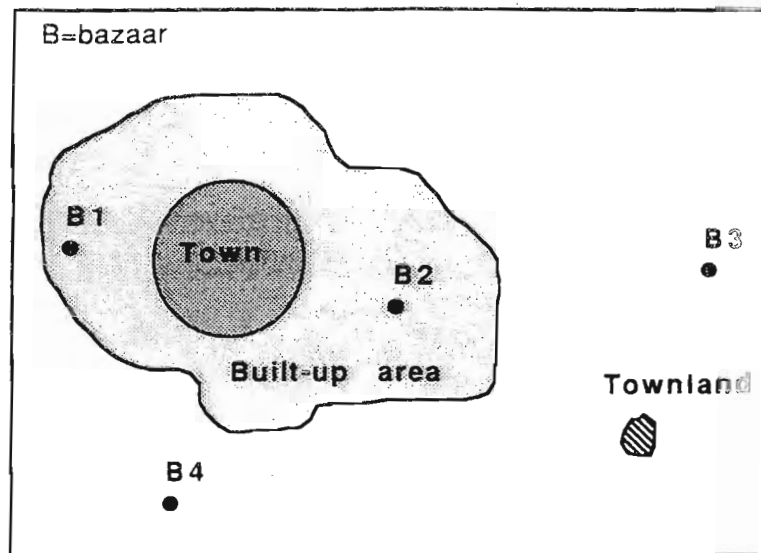


Figure 1. Settlement types in Sarawak. A schematic representation.

#### Summary

At this stage it is useful to summarise the points made so far. Firstly according to the 1991 population census results Sarawak was still a predominantly rural state having just recorded its largest rural population. Secondly, according to recently applied definitions, Sarawak is urbanising rapidly, with the proportion living in cities having been recalculated as 37.6 percent in 1991. At the same time, and this is the third point,

local authority report (1992b) are based on summary counts made soon after the census field operations but prior to the computer processing of the census questionnaires. Users are "cautioned that there will be some differences between the figures shown and the final census figures" (p10-11) however the final census figures in Vol 1 and 2 are not given for the local authority areas covered in the preliminary report and so at this stage checking can only be made at higher levels of spatial aggregation.

the simple dichotomy of urban and rural is not particularly helpful in understanding what is happening to population redistribution in the state. Rather than simply calculating changes in the level of urbanisation, it may be more helpful to look at changes in the settlement system as a whole and it is to this issue that we now turn.

#### CHANGES IN THE SARAWAK SETTLEMENT SYSTEM

The way in which settlement systems change can be approached from a number of different perspectives. Our approach is to examine the relationship between settlement size and rates of population growth concentrating on the first three levels of the settlement hierarchy: main townlands, smaller townlands and bazaars.

One way to do this is to examine the change in the population of each settlement between 1980 and 1991. By comparing the size of individual settlements nine or so years apart we can show where within the system the growth (and decline) has occurred. This is most easily done by plotting the population of each settlement in 1991 against its population in 1980. The result is shown in Figure 2.

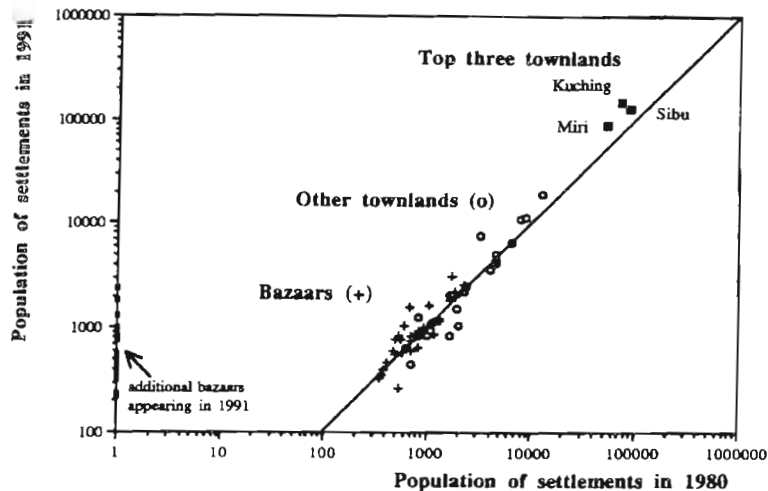


Figure 2. Differential growth in the Sarawak settlement system

Figure 2 shows some settlements growing (appearing above the diagonal line) and others declining (appearing below the diagonal, 45° line). It shows clearly that the large townlands in the system grew fastest: Kuching townland for example grew by over 6.5 percent per annum, Miri by 3.6% and Sibul by 4.7%.<sup>4</sup> They were followed by townlands

<sup>4</sup>By using administrative classifications of townland rather than urban areas we are taking a different basis of classifying urban (recall Table 2) and this in turn alters the

which also grew but at the much slower rate of 1.65 percent per annum and by the bazaars which averaged a growth rate of only 1.2 percent per annum. A regression line fitted separately through the large and small townlands indicated quite clearly that within each settlement type, the larger ones grew more rapidly. However no such change proportional to size was apparent for bazaars.

The overall impression we get from Figure 2 therefore is of bazaars, while increasing their average size over the intercensal period, doing so at a slower rate than did townlands. Also, unlike townlands, larger bazaar settlements did not grow more rapidly than small ones. This suggests that those cumulative, reinforcing forces which are characteristic of urban growth do not come into play until settlements reach a certain size. Furthermore, as size of the settlement increases, so these growth forces become stronger.

#### *Implications*

What are the implications of these results for a national settlement strategy? In particular what does the play of market forces over the last intercensal period suggest for the likely success of rural growth centres and 'intermediate towns'? Size distributions alone are only a crude guide, but what emerges quite clearly from the most recent intercensal evidence is the importance of urban size and strength of the largest centres to attract population. Not only were the large centres growing much more rapidly than smaller centres but they were doing so at the expense of these smaller centres of potentially higher growth.

This last point raises an important question about the relationship between urban growth process in Sarawak and the pattern of migration within the state. Are we seeing in the 1990s net movements from rural, longhouse settlements to smaller towns and then subsequent movement to the large centres, or is the predominant movement directly from rural to large urban centres? This is likely to be an important question if the state is looking to the smaller bazaar sized areas and small towns as policy instruments to intervene and divert migration of its young rural labour force to the large towns of Kuching, Sibuan and Miri.

relative ranking of the largest centres. The overall conclusions we draw from the graphical analysis are not greatly affected by this shift from 'urban' to 'townland' although the magnitude of the parameters of growth would be.

This estimate is based only on those bazaars identifiable in reports from both the 1980 and 1991 censuses. A number of new settlements were identified as bazaars for the first time in 1991, not because they were new settlements per se but because they (presumably) passed some threshold necessitating their labelling as such. The size distribution of these 'new' bazaars is shown on the vertical axis of Figure 2. Unfortunately there is no discussion of such thresholds in the census volume published to date nor are the operational measures of townlands and bazaar discussed. Census users would obviously benefit from such clarification.

Another question worth asking is whether our focus on the overall settlement system as opposed to just urban areas affects our estimate of the rural population? When just towns, townlands and bazaars are used, the urbanisation level is actually reduced to 30.6 percent which is lower than the 37.4 percent obtained when the extended definition of urban is used. The reason, as Figure 2 suggests, is the inclusion not only of bazaars in areas about the large towns into the newly defined urban centres, but other populations as well including up to 40% which might be agricultural. This built up population is clearly a substantial proportion of the urban - over half in fact (as we saw in Table 2). A closer look at what the blanket application of such definitions to the Sarawak case means for how we interpret the geography of population growth in the state would seem worthwhile.

#### **Conclusion**

The Sarawak space economy is at an important stage in its transition from a predominantly rural to one in which urban location is assuming a growing importance both as a statistical category and as a point of population concentration. This is particularly relevant for the Iban and other indigenous populations whose urbanisation rates have historically been very low (see Ko, 1985; Sutlive 1985, 1986 and 1989). Although the rural population is at its largest recorded level, increasing urbanisation rates are operating on a rural population whose overall growth rate is slowly declining and this will ensure that the rural population will decline throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. If differences in the rate of natural increase between rural and urban continue to diminish and in and out migration rates between Sarawak and other states of Malaysia remain low then it is likely that growth in both the number and proportion of the population in urban areas will continue to depend almost entirely on rural-urban migration within Sarawak itself.

The evidence presented in this paper shows that rates of urban growth into the early 1990s were proportional to urban size, which means that most of the growth is occurring in the three major urban centres. This is a strong force which is also experienced within Peninsular Malaysia as a whole and all ASEAN countries and one which is extremely difficult to counter. While the concept of rural growth centres and intermediate centres may be attractive on paper they are predicated on the local acceptance of wage labour in agricultural estates and semi-rural agricultural and timber processing centres as well as an acceptance of the limited educational opportunities which presently characterise rural and small town Sarawak. While growth centres improve the basis for some specified local growth, the overwhelming trend in the decades leading to 2020 will likely mirror those just described for the 1980s: rapid growth of the major centres, slower growth of small towns and bazaar: coupled with labour shortages in commercial agriculture. Evidence during the 1990s suggests that only unprecedented immigration of a rural based labour force from outside Malaysia is likely to slow this net redistribution of the population.

### Acknowledgments

This paper was written while I was a Research Fellow in ASEAN affairs at the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in 1995. I wish to thank the Institute permanent staff for their practical assistance and to acknowledge the role played by the New Zealand High Commission in their funding of short term fellowships. I also wish to thank, Douglas Alau Tayan, Abdul Rashid Abdullah, Peter Songan, Jayl Langub, Clifford Sather and Norjayardi Abdullah for their assistance and hospitality during my visit to Sarawak in November and Jegak Uli during my visit to Kuala Lumpur. Any errors in this paper remain mine.

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## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

## KENYAH ORAL LITERATURE

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To differ with a Borneologist can be dangerous to your academic health; it's rash to tug the tail of a lurking python-dragon, as one poet put it. Though I dread distressing my good friend Bernard Sellato, for and with whom I've spent many happy hours slaving over translation, I must note a few points in his recent article on "Culture and Conservation" in Kayan-Mentarang (BRB 26) on which his energy, initiative and crowded agenda seem to me to have led him astray. I'm the more ready to do this as it permits me to thank personally a number of people to whom credit is due, and to add to Bernard's report brief notes on primary sources now preserved, and on a methodology that could make more of them available faster to all of us.

First (p. 55), I thank IDR for hosting the oral literature workshop I taught in Pontianak in 1993, and Bernard for helping me. This gave me the chance to test my old "Outline for a Collector's Question List for Bornean Oral Literature" (BRB 24) as a teaching tool and field guide, and so to find in its many flaws the inspiration to revise and expand it. The 42-page *Question List for Field Research in Oral Tradition*, with its translation *Manual untuk Peneliti Lapangan Proyek Tradisi Lisan* (for the first draft of which I thank IDR's Stepanus Djuweng and John Bamba), can be had now as printout or database (contact [morgan@pontianak.wasantara.net.id](mailto:morgan@pontianak.wasantara.net.id)).

Second (pp. 63), to credit the linguist Sri Munawarah with work on the Bakung Lexicon, for words found in her field charts of phonemes and prefixes (1993), would be an unwarrantable neglect of equally helpful people such as linguist Antonia Soriente (for word lists in local dialects, 1993), and of those whose contributions were greater, most especially Drs. Albert Rufinus, whose 1991 Bakung word list formed the original core of the Lexicon. Useful comments came from Tim Jessup, and published papers offered other words and explanations for later checking; but by far the most important among contributors is one who all but wrote the dictionary, Long Aran artist and schoolteacher Noh La'ing. He was involved from the start, making a first transcription and word-for-word translation of Pui Panye's *Tekena' Sinan La'ing*, helping Rufinus compile his list from this text (1991), and then in 1993 helping me expand and refine that list both off-the-cuff and through the new transcription, translations and detailed clarifications of TSL which he made for me. Noh also checked two versions of the Lexicon that I sent to him in 1994 and 1995, and (alone among all who've had copies) mailed them back with comments and additions. As for TSL itself, mentioned a bit confusingly on p. 62, it is the first and still the only Bakung text to have been computer-typed in full in spelling conforming to the standard the Lexicon defines. Using the SIL program SHOEBOS along with WordPerfect, I turned both text and Lexicon into databases, and edited both at once as I made an increasingly automatic interlinear word-

for-word translation of all of TSL in Indonesian and English, the basis for free translations still incomplete. I do want to stress, flattered though I am by Bernard's threat elsewhere to publish both lexicon and text, that neither of these is now publishable; they are process, not product. The more that's done with the Bakung material (below), the better they'll become. Not that they're unavailable: again, anyone interested in program, lexicon or text can contact me for the files.

Third (p. 66), though I thank Bernard for including me among the researchers whose reports are to appear in C&C's final volume, I was surprised to see that I've undertaken to sum up the types and themes of Dayak Kenyah oral literature in Long Pujungan district. Fine as it would be to be able to write now at this level of generalization, I can't; nor would I have been eager to add that research to my job description if it had been mentioned in 1993, when I was contracted as consultant and supervisor of C&C's fieldworkers in oral literature, with special responsibility for reworking TSL. An eventual paper on Kenyah perceptions of human-environment relationships was as general an analysis as I dared hope to make, and I did feel (still do) that even this ought to be based on more than one flawed translation, or even four, from just one of the district's dialects. Then and now, I can't help but believe that primary sources—the carefully transcribed, meticulously translated and well-annotated words of singers and tale-tellers themselves—will be more valuable in the long run than anything that even the wisest and most experienced researcher may say about them now. These are the voices that are going silent; these are what there is to analyze, the only source of data in any field to which oral literature matters; these are what the tale-tellers' grandchildren should have the chance to read, what research promises to preserve.

Quite a number of long tales (*tekena'* or *ketena'*, the richest archives of cultural information) have in fact been recorded from the three C&C field sites in the Bahau, and work in two dialects is still continuing. There have been two "phases" of fieldwork since C&C left the field in 1993, carried out at each site by native-speakers, under WWF contract in early 1994 and more informally since then for me. Of Bakung *tekena'* from Long Aran, 6 were recorded in 1991, 17 in 1993, 20 more by Noh La'ing in early 1994; 15 so far have been transcribed with word-for-word translations, and Noh is still at work part-time. Five Lepo' Ke *ketena'* were recorded at Apau Ping in 1993-94, two of which have been transcribed and one translated word-for-word (few indeed, and no reflection of what could be done). Seven Lepu' Ma'ut *ketena'* were recorded in late 1993 and 35 more in 1994-95 by Daniel Lawing at Long Alango, his home town; he has transcribed and translated 17 of these and is going back for more. Recording is not really a problem, given time, people, tools and a little money (U.S. \$1500 over the two years since WWF funding ended); at any rate, it's less problematic than dealing fairly with what's recorded. Wrestling with versions of TSL taught me something about the pros and cons of word-for-word translation, in particular the absolute necessity (*pace* Bernard) of making an independent standard for spelling and translation, a lexicon storing every subtlety of form and meaning. I found that applying SHOEBOS to that work spared me a huge amount of drudgery. From any good computer-typed text you can create (or refine) a lexicon; that lexicon will make editing and translating any other text in the language, at the "crib" level, increasingly precise and automatic; hard-earned knowledge

is stored to serve you later, or anyone else; and you've left free to translate with some attention to, dare I say it, art. I've tested this process on three of the five epics of the Kayan *Takna' Lawe'* edited by Ding Ngo, using his massive Kamus as the lexicon; it works, and it could work also for the Bahau tales, speeding the process of moving them off their shelves in Pontianak and Samarinda, back out to where we want and need them. (I wrote a brief guide to SHOEBOX for translators, with comments on word-for-word and free translation and background glossaries, to help spare other text workers my trials and errors; again, anyone interested in this or the texts themselves can contact me.)

Last, I was a bit bemused by Bernard's characterization of Bahau Kenyah cultures as having maintained their traditional ways (p. 67): do we by now include in tradition a sturdy (if splintered) Protestant faith and satellite TV?... (Apau Ping got its first *parabola* while we were there.) Nowhere in Borneo these days is remote enough to be changeless; nowhere can the study of oral tradition be safely postponed. About this, and the need for it, we can all agree.

THE SABAH ORAL LITERATURE PROJECT:  
REPORT FOR THE PERIOD 1986 TO 1995

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### Introduction

The Sabah Oral Literature Project was established to collect, preserve, and translate oral literature of the various peoples of northern Sabah. In 1986 we realized that there was a need for such a project when we were able to return to our study of the Rungus after a hiatus of 23 years. We found that the old adat of marriage and death had largely disappeared, the Rungus language was being eroded, and religious ceremonies associated with agriculture, illness, infertility, and misfortune were no longer being held. All these ceremonies were occasions in the past of major oral performances.

It was clear that if something were not done in the next five to ten years, the oral literature of the people in the Kudat Division would be gone. In addition to the Rungus, some 16 other Dusunic or Paitanic speaking peoples live in the area.

### The Oral Literature of the Rungus

The oral literature of the peoples of Sabah contains important knowledge regarding the environment and its uses. It gives us insight into the human condition during a time in which small communities lived by subsistence agriculture. Most importantly, this literature has aesthetic value, as a fully developed art form.

Rungus oral literature comprises a variety of genre. First, there are historical narratives. Some tell of life before the arrival of the British; others tell of how the

British established their rule. There are also myths and legends. These tell how the world was formed, how it was populated, and how it came to be as it is. Some explain how the landscape came into being, highlighting symbolically significant topographic features with local religious connotations. There are also long prayers that formerly accompanied sacrifices made to the rice spirits and to spirits that destroy fields and plantings. Finally, there are sacred texts recited by the *bobolizan*, the Rungus priestesses and spirit-mediums. These are performed to cure illness, sanctify marriage ceremonies, increase agricultural success, prevent epidemics, restore fertility, and increase success in accumulating wealth in gongs, jars, and brassware. These sacred texts are termed *rinait*. They tell of the work of the gods and demigods and are composed in poetic couplets. The first line of each couplet is in standard Rungus, the second line is in ritual lexicon. Some verses are chanted, others sung, in moving, beautiful performances.

### Organizing the Oral Literature Project

How to collect this important oral literature? My wife and I are no longer young, and we have other obligations, so that we recognized that we could not complete this task ourselves. Furthermore, we realized that it needed the involvement of local people to succeed. This is particularly so for the critical task of transcribing tape recordings. So we determined upon the following personnel:

1. An individual to transcribe the texts.
2. A field collector and an associate to accompany him as he visited various villages to tape record the literature.

The first step was to select and train a local Rungus team. We began this while visiting the Rungus in 1986.

In 1987 we brought the now Director of the Kudat Office to our research facilities in the United States to train him in tape recording and transcription. He was accompanied by his father and at this time we also started to translate oral literature, annotate it, and provide cultural commentaries. However, this individual, who was supposed to do collecting, was unable to get enough free time from his work with the government. Consequently, he undertook only to transcribe in his spare time and to run the Kudat Office.

In 1990 the present field collector and his assistant were added to the team and received initial training when we visited the Rungus in 1990. During the following year the field collector traveled throughout the Kudat area tape recording various oral traditions. He was accompanied by an older man who remembered the traditional culture and had contacts with spirit-mediums and others knowledgeable in oral history, folktales, and myth. It was decided in 1991 that the work of the field collector and his assistant had progressed so well that they were in a position to benefit from further training. Consequently, during the first half of 1992, they received additional training at our facilities in the United States. This training was intended to sharpen their skills in locating critical types of oral literature, collecting background to the sacred texts, and recording exegesis. This was done by working on translations of material already collected. In addition to expanding the body of already translated works, training revealed gaps in our recordings, lines of inquiry that needed to be followed up, and

questions to be asked in collecting additional texts and in the further exegesis of materials already collected.

In 1992 we discovered that for any particular ceremony, texts were highly variable between individual priestesses, even between those who were teacher and student. Consequently, we set a goal of collecting several examples of the each type of text for comparison.

Previously, our field collector had been working on the project in his spare time. We approached him with the proposition of working full time after his training in 1992. He agreed to this. However, during our 1994 field session, we discovered that he and his assistant had ceased recording texts. We therefore had to locate and train a new team. We had been working for several years with a Rungus *bobolizan* on religious literature and she offered to help. She had a son who could write both Malay and Rungus, and we formed them as a team to continue collection. The *bobolizan* located other priestesses and negotiated with them to record their *rinait* in exchange for an appropriate payment of beads and money.

#### Collecting Experience and Expanding Collection to Other Groups in Kudat Division

By the end of 1996 we expect to have collected about 90% of Rungus oral literature. We have also been able to record the tunes that sacred texts are sung to. We found that recording the songs interfered with transcription and comprehension of the texts. It is difficult to understand phrases when sung, and so we focused first on textual recording and transcription and then on the tunes.

By early 1992 we were concerned over the slow pace of collection, for there were still other groups in the Kudat division that needed to have their oral literature collected and preserved. The original Rungus team was prepared to begin collecting among these groups and were trained to locate personnel who have an interest in the work and to train them on how to start their own collecting teams. Unfortunately, to date, this has not worked out.

#### Philosophy of Project

The philosophy has been to encourage and train local personnel to collect and preserve the oral traditions of their own ethnic group.

#### Exegesis and a Rungus Cultural Dictionary

Tape recording and transcription are only half the story. While this work preserves important texts, unless this material is translated, commented upon, interpreted, and explained, the task is only half done. Without exegesis, interpretation, annotation, explanation, and commentary, texts lose much of their beauty and power. Metaphors, for example, need to be unraveled in order to understand the depth of meaning of texts. It is important to note that this effort is not just for those who are strangers to the society. The younger generation are also losing their understanding of traditional metaphors, so that in the future, unless we record exegesis, such texts will remain opaque and inexplicable. In this area, time is running out.

In order to do proper translation and arrive at a full understanding of metaphorical language, we have been working over the years on a *Rungus Cultural Dictionary*. This started out as a simple dictionary, but it is now much more than that. It includes explanations of words in their cultural context, descriptions of beliefs, accounts of the uses of tools, the nature of gods and spirits, and of different ceremonies. This work, at present, is still far from complete. We are adding to it each year from the oral literature materials we and the project personnel have been collecting.

#### Additional Purposes of The Project

The project was designed to test procedures for the collection and preservation of oral literature in Sabah. When we began we did not know whether our methods would work or not. If they did, it was our hope that they could be developed into a working model for other such projects. It is hoped that this project will encourage the development of similar projects in other regions of Sabah and Borneo and demonstrate to local people how they can rapidly move to collect and preserve their own oral heritage before it is lost. In this regard, we are willing to help train anyone or any group of people who would like to start their own oral literature collection.

But it is important to make one thing clear. Tape recording this literature is only half the problem. While important and critical, just as important is to have someone knowledgeable in the culture to provide an exegesis of it and, drawing on this material, to build a cultural dictionary for the community. The Rungus in this sense are lucky. But, for other groups, where will ethnographers come from to produce similar cultural dictionaries? There seems to be little interest in this problem. However, something is better than nothing. So we are going to continue to support our Rungus field team to expand their activities into the other linguistic groups in the Kudat Division. To collect this literature will take years of work. Perhaps we can train the Rungus team to pick up some of the cultural contexts in which this literature is performed and some of its complex metaphors and references, and, perhaps, they will discover local individuals who would like to take on this work themselves.

#### Payment for Tape Recording

We do not pay individuals for the myths, stories, legends, or oral histories we record. Nor do we pay for recording agricultural rituals. However, to record the hymns, chants, and songs of the Rungus priestesses, payment is required. This is because anyone who wants to learn these texts has to pay the priestesses a considerable sum for the training; thus, these texts are valuable and a form of income for the priestesses. We pay in both beads and money.

#### Equipment and Procedures

We use a Sony Pro Walkman Portable Cassette tape recorder for recording in the field. A duplicate of each tape is made to be used for transcribing the material into Rungus. To transcribe the texts, a Sony transcribing machine is used. All original tape recordings are archived in fireproof filing cabinets at our home office.



### Progress to Date

1. Cultural Dictionary: Manuscript to date includes 1723 pages and approximately 18,000 entries.
2. Oral Literature Tape Recorded and Transcribed
  - a. Tape recordings to date: 225 hours
  - b. Number of pages transcribed to date: 6916
  - c. Percentage of tape recordings transcribed: 60%
3. Translation: In first draft approximately 10% of corpus.

### Funding of the Project

We are now trying to find the funds to support this effort, but if we are not successful, we have assured the team that we will use our own limited resources to fund the project, which requires a commitment of 15 to 20 years. Up to this point the work has been supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Anthropological Foundation, the Borneo Research Council, The Halcyon Fund, and by my wife and myself.

We do not believe that this project will be completely successful with just the involvement of local people in the collection of this oral literature. It will have reached its full potential only when the costs of the project are also funded locally in Sabah.

### Some Theoretical Issues

In some cases we have collected the same text from the same individual at two different points in time. This is to ascertain how fluid or set the texts may be. We have also collected texts from a teacher and her student, to see how accurate the oral transmittal and commitment to memory of these texts can be. And we have found variation in both instances.

The origin of sacred texts is attributed to dreams. But in their repetition and transmittal, they are embellished and modified by each performer. While some of this modification represents true creative genius, not all of it can be described as inspired creative acts. There are creative annotations in which verses from one text are added to another, or embellishments describing the behavior of the gods that are added at places where they were not present before. These materials have implications with regard to the interpretation of oral literature, particularly with regard to the concept of 'formula'. The idea of the formulaic character of oral literature originated with Milman Parry in his study of Yugoslavian oral epic poetry. He compared the forms of formulaic diction found in these texts to those found in the Homeric epics. He concluded that the Homeric epics arose originally as oral literature and were not composed as written texts, as we know them today. This conclusion was developed and refined by Albert Lord. In essence the formula is a "group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (Stolz and Shannon 1976: ix). Examples are: "Achilles swift of foot," or "Hector of the flashing helmet," but there are other forms as well, such as the repetition of phrases and whole sequences of lines (Lloyd-Jones 1992: 52).

Certain types of Rungus sacred texts, those which are poems and are chanted and sung, exhibit formulaic construction. They are composed in couplets, with the first line

in standard language and the second, amplifying the first, in an esoteric, ritual lexicon, used only in these texts and in songs. This is similar to what is reported for the Berawan by Metcalf (1989) and found in Sulawesi and Eastern Indonesia (see Fox 1988).

An interesting aspect of the Rungus ritual lexicon is that it contains lexemes that are part of the standard lexicon of other languages in Borneo. For example, the longhouse apartment in Rungus is *ongkob*. In Rungus ritual language, however, is it *lamin*, which is the standard term for longhouse apartment among the Bulusu', who live up river from Tarakan in East Kalimantan.

Not all Rungus sacred texts are in poetic form using couplets. There is also a significant body of oral literature that is composed in prose and has none of the characteristics of formulaic composition.

### Conclusions

This project will result in an archive of tape recordings and transcriptions. Just as in the United Kingdom, where students read, study, and enjoy the magnificent Beowulf, the old Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Sagas; just as in Norway where people read the old Norse Sagas to learn about their history and where they came from; just as in Iceland where Icelanders read, enjoy, and discuss the Saga of Burnt Njal; just as in Greece where Greeks read and study their Homeric epics to inform them of their history and to define their identity; just as in India where the Ramayana and Mahabharata are read to provide similar understanding, it is my hope that some day in Sabah students will read in their schools some of the great oral literature that we are collecting and find out more about their own roots, more about their history, and more about those times that their ancestors lived in. And it is also my hope that these epic poems, stories, myths, and legends will be read by educated people everywhere not only for their great aesthetic merit but to understand the human condition as it was once lived in Sabah.

### APPENDIX I

#### Patron, Personnel, and Sponsoring Committee

##### Patron

The Right Honorable Datuk Seri Joseph Pairin Kitingan, former Chief Minister of Sabah.

##### Personnel

G. N. Appell, Director; L. W. R. Appell, Assistant Director; Win Malanjun, Director of the Kudat Office.

##### Sponsoring Committee

Professor Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. (College of William and Mary), Dr. Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Sabah Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Sports), Ms. Joanna Kiskey (Department of Sabah Museum and State Archives), Mr. Jude Kiskey, Professor Victor

T. King (Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull University), Dr. Clifford Sather (Reed College).

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## IBAN SHAMANISM WORKSHOP (AUM BALA MANANG)

Kapit, Sarawak, 10-12th August, 1995

Clifford Sather

Dept of Anthropology, Reed College  
Portland, OR 97202, U.S.A.

From August 10th through 12th, 1995, the Tun Jugah Foundation, in cooperation with the Majlis Adat Istiadat, sponsored, as the first of its kind, a gathering and workshop of practicing Iban shamans (*manang*). The gathering was held at Kapit and was attended by thirty-eight *manang* from communities throughout the Sri Aman, Sarikei, Sibul, and Kapit Divisions. In addition, 15 *lemambang* (bards) participated together with a number of others especially versed in *adat* and oral tradition.

The workshop was opened with a prayer ritual (*bedara'*) performed by *Manang* Tuing ak Remang of Pakan. This was followed by a welcoming speech by Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi, Chairman of the Tun Jugah Foundation, and by speeches by Tan Sri Datuk Gerunsin Lembat, Director, Majlis Adat Istiadat, and YB Tan Sri Datuk Amar Alfred Jabu ak Numpang, the Deputy Chief Minister of Sarawak. The opening ceremony was concluded by a performance of the *nyempiang ayu* (clearing around the *ayu*) rite by *Manang* Rampa ak Ngerubung of Baleh, one of four female *manang* who participated in the workshop. This was followed by a traditional *biau pengabang* (ritual welcoming of guests) performed by *Manang* Bakir ak Ajan of Awik, Saratok.

The main workshop was organized around two morning and one afternoon sessions, beginning at 8 a.m. and ending at 6 p.m., followed by dinner and an evening performance and further discussions. Following the opening ceremony, two sessions were held on August 11th and three on August 12th. Each session had a chair and organizing panel, while the *manang* spoke, often at length, from the floor. In treating topics, an effort was made to obtain the views of *manang* from each major river area represented among the participants. While the chair and panel kept discussions focused, and at times posed general questions, sessions were wide-ranging and discussions were dominated throughout by the *manang* themselves.

## 11TH AUGUST

*Session One*, "Jalai Pelian" (Chair, YB Dr. James Masing; panel, T.S. Datuk Gerunsin Lembat, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi, YB Jimmy Donald, and Henry Gana Ngadi). Discussion during this session focused on the nature and purpose of different *pelian* (shamanic curing rituals); symptoms of illness, particularly as related to the state of the *semengat* and *ayu*, and procedures and stages of diagnosis and treatment.

*Session Two*, "Ensera Manang" (Chair, T.S. Datuk Gerunsin Lembat; panel, Datuk Temenggong Jinggut ak Attan, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi, YB Jimmy Donald, and Henry Gana). This session took up myths, narratives, and saga (*ensera'*) relating to the origins of Iban shamanism; the identity of the major shamanic gods and spirits, and the nature of the cosmological world of Iban shamans.

Evening Workshop: "Randau enggau Bala Manang", 8-11 p.m.

This session consisted of conversations by the shamans concerning prohibitions (*penti/pemali*), restrictions on visitors, and other rules relating to the *pelian*, or observed after their conclusion, and the fees (*upah*) paid for performance of different types of *pelian*. Also discussed was the role of the shamans' spirit-guide (*yang*) and the special rules observed upon the death of a shaman.

## 12TH AUGUST

*Session Three*, "Jalai Nyadi Manang" (Chair, YB Jimmy Donald; panel, Prof Vinson Sutlive, Dr. Clifford Sather, T.S. Datuk Gerunsin Lembat, and Henry Gana). This session concerned the processes by which ordinary Iban become *manang*, the role of dreams and spirit-guides, and the significance of trance (*luput*) in curing. A major

topic of the session was the ritual of induction (*bebangun*) by which initiates become acknowledged shamans. Also touched on was the role of women *manang* and the place of the *manang bali* or "transformed shamans".

*Session Four*, "Perengka Manang" (Chair, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi, panel, Datuk Temenggong Jinggut, YB Jimmy Donald, Prof. Vinson Sutlive, Pemanca Mandi ak Sana). A demonstration and discussion of the equipment used by Iban shamans, including the *pagar api*, charms and medicines (*batu/pengarah/ubat*), the medicine kit (*lupung*), and divining crystal (*batu karas*).

*Session Five*, "Serara' Bungai enggau Bebunuh Buyu" (Chair, Henry Gana Ngadi; panel Datuk Temenggong Jinggut, TS Datuk Gerunsin Lemat, and YB Jimmy Donald). This session concerned various aspects of two major rituals, the *serara' bungai* (or *bunga*), a rite by which Iban shamans seek to establish a proper separation between the living and the dead, and the *bebunuh buyu'*, a rite of spirit slaying.

During the final night Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi thanked the participants for the success of the gathering, he and other panel members presented summary remarks, while the *manang* spoke to a number of concerns, among them a wish for greater recognition for their calling. The ceremony ended with *pantun* singing and a ritual recall of the participants' souls (*mulai ke semengat*).

A volume in Iban, *Aum Bala Manang* [1996], containing transcriptions of the workshop proceedings, is available in the archives of the Tun Jugah Foundation, Kuching, and in the offices of the Majlis Adat Istiadat. A limited number of copies are also available for sale at cost to interested scholars and institutions. Inquiries should be addressed to the Research Director, Tun Jugah Foundation, P.O. Box 734, 93714 Kuching, Sarawak, MALAYSIA.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### EXHIBITION ANNOUNCEMENT:

'THE WOMEN'S WARPETH: IBAN RITUAL FABRICS FROM BORNEO'  
JUNE 23 THROUGH OCTOBER 20, IN THE UNITED STATES AT UCLA'S  
FOWLER MUSEUM OF CULTURAL HISTORY

Fifty magnificent, ritual cloths in 'The Women's Warpath: Iban Ritual Fabrics from Borneo' mark the first exhibition to focus in depth on Iban ritual textiles and the masterful women weavers who transform them into powerful expressions of artistry and tradition. Dating from the 19th to early 20th century, the cloths in this exhibition represent the finest grouping of Iban textiles ever assembled in one place.

The Iban people are rice farmers who live in longhouses along the rivers of Sarawak. In traditional Iban society, men gained prestige by taking enemy heads in warfare, while women achieved similar status by producing beautiful, hand-woven fabrics. In particular, the process of applying mordant to the yarn in preparation for dyeing it red was referred to as "the women's warpath." Mastering this complex

procedure was the measure of a woman's highest level of prestige in the community. The number of high-quality Iban cloths is quite limited because only the most skilled weavers could produce the most powerful patterns, and the Iban reserved such cloths for the most important events.

Most of the cloths in the exhibition date from the 19th century, when headhunting and textile-making still functioned as parallel avenues of prestige. Today, although headhunting has long ceased, the Iban continue to use blanket-like ritual cloths, "pua," as decorative elements for a variety of ceremonial occasions. The exhibition documents the use of "pua" at ceremonies culminating with the raising of carved hornbill figures on poles (one of which is included in the Fowler presentation). In former times, the hornbill was symbolically sent to attack enemy longhouses, but in today's context, it brings fortune and fame to the ceremony's sponsor. The ritual power of a textile used at such an event was a function of the complexity of its pattern, and, therefore, the skill of the weaver who produced it.

Although Iban textiles have long been highly prized by collectors, visiting curator Traude Gavin's many years of field research among the Iban have yielded a wealth of new information and revealed a number of misconceptions about the role of these cloths and their makers in Iban society. The scholarly book that accompanies the exhibition, written by Gavin, serves as a comprehensive catalog of Iban design and breaks new theoretical ground about the significance of titles and praise poems the Iban attach to their most powerful patterns. It contains 44 black and white and 69 color illustrations. The exhibition and publication were developed by the UCLA Fowler Museum, under the direction of Roy Hamilton, the museum's curator of Southeast Asian and Oceanic collections.

The exhibition will be on view at the museum Wednesday through Sunday, noon to 5 p.m., and Thursday until 8 p.m. The museum is on the UCLA campus west of Royce Hall. Museum admission is \$5 for adults; \$3 for senior citizens 65 or older, non-UCLA students, UCLA faculty/staff and Alumni Association members; \$1 for UCLA students; free for museum members and visitors 17 and under. Admission is free to everyone on Thursday. The exhibition catalog, *The Women's Warpath: Iban Ritual Fabrics from Borneo*, by Traude Gavin, is available through the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History Publications, Box 1549, Los Angeles, CA, 90095-1349, U.S.A., in both hardbound (\$40) and softbound (\$22) editions.

### ASIA PACIFIC VIEWPOINT

The journal *Pacific Viewpoint* (est. 1960), as of next year, will be published by Blackwell Publishers under a new title, *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* (APV). The journal deals with development issues in countries of the Asia Pacific region and publishes works by geographers, anthropologists, economists, and other social scientists. The Editor, a contributor to the *BRB*, Dr. Philip Morrison, invites submissions from those writing on Borneo, either as Research Notes or full papers (5000 words approx). Since the journal is moving from two to three issues a year with more papers per issue there is, for the

moment at least, an opportunity for very rapid publication of accepted papers. Enquiries and/or submissions should be sent to The Editor, Asia Pacific Viewpoint, Department of Geography, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington, NEW ZEALAND, fax 64-04-495-5127; Email: philip.morrison@vuw.ac.nz.

#### ASSESS: AUSTRALIAN STUDIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN ISSUES

Special Issue: 'Australian Anthropology in Borneo'

The Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland (Townsville and Cairns), has inaugurated a new journal, *ASSESS*, to accompany its three annual *Newsletters*. Volume 1 of *ASSESS* (December 1994) comprises a Special Issue, devoted entirely to "Australian Anthropology in Borneo". The issue is edited by Douglas Miles and is dedicated to the memory of William Geddes, "in recognition of the advances he led on behalf of Australian Anthropology in Asia". Volume 1 contains the following papers:

Douglas Miles. Editorial: The Changing of the Guard?; Australian Anthropology in Borneo, 1-4.

Clifford Sather. Wooden Weapons: Constrained violence and the evolution of adat in a Nineteenth-Century Iban society, 5-23.

Jim Chalmers. Mercantilism, Brookean policy and loss of Iban autonomy, 24-35.

Rita Armstrong. From difficult natives to good citizens: marginality and autonomy in a central Borneo society, 36-47.

Christine Helliwell. The hero as family man: constructing masculinity in a Borneo Dayak community, 48-55.

Deny Hidayati. Adoption of indigenous practice: survival strategies of Javanese transmigrants in Southeast Kalimantan, 56-69.

Douglas Miles. Monkey-business in the anthropology of Sarawak: shamanic actuality versus sociological illusion in Dayak politics, 70-96.

Correspondence regarding purchase of the Journal (A\$ 15), mailing, subscriptions, and future contributions should be addressed to The Editor, *ACCESS* Journal, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, James Cook University, Townsville QLD 4811, AUSTRALIA. *ACCESS* is a multidisciplinary journal of East and Southeast Asian studies and invites contributions for future volumes from anthropologists, economists, geographers, historians, political scientists, writers on the arts and literature and others in the social sciences and humanities.

#### FROM BUCKFAST TO BORNEO: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO FATHER ROBERT NICHOLL ON THE 85TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH 27 MARCH 1995

The Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, has published, as a festschrift volume, a collection of essays in honor of Robert Nicholl, in

acknowledgement of his significant contribution to 'our understanding of the history of the island of Borneo and its place in the wider Southeast Asian region'. The volume is edited by Victor T. King and A. V. M. Horton, who also, in their Preface, provide a personal and intellectual biography of Father Robert. The volume was produced in a special limited edition by the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Hull, England, 1995 (ISBN 0-85958-836-X) in time for a presentation to Robert Nicholl at a gathering of family, friends, and colleagues on 27th October at the Royal Overseas League in London. It is hoped that the collection will be published in due course by the Sarawak Literary Society. Therefore, only a few copies are available at cost price from the Centre at Hull. The essays comprise:

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*SAMA: BAJAU STUDIES NEWSLETTER*

A newsletter of Sama/Bajau studies has been launched, called *SAMA: Bajau Studies Newsletter*, co-sponsored by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University, and by Sophia University, Tokyo. The first issue appeared in May, 1995, and included seminar, exhibition, and other news announcements, a research note (Nagatsu Kazufumi 'Magambit: Sama's traditional fishing technique and its change'), and a bibliography section. Correspondence regarding the newsletter should be addressed to Nagatsu Kazufumi, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 46 Shimoadachi-cho, Yoshida, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606, JAPAN, fax (+81) 075-753-7350.

**BORNEO NEWS****REGIONAL NEWS**

MS. J. SCHNEIDT (ABD) focuses on a taxonomic revision of the genus *Tylophora* (Asclepiadaceae) for Flora Malesiana, including an examination of the biodiversity and ecology of its representatives in Borneo. She started her research by exploring characters from both living and herbarium material for their taxonomic usefulness, including macromorphological as well as ultrastructural characters (by using electron microscopy).

MRS. N. CELLINESE (JBG) recently started a study of the systematics and phylogeny of the *Sonerila*-generic group with special focus on flower and fruit characters of the Bornean representatives. First she will collect the basic taxonomic information available in the literature, and a preliminary survey of systematically informative characters and of the biological function of the characteristic flowers and capsule.

*Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak*. The Steering Committee decided that Volume 1 will be published in two parts. Volume 1, part 1, will contain about 300 species in 31 families: Aceraceae, Alangiaceae, Anisophylleaceae, Araucariaceae, Bignoniaceae, Burseraceae, Capparaceae, Chrysobalanaceae, Chloranthaceae, Connaraceae, Cornaceae, Datisceae, Goodeniaceae, Hypericaceae, Illiciaceae, Juglandaceae, Monimiaceae, Nyssaceae, Ochnaceae, Olacaceae, Oxalidaceae, Pittosporaceae, Rhamnaceae, Rhizophoraceae, Rutaceae, Simaroubaceae, Sonneratiaceae, Staphyleaceae, Styracaceae, and Trigonaceae. It was published as *Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak*, Vol. 1, edited by E. Soepadmo and K.M. Wong, 1995. Kuala Lumpur: Forest Research Institute Malaysia (FRIM).

Articles on new taxa in Alangiaceae, Goodeniaceae, Juglandaceae, Rhizophoraceae, Pittosporaceae, and Podocarpaceae have been published in *Sandakania* 3 (1993) and 4 (1994). Taxonomists who are interested to prepare treatments of families (or other taxa) for volumes 2, 3, and 4 are cordially invited to contact the Chief Editor, Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak Project, Forest Research Institute of Malaysia, Kepong, 52109 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Fax 603-6367753.

#### SABAH NEWS

Between 10 and 24 September, 1993, Mr. A. BERHAMAN, L. MADANI, and Dr. K. M. WONG (SAN) led a team to Marai Parai, the ultramafic spur of Mt Kinabalu, hiking via the Dahobang River. They were joined for a few days by Dr. M.G. PRICE (MICH) and Mr. P.S. SHIM (SAFODA) to collect ferns. In total c. 300 numbers were made. Between 11 and 15 October, 1993, Mr. A. Berhaman, Dr. K.M. Wong and Mr. C.L. Chan went to Sipadan Island off the coast of East Sabah and found 125 numbers.

L. MADANI, J. SUGAU, D. SUNDALING, and K.M. WONG (SAN), and J. PEREIRA (SAN) made a collecting trip to the Tenompok Forest Reserve near Kinabalu between 27 May and 2 June, 1994. In total 54 numbers were collected. Between 9 and 12 July, 1994, Messrs. A. Berhaman, J.B. Sugau, D. Sundaling (all Sandakan), and B. Perumal (WWF-Malaysia) investigated the conservation and tourism potential of Mt. Silam, E. Sabah, and collected 130 numbers. A. Berhaman, L. Madani, and J. Sugau (Sandakan) collected at Balambangan Island, N. Sabah, between 16-26 October, 1994. About 50 numbers were taken.

**Botanical inventory of Mount Kinabalu.** The project to inventory the flora of Mount Kinabalu has been in progress for 9 years, during which time enumerations of the pteridophytes, gymnosperms, and orchids, about two-fifths of the flora of c. 4,500 species, have been published. The north side of the mountain has received scant botanical attention, as noted by Van Steenis over 30 years ago, and native collectors are now being employed to obtain specimens from that area. A specimen database of over 20,000 records has been developed and made available on the Internet. Other relational specimen and taxon files will be prepared, from which a camera-ready copy of the remaining segments of the enumeration will be produced. Dr. C. ANDERSON (MICH) is providing extensive help in the project by preparing treatments for various dicot families. About 40 other collaborators are contributing data for taxa in their area of expertise.

A geographic information system (GIS) for Mt Kinabalu is in preparation by Mr. R. BEAMAN. This includes coverage of the topography, hydrography, species distributions, satellite imagery, vegetation, geographic locations, geology, and land use.

Eight collaborators will use morphological and molecular data to test biogeographic and evolutionary hypotheses and to examine evolution and speciation on Kinabalu in nine well-represented exemplar genera in eight families.

An associated ethnobotanical project (Projek Etnobotani Kinabalu: PEK) employs native collectors from communities around the mountain to collect useful plants in their areas and gather information about plant names and uses. Mrs. G. Martin (Paris) is helping directly with this project, which is under the supervision of Ms. L. Majuakim, Sabah Parks ethnobotanist. More than 3,500 ethnobotanical collections thus far have been obtained and data entered into a database. This research focuses on the value of and sustainability of non-timber forest products, including biochemical prospecting for medicinal plants, assessment of the impact of harvesting on selected commercial species such as rattan palms, and the role of non-marketed useful plants in the health care and diet of local communities. One ultimate objective of PEK will be the analysis of Dusun botanical classification and its correspondence to scientific classification. J.H. Beaman, Institute of Biodiversity and Environmental Conservation (IBEC), Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), 94300 Kota Samarahan, Sarawak.

The *Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak Newsletter* issue 2/1 (August 1994) is available at the Secretariat. The next issue is distributed free of charge: The Secretariat, Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak Project, Forest Research Institute of Malaysia, Kepong, 52109 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Fax 60-3-6367753. The first volume of the TFSS is expected to appear by the end of 1995.

Development of a Rainforest Interpretation Centre is planned at the Arboretum site at Sepilok, Sabah, with financial support of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) of Germany. Principal coordinators for this project are R.C. Ong (Head of Research), J. Tangah (Conservation), C.V. Chak (Research Support), A.Y.C. Chung (Entomology), and A. Berhaman and K.M. Wong (Botany, Sandakan). The Centre is expected to be completed in 1995.

#### INTERNATIONAL BAJAU/SAMA CONFERENCE, KOTA KINABALU, 1995

An 'International Conference on Bajau/Sama Community' was held in Kota Kinabalu, June 24th through 28th, 1995, under the auspices of the **Persatuan Seni Eudaya Bajau, Sabah** (PSBB) [the Bajau Arts and Cultural Association of Sabah], and the **Centre for Borneo Studies, Yayasan Sabah**. The Conference represented the second international Bajau/Sama studies gathering, the first, organized by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), having been held in Jakarta in November 1993 [see 1994 *BRB*].

The Conference was held in the Yayasan Sabah Headquarters Building, Kota Kinabalu, and was opened on June 24th by the Minister of Culture, Arts and Tourism, Dato' Sabbaruddin Chik. The opening ceremony was followed by a welcoming lunch hosted by the Chief Minister of Sabah, Yang Amat Berhormat Datuk Mohamad Salleh Tun Mohamad Said Keruak [who is also the **PSBB** President].

In conjunction with the Conference, the Sabah Museum opened on June 24th a special exhibition, 'Warisan Budaya Bajau' ['The Bajau Cultural Heritage'], which subsequently ran through July 9th. Materials on display included costumes, musical instruments, weaving, carved gravemarkers, and boats and other maritime gear. The exhibition was formally opened by the State Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Datuk Pandikar Amin Haji Mulia. Also present was the new Sabah Museum director, Datuk Jamdin Buyong. The opening ceremonies featured a wedding and traditional dances and were followed by a reception in the Heritage Village's 'Rumah Bajau' located on the museum grounds. On June 25th, a visit to Kota Belud was organized for conference participants, complete with a tamu-visit and an escort of Bajau horsemen.

There were three days of conference papers, June 26th through 28th, with speakers and topics as follows:

**Session 1—Socio-Political Dimension (June 26th):**

Yap Beng-Liang (Universiti Malaya): 'Social Change in the Bajau Community of Kota Belud, Sabah'

Clifford Sather (Tun Jugah Foundation): 'The ideology and politics of settling down: the Bajau Laut of Semporna'

Zainal Kling (Universiti Malaya): 'Local Genius; a Bajau village poet'

**Session 2—Language in Transition**

Asmah Haji Omar (Universiti Malaya): 'Processes in the development of numerals in Bajau Darat and Bajau Laut'

Editha Mirafuentes (Normal Univ., Philippines): 'Bajau Pantai Barat adult literacy materials as a bridge for learning Bahasa Malaysia'

James T. Collins (Univ. Kebangsaan Malaysia): 'Preliminary notes on the language of the Bajo Sanguang community of Bacan, East Indonesia'

Nik Safiah Karim (Universiti Malaya): 'Lexical development of modern Malay: the contribution of the Bajau dialect'

**Session 3—Ethnic Diversity and History**

James F. Warren (Murdoch University): 'Looking back on 'The Sulu Zone': state formation and ethnic diversity in Southeast Asia'

Jesus T. Peralta (Nat. Museum, Philippines): 'Prehistoric Links of the Sama Lepa of Tawi-Tawi Province'

Patricia Regis (Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development, Sabah): 'Bajau in myth, migration and material culture'

Abu Bakar Hamzah (Univ. Kebangsaan Malaysia): 'Some historical accounts on the Sulu/Brunei Sultanate and the Bajau Community'

[Following the first day of papers, the participants were invited to a dinner at the Istana hosted by the Governor of Sabah.]

**Session 4—Regional Settlement (June 27th)**

H.A. Mattulada (Hasanuddin Univ, Indonesia): 'The Bajau (Bajo) of South Sulawesi and other eastern Islands of Indonesia'

Daw Tin Yee (University of Yangon, Myanmar): 'The Daweis'

Lioba Lenhart (Univ. of Cologne): 'The 'alien' and the 'familiar': perceptions of ethnicity with regard to inter-ethnic contact between Orang Suku Laut and others in the Riau Islands'

Artemio Barbosa (Nat. Museum, Philippines): 'The Abaknun of Capul Island, Samar, Philippines'

**Session 5—Material Culture**

Natasha Stacey (Northern Territory Univ, Australia): 'Material culture of shark fishing of Bajo fishers from the Tukang Besi Islands, Southeast Sulawesi'

Brian Durrans (British Museum): 'Material culture of Bajau and neighbouring maritime communities in museum collections in Britain'

Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Sabah): 'Bajau music ensembles: three case studies'

Paul Clark (Museum of the Northern Territory, Australia): 'Bajau material culture in the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Australia'

**Session 6—Dynamics of Development**

H.M. Dahlan and Gusni Saat (Univ. Kebangsaan Malaysia): 'Bajau in Sabah: On or off course for change?'

Nicole Revel (CNRS, France): 'Oral epic: quest and queries'

Bruno Bottignolo (STHS, Philippines): 'Human body as the Badjaos' metaphor to organize the world'

Patricia Regis, Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, and Judeth John-Baptist (Sabah): 'Berunsai: meeting, match-making and music'

[Following the second day of papers, the participants were invited to a dinner at the Dewan LLS hosted by the Minister of Land and Cooperative Development, Datuk Osu Sukam.]

**Session 7—Maritime Community (June 28th)**

Aurora Roxas-Lim (Univ of the Philippines): 'Marine adaptations and ecological transformations: the case of the Bajao and Samalan Communities'

Maria Mangahas (Univ of the Philippines): 'Tradition and change in deep sea Mataw fishing in Batanes'

Judistra Garna (Padjadjaran Univ, Indonesia): 'A seafaring and a hill tribe: the Mesuku, Orang Laut and Baduy'

**Session 8—Indigenous Knowledge**

Adirukmi N.S. and Halilah A. (Univ Sains Malaysia): 'A study of traditional medicines use by the Bajau tribe and the possibilities for its development'

Adirukmi N.S., Halilah A. and Saleh M.N. (Univ. Sains Malaysia): 'Types of traditional medicinal plants of the Bajau tribe in Menggatal and Kota Belud, Sabah'

David Scott Blundell (National Taiwan Univ): 'Southern Ocean Ascent: Early historic voyagers and their settlement'

**Session 9—Research Collaboration**

Nagasura T. Madale (Mindanao State Univ-Marawi Campus, Philippines): 'The National Commission for Culture and the Arts and Cultural Association: Exploring possibilities for comparative studies'

John Wayne King (SIL, Sabah): 'A Sama/Bajau dialect survey and further opportunities for research'

Zahra Yaacob (Center for Borneo Studies): 'Yayasan Sabah Research Library: Development of its Bornean Collection'

**Plenary Discussion** (June 28). During this discussion, it was resolved that the next biennial Bajau/Sama meetings be held in 1997 in the Philippines, with Dr. Nagasura Madale of Mindanao State University, Marawi, acting as co-ordinator and the Marawi university campus serving as the possible venue. Participants then joined to thank the Conference organizers, the Persatuan Seni Budaya Bajau (PSBB) and the Yayasan Sabah, and in particular, the organizing secretary, Mohamad Said Hinayat and his staff, for a superbly run conference. A final closing ceremony was officiated by the Director of the Yayasan Sabah, Datuk Musa Haji Aman, and was followed by a dinner, hosted by Yayasan Sabah, held in the Kimanis Ballroom of the Hyatt Kinabalu Hotel.

Before the opening of the main conference sessions, a special video presentation was made of *Below the Wind*, a 55-minute documentary film about the Bajo [Bajau] of Sulawesi and their maritime connections with the northern Australian coast. The film, which was made by the Western Australian film-maker, John Darling, was brought to the Conference, with the latter's permission, and briefly introduced by Professor James Warren. During the 1993 Bajau/Sama conference in Jakarta, partially edited 'takes' of the same film were shown, also with John Darling's permission, following brief introductory remarks by Dr. Gregory Acciaoli of the University of Western Australia. [The editor, who was also a participant in the Jakarta meetings, had the good fortune to be in Australia soon afterwards, in 1994, when the finished film was shown for the first time to much deserved critical acclaim on Australian public television. Part of the film deals with current Australian maritime policy and the 'intrusion' of eastern Indonesian fishermen into Australian territorial waters, their arrest and deportation, so that, in addition to being a superb documentary, the film was also timely].

Finally, it might be observed that the Kota Kinabalu meetings offered participants, especially from the Philippines and Indonesia, the opportunity to see in Sabah a large and politically accomplished Bajau/Sama community that, happily, can be described as neither 'depressed' nor 'marginalized'. Further information regarding the 1995 Conference can be obtained by writing: Mohamad Said Hinayat, General Secretary, Persatuan Seni Budaya Bajau, Sabah (PSBB), Blok D, Lot 4, 3rd Floor, Sadong Jaya, Karamuning; 88100 Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, MALAYSIA. Faxes 088-262874, 088-427888. [Clifford Sather]

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Spenser St. John: *The Life of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak*. with an introduction by R.H.W. Reece. Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur 1994. 468 pages.<sup>1</sup>**

James Brooke will always remain the most romantic Englishman associated with Borneo, indeed, with all of Southeast Asia. He caught his first sight of Borneo in August 1839, a private gentleman in his yacht. By September of 1841 he was installed as *raja*. Suddenly, there he was, a white man, king with absolute power over a nation of "naked savages," as they liked to call them in those days. Brooke's story was the stuff of boys' books, and sure enough, quickly appeared in boys' books (devoured by future little empire-builders in chilly Britain), and most famously reworked by Conrad into the tale of Lord Jim. Image apart, Brooke left an extraordinary mark on the history of Sarawak.

The history of the Brooke *raj* has been told over so many times that it must be familiar to everybody in Malaysia. It is a strange story, and has attracted some excellent historians, including Prof. Reece, whose introduction is a lucid key and guide to the complexities of St. John's version. Still, every aspect of it remains controversial, and in reviewing this *Life* I am tempted to go over the whole thing and offer my interpretation. But I must make a review, not an essay, and I will only touch upon a few points.

Among all the types of white men who came to Asia, James Brooke magnificently refused stereotyping; he was entirely atypical, and a number of things about him were mysterious, if not actually weird. Brooke was born in Varanasi in 1803, which makes him, technically anyway, an Asian. He stayed in India until the late age of 12 years, when he was sent home to a brief spell in school.

In 1819 Brooke was back in India, commissioned—at 16—an officer in the colonial army. Six years later, in a little war with the Burmese, Brooke was shot and seriously wounded while charging a stockade. As St. John tells it, Brooke was shot through the lungs; rumours persist that the bullet entered not there but in his genitals, making him impotent. Of course, no Victorian would discuss such a thing, and this remains unproved. If true, this wound could explain why Brooke never married, never went farther than friendship with women.

Brooke recovered in England (his mother took the extracted bullet and kept it in a glass case on the mantelpiece) and led a life of aristocratic boredom for some years. He was determined to get back to the east, with vague ideas of exploration and trade. His deepest wish was just to *do* something, to adventure among exotic peoples and places with no white conventions to bother him.

<sup>1</sup>[Editor's note: Originally published in the *New Straits Times*, Saturday April 8, 1995, under the title "One of the noblest of men."]



With the inheritance he received from his father Brooke bought a yacht, a vessel big enough to mount six guns, and after a shakedown cruise through the Mediterranean, departed for the South China Sea. From Singapore he left for Borneo.

The beginnings of his rule seem the most exciting, most romantic, and, to me, most interesting period of Sarawak's modern history. Brooke got to be rajah with astonishing speed and largely by accident. He may have thought that he was planning his moves carefully, but one gets the impression that he sleepwalked to the crown.

Before 1839 Sarawak was an outpost of the Sultanate of Brunei. The Sultan chose for her governor the Pengiran Mahkota, who confided later to St. John "...I was brought up to plunder the Dyaks, and it makes me laugh to think that I have fleeced a tribe down to its very cooking-pots." Such rapacity brought about a "rebellion"—a low-intensity conflict if ever there was one—of Malays who dug themselves in at the little pasar of Siniawan, to the *ulu* of Kuching on the Sarawak river.

The Sultan replaced Mahkota with Muda Hassim, who tried to resolve things diplomatically; but too many interests conflicted. Mahkota was playing all sides against the middle and the Sultan of Sambas had his iron in the fire also. The result was, as they used to say in the Old West, a "Mexican standoff."

Then arrived Brooke with his armed yacht and his military training. Muda Hassim and Brooke got to like one another. The rebellion dragged on, and in despair, Muda Hassim begged Brooke to help, finally offering Brooke the *raj* if only he'd restore authority.

James accepted the deal and, taking the lead, defeated the insurgents without doing an awful lot of damage to anybody. Muda Hassim honoured his promise, and as Brooke said, "the agreement was drawn out, sealed, and signed, guns fired, flags waved, and, on the 24th September 1841, I became the Governor of Sarawak with the fullest powers." The Sultan of Brunei not long after duly confirmed his title.

There may be ultra-nationalist historians out there to whom Brooke is nothing more than another evil imperialist. But it's important to remember that Brooke's accession to the *raj* was all perfectly legal and in form. Sarawak was a free and independent state, never a colony, and remained so until 1946, when the last rajah's legally very dubious step of handing the country over to the British caused much resentment.

James began with building up a power base among the Dayaks, who were thrilled to see some order and stability in their country. With security established Brooke concentrated on trade and development. He carried out these aims sticking scrupulously to two principles that became the core of "Brooke rule" ideology: always to respect local customs, and to make changes very slowly. From the start of his reign, Sarawak never ceased growing except during the *musin Jepun*.

The rest of Brooke's story is common knowledge, his expeditions against the seaborne headhunters and pirates, whose power he crushed; his acquisition of territory that expanded Sarawak up to the Batang Lupar area and beyond; the rebellion of the miners at Bau in 1857, who almost destroyed the young *raj*.

Spenser St. John was an eyewitness to nearly every event in Sarawak after 1848, when the British government appointed him secretary to Brooke in Brooke's new office

as H.M.'s Consul-General in Borneo. From the time he stepped aboard the warship *Maeander* that carried him and the Rajah back to Sarawak, St. John was in constant and intimate contact with Brooke until Brooke's death. In the opinion of all the Rajah's friends, there was no one who knew James Brooke as well as St. John knew him. St. John speaks about Brooke with a unique authority.

Historians have made deep use of St. John's *Life*. It is a most important source. Still, St. John is not the perfect biographer. Where he felt Brooke's case was secure, as when Brooke's crushing of the "pirates" caused bitter controversy in England—and now again is the most debated part of Brooke's career—he's plentiful with fact and comment. Other parts St. John glides over, more disturbing episodes such as the annexation of the Mukah area, Brooke's panicked loss of nerve during the Chinese rebellion, when he wanted to sell Sarawak to the Dutch, "or to anybody that would have it," and his paranoid squabbles over the succession which ended in his disinheriting J. Brooke Brooke the Rajah Muda.

Nonetheless, though the Englishmen who wrote about Sarawak at this time did interpret, they did not *lie*. St. John does not hesitate to criticize the Rajah. He deplors Brooke's lack of administrative skills, though he does not go as far as Admiral Keppel, who declared that the Rajah "had as much idea of business as a cow has of a clean shirt."

Some modern historians have decided that James Brooke was an inscrutable man. He is opaque, an enigma, they say. Nicholas Tarling, author of a modern full length biography, confesses that after reading thousands of Brooke's letters he cannot discover his motivations. St. John felt differently, and the portrait he presents is remarkable. I agree with St. John.

Brooke had a thirst for adventure, and I mean that he relished the occasional conflict but hated conquest and slaughter. Hardly all of life was spent in war. He passed long months playing chess and reading. He was a good and kind-hearted man and full of fun. Before ill health soured him, he charmed everyone who met him. The Dayaks admired him greatly, and regularly came to visit him at the Astana. Even the fierce headhunting chiefs of the Skrang and Saribas, once Brooke had licked them in battle, reconciled themselves cheerfully to his rule, and soon proved his most loyal supporters.

Human nature being, at the best, fallible, Brooke too had a dark side. He could be sneaky and mean, he could be slick, he could even be pretty nasty, as is clear from his treatment of the trader Robert Burns, whose murder he, in Henry II fashion, did not exactly suggest, but did not exactly mind (Burns himself, too, was not exactly an archbishop). Brooke displayed his feelings and ideals to everyone. And he could use this openness to beguile, but he practiced downright machiavellianism only with grave anxiety. What he wrote or said in public, to Dayaks or to Englishmen, he believed, and you could trust him for that. In our suspicious age, such simplicity looks suspicious, and we are reluctant to accept it as genuine.

There's no doubt that James Brooke did a great deal of good for the peoples of Sarawak in establishing a secure and dependable government. Brooke's name is remembered fondly by many Sarawakians even today, and to gain that reputation Brooke

must certainly have possessed the reality of justice and decency. St. John said that he did not intend to sum up the Rajah's character. In his biography he strove hard to remain as clear of bias as possible and to allow the reader to form his own estimate. Yet just from the facts it is hard not to come away from Brooke without thinking, as was St. John's personal judgment, that he was indeed "one of the noblest and best of men." (Otto Steinmayer, Kampung Stunggang Dayak, PO Box 13, Lundu, Sarawak, MALAYSIA. The author thanks the *New Straits Times* for permission to republish, with some changes, this and the following review)

**James Ritchie: *Bruno Manser: The Inside Story*. Summer Times, Singapore, 1994. 251 pages.<sup>1</sup>**

The mysterious Bruno Manser—the mysterious Penan. What ever happened to Bruno? We used to hear a lot about him, in articles by *New Straits Times* staff correspondent James Ritchie, who described him—and in this his book still describes him—as a mix of Lord Jim, Tarzan, and Rasputin. Grainy photos accompanied these squibs which actually made him with his ring-beard look more like a cheerful and myopic Thoreau. As for the Penan... Mostly they they were just weird. But more on them later.

Sighs of relief could be heard in a few government offices when Bruno Manser left Sarawak in 1990. The man had been a *duri* in the foot of authority for six years, and gained quite a reputation. It's not easy to disentangle the few facts from the verbiage in Ritchie's account, but if we read carefully, the following becomes clear.

Bruno Manser was born in Switzerland sometime around 1954. His family lives in Basel. He attended medical school but did not take a degree; he was imprisoned for refusing to perform the military training required by law of every Swiss male; he herded cows. He is an artist of some skill, and apparently knows at least five languages: Penan and English as well as the three official languages of his own country. He is of middle height—average for a Dayak—dark, and as photos elsewhere show, in good shape.

Bruno first visited Malaysia in 1983, staying in Trengganu. In 1984 he came to Sarawak with a British Mulu Caves Expedition, and, when his visa expired at the end of that year, simply stayed on. Long Seridan, not far from Gunung Mulu, was his base, but he travelled also.

In 1986 Bruno was arrested at Long Napir, but managed to escape. Later that same year the PFF attempted to capture him from ambush, but he escaped then, too. Then Bruno lay low until the end of March 1990, when his parents fell sick and he left Sarawak for Switzerland.

During these six years in the forest, Bruno studied Penan life and recorded it. He wrote, or helped in the writing of, a number of remonstrances and petitions to the government of Sarawak on behalf of his hosts.

<sup>1</sup>[Editor's note: Originally published in the *New Straits Times*, Saturday Oct., 29, 1994 under the title "Ritchie's Ragout."]

Such was Manser's career, really a very inoffensive and even unadventurous routine. A radio technician posted to the *ulu* could easily experience as much. Thus the anxiety he caused the government both state and federal is a most surprising accomplishment, *except* for one thing. The Penan were being logged out of house and home, and Bruno was eager to obtain the most publicity possible for them and their desperate situation.

Bruno could hardly avoid being typed as that romantic figure, the White-Man-Gone-Native. So what if he looked silly? In the post-modern world, images are negotiable, and if Bruno could trade on his to bring some help to the Penan, it was a shame he had to endure. At least this is the way I reconstruct his reasoning. Manser clearly had no illusions about journalists, which ever side of the Gree Line they occupied.

It was made known that the media were welcome, and, soon enough, reporters and video-crews came and went frequently up and down the Baram. The present James Ritchie came and swallowed the bait of a lurid story hook, line and sinker. The whole of his contact with Manser consisted of one personal meeting and interview, with a sprinkling of letters. Paucity of fact did not hinder the legend of Bruno from being created and disseminated with great speed and success. *This* was what got him in trouble with authority. Poverty is not nearly as much of an embarrassment to a government's image as primitivity. The Malaysian élite were aghast that the world should know not only that there were still *real*, "primitive," bare-ass, naked-tit tribesmen and women living out there in the jungle, but that the government itself should be accused of dispossessing them.

There wasn't much that the government was willing to do about logging, as long as the money came in; but it was always possible to hush up the painful details. Manser was clever with words and clever with communication. In this he was a threat. The Malaysian counter-propaganda campaign came down on him with both feet, and Ritchie was the man who led it.

But I promised to speak about the Penan, too, so let us digress.

The Penan are altogether admirable people. With due respect to my Iban in-laws, I must say I think them the most admirable people in Sarawak. They are perhaps the most original of the present inhabitants of northern Borneo. Hundreds of years ago, before the Ibans spread out over Sarawak, dozens of small bands lived in the forest, among them the Ukit, the Dayak Lundu, the Baketan and the Penan. Eventually all of these were assimilated to larger tribes, took to longhouses on their own, were killed, or simply died out—except for the Penan. They were truly jungle people.

Of all the Dayak tribes, only the Penan never went headhunting, though they were often the hunted, and suffered much as the other races pushed across Borneo.

The Penan are called *nomads*, in other words, they "wander," hunting and gathering. The Penan might more accurately be called "forest-rangers-at-large," because their search for food leads them on settled routes in the forest between known stands of wild sago, which they tend and harvest at appropriate times. Sago supplies their daily carbohydrate, and game their protein. Fruits and vegetables grow everywhere. I am speaking, of course, about Penan life when the forest was not devastated. Animals and

fish are now scarce. The native life cannot be sustained in an environment that is gutted. Whatever the officials may say about forest cover, you cannot hunt pig on an oil-palm plantation nor fish downriver from a sawmill.

There is much more to know about the Penan, but I have no space to write a treatise on them here. One day Manser will publish something—we hope this will include a personal memoir as well as academic papers—that may well prove to be the definitive general book on the Penan, such as the other Dayak peoples each possess already. Until then, we have to make do with what information we can get. Ritchie's book is valuable for conveying to us Manser's own words and the words of Penan who have chose to let their opinions be heard. Ritchie shows commendable honesty in repeating Manser's and the Penans' words as they stand.

Unfortunately, in order to get to these valuable bits, we have to push through much tedious and unwelcome commentary. Perhaps Ritchie can be forgiven for his numerous inconsistencies, errors, and embarrassing lapses of judgement. He worked in haste, and no doubt had little time to research or to think. Though Brosius's dissertation *The Axiological Presence of Death*, which has a lot about the Penan, was available, Ritchie omitted to consult it, and elsewhere he shows little more than the most casual acquaintance with Penan culture. He is unfamiliar with their character, their *adat*, their poetry (this he could have read in the translations of Carol Rubenstein), their other arts, and their demography. What he repeats he could have picked up from any tourist guide book or traveller's tale.

Even more strange, he says little about *Sarawak* that one could not obtain from the same sources. He, I suppose, tried to tart up a narrative which, delivered in a sober and economical style might have filled a third of the pages he has delivered here. It is clear from the very lack of detail, as well as from the over-abundance of the usual suspects—all those mini-excurses on blowpipes, warriors, etc., the routine tourist stuff—that *BM* is not intended for the home market but for a foreign audience. The fact that he glosses the most common Malay words (*parang* “= bush-knife” etc.) confirms its destination.

But what I cannot pardon is Ritchie's conceit. The itch to editorialize afflicts him, and everyone is his scratching-post. He is constantly telling what the Penan ought to be thinking, what Bruno ought to think, telling us what we ought to think.

The patronizing attitude he adopts towards the Penan and the colonialist language he uses in reference to them is highly offensive. When Ritchie first meets the “real” (*scil.* “nomadic”) Penan, they are “milling around uncertainly near the [logging] camp's sundry shop.” Such language is better applied to a flock of geese than to human beings at ease.

Ritchie latches upon one Mr. Gerawat as his intended guide to the mysterious Bruno. Gerawat is clad in a “skimpy” loincloth and nothing else, beside rotan calf-rings, a blowpipe, and a container for darts. His physique is without defect. He's sure a virile buck. The rest of the passage runs in the same vein:

*“Gerawat looked out of place, I smiled at him, but he didn't smile back (I have noticed that nomads do not smile as a habit.*

*“I learned that Gerawat belonged to a group living in the nearby jungle and would be returning there immediately. Excited by this news, it seemed to be just the opportunity that I had been hoping for, so without hesitation I asked if I could go with him. He looked at me suspiciously as he scratched the back of one leg with his foot. Somehow, I felt that Gerawat would trust me—he reminded me of the kampung children I knew in my younger days in Alor Star and Kelantan, in Peninsular Malaysia. I was sincere and I have found that if you have sincerity you need not be afraid.*

[At this point, Gerawat turns to a Chinese acquaintance and asks whether Ritchie is an “orang putih.” Ritchie, unwilling either to unravel the skein of his ancestry or say simply that he is a Malaysian, replies that he is a white man.]

*...erawat stared at me, awe-struck.... [My emphases.]*

Well, isn't this exactly the same way a white traveller described the bashful natives a hundred years ago? The native is inscrutable, like a Hollywood Red Indian. He's suspicious of the white-man, the first he's seen, who in actuality is brimming with brotherly love. Ritchie shall win the Penan's trust. They're all rather child-like, aren't they? Perhaps dangerous. And so close to the earth as to scratch in public. Rather nasty, too, to give them the epithet “illiterate” in an *NST* article quoted later in the book.

This is only one side of Ritchie's labyrinthine rhetoric. To discuss the other tricks of his trade would prolong this review over-much, so we must pass by his habits of innuendo and argument by probability; of begging the question; of reporting mistakes and misinformation prominently, then tacking on a slight correction; his “economical” use of facts and references, whose irrelevance is obscured in a downpour of words; his appeal to authority. For example, who is this “Professor Bruenig” who slams Bruno's book? For all we know he could be Professor of Plumbing at the University of Knockwurst.

Ritchie may have a point when he insinuates wicked motives among the environmental groups. In the battle of the elephants of ideological green-ism and staunchly profit-driven government, the Penan are the proverbial “*pelandok* in the middle.” However, if groups such as the Rainforest Action Network have bent the rules a little, it's certainly not been for profit. Ritchie, in a climactic attempt to convince us of the insincerity of the Penans' foreign advocates, states that of monies collected on the “Voices for the Borneo Rainforest” world tour in 1990, not a penny went to the Penan. True. Ritchie prints the balance sheet. Not only did tour expenses use up all the money donated, but the organization went in debt to the tune of US\$21,000. Some profit.

Finally, Ritchie's style is most inelegant and occasionally he writes just bad English. I noted a choice mixed metaphor on p. 213: “If these people are not careful, these *wolves* can sow seeds of discord and disharmony.” Here wildlife, agriculture, and music mash together in a hideous linguistic car-wreck.

Manser himself, after careful listening and thought, devised a program for the Penan, who he knew would inevitably leave the jungle life after two or three generations. In this, Ritchie at least—thank goodness—lets Manser and the Penan speak for themselves. If progress is schools and clinics, the Penan like progress; but if progress also means an deprivation of livelihood and relegation to the status of despised unemployables, they'd like to take change a bit slowly. To this end, Manser proposed, as

early as 1986, the establishment of a forest reserve for those Penan who needed time to adjust, and the irony is that such a reserve was actually established, by Manser's opponents and persecutors, who then took all the credit. [See *NST* for 19.10.1993] Maybe Bruno had some sound ideas after all.

But Bruno Manser, the jungle white rajah, is entirely a creation of the very James Ritchie who then turns to judge and condemn him. Ritchie says precisely as much, and takes pride in it. He might well take pride in this Tarzan movie that sticks so beautifully to the clichés. Manser himself in a letter sweetly calls Ritchie's publicity effort a *ragout* [= "a stew of leftovers, highly spiced." *OED*]

Time has passed and Manser, the Penan, and logging have gotten altogether more notoriety than is good for them. Ritchie *ought* to feel now like Dr. Frankenstein when his creature (another Swiss) began to quote Aeschylus back to him. Compare, courteous reader, Manser's eloquence and Ritchie's hype and see how *you* feel. (Otto Steinmayer, Kampung Stunggang Dayak, PO Box 13, Lundu, Sarawak, Malaysia)

## ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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#### ABSTRACTS

Adelaar, K. Alexander. Borneo as a cross-roads for comparative Austronesian linguistics. IN: Peter Bellwood, James J. Fox and Darrell Tryon, eds. *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. 1995. Canberra: Papers, Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, pp. 75-95. Available through the Department of Anthropology, RSAPS, ANU, Canberra, A.C.T. 0200, Australia.

The autochthonous languages of Borneo have been divided into 10 separate subgroups. This paper discusses four subgroups on which the author has done research. The Southeast Barito subgroup includes Malagasy. This language underwent considerable influence from Malay and Javanese. The author puts forth the hypothesis that the Malagasy, rather than having sailed to Madagascar on their own, may have been transported there by Malays. The Malayic subgroup includes Iban and Malay. The diversity and relative archaism of the Malayic languages spoken in West Borneo suggest that the Malayic homeland may have been in this area. The Tamanic languages are phonologically, morphosyntactically, and lexically close enough to the South Sulawesi

languages to form a subgroup with them. They have some phonological developments in common with Buginese, with which they seem to form a separate branch within the South Sulawesi language group. The Land Dayak languages have a few striking lexical and phonological similarities with Aslian languages. This suggests that Land Dayak originated as the result of a language shift from Aslian to Austronesian, or that both Land Dayak and Aslian have in common a substratum from an unknown third language (P. Bellwood, J.J. Fox, and D. Tryon).

Bahari, S. Herculanus. Pantak sebagai alat kesatuan komunitas radakng dalam binua suku Dayak Kanayatn. *Kalimantan Review*. thn. 2, no 3 (1993), pp 3-10.

A *pantak* is a statue which is thought to be imbued with spiritual powers. In this particular article the author concentrates on the significance of *pantak* among the Kanayatn Dayak in West Kalimantan. This leads him to an exposition of Kanayatn ideas about links with their ancestors (*pama*). Although these are not bound by time nor space, there are certain set times of the year in which special ceremonies are held to emphasize this connection, e.g. Nabo' Padagi and Nabo' Panyugu. He discusses such ceremonies in one Kanayatn longhouse (*radakng*)<sup>8</sup>. Included is also a description of the *radakng*, its manner of construction and its social organization (Rosemary L. Robson-Mckillop).

Barrett, Robert and Rodney H. Lucas. Hot and cold in transformation: Is Iban medicine humoral? *Soc. Sci Med.* vol 38, no. 2 (1993), pp. 383-93.

Iban categories of hot and cold are examined in the context of humoral medical systems in Southeast Asia. These categories are more than binary and oppositional: they are also contradictory and can only be understood in terms of their capacity for transformation in 'depth'. This paper develops an ethnographically grounded definition of humoralism which emphasizes non-reductive logic, cultural practice and transformation. The key element, transformation, is defined as a transition between categories and a shift in the level of interpretation which fundamentally alter the Iban experience of body and illness (journal abstract).

Barrett, Robert and Rodney H. Lucas. The skulls are cold, the house is hot: interpreting depths of meaning in Iban therapy. *Man*. vol 28, 3 (1993), pp. 573-596.

This article examines how the Iban of Sarawak ascribe 'depth' to meaning. It is concerned with interpretation as an active process. It identifies how interpreters are enlisted and socially engaged, and how meanings accumulate, extend and ramify. These processes are examined at work on the Iban categories of *angat* and *chelap* ('hot' and 'cold') in diverse cultural domains, including corporeality, longhouse sociability, and healing. In the course of ritual treatment, the Iban shaman manipulates the meanings of *angat* and *chelap* from one level to another, and it is this movement between shallow and deep referents which transforms the experience of illness and health. Thus, a fundamental source of transformation, whether healing the sick, giving birth, or burying the dead, is the capacity of language itself to move from shallow to deep (journal abstract).

Blust, Robert. Kelabit-English vocabulary. *Sarawak Museum Journal*. vol. 44, 65 (1993), pp. 143-226.

Kelabit is spoken in a more or less continuous area in upriver parts of the Fourth and Fifth Divisions of Sarawak and in neighboring areas of Kalimantan Barat, generally at altitudes above 2,000 feet. At present Kelabit is grouped with Lun Dayeh and Lun Bawang in an 'Apo Duat' dialect complex. The author surveys the available literature. He outlines what he considers to be the three inadequacies which recur throughout most of the sources: (1) lack of specific information about the dialect cited; (2) orthographic errors; (3) incomplete morphemic analysis. His own goals are to provide a foundation for an eventual Kelabit-English dictionary and a more abundant corpus of lexical information for linguists. Before presenting a 71-page list, he discusses some of the technical problems involved in its compilation (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Bottignolo, Bruno. Celebrations with the Sun: An overview of religious phenomena among the Badjaos. 1995. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 279pp.

A pioneering study of the Badjaos (Bajau) of Tawi-Tawi, who are often mistakenly classified as Muslims or animists, it presents the systems of thought and belief that lie behind the peoples' religious praxis—the variations as well as degradations of their religious observances and rituals. Much of Badjao ritual, exemplified by the central *pag-umboh* ceremony, revolves around the sun and is therefore set at "the fullness of time" when sunlight first emerges from the eastern horizon and when the sun is at its peak in the heavens—hence the book's title (publisher's abstract).

Boutin, Michael E. Aspect in Bonggi. PhD dissertation, University of Florida, 1994.

An analysis of aspect in Bonggi, a Western Austronesian language of Sabah, examined within the framework of role and reference grammar (RRG). The morphology of Bonggi distinguishes four situation types: states, achievements, activities, and accomplishments. Because these types are the starting point for a RRG analysis, there is a reciprocal harmony between the RRG model and Bonggi.

Bonggi verbs are classified semantically according to the relationships which exist between predicates and their arguments. These relationships are described in terms of logical structures which are linked to verb morphology by a series of rules including assignment of thematic relations, semantic macroroles, syntactic functions, case, and verbal cross-referencing. Each situation type has a unique set of inherent aspectual properties (*Aktionsart*) which are reflected in the logical structures of predicates and a small set of operators such as BECOME and CAUSE.

The model highlights the distinction between *Aktionsart* and viewpoint aspect by treating aspect as an operator. Whereas *Aktionsart* properties are determined from the logical structures in a constituent projection that accounts for argument structure, assignment of viewpoint aspect belongs to an operator projection which includes viewpoint aspect, tense, modality, negation, and illocutionary force. Unlike *Aktionsart*, which is determined from logical structure, viewpoint aspect is independent of logical structure. Although each situation type has a unique logical structure and set of

*Aktionsart* properties, the same situation can be presented from different viewpoints; hence, inherent *Aktionsart* properties do not change with a change in viewpoint aspect.

Viewpoint aspect in Bonggi is expressed in (1) verb morphology, (2) free form auxiliaries, (3) enclitic particles, and (4) temporal adverbs. Although aspect, tense, and modality all belong to the operator projection, they modify different layers of the clause. This model not only provides a framework for treating aspect independently of modality and tense but also for treating the interrelationship of aspect with modality, tense, and other verbal categories (author).

Chabot, Lyne. La forêt indonésienne: un recul aux causes multiples. IN: Rodolphe de Koninck, ed. *Le défi forestier en Asie du Sud-Est*. Quebec: Gêrac, Université Laval, 1994, pp. 49-66.

Humid tropical forest covers 61.5 per cent of Indonesia and holds 25,000 different species or 10 per cent of global flora. In 1988 the forest sector made up 15 per cent of Indonesia's total export. Kalimantan and Sulawesi are affected by commercial logging (80 per cent); next are transmigration and agricultural colonization. The author discusses the impact of both logging and transmigration, as well as the practice of slash-and-burn cultivation on forest conditions in Kalimantan, Irian Jaya, and to a lesser extent in Sumatra and the Lesser Sunda islands (Youetta M. deJager).

Christensen, Hanne and Ole Mertz. The risk avoidance strategy of traditional shifting cultivation in Borneo. *Sarawak Museum Journal*. vol 44, 65 (1993), pp. 1-18.

Traditional shifting cultivation is usually in equilibrium with the environment. Methods have been developed over many generations and valuable knowledge of how to manage the environment has been accumulated. On closer inspection the first impression of chaos is replaced by admiration of the complex farming system which has been adjusted to the sustainability of the environment and to the needs of the farmers. There are some interesting references here to how the farmers manage the mature forest, which is used for hunting and as a source of fruits, nuts, mushrooms, vegetables, sago, honey, medicinal plants, fibres, and timber for the construction of houses and canoes. The paper is based on fieldwork carried out in two native societies: the Bukit of the Loksado area of South Kalimantan and the Taboyan of the Kandui area of Central Kalimantan (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Collier, William L. Fifty years of spontaneous and government sponsored migration in the swampy lands of Kalimantan: past results and future prospects. *Prisma*. no. 18 (1980), pp. 32-55.

Migration to the swampy lands of Kalimantan was sponsored by the government in 1937 and after considerable discussion and planning was done again in 1953. However, comparing the income and welfare of spontaneous migrants and those sponsored by the government, the author found that the former have considerably higher income than the latter. Through group discussions and interviews, the author describes what actually happened in four transmigration sites in Kalimantan and suggests how to improve their situation (journal abstract).

Dilen, Dihi. Radakng dalam kehidupan orang Dayak Kanayatn. *Kalimantan Review*. thn. 2, no. 3 (1993), pp. 11-15.

This article discusses the form and function of the *radakng* (longhouse) among the Kanayatn Dayak of West Kalimantan. The people inhabiting a longhouse regard themselves as one family and as such it plays an important role in social organization and in the socialization of children (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Dove, Michael R. Perladangan padi paya suku Kantu di Kalimantan Barat. *Antropologi Indonesia*. vol. 15, 49 (1991), pp. 61-65.

A brief description of swamp-rice swiddens of the Kantu' who inhabit the upper reaches of the Kapuas river valley. Besides cultivating dry swiddens, the Kantu' also utilize the swamp land surrounding their dwellings to increase their food supply as this land is very fertile and give a high yield. A day's work in the swamp swidden yields 11.3 litres a day, compared with 9.7 litres from dry fields, but requires a great deal more work, 204 days compared to 98 days per year. Another positive factor is that swamp land is relatively 'immune' to flooding and a fallow period of 1.5 to 2.5 years is sufficient for the ground to recover (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Dove, Michael R. Uncertainty, humility, and adaptation in the tropical forest: the agricultural augury of the Kantu'. *Ethnology*. Vol. 32, 2 (1993), pp. 145-67.

The augural system of the Kantu', a tribal Iban-speaking people, living along the tributaries of the Kapuas River in West Kalimantan, links ritual to ecology not only instrumentally but also symbolically and pedagogically. They tap rubber for the market and grow rice and other cultigens for their subsistence. Swidden success depends upon several variables in the environment which fluctuate from year to year. The Kantu' practice of bird augury randomizes their swidden strategies and thereby enhances their adaptation to a complex and uncertain environment. Development of pepper and especially rubber cultivation this century have decreased their dependence on swiddening, which may in turn have increased Kantu' tolerance of risk, thereby making omen-based randomization somewhat less important than was once the case (journal abstract).

Dransfield, J. and N. Manokaran, eds. *Rattans*. 1993, hardbound, US\$ 69.00, Wageningen: PUDOC (ISBN 90-220-1057-0); 1994, paperback, US\$ 7.00, Bogor: PROSEA (ISBN 979-8316-06).

This book contains an introductory chapter of 28 pages, an alphabetical treatment of about 25 major species (illustrated) on 50 pages, an alphabetical short treatment of about 100 minor species on 22 pages, a literature list of 6 pages and a glossary of four pages. In total, 17 specialists contributed.

Edwards McKinnon, E. The Sambas Hoard: bronze drums, and gold ornaments found in Kalimantan in 1991. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. vol. 67, pt. 1 (1994), 9-28.

In 1991 two Heger Type I bronze drums, known in Indonesia as *nekara*, were discovered on the slopes of Bukit Selindung in the kecamatan Pemangkat, kabupaten Sambas, West Kalimantan. The drums are said to have contained a bronze 'bowl' (now lost), beads, copper and glass bracelets, and copper and bronze ear ornaments. They are now in the Pontianak Museum. The Sambas Hoard which is now in the British Museum, was in an earthenware jar covered with a badly corroded bronze plate. It consists of two standing Buddha images, two standing Bodhisatva images, and an incense burner. It dates from between the 8th and 10th century. It was found at a site south of Sambas in 1941. On stylistic ground Nilakanta Shastri dated it to the Srivijaya period. In the area there are no traces of architectural remains nor, not surprisingly as it was all alluvial, traces of early gold-mining. The author believes that the drums and beads suggest Indian influences in the Bukit Selindung area, a good site for ancient trade, which may predate the early trade sites of Kutai and Si Kendeng on the Krama river in South Sulawesi, both of which were also near gold works (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Evers, Hans-Dieter. The emergence of trade in a peasant society: Javanese transmigrants in Kalimantan. IN: Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader, eds. *The moral economy of trade: ethnicity and developing markets*. London: Routledge, 1994, pp. 76-87.

The model of peasantization depicts the process of an increasingly sedentary life and a closed, self-sufficient economy. Under a government resettlement scheme Javanese peasants were transported to the district of Kutai, Kalimantan. They originated from highly diversified rural settlements with a complex job structure, where trading is an important additional source of income. The transmigration settlement was to conform to the planners' image of the ideal Indonesian peasant village, with a total subsistence economy, where all outside economic relations were to be taken care of by government agencies, but quickly after their arrival the Javanese settlers re-established the patterns they knew from their former homes, despite the availability of ample land, the inaccessibility of urban markets and the generally poor infrastructure. Based on data drawn from a study of the transmigration settlements in the districts of Kutai, East Kalimantan, the author analyses the ways in which trade is initiated, traders become differentiated into distinct occupational groups, and complex trading networks emerge (Youetta M. deJager).

Florus, Paulus. Catatan tentang tradisi pada Orang Muwalang. *Kalimantan Review*. thn. 1, no. 1 (1992), pp. 23-31.

The Muwalang Dayak inhabit the kabupaten of Sanggau Kapuas and Sintang in West Kalimantan. They are thought to number about 65,000. They still tend to live close to nature, practicing shifting cultivation, cultivating rubber trees and recently established pepper gardens. These latter activities are necessary as the forest can no longer provide for their livelihood. They have seen great changes during the last 30 years. They have abandoned traditional longhouses for single dwellings and improved infrastructure has meant that their area has been opened up to commercial agriculture and transmigration projects. Many have recently converted to Christianity, which means that their traditional religion is disappearing and with it a rich tradition of myths and

legends. The author also outlines their social life, including traditional mechanisms for settling conflict, as well as their art and religion (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Ghazally Ismail and Murtedza Mohamed. Health and environment in Sabah. *Borneo Review*. vol 1, 1 (1990), pp. 41-59.

The major physical and socio-economic developments experienced in Sabah within the last ten years have substantially influenced the quality of its environment. The environment of Sabah has been modified by several factors that may have a direct effect on human health. The prevalence of malaria, filariasis and other vector-borne diseases may have arisen from a variety of environmental changes which include the creation of artificial catchment areas resulting from deforestation and agricultural activities. Food-borne diseases, also highly prevalent in Sabah, may have primarily originated from faecal contamination of rivers that still serve as major sources of domestic water supply in many parts of interior Sabah. Other factors contributing to the rapid deterioration of the environment include air pollution, pesticide residues, nutrients and heavy metal contamination of the major river systems (journal abstract).

Guerreiro, Antonio J. Entités, rhétorique et intention dans le discours rituel Modang Wehea (Kalimantan Est. Indonésie) [Spiritual agencies, rhetoric and Intention in Modang Wehea ritual discourse]. Document de Travail no.1, Programme Pluridisciplinaire de Recherche sur Bornéo (PIBOR), 41pp., 4 figures, 2 photographs. 1996. Aix-en-Provence [French, available May, 1997].

There exists a close relationship between the ritual discourse uttered during *na' unding* and the myth of Long Déang Yung as told by the Wehea of East Kalimantan. The invocation appears to be a commentary on the myth, of which certain elements emerge as the context of a sacrifice offered to the Padi-Long Déang Yung and the omens of rice cultivation. Indeed, during the rite 'Uding in the swidden', custom dictates that the myth, or at least a resume of it, be recited to evoke the sacrifice of a young girl. The author's hypothesis is that what characterizes this invocation is the juxtaposition by means of oral ingenuity of more or less fixed formulas, lists, or 'signs of value 0' with performative utterances. The rhetoric of discourse aims primarily at producing ritual effectiveness.

Hatmaji, Sri Hariyati, Ayke S. Kiting and Evi Nurvidya Anwar. Penduduk Indonesia Timor dan peluang bisnis. *Majalah Demografi Indonesia*. vol. 20, 39 (1993), pp. 51-78.

The paper surveys the inhabitants of four provinces in Eastern Indonesia, viz. Bali, East Kalimantan, South and Southwest Sulawesi, in order to weigh their potential as customers, i.e., to estimate their value as a 'target market' for business. Factors which are taken into consideration are age distribution and breakdown according to sex, as well as degree of urbanization. The extent of double-income households and the projection of future growth are also included. Special attention is paid to women as very discriminating buyers and as general managers of household budgets (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Helliwell, Christine. Good walls make good neighbours: the Dayak longhouse as a community of voices. IN: James J. Fox, ed. *Inside Austronesian Houses: Perspectives on Domestic Designs for Living*. Canberra: The Australian National University. 1993, pp. 43-62. Available through the Department of Anthropology, RSPAS, ANU, Canberra, A.C.T. 0200, Australia.

The household is often mistaken as the pre-eminent Dayak social unit, at least to some Dayak societies, in that there the primary social entity is not necessarily co-residential, and therefore does not constitute a household in its proper sense. Unwarranted emphasis upon the household can lead to serious misunderstandings of the character of Dayak social relations. Gerai is a Dayak community of about 700 persons, located in the northeast section of Ketapang District, Kalimantan Barat, where the cultivation of rice is the primary economic activity. The Gerai longhouse is laid out upon seven separate named levels, each differentiated from the others by its function. The author focuses on the *lawang* (the inner space) which is opposed to the *sawah* (the outer space). The *lawang/sawah* division is a conceptual opposition between the longhouse community and those outside it. Examination of the *lawang* and the community interaction that takes place within it has long been neglected in anthropological literature on Dayak societies. The space delimited by the *lawang* construction in Gerai is not 'private': resources, light, and sound are shared across permeable boundaries that separate the apartments. Thus the *lawang* structure gives rise to a particular form of social control. The spatial arrangement within the Gerai longhouse indicates the embeddedness of a household in the larger longhouse community. In a Gerai longhouse it is not the impermeable walls that make good neighbors, as in a Western arrangement, but the gaps and tears which occur within them (Youetta M. de Jager).

Jessup, Timothy C., Longhouses of East Kalimantan. *Kalimantan Review*. thn. 2, no. 3 (1993), pp. 16-20.

Longhouses were once widely found throughout East Kalimantan, but now they are built only in a few remote communities on the Apo Kayan plateau. In former times they could be massive constructions housing up to 500 to 600 inhabitants with an overall height of 40 metres and could be up to about 400 metres in length. They were built or rebuilt as frequently as once a decade. Since the 1980s there has been an innovation in construction as relatively light-weight, sawn timbers are now used instead of the traditional heavy hand-hewn timber. In many areas social pressures are now forcing people to abandon longhouses (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Juweng, Stepanus, Turbulence in Sabah and Sarawak and its implications for Indonesia. *The Indonesian Quarterly*. vol 21, 2 (1993), pp. 187-201.

Relations between Sabah and Sarawak and the central government have tended to be turbulent. This can pose a threat to the stability of the ASEAN area. This article reviews the current political and economic situation in both Malaysian states. There is a growing problem of illegal Indonesian immigrants, especially in Sabah where the problem is compounded by a number of Moro refugees. As it is, although the income per



capita is higher than Sarawak, the poverty rate in the latter state is much lower. The article then moves on to examine federal-state relations (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Klokke, A. H. Description of a bamboo tube (*solep*) from Central Borneo depicting Ngaju Dayak religious iconography. *Sarawak Museum Journal*. vol 44, 65 (1993), pp. 60-69.

The Ngaju depict sacral rites and mythical narratives on rattan mats, wooden objects, and bamboo tubes (*solep*). In this article the author describes the mythical scenes illustrated on a bamboo tube which was given to him by a priest (*basir*) in Telok Nyatu on the Kahayan river. The priest had formerly used it in religious ceremonies as a kind of visual aid for religious instruction. The bulk of the article consists of a detailed description of the various scenes and myths that are associated with it. The scenes have been carved from the bamboo and the background stained with dragon's blood (*jarenang*) (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Klokke, A.H. Oorsprongmythen en afbeeldingen van Ngaju-Dayak *mihing*: de achtergrond van een bestaande methode van visvangst. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*. Vol. 150, 1 (1994), pp. 67-109, bibl., photogs.

The Ngaju Dayak word *mihing* refers to a wooden construction erected in the upstream part of the Kahayan River (Central Kalimantan) designed to catch fish. Two myths of origin about the *mihing*, in Ngaju Dayak and Dutch, give insight into its religious background and present a clear picture of Ngaju life in former times. Depictions of the *mihing* on a rotan mat and a bamboo tube are presented with detailed information about the various elements in these designs. The meaning of rituals involved in the construction and use of the *mihing*, and differences between artistic designs, can only be understood from a knowledge of these myths of origin which circulated as oral literature.

Kreps, Christina. On Becoming 'Museum-minded': a study of museum development and the politics of culture in Indonesia. PhD dissertation, University of Oregon, 1994.

This dissertation is based on an 18-month ethnographic study of the Provincial Museum of Central Kalimantan, Museum Balanga. The study considers how the museum is a transnational cultural form, and how museum development in Indonesia is part of a global museum phenomenon. It examines how Museum Balanga functions to collect, preserve, and represent the cultural heritage of Dayak peoples within the context of national policies on museum development. The study investigates the interests and purposes museums serve in the Indonesian setting, and how museum development is informed by state ideologies on national integration, socioeconomic development, and modernization. The dissertation advocates community-based museum development and the recognition of indigenous concepts of preservation and methods of treating cultural materials (Copies of the dissertation are available through UMI or can be obtained directly from Christina Kreps on diskette Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, U.S.A.)

Laade, Wolfgang. In search of roots: the interpretation of ancient and tribal Southeast Asian musical phenomena as sources of East and Southeast Asian music. *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnographical Research*. Nos. 34-35, 1992-93, pp. 49-78, bibl., diagrs, maps, photogs.

East and Southeast Asia is an area which offers many possibilities for studying the question of stability and change in musical traditions over a long period of time. In musical terms, the author sees East Asia as an area apart from West Asia. Heterophony is much more complex. He examines various musical instruments which are found in many of the cultures in the region. Particular attention is paid to bronze 'kettle drums', in reality a form of gong, which are either in the form of a kettle (Indochina) or hourglass shape (*mokko*) in Indonesia. Following Hood, he sees these as a variant of the now usual round bossed gong used in Indonesia. Bronze bells are found among the 'hill tribes' in Vietnam and the Philippines. However, the Jew's harp is found throughout the whole area. The musical bow is less frequent, in Southeast Asia being confined to New Guinea [Irian]. On the other hand, the mouth reed organ is found over a very wide area, but in Indonesia is confined to the Kayan and the Sempunan in Kalimantan. Polyvocal singing is a common phenomenon. Attention is also drawn to kolotomy or the division of musical forms into temporal units of equal length which are marked by specific instruments struck one after the other in a specific order. This is a characteristic of Indonesian *gamelan* and Japanese *gagaku*. The article ends with a detailed plan for further urgent research (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Lim, David. Economic adjustments under conditions of abundance: implications for Malaysia and Sabah. *Borneo Review*. vol 1, 1 (1990), pp. 149-59.

A government faced with massive revenues from a resource boom can use different mechanisms to absorb the revenues into the domestic economy. This paper examines three— currency appreciation, expansion of the domestic money supply and increasing the level of protection. It then looks at the relevance of such an analysis to Malaysia and Sabah. It concludes that prima facie the analysis is relevant but points out that empirical work is needed before more can be said (journal abstract).

Noorduyn, J. A Bugis inscription in the Udok-Udok cemetery, Brunei. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. vol. 66, 2 (1993), pp. 103-112.

The subject of this article was found in the Udok-Udok cemetery in Brunei in 1986. It consists of five short lines of Buginese script engraved on stone. The author first provides a bare transliteration with all the linguistic features needed for an adequate interpretation. The script used is discussed in some detail and then the contents of the inscription are described. On the surface it would seem that it was erected in memory of a Bugis man who died in 1272 Hijrah (A.D. 1855-56), according to a date in European numerals on the reverse of the stone. On the other hand, by the mid 19th century, the Buginese were execrated in Brunei, whereas in the 18th century they had been all powerful. Therefore, we may be confronted with a 'recycled' tombstone on which the inscription actually dates from the mid-18th century (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Peluso, Nancy Lee. The rattan trade in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. IN: Daniel C. Nepstad and Stephan Schwartzman, eds. *Non-timber products from tropical forests: evaluation of a conservation and development strategy*. New York: The New York Botanical Garden, 1992, pp. 115-27.

Since more and more people have access to the interior of Kalimantan, it is unlikely that local people can recapture control of the forests surrounding their villages. Extractive reserves constitute a conservation and development strategy that allocates rights of usufruct and control over resources to people with long-standing claims to them. To improve the chances of success, the social organization of extractive reserves must be grounded in local history. The author discusses the pressures on the trade in non-timber products in East Kalimantan focusing on rattan (*Calamus* spp.), considering both the potential for and the constraints on creating extractive reserves in this political-economic context (Youetta M. de Jager).

Potess, Fernando. People's conservation and development: why support natural resource base conservation. *Kalimantan Review*. thn. 1, 2 (1992), pp. 44-50.

The author analyses the implications of Act no. 5 (1990) in which Indonesia's conservation policy is laid down. He argues that indigenous communities should be allowed to practice their own natural resource based conservation. This has always been an integral part of their survival strategy and a component of the systematic development of their natural resource-based economies. In a word they are ecologically sound and can offer different ways of sharing and managing resources (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Potter, Lesley. Forest classification, policy and land-use planning in Kalimantan. *Borneo Review*. vol 1, 1 (1990), pp. 91-128.

This paper begins by examining the level of knowledge regarding the present condition of Kalimantan's forests, once considered Indonesia's richest. The forest classification system is scrutinised from the point of view of land-use planning and the varying demands made on the forest estate: for protection of watersheds and preservation of ecosystems; for production to feed the burgeoning plywood industry; or for conversion to accommodate human settlement. Conclusions are drawn as to the effectiveness of present policies and suggestions made for changes in directions more likely to secure sustainability of the resource (journal abstract).

Rufinus, Albert. Beberapa aspek permasalahan sosial budaya dalam masyarakat Dayak Kanayatan di kabupaten Pontianak. *Kalimantan Review*. thn. 1, no. 2 (1992), pp. 19-23.

The Kanayatan Dayak, sometimes called Dayak Melayu, inhabit the *kabupaten* of Pontianak and Sambas in West Kalimantan. In this article the author extrapolates on the past, present, and future problems with which these people, specifically those in Pontianak, have been, are, and will be confronted (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Sarman, Mukhtar. Perubahan status sosial dan moral ekonomi petani: kajian pada komunitas petani plasma PIR karet Danau Slak, Kalimantan Selatan. *Prisma* thn. 23, no. 7 (1994), pp. 69-86.

Does social improvement necessarily involve social change? This question is examined in relation to the rubber farmers of the Danau Salak plantation in South Kalimantan who have just become part of the PIR. These farmers are nicknamed *petani plasma*. They comprise two ethnic groups: indigenous Orang Banjar and Javanese transmigrants. Innovation means that they have now the right to convert the land they work, amounting to a rubber plantation of approximately 3 hectares. There is a great difference in attitude towards this freedom. Ways of measuring status also differ. The Banjarese tend to spend extra money on conspicuous display. The Javanese plan more carefully, living simply and taking care of their resources, although both groups have become more consumption oriented (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Sather, Clifford. Trees and tree tenure in Paku Iban society: the management of secondary forest resources in a long-established Iban community. *Borneo Review*. vol. 1, 1 (1990), pp. 16-40.

Iban methods of land-use have been represented as *manger la forêt*. Recent studies, however, dispute this view and the present paper is a contribution to this critique. In the Paku river region of the Second Division of Sarawak, the Iban have remained in continuous occupation of the same area for more than 14 generations, practicing a sustained form of swidden cultivation and managing the resources of the secondary forest by means of an established system of silvi-tenure. Here, the basic features of this system are described. The longhouse is the primary unit of forest-resource management. In the upper and middle Paku, tracks of land are set aside for joint forest exploitation by longhouse members as cemetery sites, fruit-tree reserves, river corridors, and forest 'islets' under ritual interdiction. In addition, temporary bans on felling are observed, particularly around working rice-fields. Finally, heritable rights are also acknowledged, independent of land-use rights, over individual trees and other useful plant species. These rights, particularly in fruit and honey trees, have links to oral history, being traced through as many as 11 generations. Their recognition thus transcends the primary units of everyday social experience; contributes to the maintenance of intra-regional relations; and historicises the landscape (journal abstract).

Sather, Clifford. Sea nomads and rainforest hunter-gatherers: foraging adaptations in the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago. IN: Peter Bellwood, James J. Fox and Darrell Tryon, eds. *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. 1995. Canberra: Papers, Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, pp. 229-68.

This chapter discusses the non-agricultural aspects of Austronesian history and ethnography, taking the view that the early Austronesian colonizations might have involved a range of both food producing and foraging economies and that sharp dichotomies between these two kinds of economy are unlikely to have existed. Modern Austronesian hunter-gatherers such as the Agta and Penan cannot be seen as 'fossilized'

foragers from the Pleistocene, but, like the Semang, as parties to a process of symbiosis with agriculturalists which has continued for several millennia. The idea of 'devolution' from a prior dependence on agriculture among the Penan is critically assessed and rejected. Also discussed are the historical roles of the sea nomads—Moken, Orang Laut and Sama-Bajau (P. Bellwood, J.J. Fox, and D. Tryon).

Schiller, Anne L. Journalistic imputation and ritual decapitation: human sacrifice and media controversy in Central Kalimantan. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1993), pp. 97-110.

In 1991 Tempo published an article entitled Gadut, tumbal tiwah (Gadut, spirit offering at tiwah), purporting to describe a ritual murder carried out to comply with requirements for a secondary burial among the Ngaju Dayak of Central Kalimantan. The present paper contextualizes and describes a case of media portrayal of the religious practices of a less well known part of Indonesia. It also examines the way in which the new religious bureaucracy helped to find a solution. The Tempo article intimated that the adherents of one indigenous belief system, Kaharingan, more recently Hindu Kaharingan, were still taking heads as a prerequisite for secondary death rites known as tiwah (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Schouten, Maria Johanna C. Heads for force: on the headhunting complex in Southeast Asia and Melanesia. *Anais universitarios*, no. 3 (October 1992), pp. 113-30.

What is it that makes human heads so important that warriors should risk hazardous expeditions to fetch them? The author analyses the religious and political motives for headhunting among the Dayak, Toraja, Minahasan and other cultures in Melanesia and Southeast Asia. The head, she argues, as the repository of mana or 'soul-substance', plays a central role in rituals associated with fertility or death. Apart from headhunting for ritual purposes, headhunting was also a means for gaining social status or increasing personal power within the community, as among the Iban and the Minahasans. Colonialism banished the practice in the 19th/early 20th century. However, the abolition of a custom which was the core of a cluster of beliefs, rituals and accompanying customs had far-reaching consequences for headhunting societies, which have developed different ways of dealing with the vacuum which has arisen (Youetta M. de Jager).

Sellato, Bernard. Collective memory and nomadism: ethno-historical investigations in Borneo. *Indonesia* no. 57 (1993), pp. 155-74.

This article was originally entitled *Mémoire collective et nomadisme* and first appeared in French in *Archipel* 27 (1984): 85-108. The author cautions that he has to some extent modified the text as his ideas have grown and matured over the last ten years (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Sellato, Bernard. Myth, history, and modern cultural identity among hunter-gatherers: a Borneo case. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. Vol. 24, 1 (1993), pp. 18-43.

This article concerns a Bukat community, one of the partly settled hunting-gathering communities of West Kalimantan, based on a short manuscript in Indonesian written by Sawing Gemala, a Bukat notable of the hamlet of Nanga Balang, upper Kapuas River. The legend contained in this manuscript, which is to explain the findings of archaeological artifacts, contradicts other sources, a thing which is only natural. The author analyzes in a regional cultural context Bukat manipulations of historical tradition in the context of their changing circumstances. He argues that this counter evidence proves that current 'revisionist' hunter-gatherer studies, some of which conclude too hastily that hunter-gatherers have 'devolved' from agricultural societies, may be overdrawn (Youetta M. de Jager).

Sellato, Bernard. Salt in Borneo. IN: Pierre le Roux and Jacques Ivanoff, eds. *Le sel de la vie in Asie du Sud-Est*. Bangkok: Prince of Songkla University. 1993, pp. 263-84.

As in most parts of Southeast Asia, salt is produced along the coasts of Kalimantan, but this article focuses on the situation in the highlands where imported sea salt and locally produced brine-salt co-existed. It looks at the world of tastes and its terminology; methods of food preparation; techniques of food preservation; salt-making technology; salt trade patterns and their economic context; and the symbolic meaning and ritual role of salt. The author concentrates on the Aoheng of the Upper Mahakam and their neighbors such as the Kenyah. Among the points examined are the presence or absence of semantic oppositions such as 'sweet/salt'. Interestingly, among nomadic groups such as the Penan and Bukat, who do not consciously eat salt, there is, according to the author, no higher incidence of goitre than among coastal people. Historically, a self-sufficiency in salt was a factor in maintaining autonomy, as it evaded dependency on coastal sultanates (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Setianingsih, Rita Margaretha. Perahu dalam beberapa prasasti Indonesia. *Berkala Arkeologi*. thn. 13, no. 1 (1993), pp. 10-21.

Indonesia is a maritime nation and ships have always played an important role in the economy and communications. There have been a few archaeological finds of the remains of early ships, e.g. at Sambirejo and Kolam Pinisi at Palembang, Bukit Jakas in Riau, and Paya Pasir near Medan. There are the ship-shaped sarcophagi of some Dayak people, traditional ships woven into textiles, and the depiction of a merchant ship on Borobudur, which give an idea of what early ships looked like. There are also ships mentioned in a number of inscriptions. The author reproduces the texts of nine such inscriptions (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Sihbudi, Riza. Persepsi Ekonomi-Politik Kaum Muda 'Pinggiran': studi kasus tiga kota. *Analisis CSIS*. vol. 22, 2 (1993), pp. 128-42.

The study concerns the politico-economic perceptions of 'marginal' young people who work in factories in villages in three *kabupaten* in outer provinces of Indonesia, including Kalimantan Barat. The group studied numbered 122 people, with an average age of 30, all of them with a technical school (SLTA) education. Their wages were less than Rp. 100,000 a month. Without exception they regarded this income as far too low

to meet their responsibilities, but it was difficult for them to find supplementary work. As far as politics are concerned, most are woefully ignorant, not even knowing the name of the governor of their province. Only a small percentage (0.8) had some understanding of DPRD. The author says that this does much to negate government claims to be the guide to people's political consciousness (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Soedirman, Soeyitno. Study of the changes in forest conditions in the Bukit Soeharto Dipterocarp Forest Area, East Kalimantan. IN: Ishemat Surianegara, ed. *Proceedings of the Fourth Round-table Conference on Dipterocarps*. 1991 Bogor: SEAMEO, pp. 221-238.

The province of East Kalimantan is the most important log-producer in Indonesia, but about 32 percent of the forest area is allocated for protection and conservation. The importance of the tropical rainforest for Indonesia cannot be measured simply in economic terms; the ecological and conservational aspects also must never be underestimated. Taman Hutan Raya Bukit Soeharto, 60 km south of Samarinda in East Kalimantan has not been designated a multifunctional area. It offers an interesting example of the problem of human interaction and forest resources. The paper presents an estimate of the changes in forest conditions in the area caused by human activity using the technique of aerial photography (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Sukanda, A.L. Yan. Gagasan pengembangan musik tradisional Dayak. *Kalimantan Review*. thn. 1, 1 (1992), pp. 17-22.

The ethnomusicology of Dayak music has so far been neglected. Among the almost 450 Dayak groups, there is a wide range of music and musical instruments. There are a number of different gongs, cymbals, as well as Jew's harps. Likewise there is a great diversity of tympany and stringed instruments. The Dayaks are the only Indonesian people whose wind instruments include the *keledi* or *shawm*, which indicates a connection with people on the mainland of Southeast Asia. There is also a great variety of songs (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Sumawinata, Basuki. Adaptive agricultural practices and land-use cycles in pyritic sediments in South Kalimantan. *Southeast Asian Studies*. Vol. 30, 1 (1993), pp. 93-104.

This article describes the 'adaptive' agricultural technique use by the Banjarese to cultivate rice and perennial crops on potentially acid sulphate soils. Its characteristics are (1) drainage kept to a minimum in reclamation so as to depress oxidation of pyritic sediment; (2) traditional swampland rice cultivation; (3) secondary *Melaleuca* forest is conserved by the shifting cultivation of rice with long-term planting and long-term fallow periods (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Whittier, Herbert L. and Patricia Whittier. Tijgertanden voor aristocratische baby's. IN: I.C. van Hout, ed. *Lieve lasten: hoe kinderen gedragen worden*. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen. 1993, pp. 100-105, photogr.

The Kenyah of Kalimantan carry their babies on their backs in a rotan basket, the *ba*, which is at once a carrier of babies, a work of art, protection for the young and

vulnerable child, an indicator of social status, and an instrument of socialization. The *ba* may be decorated with pieces of textile (for the lower classes), beads, silver coins, shells, or other objects. The authors discuss the patterns and figures which are connected with social status. Tiger teeth, for example, are reserved for the aristocracy (Youetta M. de Jager).

Zeppel, Heather. Authenticity and the Iban: Cultural tourism at Iban longhouses in Sarawak, East Malaysia. PhD dissertation. Material Culture Unit, James Cook University of North Queensland. 1994.

Iban longhouses are a key tourist attraction in Sarawak. This thesis examines tourist responses to authenticity in Iban culture at the Sarawak Museum, Sarawak Cultural Village, and during guided Iban longhouse tours. In addition to the investigation of tourist reactions to Iban longhouses, the present set of studies also examines significant factors influencing tourist demand for authentic cultural experiences. A main objective is to evaluate authenticity through the interplay between tourist responses to the longhouse setting (situational) and fulfilling inner needs (behavioral).

Field research on Iban longhouse tourism provides further insight into the concept of authenticity. It evaluates tourist reactions to the physical markers of Iban cultural identity, and the social mechanisms used by tourists to validate genuine cultural experiences. This thesis develops the notion that tourists actively select meaningful elements in Iban culture according to their own needs for authenticity. Tourist reactions to authenticity are evaluated using survey responses, supported by observations of tourist behavior at Iban longhouses.

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*(Notes from the Editor, continued from p. 2)*

Reflecting the continued growth of the Council, the Brunei meetings, held June 10-15th at the Universiti Brunei Darussalam, were the largest and, I think, most participants would agree, the most successful yet undertaken, and a report on the Fourth Biennial Conference will appear in the next volume of the *BRB*. In the meantime, I take this opportunity to thank our Brunei hosts, and in particular Professor Peter Eaton and all of those who assisted him, for a truly memorable gathering. It was proposed at the conclusion of the Brunei meetings that the next biennial conference in 1998 be held, provided that local sponsorship and other arrangements can be worked out, at Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan. Since then plans have moved forward encouragingly and in the next volume I will outline the current status of planning for our Fifth Biennial BRC Conference.

Finally, I am pleased to report that the results of our annual fund campaign have been gratifying. The Council wishes to thank the following persons for their contributions during the past year: George and Laura Appell, Laura Appell-Warren, Ralph Arbus, Awang Hasmadi Awang Mois, Dee Baer, Donald Brown, Jay Crain, Otto Doering, Michael Dove, Brian Durrans, John Elliott, Rick Fidler, John Fox, Judith Heimann, Y.J. Heller, Linda Kimball, Michael Leigh, Datuk Amar Linggi Jugah, Peter Martin, Allen Maxwell, Peter Metcalf, Rodney Needham, Oshima Kazunori, John Pearson, Bob Reece, Anne Schiller, William Schneider, F. Andrew Smith, Jack Stuster, Vinson and Joanne Sutlive, and Sondra Wentzel. If I have left off a contributor's name, please let me know.

\*\_\*\_\*\*

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