Angry Wind is a contemporary down-to-earth investigation of the Sahelian states of West and Central African regions. It should be read by those interested in the history, politics or religion of the Sahel, and concerned about the future of Sahelians. However, it is not an easy read by any means. Tayler's vocabulary is very impressive, and his writing flows easily from narrative to dialogue to description. However, the language is pitched at a level that may be difficult for ordinary English literates to understand. The problem is compounded by the inclusion of French terms and phrases without translation or footnotes. It should also have been useful if the book contained a bibliography and an index.

Ethnic Conflict in Southeast Asia. Edited by Kusuma Snitwongse & W. Scott Thompson. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, pp. 173. ISBN: 981-230-340-5.

Reviewer: Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). E-mail: uatiyah@gmail.com

The end of the Cold War resulted in what the editors of the book call the "New World Disorder," characterised by ethno-religious conflicts in countries like Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Bosnia, Aceh and Thailand. *Ethnic Conflict in Southeast Asia* is the outcome of a conference and contains five chapters examining different ethnic configurations and conflict avoidance and resolution in five Southeast Asian countries. Rizal Sukma anayzes the horizontal (Kalimantan, Maluku and Sulawesi) and vertical (the Madurese versus the Dayaks) conflicts in Indonesia and assesses the prospects for peaceful resolution of those conflicts. Zakaria Haji Ahmad and Suzaina Kadir explain the policy of power-sharing and its success in ensuring stability in an ethnically divided Malaysia. Tin Maung Than analyzes the attempts made by successive Myanmar governments to integrate the various ethnic groups in the border regions within a centralised, unitary state. Miriam Coronel Ferrer examines the conflicts in Mindanao and the problems emerging from the reluctance of the Manila government to come to terms with the root causes, and the challenges posed by

the influx of arms and ideology from outside. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti focuses on the non-Thai border peoples of northern Thailand, noting the legacy of the government's policy of selective citizenship. These case studies would be of benefit to academicians, policy makers and administrators dealing with ethnic problems that have the potential of adversely affecting stability in the region.

The case studies show the primacy of economic and political issues in triggering ethnic conflicts in the region. When certain ethnic groups or minorities are economically deprived or politically sidelined, they often revolt by using force. Thus, the Dayaks in Indonesia revolted against the Madurese who allegedly pauperised them on their own soil. The Cordilleras in the Philippines demanded secession because the central government exploited the natural resources and undermined the rights and welfare of the local people. The May 1969 riot in Malaysia were triggered by disagreements between the Malays and the non-Malays as to their rights and entitlements in the political, economic and cultural sphres. Non-Bamars resorted to armed violence in 1990s when their demands for autonomy were not met by the military junta in Myanmar. The cases analyzed by contributors to the volume reinforce Milton J. Esman's (*An Introduction to Ethnic Conflict.* Cambridge: Polity Press. 2004) contention that ethnic conflicts are rooted in the country's politics, economy and culture. The editors could have used Esman's framework to tie the chapters together.

Given the multiplicity of factors causing conflict, it is difficult to suggest a single model for resolving ethnic conflicts in all the countries. The solution has to be country specific taking into account the social, economic and political specificities of each country. Thus, Malaysia adopted the consociational approach, i.e., a system of power-sharing among ethnic groups, to conflict regulation and to promote stability in a deeply divided society (See Arendt Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A comparative exploration.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977). However, Malaysian leaders have modified the system to suit the Malaysian scene and come up with its own version of "hegemonic consociationalism" (p. 57), a system that ensures Malay-dominance but provides room for negotiation, consultation and compromise between ethnic groups. The leaders also adopted the strategy of "giving to Peter without

having to rob Paul" to redress economic imbalance in the country (p. 59). In contrast, Myanmar's military junta rules the country using "a disciplined democracy" to promote national unity and integration. This centralised system is averse to any internal or external interference and concentrates mainly on economic development. In this "illiberal democracy," economic development can take place and the ethnic groups are allowed to conduct business independently. However, the non-Bamars could not accept the political dominance of Bamars leading to ethnic unrest and political instability. The suggestion is that Myanmar needs to re-examine and revise its approach to conflict regulation to achieve stability.

Several authors point to the futility of using force to regulate conflict. They point out that a government's use of coercive military measures to quash conflicts would lead to the inflationary spirals of violence, escalating the conflict. This is seen in the cases of the Moros and Cordelliera in the Philippines, Acehenese and Dayaks in Indonesia, the non-Bamars in Myanmar and the hill tribes in Thailand. In all these cases, the military might have managed to suppress conflicts but only temporarily. At opportune moments, the unresolved conflicts resurface with greater vehemence. Interestingly, the government of the Philippines, unable to quell the insurgents, adopted the "ABCDE policy" (appeasement, bribery, co-optation, dilly-dally, and engagement), which for a time succeeded in halting the insurgents but failed to put an end to armed conflict.

Contributors to *Ethnic Conflict in Southeast Asia* also reveal that most of the governments in the region have adopted a "centralised and unitary policy" to integrate the ethnic groups by destroying the culture of some groups and forcing them to adopt the culture of the dominant group. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti shows how historically the Thai language and Thai culture have been imposed upon the minorities. In 1957, the Thai government adopted the policy of "Thai-ism" which rests upon three pillars: *Chat* (Thai people), *Satsana* (Buddhism) and *Pramahakasat* (Monarch).The government banned non-Thai schools and non-Thai language and culture in the country (p. 155). Those who did not subscribe to "Thai-ism" were suppressed. Likewise, the "Union Spirit," propagated by the Myanmar government does not tolerate internal or external forces that might threaten the national unity and integration process. The

government brutally suppresses any demand for cultural autonomy by non-Bamar ethnic groups.

Another tactic of forced assimilation is the movement of ethnic minorities out of their traditional areas of residence. The Thai government, for example, has used this tactic in dealing with the hill tribes known as "Chao Khao" whose language and culture are different from those of the mainstream Thais. Viewed them as a threat to national security, and referred to as "forest destroyers," "squatters" or "opium cultivators," the hill tribes were resettled in other areas and "forced" to learn the Thai language. Forced to vacate their homes, many of them were pushed to the urban areas where most of their women ended up as sex workers.

Finally, the contributors recommend democracy as the solution to ethnic conflicts in the region. The authors argue that democracy provides for and allows inter-ethnic consultation and negotiations (p. 58). Democracy enables ethnic conflicts to be settled peacefully through social restructuring, cleaning up the military and police, combating corruption, alleviating poverty and transforming the state to make it more efficient, inclusive and participatory (p. 139). In general, democratisation of the whole system allows for greater participation and introduces corrective measures in the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres. However, Rizal Sukma is skeptical about democracy. He argues that "…any conflict resolutions in the country either through federalism or regional autonomy, requires democracy. However, democracy can not flourish in a society torn by serious ethnic and religious conflicts. Indonesia has not been able to solve this quandary" (p. 33). Rather, he argues, Indonesians are losing confidence in the values of democracy as conflict and instability continue uninterrupted.

The editor could have raised the issue of democracy and its definition. Should "democracy" be defined purely from the western perspective or can one speak in terms of "ASEAN democracy" as a way to promote stability in a plural society? Malaysia is a case in point. Its version of democracy assures a degree of a dominance to one ethnic group but provides "rooms" for inter-ethnic consultation and negotiation as well as opportunities for all ethnic groups to participate in the country's political, economics and other arenas. Likewise, it is possible to examine Myanmar's experiment of a

"disciplined democracy" which suppresses its non-Bamar groups but allows its citizens to participate in the national election and to be engaged in commercial ventures. Myanmar certainly suffers from instability but this may be due to the manner its disciplined democracy system is being operated. These two variants of democracy deserve close scrutiny and certainly would have improved the quality of the book. Nevertheless, the book is a major addition to the subject of ethnic conflict in the region. It contains useful information and materials which would benefit observers and practitioners of government, politics and society in Southeast Asia.

———————

Islamization of Human Sciences. Edited by Mohd. Yusof Hussain. Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Malaysia, 2006. ISBN 983-2957-31-1.

Reviewer: Khairil Izamin Ahmad, Assistant Lecturer, Department of Political Science, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). E-mail: ikhairil@gmail.com

Islamization of Human Sciences, edited by Mohd Yusof Hussain, is a compilation of selected papers that were presented during the International Conference on Islamisation of Human Sciences, organised by the Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences of the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) in August 2000. Five of the thirteen chapters are not part of the conference presentations. They have been published elsewhere but the editor correctly thought these papers worth including because of the useful insights they offer on the subject of knowledge and Islamisation.

Proponents of the Islamization of Knowledge (IOK) consider it a project long overdue in the endeavour to resist what they perceive as the unguided (because man-made) epistemology of Western science and knowledge and to construct an epistemology of Islam. Thus, although IOK is a protest movement against secularism, it is also a constructive movement aimed at redesigning knowledge along Islamic lines. This is a mission, according to more avid supporters