



Ethics Against Violence in a Chinese-Indonesian Martial Art School



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.01 The Problem: Martial as Moral ([return to index](#))?

A contradiction lies at the heart of the contemporary Asian martial arts. [1] On the one hand, because of their portrayal in action films, the martial arts are popularly seen as engendering violence. Even respected scholars, without having done any ethnographic work on the subject, sometimes equate their transnational cinematic image with a violent reality. [2] The problem of violence is certainly an overt discourse within martial art schools. As my anthropological research at an international martial art school based in Indonesia shows, students are often motivated to take up a martial art precisely because they have been in or imagine encountering physical confrontation, against which they hope to learn to defend themselves.

On the other hand, long-term practitioners often claim that martial art training reduces the likelihood of violent behavior through incorporating 'spiritual' or 'traditional' values, such as humility, non-competitiveness, integrity, and respect for life and nature, usually said to be based on Buddhist or Taoist mores (Kauz 1977; Reid and Croucher 1983). Masters of both Japanese and Chinese martial forms have stated that proper martial training, that is, including moral teachings, is actually a way towards peace (Kit 1981; Reid and Croucher 1983). Several psychological studies lend support to this contention, showing that aggressive behavior diminishes over time amongst American youths who undergo martial art training (e.g., Lamarre and Nosanchuk 1999; Nosanchuk and MacNeil 1989; Skelton, Glynn, and Berta 1991; Truson 1986; Zivin, et. al. 2001). [3] Such studies do not explain why this should be so, however. Why would the attitudes and behaviors of American children, or anybody else for that matter, change after a year or two involvement with some archaic, imported form of unarmed

combat that is inefficient (takes decades to master) and ineffective (if faced with a gun)? [4]

.02 The Theory: **Habitus, Body, & Ethic** ([return to index](#))

Anthropologist Donahue provides a clue when he writes that the Asian martial arts give their practitioners, "a sense of place and purpose, a rationale for living and a moral code" (1994: 12) that guides action and the development of personal qualities such as "discipline, obedience, courage, and benevolence" (ibid., 15). Put another way, when people enter a martial art school, they are voluntarily entering into a new 'habitus', which may differ significantly from that of the society at large.

According to Bourdieu (1977; 1990), the 'habitus' is an implicit system of organizing principles that generates a common-sense reality. The 'habitus' also simultaneously produces and is produced by the repetition of similar experiences – 'practices' – amongst individuals and the collective. Those experiences which are most embodied (least discursive) are considered by Bourdieu to have the greatest effect in producing a social world which seems 'natural' and 'normal'. Bourdieu, along with many social scientists examining enculturation processes, therefore puts greatest emphasis on early childhood socialization practices. I would caution against essentializing 'habitus' as a bounded whole acquired in childhood, however. [5] Human beings are enormously flexible in adapting to new socio-cultural contexts. Even adults can be educated into new habitus, given enough time and willing involvement in new practices. Alternative beliefs and behaviors then become part of the individual's 'common-sense' world, as has been demonstrated repeatedly in analyses of 'cults' (e.g., Carter 1990; Collins 1991; Lewis 1996; Robbins 1988). Less extreme examples show immersion in new habitus and eventual adoption of new identities following changes in location of residence or occupation (e.g., Alvesson 1993; Astuti 1995; Hamada 1994; Leach 1954; Minnis 1990). The same could apply to deep involvement in any social group, including around hobby or sport activities. [6]

While identities multiply and shift, the body remains a primary locus for new identity formation through each practiced habitus (Reed 1998; Shilling 1993). This may be especially apparent when examining highly embodied transnational popular forms, such as ballroom dance, reggae, or golf. Irrespective of the cultural roots of these forms, their diverse practitioners come to share a habitus (or experience a habitus reproduced in them) through participation in a new set of bodily skills. If the form is sufficiently institutionalized and provides enough 'social capital' (Bourdieu's term, 1977; 1984), they may establish an identity as a group which cross-cuts other identities and alters their relationships to people once seen as 'outside' or 'alien'. Thus, even in polities which are strongly divided by ethnicity, class, or religion, for example, involvement with new organizations that spread a different habitus may provide spaces for human interaction which enable people to encounter and better understand, or even establish new loyalties with, the 'other'.

Because of the limits of this paper, I focus on just one aspect of habitus in action, that of inculcating ethical principles through embodied practices. In using the terms 'morality' and 'ethic', I follow Foucault's distinction. For Foucault, morality

is a "set of values and rules of action that are recommended to individuals through...various prescriptive agencies" as well as the "behavior of individuals in relation to the rules and values" (Foucault 1985:25). The term 'ethic' he reserves for "the manner in which one ought to 'conduct oneself'" in order to "form oneself as an ethical subject" (Foucault 1985:26). He goes on to differentiate 'code-oriented' moralities, which are heavily weighted towards systematic prescriptions, from 'ethics-oriented' moralities, which focus more on "forms of subjectivation and the practices of the self" (Foucault 1985:29-30).

The pedagogy of the martial art school described below, and that of many Asian martial arts, is very much in the latter mode. Practitioners are primarily concerned with self-development through martial art training, while seldom overtly engaging with a moral code. Ethical behavior is understood as embedded in and transmitted through the movements themselves, which a superficial semiotic reading would only see as communicating conflict (cf. Grossman 1998). The case below offers an explanation of why some Asian martial arts may work to diminish aggressive behavior and attitudes even when they have become dispersed into socio-cultural contexts very different from their origins.

.03 **The School** ([return to index](#))

Persatuan Gerak Badan (Body Movement Association), or PGB for short, is a school based in Bogor, near Jakarta, that teaches a syncretic Chinese/Indonesian form of martial arts called White Crane *Silat*. [Z] While Indonesia is often described as violently fractured and potentially disintegrating along the lines of religion, ethnicity, and class, this not-for profit social organization has managed to build a widely inclusive and diverse community. PGB was founded in 1952 by descendents of ethnic Hokkien Chinese immigrants to Indonesia. However, both the chief trainer for Indonesia and the chair of the PGB organizational board are *pribumi* ('indigenous') Indonesians. Male and female students at the central school in Bogor and its various local and international branches, numbering several thousand active practitioners worldwide, include Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Chinese, Sumatrans, and Papuans (from Irian Jaya), as well as foreigners from Japan, Saudi Arabia, North America, and several countries in Europe. PGB members range in class from very poor homeless children and ex-street gang members to wealthy and influential military leaders, business people, artists, and intellectuals. The majority of PGB members are Muslim, but there are also Buddhist, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, and non-religious members. The diversity of PGB's membership is remarkable anywhere, but especially so in Indonesia, where tension between ethnic and religious groups has been high and sometimes breaks out into violence.

I will look at one component of this school's success as a viable heterogeneous community: the transmission and embodiment of an ethic that includes such qualities as personal responsibility, self-control, and compassion. PGB's trainers expect that students will absorb this ethic through *silat* training itself, such that aggression is minimized and social relations, even outside the bounds of the school, become more tolerant and harmonious.

.04 **Ethical Discourses** ([return to index](#))

I focus on the counter-intuitive notion of becoming more peaceful through learning unarmed combat because the resolution of the contradiction lies in embodied practices within this school. Indeed, from the point of view of the trainers, it is only through the body that it *can* be resolved. The PGB community tends to be anti-intellectual; trainers scoff at lengthy discussion about *silat*, making comments such as, "Those who speak, don't know," and "Just do it." *Silat* is learned through direct, repetitious experience (practice), not from analysis. Furthermore, White Crane *Silat* is called a 'science' (*keilmuan*) by its practitioners. That is, *silat* practices are said to be based on natural, empirical, and universal principles that can be applied to and by every 'body'. This can be read as strategic for the school's inclusive membership policy. [9] If *silat* is a universal 'science', it need not conflict with any religious beliefs, even though some of the movements are traced back to ancient Buddhist China. [10] 'Compassion' or 'love' (*cinta kasih*), which I analyze as PGB's primary ethic, is expressed not as a moral principle, but as a form of energy. This is stated in the *Mukadimah Guru Besar* (Grandmaster's Preamble, or 'MGB'), a dense five-paragraph philosophical passage that is one of only two formal ethical guidelines at the school. The fourth paragraph reads in part:

"Also, good science [i.e., the science of *silat*] should strengthen the energy of good relations between people. This energy is compassion. Without compassion, relationships between people are full of selfishness, dry and oppressive. Compassion brings us closer to nature because compassion is the essence of the life force, the essence of growth energy, and the essence of healing power." [11]

Note two things. First, the MGB provides no moral prescriptions concerning good and bad action. As the current Grandmaster said in response to my questions on morality, moral rules are learned from religion, not in PGB. The MGB is a statement of natural principles. Second, training *silat*, in that it transforms the 'energy' of its practitioners, is expected to support positive (i.e., unselfish, non-oppressive) relationships between people. [12] I will return to this point later.

The other formal ethical text in PGB is the membership oath (*Sumpah Warga Persatuan*), which lays out five points of etiquette to be maintained during training. These are stated as group promises: to take responsibility for ourselves as individuals, to be honest, to develop our skills (more precisely, 'enhance our achievements'), to preserve courtesy, and to control ourselves. [13] Quotes from the two Grandmasters, some of which reinforce or expand upon principles from the oath and MGB, are printed on the annual PGB calendars. Access to all these texts is uneven, however. They tend to be only haphazardly translated into the various languages understood by the students and are not broadly disseminated, but instead are usually obtained through individual purchases of the calendars and Indonesian-language newsletters. It is true that most students memorize the membership oath in Indonesian, but it is only spoken at formal training sessions and annual ceremonies at a very rapid pace. As one Indonesian trainer put it during an interview, "They know how to say it, but not what it means." In general, only the trainers and most dedicated students have read all of these texts. This lack of systematicity is one reason I suggest that PGB's 'morality' is more an ethic than a code, in Foucault's terms.

Most other ethical discourses in the school come up spontaneously and incidentally, most likely during student-teacher question-answer sessions, in discussions amongst students through email and while socializing, and in gossip. Testimonials by PGB students concerning their *silat* development also form part of the informal ethical discourse. These often refer to learning to stay emotionally balanced and maintain control over one's own violence. An American woman who works in construction said, during a group discussion on self-control, "I've learned not to answer [male] aggression with aggression, and I think that relates to *silat* practice." Similarly, at a belt test in Java, an Italian assistant trainer told me: "[*Silat*] changed me. [It] soothes me. [I'm] not so 'fuck you' and ready to fight anymore." One of my own students, who was struggling with an amphetamine addiction, once told me how *silat* was changing him, saying that all his life he had been angry, but he had discovered that if he did *silat* movements in the morning before going out, it calmed him down; he no longer felt like he wanted to kill himself or someone else.

These stories of self-transformation suggest a second reason why PGB's morality is better termed an 'ethic'. I argue that the goal of training *silat* is not to become a 'moral' person, judged on some absolute scale of good or bad, but to develop oneself into a more *effective* person. Learning *silat* (how to fight well) is not an end in itself, but a means to becoming better able to achieve any goal. Variations on the following are heard at the school when trainers and students discuss the benefits of practice: "If you want to be a better businessman, do *silat*. If you want to improve your relationships, do *silat*. If you want to be more spiritual, do *silat*." Simply being a good, ethical person is insufficient. As one *silat* elder at the Bali training retreat paraphrased a saying he said came from the legendary Shaolin Buddhist Temple, "If you are powerful without compassion, you're only a bandit. If you are full of compassion, but have no power, you're weak and ineffective." PGB teachings are therefore pragmatic. Actions such as lying or stealing, while not condoned, are recognized as at least theoretically necessary under special circumstances and there are no injunctions against violence, *per se*. Nevertheless, according to the interviews I conducted, there is an expectation amongst some trainers that specific ethical attitudes or qualities will be developed in individuals over time through the discipline of *silat*. The current Grandmaster summed up this notion during a question-answer session with students: "If strategy grows without character, that leads to a person becoming an authoritarian, a dictator. But if character develops without good strategy, the person becomes too egotistical. [In both cases, one is striving] for oneself only. But between [strategy and character] is *silat*, [then] both can develop." Note again the implication that through *silat* training, one learns to act on the behalf of others, not merely selfishly for one's own ends.

Such self-development does not occur all at once, but over the course of decades of *silat* training and life experience. This can be described as a series of stages, as the following incident from my fieldwork illustrates. One of the Indonesian students had been challenged to fight on the street. Rather than handle it himself, he called on some of his *silat* brothers to beat off his attacker. This struck me as unfair, not to mention in violation of the ethic of the school, and I remarked on it to the Grandmaster. He replied that it was because the student was still only a *pesilat* (*silat* martial artist), not yet a 'hero'. A hero, that is, a more developed *silat* practitioner, would not have involved other people in the

fight, but only risked himself. And at the next level of development, he went on to explain, a 'leader' would not have had to fight, but would instead have controlled the situation verbally or otherwise. In other words, at each level of personal development, there is a reduction in violence.

.05 **Principled Practices** ([return to index](#))

Such ethical development does not occur through verbal discourse alone; it must become an "embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history" (Bourdieu 1990:56) if it is to manifest as changed behavior. PGB ethics are incorporated both through ritual actions and the training of *silat* movements. For example, egalitarianism is implied in the opening of formal training practice, in which all students and trainers form a circle and together bow to the center. Courtesy and respect are also shown in the greeting gesture of two palms pressed together about chest height, called a *salam* (in Bahasa Indonesia) or *soja* (in Hokkien), which is done whenever someone enters the training hall or to mark the beginning and end of a sparring session between two partners. These gestures, as well as more complex rituals which take place at formal ceremonies, are symbolic of the ethics defined in texts such as the membership oath.

The *silat* movements do not symbolize ethics, however, they necessitate them. For example, assistant trainers at a trainer's retreat were taught by the Grandmaster that each of the five parts of the membership oath corresponds to a category of movement. By practicing the core fighting moves, called 'dragon gates' (*liong bun* in Hokkien), one learns to take responsibility for one's actions, the first promise in the oath. The second promise, to be honest or have integrity, is associated with *ambilan*, or throwing movements. Trainers discussing the oath at the Bali retreat said that this means that when students practice throwing with a partner, they should be willing to fall down if the other person has thrown them correctly, and vice versa - if their partner's form is incorrect, they should not give the throw away by falling down unnecessarily. In other words, one should fall or not fall with honesty.

The most difficult and subtle movements, known as 'long movements' (like short choreographed dances, similar to the *kata* in *Karate*) are linked with enhancing one's achievements - the third promise - not only because they are taught sparingly and so signal advancement, but because they are said to have the greatest impact in shaping 'energy' and 'character'. This can happen for the better or for the worse, such that if a student is taught a Monkey-style long movement before they are ready for it, they may develop a streak of naughtiness and end up disrupting the community. Sparring, meanwhile, demands courtesy, the fourth promise; one has to show respect to ones partner if practice fighting is not to devolve into real fighting. And finally, physical and emotional self-control are taught through the short movements, repetitious combinations of blocks, kicks, and punches.

Various kinds of verbal and physical sanctions reinforce these practiced ethics. Students may be teased, scolded, shunned, or even physically punished during training sessions when they fail to uphold training principles, although rarely is direct reference made to the oath. For example, one ex-marine was known for taking advantage of sparring sessions to try to damage people as much as

possible, regularly breaking noses, blacking eyes, and so on. Another student told me in an interview how he had called him on his inappropriate behavior, telling him not to greet his partner respectfully if he did not honestly mean it: "Look, don't *soja* then, if it's just bullshit. Just say, 'Hey, want to fucking spar, man?' But don't hide behind the *soja*." I observed another incident in which an Indonesian woman student was physically shamed for discourtesy. She had been taking every opportunity to kick male partners in the testicles during sparring. The Grandmaster, noticing this, at first teasingly warned the male trainers to protect themselves more carefully. But when she aimed a kick at his crotch during sparring, he blocked and caught her foot, flipped her onto her back, then held her ankles and dragged her flailing around the floor. Students discussing the incident afterwards commented that she had been humiliated for lack of respect for her partners.

As such ethics become part of the student's new embodied habitus, it is assumed by trainers that eventually they will become incorporated into how people handle other life situations. For example, the first principle of the oath, protecting oneself, is part of a more general ethic of taking personal responsibility. This is further emphasized by the very low tolerance for complaint in the PGB community. People who are sick or hurt are expected to make their own decisions about whether or not they should train; but if they come to class and then complain about their aches and pains, they are likely to face even harder training than normal. The same ethic is emphasized in discourse. As the chief trainer for America put it at the Bali retreat, "If you want to be a bandit, be a bandit, but don't cry when they come and cut off your head." The grandmaster similarly told American students, who are often shocked by how many Indonesian *silat* trainers smoke, "If you understand that cigarette smoking is bad for your health, then choose. If you choose to smoke, then don't blame the cigarettes when you get lung cancer. Blame yourself."

Self-control, noted in the fifth promise, is perhaps most strongly correlated to diminished violence. Control in PGB means not only mastery of one's body, but also of one's emotions, especially fear, hate, and anger. Quotes from the Grandmasters printed on the calendars frequently caution against these emotions: "Fear is the constant companion of success and failure. That fear lies within the self." "Actions and Emotions without real explanation are the depths of Anger." "Face a situation with awareness and determination, not with worry and hate." [14] Control is not accomplished through repression, however, but through release of emotion in the relatively safe context of training. A Javanese trainer put it like this in an interview: "Our students don't usually get into trouble when they get out from training because they released their emotions in the training already. Get hit, slapped, fall down, and punch back...[it's] all released. They don't have to be told it will happen, it happens because of the way we train." He went on to explain that it was embedded in the subtle aspects of how the movements are actually trained, comparing *silat* to *karate*. "When [karate practitioners] punch, it's held back. When we punch, it's different [demonstrating a full extension of the arm]. With karate, the emotion stays inside [motions it circulating in the chest] but with our *silat*, it's released." Thus, in *silat*, negative emotions are supposed to be released from the body, whereas in some other kinds of movement, they may remain trapped, leading to an outburst of violence. A German trainer said at a retreat, "The best thing is to get thrown a lot. Give up

your emotion on the training floor. When you are attacked, be ready to take up the pain of emotion. You become frustrated, [but then] suddenly you get okay and then ignore it. As soon as you feel that way, your emotion backs down."

Whereas emotional pain is to be released, physical pain is embraced as a good teacher, in part because it creates the conditions for embodiment of compassion. Compassion is learned through suffering, according to PGB trainers, and, as the Grandmaster often says jokingly, "*Silat* IS Suffering." In an interview, he explained that it isn't mere mental suffering, as Americans are wont to indulge in, but 'real' suffering of the body as students force themselves to face pain and fear in the effort to discipline their bodies to shape *silat's* 'abnormal' movements. The PGB founder equated that discipline with reducing violence in a 1980 interview with some of his American students: "In doing the *silat*, the number one thing is to conquer your own violence. In sparring you see [A...] laughing, even when he's been slapped. [B...] and [C...] just laugh even when they fall and are hurting." [15] Eventually, the student moves beyond laughing at pain to the realization that everyone else suffers equally, the root of compassion. A Javanese trainer sums it up in an interview: "In the training you just hurt yourself, you fall, you roll, you hurt yourself. That's why we don't like it if people [complain], '*Aduh, sakit* (Ouch, it hurts.)' That's why we torture people. We teach them to learn what is hurt, what is pain. And then with that idea, we hope they will understand, 'Oh, okay!' like a flash. Before you hurt other people, you should hurt yourself first. That's what I think. It's the same meaning with, before you fight with other people, fight with yourself. First fight with yourself."

.06 **The *Silat* Logic of Practice** ([return to index](#))

The habitus of the martial art dissolves the contradiction with which I began this paper. Bourdieu wrote, "Practice has a logic which is not the logic of the logician" (1990:86). The *silat* logic of practice is that fight with oneself. As one trains martial arts, ostensibly to be better able to fight others, one fights one's own violence, one's own laziness, one's own emotions and suffering on the training floor. Compassion and other ethics are practiced and become embodied in the practitioner. Finally, violent behavior becomes proof of lack of personal development, rather than an opportunity to demonstrate one's achievements. It is this bodily ethic, presented as universally applicable to all human beings, that allows PGB's diverse membership to form complex and cooperative relationships that cross divisive social lines in Indonesia.

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[1] Note that unarmed or simple weapons combat training has existed all over the world, including Africa, Europe, Oceania, Native America, and so on. Although some of these martial forms are currently enjoying a revival (e.g., Hawaiian *lua*), mostly those that trace a lineage to East Asia have so far become transnational popular phenomena. For the sake of this analysis, whenever I refer to 'martial arts' in general, I mean those schools in any country which claim an 'Asian' prehistory (even if only legendary) and philosophy.

[2] Appadurai exemplifies this fallacy when he writes: "The transnational movement of the martial arts, particularly through Asia, as mediated by the Hollywood and Hong Kong film industries (Zarilli 1995), is a rich illustration of the

ways in which long-standing martial arts traditions, reformulated to meet the fantasies of contemporary...youth populations, create new cultures of masculinity and violence, which are...fuel for increased violence in national and international politics. Such violence is in turn the spur to an increasingly rapid and amoral arms trade that penetrates the entire world" (Appadurai 1996:40-41).

[3] Such studies tend to be narrow in scope, however. Reduction in aggressive attitudes and violence amongst students almost certainly depends on a variety of factors, including the type of martial art and teacher (cf., Reynes and Lorant 2002).

[4] 'Inefficient and ineffective' according to Donahue (1994:27), that is. He says most styles practiced today should be more accurately called 'martially-inspired arts' because of their lack of applicability in real combat. The practical usefulness of any of the many forms of martial arts is an ongoing subject of debate amongst martial artists.

[5] It then becomes nothing more than another way of saying 'culture' or even 'ethnicity', both over-used and reified terms. Bourdieu discusses habitus as applying to any classifiable group of people, but still tends to analyze such categories as 'gender' and 'class' which are most deeply embedded in early childhood socialization.

[6] Most current literature treats sports as reflections and performances of larger national or ethnic 'cultures' rather than examining them as habitus produced in their practitioners (e.g., Brownell 1995; Dryeson 1998; MacClancey 1996). Bourdieu (1984) himself only sees sports as reproducing and exemplifying 'class' habitus, rather than treating them as habitus in their own right.

[7] I spent a year doing ethnographic fieldwork in Indonesia at PGB, including participant observation and interviews at the center school in Bogor and branches throughout Java and Bali. I also spent two months interviewing the members of the New York branch and have recorded group student-instructor question-answer sessions at three international *silat* training retreats in France, Bali, and California. The quotes I include in this paper are all drawn from transcriptions of these tapes.

[8] The main languages used in the school are Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of Indonesia, or English. Very few speak any Chinese language. Nevertheless, some Hokkien terms are used to describe specific movements. I will note these terms in parentheses. All other non-English words are from Bahasa Indonesia.

[9] "We're the *only* martial art group in Indonesia that is not part of a religion or any political group. Anyone can join PGB, it doesn't matter what religion or political party or nationality. PGB is unique in Indonesia because of that." Grandmaster Gunawan Rahardja, from interview, 12 May 2000.

[10] Most Chinese based martial arts trace their roots to the legendary Buddhist Songshan Shaolin Temple in the northern province of Henan.

[11] My translation. The original reads: "*Juga ilmu yang baik harus memperkuat tenaga hubungan baik antara manusia. Adapun tenaga itu adalah cinta kasih. Tanpa cinta kasih, hubungan antara manusia adalah hubungan yang penuh*

pamrih, kerig dan tindas-menindas. Cinta kasih mendekatkan kepada alam, karena cinta kasih adalah inti kekuatan daya hidup, inti kekuatan daya pertumbuhan, dan inti kekuatan daya penyembuhan." The Mukadimah Guru Besar was originally drafted in 1977 by Rendra, the famous activist poet and playwright, following the guidelines of PGB's founder, Suhu Subur Rahardja.

[12] I cannot here go into the very complex concepts of 'energy' in White Crane *Silat*, but note that almost all Asian martial arts are expected to train 'energy' ('qi' or 'chi') as well as physique. For an attempt to explain 'qi' in biomedical terms, see Yang (1996).

[13] My translation The original text reads:

Kami Bersumpah:

1. *Sanggup Memelihara Kepribadian.*
2. *Sanggup Patuh Pada Kejujuran.*
3. *Sanggup Mempertinggi Prestasi.*
4. *Sanggup Menjaga Sopan-Santun.*
5. *Sanggup Menguasai Diri.*

[14] Quotes are printed in Indonesian, English, and German on the calendars. The Indonesian language versions read respectively: "*Ketakutan adalah teman abadi dari keberhasilan dan kegagalan. Ketakutan ada dalam dirimu.*" "*Tindakan dan Emosi tanpa kejelasan yang nyata adalah Angkara Murka.*" "*Hadapilah keadaan dengan kesadaran dan ketabahan, bukan dengan kekhawatiran dan kebencian.*"

[15] From "Conversations With Suhu," an interview conducted by the Berkeley White Crane *Silat* group in May, 1980, with the PGB founder, Suhu Subur Rahardja. Transcribed by Robin Palar.

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