

THE SOUTH EAST ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. XXIII

NOS. 1 & 2

JAN-DEC 1998

Dvaravati People in Ancient Japan

SHOJI IRO

Devaraja in Cambodian History

LOKESH CHANDRA

State System in Ancient Cambodia

LOKESH CHANDRA & SUDARSHANA DEVI SINGHAL

**Human Resource Development in Malaysia:
A Synoptic View**

B. N. GHOSH

Pancasila in Indonesian Poliltics

MUN MUN MAJUMDAR

General Editor

SACHCHIDANAND SAHAI

THE SOUTH EAST ASIAN REVIEW

Founded by Late Dr (Mrs) Sudha Verma

EDITORIAL BOARD

A. K. SINHA • A. RAMACHANDRAN • B. KUMAR • LIPI GHOSH • GANGA
NATH JHA • UMA SHANKAR SINGH • SACHCHIDANAD SAHAI, *Editor*

The views expressed in articles and reviews are the personal opinions of the contributors. The members of the editorial board and the Editor are not responsible for them.

The South Asian Review is published twice a year in June and December for the Centre for South East Asian Studies, Gaya, an autonomous, non-official and no-profit organization for the promotion of research on various aspects of South East Asian civilizations.

The SEAR offers an inter-disciplinary forum for a broad and diversified group of scholars interested in the studies of South East Asia. It is concerned with all aspects of South East Asian culture, but gives special attention to scholarly work in humanities and social sciences.

Authors submitting manuscripts for prospective publication should take the following points into account:

- (a) Manuscript not exceeding thirty typed pages (doubled-spaced), should be sent in duplicate.
- (b) Footnotes should be numbered in sequence throughout the paper with page-to-page arrangement. Indication about the professional position of the author and acknowledgements, if any, should precede the first footnote.

Manuscripts for publication, exchange journals and books for review should be addressed to **The Editor, The South East Asian Review, Dhanesh Bhawan Compound, Samir Takiya, Gaya-823 001, Bihar (India).**

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: India Rs. 200. All Other Countries US \$ 30.

Postage and handling charges US \$ 4 per copy.

Payment in full should accompany all orders. Please make all remittance payable to the Managing Editor, The South East Asian Review.

Orders and inquiries concerning purchase should be addressed to:

**The Managing Editor
The South East Asian Review
Dhanesh Bhawan Compound
Shahmir Takiya
Gaya-823 001**

THE SOUTH EAST ASIAN REVIEW

Vol. XXIII

Nos. 1-2

Jan-Dec 1998

CONTENTS

Dvaravati People in Ancient Japan	SHOJI ITO	1
Devaraja in Cambodian History	LOKESH CHANDRA	7
State System in Ancient Cambodia	LOKESH CHANDRA & SUDARSHANA DEVI SINGHAL	23
Human Resource Development in Malaysia: A Synoptic View	B. N. GHOSH	29
Pancasila in Indonesian Poliltics	MUN MUN MAJUMDAR	42

DVARAVATI PEOPLE IN ANCIENT JAPAN

SHOJI ITO

THE Dvaravati was an ancient kingdom of Thailand. It flourished between 6th and 11th centuries A.D.

In Japan, there is an important chronicle, called "Nihongi" or "nihon-shoki". It was composed by Prince Toneri and Ouno Yasumaro in 720 A.D. This chronicle offers very important facts on Dvaravati. It gives some characteristic features about the people of Dvaravati. With these indications we could be sure that the people of Dvaravati lived in Japan in the ancient times. It was in the later half of 7th century A.D. In this chronicle, "Nihongi", the Dvaravati is called "Tora" or "Tukhara". In 1896, when the "Nihongi"¹ was translated into English, it was not known where the "Tora" or the "Tukhara" was situated. But at present, thanks to the studies by Japanese scholars², these two place names are identified with Thailand. Both these terms represent Dvaravati, an ancient kingdom of Thailand.

So, first of all, let me pick up the portions on the people of Dvaravati, which are found in the chronicle "Nihongi" :

(1) In 654. "Summer, 4th month, two men and two women of the Land of Tukhara (Dvaravati) and one woman of Sravasti were driven by a storm to Hiuga."

(2) In 657. "3rd year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Two men and four women of the Land of Tukhara (Dvaravati) who had drifted to Tsukushi, said : — "We first of all drifted to the island of Amami." So they were sent for by post-horses. 15th day. A model of Mount Sumi (Meru) was constructed to the West of the Temple of Asuka-dera. Moreover the festival of All Souls (Ullambana in Sanskrit) was held. In the evening the people from Tukhara (Dvaravati) were entertained. One book says, "the people of Tora (Dvaravati)"."

(3) In 659. "3rd day.

10th day. The man of Tukhara (Dvaravati) with his wife, a woman of Sravasti, arrived. 17th day. A Mount Sumi (Meru) was constructed on the river-bank East of Amakashi no Oka, and the Yemishi of Michinoku and Koshi were entertained.

(4) In 660. "Autumn, 7th month, 16th day.

¹ W. G. Aston, C.M.G.: *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697, Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London, Supplement I, Vol. II, 1896, London*

² Tatsuro Yamamoto: *East Asian Historical Sources for Dvaravati Studies*, Paper presented at the Seventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, 1977, Bangkok.

Again, the man of Tukhara (Dvaravati), Kendzhashi Tatsua, desired to return to his country (Dvaravati), and asked for an escort officer, saying:— "I intend later to pay my respects to the Court of the Great country, and therefore, in token of this, I leave my wife behind. Accordingly, he took the way of the Western Sea with several tens of men."

(5) In 676. "4th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The various students of the Department of Education, the Department of the Yin and Yang, the Outer Apothecarie's Department, the woman of S'ravasti, the woman of Tora (Dvaravati), Prince Syon-Kwang of Pèkcné, and the Silla labourers offered presents of Drugs and rarities."

The chronicle, "Nihongi" tells us about the five happenings, which occurred between 654 and 676 A.D. in Japan. Of the five passages on the Dvaravati people in Japan, the passage No. (4) is a quite impressive or sentimental sentence. It seems to me that this sentence narrates a beautiful event in the life of Kendzhashi Tatsua, who might be a leader of some group of Dvaravati. Then, at the time of his departure for the native country, Dvaravati, the passage adds that, there were a large number of Dvaravati's people. The chronicle, mentions that he was followed by "several tens of men."

Anyhow, the two events of 654 A.D. (1) and 657 A.D. (2) suggest the places where they arrived in Japan. Their ships were driven by a storm to such places as "Hiuga", "Tsukushi" and "Amami". "Hiuga" is in Miyazaki Prefecture of Kyusyu. "Tsukushi" is in Fukuoka prefecture of Kyusyu. And "Amami" is a Southern Island of Kagoshima Prefecture of Kyusyu. All places where they arrived were situated in southern frontier of Japan.

The most important information is in the passage (5) of 676 A.D. It is about the Drugs. It is recorded that the woman of Tora (Dvaravati) with other persons offered presents of Drugs to the Court of Japan.

So, in talking about the Drugs, one has to remember, that the Dvaravati was one of the big exporters of Drugs, among the Southern countries of Southeast Asia. In 750 A.D., their ships loaded with a lot of Drugs sailed to and anchored at the gulf of Kwan Ton in South of China.³ In the 7th and 8th centuries, its Southern countries were called "Kon-ron" in Japanese. "Kon-ron" is pronounced as "Kun-lun" in Chinese. The Dvaravati was one of the "Kun-lun", Southern countries.

The Chinese documents on "Kun-lun", Southern countries, tell us about the appearance of "Kun-lun"'s men. If I summarize the characteristics of their appearance, the following four features emerge about the Dvaravati people: (1) The hair of their head were curly.

³ Shoji Ito: Yakushi-Ji no dubarabati jin (Dvaravati's men in Yakushi-ji Temple)

(in Japanese), Tohoh-gaku, Vol 57, Tokyo, p. 12.

(2) The ears had a hole for a metal ring. (3) Their loin cloth was in cotton or some animal skins. (4) They were bare footed and black skinned.

In keeping these characteristics of the appearance of Dvaravati's men in my mind, when I look at the archaeological finds discovered in Thailand, there are several art objects, which belong to the Dvaravati period. Let me take up some examples, discovered at the wellknown archaeological sites of the Dvaravati period: Nakorn Pathom, Ku Bua and Si Tep in Thailand, particularly Fig. 6. All of the human figures as art objects have some characteristics, which are described in the Chinese documents as mentioned above.

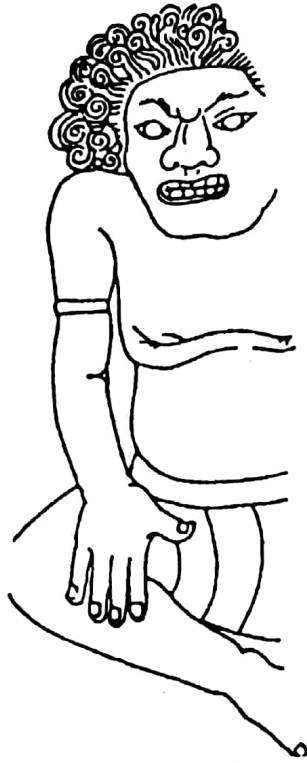
In this connexion, I would cite an interesting Buddha image, in Nara City in Japan. One should pay attention to the pedestal of the Buddha image. In fact, this pedestal has the human figures of men, who are just like the portraits. They are represented in relief. Two men among those figures hold a pot of drug with both hands. And their appearances are quite similar to the Dvaravati's men, their characteristics of "Kun-lun"'s men, mentioned above. It seems to me, as other scholars have suggested it before, that they probably might be the portraits of "Kun-lun" men.

The portraits of men are represented on the side-faces of the pedestal of the Buddha image. This Buddha image is a Bhaishajyaguru Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism, and cast in bronze. At present, it is generally admitted that this Buddha image was created some times between 718 A.D. and 726 A.D. This is a very beautiful image since it was registered as a National Treasure of Japan. The casting date is the early 8th century A.D. So, one can remember that this Buddha image with its pedestal was made about 50 years after the happenings in the chronicle "Nihongi".

In the pedestal of Bhaishajyaguru Buddha image, there are fourteen men, represented in realism. They are all (Figs. 1-5) in bronze, 30 cm in height. Several views, proposed since 1921, suggest that they might have been the portraits of some men, who came and lived in ancient times in Japan. But it remained only a hypothesis, since not any kind of evidences were available to prove that they were the portrait of men from "Kon-ron" southern countries of Southeast Asia. Until the present day, it is still a question, even though there are several opinion on the problem whether they are surely the portraits of men who came from Dvaravati or not.

When I read the facts, which are recorded in the chronicle "Nihongi", I am inclined to think that there might be some relationships between the Drugs of the chronicle and this image of Bhaishajyaguru Buddha. In Japan, the people have a faith when they become sick. They believe that the Bhaishajyaguru Buddha is a limitless deliverer, healing all sick persons with the Drugs. So, in this connexion, I am

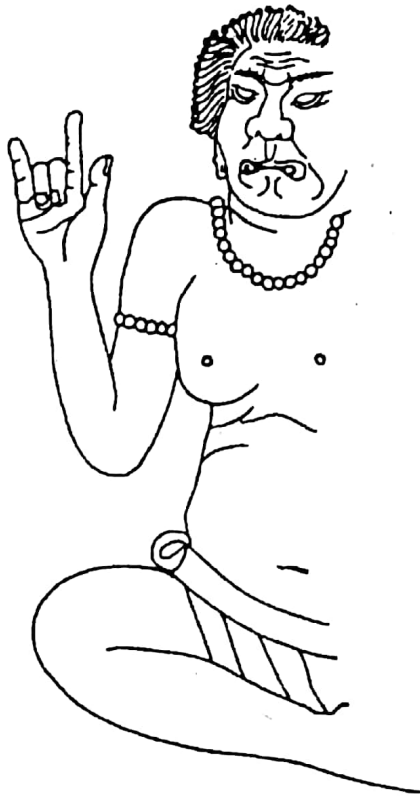
4



1



2



3



4



Figs. 1-5 — Portrait figures at Yakushi-ji temple in Nara City.



Fig. 6 — An inscribed figure, found at Nakorn Pathom, preserved in Bangkok National Museum.

again inclined to think that the portraits might have been a representation for some thankful thought or memory, paid to the men who kindly dedicated their Drugs to the Court of Japan. It was the same good behaviour recorded in the chronicle "Nihongi". One has to remember that the women of Dvaravati offered the Drugs to the Court of Japan in 676 A.D. Then it was about 50 years later that the great image of the Bhaishajyaguru Buddha was made during the reign of Emperor Syoumu (701-756 A.D.).

This paper was presented at the International Association of Historians of Asia, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, May 1996.

DEVARAJA IN CAMBODIAN HISTORY

LOKESH CHANDRA

THE word Devaraja, its counterpart, Khmer expression *Kamrateh Jagat ta Raja/Rajya* and the term *Linga* in Cambodian inscriptions, as well as the archaeological monuments designated 'temple mountains' became shrouded in mystification, in esoteric and enigmatic royal rites, because the word Devaraja was translated as 'God-King'. The symbolic rites of the Classical worlds of Greece and Rome, with the new element of authority introduced by the development of Christianity, has unconsciously conditioned European interpretations of Cambodian history. I am reminded of Synesius: "Aristotle is of opinion that the initiated... received impressions, which were put into a suitable frame of mind" (Aristotle, *Fragments*, ed. E. Heitz, Leipzig, 1869:40). Temples to Roman emperors as gods, routinisation of their charisma in precise imperial cults have unwittingly affected the entire discussion of Devaraja as 'God-King', particularly in the theorisation of Coedès: "men were worshipped as gods" (Kullke xv). Kulke finds no evidence of deification of living beings in India (xv), Devaraja does not designate the kings of Cambodia (xvii), and the considerations of Filliozat (1966: 103) disprove the divinisation of Angkorian kings. Filliozat asks: "Who was venerated in Angkor as devaraja, Siva or the Cambodian kings?" He showed on the basis of South Indian sources that in Devaraja Siva was venerated.

Majumdar (1944: 77) attributes three meanings to Devaraja that are supposed to emerge from the interpretation of the Sdok Kak Thom (SKT) inscription:

- (i) Cult of Devaraja.
- (ii) *Linga* which represented the essence of royal authority conceived as divine, hence regarded as the tutelary deity, and placed in a temple on top of a mountain.
- (iii) A Tantric ritual ceremony.

The word Devaraja occurs for the first time in the 29th stanza of the SKT:

*dvijas samuddhrtya sa sastra-saram rahasya-kausalya-dhiya
sayatnah/
siddhir uvahantih kila devarajabhikhyam vidadhre bhuvana-rddhi-
vrddhyai//*

Coedès (1946: 96) translated it into French: "Ce brahmane ayant, avec l'intelligence et l'expérience des mystères, extrait soigneusement l'essence des çâstras, établit, pour l'accroissement de la prospérité du

monde, les rites magiques (*siddhi*) qui portent le nom du Devaraja".

It has been translated into English by Chakravarti (1980: 2.19) as follows: "After carefully extracting the quintessence of the sastras (sacred texts) by his experience and understanding of the mysteries, this brahmana established the magical rites bearing the name of Devaraja for the sake of increase in the prosperity of the world."

Chakravarti follows Coedès in interpreting *devarajabhikhyam vahantih siddhir vidadhre* "he established the magical rites carrying the name of devaraja. All these words are replete with imperial perceptions and rites. The stanza becomes clearer in its prose order: *sa dvijah sayatnah rahasya-kausalya-dhiya sastra-saram samuddhrtiya devarajabhikhyam kila vahantih siddhir bhuvana-rddhi-vrddhyai vidadhre*. Three words in it are crucial. *Devaraja* means; King of the Gods' and not "God=King". He is Indra and refers to the highly efficacious *aindra mahabhiseka* of the Rgvedic *rajasuya* tradition as elaborated in the *Aitareya-brahmana*. It was not a simple but a great coronation, a mahabhiseka. It was of extraordinary significance that Jayavarman II performed a Rgvedic rite, which lent him charismatic authority. This ritual objectified and institutionalized his charisma. This routinisation guaranteed his authority which was lent further supernatural and divine force by the four Agamic rites. This is brought out by the Rgvedic word *abhikhya* which means 'gracious look' in RV. 10.112.10, and it occurs in RV. 8.23.5 *abhikhya bhasa brhata susukvanih* in the meaning 'lustre, brilliance, glory, halo', and the Naigh 3.9 equates it with *prajna*. The renown, and splendour ensuing from the performance of the Devaraja ceremonies of coronation was strengthened by Agamic rites, and was a major step introduced by Jayavarman II. The *aindra mahabhiseka* was usually followed by an *asvamedha*, the dream of kings of the Hindu Kulturkreis. In the *Aitareya-brahmana*, cakravartins are anointed, conquer all around the earth and perform *asvamedha*. The fast two cakravartins, being not kings (*araja*), are not credited with *asvamedha*.

Sidhi refers to Agamic rituals intended for the rddhi or prosperity, fortune, wealth and supernatural power of the state. The rddhi lasts till the virtues of the king, as it is said in Hemacandra's *Parisistaparvan* 8.313 *yavatpunyam hi rddhayah*. The form *dadhre* is from the root *dhr*, and implies that these rites upheld and sustained the kingdom. The prefix *vi* is intensive in meaning and refers to the stabilisation of the kingdom of Jayavarman II on two levels: Vedic and Agamic. It was made firm by the four Agamic rites which diminished (*vinasikha*) and destroyed (*sirascheda*) the might of enemy kings by politics of deception (*sammoha*) and superior diplomacy (*nayottara*): prudence in polity leads to success (*prakrsta-naya-patavat* in *Parisistaparvan* 8.84). The full import of *vidadhre* becomes evident from the Khmer portion of the inscription which says that King

Jayavarman II came from Java to Indrapura in Cambodia (C61). He invited brahmana Hiranyadama to conduct a ceremony (*vidhi*) which should prevent this land of Kambuja from ever being dependent (*ayatta*) on Java, and to bring about instead that there should be only one single 'Lord of the lower earth' (= king; Khmer *kamraten phdai karom*), who would be *cakravartin* (C71-73). Thus, *vidadhre* means the complete stabilisation of the kingdom through the performance of *siddhis*. The translation of *vidadhre* as "établit...les rites magiques (*siddhis*) qui portent le nom du Devaraja by Coedès (1946: 96) is not correct. In this case the Sanskrit expression would have been *vidadhe* 'performed'. The inscription uses the word *hotr* in stanza 27 (A54), and *rajahota* in stanza 129 (D1). The *hotr* is a priest who recites the Rgveda, as one of the four officiating priests (*hotr*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman* and *udgatr*). He is specially a Rgvedic priest concerned with Rgvedic rites. The role of the *hotr* in Cambodia confirms that Devaraja is Indra and it refers to the Rgvedic rite of *aindra mahabhiseka* described at length in the Aitareya-brahmana of the Rgveda. Sivakaivalya is actually called a *hotr* in the SKT inscription (st. 27).

According to the Aitareya-brahmana (Aufrecht 221, Keith 329) the *mahabhiseka* or great coronation rite of Indra was for great kingship, for *sezeraubtym fir supremacy*, for pre-eminence. The first step of this rite was that the king mounted the throne. The second step was a proclamation by the *Visve-devah*: "Do ye proclaim him, O gods, as overlord and overlordship, as paramount ruler and father of paramount rulers, as self ruler and self rule, as sovereign and sovereignty, as king and father of kings, as supreme lord and supreme authority. The lordly power hath been born, the Ksatriya hath been born, the suzerain of all creation hath been born, the enjoyer of the folk hath been born, the breaker of citadels hath been born, the slayer of the Asuras hath been born, the guardian of the holy power hath been born, the guardian of the law hath been born." The third and final step was anointment or coronation by *Prajapati*, and by four classes of gods in the four directions (*Vasus* in the east, *Rudras* in the south, *Adityas* in the west, *Visvedevah* in the north) and in the middle and upwards with the following mantra: "Anointed with this great anointment Indra won all victories, found all the worlds, attained the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy..." (ib. 331). The Aitareya-brahmana (Aufrecht 224, Keith 331) says that this *mahabhiseka* applied to all *ksatriya* kings: "If he who knows thus should desire of a Ksatriya "May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings, and overlordship, paramount rule, self rule, sovereignty, supereme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty; may he be all encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler', he should anoint him with

this great anointing of Indra" (Keith 336f).

In the Aitareya-brahmana the gods are led by Prajapati when Indra is enthroned on the symbolic throne called *rc*, which is described as follows:

two front feet	brhat and rathantara	Supported by
two back feet	vairupa and vairaja	Savitr and
head & foot planks	sakvara and raivata	Brhaspati
cross planks	naudhasa and kaleya	Vayu and Pusan
lengthwise ropes	<i>rc</i> verses	Mitra and Varupa
cross-ties	samans	Asvins
holes	yajuses	
coverlet	glory	
pillow	prosperity	

Prajapati is the Purohita who addresses him with a verse and anoints him with a branch of udumbara. Thus enthroned and anointed, "he became the supreme authority, as connected with Prajapati" (Keith 331).

The aindra mahabhiseka was performed for twelve cakravartin kings who are named in the Aitareya-brahmana along with their anointing priests (Keith 331-339) in the chapter on the mahabhiseka of kings:

King	Priest
1. Janamejaya Pariksita	Tura Kavaseya
2. Saryata Manava	Cyavana Bhargava
3. Satanika Satrajita	Somasusman Vajaratnayana
4. Ambasthya	Parvata and Narada
5. Yudhainsrausti Augrasainya	Parvata and Narada
6. Visvakarman Bhauvana	Kasyapa
7. Sudas Pajavana	Vasistha
8. Marutta Aviksita	Samvarta Atreya
9. Anga	Udamaya Atreya
10. Bharata Dauhsanti	Dirghatamas Mamateya
11. Durmukha Pancala	Brhaduktha
12. Atyarati Janamtapi	Vasistha Satyahavya

The chapter on rajasuya (Keith 309f) begins: Prajapati created the sacrifice. After the creation of the sacrifice, he created the holy power and the lordly power. He created the offspring that eat the oblations and are the holy power that leads to lordly power. The brahmans are foundation of royal power, and the king dare not violate their wishes. The last cakravartin Janamtapi, though not a king, conquered everywhere. His purohita Vasistha Satyahavya said: you have conquered the earth entirely on every side; make me great. The king said: O Brahman, when I conquer the Uttarakurus then you would be the king of the earth and I your general. The purohita replied:

that is a place of the gods, no mortal man may conquer it. You have been false to me, therefore I take this from you. His strength taken away and he having lost his power, king Saibya killed him. Therefore one should not play false with a brahman: "Let me not loose my kingdom, nor my breath forsake me". The Aitareya-brahmana devotes the next chapter (Keith 339f) to Purohitaship. The gods do not entertain the offerings of a king who does not please a purohita. In appointing a purohita the king propitiates the gods and they carry him to the world of heaven, to the lordly power, the might, the kingdom and the people. A king, who has a purohita to guard the kingdom with knowledge, conquers lordly power, attains might and overcomes all hostilities. The Aitareya-brahmana clearly states: "he who knows the dying round the holy power, round him the rivals that vie with and hate him die". The passage is long in proclaiming death to the enemy and it concludes that by these rituals king Sutvan saw that five kings round him died and he attained greatness. "Even if his enemy has a head of stone, swiftly he lays him low". This is echoed in *sirascheda* of the SKT inscription.

Jayavarman II established his residence in the city of Mahendraparvata (SKT st. 25): Jayavarma-mahibhrto mahendranavanibhrn-murddha-krtaspadasya. Its Cambodian version runs (C 56): man vrah pada paramesvara pratistha kamraten jagat ta raja (KJR) "nau nagara sri-mahendraparvata" then His Majesty Paramesvara (=Jayavarman II) consecrated the KJR icon in the metropolis of Sri Mahendraparvata. Mahendra-parvata (with long ma) is the mountain raised for the mahendra coronation of Jayavarman II. The term mahendra is equal to aindra and is a direct reference to the aindra mahabhiseka. Mahendra 'belong to Great Indra' is actually employed in Buddhist Tantric ritual for the evocation of the Meru. Thus Mahendraparvata refers to the pyramidal structure of Meru created in an open space for the aindra coronation of Jayavarman II, as the symbolic centre of the kingdom, the nagara, overlooking the royal palace situated on level ground. In the Buddhist Tantric rites a golden spot of earth which belongs to Mahendra is sanctified. On it appears Sumeru surrounded by continents and the seven jewels of the state, and by two symbols of royalty: the sun and the moon. On the summit of Sumeru is the Sudarsana palace of Indra (Wayman 1973: 101-109). This coronation was for invincible security and uninterrupted stability of the kingdom further fortified by the four Agamic rites ending in *sirascheda* 'beheading'. Decapitation of the enemy king was a critical issue for the survival of the Cambodian state, and personally for Jayavarman II. The Javanese had beheaded the king of the Khmers and carried away his head to Java. The young Jayavarman II was taken to the court of the Javanese Maharaja as a hostage. On return, he was chosen King by the ministers of the beheaded monarch. The *sirascheda* (beheading)

rites conducted at the instance of Jayavarman II were to avenge the beheading of his predecessor as well as to preempt its recurrence. Tantric rites were a prelude to conquests or for stemming apprehended aggression. Kublai Khan got initiated into Hevajra in 1264 and again in 1269 for victories in his Southeast Asian campaigns. King Krtanagara obtained the more powerful empowerment of Guhyasamaja Aksobhya to ward off the imperial designs of Kublai Khan (Lokesh Chandra 1995: 156).

The pre-eminence of the King had to be sustained by constant vigil and by sustained efforts to minimise the position of rival kings by defence preparedness, by taking away (*vina*) their crest (*sikha*) or glory and eminence, by strategies of deception (*sammoha*), and by all-round effective diplomatic manoeuvres (*nayottara*). While these terms stand for Agamic texts and rites at the same time they imply royal exigencies by *double entendre*. These rites for vanquishing rival kings are mentioned only in the SKT inscription. They were intended to pre-empt any future Javanese aggression or claims of suzerainty. This is explicit in the Cambodian part of the inscription which says in lines 71-73: "Then there came from Janapada a Brahmana, Hiranyadama by name, who was proficient in the art of magic, because His Majesty Paramesvara had invited him to perform a supplementary ceremony so as to make it impossible for this country of Kambuja to become dependent on Java (and) to realize that only the master of the inner surface (i.e. His Majesty Paramesvara) become a sovereign ruler" (Chakravarti 1980: 2.95). 'Master of the inner surface' (*kamraten phdai karom*) means that only an indigenous king, an insider (not an outsider), should be the sovereign of Cambodia. Phdai 'the surface of the earth, area of the soil', *karom* 'interior, lower part'. It has the same significance as the modern Indonesian term *bhumiputra*.

The folk legends of Cambodia preserve the memory of Jayavarman II as deriving his power from Indra. He is held as the son of Indra under the name of Preas Ket Mealea 'The Floral Light'. The legend runs as follows:

Oh ! marvel. There reigned in those days a virtuous king named Vong Aschar, a powerful Prince, who showered benefits upon his people. The queen, his spouse, the beautiful Teyvodey (Devata), was surrounded by an innumerable bevy of fresh and supple maidens who waited upon her day and night. One hundred and one vassal princes paid the king tribute, bringing continuously presents of all kinds. Incalculable were the riches of this monarch. Precious stones, gold, silver, bracelets, carpets, silks, embroideries and figured stuffs. Countless were the elephants, the chariots, the horses, the litters, the canopies, the parasols, the fringed curtains and the golden garlands. Innumerable were the warriors of all arms, all armies and the lords and ladies who adorned the king's Court.

But Great Indra, looking down upon his favourite Land of the Khmers, noted that its King and Queen were childless. So taking advantage of the Queen's being without the palace, Great Indra floated down towards earth as a blaze of blue, so that men shouted: "Light is descending upon us". The Great Indra wooed and won the Queen, not in a shower of gold, but in a rain of blossoms, whereby she was got with child. And when she brought forth her son she named him Preas Ket Mealea that is the 'The Floral Light'.

Great Indra swept up his earth-born son, Preas Ket Mealea, into his bosom so that the child might be shown the glories of Tavatimsa, or Paradise, and thus be assured of long life upon earth and among men. To render more certain his son's length of days, the divine father bathed the boy seven times a day for seven days in a pool of miraculous waters.

For his son's coronation, Great Indra deigned to visit this earth of ours, and to give to his child's realm its name of Kambuja while establishing its divine institutions. Moreover, he confided to the Khmers the Sacred Sword (Prah Khan), which is the lightning of Indra, and is kept to this day in the royal palace (Brodrick 1947: 176-177).

Indra is closely associated with the coronation of Jayavarman II and his coronation rites are alive through the Sacred Sword Prah Khan bequeathed by him. This Sacred Sword is kept in a pavilion to the left side of the Throne Palace. It is the palladium of the realm, the lightning of Indra confided to the rulers of the Khmer kingdom. It must be kept spotless. To withdraw the Sword from its scabbard without propitiatory rites would induce catastrophe to the realm.

Cambodia's royal ritual was taken over by Thailand, and naturally Indra plays an important role in the coronation ceremonies of Thailand from the mid-fourteenth century upto the present day. King Luthai of the Sukhothai dynasty wrote Thailand's most remarkable work *Trai Phum* 'The Three Worlds', which is a comprehensive description of Buddhist cosmology and is essential to understand Thai theories of a cakravartin. King Luthai and later Thai rulers have been interested in three realms of the humans, of the Four Guardian Kings and of Indra's heaven in the *Trai Phum*. The realm of humans is composed of four great continents where people live under a cakravartin. Next is the realm of the Catur-maharajika, and still higher is the realm of Tavatimsa or the heaven of the Thirtythree Gods ruled by Indra. They have served as models for the rulers of SE Asia. The earthly king emulates Indra and himself becomes Indra. Indra's palace is situated on the top of Meru and so also were the palaces of SE Asian kings: "In emulation of Indra, whose palace is regally situated at the exact tip of the cosmic Mount Meru, Theravada kings traditionally build their palaces at the symbollic centres of their kingdoms. Thus, the earthly king himself becomes Indra. 'Indra' appears twice in

the official name of Thailand's present day capital, Bangkok; and representations of Indra's royal mount, the 33-headed elephant, Erawan (usually portrayed with only three heads), is an ubiquitous emblem above the doors and gateways of Bangkok's public buildings. Angkorian kings once identified themselves with Indra. Indra provides kings with ceremonial glitter and regal aura (Gosling 1991: 64).

The royal consecration (abhiseka) of king Luthai (1347-about 1370) was performed by the rulers of the four directions, or the Catur-Maharajikas. It is interpreted by Gosling (1991: 65) as the aristocracy of the outlying areas who bestowed the regalia of the crown, the sword and the white parasol to legitimate the reign of Luthai. The consecration of king Luthai must have been done on the level of the human realm as a cakravartin when he conquered Sukhothai and became its ruler under the designation of Mahadharmaraja: due to the righteousness of his previous lives. The second coronation on the plane of the Caturmaharajika paradise. On the third plane he was firmly established in the royal city of Sukhothai which was Indra's city in which the Buddhist stupa and the pulpit for preaching Buddhism were located outside the city. He located his palace close to the centre of the city, but outside the monastery walls, Buddhist structures have to be outside the city of Indra.

The Thai Book of Palace Law (Kata Mandirapala) gives an account of Indrabhiseka. For this royal ceremony a Meru is built in the middle of an open space. Indra sits on it. The details of the ceremony can be read in Wales (1931: 122-123). Its performance is recorded for AD 1510 when Ramadhipati II brought the northern part of modern Thailand under the sway of Ayudhya. During the tonsure ceremony, which resembles the coronation, Siva presents vajiravudha or adamant mace of Indra to the candidate (Wales 1931: 134).

The aindra mahabhiseka is clearly reflected in the Preah Ko stele of Indravarman I, dated AD 877. The three stanzas 6-8 of this inscription are:

6. *yenabhisikto vidhina mahendras
svayambhuvaropitadevarajyah/
tenabhiseka[m] gunavan anekam
yas srindravarmmapad avaryya-viryyah//*

7. *prathamam labdharajyo yah pratijnam krtavan iti/
itah pancadinad urdhvam prarapsye khamanadikam//*

8. *srimat-simhasanam srindra- yanam srindravimanakam/
srindrprasadakam haimam bheje yas svadhiya krtam//*

6. C'est par le rite grâce auquel Svayambhū a sacré Mahendra

en l'élevant à la royauté divine [ou a consacré (le mont) Mahendra en y établissant le culte du Devaraja] que Sri Indravarman, doué de tous les mérites et d'un héroïsme irrésistible, a reçu un sacre qui n'est pas unique.

7. Dès qu'il eut reçu le pouvoir royal, il fit cette promesse: "Dans cinq jours, à partir d'aujourd'hui, je commencerai à creuser, etc."

8. Il possédait le vénérable trône aux lions, le (véhicule) Sri Indrayana, le (palais) Sri Indravimanaka et le (pavillon) Sri Indraprasadaka, fait en or selon son propre dessein (Coedès 19337: 20.25).

The context, meaning and significance of these three stanzas was missed by Coedès. Majumdar (1953: 65) pointed out that the exact sense is not clear. The sixth stanza makes the association of the sequence of the coronation ceremonies clear beyond doubt. It says explicitly that Indravarman was crowned and consecrated by those very ceremonies (*vidhina*) by which Indra (*Mahendra*) attained the glorious domain of gods (*devarajah*) coronated by Svayambhu. Thus: *Mahendra* is Indra, *Svayambhu* is Prajapati, *devarajya* is the domain of Devaraja that is Indra. The next stanza goes on to clarify the association with Indra in more explicit terms by prefixing Indra to yana, vimanaka and prasadaka when it says that as soon as Indravarman obtained the kingdom, he made a vow (*pratijna*) that within five days I will begin excavations (*khanana*) and other (*adikam*) preparations for creating the coronation plaza. The excavations had to be undertaken to get sufficient earth to raise a vimana or "tower surmounting a sanctuary in the centre...Vimanas are buildings of one to twelve storeys and are used as residences of gods and men" according to the Manasara in its chapter 18 on vimana (18.2.3). Vimana is a seven-storeyed building in the Ramayana 1.5.16, and in Medini lexicon (N121). Acharya (1934: 1.551-556) gives a number of references to texts and inscriptions on the meaning of vimana. The vimana represents the Meru in architecture. The Meru arises in the centre of the four continents surrounded by four oceans. The dug up earth was used to raise up the man-made Mount Meru in five storeys and the dug up parts of the complex resulted in ponds and symbolised the oceans. The five-stepped pyramidal Meru has been called 'temple mountain' in European works. It was not a mountain with any temple, but a specific structure with five terraces, technically designated *indravimanaka* in the inscription, Mahameru or Meru as the residence of Indra. The first man-made Meru is the Bakong, constructed under the personal supervision of Indravarman and completed in 881, and called Indravimanaka as it was intended for his aindra mahabhiseka. The aerial photograph of Bakong (Bhandari 1996: 25) gives a clear view of the Meru with five storeys topped by a temple (*indradasadaka*). Several other five-terraced Merus are found in

Cambodia. To name a few:

AD	Name	Illustration in
10th century	Phimean-akas	Bhandari 37
968-1001	Ta Keo	Bhandari 34
1050-66	Baphuon	Bhandaari 35, 31
1113-50	Angkor Wat	Bhandari 31
1181-1219	Bayon	Bhandari 31

The Angkor Wat is a five-stepped pyramid achieved by raising laterite walls of all the five steps right from the ground level and filling the intervening space with earth at the walls gained in height. The moat around Angkor Wat was a natural result of the excavation of earth required to fill the vast intervening courtyards between the various enclosures. The Meru was built not on filled earth, but by filling earth (Bhandari 1996: 135). Our inscription refers to this operation at Bakong as *khanan-adikam*.

Indraprasadaka of the inscription refers to the golden edifice on top of the Meru. It represents the Sudarsan palace of Indra wherein the great aindra coronation took place. As the heart of the architectonics of coronation it was gilded (*haimam*).

To reach the coronation plaza, an Indra-yana or Indra-vehicle was also wrought. It must have been a magnificent vehicle for a royal procession in style and splendour. It corresponds to the imposing and extraordinarily high carriages used for royal coronations in Thailand and called *vaijyanta* in Thai. They can be seen at the National Museum, Bangkok.

The throne (*Srimat simhasanam*) must also have been carpented with the special woods, specified for aindra mahabhiseka, namely that of the four kinds of trees: nyagrodha, udumbara, asvattha and plaksa (Keith p. 332). The nyagrodha confers upon the king lordly power, udumbara confers paramount rule, asvattha confers overlordship, and plaksa confers self-rule and sovereignty. This is imperative for a ksatriya who desires: "May I win all victories, find all worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence, and supremacy over all kings and overlordship, paramount rule, self rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty; may I be all encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean sole ruler" (Keith 332).

All the four items of coronation, the vehicle, the pyramidal Meru, Indra's palace atop, and the throne within, are prefixed by *sri* which emphasises that they were meant for royal use: *srimat simhasanam* (throne), *sringdrayanam* (chariot), *sringdravimanakam* (pyramidal structure), *sringdraprasadakam* (palace). Caspairs (1958: 25) says that *sri* proceeds royal titles and is a 'royal predicate'. King Indravarman himself designed and supervised (*svadhiya krtam*) everything to

exclude any eventuality. The paraphernalia and architectural constructions followed the prescriptions for the ideal coronations of Indra the King of Gods (Deva-raja) in the Vedic rites. The sixth stanza explicitly points out that rites by which Mahendra was consecrated by Svayambhu in being elevated to the Kingship of the Gods (*devarajyah*), by those very rites Indravarman, the meritorious and of irresistible heroism, attained the multipurpose (*anekam*) consecration.

The translation of Coèdes and of Majumdar has to be revised in the light of the above observations.

The word *devaraja* occurs thrice in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription (stanzas 29, 61, 63. Chakravarti 1980: 2: 19, 32, 34). Stanza 29 has *devarajabhikhyam vahantih siddhih* 'the siddhis that strengthened the glory of the Devaraja'. Stanza 61 speaks of the worship of the Devaraja (*devarajasya...cakrur arcam*) by the royal priests. Stanza 61 again refers to the worship of Devaraja (*devaraj-arcana*). In all of them Devaraja means the icon used for the Devaraja coronation, or the aindra mahabhiseka. The first coronation icon of Jayavarman II became the national palladium, while the coronation icons of later kings were restricted to individual kings. Whenever they shifted the capital, the national palladium accompanied them.

The Khmer portion of the SKT inscription says that His Majesty Paramesvara i.e. Jayavarman II consecrated *kamraten jagat ta raja* in the town of Sri-Mahendraparvata (line 56: *man vrah pada Paramesvara pratistha kamraten jagat ta raja nau nagara Sri-Mahendraparvata*). *Pratistha* means consecration of the palladium, and not merely its material installation as Coèdes takes it (1946: 103 n. 2). Coèdes interprets *kamraten jagat ta raja* 'the master of the universe, who is the king' and regularly equates it with *devaraja*. This term occurs in several passages of the Cambodian portion (Chakravarti 2.99.102, 103, 107, 110, 135, 136, 140, 143). Its variant is *kamrateh an ta raja* (Chakravarti 2.100). The Koh Ker inscription (AD 921-932) of Jayavarman IV has *kamraten an jagat ta rajya* (Coèdes 1937: 49), and the Prasat Khna inscription *kamraten an ta rajya* (Coèdes 1946: 10). The phrase *kamraten jagat ta raja/rajya* means '[an icon of the] Lord of the Universe (*jagat*) as well as of the Kingdom (*raja/rajya*)'. *Raja* is the Middle Indic form of *rajya* 'kingdom'. It is He who protected the kingdom of Cambodia (Chakravarti 1980: 2.102). This term does not identify the icon as pertaining to any one of the Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Isvara. the coronation icon of Jayavarman II, was given a genetic appellation of Devaraja, having been used in the Devaraja/Indra coronation.

The coronation of Indra was conducted by Prajapati. The coronation of Jayavarman II too had to have the divine presence of Prajapati for sanctity and effectiveness. Prajapati is Brahma. The famous Sanskrit lexicon Amarakosa gives twenty synonyms of Brahma. Among

them the following are relevant to the present discussion: Brahma, Lokesa, Prajapati, Atmabhu, Svayambhu. He is also known as Sahampati or Lord of the Earth, our terra firma. In the Cambodian *kamraten jagat ta raja/rajya*, *jagat* reminds of Brahma as the Lord of the Universe, as Prajapati or Svayambhu and *raja* alludes to him as Lokesa or Sahampati. *Brahma ca ksatram ca* has been a coupled notion of spiritual authority for temporal power. Rajan and Brahman existed in symbiosis. Regnum and flamonium were two living paradigms in the Roman political order. The Latin word *regnum* and *flamen* are cognate to Rajan and Brahman. The root *brmh* is at the base of Brahman, and also of *burg*, borough, Gothic *baurgs* 'city', OE *beorg* 'mountain'. An intrinsic relationship exists between Brahman, the city, the acropolis and mountain since Indo-European times. Brahma or Prajapati could be present in a number of forms. The Cambodian inscriptions speak of the installation of Lingas. Linga can have three forms: (i) phallus, (ii) image, and (iii) pivot. Their political function too was of three kinds: (i) as the national palladium, (ii) as the coronation icon of the ruling king, and (iii) as ancestral images legitimating the royal descent of the king. The coronation icon represented devayana and the ancestral icon pitryana.

Brahma can be present in the royal coronation rites as Svayambhuva Linga, the most superior (uttamottama) of Lingas (Rao 1914: 2.80). though the Kamikagama describes it as one which came into existence by itself, it means a Linga related to Svayambhu or Brahma. The name of the first Manu is Svayambhuva: he is the first king of mankind. Svayambhuva Linga is shown in phallic form at the beginning of the Thai iconographic manual entitled Devapuja. The only monument known to have been dedicated exclusively to Brahma as an image in all Cambodian history was by King Jayavarman IV. He consecrated Prasat Banteay Pir Chan in 937 to Prajapatisvara (Brahma) (Briggs 1951: 122). It was a must for him "leaving no other supporter in his race than himself". He conquered the royal city of Yasodharapura, took the national palladium (*kamraten jagat ta raja*) and its royal priest Isanamurti to establish his new capital at Chok Gargyar (Koh Ker). The third way of representing the Linga was a tunnel shaft in the centre of the Meru. Under the central tower of Angkor Wat, G. Trouve discovered a tunnel shaft which goes down 27 metres to the original ground level (Henri Parmentier, *Guide to Angkor*, quoted in Bhandari 1996: 135). This is the Brahmadarū to stabilise the weight of the galleries and towers.

The icon used by Jayavarman II for his aindra mahabhiseka, his Devaraja = Indra (icon), became the symbol of the Cambodian state, as the sacred and secular sovereignty denoted by Prajapatisvara/Brahma, as the continuity of the vital flow of the universal (*jagat*) into the stability of the terrestrial kingdom (*raja = rajya*). As the founder of the

new Kambuja state, he contributed a national palladium under its Cambodian appellation *kamraten jagat ta raja/rajya*. Whenever the capital was transferred by his successors, it was taken to the new nagara, for it had to be constantly in the capital. The SKT inscription says that whatever be the capital where the kings went to reside, the palladium (*kamraten jagat ta raja*, lines 80-81) was also brought there. A parallel tradition exists in Champa. The Bhadresvara-svami consecrated by Bhadravarman at Myson because the national palladium of the Chams. It was maintained and restored by subsequent kings; e.g. Sambhuvarman re-established the temple of Bhadravarman which was burnt at the time of his father, added his own name to that of the original founder, and re-named the image as Sambhu-Bhadresvara (Majumdar 1927: 37).

Besides the national palladium, the ruling king had his personal coronation image, denoted by Linga in the inscriptions, and named after him + Isvara.

Moreover, temples were built by kings to enshrine the images of their ancestors to impress their distinguished lineage, genuine royal ancestry, their blue blood, to strengthen their claim to the throne. Yasovarman I "built up an elaborate family tree, connecting himself through his mother with the ancient kings of Funan and Chenla" (Briggs 1951: 105). His maternal descent was given a prominent place in the Loley temple, which he completed in 893 at the beginning of his reign, with four towers dedicated to Siva and Bhavani:

Front towers	:	Indravarmesvara	(father)
	:	Mahipatesvara	(maternal grandfather)
rear towers	:	Indradevi	(mother)
	:	Rajendradevi	(maternal grandmother)

The portrait statue of the father was a common practice under the term Vaprakesvara in Indonesia as well as in India (Poerbatjaraka 1926: 62-82).

Coèdes (1952b: 51) considers Angkor Wat as a mausoleum of its founder. The Cambodian monuments were meant to exalt and not to deify the king. Moron (1977: 234) has worked out the encoding of time and space at Angkor Wat and she concludes that Visnu was consecrated in the central sanctuary in late July of 1131 for the coronation of Suryavarman. He began work on Angkor Wat soon after he came to power. His birth date of 1021 is on the south while that of the temple (home of the gods) is on the north. This agrees with the north-south dichotomy of divinity and royalty in the third gallery (ib. 235). The life of the King is closely related to the dimensions of the axes of the third gallery. The central tower has 44 columns around and it itself is a symbol for the 45th deity of the vastu-purusa-mandala, who is Brahma. The central tower is thus Brahma (ib. 254-261). From the moment the visitor crosses the bridge to Angkor Wat, numerology leads to

Brahma in the central sanctuary. Brahma as the centremost point indicates that Angkor Wat is a coronation Sumeru of Suryavarman. Brahma fashioned Jayavarman out of a half of each from Siva and Visnu, and he took from Siva his power and handed it over to Jayavarman (inscriptions of Prasat Chrun and Angkor Thom, K281.K288) in *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 4.207-250). Suryavarman too derived his power from Brahma, who as Prajapati crowned Indra the King of Gods. The reliefs in the third gallery reflect the glorious achievements of Suryavarman. The history of his reign begins with the scene on the western wall. The slaughter at Kuruksetra alludes to his own battle for the throne. On the southern wall the King is reviewing his troops, his prisoners of war and his ministers. At the central entrance chambers of the corridor Yama appears, his decisions send unfortunate people into the thirty-two hells while others quietly ascend to the heavens. Herein Suryavarman is glorified as Dharmaraja: "If there are any traitors among us, may they be reborn in the thirtytwo hells..." In the next scene on the east wall, churning of the ocean yields eternity through amrta. The devas and asuras are working together under Visnu. Again an analogy to the cooperation of former enemies under the new King Suryavarman. The churning of the ocean is illumined by the rising Sun (Surya) every morning. It becomes brighter as the sun ascends. Likewise, the Sun, King Suryavarman initiated an era of prosperity and promise, though he had acquired power through bloodshed. The two scenes oscillate in reciprocity. Suryavarman is glorified in epic and divine terms. Gods in the northern sector and the historic king in the southern are celestial and terrestrial forces in dynamic interaction. The opinion of Coedes (1952b: 51) that Angkor Wat is a mausoleum of its founder cannot hold ground any more. It is a poetic vision of the charisma of success and a divine dwelling like the Trayastrimsa heaven of Indra, peopled by the loveliest women unrivalled for their beauty and musical talents (Saletore 1982: 2.560). Indra is known as *Apsarah pati* in Hemacandra's *Abhidhana-cintamani*. He is portrayed as a sensual, fun-loving deity who revels in beautiful parks. Hence the long array of divine beauties on the walls of Angkor Wat, a veritable paradise of Indra, for king Suryavarman. The female devata on Angkor Wat represent the glories of the paradise of Indra, as described in the *Trai Phum* written by King Luthai in AD 1345 as a text permeated by royal interests and themes: "indra's devata attendants, who are generally adorned with much jewelry and many ornaments made pretty by the seven kinds of gems, and look beautiful, decked out in many various colors, visit and have an audience with him; they come in great numbers, and cannot be fully counted. They include 2,40,00,000 devata who are Indra's wives... Indra then goes to play at one of the parks where he enjoys himself a great deal. The heavenly path is 40,000 *wa* wide and there are a great number of beautiful

female attendants who wear all kinds of superb ornaments. Thus they go to play in the pleasure park" (Reynolds 1982: 231-232). Over two thousand apsaras illustrated at Angkor Wat characterise it as the veritable paradise of Indra, which it had to be as a coronation temple, as well as the symbol of the style and splendour of Suryavarman's court. In the Aitareya-brahmana, Udamaya Atreya anointed King Anga with the aindra mahabhiseka. Anga went conquering all round, and

Of those brought from each country.

All daughters of wealthy men.

Ten *thousands* he gave.

Atreya, with *necklaces* in their necks (Keith 337).

Devaraja in the SKT inscription refers to the coronation icon of Jayavarman II, the founder of the Cambodian state. In Old Khmer language it was called *kamraten jagat ta raja* (KJR) 'The Lord of the Universe as well as of the State', 'the King of Heaven and Earth'. Under this designation it became the national palladium. Any successor of Jayavarman II who had it (KJR) was the King of Cambodia. Besides, he had a personal regnal icon for the coronation. This coronation icon was the Linga, named after the king + Isvara.

The terms can be summarised as follows:

Devaraja = Indra → Aindra mahabhiseka → icon used for it.

Kamrateh jagat ta raja = Prajapati/Svayambhu/Brahma → His Icon (image or linga) used for the coronation of Jayavarman II → national palladium.

Mahendra-parvata "Mount of Indra the Great" = coronation pyramid of Jayavarman II.

Vimana or Parvata = temple mountain or five-storied pyramid = Meru on which Indra was coronated → coronation mount.

Prasada = the temple on top of the coronation mount.

Linga → name of king + Isvara 'the Linga established by King so and so' → coronation icon.

The Devaraja ceremonies are a continuation of the Rgvedic aindra mahabhiseka, on semantic grounds as well as by the continuing association of Indra with the royal rites in Cambodia, besides their uninterrupted performance inherited by Thailand. The Thais have even preserved the technical term Indrabhiseka in the Book of Palace Law.

LITERATURE CITED

- Acharya 1934. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, Manasara Series, Vol. I, reprinted at New Delhi (Oriental Books Reprint Corporation) in 1981 from the 1934 edition.
- Aufrecht Theodor Aufrecht, *Das Aitareya Brahmana*, Bonn, 1879.
- Bhandari 1996. C. M. Bhandari, *Saving Angkor*, Bangkok (White

- Orchid Books).
- Brodrick 1947. Alan Houghton Brodrick, *Little Vehicle: Cambodia and Laos*, London (Hutchinson & Co. Ltd.).
- Casparis 1958. J. G. de Casparis, *Short inscriptions from Tjandi Plaosan-Lor*, Berita Dinas Purbakala no. 4, Djakarta.
- Chakravarti 1980. Adhir Chakravarti, *The Sdok Kak Thom inscription*, Part II, Calcutta (Sanskrit College).
- Coèdes 1946. G. Coèdes et P. Dupont, *Les stèles de Sdok Kak Thom, Phnom Sandak et Prah Vihar*, BEFEO, 43 (1943-1946): 56f.
- Coèdes 1952b. George Coèdes, *The cult of the deified royalty. Source of inspiration of the great monuments of Angkor*, *Art and Letters: India, Pakistan and Ceylon* 26/1: 51-53.
- Filliozat 1966. J. Filliozat, *New research on the relations between India and Cambodia*, *Indica* (Heras Institute, Bombay) 3.95-106.
- Gosling 1991. Betty Gosling, *Sukhothai: its History, Culture and Art*, Singapore (Oxford University Press).
- Keith 1920. Arthur Berriedale Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas: the Aitareya and Kausitaki Brahmanas of the Rigveda*. Cambridge Mass. (Harvard University Press).
- Kulke 1977. Herman Kulke, *The Devaraja Cult*. Heidelberg (xerox copy).
- Lokesh Chandra 1995. Lokesh Chandra, *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol 4, New Delhi (Aditya Prakashan).
- Majumdar 1927. R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Lahore (The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot).
- Majumdar 1953. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta (The Asiatic Society).
- Moron 1977. Eleanor Moron, *Configurations of time and space at Angkor Wat*, in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Vol. 5: 217-290. New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture).
- Poerbatjaraka 1926. Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel*, Leiden (E. J. Brill).
- Rao 1914. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, reprinted at Delhi (Motilal Banarsidass).
- Reynolds 1982. Frank E. Reynolds & mani B. Renolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, Berkeley (University of California).
- Saletore 1982. R. N. Saletore, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture*, New Delhi (Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.).
- Wales 1931. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London (Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.).
- Waymaan 1973. Alex Wayman, *Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*, New York (Samuel Weiser).

STATE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA

LOKESH CHANDRA & SUDARSHANA DEVI SINGHAL

THERE were two major state ceremonies in ancient Cambodia:

(i) the *accession* of a king to the throne, followed by (ii) the *coronation* within the next few years, with due selection of the site, preparation for the architectural complex and the consecration of the coronation icon.

On *accession* the king either (i) inherited the palladium of his father or predecessor, or (ii) he took possession of the national palladium, if any, which pertained to the state over the centuries, and not necessarily to his dynasty alone.

On *coronation* the king had an icon consecrated specifically for the occasion. It was the regnal icon, distinguished from the national palladium. As the regnal icon was associated with the ruling monarch, it was named after him, for example, *indresvara* was the Linga of *Isvara* commissioned by *Indravarman*.

As the kings of Cambodia were mostly Saiva, they consecrated Saiva Lingas. The *Uttarkanda* of the *Ramayana* states that wherever *Ravana* went, he carried his Golden Linga, and worshipped it from the desire of sovereignty (*jambunada-mayam lingam sthapyaracayamasa...*). The *tantras* state that a Golden Linga should be worshipped when anyone desires sovereignty (Rao 1914: 2/1.78n). The tradition of regnal Lingas in Cambodia goes back to the sixth century in the Pre-Angkorian *Chenla* period (Kulke 1993: 335). The *Prah That Kvan Pir* inscription dated Saka 638 = AD 716, in Sanskrit, records that *Puskara* had divine *Puskaresa* consecrated by eminent brahman sages (*devas sri-puskareso dvija-vara-munibhis sthapatih puskarena*). *Puskara* is identical with king *Puskaraksa* mentioned in the inscriptions of *Yasovarman* and *Rajendravarman* (Majumdar 1953: 55). Briggs (1951: 60) believes it to be "the first example in Cambodian history of the apotheosis of a king". The *Puskaresa* was erected by brahmins under instructions of the king. He had it done to ensure his personal well-being as well as that of his people through the divine grace of *Siva*. How could he apotheosize himself? The Linga was installed by kings for coronation rites and its worship was conducted regularly by learned and virtuous brahmins. King *Udayadityavarman* built a Mount of Gold in the centre of his capital, in emulation of the abode of gods situated in the centre of *Hemadri* (= *Meru*) in *Jambudvipa*. He consecrated a Golden Linga on top of his Golden Mount and appointed *Sankara-pandita* as its priest (*yajaka*). Barth has mis-

translated *kaladhautam...lingam* as "a linga of Siva, honoured with ablutions at the prescribed times". *Kaladhauta* means 'golden'. The Golden Linga (*kaladhautam...saiva-lingam, svarnalinga*) in stanzas 24 and 26 refers to the royal Linga, and conveys no impression of apotheosis (Barth 1885: 131, Briggs 171). The irresistible fascination with apotheosis, funerary monuments, and the like impede the understanding of Cambodian history. The general religious ambience of Cambodia and Champa was of Saiva Agamas. Both followed the Agamic rites, wherein the installation or consecration of the image of Siva of His Linga for general well-being was common. For instance Sāmbhuvarman re-consecrated (*pratisthapitah*) the Sambhubhadresvara which had been burnt down. It had originally been consecrated by Bhadravarman (Majumdar 1927: 2.10); *campadese janayatu sukham sambubhadresvaro 'yam*). King Indravarman of Champa reconstructed the temple of Bhadradhipatisvara in Saka 721 = AD 799 which had been destroyed by invaders from across the seas, consecrated (*sthapitam*) a royal Linga, thence known as Indrabhadresvara, which projected the earth, and delighted his subjects. The King donated lands to Indrabhadresvara, the cause of the happiness of the whole world. In this inscription *parthivam lingam* has been mistranslated as 'earthen Linga'. *Parthiva* means 'royal' in this context (ib. 4-51). In Saka 776 = AD 854 King Vikranta-devadhibhavesvara, granted lands to two temples of Siva: Vikranta-rudresvara and Vikranta-devadhibhavesvara. The words *sakala-jagad-hitakaranaya* 'for the prosperity of the whole world', *kirtaye sa eva subhham adat* 'gave a meritorious gift for the sake of glory' are a clear indication that the first part of the king's name followed by Isvara indicates the meritorious action of the king while alive. It has nothing to do with apotheosis. The Bhadresvara temple, like Pasupatinath in Nepal, was the national shrine of Siva, a symbol of the people and king of Champa (ib. 2.72f). To endow or maintain existing Lingas, or to establish or consecrate new Lingas was a pious duty performed by kings, their relations and may be by others. Their name was associated with the new icon: *Bhadrarvarman* established the *Bhadresvara* 'the Isvara icon established by Bhadra[varman]'

Srikantha Sivacarya, in his commentary on the Brahmasutras, says: "we do not perceive any difference between the Vedas and the Sivagamas' (*na vayam veda-sivagamayor bhedam pasyamah*, Rao 1914: 2/1.9). Both the traditions were fortified by Jayavarman II. He instituted the Rgvedic rajasuya rites of aindra mahabhiseka under the appellation of Devaraja (= Indra) and the Agamic Saiva ritual was integrated into it as the consecration of the Saiva Linga atop the Golden Mount (Meru). The third stream was the devastating Tantric rituals of Vinasikha. The occurrence of words like Rgveda, hota and abhikhya indicates the introduction of Vedic rites by Jayavarman II.

Abhikhya in the SKT inscription is used in the Rgvedic sense of overawing lustre or radiance that pre-empts the enemy from rash action. *Abhikhya* is translated as *Entgegenstrahlung* 'radiance against' [the opponent to counteract him], *Lichtschein* 'lustre, glow' by Hermann Grassman (*Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1872: 83). In RV 1.148.5 men are blinded by his splendour and cannot hurt him. The mantra 1.155.5 to Visnu-Indra points out that a mortal who beholds two steps of him is restless and ventures not to approach the third step. The verse 2.30.9 asks Indra and others to pierce with his *abhikhya* one who would destroy us. The verse 4.17.17 invokes Indra to be the guardian (*abhikhyata*) for vital strength and freedom. The verse 8.23.5 refers to the imperishable flame of Agni, shining with lofty splendour, with effulgent resplendence (*abhikhya bhasa brhata susukvanih*) to give us riches combined with hero strength as Lord of Power and Might (RV 8.23.12), and to avert all the demon hosts (8.23.13). The verse 10.112.10 implores Indra to be the *abhikhya* of the supplicant, as he is the great warrior, the truly valiant, for nothing is done, even far away, without thee (*na rte tvat kriyate kim cana*). The SKT inscription brings to the fore the *elan vitale* of Devaraja Indra in the phrase *devarajvikhya*. *Abhikhya* was the overawing presence, the stern majesty, the sense of overwhelming superiority, the spectacle and style of the newly won political apogee of Jayavarman II. "The spectacle by suggesting that strength untold, riches unaccountable, lay behind the facade of empire, the style by making the empire always seem a more formidable people, a more different people, than they really were" (cf. Morris 1982). It was the charisma of his imperial presence.

Jayavarman II introduced the hereditary position of the *hota* besides that of the *purohita*. *Hota* was the priest for Rgvedic yajñas, while *purohita* was the chief priest for all worship rituals (Briggs 82, 90). The *hota* of Cambodian kings were as follows:

<i>Hota</i>	<i>of King</i>	<i>AD</i>	<i>Briggs</i>
Sikhasanti	Indravarman I	877-889	95,98
Sikhasiva	Yasovarman II	889-900 +	105, 114
Sivacarya	Isanavarman II		131
Isanamurti	Jayavarman IV	928-	116
Sivacarya	Rajendravarman II	944-968	124
Sankara	"	"	"
Narayana	Jayavarman V	968-1001	134
Hota	Suryavarman II	1113-1150	Coedes IC.3.183
Hrsikesa	Jayavarman VII	1181-1215 +	229
Vidyasavid	"	1243-	243
" crowned	Indravarman III		243, 251
Vidyasa-dhiman	Indrajayavarman	1308-1327	252
"	Jayavarman Paramesvara	1327-	253

The Rgvedic *hota* was a continuing institution of the Cambodian state from the ninth to the fourteenth century, as can be seen in the above tabulation. The Bat Chum inscriptions give regulations regarding the bathing place (*tirtha*) of Bat Chum where only the *hota* and brahmans who knew the Vedas could bathe (Briggs 1951: 131). The SKT inscription says in the Old Khmer portion that Atmasiva was the acaryahoma of His Majesty Sivaloka (= Rajendrvarman II) (D36-39, Briggs 124). Acarya-homa is homa-acarya 'the acarya for homa rites' that is, *hota*. The Prasat Kandol Dom (North) inscription of Indravarman speaks of clouds of smoke gusts arising, from the *yajñagnihotra* pervading the skies (*yasya yajñ-agnihotranam khe babhu dhuma-panktayah*, st. 21, Majumdar 1953: 59). The *agnihotras* were performed daily and hence the continuing role of the *hota*. Later on in stanza 40, Sivasoma is stated to be a scholar of the Vedas (Vedavid). The brahmana Divakara of Jayavarman V knew the Samaveda, and crushed the heads of enemies with mantras (*samavida... ripu-bhogi-bhogan mamardda mantraih....*, Prasat Komphus inscription dated 892, Majumdar 1953: 296). The Rgveda (*bahurca*) is referred to in the Banteay Srei inscription of Jayavarman V dated AD 890 (ib. 273). The sounds of the Veda are invoked for protection against the enemy in the Prasat Andon inscription of Jayavarman IV (ib. 172). The inscriptions refer to constant performance of *yajnas*. The Preah Ko stele of Indravarman speaks of smoke rising from the sacrifices from his abode (ib. 52). Jayavarman V appointed Kavisvara to the rites of sacred fire (*agnikarya*, Lovek inscription of Harsavarman III, Majumdar 1953: 422). The smoke arising from fire rites needed several vents or large windows to escape, otherwise it would choke and suffocate the officiants. These *yajnasalas* have been termed 'libraries', and their real function has been missed. Mazzeo and Antonini (1978: 87) point out that "the name 'libraries' is purely conventional for in reality we have no idea what this type of building was used for. Such 'libraries' have been found dating back as far as the Preah Ko period. Built of brick... they were square in shape, at least at the outset, and had one door only, plus a number of small windows." These small windows were vents for smoke to pour out. The rectangular brick 'libraries' at Prasat Phnom Chisor are lighted on each side by two highly-placed rectangular windows (Briggs 161): they seem to be smoke vents. They have a parallel in the Pawon near Borobudur, which is termed *Bajranalan*, as it was a homa temple (Lokesh Chandra 1995: 36f.).

The primary function of the 'libraries' was as (i) *yajñasalas* with vents for the smoke to escape, but they could also have been (ii) sacristies for keeping sacred vessels or vestries for ritual vestments, besides (iii) libraries for books. An inscription, without date, found in the ruined edicule of Prasat Khna indicates that this edifice was a library (Briggs 131). According to Chinese dynastic histories Funan

had libraries and collections of books (19). Such buildings are called 'libraries' by the Thais and Laotians. The *yajñasala* culture disappeared when Angkor ceased to exist and the role of these edifices was forgotten. They were deemed to be libraries in the new Buddhist ambience with its accent on the Tripitaka and its commentaries which ran into several hundred codices. 'Libraries' appear alongside the central chapel from the time of Indravarman (99) who performed sacrifices. The 'library' and *gopura* were two architectural innovations of this period (100). Briggs points out pairs of 'libraries' in the following monuments:

page

101	Preach Ko	
119	Prasat Thom	created by Jayavarman (921-941)
120	Prasat Pram	
130	Prasat Khna	Rajendravarman II (944-958)
135	Banteay Srei	Founded in 967
161	Prasat Phnom Chisor	
171	Baphuon	Udayadityavarman II (1050-1066)
182	Prasat Phnom Rung	Suryavarman I (1011-1050)
191	Chausay Tevoda	Suryavarman II (1113-1150)
192	Banteay Samre	Suryavarman II
197, 201	Angkor Wat	Suryavarman II
214	Ta Prohm.of Bati	Jayavarman VII (1191-1219)
221	Preah Khan	Jayavarman VII

Apotheosis has been made a cornerstone of Cambodian history as the Devaraja cult. But no tendencies can be discerned in Cambodia to apotheosize the ruling king. The king, in fact conducted various rites to proclaim his just government by just means. Three important state events characterised the reign of a king.

1. *Accession*. King Jayavarman II founded the state of Cambodia by giving it the name Kambuja, and by creating the national capital region of Angkor. His aindra coronation was denoted by the term Devaraja (= Indra) and his regnal icon of Siva to be known as *kamraten jagat ta raja* (KJR). Lord Siva was the Lord of the Universe as well as the Kingdom on this earth: *Jagat* means 'universe', as against *raja* = *rajya* 'kingdom'. Thus the new state was sanctified in perpetuity. The KJR became the national palladium with his successors. It was the continuing state. His successors exercised power by virtue of taking control of the KJR, the insignia of power. If they shifted to a new capital, they took it along.

2. *Ancestor temples*. If a king was not the crown prince or in direct royal descent, he sought his legitimation by enshrining his royal ancestors in specially erected ancestor temples. Sometimes the king was blue-blooded from the maternal side. So parents and grandparents on both the paternal and maternal sides were enshrined as

gods and goddesses. It lent the charisma of royal descent to the king and irradiated regnal aura in the minds of his subjects. It was the enshrinement of ancestors (*pitryana*) and not the apotheosis of the regnant king.

3. *Coronation rites* were introduced on a grand scale by Jayavarman II. They included (i) the construction of a Central Mount (Vnam Kantal) or Golden Mount in the centre of the new capital, (ii) the consecration of a new coronation icon, the Saiva Linga, named after the king to be crowned, and (iii) these rites being Rgvedic were performed by a Rgvedic priest technically known as the Hota.

The controversy surrounding Devaraja, the Regnal Linga, ancestor temples and apotheosis has been reviewed above in the light of Government of the Time (Royal Linga) in the syndrome of a Perpetual State (KJR), truly and firmly laid by both Vedic and Agamic rites and if need be in sublime blessings of ancestors in the symbiosis of *devayana* and *pitryana*.

LITERATURE CITED

- Barth 1885. A. Barth, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris.
- Briggs 1951. Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, Philadelphia (Trans. of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 41/1).
- Kulke 1993. Hermann Kulke. *The Devaraja Cult, legitimation apotheosis of the ruler in the kingdom of Angkor*, Cornell University (xerox copy from the author).
- Lokesh Chandra 1995. Lokesh Chandra, *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 4, New Delhi (Aditya Prakashan).
- MA 1978. Donatella Mazzeo and Chiara Silvi Antonini, *Ancient Cambodia*, London (Cassell Ltd.).
- Majumdar 1927. R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Lahore.
- Majumdar 1953. R. C. Majumdar, *Incriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta (The Asiatic Society).
- Morris 1982. Jan Morris, *The Spectacle of Empire*, London (Faber and Faber).
- Rao 1914. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, reprinted in 1968 by Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi.

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA : A SYNOPTIC VIEW

B. N. GHOSH*

HUMAN capital refers to the productive capabilities of human beings as income-producing agents in the economy. Human resource development (HRD) is associated with investment in man and his development as a creative and productive resource. It is a process by which knowledge, skills and capacities of the people of a country are increased. Human resources development system can be designed to help to increase production of essential goods and services and at the same time preserve and enhance the freedom, dignity and the worth of labour force. Harbison and Myers observed that the goals of modern societies like political, cultural, social and economic goals can be achieved through the development of human resources (Harbison *et al.*, 1970, p. 13). T. W. Schultz has demonstrated that even when a country possesses the physical capital and resources as those in the United States, production will fall catastrophically if it does not possess sufficient human capital. There would be both low output and extraordinary rigidity of economic organisation until the capacities of the people are raised by investment in them (Schultz, 1962, p. 346). There are indeed many ways of developing human resources. These are: development of health facilities and services, on-the-job training, skill formation, formally organised education at different levels, study programmes and so on.

Indicators of Human Resource Development

As is well-known, it is not always possible to precisely measure HRD. This is one of the reasons why we use some indicators for the measurement of HRD. The following are the major indicators of HRD.

(1) *Levels of Educational Attainment* : The various levels of educational attainment of a country at the primary level, secondary level and tertiary level can give an indication of the level of HRD. The literacy rate of workers is very helpful to know the extent of HRD.

(2) *Number of Persons in High Level Occupations* : Another indicator of human capital formation is the stock of high quality manpower (HQM) in different high level occupations like engineering,

* Professor of Economics, School of Social Sciences, University Science Malaysia, 11800, Penang (Malaysia).

managerial, teaching, medical, scientific, technical and so on.

(3) *The Investment on Health and Education* : The levels of investment on education and health can help us in knowing the extent of human capital formation in a particular country.

(4) *The Overall Quality of Life* : This can be judged by the preparation of a composite index of human resource development in a country.

(5) *The Enrolment of Students* : This can also be a measure of human resource development. What is important to know is the percentage of students enrolled in scientific and technical faculties, and the percentage of students enrolled in faculties of humanities, fine arts, law and other subjects.

(6) *Skill Formation and On-the-Job Training* : The skill formation at different levels and on-the-job training in various occupations and vocations can be helpful for knowing the extent of addition to the stock of human capital.

(7) *Research and Development* : R&D in different fields of education and training is also regarded as an indicator of HRD.

Measuring the Contribution of Human Capital

It is indeed very difficult to measure the contributions of human capital. This is because human capital incorporates many aspects which cannot be really measured in quantitative terms. However, efforts have been made to measure the contribution of education to economic growth, and separately also the contribution of health on economic development. But it must be accepted that education leads to many types of benefits all of which are not amenable to quantitative measurement. The measurement of the contribution of education to economic development has been confined to the following approaches; (i) the rate of return calculation of the expenditures on education, (ii) the determination of the relationship between expenditure on education and growth in income or in physical capital formation over a period of time for a country, (iii) the residual approach in determining the contribution of education to the gross national product, and (iv) making inter-country correlations of school enrolments ratios and the gross national product. These measures are briefly discussed below.

(i) *The Rate of Return on Educational Expenditure* : Several studies have been made to compute the rate of return on educational expenditure. These studies are based on measurement of income flows resulting from education and then measuring the present value of income stream by a suitable discount rate.

(ii) *The Contribution of Education to Gross National Income* : This can give an idea of the contribution of education in the country and also about the income elasticity of demand for education. The esti-

mates may be based on the opportunity cost of education. However, the calculation of forgone is not so simple and, involves a number of problems.

(iii) *The Residual Approach in Determining the Contribution of Education to GNP* : According to this method, it is necessary to measure the contribution of physical inputs like labour and capital in GNP, and the residual is taken to be the contribution of other factors of which education is the most important. Some economists have also tried to isolate the contribution of education from the contribution of other factors. But this attempt has not been fully successful.

(iv) *Correlations of School of Environment Ratios and GNP* : The correlations can be attempted for different age groups of students. Many empirical studies have found striking correlation between higher age groups and the growth of GNP.

Human Resource Development in Malaysia

Human resource development is of crucial importance in Malaysia to achieve higher degree of competitiveness, productivity, innovativeness and capability in managing the technology and information-driven phase of industrialisation. The government is, therefore, coming forward with programmes and policies to continuously upgrade and improve the education system. And the idea to make Malaysia a centre of excellence in education is already in the menu.

Several important changes are being introduced in the area of human capital formation which includes education, health and quality of life too. The literacy rate in Malaysia has already gone up to 93 per cent. The smart school system based on information technology is being introduced in the country. The ratio of enrolment in science and art is going to be changed from 50: 50 to 60: 40. By the year 2000, scientists and technologists (S&T) will be 1000 per million in the country in line with the target of doubling the current percentage share of R&D to GNP. Currently, the number of S&T is only 400 per million which is very low compared to international standard. During Seventh Malaysia Plan, about 54,000 S&T graduates (50 per cent) are expected to be produced in the country. The quality of education is now much better than what it was a decade ago in Malaysia.

The stocks of professional manpower in Malaysia (as of 1990) in various fields are: engineers (26,500), engineering assistants (72,400), medical and health personnel (11,600), medical and health assistants (47,300), school teachers (117,600), scientist and technologists (7,000), professional and technical workers (580,000), and administrative and managerial workers (162,000). By the year 2000, there would be substantial increase in all these categories of high quality manpower (HQM). For instance, the stock of professional and technical workers

will grow by 10 per cent and administrative and managerial workers by nearly 3 per cent. While there would be surpluses in certain category in HQM (like medical and health personnels), there would be shortages in some categories (as in engineering occupation, vide Table 1).

The target enrolment at vocational/technical schools and tertiary institutes is set at about 233,000 by 2000 compared with 89,290 in 1995. Environment for degree and diploma study is expected to rise by 69 per cent by 2000 compared to 50 per cent in 1995. Sixth Malaysia Plan increased enrolment substantially at the degree, diploma and certificate levels, and 40.2 per cent was the share of health education in the same Plan. The private sector will also be encouraged to set up tertiary level training institute. The target for Seventh Malaysia Plan is to produce more than 200,000 skilled and semi-skilled workers from such institutes compared to about 145,000 under Sixth Malaysia Plan. Environment at all levels is increasing very fast in the country. The whole education system is being refurbished in Malaysia with emphasis on science and technology, and larger and larger enrolment in tertiary education. Post-graduate enrolment is now 11 per cent and is going to increase further. Given higher allocation on health and education and higher rate of return on education, Malaysia should be able to produce a competent stock of HQM in the course of time.

There is a substantial private return to education in Malaysia in the form of higher wages. One empirical work has shown that an additional year of schooling in Malaysia increases earning by 15-16 per cent (*Star*, July 1 1996, p. 16). This is higher than that of other Asian countries. The return to additional year of schooling in Singapore is eight per cent, Thailand 10.4 per cent and Taiwan 6 per cent. To the extent that the return to schooling corresponds to additional output, raising the years of schooling will have positive impact on productivity. An empirical study made by Gan Wee Beng and Patrick Er in Malaysia indicates that the social rate of return to schooling in the form of wider benefits to the economy can be fairly large. A five per cent increase in the enrolment ratio alone is associated with an increase in the growth of per capita income of one per cent per year (*Star*, July 1996, p. 16). The social return to primary schooling is found to be larger than the return to secondary schooling.

Allocation to education has been constantly going up in Malaysia. The government's development allocation for education and training under Seventh Malaysia Plan will amount to RM10.1 billion or 15.4 per cent of total development allocation. In 1984, the allocation to education which was 14 per cent went up to 20 per cent in 1994. During the same period the percentage of GNP that was allocated to education was 5.29 (1984) and 5.49 (1994). Under

Seventh Malaysia Plan, allocation for training has been raised by about 2.5 times to RM 1.7 billion where a large part would go towards the setting up of skill development centres. Government allocation for science and technology in the Seventh Plan is RM 3.05 billion compared to RM1.2 billion in the Sixth Plan. RM2.3 billion will be allocated to information technology and related infrastructure. Similarly, allocation to health services has also increased from RM1273.6 million in 1994 to RM2462.2 million in 1996. In 1986, 4.13 per cent of the national budget was allocated for health development and this went up to 5.22 per cent in 1994. In Malaysia, the per capita health expenditure has risen from RM79.13 in 1986 to RM125.25 in 1994. The quality of life has also improved tremendously. For instance, the infant mortality rate has substantially decreased from 39 to 13 per thousand live births. The school enrolment ratio went up from 88 per cent in 1990 to 100 per cent in 1996, and the teacher-pupil ratio changed from 28.9 to 20.9. The doctor-population ratio changed from 1:4302 to 1:2656 during the same period.

Skill requirement of modern technology that has been introduced in Malaysia is fairly high. The skill requirement of modern technology in the modern phase of industrialisation is much higher than that of earlier phases. The development of skilled manpower on a larger scale has now become necessary for two compelling reasons. Firstly, the original skill base of Southeast Asian countries including Malaysia and Singapore is very limited, and abnormally low. But the fact is that these economies do not have the adequate skilled manpower, and it is one of the factors limiting the growth of Malaysian electronics industry and its possibility of technological adaptation. Lack of adequate skilled manpower is also responsible for poor assimilation of new technology, and stands in the way of technological innovation and diffusion for the economy as a whole. Moreover, lack of sufficient high quality manpower (HQM) is the principal factor preventing the more intensive use of production capacity through shifts.

It should be noted that for outward-looking strategy of development which Malaysia has been following, sustained development in export industries cannot be attained without a strong domestic technical and skill base. Building up of skilled manpower base can account for a substantial amount of saving every year which is flowing out as fees of experts, training costs and so on. Moreover, it can infuse more competitive strength to the economy not only in the field of export but also in the area of technology development. But although Malaysia is striving for hi-tech regime, it does not yet seem to be independently prepared for it, and unless skill development attains a critical minimum stage, the induction of hi-tech process would be like building up a superstructure without a base.

Let us have a look at the skill availability and skill requirement aspects of Malaysian labour force. The new jobs being created in the manufacturing sector between 1990-2000 will grow by 36.1 per cent, but the growth rate of manpower in Malaysia is only 5.2 per cent (Government of Malaysia, 1971). The annual output of skilled workers from vocational and technical training institutions in the public sector is only 9,000. The planned 20,000 to 30,000 skilled graduates per year will be far below the estimated annual demand of 52,000 (Vente *et al.* 1984, p. 134). According to one estimate, there would be a shortfall of 25,000 skilled workers in Malaysia between 1991-2000 (Gabriel, 1993, p. 9). The limited capacity of the local institutions to meet the demand for selected professional and technical occupations are revealed in Table 1.

TABLE 1

DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF PROFESSIONAL MANPOWER, 1991-2000

Occupations	Total figure in 1990	Employment in 20000	Net increased demand	Supply by institutions	Shortage (-)/ supply (+)
Engineers	25,600	56,600	30,100	21,000	-9,100
Engineering Assistants	72,400	195,300	122,900	104,970	-17,930
Medical and Health	11,600	17,600	6,000	6,200	+200
Medical and Health Assistant	47,300	57,400	10,100	6,710	-3,390
School Teachers	177,600	252,500	74,900	74,900	0

Source : Second outline perspective plan (1991-2000), Malaysia

The shortfall as revealed in Table 1 cannot be met by the public and private vocational and technical institutions in the country. Research personnel's concentration in Southeast Asia is indeed very low. However, Malaysia's relative position in the concentration scale seems to be still poorer. For instance, whereas the number of scientists and engineers per million population is 26,458 in Hong Kong, 14,303 in Singapore, 11,389 in Brazil, 10,720 in Mexico, 8,706 in South Korea, 2,478 in Taiwan, 2,564 in India, it is only 1,793 for Malaysia (Lall, 1990).

However, all these does not mean that there is no skill development in the country. The extent of skill development can be gauged from two indicators. The *real value-added per worker index*, for exam-

ple, shows a positive improvement in the Malaysian electronics industry from 1.20 in 1970 to 3.50 in 1990. In the same way, the skill index indicating the ratio of HQM to total workers has also shown positive improvement from 0.2 to 0.4 between 1970 and 1990. An idea of the skill deepening in Malaysian manufacturing sector absorbing more skilled manpower can be had from the following data. In 1975, only 2.4 per cent workers in Malaysia had tertiary level qualification and 97.6 per cent had qualification below secondary levels in 1990, the figures changed to 25.5 per cent and 74.5 per cent respectively. Manufacturing workers with different qualifications level are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

WORKERS WITH QUALIFICATIONS LEVELS
(% OF LABOUR FORCE)

QUALIFICATIONS	1990	2000
Primary	50.5	27.0
Lower and Middle Secondary	42.5	62.0
Upper Secondary and Tertiary	7.0	11.0

Source : Government of Malaysia, Official Publications and Reports

As the table reveals, over the years, more and more people with tertiary qualification have been absorbed in the manufacturing sector. In the electronic industry, the concentration of HQM, however, has been more overwhelming. Owing to reskilling of the workforce, the age composition has also shown an upward trend (Aziz *et al.*, 1984). *Skill deepening* is also evident in the process of *on-the-job-training* which almost every firm in the electronics sector of Malaysia is engaged in. About 500 workers received on-the-job-training in 1996 and the number went up to 2000 in 1997.

Another form in the development of skill is the process of *skill widening*. The extent of *skill widening* can be gauged by comparing the number of educational institutions, student enrolments, number of teachers and the like at two points in the given time horizon. *Skill widening* has remained positive in Malaysia. This can be shown in the following table (Table 3). The total enrolment of students in various courses in Malaysia was 25,070 in 1985 and this number went up to 44,220 in 1990. We have discussed earlier about the enrolment of students in Sixth and Seventh Plans.

TABLE 3

SKILL WIDENING PROCESS IN MALAYSIA

PARTICULARS	1970	1990	2000
Primary School Enrolment (%)	85	100	100
Secondary School Enrolment (%)	25	59	69
Tertiary (%)	2	8	11
Vocational and Technical Institutions (number)	5	34	43
Universities (number)	1	8	12

Sources : Data collected from Government of Malaysia, *Sixth Malaysia Plan*, and various Publications and Reports

Although skill development has substantially improved in both depth and range, the problem is still quite formidable now. As the skill requirement is increasing along with the induction of hi-tech process, the problem has become serious and acute in Malaysia in general, and in the electronics industry, in particular. The in-house training, of course, still remains the popular mechanism for *skill-deepening* in the Malaysian industrial sector. Training is a continuous process and involves quite a good bit of capital expenditure. Establishment of private training institutes is a capital-intensive method, and not many are keen to develop these institutes. Lack of incentive is one of the main constraints to set up skill development centres. Moreover, skill development plan remains highly competitive to domestic economic development plan in the short run.

In many cases, R&D is found to be conspicuous by its absence. R&D is regarded as a risky undertaking because of the limited scale of production. The foreign owned firms in Malaysia do not also like to spend much for the local R&D expenditure as a percentage of GNP is very low in Malaysia. Whereas R&D as a percentage of GNP is 2.86 per cent for the U.S., 2.78 per cent for Japan, 2.47 per cent for U.K., 0.95 per cent for South Korea, it is only 0.8 per cent for Malaysia. The emphasis on R&D now in Malaysia is reflected in the target 1,000 R&D personnel per million population by 2000 compared to the existing 400 per million. There are indeed many constraints in the way of skill development in Malaysia. What, then, is the way out this *impasse* ?

In the short period time horizon, skilled labour may be hired from the labour surplus Asian countries like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and so forth. This manpower may be used for building up educational infrastructure, technology adaptation and R&D centres. While this cannot be a long-term skill development policy, it will be

necessary to give boost to immediate educational and research requirements. Depending on the immediate short-term requirements of the country, it may call back the emigrated brains from overseas by giving lucrative terms and conditions of services. In the short run, many of the technology buying firms will have to go in for joint ventures and licensing. Foreign companies operating in Malaysia may be asked to invest in local R&D schemes as a precondition for operating within the country. The establishment of science parks may go a long way in the cross-fertilisation of ideas relating to research, education and training. The government must seek the participation of the private sector, especially MNCs as compulsory. Our universities have remained highly esoteric ivory towers of teaching and learning. The present-day universities in countries like Malaysia must be the pragmatic centres of tertiary education and research as needed by the society.

In the realm of corporate management, on-the-job training must be intensified, as it is the most popular and the cheapest way of skill development in the short time horizon. Short-term courses and seminars may frequently be organised for imbibing latest technical knowledge and experience. Such courses may be organised in collaboration with government departments, private enterprises and research institutions of the country. Several skill development centres may be established in different parts of the country. The recently created Penang Development Centre may serve as a model for the establishment of such centres. For the Southeast Asian regions, a skill development centre for the ASEAN countries may prove immensely helpful for the member countries in many ways. The government may establish a few more training institutions in the country. The private and the public sector may also jointly open skill development centres for mutual benefits. All R&D centres must receive positive incentives from the government. Such incentives may be in cash or in kind. A skill development fund (SDF), in line with the one at Singapore, may be started in Malaysia to subsidise training cost and R&D expenditures. In fact, the government should fund a substantial part of R&D expenses. However, to some extent, skill constraint can be tackled by raising technical sights through numerically controlled machine tools and computer aided designs embodying skill (Mukherjee, 1986, p. 351). The Promulgation of Human Resource Development Act in 1992 has now made it compulsory for employers who fall under its purview to contribute one per cent of its total wage bill to its fund which could be used for training programmes. The private sector which is rolling on profit has not so far cared to contribute to manpower training. It should now be compelled to actively participate in manpower development programme of the nation.

Problems and Issues in Human Resource Development

Human capital formation poses a number of problems. Is it possible to separate the consumption and investment parts of expenditures on these activities? Can the particular resources entering into these components be identified and measured? Can the rate of return on investment be measured and compared with that of some other activities? Each of these questions poses serious problems and no completely satisfactory empirical procedure has yet been devised to answer these questions. It is difficult to assess the total stock of human capital existing in a country. It is also difficult to assess the requirement of critical skills at different stages of economic development. Similarly, it is not always possible to quantify the growth rate of human capital formation because there are many dimensions of human capital formation in a country. However, it can be said in a very general way that the rate of growth of human capital should exceed not only the growth rate of the labour force but also the growth rate of the economy. Harbison observed that the rate of increase in human capital should be at least three times the rate of growth of labour force, and the ratio of annual increase in human capital to the increase in GNP may be as high as 3:1.

The major problem involving human resource development relate to shortage of manpower, or surplus of manpower, low rate of return on human capital, neglect of women's education, unplanned nature of education, low quality of life and so on. The problem of shortage of HQM has two facets: the generation of skill and utilisation of skill. The shortage of manpower must take into account the manpower requirement in every sector of the economy and the reasons and extent of shortage. In a country like Malaysia, there is a shortage of HQM including scientists, engineers and other high level critical manpower required for the development of the country. The shortage of sub-professional manpower like technicians, foremen, nurses, compounders, health assistants and so on is sometimes more acute than the shortage of professional manpower in less developed countries (LDCs). Due to shortage of properly qualified and skilled people, many posts remain vacant or these posts are manned by less qualified people. This type of shortage can be called *invisible shortage of manpower*. There may also be the *frictional shortages*. This type of shortage arises due to lack of organised employment market and immobility of manpower.

It is not possible to precisely measure human capital formation. Balogh and Streeten have rightly pointed out that expenditures on human capital are recalcitrant to theoretical analysis. Any attempt to measure the contribution of human capital is fraught with difficulties. This is so because one generally lumps together all types of education

into a single category. As a matter of fact, different types of education will have different effects. Many questions and issues are involved in the development of human resources in LDCs. One such question is: at what stage, the formation of human capital is most needed? What type of education should be emphasised, to what degree and how soon? Lewis observed that secondary education is more important because the products of the secondary schools form the social and economic backbone.

The education system in LDCs is not often very systematically planned, and the quality contain of education is also poor. The education of women is still now a neglected subject in many countries, and there is a lack of balance between the demand for manpower and the supply of manpower. There is often misallocation of educational resources. The allocation towards arts education is much more than the allocation towards the scientific and technical education. This creates a type of imbalance which goes against the development process of the economy. Another problem connected with the educational system in LDCs is the improper distribution of HQM. For instance, there may be surplus of doctors in city areas whereas the rural areas may not have sufficient number of doctors. So, what is required is the proper allocation of strategic manpower throughout the country in an even manner.

Malaysia lacks a pool of high quality manpower. There is a persistent knowledge gap between the industrial sector and the research institute of the country. In fact, the institutional frame-work which can link the government sector, industries and research institutions is hopelessly lacking in Malaysia. Scientific and technical education does not form a system as yet (Rani *et al.* 1986, p. 63). The linkages among universities, research institutes and production centres are not very strong in Malaysia. What is lacking is that educational programmes, R&D and skill development are not directed strictly to the requirement of industries. R&D is limited, the allocation is low and the private sector is not fully participating in the R&D programmes. This is due to the fact that it is difficult to recruit local expertise for R&D and it involves huge amount of investment. As a matter of fact, the supply of experts and specialised people who can provide leadership in technology development, product development, and processing is indeed very limited in Malaysia.

Technical progress is dependent on acquisition of knowledge and skill, and their diffusion. Knowledge is, however, more important than skill. But sufficient attempt has not been made in Malaysia for the formation of knowledge and skill consistently over a period of time. Allocation on primary and secondary education during the period 1991-1995 was 31.6 per cent and on tertiary education, 27 per cent. The allocation for education is inadequate. It was around 15 per cent

both in the fifth and the sixth plans. There is a tendency or bias in Malaysia towards degree programme in liberal arts. What is required is more graduates with applied science. The emphasis on educational development in Malaysia manifests the typical character of an under-developed country. Arts subjects are emphasised more still now than the subject on science and technology. The graduates with technology qualification were only nearly 13 per cent in 1991-1995.

The problem with the labour-deficit countries of Southeast Asia including Malaysia is that they embarked upon and insisted on capital-intensive technology process without first developing the skilled manpower base required for such technology. This is one of the reasons why these economies are now facing so acute skill shortages. New universities and institutes are being established before the development of human capital. This seems to be putting the cart before the horse. It is first necessary to have sufficient pool of qualified experts in different fields of teaching and learning and then to encourage the expansion of education and build up the country as a centre of educational excellence. However, in Malaysia this has not been done. The ratios of qualified teachers, qualified scientists, qualified doctors, qualified engineers and technicians to total population are very low in Malaysia. In fact, the development of information technology including the MSC will require the supply of qualified experts in the field of information technology as a pre-requisite for its success.

One of the serious problems in Malaysia's HRD is the shortage of manpower which is going to be acute in the near future in view of increasing demand for labour and continuing *brain drain* problem. Over 40,000 Malaysian professionals are now working abroad. The shortage of labour is both quantitative and qualitative in character. The shortage of skilled labour is more precarious. But such labour is very essential not only to handle capital and technology intensive production process but also to generate new technology, products and processes. The supply HQM is limited in Malaysia: only 10 per cent Malaysians possesses tertiary education. Though higher capital and technology intensity may to some extent relieve the pressure of labour shortage, the introduction of such a mode of production is itself dependent on the stock of skill labour. Thus, the whole issue seems to be question-begging and some amount of trade off in the use of skilled and unskilled labour in the production process appears to be of urgent necessity.

It needs to be realised that education and skill development are social goods with positive externalities of various types, and that, skill, technology and research activities are all complementary processes. It is extremely necessary to have a comprehensive institutional framework for building up a complete system of science and technology by coordinating the activities of our universities, technical institutions,

industrial sector and the government. In the longrun, technology, skill formation and manpower development must be made a part and parcel of general economic planning. Such an approach may apparently meet with many apparent internal contradictions. But these should ultimately be resolved by means of judicious policy mix and socially desirable trade offs.

REFERENCES

- Aziz, Othman *et al.* (1940). "Industrial Development Strategy, Population Growth and Distribution in Malaysia", paper presented at the Seminar on *Growth and Demographic Issues in Malaysian Industrialisation*, Port Dickson.
- Gabriel, Anita (1993). "Private Colleges Slow to Train Skilled Workers", *Sunday Mail*, 25 April.
- Government of Malaysia (1971). *Second Malaysian Plan*, Government Press, Kuala Lumpur.
- Harbison, E. H. & C. A. Myers (1970). *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth*, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., Delhi.
- Lall, Sanjay (1990). *Building Industrial Competitiveness in Developing Countries*, OECD, Development Centre Studies.
- Mukherjee, D. (1986). *Lessons from Korea's Industrial Experience*, ISIS, Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.
- Rani, *et al.* (1986). *Technology and Skills in Malaysia*, ISAS, Singapore.
- Schult, T. W. (1962). "Reflections on Investment in Man", *Journal of Political Economy*, October.
- Vente, Rolfe *et al.* (1984). *Education and the Training for Industrial Development*, Maruzen Asia, Singapore.

PANCASILA IN INDONESIAN POLITICS

MUN MUN MAJUMDAR

ONE of the Third World Countries, Indonesia is culturally and socially complex. Indonesia has a sizable Muslim population and hence national governments have to deal with the relation of the state to Islamic values. A significant element of the Indonesian Muslim population seems to relate strongly to other values in the area of political life, particularly nationalism, geographical identification and traditional cultural values. Consequently, views of Islam and its values are placed in that context by many Muslims and they are receptive to political relations that combine Islam with those other values.¹ Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world. The source of Islamic power although great, it remains largely inarticulate.

Owing to the heterogenous intensity of the spread of Islam, there is a social cleavage between the Islamic Communities — The *Santri* and the *Abangan*.² The first being devout and the second only nominal Muslims,³ who do not strictly observe the Koran and Islamic tradition (hadith).

This cleavage between the *Santri Abangan* communities found expression in the political parties as well. The hard core of the *Masjumi*, *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU), and other Muslims organisations represented the *Santri*, the more strict Islamic population. They cherished the Islamic ideas and sought to ultimately realize an Islamic State in Indonesia. They were opposed to *Pancasila* because of its syncretistic nature and its inability to secure a special place for Islam instead of a fleeting concept.⁴ On the other hand the *Abangans* did not have much regard for *Santri* puritanism which was outside the purview of their syncretistic religion *Agama Djawa*.⁵

The *Partai National Indonesia* (PNI) comprising of Javanese, the principle of *Pancasila* appealed to them. They were opposed to the

¹ See Ruth T. Mc Vey, "Faith as the outsider: Islam in Indonesian Politics", In James P. Piscatori ed., *Islam in the Political Process* (Cambridge 1983) pp. 199-225.

² W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition*, (Hague 1956), p. 10. For a treatise on the dichotomy of *Santri-Abangan* see Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, (Glencoe, Illinois 1960).

³ For Criticism on Geertz, *Santri-*

Abangan-Priyaya division see Koent Jaraningrats review of Geertz's *Religion of Javan* in *Madjalar Ilmu-Ilmusastva Indonesia*, 1963, No. 1, pp. 118-91.

⁴ Baladas Ghoshal, *Indonesian Politics 1955-1959: The Emergence of Guided Democracy* (Calcutta 1982), p. 49.

⁵ *The Indonesian Revolution Basic Documents and the idea of Guided Democracy*. Issued by Deptt. of Information, Republic of Indonesia, 1960, p. 9.

idea of an Islamic state in Indonesia, which would mean giving up their way of life.⁶

It was before the Committee for the preparation of Indonesian Independence where Sukarno developed his Pancasila in an address, now known as "Lahiraja Pancasila" — the birth of Pancasila. It contained the five principles of the Indonesian state which were to form the foundation of political and social rule. These principles were: (a) Democracy, (b) Indonesian Nationalism, (c) Social well being, (d) Internationalism, (e) Belief in God.

The ideas formulated in the *Pancasila* are important because of their influence during the revolutionary struggle. *Pancasila* was put forward as a foundation of Political and Social rule. Compared to the USA's "Bill of Right" and England's "Magna Carta", it is at present accepted as a way of life. The leaders of the New Order call the political system *Demokrasi Pancasila*. However, the interpretation of the five principles enshrined in the *Pancasila* are not concordant with the historical antecedents of the birth of those principles in which Sukarno was involved. There is to a great extent, a sense of continuity with the old order at the level of symbols and institutions.⁸ Ideology makes the concept of Government in Indonesia meaningful. Hence, both Sukarno and Suharto have made a conscious attempt to create a national ideology as a process of nation building and of welding together of a national consensus. From the History of the National Movement in Indonesia it is evident that the various national groups had never been united except for transitory and tactical purpose, when Japanese occupation was coming to an end and independence surfaced to be a possibility.

Sukarno held the Colonial system responsible for creating a schism between the nationalist, the Muslims and the Communist. He was aware of the ideological conflict existing within the movement and could comprehend the danger arising from the disagreement of views, which if allowed to take shape would have resulted in the disintegration of the country. He had argued, therefore, that counter ideas of reconciliation, synthesis and unity between these two groups should be developed.⁹ Since *Pancasila* was a synthesis of different ideas underlying the nationalist movement, it was a means to provide shelter to the conflicting ideologies of Islam, Nationalism and Communism. It was used as an instrument for fostering a common goal to enable the

⁶ Herbert Feith, "Towards Elections in Indonesia", *Pacific Affairs* Vol. XXVII, No. 3, September 1954, p. 246.

⁷ Oye Hong Lee, *The Sukarno — Controversies of 1980-1981*, p. 4.

⁸ See Donald Weatherbee, *Ideology in Indonesia Sukarno Indonesian Revolution*,

Yale University South East Asian Studies, 1966.

⁹ Roeslan Abdulgani, "Nationalism Pancasila, Sukarno", in Soebadio Sarvas, 1 ed. *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, (New York 1978), p. 270.

reconstruction of the state and society. Thus, *Pancasila* was to serve as
 A) Philosophical basis of the State, B) Identity of the Indonesian people,
 C) Unifying the Indonesian people.

But, *Pancasila* was not accepted without a controversy. This was because each group had its own ideas about the Philosophical basis of the state. *Pancasila* was itself comprehended and interpreted differently by the nationalists, Islamic and the Communist groups.

The principle of "Belief in God", raised most of the controversy. In spite of the fact that 90% of the population are adherents of Islam, "Belief in God" was adopted rather than "Belief in Islam". This was so because Sukarno felt that if the Indonesian state was to be founded on Islam, regions where the people were not Muslims might like to secede, and West Irian which had not been part of Indonesia, may not join the Republic. "Faith in God", was designed to preserve tranquility and religious tolerance enjoyed by the people while strengthening the process of national and territorial integration. At the same time by adopting "Belief in God" relegated Islam to one of the various streams of thought, according the same right of expression to any other ideology. This was not acceptable to the Muslim organisations who wanted a special place for Islam. The Islamic elite had developed into a powerful force and established close ties with rural Indonesia, during the Japanese occupation. Having acquired this power they became ambitious to carve out a more exalted political status, for themselves. A recognition of Islam to a state religion would have furthered their power interest. Within the Constitutional framework, Masjumi argued the case for an Islamic state (Negara Islam). *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU), *PS II* and *Perti* also made serious efforts to get the conception of Muslim state accepted by *Kostituante* (Constituent Assembly 1956-1959).¹⁰

For the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI) the principle of "Belief in God", was in contradiction to their ideology. Their aim was to realise a Communist Indonesia. They were aware at the same time that the majority of the Indonesians were opposed to their views on religion. Therefore, the way of least resistance was to support *Pancasila* as a tactical move. The major improvement suggested was the replacement of the clause "Belief in God", by "Freedom of religion".

This ideological battle between the secularists and the Islamic Challengers found their constitutional focus in the Constituent Assembly. It was the forum through which parties could get their ideal of an Islamic or *Pancasila* state realised in a Constitutional manner.¹²

¹⁰ For detail see *Tentang Dasar Negara Republic Indonesia*, Bandung, 1958, Djilid I, II, III.

¹¹ See Njoto's Speech at Kedari on 25 December 1954 in *Antara*, 31 December

1954.

¹² For detail see, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republic Indonesia*, Bandung 1958, Djilid I, II, III.

On account of the deadlock situation in the Constituent Assembly, where one group was not willing to concede to the demands of the other, the Government prepared grounds for the return of the 1945 Constitution. The subsequent dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the reenactment of the 1945 Constitution which incorporated in the preamble, the principles of *Pancasila*, the major source of controversy was not put to rest, although it may have appeared to be.

During the ensuing period of Guided Democracy the Muslim political parties lost much of their influence. The Masjumi which refused to operate within the framework of Guided Democracy, was consequently banned. Like his predecessor, Suharto's New Order is authoritarian and dominated by a leader with a strong personal vision. The 1945 Constitution remain in use. Suharto's power is based on his control of the armed forces, which embrace the doctrine of Civil-Military relations known as *dwi-fungsi* (twin functions). The twin functions are to protect Indonesia from invasion and to participate directly as an organised political force in domestic affairs. *Pancasila*, in the present order became the criterion against which citizens activities in the state are measured. The Indonesian model is now described as the *Pancasila* model and the New Order government has gone to great length to give practical policy effect to the concept of *Pancasila*.

As early as 1 June 1967, on the Commemoration Day of the Birth of *Pancasila* in Jakarta, the then acting President Suharto had stated that, "Pancasila is in no way just a slogan to be proclaimed, *Pancasila* is not just a state basis sanctioned in the preamble to the constitution document but Pancasila is to be practised. Without its practice, whatever philosophical basis we use, or whatever concept we produce is purposeless and has no meaning. We are obliged to defend and practice as it is the very basis and goal of independence".¹³ Similarly, in his address of 16 August 1967, President Suharto had said, "Pancasila is a noble Pact of the whole of Indonesian people which should uphold and defend for ever."¹⁴

The *New Order* of Suharto has systematically sought to operationalize the *Pancasila* in terms of Politics and Practices. The rationalization of the political party system in 1973 was a step toward *Pancasila* Democracy. The four Muslim parties were forced to merge into one political unit called *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP), while 5 non-Muslim parties had to give up their independent existence and merged into *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* (PDI)¹⁵. The Act No.

¹³ *Address of State of Acting President of the Republic of Indonesia on the Commemoration Day of the Birth of Pancasila on 1 June 1967, in Jakarta, Special Issue No. 454, Deptt. of Information of the Republic of Indonesia, p. 77.*

¹⁴ Special Issue No. 461, Deptt. of Information of the Republic of Indonesia, p. 10.

¹⁵ See Oye Hong Lee, "The Emasculation of Political Parties", in Malcolm Caldwell ed., *Ten Years Military Terror*, pp. 59-74.

31075 required the acceptance of Pancasila as the sole principle by all the socio-political forces.¹⁶ In this way the New Order Government simplified the socio-political forces by virtue of Act No. 3, 1975 concerning political parties and Golkar. Amr Machmud established the KORPRI (Korpa Pegawai Negeri — Corps of Civil Servants), as the organisation to represent all government employees. It was stipulated that all government employees must join KORPRI and within the framework of Monoloyalists resign from all other political organisation. This process was described as striving for the "Pancasila-ization" of government employees.¹⁷

In the Presidential State Address of 16 August 1976, Suharto made it clear that the Government as the state executive, wishes political parties and Golkar to view each other as partners in democracy and in the implementation of National development and to uphold *Pancasila* and the 1945 constitution.¹⁸ That all socio-political forces accept and adopt *Pancasila* as their sole principle, it does not suggest a single party system. What the Pancasila Democracy aims at, is the ruling out of the dominance by the majority as well as, tyranny by the majority.¹⁹ In 1978, the government underlook an intensive program of ideological training and upgrading through courses of study known as P₄ courses.²⁰

Indonesian citizens are to undertake the P₄ course so that *Pancasila* values can be implanted in the hearts and minds of all Indonesian Citizens. By the mass indoctrination campaign, the ruling group of the New Order hoped to attract popular support so that political opposition will be negligible. The Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) have a special role in Pancasila Democracy. ABRI undertakes "to raise the ideological consciousness of the Masses to defend the Indonesian revolution".²¹

According to the 1983 Mandate contained in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), "Broad Cutlines of States Policy", all political parties and functional groups adopt *Pancasila* as their sole ideological principle. In President Suharto's words, the adoption of Pancasila by the Parties, "will facilitate the prevention of conflict among various political groups, which in their efforts to attain their representative goals may cause clashes detrimental to National Unity and integrity".

Not just the political parties, but all voluntary organisations are to be geared to national development on the ideological foundation of the *Pancasila*. If the social organisations particularly those based on

¹⁶ See Act No. 3, 1975, Concerning Political Parties and Golkar.

¹⁷ *Suara Karya*, 18 April 1972.

¹⁸ President Suharto's *State Address* before the House of Representatives on 16 August 1976, pp. 12-13.

¹⁹ Tim Pembinaan Penatar dan Bahan

Pena taran p. 4, UUD 1945, GBHN Jakarta, 1987, p. 163.

²⁰ Pendoman Pengabayatan, dan Pengalaman Pancasila, (Guide to Pancasila Living and Practices).

²¹ *KOMPAS* (Jakarta) 17 February 1975.

religious profession do not adopt *Pancasila* as their sole principle, the 1984 legislation required the adoption on pain of dissolution. With the signature of President Suharto, the Philosophical charter of Indonesia, *Pancasila* became a legal corner stone. By making it the official ideology of all Indonesians, Islam became one of the tolerated religious streams with no legitimate claims to exclusivity. To oppose the regime is to oppose the *Pancasila* which in turn would mean opposition to the constitutional foundation of the state. Opposition to the *Pancasila* was identified with the "extremism of the left" or the radical Muslims. They were treated as political pariahs. The government went out of the way to blame them for any organised opposition whose protagonists waved an Islamic flag. These Muslim elites seek to apply Islamic values to the entire society and make those values key principles of State policy and conduct. They have long called for changes in the state documents to alter the official state motto to specifically reflect Islamic values. The call for the Islamic emphasis in the State Policy has sustained over the years. Muslim elites claim that Muslim views are not adequately represented in State bodies and criticism of development projects is often centered on the need for inclusion of Islam as an underguiding for spiritual values.

The *New Order Government* comes down with a heavy hand on the political activities of Muslim leaders and prevent Muslims from challenging their authority over the state. State leaders seek to confine Ulama to narrow religious roles, such as devotional practices and religious education and confine other Muslim elites to limited political roles. Except "Youth Mosque group" (Semaja Mesjid) organised opposition has disappeared or has gone underground appearing occasionally in the form of riots, bombing etc. In the rural areas the government party Golkar has found deep roots among landed gentry who have benefited most from the green revolution.

President Suharto has skillfully defused Islamic Militancy by forming a broad functional coalition to support the government political party, GOLKAR. In the mid 1980s the Department of Education abandoned a decade long policy forbidding the wearing of the jilab, or islamic head covering by female students in state schools. The Department of Religion proposed a bill recognizing Islamic courts, and also published a codification of Islamic family Law. In 1990, the President sanctioned the establishment of a controversial new Islamic organization, the All Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI).²² This extraordinary turn about in the relationship between the New Order regime and Islam is conditioned by the fact that the younger generations of Muslims have lost the fervor unlike their

²² For a full analysis of ICMI, see R. William Liddle, "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation", *Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (Aug. 1996).

parents, for Muslim state. Beside, the availability of two groups of Muslims for political mobilization by Suharto, he has successfully used the more Muslim group which runs ICMI and Golkar to contain and direct the Muslim activists with ties to the more stricter Muslim community and the state.

The Indonesian state leaders do attempt to make Islam compatible with national goals. In their speeches they almost universally speak of Islam as compatible with contemporary social, economic and political views and as compatible with state nationalism that places national loyalty over that of religious principles. All these expectations are outlined repeatedly by state leaders and constitute an attempt to establish a political creed for the Muslim community.²³

As the law of the land, it is prohibited to reason about the *Pancasila* making it compulsory to abide by the principles laid down. Originally formulated to serve as a unifying Philosophical basis of the state, *Pancasila* since its inception has been informed by tradition that reflects the Specificity of the Javanese cultural heritage. Both Sukarno and Suharto are Javanese. The process of creating a *Pancasila* Democracy is in this sense legitimizing rationalization of the status quo and a particularization of the political life to an essentially Javanese power and cultural elite.²⁴ As for Suharto, he can best preserve his legacy by making his consensual democracy or *Pancasila* democracy work to launch a successor.

²³ Speeches, Monthly Collection of official speeches Singapore, (1981-1983), Team Perang Kun, Agana dalam Penabangunan Nasional: Himpunan Sambutan Presiden Soeharto (Jakarta

Pustaka Birn, 1981).

²⁴ Geoffrey, C. Gunn., "Ideology and the concept of Government in the *New Order*", *Asian Survey*, Vol. XIX, No. 8, Aug. 1979.

Printed and published by Dr Sachchidanand Sahai, Centre for South East Asian
Studies, Dhanesh Bhawan Compound, Shahmir Takiya, Gaya 823001 (Bihar), India,
at Catholic Press, Ranchi-834001, Phone : (0651) 314417, Bihar, India

Registered with the Registrar of Newspapers, Simla
Reg. No. 31001 / 76