A GENEALOGY OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA
Scholars and Their Works

James J. Fox

INTRODUCTION: A CRITICAL PROVISO

Southeast Asian studies have developed to become a considerable field of study in Australia. Southeast Asia, as Australia's neighbouring region, has been the focus of national interest and this interest has encouraged considerable research and teaching in Australian universities for several decades. Yet “Southeast Asian Studies” as a whole has never been a unified subject of investigation nor can the study of Southeast Asia be extricated from other specific fields of research. Many of the individuals who have made the greatest contribution to the general field of Southeast Asian Studies have seen themselves primarily as contributors either to a particular discipline such as anthropology, politics, economics or demography or to the study of a particular country within Southeast Asia.

One might go further and argue that Southeast Asia could well be seen as a “transitory” category created in the period after the Second World War. Despite the existence of a political foundation through ASEAN for the present conception of Southeast Asia, views of this grouping of countries could well be reformulated in the future.
Although the category of Southeast Asia may be useful for certain purposes, there are other perspectives from which to view this same collection of countries. At different periods of history, various countries within the region have come under the cultural influence of either India or China and it is still possible to distinguish countries within the region accordingly. It is also possible to view these countries in terms of their predominant language families. Thus most of island Southeast Asia forms part of an Austronesian-speaking world. Similarly it is possible to view these countries in terms of their main constituent religions, in which case, Indonesia and Malaysia in particular form part of a Middle Eastern religious sphere.

This chapter offers a "genealogy" of some of the principal contributors to "Southeast Asian Studies" in Australia, even though many of these individuals would not themselves have identified their contribution as primarily directed to the creation of Southeast Asian Studies as such. In Australia, Southeast Asian Studies began through efforts to build disciplinary expertise on particular countries. In some cases, this involved a clear government-supported effort. This chapter will therefore proceed by looking first at the founding period and the initial founder figures in particular disciplines. These founder figures were responsible both for educating and recruiting the next generation. The chapter will also examine the institutional framework within which particular individuals carried out their research and teaching, focusing on specific disciplines and the intellectual succession that occurred within these disciplines.

I do this in relation to particular countries in Southeast Asia beginning with Indonesia because of its signal importance to Australia. This combination of discipline and area more closely approximates the way in which Southeast Asian Studies has been organized in Australia. In this chapter, I focus on the individual scholars and cite some of their chief scholarly work. For many versatile and prolific scholars, this thumbnail identification can, I admit, be misleading. I have called this examination a genealogy rather than a history because it provides the bare outline of the complex succession of scholars who together contributed to the creation of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia.

The development of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia is a story within a story. That larger story concerns the development of Australian universities in the post-war period, beginning with the establishment of the Australian National University (ANU) and continuing thereafter with the creation of new universities (Monash, University of New South Wales, Flinders, Griffith and Murdoch), all of which in varying degrees were open to the pursuit of studies on Southeast Asia.

THE FOUNDATION PERIOD:
THE FIRST GENERATION FROM 1955

Four universities figured in the initial development of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia. They were the Australian National University, Sydney University, Melbourne University, and Monash University. Sydney and Melbourne were long established centres of learning in Australia. The Australian National University and Monash University were founded after the Second World War. The Australian National University was established in 1946 with a special charter that required a focus on Asia and the Pacific. The ANU's focus on Southeast Asia was given impetus when it was merged with Canberra University College in 1961. It was also in 1961 that Monash was founded in Melbourne and began its initial efforts to create a Southeast Asian focus.

Although the University of Queensland never established a full-blown Southeast Asia studies programme and instead concentrated, from the mid-1950s, on the study of the history of the region, it could also be included among universities that initially contributed to the development of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia.

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The Australian National University was established in the immediate post-war period as a grouping of Schools within the Institute of Advanced Study. Among these Institutes was the Research School of Pacific Studies. "Pacific", at this time, was conceived of, according to one of the University's founders, as ranging "from the Americas to India". The anthropologist, Raymond Firth, was invited to be a member of the planning council of the University and was offered the position as the first Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies.

Although better known for his initial research on the Pacific, Firth had done research in Malaya and, had he accepted the position as Director, he might have contributed impressively to Southeast Asian Studies in Australia. When he declined the position, the task of shaping the School fell to others with different interests. Initial research focused on Papua New Guinea, the Pacific Islands, Aboriginal Australia and, within Asia, on China and to a lesser extent Japan. It was not until Professor Wang Gungwu was appointed as Director of the Research School in 1975 that research on Southeast Asia began to develop rapidly.
At the time of the founding of the ANU, Canberra already had a “Canberra University College” which was affiliated with Melbourne University. Eventually in 1961, this College was merged with the ANU to become The School of General Studies. Already in 1952, a School of Oriental Languages was established within the Canberra University College and Professor Hans Biezenstein was appointed as its Chair. The initial Oriental languages taught within this School were Chinese, Japanese and Russian. After the merger with the ANU, Biezenstein’s Department became the Faculty of Oriental Studies and continued as such until 1970 when its name was changed to the Faculty of Asian Studies. For a period, Oriental Studies and the Department of Far Eastern History in the Research School of Pacific Studies formed the “Centre of Oriental Studies” at the ANU.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDONESIAN STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA

In 1955, during Prime Minister Menzies’ government, the Commonwealth Office of Education wrote to three universities in Australia offering funding for Indonesian and Malayan Studies. The three universities to which this money was offered were: the Australian National University (more specifically, Canberra University College with its already established School of Oriental Languages), Sydney University and Melbourne University. Each of these universities took a different pathway for developing these studies.

In some government circles, expertise on Indonesia, Australia’s neighbour to the north, was felt to be vital for future relations, even though in academic circles, there was preference to continue to develop a more traditional Orientalist focus on China, Japan and India. Thus, for example, the Canberra University College submitted an alternative proposal for Indian Studies but the Office of Education insisted on Indonesian Studies. Finding suitable staff to build such a programme was, at the time, a considerable task.

Professor Biezenstein, a China scholar, was given this recruitment task in Canberra and he decided upon a young scholar, Anthony H. Johns, trained at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London who was at the time teaching in Indonesia. It took over two years before Johns could conclude his contract and come to Australia. He arrived in 1958 and in 1960, as the ANU-CUC merger was occurring, began the recruitment of a remarkable group of Indonesians who provided the basis for the teaching of the Indonesian language as the first Southeast Asian language to be taught at the ANU.

In 1956, in the initial phase of the Indonesian teaching programme, lectures in Bahasa Indonesia were given at the College by the Cultural Attaché, Mr Supangkat, of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra. In 1957, for a period of two years, the Indonesian government provided a member of the Indonesian Ministry of Education, Mr Amir Hamzah to teach Indonesian language.

DEPARTMENT OF INDONESIAN LANGUAGES IN CANBERRA: FROM PHILOLOGY TO LITERATURE

Anthony H. Johns was a key figure in the development of Southeast Asian Studies at the ANU. In 1964, he was appointed as Professor of Indonesian Languages and Literature. He was a seminal figure in the training of successive generations of Indonesianists who did major research on Malay, Indonesian, Javanese and Balinese. He was also a scholar with a deep interest in Arabic and he was critical in directing researchers to the study of Islam in Southeast Asia. Remarkably, as Emeritus Professor, he continues to carry on his research and to advise students at the ANU to the present.

In his inaugural lecture as Professor, Johns noted that “philology for its own sake has dominated Indonesian studies” and that he intended to foster an effort that would lead to a wider purview of Malay and Javanese literary traditions: “…philology is a good servant, but a very bad master”. Johns trained students who adopted this view. All of his initial appointees as teaching staff were Indonesians who could provide ANU students with a solid grounding in Indonesian and Javanese and all of them went on to produce major works of their own. S. Soebardi who was appointed in 1961, Soewito Santoso who was appointed in 1964, and Soepomo who was appointed in 1970 all produced nuanced studies of important Javanese texts: Soebardi: The Book of Cahidhik (1975), Soewito Santoso: Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Warjajana (1975), and Soepomo: Arjuna-wijaya: A Kakawin of Mpu Tantular (1977). The noted writer and author of Abbas, Achdiat Miharja was also appointed in 1961 and he was joined in 1975 by Yohanni Johns who went on to produce what became for many years the most popular textbook for learning Indonesian in Australia, Bahasa Indonesia: Lengkap Baru, A New Approach.

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS IN CANBERRA

Another founder figure at the ANU was Heinz Arndt in Economics. Like Johns, Arndt was originally a member of the Canberra University College...
and became part of the Australian National University at the time of the merger of the two entities. While John was located in the "Faculties" at the ANU, Arndt became the Head of Economics in the Research School of Pacific Studies. In this position, he went on to establish the study of the Indonesian economy in Australia but, as he himself recounts (Arndt 1985), this was initially a formidable task. In fact he was strongly discouraged from undertaking such work because of the state of the Indonesian economy during the chaotic, inflationary phase of the Sukarno government in late 1964. He nonetheless visited Indonesia and made contact with the group of economists, popularly known as the "Berkeley Mafia", who later became ministers in the Soeharto government.

With a grant from the Ford Foundation and the editorial assistance of Ruth Doreyman, he was able to publish the first issue of the Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies—an eighty-page offset-print produced by the printery of the Research School of Pacific Studies that appeared in June 1965. The Bulletin as a journal continues today in more or less the same format and is certainly one of Arndt's notable achievements. The Bulletin appears three times a year and each year includes a "Survey of Recent Developments" in the Indonesian economy. Arndt produced seventeen of these surveys in the early days of the journal's existence, which required him to make frequent visits to Indonesia. From 1966, he visited Indonesia four or five times a year, staying for three to four weeks to write his survey.

In building a programme on Indonesia and then more widely on Southeast Asia, Arndt recruited to his department a number of research scholars. Three individuals were particularly important: David Penny who came from Cornell University with a strong rural sociology background to do research on Indonesia, R.M. Sundrum who came from Rangoon University and did research on a range of countries, and E.K. (Fred) Fisk who arrived from the University of Malaya.

Penny's 1964 thesis at Cornell was on the transition from subsistence to commercial farming in North Sumatra. At the ANU, he developed a productive collaboration with Masri Singarimburun in the study of Javanese village poverty in a site known as Sirihuro (Penny and Singarimburun 1973). Sundrum's appointment led to a long and varied career in the Department of Economics and collaboration with different colleagues, including Arndt. A good example of their early collaboration was a short monograph they did together on transmigration in Indonesia (1977). Fisk's work, like Penny's, had a rural focus. In 1964, he published a book on the rural economy of Southeast Asia and in his early years in the department edited two books on Malaya/Malaysia with different colleagues (Fisk and Silcock 1963; Fisk and Osman-Rani 1982). Thomas Silcock, Fisk's first collaborator on Malaya, was a Visiting Fellow in Economics. He was a fluent Thai-speaker and was responsible for an early edited volume on development in Thailand (1967) as well as a study of Thai agriculture (1970). He maintained a productive association with the department and continued to work on Thailand.

**ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES AT THE ANU**

Another less prominent but nonetheless important founding figure in a genealogy of Southeast Asian Studies at the ANU was Derek Freeman. Trained in London and at Cambridge University, Freeman wrote one of the finest ethnographies of its kind on the Iban of Sarawak. Until his retirement, his work continued to attract students interested in the Iban in particular and in Borneo in general but not long after his arrival in Canberra in 1955, he turned his attention to Samoa where he had done previous research and then to issues in the intersection of anthropology and biology.

The founding Professor of Anthropology was Siegfried Nadel who died suddenly in 1956 and was replaced by John Barnes who was already a Professor at Sydney University. Barnes took upon himself the task of requiring students to do research on Indonesia and thus Anthropology was among the first departments to produce Indonesianist graduates, all of whom did research on Sumatra. Donald Tugby received his Ph.D. in 1960 for research on the Mandailing Batak Mervyn Janpan in 1964 for research on the Rejang and Masri Singarimburun in 1965 for research among his own people, the Karo Barak.

Masri Singarimburun was a remarkable individual who not only published a "classic" study on the Karo (1975); he also collaborated in early work with the rural economist, David Penny. More significantly, he stayed on in Canberra to train himself as a demographer. When he returned to Indonesia, he was able to establish the Population Studies Centre (Lembaga Kependudukan) at Gadjah Mada University which became a significant centre for research, particularly on Java. Toward the end of his career, the ANU awarded him an Honorary Doctorate for his many achievements.

Another early graduate of this period who combined archaeology and anthropology was Campbell Macknight who wrote his thesis (1969) on the Macassan trepang industry in Northern Australia. The book based on his thesis was published in 1976; he went on to do substantial research, at the ANU and later in Tasmania, on the Bugis of South Sulawesi.
Gehan Wijeyewardene joined the Anthropology Department in 1964 with a research background in Ceylon. However, he soon shifted his interests to northern Thailand and created the long-standing Thai-Yaman Research Project.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND PREHISTORY AT THE ANU

Almost from the outset, archaeological research of various kinds was carried out in different parts of the ANU, through a Prehistory Department that separated from Anthropology in the Research School of Pacific Studies, through a Department of Prehistory and Anthropology in the Faculty of Arts and by particular individuals in the Faculty of Asian Studies. This research focused on very different time periods: ranging from the early Pleistocene to the late Pleistocene and Holocene and into the classical period of Southeast Asian kingdoms.

The first ANU archaeological research in Southeast Asia was carried out by English students, J. M. Matthews and Ian Glover. Matthews wrote a thesis in 1964 on "Hoabinhian" in Southeast Asia. Glover, on the other hand, carried out extended excavations in what was then Portuguese Timor in 1966-67. Two years later, in 1969, John Mulvaney, in cooperation with the Indonesian archaeologist R.P. Soejono who had been a visitor to Canberra the year before, led a major expedition to South Sulawesi, bringing with him Macknight who had just finished his Macassan thesis and Glover who was still working on his. Much of this initial research set a pattern for the future.

Glover finished his thesis in 1972 and published the major monograph on this work in 1986. On taking up a position at the Institute of Archaeology in London, Glover excavated adjacent sites to the first ANU sites and produced a number of studies establishing a long sequence for the area.

Helmut Looff-Wissowa who had joined the Faculty of Asian Studies was at this time beginning his ANU career focusing on the classical archaeology of mainland Southeast Asia. In 1970, he published a basic volume on Vietnamese archaeology.

HISTORY IN THE RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES AT THE ANU

The history of Southeast Asia had its first hesitant beginnings in the study of British colonial history and as a consequence there was to begin with more interest in Malaya than with Indonesia. Much depended on an initial cohort of graduates. Emma (Emily) Sadka who came to the ANU in 1954 from Singapore as a Ph.D. student and wrote her thesis on the residential system in the protected Malay states (1960) was invited by the founding professor in History, Jim Davidson, a specialist on the Pacific, to assist him in developing a focus on Southeast Asia. She was instrumental in training a number of Ph.D. graduates to do this research. Among them were William Roff, Chris Wade and Chris Posden.

Roff did his thesis (1965) on the origins of Malay nationalism, which was published as a book in 1967; he went on to have a distinguished research career which focused on the study of Malaysia. Wade's thesis (1966) looked at nineteenth-century Johore but was never published as a book. Posden wrote his thesis (1968) on Dutch colonial education policy and practice in Indonesia in the first part of the twentieth century and continued to publish regularly on the colonial period and some of Indonesia's key nationalists. He took up an appointment at the University of Queensland where he continued the tradition begun by Bastin and Tatling, focusing on the history of Southeast Asia.

When Sadka died unexpectedly in 1968, Davidson recruited the Oxford-trained Indianist, Christine Dobbin as a research fellow. She turned her attention to Indonesia and published a number of studies, including an excellent examination of the Padri war (1983).

DEMOGRAPHY IN THE RESEARCH SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AT THE ANU

Demography at the ANU established the beginnings of a Southeast Asian interest through the training of its students. Jack Caldwell, who pioneered the development of demographic research in a wide spectrum of directions, wrote a thesis on the population of Malaya in 1962. He was joined in the Department by Gavin Jones who wrote his thesis on labour in Malaya in 1966. Together these two figures became a mainstay of the Department of Demography into the 1990s. Jones' work on an array of issues in the demography of Indonesia and of Southeast Asia (1984, 1994) laid a strong foundation for this field. In the early days of the Department, however, Jones and Caldwell were responsible for recruiting Mari Singaramun as a research fellow to work on the demography of Indonesia. This led to a close relationship between demography at the ANU and what was to develop as the Population Institute in Yogyakarta.
Do fieldwork among the Dayak of Kalimantan. After the publication of his first ethnography (1976), he followed Geddes' lead in doing further research in northern Thailand and then went on to do research on Bali. Another of Geddes' students was Peter Hinton who continued research on Thailand at Sydney.

Among the first to develop interests in the politics of Southeast Asia at Sydney University was Michael Leigh who did his Ph.D. at Cornell on political leadership in Sarawak in 1967. His first study of Sarawak, The Rising Moon: Political Change in Sarawak, was published by Sydney University Press in 1974. In his long career, Leigh held various positions including a Professorship in Sarawak before being appointed as the Director of the Asia Institute in Melbourne. In the 1970s, Leigh was joined by Michael van Langenberg who completed a Ph.D. thesis at Sydney on national revolution in North Sumatra in 1976. Langenberg continued a tradition of critical analysis at Sydney that was focused on political economy. This was a tradition begun by Rex Mortimer who was appointed at Sydney after obtaining his Ph.D. at Monash in 1976. Richard Robison, another student in this tradition, finished his thesis at Sydney on capitalism and the bureaucratic state in Indonesia in 1979 and moved to Murdoch University in Western Australia where he had a distinguished and prolific career. One of Robison's important early studies was Indonesia: The Rise of Capital (1980); his work became directed to the study of Southeast Asia as a whole. With one of his students, Garry Rodan, he produced The Political Economy of South-East Asia: An Introduction (1997) and followed this with a succession of books on various aspects of the political economy of the region.

**INDONESIAN AND MALAYAN STUDIES IN MELBOURNE**

The third bequest of funding from the Commonwealth government for the establishment of Indonesian and Malay studies was made to Melbourne University. Melbourne adopted another model for the development of these studies. As in Canberra, the initial teaching of Indonesian at Melbourne in 1956 was provided and supported by the Indonesian government through the secondment of a member of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr Zainuddin. Thereafter, for the creation of its Department of Indonesian and Malay Studies, the University appointed one of its own scholars, a Melbourne graduate, Jamie Mackin, who had studied at Oxford and had spent two years working as a Colombo Plan expert in
the Indonesian Planning Bureau. On his appointment in 1958, Mackie set out to establish a programme that would examine Indonesia's political and economic development. The programme included the study of the Indonesian language. Together with J.P. Sarumpaet, Mackie produced the introductory text for the study of Indonesian. Mackie, by his determination to create a broader understanding of Indonesia in Australia, can be considered the first Australian to develop a distinct focus on contemporary Indonesia as a political, social and economic entity.

When, however, Monash University was established in 1961, the historian John Legge was appointed as a foundation professor. He recruited the political scientist Herb Feith to join him in establishing the programme that led to the creation of the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies at this new university. To a certain extent, the Monash Centre was modelled on the Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University. Feith did his Ph.D. at Cornell and Legge had spent time there. They were among the first wave of Australians to make their way to study at Cornell and then return to Australia, thus initiating a long-standing connection between Southeast Asian Studies programmes there and in Australia.

The Centre became a remarkable confluence of scholars of different political persuasions who were nevertheless united in a common interest in Indonesia in particular and the region in general. Besides Legge and Feith, these scholars included Cyril Skinner. Michael Swift from the British Anthropology tradition and Lode Brakel from Leiden's "Indische" studies tradition added to this group. In 1968, Jamie Mackie was lured from Melbourne University to Monash to become the Research Director of the Centre making it the leading centre in Australia for the study of Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Another figure to join this group was Barbara Harvey, an American with diplomatic experience in Indonesia and a degree from Cornell (1974) for a thesis on Islam and rebellion in Sulawesi.

Each of these scholars made notable contributions to the study of Southeast Asia. Legge first gained recognition for his Cornell monograph on central authority and local autonomy in Indonesia (1961), then for his general book on Indonesia (1964) and, most significantly for his political biography of Sukarno (1972). Feith also wrote a Cornell monograph on Indonesian politics (1961) and then followed this with his influential study of the decline of constitutional democracy (1962). Merrimer wrote the first of the Monash Southeast Asia Centre papers on the Communist Party's campaign for land reform (1972) and two years later, produced his major study of Communism under Sukarno (1973). Harvey's monograph on the Permena rebellion was published in 1977. Mackie's publications were wide-ranging. As Research Director, he published a monograph on Sakarno's Confrontation (1974) and on the Chinese in Indonesia (1976). Skinner provided a contrast in the group. He was the elder of the Monash group and maintained a scholarly tradition of historical and textual analysis focused as much on Malay as on Indonesia through such works as his edited translation of a rhymed chronicle of the Macassar war (1963) and his monograph on the civil war in Kelantan in 1839 (1966). Michael Swift wrote about Malay peasant society (1965) and Brakel worked on Malay manuscripts (1975). Rex Mortimer was one of the first students to study with Feith; his thesis on the Indonesian Communist Party, completed in 1970, was published in 1974.

Some years later, David Chandler joined the Monash Centre providing it with greater focus on mainland Southeast Asia, in Chandler's case, Cambodia. His extensive publications (1972, 1983, 1996) covered the land, people and history of Cambodia.

One of the most useful initiatives began in 1959 at Melbourne University was the formation of an informal discussion group that extended well beyond academia to include anyone with an interest in Indonesia. The group would meet regularly to discuss current developments in Indonesia and became known as the Contemporary Indonesia Study Group. Eventually the organization for this group shifted to Monash University where it still exists and continues to meet to this day.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

The University of Queensland was not a recipient of the initial Australian government funding provided to the universities in Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney. It did not therefore develop a language programme for Indonesian but instead came to focus attention on the study of the history of the region and its politics. The British historian, John Rainton, was the first to teach on Southeast Asian history during a year's appointment from 1955 to 1956 and he was succeeded by Nicholas Tarling who taught at the university until 1965 when he accepted a position in New Zealand. Over his long career, Tarling has been enormously prolific. During his time at Queensland, he wrote on Anglo-Dutch rivalry (1962) and also on piracy and politics (1963) in the Malay world and published a short history of Southeast Asia (1966). Later he was responsible for editing The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia (1992).
THE TRANSITION TO A SECOND GENERATION AT THE ANU

At the ANU, two figures of the founding generation were notable for the number of students whom they trained and who then contributed their careers in Indonesian studies. These two figures are Professor Anthony Johns and Professor Heinz Arndt.

Professor Johns produced a number of distinguished students who, in turn, contributed to the development of Indonesian, Javanese and Balinese studies. Among these students were scholars who stayed on to teach at the Australian National University: Ann Kumar whose dissertation on Surabati published in 1976 combined both historical and textual analysis, and Ian Proudfoot who wrote his thesis on a tale told within the Mekhakarta (1977). Both Kumar and Proudfoot published extensively across a wide range of subjects; thus, for example, Kumar’s The Diary of Javanese Muslim (1985) which provides a marvellous glimpse into nineteenth century relations about key figures in Islamic learned society. Proudfoot wrote on early printed Malay books (1993) but also delved deeply into the study of old Muslim calendars (2006).

Other students who did their undergraduate study at the ANU in Indonesian studies went on elsewhere for their further degrees. Heather Sutherland went from the ANU to Yale University where she wrote her thesis on the Javanese priaq that was eventually published in 1979. Barbara Hazley also went on to Yale where she did an MA but returned to Australia to complete her Ph.D. at Sydney University on Kesbynguk theatre in Yogyakarta in 1985. The book based on her long study of Javanese performance was finally published in 2008, by which time she had been appointed as the Foundation Professor in Indonesian at the University of Tasmania. Chris Manning, another of these undergraduate students, went on to do his Ph.D. in Economics at the ANU.

In Economics, Arndt produced a significant number of able students: Peter McCawley, Ross Garnaut, Anne Booth, Howard Dick, Hal Hill and Chris Manning, all of whom went on to have distinguished careers. McCawley wrote his thesis on the Indonesian electricity industry in 1971, Garnaut on Australian trade with Southeast Asia in 1972, Booth on Indonesian land tax in 1974, Dick on the Indonesian interisland shipping industry in 1977, Hill on the Indonesian weaving industry in 1979, and Manning on the labour market in Indonesian manufacturing also in 1979.

For a while, all of these scholars were in Canberra and worked together in various ways. Garnaut and Manning co-authored a monograph on

Brian Jaya (1974) which was valuable for its time. Booth and McCawley edited an important volume, The Indonesian Economy during the Sukarno Era (1981), which Arndt, in his autobiography, A Course through Life (1985, p. 66), considered a coming-of-age for the department in its research on Indonesia.

McCawley eventually left the Department to work first in AusAID and then for the Asian Development Bank. Booth was a productive stalwart of the department for many years writing on agriculture. One of her most important books while she was in the Department was Agricultural Development in Indonesia (1988) as a Southeast Asian Studies monograph. Dick moved to the University of Melbourne. He published a revised version of his thesis in 1986 and, in 2002, a socioeconomic history of Surabaya, Surabaya, A City of Work, that covers the whole of the twentieth century. Garnaut remained in the Department but turned his attention to China. For several years during the Hawke government, he served as Australian Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China. Hill, too, stayed on in the Department. Hill’s research looked at Indonesian industry but he also studied the Philippine economy and edited several important volumes on the Philippines and on Indonesian regional economic development. Manning also remained in the Department, continuing to write on labour in Indonesia culminating in his major study in 1998. They were joined by Ross McLeod who had also done a Ph.D. at the ANU. Together the three of them took over, in turn, the running of the “Indonesia Project” at the ANU and in particular, the continuing publication of the Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies (BIES), which, in 2012, had reached its 48th volume. The Bulletin has provided an extraordinary record, in many ways unique of its kind, in documenting the development of the Indonesian economy.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES

The Research School of Pacific Studies [later, the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies], was part of the Institute of Advanced Study at the ANU and as such, it received its research support in a “block grant” from the Australian government. Its primary task was research and its Ph.D. programme was considered part of its research effort. Those enrolled for a Ph.D. in the Research School were referred to, at the time, as Research Scholars. The School had a relatively small number of tenured faculty with a large number of “Research Fellows” and “Senior Research Fellows” whose appointments could range from two to five years and could, in some
instances, be renewed for another five years. This arrangement gave the Research School the capacity to hire outstanding individuals for extended periods of time to concentrate on their research and publications. In addition, the Research School had a strong Visiting Fellows programme that offered scholars support for several months to participate in research programmes within the School.

Several developments in the Research School set the stage for further research on Southeast Asia. One important appointment in 1968 was that of Wang Guangwu, who — though appointed to head East Asian History — was a person with a deep interest and knowledge of Southeast Asia. When he became Director of the Research School in 1975, he actively promoted the development of Southeast Asian Studies.

An important appointment was that of Anthony Reid. He began in Wellington where he had studied with Emma Sadka before moving to Cambridge to do his doctorate on Aceh. Although he was appointed in 1970, he took leave in 1973 for two years to teach at Yale and only returned in 1975. Reid, in particular, maintained a commitment to the study of the whole of Southeast Asia and was intimately involved in promoting interdisciplinary research on the region. While continuing to work on Aceh and Sumatra in general, Reid was an enthusiastic organizer of symposia and maintained a continuing commitment to the history of Southeast Asia. He gained international recognition for his Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1880 and after leaving the ANU for the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and, later, to become Director of the Asia Research Institute at the University of Singapore, he continued to be a vital figure in Southeast Asian Studies.

One can date the emergence of another generation from the early 1970s. By this time, a number of students of Johns and Arndt held positions at the ANU and were soon joined by a cohort of graduates from Cornell or Yale along with a few graduates, like Reid, from either Oxford or Cambridge. Thus, for example, in 1972, Lance Castles returned from Yale to a research fellowship in the History Department; Leonard Andaya and Rey Ito arrived in 1973–74. They were the first Cornell appointees to history, though Herb Feith had himself held a position briefly in the Research School before moving to Monash.

Leonard Andaya was accompanied by his wife, Barbara Watson Andaya. She had been educated at Sydney, did her MA at Hawaii, submitted her Ph.D. at Cornell in 1975 and took up a position at the ANU in 1977. Leonard’s study of the kingdom of Johor (1975) and Barbara’s study of Perak (1979) were a beautifully complementary set of early historical studies.

Indicative of this new effort was a symposium held in Canberra in April 1973 and published in 1975 on "Pre-colonial state systems in Southeast Asia". Contributors included a range of young scholars: Reid, Castles, Worley who returned to Sydney to take over the Department of Indonesian and Malay Studies, Dobbins who was teaching at Flinders, Leonard and wife Barbara Andaya, Campbell Macknight who was lecturing in history at the ANU and students such as Virginia Matheson Hooker who was doing her Ph.D. at Monash and Alfonso van der Kraan who was doing his at the ANU.

Virginia Matheson Hooker, a graduate of Monash University, was later appointed in Anthony John’s Department; she cooperated with Barbara Andaya to produce an annotated translation of the Tuhfat al Nafs, entitled The Provisions Gift (1982), which was inspired by Johns’ early study, The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet (1965). She went on to write a perspicacious examination of the development of the Malay novel (2000) and, together with Greg Fealy, to compile a major source book on contemporary Islam in Southeast Asia: Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia (2000).

In 1975, when Wang Guangwu was appointed Director of the Research School there was beginning to emerge a critical mass of research scholars across several disciplines that was able to attract students interested in studying Southeast Asia.

In 1973, James J. Fox was appointed to a position in the Department of Anthropology and given the explicit task of developing a strong programme on the anthropology of Indonesia. Fox came from Oxford via Harvard with a primary interest in eastern Indonesia, which, at the time, was a region that was hardly studied, despite its proximity to Australia. His first book, Harvest of the Palm (1977), had both an historical and ecological focus on the Timor region and was followed by various comparative volumes on the social structure (1980) and ritual languages (1988) of eastern Indonesia. Soon after his arrival, however, he developed an interest in Java and made this his second area of research. Later, in the 1980s, he initiated the Comparative Austronesian Project at the ANU, thus viewing island Southeast Asia socially and culturally a distinct part of the Austronesian-speaking world. The Project produced a series of publications that has continued.

David Marr took up a permanent position in History in 1977 adding a focus on modern Southeast Asian history, particularly Vietnam. His work provided a continuing exploration of twentieth century Vietnamese history (1971, 1981, 1995).

Also significantly, in 1978, Jamie Mackie was appointed Foundation Professor in the new Department of Political and Social Change in the
Research School; he was joined by Ron May who did his research both on New Guinea and the Philippines. As his first staff member, he recruited William O'Malley from Cornell University and not long afterwards, two other recent Australian Ph.D. graduates, Colin Brown and Ken Young for his first major project on Java. Thereafter he hired Brian Fegan to do research on the Philippines, specifically Luzon, to provide a comparative perspective on Java. More importantly, he appointed Harold Crouch whose work on the Indonesian military (1978) and on Malaysian politics (1982, 1996) was particularly notable. At about this same time, both Colin Batlow and Peter Warr were appointed in Economics: Batlow to do research on rubber and other export crops from Indonesia and Malaysia (1978) and Warr on the agricultural development of both the Philippines and Thailand (1993).

Elsewhere in the University, there was also a developing interest in Southeast Asia. Although members of the Demography Department cooperated closely with colleagues in the Research School, it always remained within the Research School of Social Sciences. Its Ph.D. programme was particularly productive at an early date. Peter McDonald finished his thesis in 1972 and in 1975, three more distinguished graduates — Terry Hull, Valerie Hull and Graeme Hugo — submitted their Ph.D.s, all written on demographic issues in Indonesia.

Although McDonald's thesis was on the demography of Australia, he published various substantial works on marriage and divorce in West Java and on the Indonesian census (1983). Hugo's thesis was on population mobility in West Java. He published extensively on the demographic dimension of development in Indonesia and in the Asia-Pacific region (1981, 1987). Both of these researchers went on in their careers to concentrate their attention on Australian demographic development. The Hulls, on the other hand, remained focused on Indonesia and the Asian region. They co-operated and collaborated on research on Java through Masri Sangarinab's Population Institute in Yogakarta (1976). At the ANU, Terry Hull also published with Gavin Jones (1999) as well as publishing a host of reports on fertility, child mortality and family planning.

In 1973, Anthony Forge was appointed Foundation Professor in Anthropology in the Faculties. Although his major work had been in the Sepik, prior to coming to Australia, he had done a year's fieldwork on Bali, studying, in particular, Balinese art. Fox and Forge had met on Bali and had spent time together so that, once in Canberra, they were able to develop strong cooperation between anthropology in the Research School and in the Faculties.

Initially, as a return gesture for Australian Aid under the Colombo Plan, the Thai government supplied a teacher Ajar Wiput Sophawong (1975-78) to begin the teaching of Thai. In 1978, Anthony Diller took up a position to teach Thai on a permanent basis. Diller had done his work on the southern Thai dialect. During his time at the ANU, while continuing his linguistic research, he developed a vigorous programme of Thai language studies. Anthony Milner, a graduate of Macquarie University who completed his Ph.D. at Cornell in 1978, returned to Australia in 1980 via the University of Kent at Canterbury to teach in the History Department in the Faculties. His early work was on Malay cultural history but soon broadened to take in a wider range of issues relating to Southeast Asia. Peter Bellwood in the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology in the Faculties, whose first research had been on Polynesia, shifted his interests to focus on the archaeology and early history of what he called the Indo-Malayan archipelago (1985). In the late 1970s, Margot Lynn was appointed in this same Department to provide Indonesian anthropological expertise.

The milestone event at the ANU in the study of Indonesia was a seminar organized over several weeks in late 1979 that drew on all the expertise throughout the university to examine the course of Indonesian development from its geological beginnings to its most current political and economic policies. The results of this seminar were published as a single massive volume, Indonesia: Australian Perspectives (Fox et al. 1980) and in three separate volumes, Indonesia, The Making of a Culture (1980); Indonesia: Dualism, Growth and Poverty (1980); and, Indonesia, The Making of a Nation (1980).

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIAN STUDIES FROM THE MID-1970S ONWARD

The formation of a second generation of Southeast Asianists in Australia occurred rapidly in the 1970s. Australia widened its focus to other countries in the region and made a considerable effort to develop an appropriate range of scholarly expertise. At the same time, the early efforts to advance the study of Indonesia in Australia led to a veritable explosion of further scholarly research on Indonesia. This was in particular a period of expansion of the teaching of Indonesia in many universities in Australia.

1976 was an important year for Asian Studies in Australia. This was the year that the Asian Studies Association of Australia was founded and
immediately set to work to promote Asian Studies, including Southeast Asian Studies, in Australia. At the time, the main Asian languages studied in Australia were Japanese, Chinese and Indonesian. In the early 1970s, Indonesian was taught only at Sydney University, Melbourne University, Monash and the ANU. However in 1975, the School of Modern Asian Studies was established at Griffith University in Brisbane and began teaching Indonesian and a year later in 1976, Flinders University in South Australia established an Asian Studies programme featuring Indonesia. For a period in the 1970s, James Cook University in Townsville also taught Indonesian in its Modern Languages programme. This was also the period when a number of variously named Asian Studies or Southeast Asian Studies centres were established in universities. Some of these centres prospered while others failed to reach the critical mass necessary for a viable programme.

The School of Modern Asian Studies recruited Julia Howell from the United States and Robert Elson, one of Legge’s students. Howell had an interest in Javanese religion and from this base developed a particular interest in Sufism in Java. Elson proved to be perhaps the most prolific of Indonesian historians, publishing major studies at regular intervals that began with studies on Java’s sugar industry and the cultivation system and went on to include a biography of Soeharto and a history of the idea of Indonesia (1984, 1994, 2001, 2008). These two scholars were joined by John Butler who began his career doing research on the colonial history of Southeast Asia at Hull University (1979) and then moved on to write an important study on the marine fisheries of the region (2004).

Robert Cribb, who did Asian Studies at the University of Queensland before going on to do his Ph.D. at the School of Oriental and African Studies, also taught for a period at Griffith University as well as the University of Queensland. In 2003, he joined the Department of Asian and Pacific History in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the ANU. His early historical research focused on the revolution in Indonesia: *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People’s Militia and the Indonesian Revolution, 1945–1949* (1991). While at Griffith he wrote a modern history of Indonesia with Colin Brown (1995) and at the ANU he produced a *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History* (2005a).

Other graduates who did their doctoral research in England before taking up positions in Australia were Clive Kessler whose Ph.D. research at the University of London was on the Malaysian state of Kelantan and then, some years later, Kenneth Young whose research, also at the University of London, was on the Minangkabau anti-tax rebellion of 1908. Kessler became an established researcher and commentator on Malaysia at the University of

New South Wales while Young did his research on Indonesia at a number of universities in Melbourne, Canberra and Wollongong. Another graduate with an overseas Ph.D., Jean G. Taylor whose research was done at the University of Wisconsin, has taught for many years at the University of New South Wales. Her splendid book on the social world of Baravia, first published in 1983, was republished in a 2nd edition in 2009.

Graduates of Monash who trained at the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies dispersed throughout Australia. Besides Elson who went to Griffith and Crouch who went to the ANU, Ulf Sundhaussen moved to the University of Queensland, John Ingleton to the University of New South Wales and Charles Coppel to Melbourne University; James Schiller, with his wife Barbara Martin-Schiller, established themselves at Flinders University. Richard Tantter, after teaching in Japan, took up an appointment at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. The anthropologist, Michael Pinches, took a position at the University of Western Australia after completing his Ph.D. on a shanty town in the Philippines and somewhat later the political scientist David Bourcier who did his thesis on Indonesia also went to the University of Western Australia. Yet another Monash graduate, Damien Kingsbury was appointed at Deakin University. Susan Abeyasekere–Blackburn who wrote her thesis on Indonesian nationalism remained at Monash.

Sundhaussen whose thesis focused on the Indonesian officer corps published his study of Indonesian military politics in 1982; some years later, he and Chris Penders collaborated to write the political biography of Indonesian general, Abdul Haris Nasution (1985). Ingleton published an important study of the Indonesian nationalist movement in 1979 as the first volume in the Southeast Asia publication series of the Asian Studies Association; his study of workers’ unions in colonial Java appeared in 1986 as the 12th volume in this series; Coppel’s study on Indonesian Chinese published in 1983 was the 8th volume in the series. He continued to publish on the ethnic Chinese of Indonesia (2002) and on the violence affecting them and others in the country (2006). Schiller’s work focused on local government; his wife, whose Monash thesis was on an upland village in Java, joined him in a study of the town of Jepara on Java’s north coast (1996).

Tantter’s Ph.D. was on the intelligence agencies in Indonesia, an interest which he continued to develop to include the wider Asian region. His research has also been on the politics of the middle class in Indonesia. Bourcier’s concerns with Indonesian political thought have also drawn him to research on issues of democracy and dissent in the country. Kingsbury has extended
his critical research on Indonesia to the Southeast Asian region in general and to East Timor in particular.

Susan Aberyasekere published variously on the Indonesian nationalist movement (1976) and then wrote a history of Jakarta (1987); later as Susan Blackburn, she did research on a range of feminist issues (2004).

FACILITATING ASIAN STUDIES AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

In 1989, the Asian Studies Association published a comprehensive report on Asian Studies in Australia, officially known as "Asia in Australian Education" but unofficially referred to as the "FitzGerald Report" after the Chairman of the Report’s Committee, Stephen FitzGerald. This was the first and perhaps the most important report of its kind. It was in three volumes. The first volume consisted of 99 pages with 75 detailed resolutions/recommendations, many of them made up of several parts; the second, shorter volume provided a survey of Asian Studies in the country, while the third merely summarized the Report’s resolutions. The Report called for the development of Asian Studies in schools, leading to more advanced study at university level. In particular, it recommended the teaching of “second-tier” languages — in the case of Southeast Asia, Thai, Vietnamese and Tagalog — at a tertiary institution.

This Report did not attempt to promote an area-studies approach in Australia. It pressed for the teaching of languages as essential to the study of Asia and then remarked on the practice, already developed in several Australian universities, of combining a discipline with knowledge of a country and its language. The Report thus called for “Asian content in discipline-based courses” (Resolution 1), in particular.

A key element in the development of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia was the existence in Canberra of the National Library of Australia. The Library had a long-standing policy acquiring books on and from the Asia-Pacific region and continues to maintain this policy to the present. The Library collects language and other research materials on (1) Indonesia, (2) Thailand, (3) Vietnam, (4) Cambodia and (5) Burma/Myanmar and has a separate "Regional Asia" collection devoted to Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. The ANU Menzies Library, located directly opposite the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, has the second largest collection of books on Asia, making Canberra a focus for research on Asia.

Another innovation that began in the early 1980s at the ANU had a far-reaching effect on the way that Southeast Asian Studies was publicly perceived. On the 3rd of November 1983, the first Indonesia Update was held. The idea behind this and all subsequent “Updates” was to provide a public presentation of current developments in a particular country along with lectures on a specific topic in relation to that country. Indonesian Updates have been held each year in Canberra (and in recent years in Jakarta as well) since 1983. Other scholars have emulated this practice so that most every year there are Updates on the various countries in Southeast Asia, particularly Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines and Myanmar.

These Updates are open to the public and are well attended. The annual Indonesia Update is now held over two days and generally attracts 400 or more attendees — many, in Canberra, from government departments. Each year there is a lecture devoted to recent political developments and another devoted to economic developments, plus various presentations on the chosen topic. The goal is to increase public awareness but also to promote a more general understanding of academic research on these countries.

GRADUATES IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES IN THE 1980s AND THE 1990s

Whereas a majority of Australians in the 1970s went overseas for their Ph.D. training and only a minority managed to do their Ph.D.s in Australia, things changed dramatically in the 1980s. Southeast Asian Studies in Australia, particularly the study of Indonesia and to a lesser extent, Thailand, expanded in the 1980s as a whole new generation of students did their doctoral work in Australia and then took up positions in various universities throughout the country.

Among Anthony Johns’ students was Helen M. Creese whose dissertation in 1981 was on an Old Javanese kakawin, the Suhebradrawihatu; she followed this with a study of an eighteenth-century Balinese text, Purahyana (1998) and an even more fascinating study of women of the Indic court world of Java and Bali (2004). Peter Ridlaid was another of Johns’ students whose Ph.D. in 1984 on 'Abd Al-Ra’uf Al- Singili was eventually published in 1990. This work reflected Johns’ ever increasing interest in Islam in Southeast Asia. Creese moved to teach in Queensland and Ridlaid to Brussels in London. Yet another graduate was Tim E. Behrend who submitted bis doctoral dissertation on the various manuscripts of the Javanese poem, the Serat Jatiwuwa, in 1987. This study was published in Indonesian translation in 1995. Behrend was involved with Alan Feinstein in the microfilming of Javanese manuscripts particularly from the Museum Sonobudoyo in Yogyakarta.
As retirements occurred in the Department, George Quinn was recruited to strengthen the programme, particularly in Javanese. His teaching and his research on Java, especially his study of the Javanese novel (1992) added considerably to the programme.

The Department of Political and Social Change produced a number of distinguished graduates: Andrew MacIntyre who wrote his Ph.D. on business-government relations in Indonesia, John Maxwell on the Indonesian political intellectual and activist, Soc Hok-Gie and Ed Aspinall on the political opposition in Indonesia. After teaching elsewhere, both MacIntyre and Aspinall returned to take up positions at the ANU where they continued their research and teaching. Each published books based on their theses — MacIntyre: Business and Politics in Indonesia (1991) and Aspinall: Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance and Regime Change in Indonesia (2005). The book based on Maxwell's thesis was published in Indonesian translation (2001) and was used as the basis for a widely acclaimed Indonesian film on the life of Soc Hok-Gie.

In History, under the supervision of David Marr, Nola Cooke wrote a Ph.D. thesis on Vietnamese colonial history (1991) and a year later in 1992, Li Ta Na completed her thesis which was published as Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1998). Cooke and Li later collaborated in editing a valuable history of Chinese commerce in the Mekong (2004). Another student, jointly supervised by Marr and Wijeyewardene was Philip Taylor who was one of the first Australians to carry out extended fieldwork in southern Vietnam. Taylor published his first book, Fragments of the Present (2001), based on his thesis and has subsequently published extensively on Vietnam (2004, 2007). Li and Taylor were eventually appointed to positions at the ANU. Jane Drakard, who completed her Ph.D. on the history of a Sumatran kingdom in 1993, took up a position at Monash University. The book, A Kingdom of Words, based on her thesis appeared in 1999.


Guinness and Hellwell were appointed to teach in the Faculties at the ANU. Robinson, after a time at Newcastle and McWilliam, after a period of Aboriginal research, returned to Anthropology in the Research School. Lewis began in Western Australia but was then appointed to teach anthropology at Melbourne University. Acciaioli moved to teach anthropology at the University of Western Australia where he joined another of Fox's former students, John Gordon who received his Ph.D. from Harvard, while Lyn Parker took up a position in Asian Studies at the University. Penelope Graham who finished her thesis on eastern Flores in 1991 after having completed an MA thesis at the ANU on the Iban of Borneo (1987) moved to Monash to teach anthropology.


A later group of Fox's students also went on to teach in Australia: Minako Sakai who began the Indonesian language programme at the Australian Defense Force Academy (ADFA), attached to the University of New South Wales, Thomas Reuter who taught at Monash was awarded a Future Fellowship at Melbourne University while Phil Winn is currently at the ANU. Sakai's research was on Sumatra, Reuter's on Bali and Winn's on Banda Island in the Moluccas. Reuter published two volumes of ethnography on the Bali Aga: Custodians of the Sacred Mountains (2002a) and The House of our Ancestors (2002b).

In all, Fox supervised fifty-five doctoral dissertations in Anthropology at the ANU. Twenty of these Ph.D. theses were written by Indonesians. This number of Indonesian students points to another development that gained momentum in the 1980s and increased rapidly in the 1990s. A large number of students, from Indonesia but also from Thailand and Vietnam, began coming to the ANU and other Australian universities for advanced training. On their return, these students contributed to the development of a network of cooperation throughout the region.

Fox was also responsible for the creation of an Ethnographic Film Unit attached to the Research School. With the support, collaboration and impetus provided by two outstanding film-makers, Timothy and Patry Asch, he and some of his students (Bianauli, Lewis, Sutandi and Vischer) made a series of films on eastern Indonesia and Java.
At the ANU, Bellwood had a seminal influence on Southeast Asian archaeology. He trained a host of Southeast Asian students from Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos and particularly Indonesia, most of whom did their own important excavations under his guidance. In cooperation with his students and other local colleagues, he also carried out a succession of investigations on prehistoric landscapes: in the 1970s, in North Sulawesi including Talaud and Sangihe, in the 1980s, in Sabah, in the 1990s, in the northern Moluccas and thereafter on the Batanes Islands of northern Philippines. On all of these sites, he published valuable papers and monographs and at the same time, he has written the key volumes that have synthesized current knowledge (1997) and argued for the importance of the spread of farming cultures in the region and into the Pacific. He was a key participant in the *Comparative Austronesian Project* initiated by Fox in the 1990s and served as one of the editors of *The Austronesians* (1995).

Among Bellwood's Australian students, David Bulbeck, who finished his thesis in 1992 and was a participant in the *Comparative Austronesian Project*, carried out research on the historical archaeology of Gowa and Talled in South Sulawesi. He and Ian Caldwell, an ANU student of Campbell Macknight, and now at Leeds University, have gone to work together on the history and archaeology of Luwu and the Centara valley of Sulawesi (2000).

In 1995, another ANU graduate based at the University of New England, Mike Morwood, whose Ph.D. thesis was on the prehistory of central western Queensland, joined a major excavation project in central Flores that continued for almost a decade and resulted in the discovery of a possible new species, Homo floresiensis, popularly known as the "hobbit". These skeletal remains have been the subject of continuing controversy since their discovery (Morwood and Oosterzee 2007).

In the same year, 1995, two archaeologists from the ANU, Sue O'Connor and Matthew Spriggs together with Peter Veth from James Cook University, began excavations on the Aru Islands, hoping to find evidence of early migration that may have carried via New Guinea into Australia. O'Connor and Veth edited a substantial interdisciplinary volume, *East of Wallace's Line*, in 2000 and all three collaborators published the results of the Aru research in 2005.

With the end of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, these same archaeologists have turned their attention to Timor following on from the original work of Glover in the 1960s. Their excavations have uncovered evidence of human settlement dating back 35,000 years.
CAPSTANS initiative) both returned to teach at Sydney University. One of the Sydney Department's earlier graduates, Keith Foulcher who had submitted his thesis on Malay literature in 1974 and then taught at both Monash and Flinders Universities, returned to Sydney to head the Department of Indonesian Studies in 1990.

Sydney produced and was associated with other important researchers on Indonesia. Jennifer Lindsay did notable research in Yogyakarta, studying the Javanese performing arts. She wrote a study of Javanese gamelan (Lindsay 1979, 2nd ed. 1992); she published her thesis in Indonesian translation in 1991 and then translated essays by the distinguished editor of Tempo magazine, Goenawan Mohamad (Lindsay 1994, 2002). She was also involved in a project supported by the Ford Foundation to microfilm manuscripts of the Kraton Yogyakarta. These microfilms with a preliminary descriptive catalogue were made available in 1987 (Lindsay et al. 1987); a final catalogue was published in Indonesian translation in 1994 (Lindsay et al. 1994). The anthropologist Jennifer Alexander also carried out valuable research in Indonesia. Her initial research was on Javanese rural trade (1987); her husband, Paul Alexander whose original dissertation research was on Sri Lanka, took up an interest in Indonesia and worked with her. He edited the volume, Creating Indonesian Cultures (1989). Jennifer Alexander then went on to do further research in Sarawak, particularly among the Lahans. The historian, Michael Laffan did seminal research on Islam during the colonial period (Laffan 2003); he taught for a period at the ANU, before taking up a fellowship in Leiden and eventually a professorship at Princeton.

The Asia Centre at Flinders University was only established in 2000. Prior to its establishment, Southeast Asian research at the University was directed primarily to Indonesia through a programme begun by Anton Lucas who graduated in history at the ANU in 1989; his study of revolutionary north coast Java appeared as a Southeast Asia monograph in 1991. At different stages in its development, the Flinders programme included notable scholars such as Colin Brown, Jim Schiller and his wife Barbara Martin Schiller. Now the Asia Centre is headed by Elizabeth Morell, a graduate of Flinders who has done research on the Toraja of Sulawesi (2005), and includes Michael Barr who has done research on Singapore (2000) and Malaysia, and Anthony Langlois whose focus is on human rights in Southeast Asia (2001).

The universities in Western Australia began to develop their Southeast Asia expertise a generation or more after universities on the east coast but they were soon able to rival these universities with their array of talented research scholars. James Warren who did his Ph.D. at the ANU and

Richard Robison who did his at Sydney were among the first scholars to take up positions at Murdoch University; they were followed later by Krishna Sen and David Hill whose research examined the role of cinema (Sen 1994), the media and the internet (Hill and Sen 2005) in Indonesia. Together with graduates of Murdoch, Kevin Hewison whose research was on capital formation and state politics in Thailand (1989), Carol Warren whose initial research was on Bali (1993) and Garry Rodan whose research on the political economy of authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia had a focus on Singapore (1989), they became part of Murdoch's Asia Research Centre that was created in 1991 to cover the whole of the Asia region. Ian Chalmers, an ANU graduate whose research is on government-business relations in Indonesia and who teaches at Curtin University of Technology, is also a member of Murdoch's Asia Research Centre. He has edited a book on the politics of economic development with Vidi Hadzi (1997), a graduate of Murdoch, who has now returned to the university as a Future Fellow and will continue Murdoch's tradition of research on political economy.

As research on Southeast Asia continued to develop at the University of Western Australia, scholars were recruited from a wide number of Australian universities: Greg Acciaioli and Lyn Parker, graduates from the ANU, Michael Pinches and David Bourchier who graduated from Monash, Lenore Lyons from Wollongong, Stephen Dobbs from Murdoch and most recently, Krishna Sen who has become Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences.

Charles Darwin University in Darwin, formerly the Northern Territory University (NTU), offers itself as 'Australia's Gateway to Asia'. During the time that it was still the NTU, Paul Webb established a small but notable Centre for Southeast Asian Studies at the University that had its focus primarily on eastern Indonesia, which he had made his special interest (1986). This Centre did not, however, survive various internal reorganizations of the university and subsequent efforts at teaching Indonesian were intermittent. Despite these setbacks, the University still maintains a small group of scholars working on Southeast Asia: Dennis Shorreith whose research is on the comparative politics of the region, David Mears whose research has been on both Malaysia and on Maluku, Narasha Stacey whose research is on the maritime populations of eastern Indonesia and Steven Farram whose research is on Timor, both East and West. In recent years, more efforts have been directed to Timor-Leste than to Indonesia.

James Cook University of Northern Queensland has been more successful in maintaining its Centre for South-East Asian Studies. This has been due
in large part to the work of B.B. Hering who has also maintained the biannual journal, *Kabuh Sehereng Sulater Maghfiratulu* which is a multidisciplinary journal that publishes on Southeast Asia and adjacent areas of the western Pacific. Hering’s Ph.D. research at the University of Queensland focused on a key nationalist figure in Indonesia, Mohammed Thamrin (1996). He, too, collaborated with Chris Penders, in this case, in editing the memoirs of an Indonesian diplomat, Gani Hatta (1977). With the close cooperation of Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Hering devoted a special issue of *Kabuh Sehereng* to a commemorative volume to honour the writer on his 70th birthday (1995).

A successful programme of Indonesian studies was established in 1999 at the Australian Defence Force Academy in Canberra which forms part of the University of New South Wales. The programme, which has been headed by Minako Sakai with the support of Paul Tickell, provides a full major in Indonesian studies and has become one of the larger Indonesian language programmes in Australia.

Elsewhere at other Australian universities, even where there have been no major programmes in Asian or Southeast Asian studies, there have been notable research scholars who have contributed to the field: Amarjit Kaur at the University of New England, Carl Trocki at Queensland University of Technology, David Reeve at the University of New South Wales, Barbara Leigh at the University of Technology Sydney, Steven Drackley at the University of Western Sydney, Alberto Gomes at La Trobe University and Pamela Allen at the University of Tasmania. Margaret Kartomi is another scholar who as Professor at Monash University, has charted her own distinct but highly productive research programme in the ethnomusicology of Southeast Asia, in particular Indonesia.

One of the innovations of the early 1990s was the creation of the *Australian Consortium for In-Country* Indonesian Studies (ACICIS) which was established in 1994 to develop and coordinate a programme for students interested in the study of Indonesian at university level in Indonesia. It was especially useful to draw together students from universities across Australia.

ACICIS has developed to include nineteen Australian universities (plus The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and Leiden University) which are now partnered with six different universities and institutes in Indonesia. Over a period of more than fifteen years, the programme has channelled hundreds of students to Indonesia for accredited in-country academic training. Currently ACICIS is coordinated by a secretariat based at Murdoch University.

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES FROM BEYOND THE ACADEMY**

Any survey of the development of Southeast Asian studies in Australia cannot ignore the considerable contributions to scholarship by independent researchers who, for the most part, did their work outside the confines of universities. Such contributions would include Bruce Grant’s *Indonesia* (1964), Peter Polomski’s *Indonesia since Sukarno* (1971), Hamish McDonald’s *Sukarno’s Indonesia* (1980), David Jenkins’s *Subaroh and His Generals* (1984) and Max Lane’s *Unfinished Nation: Indonesia before and after Sukarno* (2008). Among this group would also be Graeme Dobell who has consistently reported on Southeast Asia for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2000) and Patrick Walters who has done the same in *The Australian*. Those who pursued diplomatic and government careers would include Jeff Forester and Ken Ward (1974). Also included within this group would be both Max Lane and Harry Aveling whose translations from the Indonesian, particularly of Pramoedya Ananta Toer’s work and whose critical commentary have been notable. Milton Osborne needs also to be added to this group. Osborne, whose work includes *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History* (1979a), was a member of the wave of Australians to return from Cornell with their Ph.D.s. His thesis was submitted in 1978. Although he has spent time in academia, like the others in this group, he has spent more time in a variety of other occupations but he has published prolifically. Harry Aveling is another scholar who is difficult to categorise. He has held numerous visiting and adjunct positions in Australia, the United States and Southeast Asia. As a wandering scholar, he has been enormously productive in his translations and commentaries on Indonesian literature.

Academic research on Southeast Asia has also been supported through cooperation with various museums in Australia. In the 1980s, the Australian National Gallery under its Director, James Matheson, established a four member committee consisting of Anthony Forge, James J. Fox, Robyn and John Maxwell to advise on the creation of a collection of Southeast Asian textiles. This collection has now grown to be the largest and probably the most distinguished collection of its kind in the world and has opened the way to the study of trade patterns and cultural influences throughout the region. Robyn Maxwell, who for many years held positions at the ANU and the National Gallery, has published two major volumes (1990, 2003) on the collection.

In 1988, Don Hein at the Art Gallery of South Australia formed the Thai Ceramics Dating Project, which became the Thai Ceramics Archaeological
Project when the Gallery began cooperating with the University of Adelaide. In 1984, the two institutions formed the Research Centre for Southeast Asian Ceramics. Initially the Centre investigated fifty or more kilns in central Thailand, collecting and cataloguing thousands of ceramic finds (Hein and Sangkhunakul 1984); eventually the Centre extended its research elsewhere in Thailand and into Laos (Hein et al. 1989).

At about this same time, in 1979-80, the Western Australian Maritime Museum began the development of maritime archaeology in Southeast Asia, forming a joint Thai-Australian team to excavate the Ko Kradat shipwreck in the Gulf of Thailand. The Museum went on to investigate other shipwrecks near Pattaya and Bangkok in the 1980s and since that time has continued research on pre-colonial ships and shipbuilding in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, including the Philippine coast (Green and Harper 1983; Green 1990; Clark et al. 1993).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF "OTHER" COUNTRIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

It is instructive to contrast the concerted efforts that went into establishing Indonesian studies in Australia with the way in which studies on other countries in Southeast Asia — such as Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, Cambodia and Myanmar developed. From the beginning, it was deemed essential that Indonesian/Malay language teaching form the basis for further study. In the case of Thailand, research in various disciplines preceded the beginnings of proper language teaching. In the case of Vietnam, there was a lag in the development of language training compared to other research efforts and in the case of the Philippines, despite some short-term efforts, no language programme ever became established. For Myanmar, only an occasional summer course in Burmese has ever been offered.

At the ANU, for example, early on, Silcock in economics provided some research coverage of Thailand. The anthropologist, G. Wijeyawardene turned his interests to Thai from an early interest in Ceylon; the political scientist, Ron May and the geographer, Ted Chapman conducted research in Thailand before the Thai language began to be officially taught. Similarly the anthropologist/historian, Baaz Terswiel, whose doctoral fieldwork for a European university involved spending a year in a Thai monastery, began teaching in the Faculties as did the economist, Peter Warr, before the initiation of Thai language study. Peter Jackson did his ANU Ph.D. dissertation on Buddhist philosophy and only afterwards began his study of Thai with Tony Diller, Nicholas Tapp, whose primary interests were on the ethnic minorities of upland Thai region, replaced Wijeyawardene on his retirement to continue the long-running Thai-Yunnan Project. The same could be said for Sydney University where there was no language programme for Thai. Geddes and others at Sydney were able to shift interests to Thailand despite a lack of Thai language training in Sydney and the Cornell-trained historian, Craig Reynolds successfully taught on Thailand at Sydney for many years before moving to the ANU. Only in 1989 was the National Thai Studies Association of Australia established to provide a national forum to promote the development of Thai language and Thai studies teaching in Australia.

At the ANU, the combination of interests provided through the work of Diller, Warr, Reynolds, Jackson and, later, by one of Wijeyawardene's students, Andrew Walker produced a varied but substantial programme of Thai studies.

Much the same can be seen in the development of Vietnamese studies: David Marr was doing fundamental research on Vietnam decades before the establishment of Vietnamese at the ANU. Similarly, although Tagalog was never established as a regular language programme, a number of scholars managed to pursue research on the Philippines. At the ANU, this group included at one time Ron May, Peter Warr, Hal Hill, Roy Ieoh and later Ben Kerkvliet who was appointed as Professor of Political and Social Change to replace Jamie Mackie. The tradition has continued with the appointment of Paul Huschcroft after the retirement of Ben Kerkvliet. Huschcroft, who did his Ph.D. at Yale University has published extensively on Philippine politics, most notably on the politics of banking (1998). The Research School also supported a number of research fellows, such as Brian Fagan, who did his research on the Philippines.

Martin Smart Fox at the University of Queensland stands out, among Southeast Asian scholars in Australia, in his remarkable commitment to the study of Laos, on which he has published over a dozen books and monographs from the early 1980s to the present (1982, 2010).

CONCLUSION

Robert Cribb has written of "circles of extents" that define and enhance relationships among groups of scholars (2005a). Members of these clusters respect each others' research and often regard themselves as engaging in a similar effort or as Cribb describes it, "working a related part of the same story, manufacturing pieces, perhaps, for the same jigsaw puzzle" (2005a, p. 292). Certainly clusters of this sort, often initiated by a particular teacher,
are recognizable in the generations of scholars in Australia. Early on in the development of Southeast Asian Studies, Anthony Johns’ students were one such group — or perhaps two groups, those interested in philology and those interested in Islam; Heinz Arndt’s group of economists formed another clear cluster. There were common features among the many graduates of Monash but they were also a diverse group with separate interests. Peter Worsley at Sydney stimulated a number of students to do research on Bali as did James Fox at the ANU for the ethnography of eastern Indonesia, though a majority of his Indonesian students did research on Java and particularly on Islam in Java. (Seven of these studies have been published by the ANU E Press in a series entitled Islam in Southeast Asia.)

Clearly, too, the group of political economists — Hewison, Redlan, Hadiz, all inspired by Robison, along with a number of other similarly oriented colleagues — can be recognized as an important circle of esteem; however, possibly the largest of these circles of esteem is that group of women scholars who have contributed publications to the Women in Asia series, created by the Asian Studies Association of Australia. Their work on Southeast Asia comprises over a dozen publications including books by Linda Bennett (2005), Michele Ford and Lyn Parker (2008), Sharyn Graham (2010), Anne-Marie Hillsdon (1995), Elizabeth Martyn (2005), Nirmal Narintha (2009), Kathryn Robinson (2009), Kate O’Shaughnessy (2009), Maia Strouts (1996), Norma Sullivan (1994) and Andrea Whittington (2000, 2004). Were one to add to this, the work of Susan Blackburn (2004), one of the editors of the series, this would represent a formidable circle of esteem within Southeast Asian Studies.

Yet despite the existence of these clusters that extend research throughout Southeast Asia, Australia has never committed itself to the study of Southeast Asia as an “area studies programme”. Australia is, however, committed to the study of Asia but it does this by promoting Asian content in recognized disciplines: Anthropology, Demography, Political Science, History, Economics, Law, and the Arts. This is now an accepted aspect of Australian university teaching. A consequence of this is that language programmes for the major languages of Asia have found a place at some Australian universities but less prominent Southeast Asian languages have failed to gain an appropriate position.

In 1964, Anthony Johns entitled his inaugural lecture as Foundation Professor of Indonesian studies at the ANU as “An Open Horizon”. He asserted that “orientalism in the old sense” was dead but “phoenix-like, out of its ashes, something new is arising [that] takes on new life as it informs and sustains work in the fields of literature, linguistics, history, anthropology, and the other social sciences” (1964, p. 17). What was envisaged was a new wave of the other studies whose pursuit was to be based on a deep knowledge and a thorough command of a major language of the region, whose understanding informed investigations, within particular disciplines, of the full context of partial research. At the core of these specialized studies was a commitment to specific locations — an area, a country, a region — and a discipline that was grounded in a focused understanding. To a considerable extent, this vision has indeed characterized a succession of several generations of scholarship in Australia since the mid-1960s and has allowed Southeast Asian Studies to flourish.

These studies have indeed opened a wide horizon. By their very success, however, they have lost much of their original specialist appeal. In Australia, general knowledge of Southeast Asia has become more widespread as specific knowledge of particular countries within the region has developed. In the 1960s, Australians visiting Southeast Asia were a small minority; today the number of Australians visiting countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore or Thailand number in the hundreds of thousands with tens of thousands of Australian residents in the region. Knowledge gained in-country has added immeasurably to the understanding of the region as have the decades of education and training offered by Australian academics to students both in Australia and from Southeast Asia. Knowledge and expertise on Southeast Asia has thus diffused widely.

In attracting new students, Southeast Asian Studies have also had to compete with other studies, particularly the study of China, in the past two decades. This is particularly evident in the language programmes that originally served as the foundation for specialized study. In Australian universities, at present, language programmes for the study of Chinese, Japanese and Korean now attract more students than do any of the programmes for the study of languages of Southeast Asia. All of these programmes show a steady decline.}

A report, dated the 10th of April 2008, commissioned by the Asian Studies Association of Australia and prepared by Anne McLann on Asian language enrolments in Australian Universities of Higher Education in 2006–07 noted strong growth (33 per cent) in enrolments in Chinese, reasonable growth (15 per cent) in Japanese, and limited growth (1.5 per cent) in Korean, but a marked decline (24 per cent) in Indonesian and precipitous declines (77–79 per cent) for the already minor teaching programmes in Thai and Vietnamese.
In 2006-07, there were 32 institutions in Australia teaching Japanese, 26 institutions teaching Chinese and 20 institutions teaching Indonesian but between 2001 and 2004, four universities had dropped their Indonesian programmes. Three universities had dropped their Thai language programmes, leaving only two universities teaching Thai and only two universities teaching Vietnamese. Only the ANU continued to teach all three languages — Indonesian, Thai and Vietnamese.

At the same time, many — possibly a majority — of those whose work is cited in this chapter have retired, are about to retire, or are preparing to retire within the decade. There will be considerable generational change in Southeast Asian Studies in Australia in the near future. A new generation — many of whom have not been cited in this historical review — is taking over, but they do so in the context of a globalized world of internet communication and rapid dissemination of knowledge.

Notes
1 I should properly indicate my own personal background (and bias) in offering this genealogy. I have spent the whole of my career in Australia at the Australian National University (ANU) and as a consequence, am better acquainted with its development than that of any other university in the country. Since its foundation, the ANU has had a prominent role in the study of the Asia-Pacific region. It is difficult therefore not to give emphasis to its importance.

This chapter has gone through various drafts which I have shown to colleagues to ask for comment and advice. I would like to thank Robert Cribb, Jamie Mackie and Campbell Macknight in particular for their considerable assistance. I have also relied on a number of articles written by others on the development of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia. All of these articles are included in the bibliography.

It is important to appreciate the political climate of this period and the significance given by key government figures to orienting Australia to the Asia-Pacific region. A book that provides a good background to these efforts is Daniel Oksman’s Facing East: A History of the Colombo Plan (2004).

2 Rethinking Indonesia. Langkah Baru, A New Approach was first produced in 1975 within the Faculty of Asian Studies in collaboration with Robin Stree. It was subsequently published and republished by the Australian National University Press as it went through successive revisions and expansions.

3 This was first published as a government report but was later reprinted in the London University Anthropology series.

4 Like Freeman, the report on his fieldwork among the Land Dayak was published as a government document.

5 In the early 1970s, Geddes’ association with the Tribal Research Center (TRC) in Chiang Mai in Thailand was the subject of criticism and controversy because of accusations that the TRC was involved in counter-insurgency. See Robinson (2004).

6 The establishment of extensive cooperative links between individual scholars in Australia and former students and colleagues in Southeast Asia was perhaps the most important achievement of Australia’s decades-long efforts in establishing its Asian studies programmes. Although some of these connections are indicated in this chapter, to discuss these connections in any adequate way would require another long paper.

References
Kahar Selamat, Saluting Mapibilindo. Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville.
A Genealogy of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia


11

**SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES IN THE U.S.:**

**Construction of Traditions of an Autonomous History, Its Limitations, and Future Tasks**

Song Seung-Won

**INTRODUCTION**

This chapter examines the current state and future objectives of Southeast Asian Studies in the U.S. The U.S. is a leading country in terms of Southeast Asian Studies within the general field of area studies. Area studies began to assume importance in the U.S. in the context of American concerns about the expansion of Third World Communism during the Cold War period. Amid this tense international atmosphere, Southeast Asians in the U.S. set themselves against what they considered to be the limitations of European colonial studies preoccupied with the Western presence and role in Southeast Asia and the reconstruction of the history and cultural traditions of those whom they governed. They instead focused more on the circumstances of modern Southeast Asia, post-colonial nation-building and the prospects and problems for socio-economic and political development. Some scholars also argued for the need to consider and understand the region from local perspectives and to construct an autonomous history of