



102 West Avenue  
1989

# CORNELL'S MODERN INDONESIA PROJECT

George McT. Kahin

## Inception of the Project

This year Cornell's Modern Indonesia Project is 35 years old and its home since its founding at 102 West Avenue is soon to be demolished—high time for an infusion of new blood in its leadership and for the retiring director to provide a brief account of its history. This last academic year saw the appointment of Benedict Anderson, Aaron L. Binenkorb Professor of International Studies in Cornell's Department of Government, as director of the Project and Professor Takashi Shiraishi of the Department of History as its associate director. (The first associate director, John Echols, held the post until his death in 1982 when he was succeeded by Ben Anderson.) Their previous scholarly accomplishments in the field of Indonesian studies portend a revitalization of the Project. Likely also to reinvigorate it is its projected move from the decaying building it has for so long occupied on the southwestern edge of the campus, to new, more substantial and less crowded quarters dedicated to research on Southeast Asia as a whole.

Cornell's Modern Indonesian Project (CMIP) was established in January 1954 on the basis of a grant from the Ford Foundation and the support of Cornell University. Successive grants from Ford between then and 1968 ultimately brought its total contribution to \$502,925, with Cornell providing office space as well as moral and administrative backing—with that of Lauriston Sharp, founder and director of the University's Southeast Asia Program; Knight Biggerstaff, chairman of its Department of Far Eastern Studies; and Deane W. Malott, its president, being most important.

Early in 1953 members of the Ford Foundation's Board of Directors observed that, with the emergence from colonial status to independence of new states in Asia, the United States found itself embarrassingly deficient in the knowledge necessary to understand these countries. They acknowledged that within the US government there were some able officials with experience in the area but felt that in most cases views within the State Department had been too heavily conditioned by its having for so long been obliged to work through the colonial metropolises—London, The Hague, and Paris—rather than dealing with these countries directly. They thought it important to develop

independent American scholarly expertise concerning these former colonies, in order both to expand the modest bases of American knowledge about them and to provide a leavening to narrower views still dominant in US governmental circles. The Foundation concluded that improvement might best be realized if funds were provided for training a new generation of specialists through projects that emphasized fresh field research directed by the handful of academic specialists on these countries who had emerged in the immediate postwar years. Thus, during the balance of 1953 (April through December) officers of the Foundation carried out discussions with several academics interested in India (among them the political scientist Richard Park of Michigan and the anthropologist Morris Opler of Cornell) and Indonesia (Benjamin Higgins, an economist at MIT, Karl Pelzer, a geographer at Yale, and myself, a political scientist at Cornell). They also held discussions with several young specialists on Japan, for postwar Japan was as yet little known by independent scholars. Regrettably there was no analogue with respect to Vietnam, for it was still in the throes of warfare between the French and the Vietminh, and there were no university-based American scholars with recent experience in that country. Indeed, fresh field research was one of the main pillars of the program the Ford Foundation was contemplating. By early 1954 projects submitted by Professor Higgins on independent Indonesia's economy, Professor Pelzer on changes in peasant and plantation agriculture, and Cornell on its government and politics had been approved—with field research getting under way in 1955 or 1956. (Ford also approved projects on India and Japan.)

The Ford Foundation granted me great freedom and flexibility in designing Cornell's project on Indonesia. Its two officers with whom I primarily dealt, Cleon Swayzee and Clarence Thurber, promptly accepted the proposition that insofar as possible its research should embrace the full spectrum of leaders and political parties, emphasize political dynamics as well as institutions at both national and village levels, and also include studies of the Chinese minority. They were immediately receptive to the idea that project funds could be made available to train and provide field research experience to Indonesians as well as Americans, and that it would not be necessary for scholars from either category to be tied to graduate programs at Cornell. They agreed that some of the project's funds could be used to insure that research findings and translations associated with them be published in simple format so that these could be made available to interested readers as soon as possible. They authorized an extension of the Project's duration beyond its originally conceived four-year span when in mid-1956 I sustained a heart attack while directing its initial stages in Indonesia. Because of this and the rapid inflation in Indonesia (with the Project's associate director, John Echols, and I throughout its course exchanging dollars at the official rate), they soon augmented the original stipend of \$159,850 by \$64,500. Of great importance, they agreed to my request that final delineation of the research program await my discussions with Indonesian scholars and political leaders. I felt that this was important both so that their knowledge and expertise could contribute to shaping the research components of the project and because of the quite natural suspicion that some Indonesians might have that its research was a cover for United States government intelligence operations. (That consultations with these leaders were in fact held soon after I returned to Indonesia undoubtedly made it much easier for Cornell graduate students to obtain research visas in the late 1950s and early 1960s when heightened suspicions towards American field researchers followed the CIA's heavy involvement in the regional rebellions of 1957–1958 against the Sukarno government.)

I was heartened by the confidence and trust these officers and the Ford Foundation in general showed when they asked me to direct this project even though they were fully aware that my passport had been withdrawn by the Department of State and that there was no certainty that I would be able to return to Indonesia. Fortunately they understood the circumstances that had led to the lifting of my passport—that it had been a consequence of my having antagonized the first US ambassador to Jakarta, Merle Cochran, because I was critical of his policies and had conveyed this criticism to the few US senators who then took an interest in Indonesia and to Senator Arthur Vandenberg, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a memorandum prepared at his request. (I particularly criticized Cochran's role at the United Nations-sponsored Round Table Conference at The Hague, which at the end of 1949 resulted in the transfer of sovereignty over the Netherlands East Indies—except for West Irian—to the Republic of Indonesia. My principal criticism had been of his insistence that the newly independent Indonesian state be saddled with \$1.3 billion of the East Indies debt, a large part of that amount reflecting the expenditures of the Dutch army and navy in their attempt to reestablish their control over the country.) This intervention of mine angered Ambassador Cochran, who was then resolved to keep this meddling young assistant professor from returning to Indonesia. Initially Hugh S. Cumming Jr., who replaced him in October 1953, felt the same. Thus, not until more than eight months after the Ford Foundation had approved and funded the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project was it clear that its director would be able to travel to Indonesia to administer it. At the end of June 1954, thanks to a newly instituted State Department appeal panel—there had previously been no such process—and the help of a good lawyer who was more interested in justice than money, I was able to get Cochran and his supporters to back off and abandon the spurious charges they had made in their effort to have me denied a passport. But the road was not immediately open, for he had important supporters in the Department, including Ruth Shipley, head of the Passport Division., and Scott McLeod, the man Senator McCarthy had forced Secretary of State Dulles to accept as the Department's security chief. Though they were obliged to return my passport to me they did what they could to bar its being used for travel to Indonesia, and were initially successful in having it restricted to a single year. And even when I was finally en route Ambassador Cumming sent off cables to American embassies in Tokyo and Manila urging them to call me in and cancel my passport's validity for Indonesia.

To those who did not live through the McCarthy period all this is likely to appear most bizarre if not incredible. But perhaps the following frantic memorandum from Mrs. Shipley of the Passport Division (PD)—which I much later recovered through the Freedom of Information Act<sup>1</sup>—will make more understandable some of the difficulties encountered in launching the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project. (Her memorandum was prepared after I had, at her request, given a full account of its plans.)

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<sup>1</sup>The first two words blacked out are undoubtedly the name of the late Owen Lattimore. And the last four are presumably the names of the several outstanding China specialists in the State Department that McCarthy managed to oust. (Although Lattimore was a member of my graduate committee at Johns Hopkins and I did benefit greatly from his knowledge of China, he did not pretend to know much about Indonesia and never felt qualified to direct the dissertation research I conducted there in 1948-1949; nor was anyone else on the Johns Hopkins faculty knowledgeable about Indonesia. Rupert Emerson of Harvard certainly was, and he was kind enough to serve as outside reader of my dissertation.) The scribbling in the margin refers to Walter S. Surrey, my lawyer.

FE/PBA - Mr. Bonsal  
Via: BCA - Mr. McLeod  
PD - Mrs. Shipley

Sept. 21, 1964

Memorandum Dated August 20, 1964, of Conversation With  
George McTurnan Kahin

It may not be within PD's province to anticipate the political consequences which may result from a project such as Mr. Kahin proposes to carry out in Indonesia. However, now that he has indicated, in some detail, the scope of the inquiries which he and others plan to make and the personnel to be employed, PD is apprehensive lest relations between Indonesia and the United States be seriously affected. Had PD been informed of the extent of his plans, it would have continued to hold up the issue of a passport to him.

*See Mr. Dietrich, 1964  
from Walter  
Shirley during  
to P. 8, 1, 1*

You will note that Kahin, a protegee and close associate of ~~Mr. McLeod~~, was deliberately trained by the latter for work in Indonesia. (See tagged paper.) Giving Kahin the benefit of all doubt concerning his motives and purposes, PD is of the opinion that he did not act as a reasonably prudent, loyal American should act when he was previously in Indonesia. Kahin has indicated that he was not in sympathy with United States policy respecting Indonesia and, from available information concerning his activities, it may fairly be assumed that he was intentionally engaged in a program designed to discredit the policy by impairing faith and confidence in our diplomatic mission in Indonesia. He now proposes to set up in Indonesia a staff numerically superior to the regular staff of the diplomatic mission to question Indonesians in all walks of life and of all political parties or factions about their political beliefs, in a study lasting four years. For what purpose? To write another book? Judging by his previous performance, there will be unrest, discord, and an association with revolutionary elements highly dangerous in a country as disturbed as Indonesia. Why do you risk this? There could develop competing missions in Indonesia, the official mission representing the government of the United States and an unofficial mission financed with funds provided by the Ford Foundation and purporting to represent Cornell University but having tie-ins with intellectuals in many other organizations.

If the national interest requires a total study of political and economical developments in Indonesia of the

magnitude

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magnitude contemplated, it is believed that the Department of State, with the aid of the Department of Commerce, should make the study and that, instead of disassociating itself from the proposed project, the Department should control it. It is suggested that a project of the magnitude envisioned should receive very careful study in the Department at very high levels and that, bearing in mind that foreign experts and scholars and nationals of Indonesia are to be employed on the staff, the motives and purposes of the persons who intend to carry out the project should be carefully explored. It may be that the Department will wish to place a parent against the undertaking. It would be far better to check it now, if checking is desirable, than to undertake remedial action next June, when Kahin's passport will expire.

You have the record of the ~~various~~, ~~various~~, ~~various~~, and countless other Americans using American funds to betray China. Isn't the political situation in Indonesia too delicate and dangerous to tolerate the political interrogations and studies contemplated?

130 - Kahin, George McTurnan

FD:WHY/RBS:hlp

Soon after arriving in Indonesia in early October 1954 I began a series of discussions with various Indonesian scholars and government officials, explaining to them the nature of Cornell's Project and asking for their support of its work and suggestions for its research agenda. (The fact that I had come to know nearly all of these people during my earlier stay in Indonesia in 1948-1949 was helpful in gaining me prompt access to them.) And so during the next few months I had rewarding discussions with Dr. Iman Slamet Santoso and Dr. Bahder Djohan (successively presidents of the University of Indonesia), Professor Djokosutono (dean of the University's Faculty of Law and Social Sciences), Professor Sumitro Djojohadikusumo (dean of the Faculty of Economics and chairman of the Institute of Economic and Social Research) and his principal deputy Widjojo Nitisastro, President Sukarno, Vice-President Mohammad Hatta, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, Mohammad Yamin (minister of education), A. G. Pringgodigdo (chief of the President's Cabinet), Ruslan Abdulgani (secretary general of the Ministry of Information), Sumarman (secretary general of the Ministry of Interior), Selo Soemardjan (secretary of Hamengku Buwono, Sultan of Yogyakarta), Mohammad Natsir, and Sutan Sjahrir. All were helpful in making suggestions for research priorities and ways to best accomplish the Project's work. Sukarno emphasized the need to cover all major ideologies operating on the Indonesian political scene and all the major political parties. Hatta, with whom I discussed the Project several times, had more detailed suggestions, emphasizing especially the need for studies concerning administrative decentralization and regional autonomy. He also urged research on the potential of agrarian cooperatives (and such a study by him was later published by the Project), supported studies of political institutions, and favored research on the Chinese minority. Sumarman had useful



John Echols and his assistant Julia Shadily with students (Syril Roquoin, Paul Meek, Carol Balcar) in one of his Indonesian language classes, March 23, 1955.



Senior Indonesian Civil Servants at Cornell 1955 for special course in public administration: 1. Suparto; 2. Oka; 3. Abidin (rear); 4. Supangkat; 5. Siregar; 6. Wiwoho; 7. Soemardjito; 8. Roosdiono.



A. G. Pringgodigdo, who was a CMIP fellow, with his wife, Spring term 1959.

suggestions concerning studies of local and national administration, supplementing those of Hatta; while Soemardjan made very helpful suggestions regarding village-level research. Djokosutono and Sumitro, together with Widjojo, had a range of fruitful ideas which were reflected in the several studies which they later directed in conjunction with the Project—described in detail below. Mohammad Natsir was of great help in organizing research on Islam as a political force in Indonesia, later reflected in the project headed by Deliar Noer. And, finally, Yamin was sufficiently enthusiastic about CMIP's plans to promise not only general backing but support, where necessary, to supplement Cornell's funding of research by Indonesian students.

Following these consultations, during the early months of 1955 I worked out the details of several broad projects with Dean Djokosutono, Mohammad Natsir, Dean Sumitro, and Widjojo. In most of these cases the faculties of the University of Indonesia involved—and they participated in a majority of the projects undertaken by Indonesian scholars—pledged to contribute funds matching those provided by CMIP.

### CMIP-Sponsored Research

#### First Phase: 1954–1962

##### Research by Indonesians

During this period, particularly the first six years, primary emphasis was on research by Indonesian scholars, for the most part by those connected with the University of Indonesia's Faculties of Economics and Law. Through cooperative efforts worked out with these faculties, the Project supported research training of Indonesians in the social sciences. Thereby many Indonesian graduate students, as well as several faculty members at the University of Indonesia, were provided opportunities for research on contemporary social and political questions, with the younger graduate students being given guidance by more advanced Indonesian scholars. The following were the principal CMIP-supported research projects carried out by Indonesians during the 1954–1962 period.

*Projects with the Faculty of Economics* (Financed jointly by CMIP and the Faculty of Economics).

Set up by Dean Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, his two principal assistants, Widjojo Nitiasastro and Teuku Umar, and me, a Village Research Project provided for enlarging an already functioning program established by Professor Sumitro a few months earlier. It permitted a doubling of the number of graduate students involved and their collection and analysis of village data being extended beyond the original concern of the program with credit, marketing, and transportation, to encompass landholding and socio-political phenomena. Over a two-year period 23 Javanese and 30 Sumatran villages were studied, with graduate students spending cumulatively one to three months, and sometimes longer, in a particular village where they were conversant with the local language. Although only a small body of publications issued from the project, it did help insure that all of the almost exclusively urban-oriented mostly bourgeois students studying in Professor Sumitro's faculty learned something about the rural level of Javanese and Sumatran society. As Professor Sumitro wrote in a memorandum to me in 1955:

I would like to impress upon you that the above assistance by the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project to the Institute of Economic and Social Research University of



Indonesia will enable a significant increase in the number of Indonesian graduate students undertaking field research relating to the social problems of our own country. I sincerely believe that this is a most valuable contribution to the development of a group of educated Indonesians who will have first hand knowledge of the attitudes and problems of the great majority of our population living in villages and rural areas.

A limited analysis of these findings carried out by Widjojo Nitisastro and Julius Ismael, was translated and published by CMIP under the title, *The Government, Economy and Taxes of a Central Javanese Village*. Another analysis of these data by the sociologist Dr. Barbara Dohrenwend was published by CMIP in 1957 under the title, *Some Factors Relating to Autonomy and Dependence in Twelve Javanese Villages*; and an analysis focused on Sumatra was presented in Harsja Bachtiar's Cornell MA thesis "Twelve Sumatran Villages: An Exercise in the Study of Political Institutions."

Widjojo Nitisastro directed a Student Attitude Survey, with the assistance of several graduate assistants from the University of Indonesia to determine the attitudes of Jakarta high school students towards a wide range of social, economic, and political questions. An outgrowth of this was a further survey on Indonesian attitudes towards China and the Indonesian Chinese. At Widjojo's suggestion, one of this project's ablest members, Kartomo, carried out in-depth interviews with Indonesian political and intellectual leaders on their attitudes towards both Indonesia's Chinese population and China.

Widjojo also directed a project on Trade Union and Peasant Organizations which developed data useful for the National Planning Bureau. (An independent study by Iskandar Tedjasukmana, formerly a prominent labor leader, became his Cornell MA thesis, and was published by CMIP in 1959 under the title of *The Political Character of the Indonesian Trade Union Movement*.)

*Projects with the Faculty of Law* (Financed jointly by CMIP and the Faculty of Law)

A project on Governmental Institutions was worked out between Professor Djokosutono, Mrs. Miriam Budiardjo, and me, with the immediate direction of research undertaken by Mrs. Budiardjo, who was assisted by three graduate students. This focused on three key governmental institutions: Parliament, the Cabinet and the Presidency, with part of the research findings later incorporated into Mrs. Budiardjo's George Washington University MA thesis.

Professor Djokosutono and Dr. H. Heren directed a project on the Background and Social Mobility of the Indonesian Political Leadership. The research was carried out over a three-year period by Soeleiman Soemardi and three assistants, all graduates of the Law School. The major focus of this research was Jakarta and West Java. Much of the data gathered was incorporated into Soeleiman's Cornell MA thesis (1961), "Regional Politicians and Administrators in West Java (1956): Social Backgrounds and Career Patterns."

A study on Changes in Legal and Adat Institutions was carried out under the guidance of Professor Soediman Kartohadiprodjo of the Law Faculty assisted by a law school graduate, Purwoto Gandasubrata, who undertook a study of the Influences of the Japanese Occupation and the Revolution on Legal and Governmental Institutions in the Kabupaten of Banyumas. (The study was not completed.)

### Other Research

A project on The Role of Modernist Islam in Indonesia was worked out between me and Mohammad Natsir, then chairman of the Masjumi Party, with continuing advice from Vice-President Hatta. The field director was Deliar Noer, who had recently been chairman of the National Islamic Students' Organization, and two research assistants. During its first two years, this research gave particular emphasis to a series of in-depth interviews with older generation Islamic leaders, many of whom have since died. (Much of the data gathered later made its appearance in Mr. Noer's Cornell MA thesis "Masjumi: Its Organization, Ideology and Political Role in Indonesia" and in his later Cornell doctoral dissertation and book *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, published by Oxford University Press.)

A study funded separately by the Ford Foundation, but provided in its later stages with supplemental support for field research by CMIP, was Selo Soemardjan's work, reflected both in his *Dynamics of Community Development in Rural Central and West Java: A Comparative Report*, published by CMIP in 1963 and his magnum opus, published under the title *Social Changes in Jogjakarta* by Cornell University Press in 1962, three years after he had completed his doctorate in Sociology at Cornell.

Supplemental support was also provided Giok Lan (Mely) Tan for a major in-depth study of the Chinese community in Sukabumi (West Java) which CMIP published in 1961 as *The Chinese of Sukabumi: A Study of Social and Cultural Accommodation*.

Modest support supplementing University of Indonesia funds was provided Professor Koentjaraningrat to undertake an intensive study of two Central Java villages. Translated by Claire Holt, this was published by CMIP in 1961 under the title, *Some Social-Anthropological Observations on Gotong-Rojong Practices in Two Villages of Central Java*. Such support was also provided Samiati Alisjahbana, a Cornell MA in Anthropology, who died very young soon after commencing research on a Sundanese village; and to Idrus Nasir Djajadiningrat for completion of his initially Rockefeller Foundation-funded study of the first negotiations between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, published by CMIP in 1958 under the title: *The Beginnings of the Indonesian-Dutch Negotiations and the Hooge Veluwe Talks*.

### Research by Western Scholars

There were four major studies on the Chinese Minority of Indonesia carried out by Westerners. One, conducted by Dr. G.W. Skinner from April 1956 until the end of 1957, was a broad sociological survey building upon his previous analysis of other overseas Chinese communities, and providing training for several young Indonesian scholars, one of whom joined the faculty of the University of Indonesia. (Dr. Skinner has not written up his extensive research findings.)

The second and third studies were undertaken by Mr. Donald Willmott and focused on the Chinese community in the city and residency of Semarang in Central Java, with attention given to its historical background as well as to its contemporary social environment and its assimilation into Indonesian society. This provided the basis for his Cornell doctoral dissertation, subsequently published in 1960 by Cornell University Press as *The Chinese of Semarang*. Complementing this was his second study, which focused on the citizenship and nationality status of Chinese in Indonesia and was published by CMIP in 1959 as *The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia*.

A fourth study, carried out by Mary Somers (Heidhues), formed the basis of her Cornell doctoral dissertation, with a condensed version published by the Project in 1964, under the title of *Peranakan Chinese Politics in Indonesia*.

A study on the historical development of Indonesian communism, including its relationship with Soviet Russia, was undertaken by Ruth T. McVey, a graduate of the Russian Institute at Harvard, who had previously carried out research in the Netherlands on the relationship between the Netherlands Communist Party and Indonesian communism. The study involved CMIP-supported research in Indonesia and Holland over a three-year period and an assessment of Russian and Dutch, as well as Indonesian, language materials. Her first two publications based on this research, *The Soviet View of the Indonesian Revolution* and *The Calcutta Conference and the Southeast Asia Uprisings*, were brought out by CMIP in 1957 and 1958, with her 1961 Cornell doctoral dissertation, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*, being published in revised form by Cornell University Press in 1965.

Herbert Feith conducted two years of research on the Parliamentary and Constituent Assembly elections of 1955 and 1956 (following an original period of research which he had undertaken under the aegis of Melbourne University) which was published by CMIP in 1957 under the title of *The Indonesian Elections of 1955*. He also carried out follow-up research on the Wilopo Cabinet, expanding his earlier work for a MA thesis at Melbourne University. CMIP published its results in 1958 as *The Wilopo Cabinet, 1952-53*, and additional CMIP-supported research on Indonesia culminated in Feith's classic study, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*, published by Cornell University Press in 1962.



Indonesia Seminar: May 1958. Counterclockwise from George Kahin (back to tree) are: John Smail, ?, Herbert Feith, Josef Silverstein, Phyllis Rolnick, Ben Anderson, and partially obscured or backs to camera, four US Foreign Service Officers: John Lloyd, Marshall Wright, James Freeman (?), and Edward Ingraham.

Daniel S. Lev carried out three years of field research (1958–1961) on Indonesian politics, which culminated in the 1966 CMIP publication entitled *The Transition to Guided Democracy: Indonesian Politics 1957–59*, and on Indonesian legal institutions.

Research on decentralization and regional autonomy was carried out independently by Professor John Legge, then of the University of Western Australia, and Gerald Maryanov, then of the University of Indiana. Legge's first study was published in 1957 by CMIP as *Problems of Regional Autonomy in Indonesia*, and his expanded study was published as *Central Authority and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia* by Cornell University Press in 1961. Maryanov's two monographs in this field were published by CMIP in 1957 and 1958 as *Decentralization in Indonesia: Legislative Aspects* and *Decentralization in Indonesia as a Political Problem*.

Robert C. Bone, a Cornell graduate student and former US Foreign Service Officer, carried out research on *The Dynamics of the Western New Guinea (Irian Barat) Problem*, this being embodied in a monograph under the same title published by CMIP in 1958.

Most of the findings of my study of the Bandung Conference, which paid particular attention to Indonesia's role in initiating and sponsoring it, were incorporated in a slender volume published by Cornell University Press in 1956, *The Asian African Conference*. I also carried out research on post revolutionary changes in national level government and politics, in 1955 and 1958–59, which was the basis for a lengthy section on Indonesia in a book I edited entitled *Major Governments of Asia*, which was published by Cornell University Press in two editions in 1958 and 1963.

I began a study on the political thought of Mohammad Natsir in 1955 but this was interrupted by Natsir's involvement in the PRRI (Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia) rebellion and never completed.

The Project also provided modest supplementary grants for various village studies. These went to Andrea Wilcox, a Cornell graduate student in anthropology, Gerald Williams, an anthropologist from the University of Rochester, and Peter Goethals (a graduate student in anthropology at Yale University) to assist in their research respectively in two Sundanese villages and a village in Sumbawa. Andrea Wilcox's work was reflected in her chapter "Situradja: A Village in Highland Priangan" in Professor Koentjaraningrat's symposium, *Villages in Indonesia* (Cornell University Press, 1967). Gerald Williams died before his work could be completed; Peter Goethals also contributed a chapter to Koentjaraningrat's Village symposium ("Rarak: A Swidden Village of West Sumbawa"), and his *Aspects of Local Government in a Sumbawan Village* was published by CMIP in 1961.

### Miscellaneous Studies

Partial support was provided Professor John Echols to enable him to launch research in Indonesia on the *Indonesian-English Dictionary*, which he co-authored with Hassan Shadily. (Most of the funding was later forthcoming from the Ford Foundation itself.)

A study on the character and political impact of the Japanese occupation on Indonesia was carried out by Koichi Kishi and Shigetada Nishijima, who had been a principal political adviser to Admiral Maeda, head of military intelligence during the occupation. (Both of the latter had by at least 1945 been supportive of Indonesian independence.) It proved beyond the Project's means, but had developed sufficient momentum under its



Mohammad Hatta at Cornell, June 2, 1960. Clockwise round table from bottom left, are: Soeleiman Soemardi, ?, Iskandar Tedjasukmana, Dr. Hatta, George Kahin, Wongsowidjaja, Ruth Oshlag, Tapiomas Ihromi, Mely Tan, and Constance Wilson.

initial auspices so that the Rockefeller Foundation and Waseda University in Japan took over its financing.

Additionally, modest financial support was provided George S. Kanahele, a graduate student at Cornell, for work on his doctoral dissertation on political aspects of the Japanese occupation, "Japanese Occupation of Indonesia: Prelude to Independence."

### **Support of Indonesian Graduate Students at Cornell**

Another significant part of the Project's effort was devoted to partial or full support of several Indonesians at Cornell for training in the social sciences, and in most cases providing an opportunity for writing up research previously carried out in Indonesia which had been supported by the Project. Receiving such support were Harsja Bachtiar, Idrus Nasir Djajadiningarat, Kismadi, Deliar Noer, Selo Soemardjan, Soeleiman Soemardi, and Iskandar Tedjasukmana. (In some of these cases initial funding by CMIP for study at Cornell led to considerably greater financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation or other Ford Foundation sources.)

### **Research Support to Other Scholars at Cornell**

Provision was made to afford an opportunity to several established scholars from other universities to carry out or complete research at Cornell, making use of library facilities unavailable elsewhere, and provide an opportunity of scholarly interaction and helpful criticism between them and other scholars at Cornell. These included Peter Goethals, Gerald S. Maryanov, Pierre Martin, and John Legge.

### **Translations from Indonesian and Dutch into English**

Numerous important monographs and reports were translated and published in the Project's Translation Series. Many of these were labors of love by John Echols (including his widely used *Indonesian Writing in Translation*), Ben Anderson, Harry Benda, Claire Holt, Ruth McVey, and Robert Van Niel at Cornell, as well as by a few scholars outside of the university—Garth Jones and Norbert Ward. A few others were paid for, the principal professional translator being Alexander Brotherton. The Project was fortunate in securing permission from the Indonesian Government, through the good offices of Sumarman, to publish in English translation previously classified reports and studies of the Netherlands East Indies Government. These included its reports on Banten and West Sumatra, published as *The Communist Uprisings of 1926–1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents* and its Coolie Budget Commission's *Living Conditions of Plantation Workers and Peasants on Java in 1939–1940*.

### **Visiting Lecturers**

The Project brought to Cornell a series of lecturers during this period—including Bruce Amstutz, Harsja Bachtiar, Harry Benda, Donald Fagg, Clifford Geertz, Everett Hawkins, Benjamin Higgins, William Hollinger, Leslie Palmier, Mohammad Sadli, Alastair Taylor, and Francis Underhill. In addition, it provided a substantial part of the funding for a semester-long seminar by Soedjatmoko Mangoeniningrat.

### **Library Support in Indonesia and at Cornell**

CMIP donated microfilm readers to the National Museum Library and to the University of Indonesia; and all Project publications were deposited in major Indonesian libraries. A direct subvention of \$4,000 was made to the Cornell University Library for



the purchase of Indonesian books and periodicals, and John Echols and several others among the Project's researchers in the field purchased for deposit in Cornell's library a little over \$5,000 worth of such materials.

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Many difficult logistical problems had to be resolved to make much of the above possible. Paramount among these was the shifting exchange rate between the dollar and rupiah, attended by sporadic bursts of inflation, which made budgeting enormously difficult. While carrying out their research John Echols and William Skinner needed an automobile and adequate housing for their families. I spent many hours in one steaming office after another in Jakarta and Tanjung Priok trying to get the incredible number of approvals required. Renting a house was difficult, but that was child's play in comparison with getting the car, refrigerator, lighting fixtures, and generator through customs and out of a Tanjung Priok warehouse. And the Project's six-year old Dodge, which was purchased from Cornell's College of Agriculture and shipped to Indonesia, may have looked, despite its 65,000 miles, one of the spiffyest cars in Jakarta, but it had its problems. Before we could use it outside of Jakarta, it had to be equipped with heavy duty springs and new shock absorbers. A letter John Echols sent me, six months after he had taken it over, rather poignantly illustrates the ongoing nature of the problems associated with that venerable car. "After five flat tires and one blowout and two months of talking to Goodyear I have finally been able to get four new tires at the regular price. . . . We now feel a bit safer when driving." (If John had not been able to cajole Goodyear into selling the tires at the regular price, we would have had pay a total of some \$600 for them even though they were made in Indonesia.)

#### Second Phase: 1962-1973

During this second phase, the Project's original emphasis on Indonesian politics and government was supplemented by at least equal attention, collectively, to Indonesia's pre-revolutionary and revolutionary history, its culture, and its recent and current international relations. This decade saw the initiation of research by a number of newly supported scholars, both Indonesian and American, and the continuation of funding for both field research and for write up at Cornell of the findings of some of the most promising scholars supported during the Project's earlier phase. Research stipends to Indonesians went to Soemarsaid Moertono for his work on the history of the later Mataram period (published by CMIP in 1968 under the title of *State and Statecraft in Old Java*); to Deliar Noer for further work on his study of Islam as a political force (reflected in his *Administration of Islam*, published by CMIP in 1978); to Mohamad Roem for his work at Cornell in 1968 on Indonesian political history (later represented in his published memoirs); to Iwan Tirtamidjaja for work at Cornell in 1967 on the traditional culture of the Javanese courts (never completed); and to Widjojo Nitisastro to enable him in 1965 to complete at Cornell his study of Indonesia's population (published in 1970 by Cornell University Press under the title of *Population Trends in Indonesia*). In addition CMIP contributed support for the preparation and publication of two symposia—both published by Cornell University Press: *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, edited by Soedjatmoko and Mohammad Ali, G.J. Resink, and myself (1965); and *Villages in Indonesia*, edited by Koentjaraningrat (1967).

The major research stipends to Westerners during this period went to: Frederick Bunnell for his study of American policy towards Indonesia during the Kennedy administration, publications stemming from his work being *American Reactions to*

*Indonesia's Role in the Belgrade Conference* (CMIP 1964) and a series of articles published between 1966 and 1976 on Indonesian-American relations in the CMIP journal *Indonesia*; to Ambassador Howard Jones for research support in Indonesia and Cornell during 1968–69 for a study of American-Indonesian relations (with subsequent additional funding from the Ford Foundation and the Hoover Institution), his study being published in 1971 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich under the title of *Indonesia: The Possible Dream*; to John R.W. Smail for research on the Indonesian revolution and the post-independence military politics of North Sumatra, with his work on the revolution published by CMIP in 1964 as *Bandung in the Early Revolution, 1945–46*; and to Franklin Weinstein for research on Indonesian foreign policy, his work being published by CMIP in 1969 under the title *Indonesia Abandons Confrontation* and by Cornell University Press in 1976 as *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence: From Sukarno to Soeharto*.

A number of smaller grants representing add-ons to earlier ones (from CMIP, Ford, or Rockefeller) or modest fresh CMIP funding were provided to several scholars. These included Benedict Anderson, whose research was represented in several CMIP publications: *Some Aspects of Indonesian Politics under the Japanese Occupation* (1962), *Mythology and Tolerance of the Javanese* (1965)—since reprinted six times, *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965 Coup in Indonesia*—written together with Ruth McVey and with the assistance of Frederick P. Bunnell and published by CMIP in 1971; a large number of articles in the journal *Indonesia*; a book published by Cornell University Press in 1972 (*Java in a Time of Revolution*), and his classic essay “The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture” published in the book edited by Claire Holt, *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (brought out by Cornell University Press in 1972); Barbara Harvey for completion of her work on the politics of South Sulawesi, reflected in *Permesta: Half a Rebellion* (published by CMIP in 1977); to Claire Holt for further research on the Indonesian arts and their social and cultural context, such support during this and the previous phase of the Project being primarily for four gifted research assistants—consecutively Doris Sutter, Arlene Lev, Alice Bunnell, and Judith Hudson—with her work being



Mary Somers (Heidhues) and Claire Holt, October 1963.

reflected in a series of articles in *Indonesia* and in her book, *Indonesian Art: Continuities and Change*, published by Cornell University Press in 1967; Daniel Lev for completion of his work on Indonesian politics and developing further data for his pathbreaking work in Indonesian legal studies—reflected in several articles in *Indonesia*, in his essay “Judicial Institutions and Legal Culture in Indonesia” published in Claire Holt’s *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, and in his book *Islamic Courts in Indonesia* published by the University of California Press in 1972; J.A.C. Mackie for completion of research at Cornell on inflation, published by CMIP in 1967 under the title *Problems of the Indonesian Inflation*; Pierre Martin for research on Indonesian politics; Rudolf Mrazek for research on Indonesian politics, reflected in



a subsequent article in *Indonesia*; Stanley J. O'Connor for preliminary research in Indonesia on Indonesian traditional art, later supported by grants from other sources, and reflected in an article in *Indonesia* and in a monograph jointly authored with Tom Harrisson in the 1969 Cornell Southeast Asia Program publication *Excavations of the Prehistoric Iron Industry In West Borneo*; Roger Paget for completion of a study on the political role of Indonesian youth, reflected in articles in *Indonesia* and elsewhere; Donald Pond for completion of research on the Indonesian economy; and Joel Rocamora for assistance in completing research on the PNI, reflected in an article for *Indonesia* as well as his book published by the Asian Center in Manila.

### *Indonesia*

One of the outstanding achievements during this period was the launching of the Project's interdisciplinary journal, *Indonesia*. The idea for this was Ben Anderson's and for him it was a formidable labor of love—many hours being devoted to its nourishment and steady growth. In this endeavor he was joined by Frederick Bunnell, Ruth McVey, and James Siegel, an anthropologist who had recently joined the Cornell faculty and who specializes on Indonesia. The first issue of this twice-yearly journal was published by CMIP in April 1966 and it has appeared regularly ever since. The editorial note in this first issue has continued to characterize the journal:

It is intended to provide an opportunity for all those interested in Indonesia, specialists and nonspecialists alike, to exchange views and information. It has long been felt, particularly by Indonesia specialists, that too narrow confinement within the framework of their particular disciplines hinders an approach to Indonesia as a whole; we therefore hope that *Indonesia*, which will aim at the widest possible range of subject matter, may help overcome this disadvantage. . . . we would especially welcome articles which would otherwise be inaccessible to the interested public as well as articles which, because they cross interdisciplinary lines, may find no ready outlet in existing journals.

Illustrative of the diversity of the journal's articles was its first issue which incorporated articles on "Prayer and Play in Atjeh," a Javanese gamelan recording, an Islamic school in Java, and the languages of Indonesian politics; and also included a letter from an anthropologist in Kalimantan, some notes by John Echols on available source materials on Aceh, and two translations—a short story by Ajip Rosidi and an early account of the independence movement by the Communist leader Semaun, as well as documents relating to the September 30, 1965 Movement.

CMIP was able to meet the costs of publishing the journal until 1974, when they were assumed by Cornell's Southeast Asia Program. At that time SEAP also made provision for part-time professional editorial assistance. From then on, Ben Anderson shared major editorial tasks with a succession of co-editors—Elizabeth Graves, Linda Weinstein, Susan Hatch, Martin Hatch, Judy Ecklund, and Audrey Kahin—who after serving as co-editor from 1979, became editor in 1986, with Ben Anderson becoming contributing editor. The journal currently has approximately 700 subscribers and is lodged in over 300 libraries. It includes among its subscribers Indonesian military attachés scattered around the world who apparently especially value Ben Anderson's periodic analyses of changes in appointments to senior military positions: "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite."



*Indonesia* editors Ben Anderson and Audrey Kahin, 1983.

During this period the Project continued to publish research results in its Interim Reports and Monograph series and continued with its program of translations and bibliographies.

Included among its visiting lecturers from 1966 to 1972 were John M. Allison, Anak Agung, Arief Budiman, Father Geldorp, Mohammad Hatta, Howard Jones, Dr. Sartono, T.B. Simatupang, Soedjatmoko, and Francis Underhill. Additionally in 1968 Mohamad Roem presented a multi-session seminar on Indonesia.

### Third Phase (1974–1989)

By the end of 1972 the Project had dispensed the last of its research funds, but its publication program had achieved sufficient scope and momentum to warrant its continuation. Thus, when the Project had reached the end of the last year of its funding in mid-1974, the Ford Foundation agreed to it husbanding its residual inventory of publications, with the proceeds of their sale to be used as an ongoing revolving fund for continuing its publication series. From this and income from the orders for publications already in the pipeline, the Project was able to pay the printing costs of a continuing flow of new publications in its monograph and translation series. This would not have been possible but for the willingness of Cornell's Southeast Asia Program to shoulder editorial and distribution costs and to provide a subvention to keep the Project's flagship publication, *Indonesia*, afloat.

With respect both to *Indonesia* and the Project's other publications during this period an increasing proportion of the authors were from outside Cornell—Australian, European, Indonesian, and Japanese. The monographs and translations published by the Project focused principally on modern Indonesian history and politics. Notable among its recent publications dealing with contemporary politics are David Jenkins' *Suharto and His Generals: Indonesia's Military Politics, 1975–83*, David Bouchier's *Dynamics of Dissent in Indonesia*, the translation of Heri Akhmadi's speech at his trial in 1979, *Breaking the Chains of Oppression of the Indonesian People*, and a collection of articles, edited by Ben Anderson and Audrey Kahin, entitled *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate, 1964–1981*. The other major focus has been on the history and major actors of the Indonesian revolution, with publications on this period including John Legge's *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia: The Following Recruited by Sutan Sjahrir*; Mavis Rose's *Indonesia Free: A Biography of Mohammad Hatta*; and Elizabeth Ann Swift's *The Road to Madiun: The Indonesian Communist Uprising of 1948*.

For its part the university continued to honor its longstanding pledge of office space—providing the building at 102 West Ave with a new roof and, ultimately, a fire escape.

### Major Gaps in the Project's Coverage

Despite the considerable body of research carried out under the Project's auspices, numerous gaps are readily apparent. Especially is this so with respect to important aspects of Indonesia's political development. There should have been a focus on the political role of the army; a fuller study of Sukarno was certainly merited; and there should have been more emphasis on the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Ruth McVey's research and writings on Indonesian communism were uniformly excellent, but she was unable to carry them very far forward chronologically. I was hampered in doing justice to the importance of the Communist Party's role because of the animus of some of its leaders towards me. (They attacked me during the revolution as a US government agent, and in his May 1959 speech at the 39th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party its chairman, Dipa Nusantara Aidit, describing me as a "well-known imperialist ideologue," devoted to me what a US Foreign Service dispatch referred to as a five-hundred word "excoriation." While this attack proved of some use in parrying attacks of critics on the radical right who alleged that I was pro-Communist, it made it almost impossible for me to carry out research requiring interviews with Communist leaders.)

Greater attention should have given to Islam as a political force, even though Deliar Noer's contribution in this area was major. Notably lacking here was a study of the Nahdatul Ulama. (At one point a well qualified scholar, Boyd Compton, was about to take on such a study for CMIP, but personal circumstances obliged him to withdraw.) My study of the political thought of Mohammad Natsir, interrupted by the 1958 rebellion, was finally aborted when I became absorbed in the Vietnam anti-war movement in the United States—a preoccupation which also militated against carrying further forward research I had begun on that rebellion, to which I have only recently returned. Barbara Harvey, however, executed an excellent study of the roughly coincident Permesta rebellion (published by CMIP in 1977 and later translated and published in Indonesian). But apart from her work and that of a few others, notably Taufik Abdullah and Elizabeth

Graves on the history and culture of the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra, it is fair to say that CMIP has paid too little attention to the islands outside Java.

A signal deficiency has been the scant attention given to agrarian problems and their political import. In large measure this stemmed from the fact that the late Professor Karl Pelzer of Yale, who under the originally conceived division of labor was to have had responsibility for research in this area, was unable to undertake it.

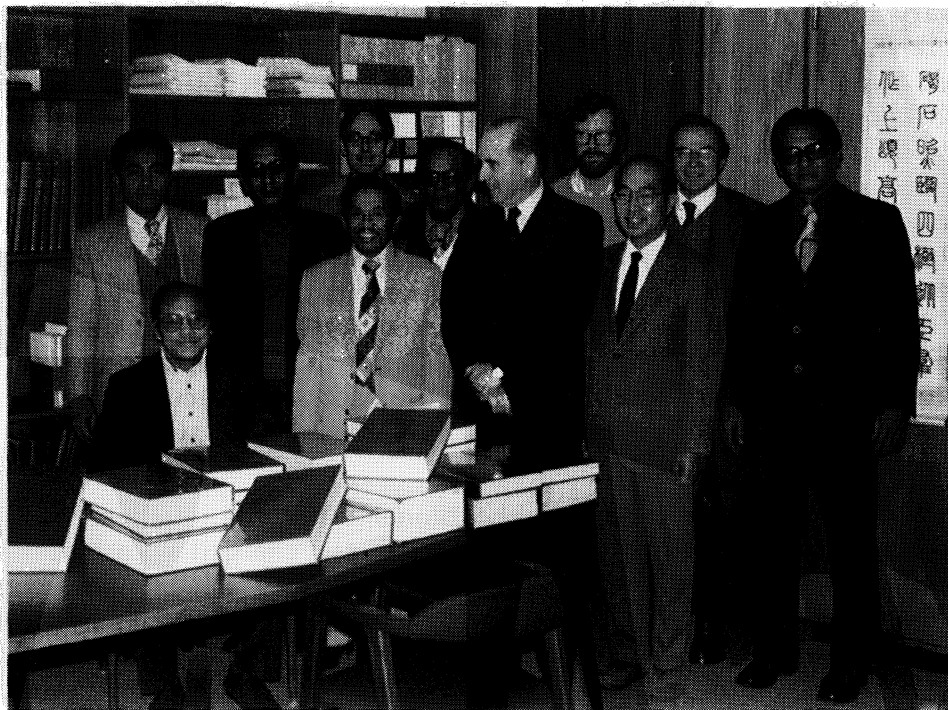
Undoubtedly one of the CMIP's shortcomings has been its lack of sufficient attention to the important political events of late September 1965 and their bloody aftermath. Here again the intrusion of the anti-war movement in the United States bears some of the responsibility, and indeed for me and several others involved in the Project that circumstance focused attention away from Indonesia at just the time careful scrutiny of events there was most needed.

In January 1966, only three months after the October 1 coup, and while the mass killings were still in progress, Benedict Anderson and Ruth McVey, with the assistance of Frederick Bunnell, drew on press and radio reports from Indonesia and their own background knowledge of Indonesian civilian and army politics to produce a 162-page preliminary analysis of the coup and its background. Twenty copies of this were mimeographed and circulated to various scholars and officials inside and outside Cornell for their critical comments. Soon referred to in Jakarta as "The Cornell Paper," this analysis, despite shortcomings which its authors have readily recognized, still stands today as a sounder and much more objective assessment of what actually happened in 1965 than the Suharto government's badly flawed semi-official accounts. (No official account has ever been forthcoming.) Over the past two decades Ben Anderson, Ruth McVey, and I have tried very hard, but with little success, to secure the reliable additional information from senior government officials necessary to supplement and rectify their provisional account.

In June 1967 I had a long meeting with Colonel Taher, the intelligence officer who headed the government's office (Team Pemeriksaan Pusat) charged with interrogation of political prisoners and ostensibly responsible for coming up with a standard government account of the coup. He and the six Lt. Colonels who flanked him in their interrogation room promised to secure for me the documents pertinent to the coup which we had specifically identified, but despite my subsequent letters of reminder, we received none of them. In early 1971 I sought to get these from General Kanter, the army's Judge Advocate General. I informed him that because the so-called "Cornell Paper" had so frequently been misquoted, doctored, and misrepresented, we would soon be publishing it so as to set the record straight and insure that interested audiences would not be further misled. As an earnest of our intent to provide as balanced an account as possible I invited him to have prepared an official Indonesian government account which we would publish in the same volume with this early CMIP analysis. He indicated his enthusiastic approval, but there was no follow-up, and presumably he was overruled by higher authority (nor did he ever send copies of the documents earlier promised by Colonel Taher). Thus, in late 1971 CMIP published the "Cornell Paper" by itself in exactly its original form—apart from a brief introduction by Ben Anderson—under its original title of *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia*.

In October 1975, however, the Indonesian government informed us that Lt. General Ali Murtopo, head of Opsus ("Special Operations"), President Suharto's private intelligence service, and Brigadier General Benny Murdani, head of G-I (Intelligence) in the

armed forces headquarters, wished to come to Cornell to give us a full briefing on the 1965 coup and its background. They did come, with a small entourage on October 24, and agreed to participate in an informal seminar with our most knowledgeable graduate students, followed by several hours of private discussion with Ben Anderson, Frederick Bunnell, Ruth McVey, and me. While these talks were very cordial—though sometimes animated—the key questions remained unanswered. General Murdani promised me that as soon as he returned to Jakarta he would arrange for the documents we had requested over the previous eight years to be sent to us. A year later we were informed that he and General Murtopo were sending a delegation to Cornell bearing pertinent documents and prepared to engage in a two-day private seminar during which they would answer all of our questions. Accordingly, on November 27, 1976, there arrived at



5-man team headed by General Datuk Mulia (seated at table) deliver bound records of trials of alleged coup plotters to Cornell's Olin Library, November 27, 1976. To Datuk Mulia's left is General Nichlany Soedardjo, Indonesian Defense Attaché in Washington. The other officers present are General Soekotjo, General Djalaludin Nasution, Colonel Soegondo, and Major Samsulhadi. In rear is Benedict Anderson. Standing with hands folded is Gormley Miller, Head of the Library, to the right, Giok-po Oey, Curator of the John M. Echols Collection on Southeast Asia. Behind him are Henk Edelman, Assistant Director of the Library (with beard) and George Kahin.

Cornell a group of three generals, a colonel, and a major, all members of General Murdani's staff and headed by Brigadier General Datuk Mulia. They brought with them for deposit in Cornell Library's John M. Echols Collection on Southeast Asia more than two hundred pounds of documents, nicely bound records of trials of alleged coup-backers—but, alas, none of the documents we had requested. The long discussions which we held with them and General Nichlani Soedardjo (Indonesia's military attaché in Washington) yielded little significant additional information, with the most crucial questions still unanswered or side-stepped.<sup>2</sup>

There the matter has rested, and a solid and scholarly account of the events of that watershed year, 1965, has not yet appeared from Cornell or elsewhere.

### **A Retrospective Assessment**

To the extent that the CMIP was successful most credit must go to the quality of the scholars it was fortunate enough to enlist—as I would hope the foregoing account indicates. But essential to this, and more generally to the Project's achievements, was the flexibility permitted by the Ford Foundation and its willingness to trust in the judgement of myself and of those Indonesians and Westerners with whom I worked. As Cleon Swayzee put it to me, "We realize that in this situation you'll often have to play it pretty much by ear." This meant that promising new opportunities for research in the field could be acted upon quickly in so far as the availability of well-qualified scholars and existing funding permitted. Some of the Project's most fruitful input occurred where it could build upon already demonstrated strength, either extending the duration of field research of proven scholars it had already supported or that of others who had received initial funding from other sources—whether Ford, Rockefeller, or the Social Science Research Council—or from the University of Indonesia. Notable examples were Benedict Anderson, Herbert Feith, Daniel Lev, Ruth McVey and Deliar Noer—all of whom were thereby able to devote a full three years or more to field research. This also permitted short, but propitiously timed and often crucially important, periods of supplemental support for a final stage of field research or period of analysis at Cornell for older scholars of proven ability. Among them were John Legge, Koentjaraningrat, Jamie Mackie, Selo Soemardjan, and Widjojo Nitisastro.

Perhaps equally important was the Project's planting of seed money for initial demonstration periods for research, providing the basis for persuading foundations to provide funds in cases where the research topics departed from CMIP's mandate and/or were beyond its own financial capacity. (Often this occurred in situations where foundation officers were aware of the importance of the research, but were unable to move for a year or more because of their own internal bureaucratic and budgetary constraints.) Instances of this were the support provided John M. Echols to lay the groundwork for the Echols-Shadily Indonesian-English dictionary (a project later funded by the Ford Foundation); Ambassador Howard Jones' study of U.S.-Indonesian relations (also later taken over by Ford); and the study by Shigetada Nishijima and Koichi Kishi of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (ultimately supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and Waseda University).

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<sup>2</sup>They did vouchsafe that the Suharto government had been mistaken with respect to its allegation that Sukarno had been involved in the coup and told us that the reason they could not provide us with a copy of what the government had long referred to as "the Aidit confession" was because it had never in fact existed.



102 West Avenue when it was Phi Sigma Delta House. Courtesy of Department of Manuscripts & University Archives, Cornell University Libraries, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853-5301.



### The Heart of the Project: 102 West Avenue

An especially fruitful, and perhaps unique, aspect of the Project has been the informal intellectual interaction amongst Indonesian and non-Indonesian scholars while writing up their research findings at Cornell in the close proximity provided by their neighboring offices and the old seminar room in the Project's building at 102 West Avenue on the edge of the Cornell campus. This has made for a warm and friendly, and also very stimulating, environment, insuring an ongoing critique of each other's work helpful to both senior and junior scholars—often as important for PhD candidates as the input of their professors. Undoubtedly this feature of the Project significantly increased the quality of much of the scholarship it sponsored.

Following my return from Indonesia in 1955, it was clear that the Project needed office space at Cornell, this being more feasible—administratively and financially—than trying to establish an office in Indonesia, as we had originally envisaged. Despite the shortage of space on the University campus, we were able to rent as offices half of an old building at 102 West Avenue, the other half initially being rented by Morris Opler's India Project. With termination of his project in 1958, Cornell's President Deane Malott, who had himself become keenly interested in CMIP's work and enthusiastic about its accomplishments, turned the entire building over to the Indonesia Project and directed that it no longer be required to pay rent.

102 West Avenue, originally consisting of only two stories, was erected in 1896 and had its beginnings as the private residence of a famous Ithaca architect, Arthur N. Gibb. It was purchased in 1908 by the Seal and Serpent society, which added a third floor and a northern ground floor extension (CMIP's seminar room), with most of the building being used as a dormitory for members of the Seal and Serpent. It continued to be used as a dormitory after it was sold to the Phi Sigma Delta Fraternity in 1927 and from 1942–1954 after it was purchased by Cornell University. In the latter year it no longer met safety regulations for residential living but was certified for office space and made available to CMIP. (When CMIP first occupied these premises each occupant found a bed still in the room that had now become his study—a situation which the university authorities countenanced for just a year.)

Had it not been for the fact that over the decades of CMIP's occupancy of the building the morale and cooperative spirit of the scholars who worked there remained so strong, the building would not have lasted until today. But clearly the periodic *gotong royong* (mutual help) exercises in which all occupants pitched in together, to paint, make minor repairs, etc., prolonged its life.

Also important in extending the building's life was the imagination and unusual engineering prowess of one of the early CMIP fellowship holders, Daniel S. Lev, the only member of the Project to have held a carpenter's license. (Also known for other accomplishments, he is now professor of political science at the University of Washington.) Indeed, without his input the building might well have much earlier been condemned as office space (as well as for living quarters), for by 1962 the rapid sagging of the first floor into the basement seemed to portend the whole building's imminent collapse. Returning in that year from field research in Indonesia, Dan promptly took measure of this depressing situation—and perhaps of his prospects for long having a room in which to write up his dissertation! Requesting only \$50 from the Project's emergency fund, he returned from an Ithaca construction firm with two second-hand adjustable six-foot steel jack posts. These he inserted at just the correct points and cranked them up a good foot





Ruth McVey addresses a Thursday Luncheon Seminar, Fall 1982. Front row: L to R, T'ien Ju-K'ang, Nancy Peluso, John Wolff, Ruchira Mendiones, David Marr, Giok-po Oey.



Ruth McVey at the entrance of 102 West Avenue, Fall 1982.

under the beams that were then hesitatingly holding up the first floor. Except for a few areas of only six to eight inches of sagging the building has stood—however precariously—ever since. Perhaps this is also because a contemporary of Dan's provided the old building with a sort of spiritual nourishment that may well have given it the continued will to live. For Ruth T. McVey (recently retired as Reader in Southeast Asian Politics at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies) gave it the supreme accolade by dedicating to it her classic study, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*.

It is here, I think, appropriate to note that, the well known pundit on administrative organization, C. Northcote Parkinson (also a scholar of Malay history) visited Cornell and CMIP's building at 102 West Avenue shortly before he completed writing his book, *Parkinson's Law*. It will be recalled that one of his several laws, had to do with buildings, and held that the value and quality of the work undertaken inside them is exactly in reverse relationship to the quality of the premises in which the work takes place. We always liked to believe that in arriving at this insight Professor Parkinson had been inspired by his visit to 102 West Ave.<sup>3</sup> Belief in this maxim undoubtedly helped raise the morale of some of the struggling scholars who over the years have worked there, and, as with Ruth McVey's dedication, may have contributed to that venerable building's will to survive.

Marvellous as are these unusual attributes, they have been appreciated only by those who have worked in the building long enough to absorb its inner character. Visiting scholars, no matter how polite, when first they cast eyes on the building, are generally unable to mask a look of stark incredulity. Disintegration of much of the 102's interior and exterior had by 1970 reached a stage where directors of other small research projects on the Cornell campus who previously in pressing the University administration for office space, had asked for "equal treatment with CMIP," no longer did so—that is once their directors had actually inspected its premises.

Pertinent to an understanding of the ethos of 102 West Avenue is the inscription on an old and very faded sign above its front door, which bears Indonesia's national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, meaning in Old Javanese, "Unity in Diversity." With respect to the building's occupants that motto was always appropriate, but it became increasingly so from the beginning of the 1970s. Then, with the exhaustion of the Project's own funds for research and with the availability of fellowships for the study of other Southeast Asian countries having grown considerably, the proportion of scholars resident in 102 West Ave who focused on Indonesia gradually changed, so that in recent years no more than half have been working primarily on Indonesia and the rest on the other countries of Southeast Asia. This has been a healthy development, counteracting parochialism and insuring a stronger comparative dimension, that has left all with a broader and more Southeast Asia-wide perspective. Finally, one of the most important features of the 102 West Avenue base of CMIP and subsequently of Cornell's Southeast Asia Program as a whole has been the lasting friendships fostered among those who have worked there and the world-wide web of scholarly relations that continues to stimulate them in their continuing research on Southeast Asia.

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<sup>3</sup>We must assume that in his book, *Parkinson's Law*, Parkinson cited examples such as the League of Nations building in Geneva and Briain's India Office (which he suggests may have reached "its peak of efficiency when accommodated in the Westminster Palace Hotel") rather than CMIP only because they are somewhat better known.