

- Java on the slopes of which was located the village where it had been stored before coming to its current resting place in the National Museum in Jakarta. Van der Molen's discussion makes it clear that these largely unstudied *lontar* promise new insights into Old Javanese literature and culture that originate from texts in Java, rather than Bali. JT provides a good model for those who wish to study it. Two versions of the Javanese text and a Dutch translation that occupy the rest (and the bulk) of the book will be of interest to those who wish to study the older, more "purely" Buddhist origins of the story, particularly since the prose texts and translation can be readily compared with the poetic version published in KD.

Presenting as they do different renditions of a story composed in different eras, and organized as they are to speak to readers with different interests, KD and JT deserve attention from members of distinct but overlapping audiences. Both volumes are well organized, contain useful indexes, and have, as far as I can tell, only a few, negligible typographic errors. KD will enrich Indonesianists' understanding of Hindu-Buddhist Javanese culture, and both will contribute to a broader, more sophisticated philological and cultural perspective on the literary heritage of Java and Bali.

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The Outbreak of the War in Indochina, 1946. By STEIN TØNNESSEN. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1984. 452 pp. List of Abbreviations, Appendixes, Notes, Bibliography, Biographical Index, Maps. NOK 150 plus postage (paper).

Stein Tønnesson has undertaken a rare and useful study of a critical period in Vietnamese history affecting Vietnam, France, the United States, and, tangentially, China and Great Britain. Past studies and accounts of the First and Second Indochinese wars have dealt mainly with *how* they were conducted and *who* did what to whom in the thirty-year conflict. Seldom has a serious attempt been made to examine the reason *why* they were started in the first place. In limiting his thesis to one critical year, 1946, Tønnesson isolates the issue, identifies the cause, and provides a rationale for the outbreak of war in Indochina.

This two-part study, skillfully organized into eight chapters and a conclusion, presents a clear, unencumbered chronology of events, decision-making processes, and the real motive for the outbreak of hostilities. Without belaboring the issue Tønnesson draws the reader's attention to the marked parallelism of the French situation in 1946 and the American dilemma fifteen years later. Although this work is carefully documented with French archival sources, many of which were previously unavailable, it is, nonetheless, a one-sided account, the French side. Yet, this one-sided version is well balanced by Tønnesson's perceptive reading of French documentation, augmented by pertinent American, British, and Chinese sources, and Vietnamese response to French initiative. Despite the paucity of Vietnamese sources and the overwhelming French documentation supporting the French contention that the responsibility for the 1946 outbreak of hostilities lay with the Vietnamese, more precisely the Viet Minh, Tønnesson argues convincingly that the immediate cause was premeditated French aggression, engineered by the Saigon authorities backed by the Paris government.

In chronicling the roles and activities of key French officials in Vietnam, Tønnesson clearly illustrates the traditional French administrator's tactic of "fait accompli"—act first, advise Paris later. The decision makers in Saigon-Hanoi, d'Argenlieu, Pignon,

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Valluy, Sainteny, Molière, and their advisers, to a certain degree held views and pursued policies independent of both Paris and French colonialists. At times, they even pursued their personal policies independently of one another, and often at cross-purposes.

The first five chapters are an excellent condensation of the 1945–1946 events in Paris, Saigon, and Hanoi. In Europe, France sought recognition as one of the four major powers and attempted to play an independent role in relations with the "Anglo-Saxons" and the Soviets; in Paris, a Vietnamese delegation pleaded in vain for independence and unity; in Saigon, Admiral d'Argenlieu promoted a separate Cochinese republic; and in Hanoi, the French refused to live up to their agreement under the *Modus Vivendi*. The final four chapters deal with the immediate prewar Vietnamese finances; Sino-Viet relations; provocative incidents; and the events of November 20–23 leading to the "massacre," the December stalemate terminating in open conflict on December 19, 1946.

Chapter 7, the longest in this work, is by far the most fascinating account of what happened in Hanoi when the "electricity was cut and the water supply turned off" on the evening of December 19. Tønnesson has painstakingly and faithfully, within the limits of available documentation, reconstructed the French and Vietnamese politico-military decision-making structure, the disposition of forces, and the command decision to strike. He presents a critical analysis of the leadership in Hanoi, both French and Vietnamese, and of the several probabilities that neither side had complete control of the situation on that fateful evening.

As indicated in the introduction (p. 19), the "study is primarily based on French sources." This limitation notwithstanding, scholars of Vietnam's history, particularly of the French colonial period and the post-World War II Franco-American involvement will find *The Outbreak of the War in Indochina, 1946* especially illuminating. Most importantly, Tønnesson's focus on the root cause of the two Indochina wars answers many troublesome questions heretofore overlooked by decision makers; the book definitely will be valuable to future policy formulators.

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Politics, Patronage, and Class Conflict in Central Luzon. By WILLEM WOLTERS. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 1983. xv, 288 pp. Maps, Diagrams, Glossary, Bibliography and Index. N.p.

This volume is a detailed economic and political study of a Philippine village, together with less intensive studies of the municipality and the province (Nueva Ecija) within which it is located. The studies were carried out in 1971–1972, with a revisit in 1979. Willem Wolters had two principal aims: first, to explore the interconnection between the hierarchy of administrative levels and the process of class formation; second, to determine to what extent the Philippine political system can still be viewed as a pyramid of vertical, dyadic, clientelistic alliances. Thus he set out to test or revise an earlier model of the Philippine political party system, which saw the bulk of the rural voters arranged in two shifting, competing patron-client pyramids through which poor peasants followed the leadership of more prosperous villagers, who followed substantial landowners residing in the towns, who, in turn, followed the leadership of wealthy politicians of provincial and national stature.

The author concludes that the old model had ceased to be an accurate one even before the imposition of martial law in 1972. He attributes this to changes in the