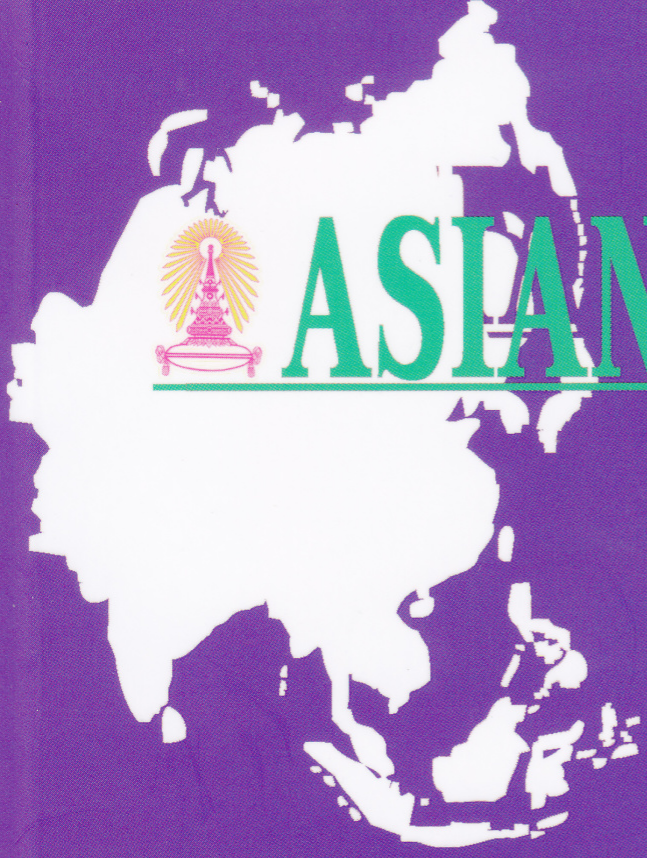

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IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT, EMPIRE AND INTER/NATION

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Introduction: Ideological aspects of development, empire and inter/nation: selected cases from Southeast Asia

Michael K. Connors, Guest Editor

In December 2016, the Institute of Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University and the Institute of Asian Pacific Studies at the University of Nottingham, Malaysia Campus, issued a call for papers on the theme of "Political Ideologies in Southeast Asia." This volume is the product of that initiative. The contributors to this special issue robustly workshopped full draft papers in Bangkok during several days in June 2017 before submitting their final articles for peer review. The speedy process of full paper submission, peer review and publication is testament to the commitment of the contributors and to the management of *Asian Review*. The contributors and guest editor benefitted greatly from the suggestions of the anonymous peer reviewers who generously gave of their time and scholarship. We thank them all.

In the original call for papers IAS and IAPS sought a range of submissions on Southeast Asia that explicitly engaged with ideological analyses related to state-society relations and the political contest and the construction of political power in a Southeast Asian setting—relatively unexplored areas at least as a collective scholarly endeavor. The idea for the workshop emerged when I was asked to submit a book review to the *Asian Review* while I was a visiting fellow at the Institute of Asian Studies. I ended up writing a fairly selective review article considering how ideology studies were faring poorly in Southeast Asia studies in contrast to the robust growth elsewhere. That review (Connors 2016) was framed around the limited impact in the region of Michael Freeden's (1998) path-breaking work on ideological morphologies in spite of the approach's nimble capacity to deal with what often appeared to be ideological fragmentation, indeed inchoateness, in Southeast Asia. In the end, the review article was not so much a survey of the field, and certainly not a comprehensive one, as a ques-

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tioning of why ideology as an area of study has not attracted the kind of collective endeavor that have areas such as state theory, nationalism or regime analysis. The answer appears to be the disciplinary disregard in political studies for substantive concern with ideological forms and a lack of shared understanding of what ideology is. Rather than collective endeavor marked by cumulative research projects, conferences, dialogue and debate, the study of ideology has largely been driven by individuals in discrete areas. However, there are signs of an upturn in sustained, rigorous studies that may create a critical mass to reorient scholars to this vital area. Among the most recent we can include, to name but two, the excellent monographs by Bourchier (2016) and Lisandro (2017), which explore political ideas and practices in Indonesia and the Philippines respectively.

As it happens, this volume is narrower in geographic scope than was anticipated by the call for papers but wider in thematic and conceptual application. The papers cover Asia in general and, more specifically, Thailand, Indonesia and Timor-Leste. In one way or another, the question of power and ideology is engaged with by each paper across the areas of development, international relations, nationalism, identity, subjectivity and Islamic politics. I will not seek here to impose order on the volume other than to note that, collectively, the papers point to the gains in understanding that can be made when the power of ideologies, discursive practices or, indeed, mentalities, are recognized in the different fields examined here. Of the ideologies covered, there are provocative treatments of liberalism, nationalism, fascism and internationalism all subject to the ordering prerogative of the state. We learn for example that applying Michael Freeden's morphological approach to ideology might allow a different valuation of the concept of trusteeship in ideologies of development (Parfitt); that denunciations as Islamo-fascist of certain Islamic organizations require a careful ideological analysis in order to clear the field of emotion and bring into focus the difficulty of such a fascism constituting itself (Miller); that neoliberalism as an ideological practice seeks even in disaster management a particular subjectivity conducive to (an obfuscated) market logic (Farnan); that International Relations as a Western-centric discipline has obscured alternative forms of internationalism and that it scripts its internal debates premised on "isms" that hardly touch on post-colonial subaltern states that envision (or did envision)

an alternative international order (Umar); that subject people may, across stretches of historical time, be organized around colonial identities for the purposes of state legibility but such identities hardly touch on their being (Tsuchiya); and, from an avowed liberal (Iskandar), the provocative manifesto-like argument that state ideology in Indonesia is anathema to liberal freedom and at heart serves the reproduction of feudal hierarchy. To aid the reader in approaching the different papers I offer the following comments.

Trevor Parfitt presents a conceptual discussion of competing notions of trusteeship in variants of liberalism and extends his observations to development. By using Freeden's morphological approach to analyze development as an ideology he takes issue with those who would view all forms of trusteeship as objectionable (Cohen and Shenton 1996). In doing so, he notes the value of "public reason" trusteeship, the origins of which he identifies in Millite and Rawlsian liberalism. While he avers that there awaits what we might call an "authoritarianism trap" in any form of trusteeship, especially that exercised by the state or an outsider, he argues for the acknowledgement of trusteeship as part of a discourse of development that has liberal origins, and something that can produce benefits in terms of people's capabilities. He then moves to exploring these ideas in an Asian context with suggestive interpretations that should provoke further engagement with the problematic concept of trusteeship.

Robert Farnan's paper offers a rude awakening to those working in old social science categories—for he tells us that the liberal subject has now been displaced. His paper exposes the different forces at play in a world marked by risk, vulnerability and potential catastrophe. For Farnan, the old subject of security, that individual for whom the state secured the conditions of relatively free existence has been transcended, and a new subjectivity (or a new process of subjectivation) is emerging in the form of the "neoliberal subject of resilience," for whom existence is marked by constant vulnerability and unpredictability that exceeds any state's capacity to control. Along the way Farnan tours liberalism's historical relationship to biopower and biological conceptions of existence, of which the latter has now come to the fore as the possibility of extinction—the ontological grounds of subject vulnerability and from which issues the necessity of resilience and adaptability. In applying this critique of neoliberalism to the Bangkok floods of

2011, this article challenges narratives based on the politics of disaster management to reveal a displacement of responsibility from the state to the individuals that make up society. In the Thai context, since the 2011 floods there has been an incantation that more bad things can be expected and one has to be prepared if one is to exist, as an individual and as a species. He suggests that there has been a fusion of discourses of local wisdom and self-reliance with neo-liberal strictures on the limits of state capacity, while all along technocrats act as actuaries, ensuring the most vulnerable are granted the greater risk. Still, as the article shows, people object and seek redress, not yet conforming to the idealized resilient subject sought by neoliberalism.

From Parfitt and Farnan's ideological study of development, Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar moves to a critique of mainstream International Relations' failure to engage with the historical experience and ideologies of non-Western states. In a discipline more dominated by axioms than context, Umar's piece on the "Bandung Ideology" serves to remind us that the dogmas of realist power politics or liberal internationalism that dominate Western centric International Relations' scholarship and which largely serve a now fading Western hegemony, were once confronted by a powerful "anti-colonial internationalism" that imagined a different structure to world politics. Umar's central claim is to have extracted and defined an anti-colonial internationalism ideology from a careful reading of Indonesian history that differs from the "internationalisms" considered in the IR literature. Taking a history of ideas approach to how a long history of anti-colonial struggle gave rise to the "Bandung ideology" and how this impacted Indonesian foreign policy, Umar channels the once world historic challenges to Western dominated international relations to effectively illustrate that disciplinary orthodoxies and domination are, in the end, contingencies. That point alone mocks the universalism of some of the IR lawmakers. It is fitting then that he ends by noting that the Bandung spirit may yet rise again.

If Umar works within a framework that seeks to fashion a more progressive foreign policy for Indonesia based on its past historical diplomacy as an anti-colonial state, Kisho Tsuchiya and Pranoto Iskandar see things differently, doing much to rip up notions of the stable state that reflects a citizen/subject's identity.

In his paper, Kisho Tsuchiya explores the ground conditions that

enabled Portugal and Indonesia to forge policies, most significantly identity categories, that the populations inhabiting the eastern part of the Timor island had to endure. A post-colonial sentiment runs through Tsuchiya's paper revealing the contingency of both empire and national identity. This remarkable paper takes in moments from the subjects' perceived barbarian status to assimilation during the Portuguese and Indonesian occupation. It also problematizes the national moment that informed East Timorese resistance. In a compact treatment, the paper notes the dialectical relationship of resistance and imposed identity and how changing international circumstances created conditions for the truth production of the colonized's identity. Finally, Tsuchiya points to how these factors impact even now on how post-independence Timor-leste is imagined. His work raises uncomfortable questions about the convenience of certain narratives that work at an international level but which forge a stronger state over subject population.

Pranoto Iskandar, the author of the stinging "Pancasila Delusion" (2016), offers what is really a companion piece to his previous assault on Indonesian national ideology and its role in thwarting a liberal imagination. In a broadly interpretative essay, and drawing on the Bourchier's (2016) study of the "family state," Iskandar details the ideological grounds for Indonesian statehood and its far-right affinities and then connects the resurgence of activism around customary law to what he views as a local version of a form of state corporatism imbued with hierarchical values. The obvious standpoint of Iskandar's critique is a principled liberal position on the autonomy of the individual. It is exciting to think that Iskandar might do the intellectual work to develop the conceptual grounds of liberalism in Indonesia in a way that speaks to an alternative Indonesian tradition. Even so, it is not obvious given his view of liberals in the "Pancasila Delusion" that he can muster the empathy for existing Indonesian liberalism in the way that Lisandro (2017) has in his contextual reappraisal of Filipino liberalism through the lives of its practitioners.

Finally, Stephen Miller brings the literature on fascism to bear in his analysis of the Islamic Defender's Front in Indonesia. More exploratory than definitive, Miller offers a provisional analysis of what would constitute a fascist organization and ideology—moving between a dynamic historical approach and one more centered on specific ideo-

logical features—the shopping list to establish a fascist minimum. His conclusion that there is fascist potential to the organization is an interesting one that warrants scrutiny. Indeed, the manner of his approach is conversational in a positive sense and avoids the trap of rushing to judgement on an organization still in the process of contextual evolution.

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