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Mohan Ambikaipaker

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Abstract
If there is one major qualification to be made for the post in the post-colonial it is that the political nationalism that took formerly colonised societies into freedom and independence was, as Partha Chateijee has termed it, a 'derivative discourse', which relies heavily on the paradigms and frameworks that are bequeathed by colonialism, even while appearing to be anti-colonial. With regard to Malaysia, the area of 'race' is one of the institutionalised political and literary discourses which continues to occupy a dominant position in a post/neo-colonial situation. The dream of nineteenth-century European racism with its ideology of a racially coherent and homogenous nationhood is a spectre that continues to haunt the former colonial world. The hegemony of nationalism, especially elite and bourgeois nationalism emergent in the early independence period, formulates deliverance from colonial oppression as the seizure and transformation of state and society into an ethnocentric expression. Obstacles to this kind of emancipation invariably emerge as racial, religious, or linguistic others and thereby produce the basis of social tensions of varying complexities. (Uganda, Kenya, Burma, Sri Lanka, Fiji and Malaysia are some examples.) The roots of 'imagined communities' in the former colonial world tend to mirror models of power that have been set up and left behind by colonialism, especially in its creation of modern bureaucratic structures that organise and articulate society in racial terms.
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With regard to Malaysia, the area of ‘race’ is one of the institutionalised political and literary discourses which continues to occupy a dominant position in a post/neo-colonial situation. The dream of nineteenth-century European racism with its ideology of a racially coherent and homogenous nationhood is a spectre that continues to haunt the former colonial world. The hegemony of nationalism, especially elite and bourgeois nationalism emergent in the early independence period, formulates deliverance from colonial oppression as the seizure and transformation of state and society into an ethnocentric expression.

Obstacles to this kind of emancipation invariably emerge as racial, religious, or linguistic others and thereby produce the basis of social tensions of varying complexities. (Uganda, Kenya, Burma, Sri Lanka, Fiji and Malaysia are some examples.) The roots of ‘imagined communities’ in the former colonial world tend to mirror models of power that have been set up and left behind by colonialism, especially in its creation of modern bureaucratic structures that organise and articulate society in racial terms.

I. THE SALIENCE OF ‘RACE’ IN MALAYSIA

Whether it be in chauvinistic or liberal guises the discourse of ‘race’ in Malaysia is linked by an important generalisation that is true of most public discourses on ‘race’ in the world where post-structuralist discourses do not operate. All though these are already old orthodoxies in post-modern academia the terms of ‘race’ discourse out in the public realm is still a positivist discourse that leaves intact differences of class, culture, religion, language, ethnicity and biological variations as metonyms with assigned names like ‘Malay’, ‘Indian’, and ‘Chinese’. These names operate as ‘racial’ registers with their essentialising nature left largely unquestioned. At the same time, however,
negotiations of power and privilege within the Malaysian state, and to a lesser degree in civil society, are conducted with the terms held constant. Reinforcement by institutional, organisation and policy structures perpetuate the fixed and mutually exclusive meanings of these racial terms, while at the same time a discourse of racial ‘harmony’ and ‘unity’ is developed to coordinate these racialised interests in a hierarchical and elite-consensual fashion.

Hence you have the current regime of power which consists of racialised political parties in a National Front (Barisan Nasional) where ethnic elites control the political process through ‘symbolic representation’, where elite economic and political interests are universalised as racial interests. Ethnic subjectivity requires Malaysians to identify with the struggles and fortunes of these ethnic leaders and their inter-elite jockeying for power and patronage. Hence Malaysia has evolved an institutionalised form of racial politics which also enables the exploitation of class.

The evolution of this ideological hegemony has its roots in colonial politics, reflected and reproduced by colonial literature, and the purpose of this essay is to perform several ‘archaeological’ digs on the modern discourse of ‘race’ in Malaysia. It is part of a larger project of wanting to trace a Foucoulitian ‘genealogy’ of the racial discourse which continues to shape Malaysian society.

II. THE ROOTS OF ‘RACIAL’ DISCOURSE IN NEW IMPERIALISM

While the larger conception of this project involves looking at the onset of Western colonial intervention that begins with the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511, I am going to jump ahead to ‘archaeological’ sites that are located within the later British period of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Another important direction that needs to be pursued is to investigate forms of discourse that have to do with existing social hierarchies like caste (darjat) that may have been hybridised and redeployed during the colonial encounter. Within the lines of Western descent, however, it is useful to mention here that one of the earliest imaginative renderings of the Malay archipelago in European history occurs in the maps of Ptolomey, which gives this geographical space its earliest known European title: The ‘Golden Chersonese’. The attractiveness and promise of this El Dorado type figuration on an early global map can account for the enormous appeal that this area had for mercantile capital in Renaissance Europe, with a continuing lineage that traces itself right through present day multinational capital’s interest in ‘East Asia’ or the ‘Pacific Rim’.

By the time of the British in Malaysia imperialism was developing discourses that not merely legitimated conquest and plunder, as in the Portuguese period of mercantile capitalism, but which functioned to transform conquered territories, people and culture for the purposes of incorporation into the needs of industrial capitalism stemming from the metropolitan centres of empire.
There is concurrently a formalistic development in colonial literature that marks this change with the advent of a form of colonial memoir known as ‘manners and customs’ texts. These texts strive to provide a mimetic rendering of newly ‘discovered’ people and culture. Responding to earlier travelogues and memoirs, these texts also form a tradition of writing where ‘knowledge’ about various colonial sites is built up.

Two new literary characters enter the landscape of the Malay states and take to the pen in accordance with this mission; they are the first modern bureaucrats who are always men and their respective spouses and heads of the colonial household, who are always women. As agents of the metropolitan centre these bureaucrats are assigned to ensure that the colonies function as efficient units of production, through the extraction of both natural resources and new capital through the institution of local taxation.

The women too had important formal roles which centred on the management of the colonial household — a highly regulated aspect of white prestige and power in colonial policy. Women writers on Malaysia like the famous Isabella Bird and Emily Innes are considered pioneer women writers and early models of independent women who defied Victorian gender norms. The looseness of gender codes in the outposts of empire, and a supply of colonised household labour afforded the surplus time which allowed colonial women empowerment through writing.

Early encounters between the colonialisers and the colonised which are depicted in the memoirs focus detailed attention on the culture of the colonised. What is at stake is nothing less than the conscious agenda of changing the identity of the colonised to fit into the needs of metropolitan capital.

The realism-infused, first person ‘objective’ narration by the colonial writers enable them to consolidate and normalise an ‘essentially’ British identity through a process of conscious differentiation from the strange and ‘other’ ‘natives’ or ‘savages’. The moment produces an alienation or denaturalisation of the culture of the colonised, which opens the space for cultural intervention and change. This mode of writing has been well-researched and theorised by Mary Louise Pratt and I draw heavily on her work in my reading of how ‘manners and customs’ function in ideological ways. The corpus of texts that I deal with are Emily Innes’ The Golden Chersonese with the Gilding Off (1885), Frank Swettenham’s Malay Sketches (1895), and Hugh Clifford’s Bushwhacking and Other Tales of Malaya (1916).

The representational and narrative strategies in ‘manners and customs’ are marked by an attempt to penetrate into the ‘complexity’ of the culture and psychology of the ‘natives’. This represents an important contribution towards the project of transforming the colonised into subjects within the narrative of capitalism. Swettenham’s title to his work is in itself indicative. The use of the term ‘Sketches’ points towards Swettenham’s consciousness at his own establishing role in a mimetic tradition that is expected to follow. The production of colonial knowledge on the colonised, signified here by the act of
writing, accrues for bureaucrats like Swettenham and Clifford authority and credentials for successful future careers within the imperial bureaucracy.

The same contextualisation may also extend to the writings of the women. Their secondary status by no means diminishes the contributions they make towards colonial epistemology. As Isabella Bird innocently states in the preface of her book *The Golden Chersonese*:

> I hope, however, that my book will be accepted as an honest sum of knowledge of a beautiful and little-traveled region, with which the majority of educated people are so little acquainted that it is constantly confounded with the Malay Archipelago, but which is practically under British rule, and is probably destined to afford increasing employment to British capital and enterprise.

For Emily Innes, her impetus for writing was ultimately to vindicate the failed career of her husband James Innes, who had been dismissed from the civil service on account of his purported opposition to practices of slavery and nepotism by his superiors.

An important theme and expectation on the part of the colonial bureaucrat when he embarks on his mission, to both literally and metaphorically write the empire into being, is the encounter of local resistance. The encounter of resistance, however, is quickly explained through expert colonial knowledge, usually figured through colonial logic of 'race'. Cultural or political differences are observed, noted and rationalised so that they would serve as important means of administrating the colonial subjects. Administrative or military mistakes are noted, and arguments as to improvements in administrating colonial subjects are discussed in ways that appeal to both a professional audience of fellow bureaucrats as well as an implied general readership in Britain. As Frank Swettenham, who eventually rose to the rank of Resident British Advisor to the Sultan of Selangor, begins his *Malay Sketches*:

> To begin to understand the Malay you must live in his country, speak his language, respect his faith, be interested in his interest, humor his prejudices, sympathise with and help him in trouble, and share his pleasures and possibly his risks. Only thus can you hope to win his confidence. Only through that confidence can you hope to understand the inner man, and this knowledge can therefore only come to those who have the opportunity to use it.

'Essentialist' or 'authentic' knowledge of the Malays and their culture can be seen to be the key to the power of the coloniser. The construction of the 'Malays' as object of knowledge because of their assumed 'nativity' forms an important criteria in Swettenham's observations and relates ideologically to the project of British inscription within domains of Malay feudal power.

It is a rhetorical strategy that implicitly seeks to challenge the right to rule the people on the basis not of might, but through superior knowledge. This is already the foundational premise in the notion of British benevolence towards the Malay subjects and the inadequacy of Malay feudal/elite power, which will rationalise the growing insertion of Western modernity and its systems of administration into the Malay kingdoms.
The ‘Resident Advisor’ system which emerged as the British tool of intervention into the Malay sultanates is a form of empire that I believe was peculiar to the administration of the Malay states. A move to establish complete control was not attempted until 1946 with the Malayan Union proposals. Swettenham’s goal, within the schema of the ‘resident Advisor’ system was to insert himself into an already pre-existing system of power, to convince the Malay court to accept the presence of the British Resident in the royal administration of Malay kingdoms. Hence British imperialism both drew on the legitimacy of Malay feudal/elite power (rather than dismantling it) and worked to affect changes in local economies which would serve its own metropolitan needs.

In this early phase, therefore, Swettenham had to build his credibility as the ‘expert’ advisor on administrative matters to the Malay sultan. Yet this imperial project of re-writing the colony, of displacing the indigenous world views, social structures, and ‘modes of production’ for its own purposes of inscribing colonial access and authority and control is met by a history of contestation that is little known or discussed.

These contestations produce anxieties within the colonial text which are moments of ideological contradictions that I propose reading as moments of resistance or historical agency on the part of the colonised that are an undeniable presence within colonial narratives.

III. READING RESISTANCE IN COLONIAL TEXTS

The colonial bureaucrat’s project had to encounter not only the bodies of those who were different from him but also their culture, textual technology (oral) and ‘modes of production’. Incidences of difficult encounters between the aspiring bureaucrat and the colonised subject range from miscommunication to militant resistance. The failure of the ‘natives’ to conform to the expectations of the colonial bureaucrat is a recalcitrance that threatens to unravel the bureaucrat’s claims to knowledge, legitimacy, and therefore self-actualisation and career success. These moments produce anxieties of performance for the authors who will be examined below.

One method with which the dissonance between the colonial bureaucrat’s perception of his abilities and the resistance or unwillingness of the colonised to sign on to the colonising script is dealt with through the trope of the ‘enigmatic native’. Some common examples are the ‘lazy’ Malay, ‘mysterious Arab’, the ‘inscrutable Chinese’, the ‘mystical Indian’, and so on. Kum Kum Sangari provides an excellent reading of this type of trope:

The enigmatic native is a familiar Orientalising trope that encodes, first, the incapacity of Western consciousness to apprehend the ‘native’ save as alterity, and second, the reserve, resistance, interested information, or secrecy that the coloniser repeatedly encountered and that probably indicated both a recalcitrance and a conscious strategy on the part of the ‘natives’. The stereotype of the coloniser’s notations of the enigmatic ‘other’ are systematically accompanied by vigorous
The following moment in Emily Innes’ work provides an example of how when the ways of the ‘Malays’ fail to register in the Eurocentric episteme, he is rendered in comical and illogical ways. The moment occurs as Innes is trying to obtain some fowl, through market methods.

Malays from the up-country used sometimes to find their way to my door, with their hands full of fowl, which they said they wished to lay at my feet. They were the poorest ryots [sic] possible with nothing on but a ragged and dirty sarong, yet they were quite horrified at my asking if they had brought their fowls to sell. They carefully explained that the fowls (perhaps several dollars worth) were a present to me; but in the same breath they suggested that if out of my compassion for them I would give them a small trifle to buy rice, it would be very acceptable. It seemed to be that the distinction between selling and this proposed proceeding was imaginary, so I used to force them in a hard-hearted way to mention a price. I generally found that the more delicacy and refinement of feeling they had paraded, the higher was the price they wanted, and the less the fowls would bear examination. The owners appeared to think that the fowls would taste better on account of having belonged to a noble race that had never soiled its scutcheon by commercial dealings, but I did not find it so. I thought it was simply a very troublesome way of marketing; but there was often no help for it, as the fowls were not to be obtained in any other ways...

The cultural conflict described by Innes suggests suspicions of deceit and, implied through her tone, of distrust and sarcasm. However, the moment can be read alternatively as an example of the difficulties and resistances encountered by British capitalism to establish its own ideological hegemony. At such moments racial difference is incorporated as a way out for the nervous writer, who is on slippery ground.

These are still early days of the British colonial presence in Malaysia, but the incident also points to the prevailing power of another non-capitalist ‘mode of production’, a form of barter and symbolic exchange of obligations or perhaps even a barter or gift economy not yet transformed and displaced by the supremacy of market capitalism, and the attendant commodification of culture and human relations.

The dependency of the colonial housewife on the natives for the supply of food, also points to the ‘dialogic’ nature of the colonial encounter with the colonised. The natives are not complete victims here, and are, in fact, attempting to educate Innes on the legitimacy of their own discourse. The lesson is lost on Innes, of course, but a measure of power on the part of the Malay villagers show them to be overcoming the force (and incredulity) of the colonial mission. The way they do this is to simply ignore the terms and conditions set by the ‘civilising mission’.

Moments of textual anxieties in ‘manners and customs’ texts also depict high intensity conflicts, that take place when resistance is more explicitly political and militant. As British intervention progresses instances of rebellion and armed revolt grew. This poses a difficult problem for the colonial writer.
Violence against the natives, undertaken to suppress rebellions, is a difficult motif to record and describe in these memoirs and travelogues since it runs counter to the premise of the colonial bureaucrat's benevolent self-conception. The colonial bureaucrat's promise of winning 'devotion' through a sympathetic and expert knowledge concerned with the progress and welfare of the 'natives' themselves, is ruptured by the presence of popular resistance.

In a story entitled 'Bushwhacking' which deals with the Mat Kilau rebellion of 1882 by another Resident Advisor, Hugh Clifford, the tensions between colonial ideology and 'native' recalcitrance become dramatised on the battlefield.

Clifford is leading a jungle clearing team of friendly 'Malays' in pursuit of the leader of a rebel Malay named Mat Kilau and his followers. The situation forces Clifford to contend with his own ill-formed and ambivalent notions of the essential Malay nature. On one hand, the Malays have become fixed for him as the 'lazy' native, a trope already canonised in the arsenal of colonial representations — for instance, in this rather stock stereotype by another 'manners and customs' writer and Clifford's contemporary, J. D. Vaughan:

> The [Malays] have remained nearly stationary, so far as their occupations are concerned; we found them fishermen and paddy planters when we came amongst them and they remain so to the present day. Not a single Malay can be pointed out as having raised himself by perseverance and diligence, as a merchant of otherwise, to a prominent position in the Colony.\(^{14}\)

These images of the Malays as wanting in diligence and forms of the Protestant work ethic are contrasted to the descriptions of Indians as 'an active, industrious race', while the greatest racial accolades are given to the Chinese, 'the most active, industrious and persevering of all', who 'equal or surpass the Europeans in developing the resources of the Colony'.\(^{15}\)

These descriptions of the 'manners and customs' of the various 'races' is marked along a sliding scale of how much incorporation into the culture of capitalist development in the colonies is found. The Malays, seemingly the least incorporated of the 'races', are therefore seen to be the lowest on a 'scale of civilisation', which places the Europeans and possibly the Chinese on the top.

**IV. IDEOLOGICAL RUPTURE AND RECOVERY IN COLONIAL TEXTS**

Read alternatively though, as possibilities of 'recalcitrance and a conscious strategy on the part of the natives', we can once again discern the persistence of non-capitalist 'mode of production' (the 'subsistence' economy) acting to assert its own way of life.

The coloniser is hard pressed to account for the extraction of Malay military and transportation labour on which he is dependent for putting down the rebellion. It is a moment of ideological contradiction, especially with respect to the racial stereotypes formulated earlier.\(^{16}\) The attempt to resolve the
contradiction, however, is done through a recovery of the coherence of colonial epistemology and ideology:

‘Aren’t they splendid fellows?’ says the Resident enthusiastically. ‘Look at them! would you ever get white laborers to work like that? You would think that they enjoyed it, and not a man among them is getting anything except his food! ... They are wonderful fellows,’ says the Resident again. ‘I had rather have them to work with than any men I know, yet people will tell you that the Malays are the laziest animals on the face of the earth’.

‘There’s a good deal in the way you work them,’ says the second in command. ‘They will do their best for you or me because we can talk to them, understand them, and show them that we wish to consider their comfort. The Malay requires the personal motive to set him going. He will only work like this because it pleases him to serve a friend; he can see no point in toiling for a master or for a wage’.

‘That’s just it; and it is why the Malay when he works for one who knows him works as no other man can do’.

This self-comforting recourse to essentialist configurations of ‘the Malay’ character must however contend with one important dissent: the non-conformity of Mat Kilau and the rebellion, which refuses to be rationalised within the racial schema of the colonial writer and is finally dealt with violently through a pogrom that aims to cleanse the countryside of radical forces. In ‘Bushwhacking’ we are told that the colonial troops in pursuit of Mat Kilau spend the next two years raping and bombing countless Malay villages. But for the ‘benevolent’ coloniser, this is at best a pyrrhic victory.

At a later point in ‘Bushwhacking’, even Clifford’s hard-working and native troops begin to reveal their less than committed investment in the search to capture Mat Kilau, and this recalcitrance begins to unsettle the coloniser’s system of belief. A dangerous curve needs to be negotiated by the boat on which the native troops are travelling and Clifford orders the Malay coxswain to turn around. The fearful coxswain refuses until he elicits an acceptance of a disclaimer for any responsibility for the possibility of the boat running aground: ‘If ought goes wrong will the Tuan hold him blameless?’ The ‘white man’ can only bark an order of ‘Get on!’ and therefore assumes responsibility. The abdication of the Malay coxswain’s own will falsifies the myth of what Clifford had confidently proclaimed earlier, that ‘the Malay’ gives his labour freely to those who know him well.

Another similar incident in the story arises when the team engages in gunfire with the rebels and one of the wounded Sikh soldiers comes to ask permission to withdraw. ‘Tuan, behold, I am wounded. Have I leave to retire?’ The ‘white man’ then reflects: ‘That is the beauty of the Sikh fighting machine. On the Day of Judgement he will ask an Englishman’s permission before obeying the trump of doom!’

The significance of these two moments is that it is once again a denial of the colonial bureaucrat’s fantasy that the colonised subjects (Malay or Sikh), if they are sympathetically understood by the ‘white man’, would deliver a ‘devotion that is ready to give life itself for friendship’. The rupture caused by the acts of
‘recalcitrance’ poses a potential loss of identity of the coloniser as a benevolent figure.

The tone of the passages, which became strained and take on the distance of a third person narration (referred to archetypically now as the ‘White Man’) shows Clifford to be trying desperately to reconnect the seam of the torn colonial script by eliciting sympathy from a metropolitan audience who would identify with him. The text recovers from this crisis by essentially encoding ‘native’ behaviour as examples of typical racial traits of cowardice and the lack of will. The power/knowledge axis therefore recovers in so far as it can still make sense of the aberrant behaviour. However, the assumption and expectation of ‘native’ assent to the idea of colonial benevolence is tenuous.

Clifford deals with this further crisis by trying to reinscribe the violence he unleashes back into the original script of colonial benevolence, incompatible as that may seem. Clifford comments that ‘he loves the folk against whom he is warring – loves them, has served them in the past, will labor to redeem them in the future’. The colonial bureaucrat’s ‘love’ is once again reflected in his assumption of knowledge about the ‘native’, and what is good for him. His identity as an expert on the ‘native’ begins to recover from its anxiety and failure:

The thing is ugly but inevitable. Our experiences in Asia have taught us that it is impossible to avoid making a little war of our own before we can hope to teach an unimaginative people the full blessings of peace.

The logic, however, is highly unstable and the coloniser is finally dealt what is perhaps the most fatal blow – his very authority even as a writer is called into question. He begins to hear of stories being circulated, probably through oral literature forms like story-telling and the wayang kulit that work to challenge his representation of history:

Can it be wondered at that, taking advantage of a credulity so limitless, the warriors give full play to their gifts for devising fairy-tales? They magnify their petty squabble with the powers of law and order into a holy war; forgetting the sordid motives which first uttered them to rebel, they develop all of a sudden all the fiery enthusiasm of the fanatic; they pose unblushingly as crusaders, who have risked and lost all things for the Prophet’s faith. Presently strange stories of the prowess begin to be passed from man to man, from village to village. At their war-yell forty Sikhs fell dead to the ground; the bullets of the infidels flattened themselves impotently against the bodies of the faithful, doing them no hurt, a villager has himself seen one of the disks of lead, a useless Christian missile; the principal Chief has recently spent three months in Kayangan — Fairyland — absorbing the magic arts which render all human tactics futile; all the rebels are invulnerable; white men and the soldier folk were slain in the tens of thousands. It is hinted that the Sultan of Stambul, the King of Siam, the Emperor of China, and every other potentate known to the Malay tradition, down to the King of Birds himself, are in league with the outlaws to drive the white men screaming from the land and to make universal the faith of the Prophet throughout the world. And all these things are believed: no internal evidence in their falsehood has any force, their inherent improbability does not weigh in the balance against their
battle for Faith, the outlaws have no difficulty in gathering a respectable number of adherents so soon as they unfurl the green standard of Muhammadan war.\textsuperscript{21}

V. READING COLONIAL TEXTS IN A POST-COLONIAL CONTEXT

This ultimate image of the presence of a contestation between two kinds of textualities, the oral and the written, one Malaysian and the other colonial in origin, perhaps sums up the point I would like to make about ‘race’ and strategies of reading colonial texts. The process of colonising the space that is Malaysia today took place in a context of resistance. The racial roles that had been assigned to ‘the Malays’ were from the get-go met with interventions on the part of ‘the Malays’ as well. Theories that characterise Malay identity as one of passive acceptance of benevolent neglect or enfeeblement within culturally or biologically determined codes are overdue for revision.\textsuperscript{22} Though they were forced to fight on different sides, both the Mat Kilau rebels and the Sikh soldiers tenuously occupied the roles created for them within the narrative of colonial divide and rule. These early and submerged histories of resistance that are veiled presences in colonial text could point towards a more complex and multiracial history of resistance that is the other face of the colonial period. The racial compartmentalisations attributed to Malaysians by colonial inscription and reinforced in the post/neo-colonial order are not our racial natures but are in fact constructed shackles of identity.

The danger of continuing this discourse and politics of ‘race’ in Malaysia is that we become trapped within the set terms that were proscribed to us by the colonial masters for the purposes of a globalising capitalist hegemony that is still perpetuating itself. The pleasure of reading the above colonial text, for me as a Malaysian, is to encounter the moments when despite all efforts to proscribe a docile compliance, the so-called ‘natives’ are seen to be struggling to assert their own radical selves.

NOTES

\textsuperscript{1} Parta Chatterjee, \textit{Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?} (Minneapolis: United Nations University, 1986).

\textsuperscript{2} See Fanon’s critique of bourgeois nationalism in Frantz Fanon, \textit{The Wretched of the Earth} (New York: Grove Press, 1963). Early Malay nationalism as embodied in the dominant UMNO party had to eventually contend with the heterogeneity of the Malaysian reality, and the popular support commanded by the insurgent Communist movement in Malaysia during post war years. This I believe led to the current form of elite dominated consensual and coalition ethnic politics.

\textsuperscript{3} Benedict Anderson, \textit{Imagined Communities} (London: Verso, 1983).

I owe this insight to A. Sivanandan. Personal Communication. 19 April 1999.


Vaugan., p. 2.


Ibid.

Ibid., p. 50.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 80.