

documenting basic problems in the Middle East. The first part, covering the years 1917-1987, was presented in 1988 by "Ufficio IX della Direzione Generale degli Affari Politici". The thirty-one documents are in both the original English version and an Italian translation.

The above volume covers the period from September 1987, the Declaration by the Twelve on Israel Policy of Settlements (Copenhagen, 14 September), to June 1990, the European Council Declaration on the Middle East (Dublin, 26 June 1990). After 1990 the Middle East took on new political characteristics and different ways of resolving problems.

The Gulf War and the decline of the USA-USSR confrontation radically changed aspects of policy in the Middle East, allowing the American administration to open the way to an agreement through the Peace Conference in Madrid (October 1991) and by bilateral negotiations. Documentation concerning this span of time will be the topic of a further volume.

The book is a period collection of thirty-one original documents: declarations, resolutions and plans concerning policy on the Middle East. There are ten documents issued by the European Community, e.g. the Declaration by the Twelve on the Decision of the Palestinian National Council (Brussels, 21 November 1988); the European Council Declaration on the Middle East (Dublin, 26 June 1990); ten by the United Nations and Security Council: Security Council Resolution 605 on the Situation in the Occupied Territories (22 December 1987); United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/44/L51 on the Question of Palestine; five by the Arab and Palestinian organisations: e.g., Extraordinary Arab Summit (Algiers, 7-9 June 1998); Palestine National Council: Palestinian Declaration of Independence (Algiers, 15 November 1988); three addresses: King Hussein of Jordan on disengagement from the occupied territories; Eduard Shevardnadze, "The Middle East: a Chance for a Historical Compromise"; and Yasir Arafat's speech at the United Nations General Assembly; and finally the Shultz (6 March 1988) and Shamir (14 May 1989) plans, and Murabak's "Ten Points".

They represent a very wide view of the relationships between the Middle East and the main organisations involved in this particular hot spot. The book is useful for primary research on this matter.

The volume has a presentation by the plenipotentiary minister Giuseppe Scarpa De Masellis which gives a very interesting analysis of the Middle East situation and the influence

on it of the political relationship between the USA and the USSR. A particular emphasis is given to the role of PLO. The book is accompanied by a very stimulating chronology of the events connected with the dispute between the Arabic world and Israel, covering the period from 23 February 1987 to 12 August 1990.

The "Servizio Storico e Documentazione" of the Italian Foreign Office intend this book to be the beginning of a series dedicated to major international problems.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE EARLY MODERN ERA: Trade, Power and Relief

Edited by Anthony Reid. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993. pp. xvi + 286. US\$45.65 hb; US\$17.55 pb.

This excellent collection of papers well illustrates the quality of contemporary historiography of early modern Southeast Asia: informed and sophisticated. As a collection, the balance between papers is judicious, and it is pleasing to see contributions on mainland states to offset the usual predominance of Indonesia in Southeast Asian studies (especially in Australia).

All ten authors of these substantial articles are established scholars writing on their areas of individual expertise. The papers are grouped under four headings, which, however, only partially reflect the four factors which Anthony Reid in his introduction identifies as the key processes already underway before the arrival of Europeans in the region. These were growth in trade; new military techniques; concentration of state power; and "the spread of externally validated scriptural orthodoxies in religion" (p. 10).

The first two papers are rather uncomfortably combined under "forming new states", for in neither Maluku nor in southern Vietnam were integral states finally formed. In his study of Maluku, Leonard Andaya argues not entirely convincingly for the existence of a "cultural state" among the islands, unified through acceptance of a common myth. But

while the emphasis placed on the cultural component in state formation is to be welcomed, states are concatenations of power relationships that are in the last analysis political.

Keith Taylor's study is primarily textual. He compares northern and southern accounts of Nguyen Hoang, founder of what became southern Vietnamese separatism, to examine notions of loyalty and legitimation, and argue that the Nguyen break with the Trinh lords of the north was possible because of the opportunities available on the southern Vietnamese frontier. In particular, the south was more open to the "larger world of Southeast Asia" and presented greater choice of action for a powerful figure like Nguyen Hoang.

The three articles grouped in the section on commerce cohere better. Luis Felipe Thomaz on the rise and fall of the Malay Sultanate of Melaka, Barbara Andaya's study of Jambi in Sumatra, and Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells on merchant capitalism all focus on the importance and impact of trading relations. For a trading centre like Melaka, these relations were complicated not only by the presence of influential foreign merchant communities — Gujaratis, Tamils, Javanese and Chinese — but also by such factors as relations with the hinterland, the expansion of Islam, and the ambitions of its rulers. The arrival of the Portuguese was but the catalyst that brought internal tensions to a head.

Melaka was above all a trade centre for the exchange of goods. Smaller ports were more often dependent on products brought downstream from the hinterland. In the case of Jambi, the trade was in pepper. Power relations between upstream growers and downstream port usually favoured the latter. What makes Jambi such a fascinating case study, as Barbara Andaya demonstrates, is that upstream growers in the Minangkabau highlands were not only politically organised, but also culturally dominant, which led to a much more drawn out and nuanced struggle for power than usually occurred.

The relationship between commerce and political power found expression in the broader context of Southeast Asia in the process of state formation. Wealth generated went to enhance the symbols of state power through the building of palaces, equipping of armies, and patronage of religion. Kathirithamby-Wells argues that not only did this limit accumulation of capital, but Southeast Asian polities failed to develop the legal and financial securities necessary for the development of merchant capitalism. And this

left European powers with the advantage.

In his own contribution, Anthony Reid focuses on the spread of both Islam and Christianity during the period from 1550-1650. Of the various factors that made this the "critical phase" in religious history of the region, Reid examines three: rapid commercialisation, especially from 1570 to 1630; increased ease of communication with both Europe and the Middle East, the "heartlands" of the two competing faiths; and the political element that had intruded into that competition. Southeast Asian societies responded by embracing one or the other with uncharacteristic fervour by distancing themselves from traditional beliefs, enforcing new creeds and laws, and even executing unbelievers.

As Yoneo Ishii shows with respect to Thailand, it was not only new religions that saw their social and political influence strengthened during this period. So too under the same impact of commerce, technological change and political centralisation did Theravada Buddhism through the nexus that was thereby strengthened between the Sangha and royal power.

The three papers in the final section all touch on how the important changes that occurred in the seventeenth century in Southeast Asia should be understood. Pierre-Yves Manguin examines why the great Southeast Asian trading fleets of the early sixteenth century had disappeared by the end of it. His conclusion is that they could not compete, not with the Portuguese, but with the Chinese and Gujaratis.

The last two papers contribute to the interpretation of the seventeenth century. Both Victor Lieberman and Dhiravat na Pombejra argue, with respect to Burma and Thailand respectively, that the "seventeenth-century crisis" brought about by a sharp decline in trade in the second half of the century that was marked in the Malay world was much less evident in the mainland states.

Lieberman argues that it would be wrong to see the transfer of the Burmese capital inland to Ava in 1635 as a response to a trade crisis, and that trade did not decline greatly throughout the century. In the case of Thailand, though overall trade declined, much of it was redirected, mainly towards China, thus mitigating any adverse effects. Such comparisons are important and contribute, as this volume of essays does as a whole, to deepening our understanding of the unity and variety of the region.

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