

solve the problems, the more migrants are attracted - is thus avoided. Singapore's achievements in terms of traffic control, mass housing and provision of collective consumption goods have to be seen against this background, but they are nonetheless impressive. Maintaining this performance in face of increasing social differentiation is, however, a complex task (p. 222).

In "Urban Management in Myanmar" (Ch. 8), Mya Than and Ananda Rajah venture into the fairly unexplored field of urban development in Yangon. The lack of available data and the secretive nature of the military regime precluded an analysis as detailed and rich in material as the other contributions to this book. The account is mainly historical, analysing urbanisation in Burma/Myanmar since the beginning of British rule. The description of recent developments is a little "thin"; one wonders, for instance, whether the effects of marketisation policies are as unambiguously positive as indicated by the authors (p. 250).

The book is a substantial addition to empirical understanding of metropolitan dynamics in Southeast Asia. Unlike the usual compilations of loosely connected conference papers it is the outcome of a genuine cooperation which dates back to the late Kernial Singh Sandhu's initiative in 1989. Jürgen Rüländ has largely succeeded in binding the contributors to a common research strategy, making the results comparable by highlighting contrasts as well as similar problems.

Erhard Berner

KLAUS H. SCHREINER, *Politischer Heldenkult in Indonesien. Tradition und moderne Praxis*. (Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg, Vol. 21). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1995. 333 pp., DM 84,-. ISBN 3-496-02557-3

Klaus H. Schreiner's study, *Politischer Heldenkult in Indonesien (Political Cult of the Hero in Indonesia)*, vividly illustrates - without the author so intending - Jan Assmann's reflections on the development and function of cultural memory. According to these, so-called "memory figures" transport the central traditions, symbols, values and norms of a society. Renewed and updated regularly in festivities, they strengthen and reproduce the feeling of unity among the members of a group. Heroes are ideal memory figures, and it is not only in Indonesia that the cult surrounding them serves to create traditions, to establish identity or to provide governments with a basis for legitimization. Fledgling states in all parts of the world have to master the

dichotomy between their actual ethno-cultural heterogeneity and the theoretical claim to inner homogeneity, both burdens passed down from the days of Western colonial rule. Schreiner's study demonstrates in impressive and spirited fashion how Indonesia institutionalized a cult of the hero in order to master such problems and to overcome inner political crises. In addition to Indonesian daily and weekly newspapers, sources include official decrees and directives, the most important of which are collected in an appendix in the original as well as in German translation.

As the author sets out in the introduction, heroes, according to Indonesian understanding, demonstrate in addition to characteristics of a general nature, specific local characteristics, among which the *satria* ideal of Indian origin, stressing firm principles, a readiness to make sacrifices, fulfilment of duties and unqualified loyalty, plays a dominant role right up to the present day. The roots of modern Indonesian hero worship go back to the 10th of November 1945. On this day native military associations defended themselves heroically, but without success, in and around Surabaya in the face of Allied attempts to reoccupy the Archipelago after the end of Japanese rule. The defeat was seen as a moral victory, and as early as 1946 the 10th of November was celebrated as the "day of the heroes". From 1957 onwards President Suharto built up these beginnings into an institutionalized cult of the hero. In doing so his intention was to revive the state-supporting values to which the heroes of the struggle for independence were dedicated, in order to bind together a country which was being threatened by crises and attempted secession, to win important groups over to his own side and to legitimize the Javan leadership position through reference to the sacrifices made in the fight for freedom. Most of the total of 85 men and 9 women, who today comprise the Indonesian pantheon of heroes, were designated during this period of so-called "guided democracy". Under Sukarno's "New Order", these "heroes of national independence" were then joined after 1965 by anticolonial activists of the most diverse nature, some of whom had been active back in the 18th century. With these figures Indonesia now raised claim to the entire history of the area which today comprises its state territory, saw itself as the executor of the hopes, visions and struggles of earlier times and stressed the continuity of the ongoing efforts to establish the nation. Non-Javans now began to gain in profile, but they nevertheless represent a mere 36% of the heroes as a whole.

Schreiner's account is particularly effective when it comes to sketching the celebrations staged on the "day of the heroes" - the issuing of programmatic solutions, honorary salutes for soldiers and civilians, prayers by religious leaders of all faiths, official pilgrimages to the military cemeteries, essay and song competitions and other elements of political ritual - as well as when discussing the history and function of the over 400 military ceme-

teries spread throughout the country. Almost 50,000 persons are buried at these sites, individuals who served Indonesia without being designated as regular heroes, including those who lost their lives in the fight against secessionist movements or during the annexation of East Timor.

The medium by which the cult surrounding the heroes is transported and conveyed is and was the festival. New theories, which the author however does not go into, subdivide this phenomenon into "festival" ("Fest") and "celebration" ("Feier"). "Festival" corresponds to spontaneity, ecstasy, the overstepping of norms and the unconstrained formation of identity, while "celebration" evokes associations of order, contemplation, stage management and the conveyance of significance organized from above; this is designed to promote ideas, values and world pictures which boost and legitimize the existing order. The festivals of the Indonesian cult of the hero are consequently typical "celebrations". While the intention and implementation are described vividly and in detail, the question remains open whether these have been successful in moulding the cultural memory of the people of Indonesia, whether the cult of the hero indeed releases forces which promote a sense of national identity. This is but a minor qualification and does not detract from the many insights contained in Schreiner's work: for the first time a central aspect of contemporary Indonesian history has been examined in profound detail; moreover, the author also presents comparative material for studies on the "nation building" of other post-colonial states and describes in exemplary fashion the paths of formation of cultural memory.

Reinhard Wendt

MICHAEL R.J. VATIKIOTIS, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: Order, Development and Pressure for Change*. (Politics in Asia Series). London: Routledge, 1993. XIX, 220 pp., £ 27.50. ISBN 0-415-08280-3

RAINER ROHDEWOHL, *Public Administration in Indonesia*. Melbourne: Montech Pty Ltd., 1995. X, 179 pp., ISBN 0-732-60588-1

Of the two volumes under review, the one by Vatikiotis is by far the better known. Good sales have enabled a second updated edition. However, the original volume under review here is still useful. Vatikiotis, former *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent in Jakarta, uses his first hand knowledge to produce a book that can be read by both the specialist as well as the general reader. The first four chapters (*Suharto, Order and development, Two functions, one purpose: the Indonesian army in politics, New*