

DEMOCRACY AND LEADERSHIP: The Rise of the Taman Siswa Movement in Indonesia. By Kenji Tsuchiya. Translated by Peter Hawkes. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1987. xv, 230 pp. US\$ 25.00, cloth. ISBN 0-8248-1157-7.

Tsuchiya, from Kyoto University, documents the rise of the alternative educational movement which was started in the 1920s in Yogyakarta, Java, by Raden Mas Soewardi Soerjaningrat (1888-1924). He later chose to be known as Ki Hadjar Dewantara, which emphasizes his role as a kyai and guru (adjar) who can mediate between his students and the Godhead (dewa, Sang Hyang Tunggal). The movement was called "Taman Siswa" (garden of pupils). Following the opening of the first school in Yogja in 1922, the movement spread across Java and the east coast of Sumatra, encompassing fifty-two branches by 1930, when the first national conference was held in Malang. It became the counter-institution to colonialism of the Paku Alam house of Central Java and advocated a revised version of precolonial Javanese culture. Tsuchiya explains the details of the educational philosophy of the movement and provides a background to the ideological growth of the anti-colonialism and mystical religious syncretism that influenced nationalists in the thirties and forties. This work is an English translation of a Japanese book entitled Indoneshia minzokushugi kenkyu, which won the first Ohihra Prize in 1985 and is an abridgement of his doctoral thesis. It is an important book on an important subject. Dewantara was recognized by the Japanese during WWII as a leading Indonesian nationalist (along with Sukarno, Hatta and Kyai Haji Mansur) and became minister of education in the first independence cabinet. The goal of the Taman Siswa Movement was the integration of selected Hindu-based Theosophical Society and Javanese-based traditional political ideas with ideas concerning nationalism. Hence, anyone who wishes to understand the Weltanschauung central to the nationalist movement, Sukarno's "Guided Democracy", and Suharto's "Pancasila Democracy" must become familiar with Taman Siswa and acquainted with Dewantara's educational philosophy. It is based on the Javanese concept of witjaksana: ("discernment", "discretion", "resourcefulness"), which is explained in a brilliant opening chapter. Dewantara added the notion of keluarga (not just "family", but "servant"/kawula/ and "membership"/warga/ hence "kawula-warga"). Tsuchiya examines the prehistory, founding, institutionalization and further evolution of Taman Siswa. The linkages among nationalists who were precursors to Taman Siswa (Douwes Dekker, Tjipto Mangoenkoesomoemo, Noto Soeroto, Soerjopoetro, Soetatmo, etc.) are described. The curriculum of Taman Siswa schools is described and various publications and conferences are discussed in perhaps more detail than the average non-historian will wish to master. The development of the Taman Siswa movement climaxed in 1932-33 in its fight against the Wild Schools Ordinance which was passed under Governor-General B. C. de Jonge (Staatsblad 1932 No. 494). Events after 1933 are treated summarily in Chapter Seven. The all too brief section on Sukarno's Guided Democracy ends the book. A final chapter on the possible links between Taman Siswa and developments in

educational philosophy and political ideology since 1957 would have been extremely useful. Tsuchiya's provocative thesis is that traditional Javanese ideas concerning power and legitimacy were translated by the Taman Siswa movement into an ideology of nationalism that runs counter to European Enlightenment notions of "democracy". He details the way in which witjaksana was reborn as kebidjaksanaan and Sang Hyang Tunggal became the Rakyat ("the people", "the masses"). For example, in pre-colonial Java the unity of master and servant (Manunggal Kawula lan Gusti) upon which the Javanese patron-client bond is based, in turn provided the nexus of bonds for a "patrimonial-prebendal" structure based on one paramount leader at the apex and descending hierarchies under his benevolent despotism. Sukarno believed that he could "perceive" (rasa) the will of the people through deep meditation. He thus thought of himself as the central pivot of all of the complex forces in Indonesian society, much as traditional Susuhunans were the "nails of the earth". Taman Siswa produced the nationalist version of traditional pundits. Traditional "pandita" (adiar, kijai, quru, punakawan) provided a counter-balance against the centralizing control of the patrimonial ruler; they could indicate when the "king" had lost his "power" (kesekten). These structures and their evolution in nationalist writings are perceptively and provocatively specified and discussed by Tsuchiya in this excellent and insightful social historical study.

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