

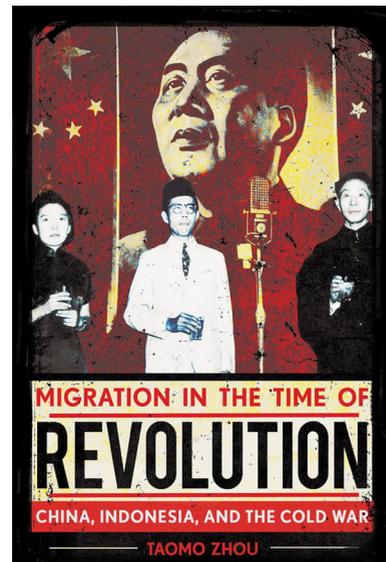
Migration in the Time of Revolution: China, Indonesia, and the Cold War. Zhou, Taomo.

Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019. 319 pp., \$31.99, ISBN: 978-1-5017-3995-8 / 978-1-5017-3994-1.

Krisnawan Wisnu Adi

Department of Sociology, Nanjing University, China
e-mail: krisnawanwisnu.adi@gmail.com

In the meticulously crafted work authored by Taomo Zhou, the complex interplay between Indonesia and China during the Cold War era (1945–960s) is thoroughly examined. The Cold War, in this context, is portrayed not merely as a rivalry between superpowers (the socialist East and the capitalist West), but as a nuanced geopolitical landscape encompassing relationships between nations beyond this axis. One such relationship of significance is the Sino-Indonesian relationship. The post-colonial situation in Indonesia and the civil war on mainland China emerged as pivotal factors influencing the ebbs and flows of these two nations' interactions during the Cold War period. Employing the paradigm of transnational history, Zhou positions overseas Chinese in Indonesia as pivotal subjects to comprehend the intricacies of this relationship. This perspective underscores that state-to-state diplomacy and the everyday lives of migrants were mutually constitutive, where the presence and circumstances of overseas Chinese significantly influenced and were influenced by Indonesia-China diplomatic relations.



The diplomatic relationship between these two nations was far from seamless, especially when the support of overseas Chinese was fiercely contested by Nationalist and Communist factions during the civil war in mainland China. Their economic success played a critical role in garnering sympathy for both parties, as evidenced in Saigon, Singapore, and Manila. As such, the estimated 2.5 million overseas Chinese in Indonesia emerged as an extraordinary source of support. Unfortunately, the post-colonial situation in Indonesia became a pivotal factor affecting the sustainability of these relations and the fate of overseas Chinese during that period. Nonetheless, overseas Chinese were not passive actors; they possessed significant agency.

Zhou's book is thoughtfully divided into ten chapters. In the first two chapters, she explores the tensions between Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communists, highlighting the competition for the sympathy of overseas Chinese. Despite their differing perspectives toward overseas Chinese, that Chinese Nationalists tend to see them as rightful human capital while the Chinese Communists looked them as subjects who had to merge with the *pribumi* (the so-called indigenous Indonesians) in order to realize the class struggle against colonialism (pp. 24, 43), both groups employed education, mass media, and civic organizations to strengthen their influence. Subsequently, chapters 3 to 6 delve into the growing complexity of these tensions in the context of post-colonial Indonesia, with Indonesian policymakers perceiving them as a potential threat to national security. They feared that Indonesia would be the next domino to fall in Southeast Asia (p. 113). The nationalization of Chinese businesses in 1959 and China's repatriation policy were pivotal moments of ambivalence in Indonesia-China relations, as detailed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 8 stands out as a particularly special section where Zhou challenges the widely circulated notion that the suffering of ethnic Chinese after the September Thirtieth Movement was retribution for Beijing's alleged involvement in a "Communist coup" in Indonesia. The presence of archived conversations between Den Aidit and Mao Zedong on August 5, 1965 serves as compelling evidence. The last two chapters address the failure of Taiwan's intervention and China's large-scale repatriation, effectively concluding the book.

Zhou's utilization of the transnational history paradigm and emphasis on the agency of overseas Chinese in Indonesia offer a fresh perspective for understanding the trajectory and complexities of international relations in the context of the Cold War, particularly between Indonesia and China. Diplo-

matic relations and the daily lives of citizens mutually influenced each other, and agency serves as a key entry point to comprehend these intricacies. For example, overseas Chinese in Indonesia, recognized as citizens by both the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of China but receiving protection from neither, expressed their autonomy by forming self-defense units with Dutch support or aligning with Indonesian nationalists. Furthermore, the late 1950s witnessed pro-Beijing groups gaining control of Chinese-language media, civic associations, and Chinese-medium schools, frustrating Beijing's efforts to keep overseas Chinese away from politics. An examination of the persona of Ba Ren and his strong connections with farmers in Sumatra that subsequently shaping the dynamics of diplomatic relations within the domain of the political elite, further substantiates Zhou's analytical framework.

Through this book, Zhou has skillfully woven together and enriched the existing body of scholarship on overseas Chinese in Indonesia, previously conducted by esteemed scholars. One can observe this in the works of William Skinner, who explored the varying political attitudes among Chinese residents in Indonesia during the Cold War, Donald Willmott's examination of the dual nationality issue within the framework of citizenship, Wang Gungwu and Charles Coppel's analysis of state-sponsored violence, and Leo Suryadinata's exploration of the indigenous population's perceptions of overseas Chinese. Zhou's intriguing emphasis on the agency of overseas Chinese adds a distinctive dimension to this body of work. This book is of paramount importance to anyone with an interest in the subjects of international relations, transnational history, and overseas Chinese communities. However, the relatively limited coverage of migration, primarily evident in the narratives of Liang Yingming in the introduction and the concluding chapters discussing the extensive repatriation of overseas Chinese from Indonesia to China, prompts a question regarding Zhou's choice of "migration" as part of the book's title.