

work shows that the expansion of formal food markets does not necessarily replace older informal markets but may result in a diversity of formal and informal modes of food distribution. West points out that the demand for heritage foods is in part a reaction against the global food system and a desire to preserve local practices and “authentic” products. He explains that defining *authentic* is almost always contested and that heritagization is both a contradictory process and a performance that can be appropriated for many kinds of commercialization and tourism. The volume concludes with Melissa L. Caldwell’s provocative discussion (chap. 20) of her work as a food anthropologist and cultural expert for corporate clients. Her chapter illuminates the ethical, methodical, and conceptual challenges of such work, and the ways in which her role as cultural translator resulted both locally appropriate products and better corporate research and development ethics.

Unusually for a handbook, the various chapters and sections build upon each other in fruitful ways. A seminar on local food might draw on a number of chapters: Here, the United States, Rubie Watson’s (chap. 15) historical examination of community cookbooks and newspaper ads from rural American Midwest provides an overview of the broad shifts in labor, economy, and agriculture that have led even farming communities to rely on industrial, prepared, and fast foods. Nir Avieli (chap. 6) queries the contingent meaning of *local* food and provides several ethnographic cases of “local specialties” in Vietnam to reveal the various dimensions of locality, including, as Avieli’s interlocutor says, the way “Food only becomes local when outsiders arrive” (133). Meanwhile Peter Luetchford (chap. 18) examines Fair Trade and local food movements to reveal the conundrums of ethical consumption such as the ways that marketized ethical consumption often undermines, in the name of greater market-share, the very principles that appeal to conscientious consumers.

As a text in the rapidly growing field of Food Anthropology, the “Handbook” will find audiences in upper-level undergraduate and graduate-level university courses in which students have already completed foundational readings by Bourdieu, Counihan, Douglas, Goody, Lévi-Strauss, Mintz, and Wilk among others. For food scholars, the “Handbook” is a must-read. Gina L. Hunter

Konagaya, Yuki, and Olga Shaglanova (eds.): *Northeast Asian Borders. History, Politics, and Local Societies*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2016. 205 pp. ISBN 978-4-906962-43-3. (Senri Ethnological Studies, 92) Price: \$ 25.00

China has been concerned about Northeast Asia for centuries. Several foreign groups that raided or invaded traditional China, including the last dynasty in Chinese history, derived from that region. In times of peace, China received gold, ginseng, and furs from Northeast Asia. Twentieth-century China faced threats from Japanese and Soviet policies in the region. On the other hand, Russia and then the Soviet Union feared Chinese migration to Siberia. The border peoples, including a variety of Mon-

golian and Tungusic groups have naturally been affected by the increasing Sino-Russian interest and involvement in the region.

“Northeast Asian Borders” is a welcome addition to studies of this strategic area. It derives from a conference convened at the National Museum of Ethnology of Japan in 2014. Like most collections of essays by different authors, the quality of the contributions varies. Nonetheless, it has the advantage of multinational authorship, with chapters written by Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russian, British, and American contributors. The authors representing the first four of these six groups are the most personally involved, but Britain and the United States who have strategic interests in Sino-Russian relations need to be concerned as well.

The volume deals with the diverse relationships on the Northeast Asian borders. Sino-Russian relations dominate, but Russo-Mongol and Buryat Mongols and other Mongols’ relations and even Japanese and Korean involvement are covered. These complex interactions reveal the critical significance of this area. Another book will be required to focus on its extraordinary economic potential. Natural resources in Siberia and Mongolia, labor in China, and investment and technical expertise in Japan and Korea could, if mobilized, offer considerable opportunities for economic development.

The authors in these essays also show the impediments to such an economic success story. Sino-Russian relations along the lengthy border of more than 4,000 kilometers have often been unsteady since the late 17th century. Even after the border demarcations of the Treaty of Nerchinsk of 1689, territorial disputes persisted and were aggravated by 19th-century treaties which the Russians imposed upon China. The Sino-Soviet split of the mid-20th century exacerbated these conflicts, leading to armed clashes on Damanskii Island in 1969. Restoration of relatively harmonious relations between China and the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s ushered in a period of increasing trade between the two countries. In 1991, the two sides signed a border agreement, and by 1997, the borders had been fairly clearly demarcated. Yet suspicions and remembrance of things past hindered closer cooperation among Russians and Chinese. As Franck Billé writes in his essay, phantoms bedevil attempts at stability and harmony. He describes the Russians’ massacre of about five thousand Chinese in a Russian city along the Northeast Asian border. They feared that the Chinese would support the Boxer Rebellion and would attack Russians and other foreigners. Chinese museums and annual ritual occasions commemorate this disastrous event. Thus, this phantom continues to shape Chinese perceptions of the Russians.

A successful conclusion of treaties demarcating the borders and a revival of Sino-Russian trade have not overcome mutual suspicions. Many of the essays in the book imply or even state that future Sino-Russian relations in Northeast Asia will face many barriers. To be sure, the local inhabitants, according to several chapters in the book, will also confront difficulties in their dealings with the Chinese and the Russians, as both seek to influence or gain access to the regions’ resources. As Yuki Konagaya

comments, “without any assurances from the nation-state [Russia or China], transborder activities are very dangerous” (158).

The book is generally accessible to a larger public but is occasionally marred by arcane jargon. Nonetheless, it is a good starting point for analysis of this understudied and fascinating region. Morris Rossabi

Lee, Doreen: *Activist Archives. Youth Culture and the Political Past in Indonesia.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2016. 278 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-6171-8. Price: \$ 24.95

Doreen Lee’s rich work, “Activist Archives. Youth Culture and the Political Past in Indonesia,” is a detailed look at both historical and more current youth demonstrations in Indonesia. Indonesia’s 20th-century history is checkered with activist movements and student involvement and Lee’s book is a fresh and unique look at the inner workings and dynamics of this activity. Doreen Lee’s book situates student demonstrations squarely within the sociological and anthropological literature on activism, collective memory, performance, and resistance to power. Her work is more theoretically enriched than some earlier work on the student movement in Indonesia, for example, E. Aspinall’s 1993 work (“Student Dissent in Indonesia in the 1980s”) and Arief Budiman’s 1978 article. A closer comparison might be to Tyrell Haberkorn’s 2011 work on Thailand (“Revolution Interrupted. Farmers, Students, Law, and Violence in Northern Thailand”).

Doreen Lee’s book is an ethnographic accounting of how students live, organize, connect with the past, and frame their lives and activism. She participates in protests (demo), spends time in student living quarters and where they camp out and stage their work, and enmeshes herself in the pamphlets, paraphernalia, and historiographies of student or youth (*pemuda*) “fever” (Lee’s term). The result is a new perspective on the legacy and role of activism in a more democratic Indonesia. Current student activism builds on, but is quite different from past movements. The 1966 student federation, KAMI, was anti-Communist in its orientation and it was mobilized and backed by factions of the military led by soon-to-be president Suharto. The students provoked conflict and opened the door to greater opportunities for Suharto to take steps to consolidate his own power and oust the Indonesian founder, Sukarno. In this incarnation, students were not autonomous actors, they were clearly a political tool being used by the military to serve Suharto’s political ambitions. In the 1970s, student activism took a different turn and began to confront Suharto’s New Order policies and neoliberal agenda. In 1972 and again in 1978, students organized on campus and then poured into the streets to protest against cronyism and the power of business elites in perceived collusion with foreign capital. These demonstrations of push back against Suharto’s developmentalist agenda were met with repression and violence from the powerful state apparatus. Leaders were arrested, imprisoned, sometimes tortured and killed. While Suharto saw the students as being critical of his regime

(because they were), the students themselves viewed their actions as nationalistic, moral, and not political.

Pemuda activism was about being the conscious of the nation. Since the anti-Communist activity and terror of the late 1960s, it was highly risky to engage in political activism, which could be framed as leftist in nature. So, any critique of Suharto’s liberal economic policies needed to be cast in ways that would make it hard to brand the students as pro-Communist or pro-Socialist. So, students focused on criticizing corruption, and pushing for cleaner government and more nationalistic economic policies. After the repression of the movement in 1978 there was a lull in student activism. Suharto seemed to allow a slight thaw in societal organization and activity in the late 1980s and youth activism re-emerged. It is possible that the limited tolerance of student organization also reflected growing divisions within elite circles at the top of the political and military hierarchy. This point brings me to the strengths and perhaps shortcomings of Lee’s work. The strength of the book is to give detailed credit to the persistence, organization, culture, and symbolic forms of student demos and of the power of resistance and opposition which helped bring down Suharto in the spring of 1998. Her work gives primacy and agency to student activists.

Political scientists, this author included, tend to discount the role of protests in regime change. Instead, most of the political science literature on the end of authoritarian rule (by scholars such as Schmitter, O’Donnell, Huntington) looks at the role of elites; both elites in power and elites in the opposition. If students are mentioned at all, it is usually in the context of how mass mobilization can play into the hand of reformers, moderates, or hard-liners. Then, it is the interplay among these groups of elites that determine the persistence of authoritarian rule or the breakdown of it. In these models, Suharto resigned once his inner circle of power (business cronies, and military backers) indicated that they no longer had confidence in him and that they could not restore order with him in power. So, why do we not see Suharto resign in the face of 1996 protests, or those that occur throughout 1997 – spring of 1998? Because it is not until the spring that he loses the support of his closest allies. This sort of analysis discounts the power of the masses and the students. Gene Sharp’s recipe for nonviolent revolution and the successful uprisings in the Arab Spring have brought activism and the role of students and youth back to the forefront of how we can understand regime change. Doreen Lee’s book provides us with much more detail on who the students are, the conditions under which they organize, live, demonstrate, connect with the past and with the masses, the “*rakyat*.” “Activist Archives” fills in our understanding of the institutions and structure which helped drive the reform era (*refomasi*). In the decades after the reform, youth activism faded. In chap. 4 on “Violence” and chap. 6 on “Democracy,” Lee looks at how student protests were recast as unlawful disorder rather than natural expressions of civil discontent. While not as violent as earlier efforts at repression, the UNAS Tragedy of 2008 saw 100 students arrested and hundreds of injuries as police reacted violently to protests against fuel price hikes.