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NEXT ISSUE



Noted academic and popular
television star

**PROFESSOR
PARK JUNG SOOK**

will speak at the
ISEAS seminar on
**Cultural Exchanges
Between Korea and
Southeast Asia with an
Emphasis on the
Korean Wave**

We will bring you excerpts
from her paper.

ISEAS REGIONAL OUTLOOK FORUM 2011

'Repositioning Asia after the Crisis'

Keynote Speaker: Dr Jacques Attali, French economist and scholar

Luncheon Speaker : Dato Seri Kalimullah Hassan, Chairman, ECM Libra Financial Group Berhad

THURSDAY, 12 JAN 2011, RAFFLES CITY CONVENTION CENTRE

Details on the ISEAS website

Lord Meghnad Desai Delivers the Inaugural Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Annual Lecture



BRITISH POLITICIAN, ECONOMIST AND PUBLIC INTELLECTUAL
 LORD MEGHNAD DESAI SPOKE ON
 'THE RE-EMERGENCE OF ASIA' AT THE INAUGURAL NALANDA-SRIWIJAYA ANNUAL
 LECTURE. WE BRING YOU EXCERPTS FROM HIS LECTURE AS WELL AS EXCERPTS FROM
 THE OPENING REMARKS BY ISEAS DIRECTOR AMBASSADOR K KESAVAPANY AND THE
 INTRODUCTION BY PROFESSOR WANG GUNGWU

'Interconnections and Connectivities'

BY AMBASSADOR K KESAVAPANY

A YEAR AGO, almost to this day, Noble Laureate Professor Amartya Sen and Minister George Yeo officially inaugurated the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre (NSC) at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. In this short period of 12 months, NSC, under Professor Tansen Sen, has proved to be a vibrant centre for intellectual and cultural activities. The Centre has developed links with global institutions – Harvard University, Beijing University, Delhi University, and the International Institute of Asian Studies in The Netherlands – in furthering its key task of illuminating the interconnections and the connectivities among Asian societies and polities through time. NSC has, since its inception, had 37 lectures in three lecture series. It has also organised three international conferences and various round tables. It has recently established an Archaeology Unit, Singapore's first formal archaeological body, headed by Professor John Miksic. Significantly the Centre is also intimately tied with the revival of the Nalanda University in Bihar, India. The Nalanda Mentor Group has been tasked by the Government of India with planning and implementing the new university which is a joint undertaking of the 18 East Asian Summit countries. This university promises to be a major force in promoting Asian integration.

Above: Lord Meghnad Desai, flanked by Prof Wang Gungwu and Ambassador K Kesavapany at the NSC Annual Lecture held at Raffles Hotel

A 'Distinguished' Historian, a 'Colourful' Career

BY PROFESSOR WANG GUNGWU

IT'S A GREAT HONOUR for me to introduce Lord Desai. It's very difficult to say enough about him in a few minutes. I had started with words like 'distinguished career' and so on and realized that it was just my academic habit of thinking that the word 'distinguished' is a distinguished word but actually it's rather stuffy. It applies usually to academics but Lord Desai is much more than an academic. Those of you who might have followed his very – and I use this word very carefully – 'colourful' career, not only as an academic but as a man who is engaged with the world outside in ways which, I would say, is rarely successful by academics, will observe that he's managed that extremely well.

I recall, as a young man, being struck by the fact that not only was he (and here I could use distinguished) a distinguished economist and a professor at the London School of Economics but a man who was active in all the affairs of British politics at that time, in a sphere which was not exactly a favourite subject at that time. That is, to be socialist without being in any way interested in Communism, in the Communist ideology of the Cold War. A genuine belief in the deeper roots of socialism, the ultimate liberal roots of socialism, which he and his predecessors at the London School of Economics had espoused for a long time. Indeed, when I first came across his name, it was in the context of his joining LSE, which was for us, people of my generation anyway, associated with that tradition, way back, all the way to the early directors, and to the very famous Professor Harold Laski. And these were the big names of political vision with ideas which were being tested at that time. When Lord Desai joined the LSE, I was thinking of that connection – not the connection of just the ideas and LSE itself – but the connection with all the British territories around

the world – a connection that links the decolonisation process with the liberal ideas of Fabian Socialism that LSE was so closely associated with from the beginning.

And I do recall, thinking of late, or rather nostalgically, of my own memory of the small connection between the University of Malaya, where I was a student, and LSE: the fact that the man who brought the two colleges of Singapore together as the University of Malaya was the director of LSE, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, who was then succeeded by the former Vice Chancellor of the University of Malaya, Sir Sydney Caine. So the connections go back a while. I was also struck by the fact that when Lord Desai joined LSE, it was at the time when Sir Sydney Caine was the director if I am not mistaken.

So the connection goes back a little while. But of course that is not what Lord Desai is here about today. But I just couldn't resist a little bit of nostalgia about that connection. It is a connection that is very much related to the subject of Lord Desai's talk today. The coming of the Europeans, the opening up of the Asian world – the Indian Ocean world – to the new and dramatic and exciting ideas coming from the West and the enlightenment of the Industrial Revolution.

Let me now finally come to his subject for today. It is again something that some of us will remember. When K M Panikkar came out with his book, way back when I was a young student, about Asia and Western dominance, he talked about Vasco Da Gama. In fact, it was the first time I saw the phrase, and it is a phrase that has stuck in my mind. I am interested that it is stuck in Lord Desai's mind as well. I think this is what is going to be the treat for us today, that he's going to bring his mind to that concept of the Vasco da Gama era.

With great pleasure I now invite Lord Desai to come and speak to us.



Men of ideas. From left: Minister George Yeo, Lord Meghnad Desai, Professor Wang Gungwu and Ambassador K Kesavapany

The Re-Emergence of Asia: The West and Asia in the Post-Vasco da Gama Era



EXCERPTS FROM THE INAUGURAL NALANDA-SRIWIJAYA CENTRE ANNUAL LECTURE
BY LORD MEGHNAD DESAI

IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND the resurgence of Asia, which I think is very much a 21st-century phenomenon, one of course has to look at the roots. I'm glad Prof Wang Gungwu mentioned K M Panikkar's *Asia and Western Dominance*, which came out in 1953. It was a great influence on a lot of us in India growing up in the 1950s because it made us think not just about India, but about Asia in a kind of holistic way and also in a historical way. One can say that the Vasco Da Gama Era, which Panikkar says started in 1498, ended in 1997 when the British gave up control over Hong Kong. So, that's half a millennium of Western dominance of Asia.

But Western dominance took a variety of forms because, although the Portuguese travelled to Asia first, one could almost say that between the first 250 years, 1500 to 1750, the relationship between Western Europe, Northwestern and Southwestern Europe and Asia was on the basis of equality. There was a lot of trade. All that the European powers did was become members of a very thick network of Indian Ocean trade that went all over the Pacific. Japan, China, what we used to call Indochina, Indonesia, and then Malaysia and India, Southeast Asia and East Asia – an arc. I think somebody ought to find a name for this part of Asia. It's the right hand part of Asia – maybe the Indian Ocean Trading Area or IOTA is a term I could offer. It was not so much in the overland trade, which was also flourishing across the left part of Asia, but the ocean trade, the maritime trade, in

which the Westerners took part in and made a lot of profit. I think we have to restrict the era of Western dominance much more sharply to the late eighteenth century onwards. India first, sort of late eighteenth /early nineteenth century, and by about 1830, much of India was under the control of the East India Company. China got into it a bit later. Indonesia was controlled by the Dutch much, much before this. But, China didn't really feel the full impact of Western incursions till the mid-nineteenth to late nineteenth century. The point in saying this is that one has to separate the effects of the industrial revolution from the fact of Western dominance.

...

Western dominance of Asia had nothing to do with industrial revolution. It happened before. Yes, the industrial revolution changed the patterns of trade, changed the balance of trade and made the Western dominance almost deeper and based on much more solid technological and economical forces than heretofore. But, for me the most important part of why Western countries dominated Asia, lies not in the technological superiority in terms of machine production and things like that but in *modernity*.

There is a very interesting proposition by a historian called Max Boot who says that there was a battle of Assaye in 1803 between the East India Company and the Mahratta forces, where Wellington, then known as Arthur Wellesley, was commanding the English forces. He

said that it was a particularly important battle in the world context because that was the day when a small, highly disciplined army of English officers and Indian soldiers defeated a purely Indian army several times in size. That happened again and again – small well-trained armies of sepoys led by British generals defeating large Indian armies.

Max Boot said there had been a revolution in military warfare in Europe that had not happened in Asia. It happened sometime in the 17th and early 18th centuries, whereas in Asia various feudal lords had gathered together their followers and they followed their king in fairly loose armies that were recruited on the spot. Against an army which was full-time, trained, disciplined, housed in barracks, looked after medically and otherwise. It was the discipline of the army was what was ultimately the winning factor. So, modernity came first in military warfare and it was modernity that made a lot of difference.

Max Boot says in the middle of the 17th century, Europe was in a complete mess with the 30 Years' War. England also had a civil war. Nobody would have imagined that a European army could defeat either the Ottoman or the Mongolian Empires or even touch the Chinese. There was no possibility. Yet within a hundred years, things changed.

...

So, what was the reaction in Asia? And by Asia, I mean the right hand arc of Asia. Reaction from Asia was nuanced and varied. Japan, of course, never came under foreign Western domination because the Japanese reaction was to create a modern state, to create the conditions of a modern state early on in the second half of the 19th century. Japan gave itself a constitution that was not a democratic constitution but a modern constitution nevertheless, because at that stage, democracy was not universal in Europe or in the Americas. You had a constitution where the Emperor was there but creation of a constitution allowed the Japanese to think of themselves not only as the first modern Asian state but almost not an Asian state. There has been a long debate about this moment in Japan to escape Asia and embrace the West. But, there is Japan first, and then the nationalist movement in India began to formulate its program, and then of course, things happened in Indonesia and China and so on. The central program in that Asian reaction to European dominance, was of course, the creation of a nation. And a created nation will eventually become sufficiently independent and powerful to create a nation state.

Some countries like China didn't have a problem in creating a state, because they had a continuity of rule for at least 2,000 years. Whereas, in India or Indonesia, there was a problem of creating a single nation from the diversity of regional influences. And then, of course, a nation had to be thought of, a nation had to be defined, its territory had to be defined. The factors unifying these territories as a nation had to be defined. The ideology of a nation had to be created.

The central thing when you create the ideology of a nation is to say that the nation has always been there, for thousands of years. You never ever say a nation was born in 1800 or 1900. Nations don't have birth dates. All nations are timeless and then you have to concoct the history and an ideology to show that this is a great nation that goes back into the midst of time. That is true of every nation. Every nation has to convince itself that it was always a nation. But one way to look at the reaction, and again K M Panikkar has very thoroughly described this reaction, is to create a nation in a variety of strategies.

Somehow what happens to Asia, is that Japan, after a couple of false starts, Japan tries not really to create a nation but to create an empire in the spirit of the West, and that did not succeed. It took about 50 years to sort that mess out. By 1950, one could say that Asia had created for itself, at least in Japan, China, Indonesia, Malaysia and India, a nation and a state.

The creation of a modern state in China had to wait till the Communist revolution. In India, it had to wait till Independence, and so on. But a modern state could not have been created in my view autonomously in Asia. That is a controversial notion and I think many people disagree. We spent too much time debating that when I was a young economist. But the whole idea at that time was very peculiar. Would India have created capitalism as it was created in Europe, before Europe created it? It was a kind of conceptually bizarre notion. But I think, the more important thing is not so much about capitalism but the state, which is why I believe that by and large, Japan apart, the big countries, China and India especially, but also Indonesia, not so much Malaysia, certainly not at all Singapore – they created



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a mess of investment capitalism. China and India, after 30 years of independence or after the formation of a modern state, indulged in fantasy economics, in which anything was possible and there was no laws of economics, more or less. They were also following the model of the Soviet Union, which later turned out to be a bust. A bust model. So Asian independence did not lead to Asian resurgence. . .

The full text of the lecture will soon be made available on the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre website.

China's Ascent and ASEAN

BY SANCHITA BASU DAS

IN A MAJOR MILESTONE in August 2010, fast-growing China overtook Japan to become the world's second-largest economy. According to data released by the two countries, in 2009, China's nominal GDP was US\$5.0 trillion and Japan's US\$ 5.1 trillion, but summing the four quarters to Q2-2010, China's economy swelled to US\$5.4 trillion, cruising past Japan's US\$5.2 trillion.

The headline GDP numbers mask a few factors about China. When measured by purchasing power parity instead of by dollar value, China's economy surpassed Japan's ten years ago. In 2009, for instance, China had a US\$8.8 trillion economy vs. US\$4.2 trillion for Japan, i.e. China is already twice the size of Japan. From another perspective, it is important to note that China is still a low-income economy and Japan's people are still among the richest in the world. This is due to China's large population of over 1.3 billion, vis-a-vis 127 million people in Japan. In terms of per capita GDP, this implies that China (US\$3,600) is one-tenth that of Japan (US\$39,700).

Nevertheless, the news of China out-producing Japan underscores the increase in economic power of the East. Since the deep recession during the 2008-09 financial crisis, China has been a major source of growth behind the world's recovery, delivering the much needed support to the US, the EU and the rest of Asia. It has already established itself as the biggest exporter and steel producer and its global influence is expanding.

All this is good news for China's ASEAN neighbours. First, China's low GDP per capita means that it is still in a rapid development growth phase. There is a lot of scope for ASEAN countries to invest in Chinese infrastructure and private industries, especially in the inland areas as there is not much real-estate or infrastructure development in the nation other than in key cities like Beijing and Shenzhen. Moreover, bilateral investment (US\$10 billion) between China and ASEAN is low compared to bilateral trade volume (US\$213 billion), indicating much future potential.

Second, in order to rebalance the economy, China has to raise the consumption share of GDP. It has declined from 46 percent of GDP in 2000 to around 36 percent of GDP in 2009. At the current juncture, Beijing policymakers are aware of the fact that China has to reduce its dependence on export surpluses and investment and has to raise household consumption significantly. They have supported the increased spending with rebates, subsidies and large bank lending in the past year. On positive side, the country dethroned the US in 2009 to become the world's biggest auto market. It also became a leading market for other consumer goods like the refrigerators, washing machines and desktop computers. This is just an early stage of consumption boom. As income rises and Chinese middle

class burgeons, ASEAN members are going to benefit from the high consumption pattern market for its products and services. Besides consumer durable, this would include tourism, health and education services. ASEAN will further gain from the use of FTA and will capitalize on China's next wave of consumption expansion. Third, China's economy has the potential to continue growing at a high single-digit rate for many more years. Since the early 1990s, China is the largest recipient of FDI in the Asian region. It is also Asia's biggest exporter

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and importer. This rising economic importance of China in regional output and trade represents increasing opportunities for China's economic partners. For ASEAN economies, that are losing market share in Western economies to China, are compensated by increasing exports to China. In 2008, China accounted for nearly 12 percent of total exports and 10 percent of its total imports, increasing from around 3 percent on average in the late 1980s. This is also promoting the vertical production network in the Asian region.

For ASEAN policymakers the lesson from China's ascent to second position is not so much to match it in trade or growth numbers. It is the planning by the policymakers that maintained China's growing importance in the region in many forms: a fierce competitor of cheap labour that keeps its industry spinning at low cost, an important link in the production chain that incorporates ASEAN, and a growing market that may benefit a large number of companies in the ASEAN region and elsewhere.



Sanchita Basu Das is Lead Researcher for Economic Affairs at the ASEAN Studies Centre. Besides regular articles on economic and financial issues facing Southeast Asia and ASEAN Regionalism, she is the author of Road to Recovery: Singapore's Journey through the Global Crisis (ISEAS, 2010).

Migration and Violence in Indonesia

BY ARIS ANANTA

ON 12 SEPTEMBER 2010 a priest and church elder were on their way to Sunday service when they were brutally stabbed and hit. They were both from the Christian Batak Church (HKBP) in Bekasi, West Java, Indonesia, and the assailants were suspected to be from the FPI (Front Pembela Islam, Islamic Defender Front), a hard-line Muslim group. Muslim elites were quick to condemn the attack. Islam promotes peace and does not teach violence.

On the surface it seems like merely a conflict around a place of worship for the Christian Batak. On that Sunday, they were going to have their service on an empty lot of land because the Bekasi mayor, bowing to pressure from the FPI, had sealed off their church. Actually, the congregation did not have a church. They could not get permission from the local government to build one. They used a house in a residential complex as a place of worship. In February 2010 about 200 people protested against the use of the house as a place of worship, saying it was illegal to do so. The mayor sealed off the house in March. But the church members forcibly opened the house and continued using it for their service. They argued that the government had not followed the proper procedure to seal the house. The government sealed the house again on 20 June. On 1 August, the congregation had their services in a vacant lot of land on Ciketing Asam Road, also in Bekasi. On 8 August, while in the midst of their service, they were attacked by a mob. The churchgoers had hoped that it was the last intimidation against them. Then on 12 September came the stab and hit incident.

What looks like religious violence in Indonesia often turns out to be a case of migration-related violence that takes religious form because of the different faiths of indigenous and settler peoples.

The Bekasi attack is not an isolated incident. It is an accumulation of a long conflict in the area of Bekasi, a suburb of the growing Jakarta metropolitan area. The rapid economic growth in Jakarta has spilled over to its suburban areas, including Bekasi. Many people, like the Toba Batak, have moved to Bekasi for its cheaper cost of living.

Batak is an ethnic group, originally from North Sumatra. Some are Christians, including the Toba Batak, and others are Muslims. On the other hand, the majority of the "local" people of Bekasi are those from the Island of Java, such as the Javanese, Sundanese, and Betawi, who are mostly Muslim. Furthermore, not only are the locals and the Toba Batak different in their religions, they are very different in nature and outlook. The locals find them to be too rude while the Batak see the locals as weak and devious.

The Toba Batak started living in Bekasi from about 1990. But their numbers continued to increase. Their Sunday service had a steadily growing congregation, from outside Bekasi as well. As their numbers swelled, the locals, including non-Batak Christians, were annoyed because of the behaviour of the Toba Batak. These migrants are also relatively better off than the locals. They drove to "church" in cars. The locals became jealous of these outsiders flaunting their wealth.

What happened in Ciketing is actually not unique. This phenomenon can be found in many places in Indonesia and all over the world.

Migrants come. Because they are usually the "selected few" from their original communities, they often win in the competition with the locals. Because they are of different backgrounds, religion and ethnicity, the prosperity of migrants is often regarded with jealousy by the locals. This resentment towards the migrants is then easily manipulated for political advantage.

This pattern has occurred in Indonesia in the past. For example, the "religious" conflict in Maluku, in Eastern Indonesia, during 1999-2002, also started as conflict between locals and migrants. Maluku used to be a Christian-dominated province. Migrants from other provinces, mostly Muslims, changed the balance between Christians and Muslims. The migrants held higher positions in government and performed better in business.

The conflict could have been shortened but many benefited from this prolonged conflict. So most often, what appears to be religious conflict is political rivalry using religion as a strategy to create social and political instability.

That is also what probably happened in Bekasi. The antipathy among the locals was detected by outsiders, including the FPI, who claimed they would protect the locals from the Christians. They said Bekasi was being rapidly Christianised and that they would help make the city of Bekasi an Islamic city, not to be contaminated by others. Yet at the same time people all over the world, including Indonesians, are becoming more mobile. Indonesians are on the move, within Indonesia and outside. People from around the world are also coming to Indonesia in increasing numbers. Therefore, the chance of an Indonesian meeting people from different religious and ethnic backgrounds will keep getting higher. The possibility of conflict will also increase. If not anticipated and managed well, this conflict can become violent and jeopardise harmony and peace.

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With the rising heat in political conditions in Indonesia, everybody should be sufficiently wise not to be lured to use ethnic and religious conflicts for their political advantages. Rather, they should make a political bonus by calming down potential conflicts and violence arising from difference in ethnicity and religion. Interestingly, the government of North Jakarta has very recently issued a regulation to monitor the inflow of "outsiders" to its areas – this might help anticipate and manage such conflicts.



Senior Research Fellow Aris Ananta is an economist-demographer with a multi-disciplinary perspective. His current research agenda includes "Migration, Ageing, Poverty, and Development in Southeast Asia" and "Indonesian Economy".

A Grievous Loss for ISEAS

ON MONDAY, 26 July 2010, the ASEAN Studies Centre (ASC) team lost a valued teammate.

Mr Sivakant Tiwari, the ASC Lead Researcher for ASEAN-related legal affairs suffered a massive brain haemorrhage on Sunday, 25 July, after a happy and peaceful weekend with family and friends. The haemorrhage rendered him brain-dead, and a second haemorrhage the following day led to his untimely demise.

Mr Tiwari joined the Centre in January 2009, to support the work of the Centre in ASEAN-related legal affairs. His immediate focus was on assessing implementation of the ASEAN Charter provisions at regional and domestic levels. He conceptualised a project on "Life After the Charter" bringing together expert views on the topic, editing and compiling these, and adding his commentary, in a book with the same title, published by ISEAS in June 2010. The Centre was in the midst of preparing to launch the book among the ASEAN Studies Centre community of friends at the time of Mr Tiwari's passing.

The richness of Mr Tiwari's experience in ASEAN legal matters was illustrated in the lectures he gave at the inaugural Train-the-Trainers Course on the ASEAN Charter, which the Centre conducted at the ASEAN Secretariat on 17-20 November 2009. Together with ASC Head Rodolfo Severino and ASC Lead Researcher for socio-cultural affairs Moe Thuzar, Mr Tiwari delivered lectures on the legal aspects of the ASEAN Charter and its implementation at regional and national levels. Sharing anecdotes and precedents from his extensive work on ASEAN instruments related to trade, investment and dispute settlement, Mr Tiwari captured the interest of the training participants on the "dry" legal matters related to the Charter.

Mr Tiwari was in the midst of preparing for the second training course and planning another conference for 2011, this time assessing intellectual property rights in ASEAN and the wider Asian region, when he passed away. The conference preparations continue, guided by the themes and topics he had mapped out and planned almost up to the day of his passing.

Mr Tiwari brought to the Centre expertise and experience on the ASEAN Charter, trade and investment instruments, dispute settle-



Mr Tiwari had a wonderful sense of humour. Peter Ee, his colleague at ISEAS recalls: "He would browse through back issues of the *International Herald Tribune* and *The Business Times*, borrowed from the director's office, and when he returned them he would say: 'All things must be returned before Chinese New Year.'"



Sharing a joke: Mr Tiwari with ASC Head Mr Rodolfo Severino (centre) and Dr Surin Pitsuwan, Secretary-General of ASEAN.

ment and intellectual property. Before joining ISEAS as a Visiting Senior Research Fellow, Mr Tiwari served in various senior capacities in the Singapore Legal Service, most recently as the Head of the International Affairs Division at the Attorney-General's Chambers. During his legal service stint, he was, apart from the wide range of domestic and international areas of work, extensively involved in many aspects of ASEAN-related legal work, including negotiating, advising and drafting of key trade, investment and dispute-related instruments. His mark is on many ASEAN instruments.

ASEAN Studies Centre updates

■ ASC Head Rodolfo Severino and Lead Researcher (socio-cultural) Moe Thuzar attended the pre-Summit briefing by ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan, conducted via video-conference from Hanoi on the eve of the 17th ASEAN Summit and related Summits with dialogue partners. Moe's summary on issues raised by government, business and civil society participants from participating sites can be found on the ASC website.

■ Pavin Chachavalpongpun's thoughts on China's rising role in the context of the East Asia Summit is on the ASC website.

■ ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus a good start. Preceding the 17th ASEAN Summit, the ADMM Plus was held in Hanoi, bringing together defence ministers from the ten ASEAN members and eight dialogue partners, namely, Australia, China, India, Japan, ROK, New Zealand, Russia and the US. In addition to the Ministers' joint statement, also check out ISEAS Fellow Ian Storey's thinkpiece on the ADMM-Plus and the Australian Defence Minister's perspective as delivered in the Australian parliament.

■ Narrowing the Development Gap in ASEAN. ASC Head Rodolfo Severino participated at the 3rd Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) Development Cooperation Forum or ICDF held in Jakarta on 19 October 2010. He highlighted three criteria for IAI projects to succeed. The projects should (1) help the four newer members of ASEAN develop their human resources through training and similar programmes; (2) assist them in fulfilling commitments towards ASEAN's economic integration; and (3) be proposed by them. Mr Severino's presentation is on the ASC website.

■ New Updated *Know Your ASEAN* is now out! The booklet has been updated to reflect ASEAN's dynamism since the first edition was published in 2007. Check it out on the ASC website's page About ASEAN. To order a hard copy, please visit the ISEAS bookstore for more details.

ISEAS Receives Safety Award



ON 21 OCTOBER ISEAS received the 2010 National SSWG Cluster Award presented at the National Safety and Security Watch Group Symposium at Suntec City's Rock Auditorium on 21 October 2010.

Mr Ang Swee Loh (right in photo), Senior Administrative Officer and member of the Kent Ridge Safety and Security Watch Group (KRSSWG) received the award from the Guest of Honour, Deputy Prime Minister and then Minister for Home Affairs Mr Wong Kan Seng (left in photo) on behalf of ISEAS.

The Singapore Police Force introduced the Safety and Security Watch Group (SSWG) Scheme as a networking platform for authorities and businesses to counter crime and security threats at their buildings and premises.

ISEAS is a member of the KRSSWG initiated by the Queenstown Police Station since 2003. Other current members of the KRSSWG include the National University of Singapore (NUS), National University Hospital (NUH), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) and World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO).

The latest *Sojourn* is out!



SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia

Vol. 25/2 (October 2010)

ARTICLES

- Sketching an Institutional History of Academic Knowledge Production in Cambodia, by Philippe Peycam
- Transnational, Translocal, Transcultural: Some Remarks on the Relations between Hindu-Balinese and Ethnic Chinese in Bali, by Volker Gottowik
- Surabaya Kampung and Distorted Communication, by Ross King Dyah Erti Idawati

And more...

RESEARCH NOTES AND COMMENTS

- Zee TV and the Creation of Hindi Media Communities in Singapore, by Arunajeet Kaur, Faizal Yahya

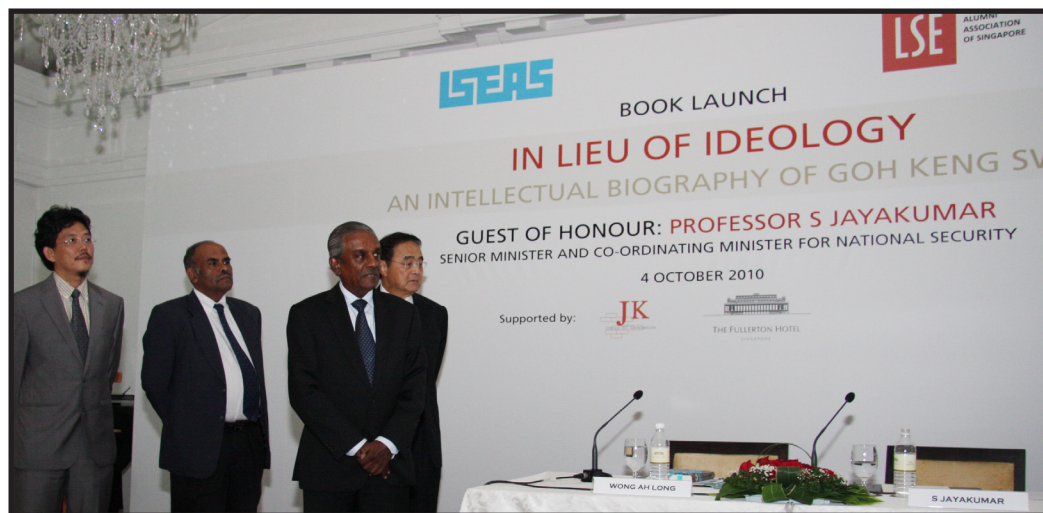
BOOK REVIEWS

- Privatization in Malaysia: Regulation, Rent-seeking, and Policy Failure by Jeff Tan. Reviewed by Lee Hwok Aun
- Colonialism, Violence and Muslims in Southeast Asia: The Maria Hertogh Controversy and its Aftermath by Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied. Reviewed by Loh Kah Seng
- Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Burma edited by Mikael Gravers. Reviewed by Bruce Matthews

And more.

Remembering Dr Goh Keng Swee

AN EXCERPT FROM SENIOR MINISTER
PROFESSOR S. JAYAKUMAR'S SPEECH AT THE LAUNCH OF
DR OOI KEE BENG'S BIOGRAPHY OF DR GOH KENG SWEE



I AM PLEASED TO BE at this launch of Dr Ooi Kee Beng's book *In Lieu of Ideology: An Intellectual Biography of Goh Keng Swee*. Much has been written and said about Dr Goh but as Dr Ooi has noted, his real character is surprisingly elusive. In that sense, he stands in sharp contrast to the late S Rajaratnam, another founding father. Raja was well known to many and had often served as Singapore's public face to the international community. In contrast, less is known about Dr Goh. What constituted this man's innermost core? This is where Dr Ooi's book so ably fills a lacuna...

Dr Ooi's book not only offers rare glimpses into Dr Goh's personal relationships with our early leaders, it also paints an intimate portrait of his personal life. It contains many fascinating tidbits. For instance, not many people knew that Dr Goh was an excellent chess-player whose feats were regularly featured in the newspapers. For those of us who had worked with him however, this should hardly come as a surprise, as we had known him to be a visionary and strategist - one who was always thinking several steps ahead!

...It is fitting that ISEAS took the initiative for this book. Not many may know that Dr Goh was instrumental in setting up ISEAS. As Dr Ooi's book reveals, Dr Goh paid great attention to the region and Indonesia in particular. ISEAS was not just his brainchild - he continued to be deeply invested in its existence and endeavours. In typical Goh Keng Swee fashion, he got the very best minds to be its directors. Dr Goh's deep interest in Indonesia and the region is, in some ways, a precursor to a message that has been revived and revisited more recently - that however much young Singaporeans think of themselves as citizens of the world, equally rooted in NY, London or Paris, we must never forget our neighbours that we share common destinies with....

A fresh look at the financial crisis and after



IN A RECENT BOOK entitled *Road to Recovery* published by ISEAS, Ms Sanchita Basu Das provides an excellent recount of the causes, impact and policy responses of the global financial crisis in general. However, what sets this book apart from the growing list of books on the causes and impact of the global financial crisis is its focus on the specific policy initiatives undertaken by Singapore to limit and contain the effect of the crisis. This apart, the book also highlights directions for future policy that the city-state must focus on to accommodate shifts in global demand and the emergence of large economies such as China and India.

Road to Recovery has been included in the syllabus of the "Regional and Global Financial Crisis" course at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies at NTU, Singapore.

‘A Living Example of a *Junzi*’

AN EXCERPT FROM PRESIDENT S R NATHAN’S SPEECH AT THE LAUNCH OF THE BOOK
‘WANG GUNGWU: JUNZI SCHOLAR-GENTLEMAN’



LET ME BEGIN BY WISHING Professor Wang Gungwu a slightly belated but nevertheless very happy 80th birthday. I am delighted to see that Gungwu’s fan club includes so many people, from different walks of life. We have the great pleasure of celebrating the birthday of one of our foremost historians and public intellectuals. I am particularly happy to note that, to mark this occasion, the distinguished Confucianist scholar, Professor Tu Weiming, has travelled all the way from Harvard University to deliver a lecture on the importance and relevance of filial piety in today’s world. The lecture is significant because Professor Wang’s father was a Confucianist and a scholar. I commend the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies for organizing today’s event, and CapitaLand for supporting it. Thank you.

I just said that Professor Wang is one of our foremost historians and public intellectuals. Let me explain what I mean by “our”. I would have been very happy to call him a national treasure of Singapore, except that he was born in Surabaya, Indonesia, and grew up in Malaysia. He was educated in Malaysia, China, Singapore and England. He is now an Australian citizen. However, his life and work make him an invaluable member of Southeast Asia’s intellectual community. He is also an esteemed member of the community of scholars of China and Chinese overseas.... It is best to think of him as an international treasure – but one domiciled safely here in Singapore. He is, in that sense, very much ours. He is also one of us because his beloved wife, Margaret, is a Singaporean. Margaret, thank you for bringing him home to Singapore.

Professor Wang’s stature as a scholar was recognized quickly, and he went on to provide intellectual leadership for the academic community. . . As a public intellectual who embraces his civic duties, Professor Wang’s influence goes beyond academia. Gungwu

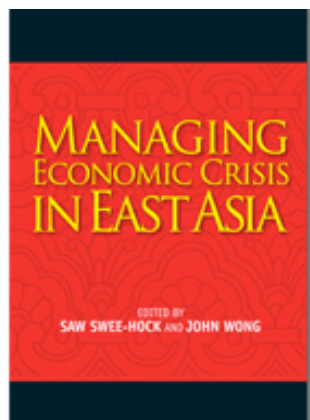
has lived through an extraordinary era that brought tragic wars and political turmoil but also the end of colonialism, the rise of China, and a transition from a world dominated by the West to one where Asia is playing a much larger role. For his contributions to academia and beyond, he has received many honours, which are too numerous to list here. What is important is that, as a sojourner who has become a global citizen, his commitment to serving his fellow man has extended his influence from scholars to generations of students, and beyond academia, from the elite to the common man.

This book of interviews, conducted by ISEAS researcher Asad Latif, tries to capture the majestic sweep of a scholarly lifetime devoted to thinking about history and acting on that knowledge to change the present for the better. The book aptly describes Professor Wang as *Junzi* – a Scholar and a Gentleman – for these are the endearing and enduring characteristics of a man marked as much by rigour of thinking as by nobility of spirit. This is a term which has been suggested by Professor Tommy Koh ... (who) says of Professor Wang: “I think his father would approve when I describe Wang Gungwu as a living example of a Confucianist *Junzi* or scholar-gentleman.”

The interviews explore Professor Wang’s views on being Chinese in Malaya; his experience of living and working in Malaysia, Singapore and Australia; the Vietnam War; Hong Kong and its return to China; the rise of China; Taiwan’s, Japan’s and India’s place in the emerging scheme of things; and on the United States in an age of terrorism and war. . . The book includes an interview with his wife, Mrs Margaret Wang, on their life together for half a century – half a century in which, despite her frequent efforts, she has never succeeded in provoking a quarrel with Gungwu. Husbands should take note!

. . . It gives me great pleasure to declare the book launched.

Latest Books from ISEAS



Managing Economic Crisis in East Asia

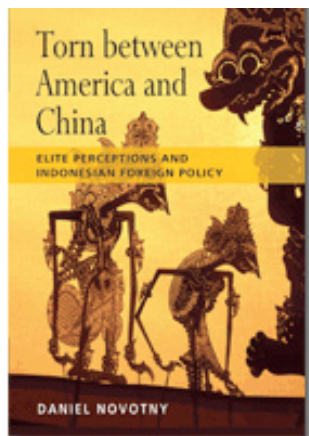
Saw Swee-Hock, John Wong, editors

This book incorporates a selection of eight revised papers presented to the Conference on Managing Economic Crisis in East Asia, organized jointly by the Saw Centre for Financial Studies, NUS Business School, and the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, in November 2009. The chapters present a detailed analysis of the impact of the 2008-09 economic crisis in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea and Japan, and the stimulus packages that were swiftly put in place by the governments to mitigate the economic recession and to pave the way for a quick recovery. The success of the monetary and fiscal policy measures in engendering a strong economic recovery in these countries is also discussed in considerable depth.

Torn between America and China: Elite Perceptions and Indonesian Foreign Policy
Daniel Novotny, author

How can a developing, democratic and predominantly Muslim country like Indonesia manage its foreign relations, while fac-

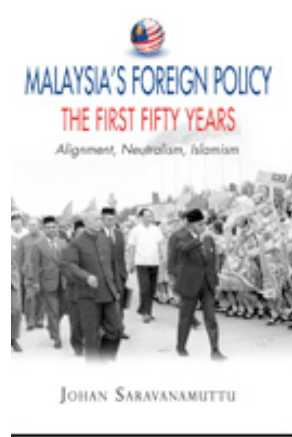
ing a myriad of security concerns and dilemmas in the increasingly complex post-Cold War international politics, without compromising its national interests and sacrificing its independence? This book explores the foreign policy elite's perceptions about other states and the manner in which these shape the decision-making process and determine policy outcomes. The research draws on a unique series of in-depth interviews with 45 members of the Indonesian foreign policy elite including the country's (present and/or former) presidents, cabinet ministers, high-ranking military officers, and diplomats. Among all state actors, Indonesian relations with the United States and China are the highest concern of the elite. While the United States during George W. Bush's presidency was seen as the main security threat



to Indonesia, China is considered the main malign factor in the long run with power capabilities that need to be constrained and counter-balanced.

Malaysia's Foreign Policy, the First Fifty Years: Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism
Johan Saravanamuttu, author

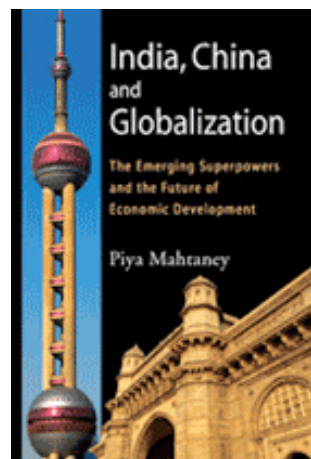
This book captures Malaysia's foreign policy over the first fifty years and beyond since the date of the country's formal independence in 1957. The author provides "macro-historical" narratives of foreign policy practices and outcomes over distinct time periods under the tenures of the five prime ministers. Employing a critical-constructivist approach throughout the study, the author posits that foreign policy should be appreciated as outcomes of socio-political-economic processes embedded within a Malaysian political culture. In terms of broad policy orientations, Ma-



laysian foreign policy over five decades has navigated over the terrains of neutralism, regionalism, globalization and Islamism. However, the critical engagement of civil society in foreign policy construction remains a formidable challenge.

India, China and Globalization: The Emerging Superpowers and the Future of Economic Development
Piya Mahtaney, author

Economic growth does not always add up to development. In a world riddled with asymmetries and disparity, the economic



achievement of India and China shows a path that, despite all its inherent imperfections, can take poorer nations towards development. The two countries are recent reminders of an invaluable lesson of our times: development does not need perfect systems, but it is the outcome of strategic thinking, smart implementation and efficient governance. As we stand on the threshold of the next wave of globalization it could bring in its wake the next frontier of development.

However, there is a fundamental challenge that arises from the glaring need to bridge the gap between growth, globalism and sustainable development. The book presents an exploration that emanates from the empirical evidence which is pertinent to the ascent of India and China and the impact that globalization has had during recent decades.

All books available online at <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>