

**FINAL HONOUR SCHOOL
OF MODERN HISTORY**

FURTHER SUBJECT 15(d)

**Imperialism and Nationalism:
Maritime South East Asia:
Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, 1830–1966**

Bibliography

Revised 2001

FURTHER SUBJECT 15(d)

Imperialism & Nationalism: Maritime Southeast Asia: Malaysia, Indonesia & The Philippines, 1830–1966

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list covers only the essential texts and monographs for this option.

GENERAL WORKS

- Charles A. Fisher, *South-East Asia. A Social, Economic and Political Geography* (London: Methuen & Co, 1964) (a very important basic textbook on the region which approaches it from the standpoint of its physical and biogeographical environment), see esp. parts I, II, IV–VI.
- John Bastin & Harry J. Benda, *A History of Modern Southeast Asia* (Prentice Hall, N.J., 1968) (pb. a succinct introduction to the history of SEA in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries).
- Evelyn Colbert, *Southeast Asia in International Politics: 1941–56* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977) (the most modern treatment of the international aspects of the independence period in SEA).
- Richard Butwell, *Southeast Asia: A Political Introduction* (1975) (a useful introductory work which emphasises the need to study the area on its own terms).
- D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-east Asia* (4th ed. New York & London: MacMillans, 1981) (a classic and magisterial background study which has recently been revised).
- George McTurnan Kahin (ed.), *Governments and Politics in Southeast Asia* (2nd ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964) (an essential textbook on the various post-war governments in SE Asia with some useful introductory sections).
- Pluvier, *South-east Asia from Colonialism to Independence* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974) (the most useful recent work on the process of decolonisation in the region; particularly useful on the Japanese period).
- David Joel Steinberg et al, *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History* (London: Pall Mall, 1971; currently reprinted in pb. and available from Rhinehart Holt publishers NYC) (this is by far the best modern history to have appeared in recent years: each country is dealt with by an area expert and the bibliography will be found especially useful).
- Robert O. Tilman (ed.), *Man, State and Society in Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 2 vols. (New York, 1969) (a very useful collection of articles on politics and economics drawn from some of the leading journals in the field).
- D.J.M. Tate, *The Making of Modern Southeast Asia*, vol. 1 *The European Impact* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1977 rev. ed.); vol. 2 *Social and Economic Change* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1979) (both these volumes are useful as introductory studies, especially on Malaya).
- Josef Silverstein (ed.), *Southeast Asia in World War II: Four Essays* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1966).

- Lea Williams, *Southeast Asia. A History* (New York: OUP, 1976) (a short, stimulating survey, very useful for those new to the subject).
- Hans-Dietr Evers (ed.), *Modernization in Southeast Asia* (OUP, 1973) (has some very useful essays).

2. MALAYSIA

- Leonard and Barbara Andaya, *Malaysia* (Macmillan, 1981).
- Rupert Emerson, *Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (London, 1937; reprinted Univ. of Malaya Press, 1964).
- Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841–1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970).
- Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya* (London: OUP, 1948; reprinted, 1967).
- William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1967).
- D.J.M. Tate, *The Making of Modern Southeast Asia*, vol. 1 ‘The European Conquest’ (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, rev. ed. 1977); vol. 2 ‘Social and Economic Change’ (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1979) (this is particularly useful for the history of Malaya).
- K.G. Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah (North Borneo, 1881–1963)* (Singapore, 1965).
- C.M. Turnbull, *A History of Singapore, 1819–75* (Singapore: OUP, 1977).
- Anthony Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948–1960* (London, 1975).

3. THE PHILIPPINES

- Teodoro A. Agoncilio, *The Revolt of the Masses* (Quezon City, 1956).
- Teodoro A. Agoncilio, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City, 1960).
- Teodoro A. Agoncilio, *A Short History of the Philippines* (London, 1969) (for a more up-to-date description of developments in the 20th century see T.A. Agoncillo & L.M. Guerrero, *A History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: 4th ed., 1973)).
- Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines from the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (London, 1975).
- Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past* (Quezon City, 1978).
- Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (Engelwood Cliffs: New Jersey, 1965).
- Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929–1946* (New Haven, Yale U.P., 1965).
- Bernard J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley, 1977).
- J.A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Berkeley, 1972).
- Cesar Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippines Revolution* (Quezon City, 1960).
- Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule: 1901–1913* (Connecticut: Shoe String Press, 1968).
- John N.S.J. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880–1895* (Manila: Solidaridad, 1973).

- Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899–1921* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974).
- David Joel Steinberg, *Philippine Collaboration in World War II* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan, 1967).
- David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840–1940* (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1976).
- Norman G. Owen (ed.), *Compadre Colonialism: Studies in the Philippines under American Rule* (Ann Arbor: Michigan U.P., 1971).
- R.C. Iletto, 'Pasi3n and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society (ca. 1840–1912)', Cornell Ph.D., 1975).
- Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850–1898* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1965) (see also his article, 'The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 5, pp. 62–100).
- Usha Mahajani, *Philippine Nationalism. External Challenge and Filipino Response, 1565–1946* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1971).

4. INDONESIA

- B.R.O'G. Anderson, *Java in a time of occupation, revolution and resistance, 1944–46* (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1972).
- Harry Aveling (ed.), *The Development of Indonesian Society* (St Lucia: Queensland U.P., 1979).
- B. Dahm, *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century* (London: Pall Mall, 1971).
- Clive Day, *The Dutch in Java* (OUP reprint, 1972).
- Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1972).
- George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1952; reprinted in pb., 1970).
- John D. Legge, *Indonesia* (2nd ed., Sydney, 1977).
- Ruth T., McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1965).
- Ruth T., McVey, *Indonesia* (Area Files Study) (New Haven, 1960).
- A. Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945–1950* (Victoria: Hawthorn Press, 1974).
- Merle C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia ca. 1300 to the present day* (London: MacMillan, 1981).
- R. Van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (The Hague, 1960).
- James R. Peacock, *Indonesia. An Anthropological Perspective* (Pacific Palisades: Good Year Publications, 1973).
- J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands-India: A Study of Colonial Policy* (1939) (reprinted 1944, 1970, 1976) (a classic which is still immensely useful and readable).

MARITIME SEA/INDONESIA 1830–1966

CULTIVATION SYSTEM IN JAVA (1830–1870)

- Essay:** 'The tragedy is not that the peasants suffered... the tragedy is that they suffered in vain.' Discuss this judgement on the 'Cultivation System' in Java (1830–1870).

Set text:

Chr L.M. Penders (ed. & trans.), *Indonesia. Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism, 1830–1942*, pp. 1–60.

Reading:

- Clive Day, *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (OUP reprint, 1966), pp. 243–342.
- J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India. A Study of Plural Economy* (CUP, 1939, reprinted 1967), pp. 115–173.
- M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia, ca. 1300 to the present* (MacMillans, 1981), part III, Chap. 11.
- C. Fasseur, ‘Some Remarks on the Cultivation System in Java’, *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* (Studies on the History of the Netherlands), vol. X (1978), pp. 143–162.
- Robert van Niel, ‘Measurement of Change under the Cultivation System in Java, 1837–1851’, *Indonesia* no. 14 (Oct. 1972), pp. 89–109.
- M.C. Ricklefs, ‘The Javanese in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, in D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (MacMillan, 4th ed., 1981), pp. 497–513.
- P.B.R. Carey, ‘Aspects of Javanese history in the nineteenth century’, in H. Aveling (ed.), *The Development of Indonesian Society* (Queensland U.P., 1979), pp. 45–105.
- Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution. The Processes of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Univ. of California Press, 1963).
- Justus M. van der Kroef, *The Dialectic of Colonial Indonesian History* (Amsterdam: Van der Peet, 1963).

THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRANSFORMATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE NATIONALIST ‘AWAKENING’ IN INDONESIA

- Essay:** ‘In what ways did the social and educational changes in late 19th and early 20th century Indonesia prepare the way for the development of national self-awareness?’
- or: ‘Describe the transition from traditional forms of resistance to ‘nationalist’ ones in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Indonesia’.
- or: ‘Assess the impact of the so-called ‘Liberal’ period (1870–1900) on the various classes in Javanese society’.

Set text:

Chr. L.M. Penders (ed.), *Indonesia. Selected Documents*, pp. 31–60, 61–120, pp. 180–235.

Additional recommended text reading:

Raden Adjeng Kartini, *Letters of a Javanese Princess* (ed. & introd. Sartono Kartodirdjo) (OUP in Asia, 1976).

Reading:

General

- W.F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition. A Study of Social Change* (The Hague & Bandung, 1956) (a very useful introduction).
- W.F. Wertheim & The Siauw Giap, 'Social Change in Java, 1900–1930', *Pacific Affairs* vol. 35 no. 3 (Fall '62), pp. 223–247.
- R. van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1960), pp. 1–100.
- R. van Niel, 'From Netherlands Indies to Republic of Indonesia, 1900–1945', in H. Aveling (ed.), *The Development of Indonesian Society* (1979), pp. 106–65 (a useful overview, slightly superficial).
- M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, pt. IV Chaps. 13 & 14.
- John D. Legge, *Indonesia* (2nd ed. Prentice-Hall of Australia, 1977), Chap. 6.

More specialised works (all deal with crucially important themes)

- Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism. The Early Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908–1918* (Tokio: Institute of Developing Economies, 1972).
- Heather Sutherland, *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite. The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese priyayi* (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979).
- Benedict R.O'G. Anderson, 'The Languages in Indonesian Politics', *Indonesia* no. 1 (April 1966), pp. 89–116.
- A. Reid & D. Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (1980) (see the essays of Anderson, Noer and Reid).
- R.T. McVey, 'Taman Siswa and the Indonesian national awakening', *Indonesia* no. 4 (Oct. 1967), pp. 128–168.
- Kenji Tsuchiya, 'The Taman Siswa movement. Its early eight years and Javanese background', *Journal of SE Asian Studies*, vol. VI no. 2 (Sept. 1975), pp. 164–77 (less important than McVey).
- Savitri Scherer, 'Harmony & Dissonance: Early Nationalist Thought in Java', Cornell University M.A. Thesis (1975).
- Benedict O'G. Anderson, 'A Time of Darkness and a Time of Light: Transposition in Early Indonesian Nationalist Thought', in Anthony Reid & David Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979), pp. 219–248.
- Benedict O'G. Anderson, 'The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture', in Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Cornell U.P., 1972), pp. 1–69 (not directly relevant, but worth being aware of).
- Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra, 1927–1933* (Ithaca, 1971) (a very important study).

- Taufik Abdullah, 'Modernization in the Minangkabau World: West Sumatra in the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century', in Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Cornell U.P., 1972), pp. 179–245 (a fine survey).
- Leo Suryadinata, 'Indonesian Nationalism and the Pre-war Youth Movement: A Re-examination', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* vol. 9 (1978), pp. 99–114.
- Sartono Kartodirdjo, 'Some Problems on the Genesis of Nationalism in Indonesia', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* vol. 3 (1962), pp. 67–94.

Traditional Protest Movements

- P.B.R. Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara. An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825–1830)* (Kuala Lumpur: Art Printers, 1981), see esp. pt. IX of the introduction.
- Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java. A Study of Agrarian Unrest in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries* (Singapore: OUP, 1973).
- Sartono Kartodirdjo, 'Agrarian Radicalism in Java: Its Setting and Development', in Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (1972) pp. 71–125.
- Harry Benda & Lance Castles, 'The Samin Movement', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 125 no. 2 (1969), pp. 207–40; and see the rejoinder to this in the same journal by Victor T. King, vol. 129 (1973), pp. 457–81. See also on the 'Samin' movement, a millenarian movement of north central Java late 19th/early 20th cents., The Siauw Giap, 'The Samin and Samat Movements in Java: Two Examples of Peasant Resistance', *Revue du Sud-est Asiatique et de l'Extrême Orient* (1967/2), pp. 303–310; *Ibid.*, (1968/1), pp. 107–113; *Ibid.*, (1969/2), pp. 63–77.

MARITIME SE ASIA/PEASANTS

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Essay: 'Assess the impact of the colonial economies on the rural world of SE Asia during this period (1830–1942) and the ways in which peasant protest changed (if at all).'

or: 'How far did the would be nationalist leaders succeed in winning and organizing the support of the peasantry? (Answer with reference to one SE Asian country).'

Set texts:

- Chr. L.M. Penders, *Indonesia. Selected Documents*, pp. 179–214.
- Harry J. Benda & Ruth T. McVey (eds.), *The Communist Uprisings of 1926–1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents* (Ithaca, 1960).

Reading (specialised studies):

- Sartono Kartodirdjo, 'The Peasants' Revolt in Banten in 1888', *VKI* (1966).
- Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java* (Singapore: OUP, 1973) (also see the other works cited at the bottom of p.3).
- John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans. Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972).
- R.C. Iletto, "'Passion" and the interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society', Cornell University Ph.D. 1975.
- Benedict J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion. A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1977).
- David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840–1940* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1976).
- David R. Sturtevant, 'Sakdalism and Philippine Radicalism', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXI (1961–2), pp. 199–213.
- John A. Larkin, 'The place of local history in Philippine historiography', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* vol. VIII no. 2 (Sept. '67), pp. 306–17.
- M.C. Guerrero, 'The Colorum Uprisings, 1924–1931', *Asian Studies* (Manila), (1967), pp. 65–78.
- J. de V. Allen, 'The Kelantan Rising of 1915. Some Thoughts on the concept of resistance in British Malayan history', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (1968), pp. 241–57.
- Dato' Seri Lela Di-Raja, 'The Ulu Trengganu Disturbance, May 1928: Extracts from the Diary of Dato' Seri Lela Di-Raja', *Malaysia in History*, vol. XII no. 1 (1968), pp. 21–26.
- William R. Roff, *Kelantan. Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State* (1974).

On the impact of the Great Depression:

- J.M. Pluvier, *South-East Asia from Colonialism to Independence*, pp. 22–71.
- William Joseph O'Malley, 'Indonesia in the Great Depression: A Study of East Sumatra and Jogjakarta in the 1930's', Cornell Ph.D. 1977.

General Works on Peasant Uprisings

- E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1959).
- Eric Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (1969).
- Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia* (1957).

General Works with special reference to Southeast Asia

- Harry J. Benda, 'Peasant Movements in Colonial Southeast Asia', *Asian Studies* (Manila) vol. III no. 3 (1965), pp. 420–34.
- Erich H. Jacoby, *Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia* (1961).
- James Scott & Ben Kerkvliet, 'The Politics of Survival. Peasant Response to 'progress' in Southeast Asia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* vol. IV no. 2 (Sept. 1973).

- James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant. Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (1976). (see also the critique of this work by Michael Adas, “‘Moral Economy’ or ‘Contest State’? Elite Demands and the origins of peasant protest in Southeast Asia’, *Journal of Social History*, vol. 13 no. 4 (1980); and his article on ‘Avoidance Protest’, in *Comparative Studies in Social History* (1981)).
- James C. Scott, ‘The Erosion of Patron-Client Bonds and Social Change in Rural Southeast Asia’, *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 32 no. 1 (Nov. 1972), pp. 5–37.
- Samuel L. Popkin, *The Rational Peasant. The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* (Univ. of California Press, 1979).

Useful Anthropological Monographs:

- Joel S. Kahn, *Minangkabau social transformations; Indonesian peasants and the world economy* (Cambridge Studies in Anthropology, 1980).
- Leslie H. Palmier, *Social Status and Power in Java* (LSE monograph, London, 1957).
- Manning Nash, *The Golden Road to Modernity. Village Life in Contemporary Burma* (1965).
- Robert R. Jay, *Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java* (New Haven, 1963).
- M.G. Swift, *Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu* (1965).
- Clive S. Kessler, *Islam and Politics in a Malay State. Kelantan 1838–1969* (1978).

THE COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE SE ASIAN ECONOMIES

- Essay:** ‘What changes did the western dominated estate economies bring to the region between 1870 and 1942?’
- or: ‘How far is the term ‘Dual Economy’ relevant to the economic development of SE Asia between 1870 and 1942?’
- or: ‘Are any of the theories of capitalist imperialism useful for an understanding of western economic expansion in SE Asia?’

Set texts:

- Chr. L.M. Penders, *Indonesia. Selected Documents*, pp. 31–120.
- Soekarno, *Indonesia Accuses! Soekarno's Defence Oration in the Political Trial of 1930* (trans. & ed. Roger K. Paget) (Oxford in Asia, 1975), sections II (‘Imperialism and Capital’) and III (‘Imperialism in Indonesia’), see also the very important introd. by Paget, esp. xvii–lii.
- D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Theory of Capitalist Imperialism*, esp. pp. 1–109.

Reading:

NB: for a bibliography on the theories of capitalist imperialism, see the separate sheet 'Imperialism and Nationalism', *sub*: Week 2.

- D.J.M. Tate, *The Making of Modern South-East Asia*, vol. 2 'Economic and Social Change', esp. pp. 1–118, pp. 149–310, pp. 421–96.
- W.F. Wertheim et al (eds.), *Indonesian Economics. The Concept of Dualism in Theory and Policy* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1966) (see esp. the essays by J.H. Boeke, G. Gonggrijp, D.H. Burger, Th. A. Fruin, J. van Gelderen and G.H. van der Kolff).
- Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution* (1963).
- Douglas S. Paauw, 'Indonesia. From Colonial to Guided Economy', in Ruth T. McVey (ed.) *Indonesia* (Yale, 1963).
- C.A. Fisher, *South-East Asia. A Social, Economic and Political Geography* (London: Methuen, 1964), esp. pp. 275–359, pp. 604–32, pp. 691–738.
- C.A. Fisher, 'Some Comments on the Population Growth of South-East Asia with special reference to the period since 1830', in C.D. Cowan (ed.), *The Economic Development of Southeast Asia* (New York, 1964) (other essays in this work esp. that by Cowan will also be found useful).
- G.C. Allen & A.G. Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya* (London 1962).
- P.T. Bauer, *The Rubber Industry: A Study in Competition and Monopoly* (Cambridge: Mass., 1948).
- John S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India. A Study in Plural Economy* (1939), see esp. Chaps. VI–VIII, Chaps. X–XIII.
- J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India. A Study of Colonial Policy* (1939).
- J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands-India* (1948) (a useful comparative study).
- J.H. Boeke, *Structure of the Netherlands Indian Economy* (1942).
- J.H. Boeke, *The Evolution of the Netherlands-Indies Economy* (1946).
- Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother: How the U.S. Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn* (1961).
- Pluvier, *South-East Asia from Colonialism to Independence*, pp. 22–71 (a very useful introduction to the subject by a Marxist orientated historian).
- J. Steinberg et al, *In search of Southeast Asia*, pp. 196–238.
- J.O.M. Broek, *The Economic Development of the Netherlands-Indies* (1942).
- T.H. Silcock, *The Commonwealth Economy in Southeast Asia* (1959).
- T.H. Silcock (ed.), *Readings in Malayan Economics* (1961) (has some very useful articles).
- A.V.H. Hartendorp, *Short History of Industry and Trade of the Philippines* (1953) (v. weak of pre-20th century).
- Eliodoro G. Robles, *The Philippines in the Nineteenth Century* (1969).
- J.H. Drabble, 'The Plantation Rubber industry in Malaya up to 1922', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, XL no. 1 (July 1987, pp. 52–77).
- James C. Jackson, *Planters and Speculators: Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya, 1786–1921* (1968).
- B.J.O. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, vol. 1 (1955), pp. 85–166.
- Wong Lin Ken, *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914* (1965).

Clifford Geertz, *The Social Context of Economic Change: An Indonesian Case Study* (1956).

ISLAM AND NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

Essay: 'Analyse the role of Islam in the development of the Indonesian Nationalist movement between 1900 and 1942'.

Texts:

Penders (ed.) *Indonesia*, pp. 236–72.

Soekarno, *Nationalism, Islam and Marxism* (trans. Warouw & Weldon; introd. Ruth T. McVey) (Ithaca, 1969).

Reading:

Akira Nagazumi, 'The Abortive Uprising of the Indonesian Communist Party and its influence on the pilgrims to Mecca, 1926–27', *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs*, Sydney, vol. 14 no. 2 (1980), pp. 111–124.

Justus M. van der Kroef, 'The Role of Islam in Indonesian Nationalism', *Western Political Quarterly* vol. 11 (1958).

Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun. Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942–45* (1958), pp. 9–102.

Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900–1942* (1973).

R. van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, Chaps. III & IV.

Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town*, Cornell Ph.D., 1976.

Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project pub., 1970).

George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, pp. 1–99.

Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927–1933)* (Ithaca, 1971).

Taufik Abdullah, 'Modernization in the Minangkabau World', in Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (1972), pp. 179–245

Jacob Vredenburg, 'The Haddj: Some of its features and functions in Indonesia', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* vol. 118 (1962) pp. 91–154.

W.F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition*, Chap. 8.

Rosihan Anwar, 'Islam and Politics in Indonesia', in R.O. Tilman, *Man, State and Society in Contemporary SE Asia*, pp. 115–131.

Clifford Geertz, 'Modernization in a Muslim Society! The Indonesian Case', in *Ibid*, pp. 201–11.

Harry J. Benda, 'Continuity and Change in Indonesian Islam', *Asian and African Studies* (Jerusalem) (1965), pp. 123–38.

William R. Roff, 'Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's', *Indonesia* no. 9 (April 1970), pp. 73–88.

SECULAR NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA TO 1932

Essay: 'How successful was the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) under Sukarno in constructing a party with a mass base before 1932?'

Set texts:

Penders, *Indonesia*, pp. 301–47.
Soekarno, *Indonesia Accuses!*, pp. 42–112 (see also Paget's introd., pp. lii–lxxi) and *Nationalism, Islam and Marxism* (1926).
Sutan Sjahrir, *Our Struggle* (trans. & ed. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson) (1968).

Recommended Additional Texts:

Sutan Sjahrir, *Out of Exile* (1949).
Soekarno, *Nationalism, Islam and Marxism* (1926).
Soekarno, *To Achieve a free Indonesia* (Mencapai Indonesia Merdeka), ed. & trans. R. Hering (*Kabar Seberang*, 1979).
Soekarno, *An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).

Reading:

John Legge, *Sukarno. A Political Biography*, Chaps. 1–5.
Bernhard Dahm, *Sukarno and the struggle for Indonesian Independence* (1969), parts 1 & II.
John Ingleson, *Road to Exile. The Indonesian Nationalist Movement, 1927–34* (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979).
Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, Chaps. III & IV.
B.R.O'G. Anderson, 'The Languages of Indonesian Politics', *Indonesia* no. 1 (April 1966), pp. 89–116.
George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, pp. 1–99.
W.F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition*, Chap. 11.
Leo Suryadinata, 'Indonesian Nationalism and the Pre-war youth movement: A Re-examination', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 9 (1978), pp. 99–114.
A. Reid, 'The Nationalist Quest for an Indonesian Past', in A. Reid & David Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, pp. 281–98.
Deliar Noer, 'Yamin and Hamka. Two routes to an Indonesian identity', in *Ibid*, pp. 249–62.
C.L.M. Penders, *The Life and Times of Sukarno* (London, 1974).
Harry J. Benda, 'The Pattern of Administrative Reforms in the Closing Years of Dutch Rule in Indonesia', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXV (1966), pp. 589–605.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

Essay: 'What was the legacy of the abortive communist uprisings in Indonesia in 1926–7?'

or: 'Why did the Indonesian Communists adopt such suicidal tactics in 1926–7?'

or: 'What was the social background and composition of the Indonesian Communist party at the time of the abortive uprisings in 1926–7?'

Set texts:

Benda & McVey, *The Communist Uprisings of 1926–1927 in Indonesia. Key Documents* (1960).

Penders (ed.), *Indonesia*, pp. 273–300.

Reading:

Leslie H. Palmier, *Communists in Indonesia* (1973).

Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (1965).

B.J.O. Schrieke, 'The causes and effects of communism on the west coast of Sumatra', in *Indonesian Sociological Studies: selected writings on B. Schrieke*, part I (1966), pp. 83–166.

R. van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, Chap. IV.

George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, Chap. III.

Harry J. Benda, 'The Communist Rebellions of 1926–27 in Indonesia', *The Pacific Historical Review*, vol. XXIV (1955), pp. 139–52.

Donald Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia, 1951–63* (1966) (deals with a later period).

Justus M. van der Kroef, *The Communist Party of Indonesia* (1965).

Shelton Stromquist, 'The Communist Uprisings of 1926–27 in Indonesia: A Re-interpretation', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (1967), pp. 189–200.

William A. Oates, 'The Afdeeling 'B': An Indonesian Case Study', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (1968), pp. 107–116.

Ruth T. McVey, *The Soviet View of the Indonesian Revolution: A Study in the Russian Attitude towards Asian Nationalism* (Ithaca, 1957).

Arnold C. Brackman, *Indonesian Communism. A History* (New York, 1963).

Jeanne S. Mintz, *Mohammed, Marx and Marhaen. The Roots of Indonesian Socialism* (London, 1965).

Akira Nagazumi, 'The Abortive Uprisings of the Indonesian Communist Party and their influence on the pilgrims to Mecca: 1926–1927', *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs* (Sydney), vol. 14 no. 2 (1980), pp. 111–124.

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF INDONESIA

Essay: 'Assess the impact of the Japanese occupation on Indonesian society and politics.'

or: 'In what ways did Japanese policies towards Indonesia radicalise and change Indonesian society and politics?'

Set text:

Irikura Benda & Kishi (eds.), *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia. Selected Documents* (1965).

Suggested additional reading:

Mohammad Hatta, *The Putera Reports. Problems in Indonesian-Japanese Wartime Co-operation* (trans. & ed. William H. Frederick, 1971).

R.M. Ganasubrata, *An Account of the Japanese occupation of Banyumas Residency, Java, March 1942 to Aug. 1945* (trans. L. Palmier) (Ithaca, 1953).

Reading:

H.J. van Mook, *The Netherlands Indies and Japan* (1944).

B.R.O'G. Anderson, 'Japan the "Light of Asia"', in Joseph Silberstein (ed.), *Southeast Asia in World War II* (New Haven, 1966).

Jan Pluvier, *South-East Asia from Colonialism to Independence*, pp. 92–106, pp. 134–144, parts III & IV.

B.R.O'G. Anderson, *Some Aspects of Indonesian Politics under the Japanese occupation, 1944–45* (Ithaca, 1961).

Joyce C. Lebra, *Japanese-Trained Armies in Southeast Asia*, (1977), Chaps. 1, 4, 6–7.

Joyce C. Lebra, 'The Significance of the Japanese Military Model for Southeast Asia', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 48 no. 2 (Summer, 1975).

A. McCoy (ed.), *Southeast Asia under Japanese Occupation* (Yale, 1980).

H.J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese occupation 1942–45* (The Hague, 1958).

Gatot Mangkupraja, 'The Peta and my relations with the Japanese', *Indonesia* no. 5 (Apr. 1968), pp. 105–34.

A. Reid, 'The Japanese occupation and rival Indonesian elites: Northern Sumatra in 1942', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 35 no. 1 (Nov. 1975), pp. 49–61.

M.A. Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (The Hague, 1955).

Susan Abeyasekere, *One Hand Clapping: Indonesian Nationalists and the Dutch, 1939–1942* (Monash, 1976) (on the situation of the Indon. nationalists on the eve of the Japanese occupation).

THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL 'REVOLUTION' AND THE STRUGGLE WITH THE DUTCH 1945–49

Essay: 'How far was the Indonesia nationalist 'revolution' also a social revolution?'

or: 'How far was the Indonesian 'revolution' purely a military and political revolution?'

Set text:

Sutan Sjahrir, *Our Struggle*.

Suggested additional reading:

Pramoedya Ananda Toer (ed. & trans. H. Aveling), *A Heap of Ashes* (1977).

T.B. Simatupang, *Report from Banaran: experiences during the people's war* (trans. B. Anderson and E. Graves) (Ithaca, 1972).

John Coast, *Recruit to Revolution: Adventure and Politics in Indonesia* (1952).

Reading:

David Wehl, *The Birth of Indonesia* (1948).

Leslie H. Palmier, *Indonesia and the Dutch* (summarizes the events of the period 1945–9).

B.R.O'G. Anderson, *Java in a time of revolution, occupation and resistance, 1944–46* (Ithaca, 1972).

A. Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-1950* (Victoria: The Hawthorn Press, 1974).

George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca 2nd ed. 1970).

J.R.W. Smail, *Bandung in the Early Revolution, 1945–1946: a study in the social history of the Indonesian Revolution* (Ithaca, 1964).

D.C. Anderson, 'The military aspects of the Madiun Affair', *Indonesia* no. 21 (Apr. 1976), pp. 1–63.

Anton Lucas, 'Social Revolution in Pemalang, Central Java, 1945', *Indonesia* no. 24 (Oct. 1977), pp. 87–122.

Soejatno, 'Revolution and Social Tensions in Surakarta 1945–1950', (trans. Benedict Anderson), *Indonesia* no. 17 (April 1974), pp. 99–112.

A. Reid, *The Blood of the People: Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1979), see also his art. 'The Birth of the Republic in Sumatra', *Indonesia* no. 12 (Oct. 1971), pp. 21–46.

Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (1962) Chap. 1 'The Heritage of the Revolution'.

Justus M. van der Kroef, *Indonesian Social Evolution. Some Psychological Considerations* (1958).

Robert R. Jay, *Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java* (Yale, 1963).

Selosoemardjan, *Social Change in Jogjakarta* (1962).

P.S. Gerbrandy, *Indonesia* (1950) (Dutch wartime Prime Minister: a useful view of the conflict from the Dutch side).

SUKARNO AS A POLITICIAN AND CHARISMATIC LEADER

Essay: 'What sort of a radical was Sukarno during this period?' (you may restrict yourself to the period 1945–65, or deal with the whole of Sukarno's career).

or: 'Account for Sukarno's fall in 1965'.

Set Text:

Soekarno, *Indonesia Accuses!*

Recommended additional texts:

Soekarno, *Nationalism, Islam and Marxism* (Ithaca, 1969).

Soekarno, *Marhaen and Proletarian* (1960).

Soekarno, *The Birth of Pancasila* (Jakarta, 1951), reprinted in Roger M. Smith (ed.), *Southeast Asia. Documents of Political and Social Change* (Cornell, 1974), pp. 174–182, and in Robert O. Tilman (ed.), *Man, State and Society in Contemporary Indonesia*, pp. 270–76.

Soekarno, 'Toward the Freedom and Dignity of Man' in *Ibid.*, pp. 270–6.

Soekarno 'Rediscovery of Our Revolution' (17 Aug. 1959); 'Building the World Anew' (30 Sept. 1960); 'The Revolution of Mankind' (17 Aug. 1963), in Roger M. Smith, *op.cit.* pp. 196–207.

Soekarno, *To Achieve a Free Indonesia (Mencapai Indonesia Merdeka)*, trans. R. Herring, 1980.

Soekarno, *An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).

Reading:

K. MacDonald, 'Achmad Sukarno', in *Titans and Others* ed. T.K. Tan (1972).

J.D. Legge, *Sukarno. A Political Biography* (Pelican pb. 1972).

Bernhard Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence* (1969) (takes Sukarno's career up to 1945).

Donald E. Weatherbee, *Sukarno's Indonesian Revolution* (1966)

Willard A. Hanna, *Eight Nation Makers. Southeast Asia's Charismatic Statesmen* (1964), see chap. on Sukarno.

Herb Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy* (1962).

Herbert Feith & Lance Castles (eds.), *Indonesian Political Thinking, 1945-1965* (Cornell U.P., 1970) (see the excerpts from Sukarno's speeches).

Peter C. Hauswedell, 'Sukarno: Radical or Conservative? Indonesian Politics 1964–5', *Indonesia* no. 15 (April 1973), pp. 109–44.

Justus M. van der Kroef, 'Sukarno, the Ideologue. A Review Article', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. XLI no. 2 (Summer 1968), pp. 245–61, and see the subsequent exchange between Dahm and Van der Kroef in *Ibid.*, vol. XLII no. 1 (Spring 1969), pp. 55–57.

C.L.M. Penders, *The Life and Times of Sukarno* (1974).

Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (1978), Chaps. 1 & 2.

- Herbert Feith, 'The Dynamics of Guided Democracy', in Ruth T. McVey (ed.), *Indonesia* (New Haven, 1963), pp. 309–409.
- Daniel Lev, *The Transition to Guided Democracy: Indonesian Politics 1957–1959* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, 1966).
- Herbert Feith, in Kahin, *Governments*, pp. 217–70.
- Bernhard Dahm, 'Sukarno and History', in Tilman (ed.), *Man, State and Society*, pp. 403–411.
- Justus M. van der Kroef, 'Sukarno's Indonesia. A Review Article', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 46 (1973), pp. 269–88.

The Fall of Sukarno and its antecedents

- Donald Hindley, 'Alirans and the Fall of the Old Order', *Indonesia* no. 9 (April 1970), pp. 23–66.
- Benedict R. Anderson & Ruth T. McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1 1965, Coup in Indonesia* (Ithaca, 1971).
- Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Chaps. 3–8.
- Arnold Brackman, *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia* (1969).
- F.P. Bunnell, 'Guided Democracy Foreign Policy: 1960–1965: President Sukarno Moves from Non-Alignment to Confrontation', *Indonesia* no. 2 (Oct. 1966) pp. 37–76.
- Herbert Feith, 'President Sukarno, the Army and the Communists: The Triangle Changes Shape', *Asian Survey*, vol. 4 (August, 1964), pp. 969–980.
- Donald Hindley, 'President Sukarno and the Communists: The Politics of Domestication', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 61 (Dec. 1962), pp. 915–926.
- Donald Hindley, 'Political Power and the October 1965 Coup in Indonesia', *Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 26 (Feb. 1967), pp. 237–249.
- John Hughes, *The End of Sukarno* (1968).
- J.A.C. Mackie, *Konfrontasi: The Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute, 1963–1966* (1974).
- W.F. Wertheim, 'Indonesia before and after the Untung Coup', *Pacific Affairs* vol. 39 (Spring-Summer, 1966), pp. 115–127.
- W.F. Wertheim, 'Suharto and the Untung Coup – The Missing Link', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 1 (Winter 1970).
- Justus M. Van der Kroef, 'The Origins of the 1965 Coup in Indonesia. Probabilities and Alternatives', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. III no. 2 (Sept. 1972).
- Oey Hong Lee, 'Sukarno and the Pseudo Coup of 1965: Ten Years Later', *Journal of SEA Studies* vol. 7 no. 1 (1976) , pp. 119–35.

THE CHALLENGES TO CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN INDONESIA

Essay: 'Why did Indonesia survive as a unitary state despite strong regionalist forces in the 1950's?'

Reading:

Barbara S. Harvey, *Permesta: Half a Rebellion* (1977).

- A. Reid, 'The Military Politics of North Sumatra, December 1956–October 1957', *Indonesia*, no. 6 (Oct. 1968), pp. 128–187.
- Daniel S. Lev, *The Transition to Guided Democracy* (1966).
- Herbert Feith & Daniel S. Lev, 'The End of the Indonesian Rebellion', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. XXXVI (Spring 1963), pp. 467–80.
- Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (1962).
- Herbert Feith, 'The Dynamics of Guided Democracy', in McVey, *Indonesia*, pp. 309–409.
- J.A.C. Mackie, 'Aspects of Political Power and the Demise of Parliamentary Democracy in Indonesia', in R.N. Spann (ed.), *Constitutionalism in Asia* (1963).
- B.H.M. Vlekke, *Indonesia in 1956: Political and Economic Aspects* (1957).
- B.H.M. Vlekke, *Indonesia's Struggle, 1957–58* (1959).

Journalistic Accounts of the 1957-8 rebellions:

- James Mossman, *Rebels in Paradise: Indonesia's Civil War* (1961)
- William Stevenson, *Birds' Nests in their Beards* (1963).

THE DRIFT TO AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENT IN INDONESIA (1949-65)

Essay: 'Account for the drift to authoritarian government in Indonesia since WW II' (or in any *one* country in SE Asia since the war).

or: 'Discuss the special position of the Indonesian army in politics since Independence (1949–65).'

Reading:

- T.K. Tan, *Sukarno's Guided Indonesia* (1967).
- Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy* (1962) (see Benda below).
- Herbert Feith, 'The Dynamics of Guided Democracy', in McVey, *Indonesia*, pp. 309–409.
- Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (1978).
- Daniel S. Lev, 'The Political Role of the Army in Indonesia', in Tilman (ed.), *Man, State and Society*, pp. 287–302, see also *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 36 (1963).
- Ulf Sundhaussen, 'The Military in Indonesia', in L.W. Pye and K.D. Jackson (eds.), *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia* (1977).
- Peter Britton, 'The Indonesian Army: 'Stabiliser' and 'Dynamiser'', in Rex Mortimer (ed.), *Showcase State: The Illusion of Indonesia's Accelerated Modernisation* (1973).
- Herbert Feith, 'President Sukarno, the Army and the Communists: The Triangle Changes Shape', *Asian Survey* vol. 4 (Aug. 1964), pp. 969–80.
- Ruth McVey, 'The Post-Revolution Transformation of the Indonesian Army', *Indonesia* (April 1971) (April 1972).
- Morris Janowitz, *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations* (1964).
- Roger Paget, 'The Military in Indonesian Politics: The Burden of Power', *Pacific Affairs* vol. 40 (Fall–Winter, 1967), pp. 294–314.

- G.J. Pauker, 'The Role of the Military in Indonesia', in J.J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (1962).
- L.W. Pye, 'Armies in the Process of Political Modernization', in J.J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (1962).
- Allan A. Samson, 'The Army and Islam in Indonesia', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. XLIV no. 4 (1971–2), pp. 545–65.
- Harold Crouch, 'Generals and Business in Indonesia', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 48 no. 4 (1975–6), pp. 519–40.
- J.A.C. Mackie, 'Aspects of Political Power and the Demise of Parliamentary Democracy in Indonesia', in R.N. Spann (ed.), *Constitutionalism in Asia* (1963).
- Harry J. Benda, 'Democracy in Indonesia. Review Article', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXIII (no. 2) (1964), pp. 449–56.

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES AND COLONIAL POLICY MAKING

Essay: 'What were the Americans' long term strategic aims in the occupation of the Philippines and how far were they modified in the light of the resistance they encountered?'

Set texts:

- Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection*.
Achútegui & Bernad, *Aguinaldo and the Revolution of 1896*.

Recommended Reading:

- Ernest R. May, *Imperial Democracy* (New York, 1961).
H. Wayne Morgan, *America's Road to Empire* (New York, 1966).
Walter La Feber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion* (1963).
W. Appleman-Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*.
W. Appleman-Williams, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire* (see the last chapter on the Philippines).
James H. Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898–1912* (New York, 1912; reprinted Manila, 1968).
Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, 2 vols. (New York, 1914).
(both the above are accounts by participants: Blount is critical, Worcester is supportive).
Bonifacio Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901–1913* (Norwich, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1968).
Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making. The Philippines and the United States, 1899–1921* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1974).
Thomas R. McHale, 'The Development of American Policy towards the Philippines', *Philippine Studies* vol. 9 no. 1 (Jan. 1961), pp. 47–71.
Thomas R. McHale, 'American Colonial Policy towards the Philippines', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 3 (1962), pp. 24–43.
Onofre D. Corpuz, 'Western Colonization and the Filipino Response', *Journal of SE Asian History*, vol. 3 (1962), pp. 1–23.

- Thomas R. McHale, 'The Philippines in Transition', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XX (1961), pp. 331–41.
- David Prescott Barrows, *A Decade of American Government in the Philippines*, (New York, 1914).
- Horacio de la Costa, 'Nascent Philippine Nationalism, 1872–1896', *Philippine Historical Review* vol. 3 (1970), pp. 154–170.
- Cesar Adib Majul, 'The Historical Background of Philippine Nationalism', *Asia*, vol. 9 (Fall, 1967), pp. 51–66.
- William S. Pomeroy, 'Pacification in the Philippines, 1898–1913', *France Asie/Asia*, vol. 21 (1967), pp. 427–66.
- Marilyn B. Young, 'American Expansion 1870–1900: The Far East', in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (New York: Random House, 1967).
- Marilyn B. Young, *The Rhetoric of Empire: American China Policy, 1895–1901* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1968) (see also T.J. McCormick, *China Market* (1967).
- Julius W. Pratt, *America's Colonial Experiment* (Prentice-Hall, 1950).
- Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1936).

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

Essay: 'How successful was the Philippine Revolution in establishing legitimate administrative structures?'

Set texts:

- Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection*.
- Achútegui & Bernad, *Aguinaldo and the Revolution of 1896*.

Recommended Reading:

- Philippine Historical Assoc., special issue on Andrés Bonifacio in *Philippine Historical Bulletin* vol. VIII no. 3 (Sept. 1963).
- Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960).
- Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1956).
- Cesar Adib. Majul, 'The Historical Background of Philippine Nationalism', *Asia*, vol. 9 (Fall, 1967), pp. 51–66.
- Cesar Adib. Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960).
- Cesar Adib. Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: Univ. of Philippines Press, 1957).
- John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans. Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972).
- Reynaldo Clemena Ileta, 'Pasi6n and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society', Ph.D. Cornell Univ. 1975 (History Faculty Library).

- David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840–1940*, Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1976.
- Martin Meadows, ‘Colonialism, Social Structure and Nationalism: The Philippine Case’, *Pacific Affairs* vol. 44 (1971), pp. 337–52.
- R.S. Milne, ‘The Uniqueness of Philippine Nationalism’, *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 4 (1963), pp. 75–87.
- Thomas M. Ladd, ‘The Historical Origins of Philippine Centralism’, *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 4 (1963), pp. 51–64.
- Horacio de la Costa, ‘Nascent Philippine Nationalism, 1872–1896’, *Philippine Historical Review* vol. 3 (1970), pp. 154–70.
- Leandro H. Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic* (New York, 1926).
- Charles Kaut, ‘*Utang na loob*: A System of Contractual Obligations among Tagalogs’, *Southwest Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17 (1961), pp. 256–72.
- Vincente R. Pilapil, ‘The Cause of the Philippine Revolution’, *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 34 (1965), pp. 249–64.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP AND THE EARLY NATIONALISTS: THE CASE OF JOSÉ RIZAL

Essay: ‘Discuss the influence of José Rizal on the development of Philippine nationalism and self-awareness?’

or: ‘How important was the ‘Propaganda Movement’ in preparing the way for the Philippine Revolution? In particular assess the role of José Rizal.’

Recommended texts:

- José Rizal, *Rizal's Political Writings*, ed. Austin Craig (Manila, 1933).
- José Rizal, *The Subversive (El Filibusterismo)* introd. & trans. León Ma. Guerrero (Norton Library, 1968).
- José Rizal, *The Lost Eden (Noli Me Tangere)*, trans. León Ma. Guerrero; introd. James A. Mitchener (Norton Library, 1968).

Recommended Reading:

- Rafael Palma, *The Pride of the Malay Race* (New York, 1949).
- León Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (National Heroes Commission, 1963).
- Austin Coates, *Rizal. Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (Hong Kong: OUP, 1968) (not so good as Palma and Guerrero).
- John N., S.J., Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880–95* (Manila: Solidaridad, 1973).
- John N., S.J., Schumacher, ‘The “Propagandists” Reconstruction of the Philippine Past’, in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid & David Marr (Singapore: Heinemann), pp. 264–80.
- David R. Sturtevant, ‘Epilog for an Old Colorum’, *Solidarity* (1968), pp. 10–18.
- David R. Sturtevant, ‘No Uprising Fails’, *Solidarity* (Oct.–Dec. 1966), pp. 11–21.
- Anthony Day, ‘The “Lost Eden” in Filipino Consciousness’, unpublished seminar paper (Cornell Univ., 1970) (apply to Dr. Carey for loan).

- Richard F. Shea, 'The Religious Appeal of José Rizal', unpublished seminar paper (Cornell Univ., 1970) (apply to Dr. Carey for loan).
- David Joel Steinberg, 'The Philippines', Chap. 25 in Steinberg (ed.) *In Search of Southeast Asia*, pp. 259–71.
- Edmund Plauchet, 'The Cavite Uprising of 1872', *Philippine Historical Bulletin*, vol. IV no. 4 (Dec. 1960), pp. 1–16.
- Romeo Cruz, 'Philippine Nationalism in the 19th Century', *Philippine Historical Bulletin*, vol. VI no. 1 (Mar. 1962), pp. 16–29.
- Maximo N. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics, 1872–1920* (Manila, 1926) (a classic study).
- Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses* (Quezon City, 1956).
- Eliodoro G. Robles, *The Philippines in the 19th Century* (Quezon City, 1969).
- Estaban A. de Ocampo, 'Dr José Rizal: Father of Filipino Nationalism', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 3 (1962), pp. 44–55.

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS THE PHILIPPINES, 1913–42; THE TRANSITION FROM AMERICAN RULE TO COMMONWEALTH STATUS AND LOCAL FILIPINO RESPONSES

Essay: 'How much was U.S. Policy towards the Philippines affected by continuing resistance to its presence? In particular assess the importance of the *Sakdal* revolts in the 1930s.'

or: 'Compare the impact on Filipino Nationalism of the administrations of Francis Harrison and Leonard Wood.'

Recommended Text:

- Francis Burton Harrison, *Origins of the Philippine Republic. Extracts from the diaries and Records of Francis Burton Harrison*, ed. and annotated Michael P. Onorato (Ithaca: SE Asia Program Data Paper no. 95, 1974).
- Francis Burton Harrison, *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence* (New York, 1922).

Recommended Reading:

- R.C. Iletto, 'Pasi6n and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society', Cornell Univ. Ph.D., 1975 (History Faculty Library).
- Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929–1946* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1965).
- Michael P. Onorato, *A Brief Review of American Interest in Philippine Development and Other Essays* (Berkeley, 1968).
- Michael P. Onorato, 'Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison and His Administration: A Re-Appraisal', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 18 (1970), pp. 178–86.
- Roy W. Curry, 'Woodrow Wilson and Philippine Policy', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. XLI (1954), pp. 435–52.
- David R. Sturtevant, 'Sakdalism and Philippine Radicalism', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXI (1962), pp. 199–215.
- Herman Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, 2 vols. (New York, 1931).

- Napoleon J. Casambre, 'Francis Burton Harrison: His Administration in the Philippines, 1913–1921', Ph.D., Stanford Univ., 1968.
- Onofre D. Corpuz, 'Western Colonisation and Filipino Response', *Journal of SE Asian History*, vol. 3 (1962), pp. 1–23.
- Garel A. Grunder & William E. Livezey, *The Philippines and the United States* (Norman: Oklahoma Univ. Press, 1951).

AMERICAN ECONOMIC POLICIES AND THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Essay: 'The imperialist states were happy to end political control in SE Asia in the 1940's because by then they were confident that they could retain effective economic control after granting Independence.' Discuss this idea with special reference to the case of America and the Philippines in the 1930s and 1940s.

Recommended Text:

Manuel L. Quezon, *The Good Fight* (New York, 1946).

Recommended Reading:

- Usha Mahajani, *Philippine Nationalism* (1971).
- Theodoro A. Agoncillo & L.M. Guerrero, *A History of the Filipino People* (1973).
- Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines* (1975).
- Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past* (1978).
- Norman G. Owen (ed.), *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines under American Rule* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Papers on South and SE Asia no. 3, 1971).
- Michael P. Onorato, *A Brief Review of American Interest in the Philippines and Other Essays* (Berkeley, 1968).
- Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929–1946* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1965).
- Theodore Friend, 'American Interests and Philippine Independence, 1929–1933', *Philippine Studies*, vol. XI (1963), pp. 505–23.
- Theodore Friend, 'Philippine Interests and the Mission for Independence, 1929–1933', *Philippine Studies*, vol. XII no. 1 (1964), pp. 63–82.
- Theodore Friend, 'Philippine Independence and the last Lame-Duck Congress', *Philippine Studies*, vol. XII no. 2 (April 1964), pp. 260–76.
- Theodore Friend, 'Veto and the Re-passage of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act: A Catalogue of Motives', *Philippine Studies*, vol. XII no. 4 (Oct. 1964), pp. 666–8?
- Theodore Friend, 'Decolonization of the Philippines: A British and French View', *JAS*, vol. XXII (1962–3).
- William J. Pomeroy, *The American Made Tragedy: Neo-Colonialism and Dictatorship in the Philippines* (New York, 1974).

Alternative Essay Question:

‘How far is the term ‘Comprador Bourgeoisie’ applicable to indigenous elites in the Philippines during the period of colonial rule?’

See esp.

Norman G. Owen (ed.), *Compadre Colonialism*

Edgar Wickberg, ‘The Chinese Mestizos in Philippine History’, *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 5 (March 1964), pp. 62–100.

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION, THE HUKBALAHAP MOVEMENT AND PHILIPPINE AGRARIAN HISTORY

Essay: ‘Was the Hukbalahap movement primarily a response to the Japanese and the new situation they created, or was it simply another in the long line of unsuccessful agrarian revolts in the Philippines?’

or (more general): ‘Compare the political strengths of the anti-Japanese resistance movements at the end of WW II in any *two* of the countries of Maritime SE Asia.’

Recommended Reading:

D.J. Steinberg, ‘An Ambiguous Legacy: years at war in the Philippines’, *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 45 (1972), pp. 165–190.

Benedict J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion. A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley, 1977).

David Joel Steinberg, *Philippine Collaboration in World War II* (Ann Arbor: Michigan U.P., 1967).

Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventure in the Philippines, 1941–45* (Manila, 1965).

Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929–46* (New Haven, 1965).

M.C. Guerrero, ‘The Colorum Uprisings, 1924–1931’, *Asian Studies*, vol. 5 (April 1967), pp. 65–78.

B.J. Kerkvliet, ‘Agrarian Conditions since the Huk Rebellion’, in Kerkvliet (ed.), *Political Change in the Philippines: Studies of Local Politics Preceding Martial Law* (Honolulu, 1974).

Frances L. Starnes, *Magsaysay and the Philippine Peasantry* (Berkeley, 1961).

David R. Sturtevant, *Agrarian Unrest in the Philippines* (Ohio University Centre for International Studies; SE Asia Series no. 8, Athens: Ohio, 1969).

David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840–1940* (1976).

Leslie E. Bauzon, *Philippine Agrarian Reform 1880–1965: The Revolution that Never Was* (Institute of SE Asian Studies, Singapore; Occasional Paper, no. 31, 1975).

- Akira Takahashi, *Land and Peasants in Central Luzon* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, Occasional Series, 1969).
- David O.D. Wurfel, 'Philippine Agrarian Reform under Magsaysay', *Far Eastern Survey* vol. 27 (Jan. 1958), pp. 7–15, and vol. 27 (Feb. 1958), pp. 23–30.
- Grant K. Goodman, *An experiment in wartime intercultural relations: Philippine Students in Japan, 1943–45* (1962).
- M. McPhelin et al, 'Political Transmission 15', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 8 no. 1 (Jan. 1960), pp. 3–50.
- Elmer N. Lear, 'Collaboration in Leyte: The Philippines under Japanese Occupation', *Far Eastern Quarterly* (1951-2), pp. 183–204.

POST WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Essay: 'Why did the Filipino armed forces not take power during the disturbed years after Independence?'

or: 'Assess the challenge of either the Huk or the Muslims of the south to post-war nationalism and central government in the Philippines' (for specialised bibliographies on the Huk and the Muslims, see pp. 22 and 24).

Recommended Reading:

- B.J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion*.
- Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past* (1978).
- David Bernstein, *The Philippine Story* (New York, 1947).
- T.A. Agoncillo & L.M. Guerrero, *A History of the Filipino People*, (Quezon City, 4th ed., 1973).
- David Wurfel, in Kahin, *Governments*
- Thomas McHale, 'The Philippines in Transition', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XX (1961), pp. 331–41.
- J.J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (1962).
- Morris Janowitz, *The Military in the Development of New Nations* (1964).
- Carl H. Landé, *Leaders, Factions and Parties. The Structure of Philippine Politics* (New Haven: Yale Univ. SE Asia monographs, 1965) (see also his 'Politics in the Philippines', in R.O. Tilman (ed.), *Man, State and Society*, pp. 362–81).

THE MUSLIM SOUTH AND FILIPINO NATIONALISM

Essay: 'Assess the Muslim Response to Filipino Nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries.'

or: 'Assess the challenge of the Muslims of the south to post-war nationalism and central government in the Philippines.'

Recommended Reading:

- Lela Garner Noble, 'The Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 49 no. 3 (1976), pp. 405–24.
- Peter G. Gowing & Robert D. McAmis (eds.), *The Muslim Filipino: Their History, Society and Contemporary Problems* (Solidaridad Pub. House: Manila, 1976).
- Sydney Glazer, 'The Moros as a political factor in Philippine Independence', *Pacific Affairs* vol. 14 (1941), pp. 78–90.
- Cesar Adib. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1973).

MALAYSIA I

THE BRITISH FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE MALAY STATES

Essay: 'Was the Year 1874 a watershed in Malayan History as has often been said?'

or: 'The underlying motive for the extension of British power over the west-coast Malay states is said by some to have been strategic and by others to have been economic. Which of these hypotheses do you find the more convincing?'

Documents (and commentary): J.de V. Allen, A.J. Stockwell & L.R. Wright (eds.), *A Collection of Treaties and Other Documents affecting the States of Malaysia, 1761–1963* (New York: Oceana Publications Inc., 1981), vol. I, pp. 296–309, pp. 385–92, 445–51; vol. II, pp. 2–39.

Bibliography:

- Alistair Macintyre, *The Extension of the Imperial Frontier in the Tropics, 1865–75* (1967).
- C.D. Cowan, *Nineteenth Century Malaya* (London, 1961).
- C.N. Parkinson, *British Intervention in Malaya, 1867–77* (Singapore, 1960).
- Khoo Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States, 1850-73: The Effects of Commercial Developments on Malay Politics* (Kuala Lumpur, 1972).
- N. Tarling, 'Intervention and non-intervention in Malaya', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 21 no. IV (Aug. 1962), pp. 532–7 (reprinted in Tarling, *Imperial Britain and Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1975)).
- K. Sinclair, 'Hobson and Lenin in Jahore: Colonial Office Policy towards British concessionaires and investors', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 1 no. IV (Oct. 1967), pp. 335–52.
- K.E. Boulding & T. Mukerjee (eds.), *Economic Imperialism: A Book of Readings* (Ann Arbor, 1972).
- J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism, a study* (London, 1902).
- V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. A popular Outline* (first published in 1917).

On later 'Forward Policy', see:

- E. Thio, *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula, 1880–1910* (Singapore & Kuala Lumpur, 1969).
D.K. Bassett, 'British Commercial Politics in the Malay Peninsular', in J. Bastin & Roolrink.
N. Tarling, *British Policy in Malay Archipelago 1821–1871*.

MALAYSIA II

BRITISH ECONOMIC POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON MALAY SOCIETY

Essay: 'British Economic Policies in concentrating on the export sector severely distorted the Malay peasant economy' – Discuss.

or: 'Examine the role of government in the economic development of the Federated Malay States from the late nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War II.'

Text:

Federal Council (FMS), *Report of the Rice Cultivation Committee*, 2 vols. (Kuala Lumpur, 1931), no. 24 of 1931 (this paper is a Federal Council Paper printed separately from the Federal Council Proceedings).

Bibliography:

- Emily Sadka, *The Protected Malay States, 1874–1895* (Kuala Lumpur, 1968).
F.A. Swettenham, *British Malaya* (London, 1906; reprinted 1929 & 1948).
Chai Hon-Chan, *The Development of British Malaya, 1896-1909* (Kuala Lumpur, 1964).
G.C. Allen & A. Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya* (London, 1957).
Wong Lin Ken, *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914* (Tucson, 1965).
Yip Yat Hoong, *The Development of the Tin Mining Industry in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur & Singapore, 1969).
J.C. Jackson, *Planters and Speculators: Chinese and European agricultural enterprise in Malaya, 1786–1921* (Kuala Lumpur & Singapore, 1968).
J.H. Drabble, *Rubber in Malaya, 1876–1922: the genesis of the industry* (Kuala Lumpur, 1973).
J.H. Drabble, 'Peasant smallholders in the Malayan economy: an historical study with special reference to the rubber industry', in J.C. Jackson & M. Rudner (eds.), *Issues in Malaysian Development* (Heinemann Educ. Books (Asia) Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1979), pp. 69–99.
M. Rudner, 'Agricultural policy and peasant social transformation in late colonial Malaya', in *Ibid*, pp. 7–67.
M.G. Swift, 'Economic Concentration and Malay Peasant Society', in M. Freeman (ed.), *Social Organization: Essays presented to Raymond Firth* (London: Cass, 1967).

- Lim Teck Ghee, *Peasants and their agricultural economy in Colonial Malaya, 1874–1941* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1977) (conclusions are slightly polemical and seem to have little bearing on what is generally a very useful text).
- W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1967) Chaps. 1 & 4.

MALAYSIA III

CREATION OF A PLURAL SOCIETY IN MALAYSIA

Essay: ‘How and in what ways did the colonial presence lead to the creation of a Plural Society in Malaya?’

Bibliography:

- W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*.
- Philip K.S. Loh, *Seeds of Separatism: British Politics and Educational Policy in the Federated Malay States, 1874–1940* (1975) (also see his: *The Malay States, 1877–1895: political change and social policy* (1969)).
- J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice* (Cambridge, 1948).
- R.N. Jackson, *Pickering: The Protector of the Chinese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1965).
- R.N. Jackson, *Immigrant Labour and the Development of Malaya, 1786–1920* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961).
- K.S. Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya* (Cambridge, 1969).
- S. Arasaratnam, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* (London, 1970: new ed. 1979, OUP, Kuala Lumpur).
- M.R. Stenson, *Class, race and colonialism in West Malaysia: the Indian case* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1980).
- R. Heussler, *British Rule in Malaya: The Malayan Civil Service and Its Predecessors, 1867–1942* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981) (esp. chaps. 3, 4, 6, 7).
- Emily Sadka, *The Protected Malay States, 1874–95* (Kuala Lumpur, 1968).
- C.A. Vlieland, *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census* (London, 1932).
- John Butcher, *The British in Malaya, 1880–1941. The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-east Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1979).

MALAYSIA IV

BRITISH ATTEMPTS AT GOVERNMENTAL DECENTRALISATION

Essay: ‘Why did the British attempt to decentralise authority in the Federated Malay States (FMS) during the inter-war period, and how successfully had this policy been implemented by 1941?’

Text:

Allen, Stockwell & Wright (eds.), *A Collection of Treaties*, vol. II, pp. 40–93.

Bibliography:

- E. Thio, *British Policy in the Malay Peninsular, 1880–1910; The Southern and Central States*, vol. I (Singapore: Univ. of Malaya Press, 1969) (see the chapter on the formation of the FMS, and the later discussion of the Federal Council).
- R. Emerson, *Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (London, 1937; reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1964).
- W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (1967).
- K.K. Ghosh, *Twentieth Century Malaysia: Politics of decentralization of power, 1920–1929* (Calcutta, 1977).
- J.S. Sidhu, *British Administration in the Federated Malay States, 1896–1920* (Univ. of London Ph.D. Thesis; forthcoming 1981 as a Kuala Lumpur: OUP publication).
- R. Heussler, *British Rule in Malaya: The Malayan Civil Service and Its Predecessors, 1867–1942* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981) Chap. 9.

MALAYSIA V

POST-WAR MALAYAN NATIONALISM AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

- Essay:** ‘Account for the belated growth of a Malayan Nationalist Movement’
- or: ‘How and in what ways did the British respond to pressure from the Malayan Nationalists in the post-war years?’
- or: ‘What sort of independence did Malaya achieve in 1957?’

Bibliography:

- A.J. Stockwell, *British Policy and Malay Politics during the Malayan Union Experiment, 1942–1948* (Monograph no. 8 of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Kuala Lumpur, 1980).
- John Funston, *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of UMNO and PAS* (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1980).
- Ahmad Boestaman (ed. W.R. Roff), *Carving the path to the summit* (Ohio University Press, 1980).
- Mohd. Noordin Sopia, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation* (Univ. of Malaya Press, 1974).
- J. de V. Allen, *The Malayan Union* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1967).

MALAYSIA VI

THE COMMUNIST EMERGENCY AND THE FORMATION OF MALAYSIA

- Essay:** ‘Constitutional Advances had greater significance than military successes in the defeat of the Communist insurgents in Malaya’. Discuss.

Bibliography:

- M.R. Stenson, *Industrial Conflict in Malaya. Prelude to the Communist Revolt in 1948* (London, 1970).
- A.H. Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948–1960* (London, 1975).
- R. Clutterbuck, *The long, long war. Counter Insurgency in Malaya and Vietnam* (New York, 1966).
- R. Clutterbuck, *Riot and Revolution in Singapore and Malaya, 1945–1963* (London, 1973).
- Victor Purcell, *Malaya: Communist or Free?* (London, 1954).