

Ch. 1 deals with the rise of Pagan, showing the Pyu, and not the Mon, as the original inhabitants the Burmese encountered on their arrival. Fräsch rightly rates the Pyu as skilled artisans (tiles), architects (real vaults) and irrigation engineers (p. 48f. et passim). - Ch. 2 discusses the person of the king, succession and family policy. The latter is very important though the reviewer would not get as far as to assert that a Buddhist kingdom lacks an ideological basis of its own (p. 87). - Ch. 3 treats the administration. Here Fräsch shows that military and civil functions were not distinguished nor were offices and duties assigned to specific dignitaries. - Ch. 4 discusses the legal system, or rather, the lack thereof. - Ch. 5 describes the economic base of the realm and in this connection Fräsch critically examines the conversion of the medieval weights and land measures into modern ones. Pagan as a city in a desert was absolutely dependent on imports for all its supplies, so trade and communications were of great importance. - The last chapter deals with religious conditions: the Buddhist schools in the various monasteries in Pagan; the close relation between king and *sangha*, and the literary productivity of the monks which reached its acme in the 13th century.

On the whole this book makes the impression of being well researched, exhaustive and well written. Anglophone scholars with no reading knowledge of German will regret that it has only a three-page English summary. Should the author consider a translation, a check of the form, orthography and/or meaning of Sanskrit, Pāli and French words seems desirable, e.g. *en retrait* (p. 3), *uyyāna* (p. 29), *Ratanasagāra* (p. 29), *simā* (p. 44 et passim; Skt./Pāli *simā* means 'boundary' in the dictionaries), *compremettre* (p. 87), *Mahājanata-jātaka* (p. 90), *padmaraga* (p. 282), *jaya-* and *jeyya-seṭṭhi* (p. 284; missing in the index), *cankarā* and *sardhana* (p. 289), and *umanga* 'cave monastery' (p. 337), which is certainly not Sanskrit and, as to Pāli, the *Critical Pali Dictionary* gives it as a *varia lectio* of *ummanga/ummagga* 'tunnel for escape; underground watercourse'. Only Pe Maung Tin's *The Student's Pali English Dictionary* (Rangoon, 1920) lists *umanga* in the sense of 'wisdom; cave' with no references. In the rich bibliography all authors are mentioned with their Christian name, but for Gordon Luce, and of the essays in honour of the latter, the same volume is given the number 2 in the Bibliography, but 1 on p. 90. Finally, references with no page numbers are annoying (e.g. on p. 23, 163, 237 and perhaps others). On p. 44, 1004 should be 1104 and on p. 94, note 53 read 123 instead of 153.

Willem Bollée

PHILIP J. ELDRIDGE, *Non-Government Organizations and Democratic Participation in Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford UP, 1995, 260 pages., illust., £ 22.50. ISBN 967-65-3091-3

The current political and economic crisis in Indonesia has pushed the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) of that country into an "uncomfortable" but crucial position. Though many of the NGOs occupy themselves with, strictly speaking, "non-political" projects such as rural self-help organisation or farmers' marketing co-operatives, their political impact on Indonesian society has been quite extensive

and can hardly be underrated. Due to the sometimes precarious relations with the authoritarian government of the New Order many of the NGOs have been eager to define their strategies and actions in non-political terms. Nevertheless, the NGOs in Indonesia played and will continue to play an important role in the process of societal and political transformation. One of Philip J. Eldridge's major objectives is therefore "to identify more precisely their ideological and organisational capacity to contribute to such a task [of political and societal transformation]" (p. 2).

The author, Associate Professor for Political Science at the University of Tasmania, has organised his study into two major sections. In the first part he deals with the central concepts and values of Indonesian NGOs: self-reliance, participation and democracy. Moreover, the author analyses the NGOs' relations with the government and their approaches to popular mobilisation. A detailed matrix (p. 36) offers a survey of the three prevailing models of NGO interaction with the government: There are NGOs which co-operate with governmental development programs and take an accommodative attitude towards state structures. They usually have a participatory concept of democracy and aim at the mobilisation of small groups. NGOs of the second model restrict their contact with the government to a critical co-operation, while seeking to reform the state structures. The democracy concept of these NGOs aims at a balance of political and economic rights. They usually foster economic programs and try to promote political awareness. NGOs of the third kind attempt to avoid any involvement with government sponsored programs. Consequently they keep their distance from state structures and advocate a grass-roots based concept of democracy aiming at empowering small groups. The common feature of these models is, as Eldridge notes, "their desire to avoid overt conflict [with the government]" (p. 36f). Opposed to these patterns are the "New Radicals", advocating direct decision-making and considering mass actions and demonstrations as appropriate forms of mobilisation. The last chapter in this first section investigates the NGOs' legal space and their dependency on Indonesian and foreign donors.

The second major section deals with the various forms and fields of NGO activities. Eldridge identifies two major approaches, labelling them "high-level co-operation-grass-roots development" and "high-level-politics-grass-roots mobilization", illustrating each of them with several case studies. He treats various fields of activities such as legal aid, environmental issues and women's mobilization. He shortly discusses religious influences (Christian and Islamic) on the NGOs and the conditions for networking and coalition-building within the NGO movement.

In his concluding remarks Eldridge points out that whatever opportunities for involvement in macro-level politics may open up for the NGOs, it will remain indispensable for them to retain close contact "with grass-root realities and popular aspirations and needs. These provide the only viable basis for the continuing legitimacy and existence of NGOs" (p. 229). This will hold particularly true in the ongoing era of "reformasi".

Eldridge's book is a thoroughly researched and well organised account of the situation of Indonesian NGOs and their role in the country's social and political developments throughout the last decades. He points out the specific position of Indonesian NGOs in an authoritarian system that does not allow trade unions, political parties and other channels of political participation. Although NGOs generally

choose a micro-level or grass-roots approach, in some respects they can become a substitute for these missing channels. As such they can even function - unwillingly - as a safety valve for increasing political tensions. With its clear outline and balanced arguments Eldridge's book will serve both as reference for the scholar and as a textbook for the student of Indonesian politics. Many interesting and important details underpin the fundamental thesis. The book contributes not only to an appropriate historical perception of the period covered in it but also to an understanding of the ongoing process of democratisation and some of its main agents.

Klaus H. Schreiner

PETER J. OPITZ (Hrsg.), *Auf den Spuren der Tiger. Entwicklungsprozesse in der asiatisch-pazifischen Region*. München: Veröffentlichung der Bayerischen Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit, 1997. 168 Seiten

Dieser Sammelband widmet sich der Geschichte, den Gründen für den jeweiligen Wandel vom Entwicklungs- zum Industrieland, kulturellen Einflußfaktoren sowie den Zukunftsperspektiven in den Staaten Japan, Taiwan, Südkorea, Singapur und Hongkong.

In einem einleitenden Aufsatz blickt Opitz auf relevante Wachstums- und Entwicklungsprozesse in Asien-Pazifik zurück. Deutlich weist er darauf hin, daß sich der ökonomische Aufstieg der *Newly Industrializing Countries* nicht allein mit einem Verweis auf die „asiatischen Werte“ erklären lasse. Diese hätten sich erst durch das Zusammenwirken eines ganzen Bündels in- und externer Faktoren voll entfalten können. Ob die Tigerstaaten den Anforderungen der Zukunft gerecht werden, hält Opitz für eine „offene Frage“. Denn wachsende zivilgesellschaftliche Strukturen würden zunehmend die „Steuerungsfähigkeit des Staates“ einschränken. Der schleichende Zerfall traditioneller Wertssysteme untergrabe altbewährte Sozialstrukturen, woraus sich Forderungen nach neuen, teuren sozialen Sicherungssystemen ergäben. Finanzielle Belastungen kämen auf den Staat auch im Zuge umfangreicher Investitionen zur Verbesserung der katastrophalen ökologischen Situation zu. Zudem sei die außenwirtschaftliche Lage durch Billiglohn-Länder sowie kapital- und forschungsintensive Produkte aus Japan und den USA schwieriger geworden. Die kommende Entwicklung hänge von der Beantwortung mehrerer Fragen ab: Welche Impulse werden vom expandierenden chinesischen Markt ausgehen? Welche Folgen hätte ein Wachstumseinbruch in Japan? Und was würde ein strategischer Rückzug der USA für den asiatisch-pazifischen Raum bedeuten?

Anschließend untersucht Opitz die Ursachen des wirtschaftlichen Erfolgs Hongkongs. Trotz des *handover* sieht er in der ehemaligen Kronkolonie weiterhin eines der international bedeutendsten Handels- und Finanzzentren, das „ein zentraler Brückenkopf für die wirtschaftliche Erschließung der anderen Teile der asiatisch-pazifischen Region - auch für die deutsche Wirtschaft“ sei. Ob dies so bleibe, hänge von verschiedenen Umständen ab. Es stelle sich etwa die Frage, ob Hongkong seine führende Stellung im Dienstleistungssektor gegen chinesische Hafenstädte wie Kanton und Shanghai verteidigen kann. Mit niedrigeren Mieten und besseren Lebensbedingungen sei ebenso Singapur ein ernster Rivale. Opitz glaubt nicht, daß die