



# ARI NEWS

A newsletter of the Asia Research Institute, NUS

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## Asia Research Institute 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Dinner

20 July 2006 | University Hall, National University of Singapore

**A**RI celebrated its 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary with a dinner where members and friends of ARI, including members of its management and international board, were present. **Professor Shih Choon Fong, the President of the National University of Singapore**, in his speech, congratulated ARI for its accomplishments and addressed the importance of Asia and the social dimension of research.

The guest of honour for the evening, **Mr Tharman Shanmugaratnam, Minister for Education and Second Minister for Finance**, in his speech, commended ARI for its productive work and spoke about the importance of scholarship from and of the region.

We reproduce excerpts of his address.

"Global excellence in research is essential to the competitiveness of our economy and the quality of our lives. We cannot lead the world in everything, or even in many things. But there must be some areas in which Singapore's research can be at the very highest level, and a broad spectrum of contemporary knowledge where it is highly competent. As we strive to uplift the research landscape of Singapore, we must remain committed to developing the strongest research capability possible in the social sciences and humanities, including especially scholarship on Asia. Why the social sciences and why Asia? I think there are a number of reasons why Singapore can distinguish itself in this area.

First, and this needs little persuasion, is the fact that Asia today represents the largest social and economic transformation seen anywhere in the world, and probably at any time in history. It is also a region of exceptional diversity and complexity. We therefore need to understand this extremely complex part of the world in which we happen to live – complex culturally, socially, historically, politically and economically. All the opportunities and dilemmas the region faces, in terms of security, equity, growth, cultural coherence and population balance require social analysis of a very high order.

Second, scholarship on Asia has lagged behind the region's growing importance. China research is growing. But research and scholarship on South Asia and Southeast Asia has if anything waned over the last two decades, both in Asia itself and in the US, UK and Europe. So

we have a gap, and a growing one given the challenges of the region's transformation.

Third, Singapore is uniquely placed to fill the gap. We are the most multicultural city in Asia, the most adept at a range of Asian languages, and the most open to intellectual currents. We are a very liveable place for researchers. And our universities have a reputation that few Asian countries have. NUS, in particular has emerged as a leader in research in a range of disciplines, including research on Asia. MOE and the universities will therefore remain committed to social science research and scholarship. We will continue to provide our three autonomous universities with adequate funding to engage in a wide scope of academic research. We want to support the best researchers and encourage innovation, imagination, and rigorous analysis in all the fields of research that our universities focus on.

To recognise the varying needs of different disciplines, allocation of this academic research funding will be based on a system of peer reviews and evaluation by discipline-specific Expert Panels, including an Expert Panel focused on the social sciences and humanities. I recognise that researchers in the social sciences and humanities are a very diverse group, whose needs may not be the same as those in the exact sciences. They do not (fortunately) need expensive equipment, but they do need the time to build and develop deep scholarship. And if they are to do ambitious research in our region, making Singapore the hub for research with colleagues across this diverse and dynamic region, they also need support for cross-country work.

In years to come, Asia Research Institute will continue to play a vital role of bringing critical and coherent thought to bear on the complexities of our dynamic region and their wider impact on the world. I am confident that Asia Research Institute will continue to stimulate 'encounters between global ideas and Asian contexts,' to quote the ARI logo. Once again, I congratulate the Institute and NUS on these productive five years and look forward to continued stimulating and thought-provoking work from the Institute."

## WORD FROM THE DIRECTOR – PROFESSOR ANTHONY REID

(Address delivered at the ARI 5<sup>th</sup>  
anniversary dinner, 20.7.2006)



Our excuse for a party, if we need one, is twofold: to celebrate the fact that we have survived five years to become a valued and necessary part of the NUS, Singapore and the international scene; and to invite our leaders to spend a little time reflecting with us on their longer-term hopes and policies for supporting research in the social sciences and humanities. We are extremely grateful to Mr Tharman for being willing to speak with us. I think he knows there is no such thing as a free lunch, and he has been an extremely good sport about that.

Five years ago... I wasn't here. I arrived ingloriously on crutches 4 years ago, having ruptured my Achilles tendon on the tennis court. (Things could only get better).

But ARI did come quietly into existence in July 2001, taking over the establishment of FASS's Centre for Advanced Studies, with Professor Wang Gungwu as pro-tem chairman, while Lily Kong and Alan Chan generously looked after the administration, and Chua Beng Huat and Ng Chin Keong mentored the post-docs inherited from CAS. Everybody was remarkably sensitive about leaving me the maximum freedom of action, while laying the groundwork for a running start in July 2002. So in some ways we should be judged on four years of consistent activities rather than 5.

The wise people in our International Advisory Board defined our task soon after the outset as a dual one – to “become one of the world's premier institutional bases for Asian Studies”; and to “play a critical role within NUS, not only by raising its research profile directly but by acting as a catalyst” more broadly. On the whole they gave us high marks when they returned last year. Let me engage my little penchant for quantification by tabulating some of the things ARI has done.

- 26 NUS staff have been seconded to us for periods of 6 months or more of teaching release and focus on research. 4 of these were senior and longer-term; the rest Assistant Professors on our writing scheme.
- 35 Post-docs have been recruited from many countries for 2-year assignments. Ten of them have already moved on to other positions in Singapore, including 7 in tenure-track academic positions at NUS and NTU. The others who completed their 2 years obtained academic jobs around the world.
- 64 Visiting scholars have been brought to NUS from 20 countries for periods of 3 months to a year. Five of them stayed on longer and taught a graduate course.
- 57 graduate students from universities in Southeast Asia have been brought here for 3 months each on what we call the ASEAN Scholars scheme.
- We held 85 International conferences, many in collaboration with people in NUS or with other regional universities. These included

a number of graduate student workshops, for which Singapore is becoming a place of choice.

- We published 68 papers in our Working Papers Series, which has had nearly 100,000 hits so far.

But above all, we have tried to develop some areas of real cutting-edge research where we can set high standards for the world by signaling and documenting crucial trends. We have not competed with the other Singapore institutes in what seems the already crowded field of policy research and advice, in international relations and international economy, but rather sought to make our mark in fundamental research about the extraordinarily diverse and fascinating region in which we live.

This occasion gives me a welcome opportunity to express my gratitude for this remarkable initiative, firstly to

- the National University of Singapore and its President Shih Choon Fong, whose vision this was;
- secondly to those who eased my way into understanding what was possible, desirable and necessary in Singapore;
- Wang Gungwu who more than anyone lured me here not just by his words but by his example;
- Lily Kong, Alan Chan and Tan Tai Yong of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, who accommodated us in their space for these first five years, and provided every kind of guidance and assistance;
- Professor Tommy Koh, chair of my International Board and diplomat extraordinary, who could always be relied upon for wisdom, good humour and outstandingly good company;
- And the successive chairs of my Management Board – Professors Ivan Png, Lily Kong (again), and Chong Chi Tat—who helped establish the boundaries of what was appropriate and strategic.

And finally, I want to express my appreciation to the colleagues and friends in ARI, both the many Academics who came, enriched us, and moved on, and in a few crucial cases stayed long enough to share in charting ARI's course; and to the administrative staff who fortunately changed less frequently. You have made my time here a delight and a constant learning experience.

And finally thank you all for coming tonight.

## RECENT ARI EVENTS

### TRACING BIG-PICTURE TRENDS IN PRE-COLONIAL SOUTHEAST ASIA

On **15 May 2006**, Victor Lieberman, Marvin Becker Collegiate Professor of History and Professor of Southeast Asian History at the University of Michigan, delivered a lecture entitled "Novel Paradigms: Rethinking Early Southeast Asian History." The lecture was held at the University Hall Auditorium and was part of ARI's Lecture Series.

The lecture, which was chaired by ARI Director Professor Anthony Reid, sought to identify certain over-arching trends in the pre-colonial history of mainland Southeast Asia. Using Burmese primary sources, early European sources, and various secondary sources, Professor Lieberman identified four main trends that were of critical significance in the

region. Firstly, he described the trends from 900-1830 that propelled communities in mainland Southeast Asia to move towards more closely integrated social and political configurations. Secondly, he argued that while this integration derived from external maritime commerce, it was also facilitated by local agricultural, demographic and institutional forces that were independent of external trade. Thirdly, Professor Lieberman argued that the dynamics of political and social integration in mainland Southeast Asia resembled those in Europe, Japan and what he termed the "protected Asian rimlands." In this respect, he argued that mainland Southeast Asia should be seen as a variation on "a more widespread pattern of locally directed integration." Finally, in elaborating upon the above trends, Professor Lieberman problematised the notion of speaking of the region as a politically and socially coherent unit, encouraging a more nuanced appreciation of the distinction between mainland and island Southeast Asia. He concluded by stating that "cultural and political integration [in the region]... drew strength from several variables, including rising foreign trade, population growth, a wider and more rapid circulation of cultural goods, and expansive state interventions."



Professor Lieberman took up a Visiting Senior Research Fellowship (Southeast Asia-China Interactions Cluster) at ARI following his participation at the Asian Expansions conference earlier in the month. In this capacity, and in response to the overflow of discussions after the lecture, he made himself available for more informal dialogue with ARI members during his stay in Singapore.

### DEEPENING LOCAL DEMOCRACY IN POST-SUHARTO INDONESIA?



A workshop entitled "PILKADA: The Local District Elections, Indonesia 2005" was held from **17-18 May 2006**. It was organized by Dr. Priyambudi Susilyanto and Associate Professor Maribeth Erb of ARI's Indonesia Study Group.

The workshop discussed the issues surrounding the first direct elections of district heads (pemilihan kepala daerah langsung- pilkada) for almost 300 districts across the Indonesian archipelago, which took place in 2005. Direct elections for the remaining district heads will continue until 2008. These elections are part of the continuing process of democratization and decentralization that has been taking place in Indonesia since the fall of Suharto in 1998. So far the results of these elections have been very variable and the implications they have for a process of democratic transition were explored in this workshop.

Central points of discussion included the role of political parties, the proliferation of money politics, and the importance of the direct vote in terms of 'empowering' voters. Participants shared the results of their research in regions across Indonesia, from Papua, to Riau. In some places, the district heads most known for the use of money politics and corruption were voted out of office, in some districts they managed to retain their positions. Scholars from Indonesia, Singapore, England and Australia shared their findings and views on pilkada in various places throughout Indonesia. The former governor of Eastern Nusa Tenggara province, Aloysius Benedictus Mboi, was also invited to share his insights and thoughts on his experience in local government during the Suharto period and on the issues related to pilkada.

Many other interesting issues were raised and debated and the workshop revealed mixed views about the new direct elections. While some saw elections as a positive step towards democratization, others were more pessimistic. Nevertheless, an important conclusion drawn from the discussions was that while the emergence of 'new' local leaders is an important part of the phenomenon of pilkada, the active participation of local people is also crucial. Electing local leaders was seen as the first step in the emergence of local democracy in the regions, even though elections are held only once every five years. Participants thought it important to analyse how local communities can participate at every level of the political processes through an active citizenship in which local democracy could be nurtured in the regions.

## RECENT ARI EVENTS

### THE CHALLENGES OF THE AGRARIAN TRANSITION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

29 – 30 June 2006

In collaboration with the Challenges of the Agrarian Transition in Southeast Asia (CHATSEA) project, the Asia Research Institute hosted a workshop for graduate students. This two-day workshop provided students enrolled in Masters and PhD programmes with the opportunity to present and discuss their methodologies and ongoing research activities under the auspices of the CHATSEA project.

The CHATSEA project is currently underway in five Southeast Asian countries, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines. It involves collaboration between

several universities in these countries and also universities in Canada, Europe and Australia.

The agrarian transition represents perhaps the most profound process of social change of the last three centuries. In the wealthier countries of the global North it is a transformation that is largely complete, but in the developing societies of the global South it is still very much underway.

This transition can be defined as the transformation of societies from primarily non-urban populations dependent upon agricultural production and organized through rural social structures, to predominantly urbanized, industrialized and market-based societies.

Six processes of change can be identified as central to this transition. These are:

- 1) agricultural intensification and territorial expansion;
- 2) increasing integration of production into market-based systems of exchange;
- 3) accelerating processes of urbanisation and industrialisation;



4) heightened mobility of populations both within and across national borders;

5) intensification of regulation, as new forms of private, state and supra-state power are developed and formalized to govern agricultural production and exchange relationships;

6) processes of environmental change that modify the relationship between society and nature to reflect new human impacts and new valuations of resources.

### ASIAN EXPANSIONS: THE HISTORICAL PROCESSES OF POLITY EXPANSION IN ASIA



From **12 to 13 May 2006**, ARI convened an international workshop which explored the modes, mechanisms and processes of historical Asian polity expansion. We observed that, while historical expansion by European states and empires has been a subject of intense research in recent decades, Asian expansions is a field which remains largely unstudied. Yet to further our understanding of the modern world, the evolution of Asian polities should be explored not only in terms of political systems (the Northeast Asian bureaucratic forms versus the Southeast Asian "charisma" mandalas, for example), but also in terms of expanding territories. The autonomous Asian processes of bureaucratization and accretion also need to be compared to those of Europe. These are very major issues in terms of how the world we know has come to be, and how the problems which face many nations have come to be created.

Victor Lieberman has drawn attention to processes of expansion and integration which show "strange parallels" across Eurasia, yet the Asian end

of the equation remains understudied. While scholars such as Lattimore, Di Cosmo, Elvin and Purdue have investigated frontiers and expansions of the polities of China and Central Asia, comparative studies of Asian expansions are still lacking.

This workshop was intended to open a space for such comparative studies. By examining the aims, modes, mechanisms and processes of polity expansion in Asia, we hoped to make some generic conclusions about the nature of such expansion. The papers examined issues such as: Was polity expansion always accompanied by military ventures? How important was bureaucratic support for expansion? What role did the environment play as an inducer of or obstacle to expansion? Was incorporation of surrounding areas into an economic network centred in the expanding polity a frequent precursor to, or perhaps a common effect of, political expansion? Was cultural affiliation a useful or desirable condition for the absorption of surrounding polities or peoples? How much active acculturation of occupied peoples did expanding polities engage in? Was control over people or territory the key concern of the rulers of historical Asian polities? How have such concerns changed?

We hoped that the volume to be produced from the papers will bring attention to the need to study the history of polity expansion in Asia, and that new ways of understanding historical and contemporary Asia will thereby emerge.

## ASIA TRENDS SEMINAR SERIES 2006



The Asia Research Institute (ARI) Asia Trends Seminar Series in 2006 was launched on **Thursday 27 April** at the National Museum of Singapore, devoted to the serious subject of violence in contemporary Asian films. The opening lecture was given by Dr. Stephen Teo, a scholar of Hong Kong, Chinese and other Asian cinemas now based at ARI as a research fellow. The theme was "The Aesthetics of Mythical Violence in Hong Kong Cinema", with the speaker offering the thesis that the aesthetic images of violence in Hong Kong cinema effectively constituted a social critique of violence, based on the concepts of mythmaking and divine violence as propounded in Walter Benjamin's essay "Critique of Violence". The lecture argued that Hong Kong cinema is a veritable channel of mythmaking violence, an aesthetic form of violence that by implication is unreal but which inscribes a meta-critique against violence in society. The speaker showed extracts from the films of directors John Woo, Wong Kar-wai and Johnnie To to illustrate the central thesis.

The second seminar took place on **Thursday 25 May**, with the lecture given by Professor Kim So-young of the Korean National University of Arts in Seoul. The title of the lecture was "Gendered Trauma in Contemporary Korean Cinema," focusing on an analysis of the film *Peppermint Candy* (2000), a milestone work in Korean cinema. The film addresses the various traumas suffered by Koreans in various periods of its contemporary history, with an emphasis on the trauma following the suppression of the Gwangju Uprising in 1980. Professor Kim discussed the film to show how its chief character was affected by the trauma of the Cold War, dictatorship and globalization and how that was the emotional backdrop to a personal act of violence through suicide. The speaker's central thesis was the apparent concentration of male trauma in the film and the absence of the female and her renditions of trauma, thereby underlining the role of the female as the invisible presence in the life of the central protagonist (in this

way, male-dominated Korean society ultimately suffers from the "trauma" of the female absence).

The third seminar, on **29 June**, was given by Associate Professor Liao Gene-fon of the Taiwan National University of Arts. His subject was "From Angriiness to Hype: Encoding Violence in Contemporary Taiwanese Cinema". Dr. Liao delivered a comprehensive account of the representations of violence in contemporary Taiwanese cinema, from the social-realistic style in the films of Hou Hsiao-hsien (*Goodbye South, Goodbye*), Tsai Ming-liang (*Rebels of the Neon God*), Chang Tso-chi (*Darkness and Light*), to the Hollywood blockbuster style of Chen Kuo-fu's *Double Vision* (2002). The seminar convincingly showed that violence in Taiwanese cinema was strongly conditioned by a realist tradition even though the industry aspired to a generic style of hyped-up violence and risked a loss of socio-cultural significance.

The seminar series continues till November, taking place on the last Thursday of every month. The fourth lecture, scheduled for 27 July, will be given by Professor Krishna Sen of Curtin University of Technology, Australia. Her subject is "Seeing Violence in Indonesian Cinema: 1965 and its Memories."

### Forthcoming lectures:

31 August

**The Supernatural and Violence in Modern Life: Ghosts and Spirits in Singapore Cinema**

Assistant Professor Kenneth Paul Tan, National University of Singapore

28 September

**Violence in New Thailand Cinema**

Anchalee Chaiworaporn, Independent Film Critic, Thailand

26 October

**Rules of the Forbidden Game: Violence in Contemporary Chinese Cinema**

Associate Professor Ma Ning, Shanghai University, China

30 November

**Gangland Bombay**

Associate Professor Ranjani Mazumdar, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

## NEW ARI MEMBERS

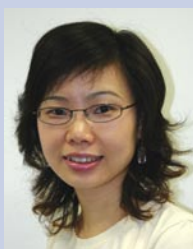
**Dr. Mario Poceski** commenced an eight month appointment as Visiting Research Fellow (Religion and Globalization Cluster) on 5 May 2006. Dr. Poceski teaches Buddhist studies and Chinese religions at the Religion Department, University of Florida. He received his PhD in East Asian Languages and Cultures from the University of California, Los Angeles, and he also spent two years as a researcher at Komazawa University, Japan. A specialist in the history of Chinese Buddhism, he recently finished a book on the Hongzhou school of Chan during the Tang period; his previous publications include two other books and a number of articles/chapters on various aspects of Chinese Buddhism. Dr. Poceski's latest project deals with the globalization of Buddhism, especially the contemporary global expansion of Buddhist "empires" grounded in the Chinese tradition.



**Dr. Ardeth Maung Thawngmung** commenced a seven month appointment as Visiting Research Fellow (Open Cluster) on 30 May 2006. Dr. Thawngmung is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Director of United Nations Model League at University of Massachusetts at Lowell. She got her Ph.D in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Before joining UMass Lowell, she taught at the University of Wisconsin, and University of Victoria, British Columbia, and was a visiting fellow at the Australian National University. She is the author of *Behind the Teak Curtain: Authoritarianism, Agricultural Policies and Political Legitimacy in Rural Burma/Myanmar*. She has also published articles in *Asian Survey*, *Sojourn*, the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, and edited books on Burma and Southeast Asia. Dr. Thawngmung's teaching interests are comparative politics, comparative political economy, transitional economies, peasant studies, politics of collective identity, Southeast Asian politics, international relations, and politics of developing countries. Her research interests include Political Economy in Burma, Southeast Asia, Transitional Economies, Rural Development, Peasant Studies, Ethnic Politics, and democratization. A native of Burma, Dr. Thawngmung is currently working on a comparative study of ethnic politics in Burma, Turkey, the Philippines, and Indonesia.



**Dr. Chen Yu** commenced a one year appointment as Postdoctoral Fellow (Asian Cities Project) on 12 June 2006. Before joining ARI, Dr. Chen Yu practiced as an architect in Singapore and China. She recently obtained her Ph.D. at the National University of Singapore. Her dissertation, entitled "Urban Transformation in Semi-colonial China: Gulangyu International Settlement, 1903~1937," focuses on urban formation and transformation of Gulangyu, a former international settlement in modern China. She got her B. Eng (Arch) in Huaqiao University (P. R. China). In her masters program at Tianjin University (P. R. China), she studied Macau city and architecture. Dr. Chen's area of specialization includes architecture, urban history of Chinese cities, and heritage conservation. As a member of ARI's Asian Cities Project, she will be working on journal articles and preparing her thesis for publication.



**Dr. Yan Hairong** commenced a one year appointment as Visiting Research Fellow (Migration Cluster) on 15 June 2006. Dr. Yan received her education in both China and the United States. Her intellectual interests include development, subjectivity, neoliberalism, gender, labour, (post)socialism, regionalism, and South-South relations. Trained as a cultural anthropologist, she is completing her book manuscript on rural-to-urban labor migration in China, focusing on migrant domestic workers hired by urban households. Building on her completed project on *suzhi* (quality) as intangible operator in the rural-to-urban labour migration in China, her follow-up project is to trace the genealogy of *suzhi* to an earlier time in the 20th century and to examine the relationship between the concept of *suzhi* (or its cognates) and the discourse of eugenics in the context of global conceptual expansion of "race" in the 19th and 20th century. She will furthermore, be pursuing her interest in the articulation of class and race through a new project -- "Black" Chinese, "Colored" Chinese, and "White" Chinese: Migration of Labour and Capital from China to Africa and Its Implications for Globalization. This project places racial and cultural representations of "Chinese," "Asian," and "African" in two different social-political periods (18th-19th century and 20th-21st century).



**Ms Windel Anne Barizo Lacson** commenced a one year appointment as Research Assistant to the Changing Family Cluster (World Vision/ Asian Marriage project) on 21 June 2006. Ms Lacson is a social researcher with interests in urban development, migration, gender, and education policy. She obtained her master's degree in Public Policy in 2005 from the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, where she was a Temasek Scholar. She completed her bachelor's degree in Communication Research from the University of the Philippines in 1999. Prior to joining ARI, Ms Lacson worked at Singapore's National Institute of Education (NIE) as a Research Associate at the Institute's Center for Research in Pedagogy and Practice. She managed an entrepreneurship education program for Filipina migrant workers in Singapore before she joined NIE. In the Philippines, she worked with various NGOs, studying issues such as women and the mass media, migration and trafficking of women, and reforms in community-level mediation and arbitration programmes. Ms Lacson is presently engaged in two ARI projects: Changing Marriages in Southeast Asia, and a joint research project with World Vision, a global relief and development organization, to evaluate World Vision's reconstruction and development programs in the areas affected by the Boxing Day 2004 tsunami.



## NEW ARI MEMBERS

**Dr. Kwee Hui Kian** commenced a one year appointment as a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Open Cluster on 1 July 2006. Dr Kwee's areas of interest are the processes and theories of colonialism, capitalism, Chinese ethnicity, migration and networks in maritime Southeast Asia from the eighteenth century to the present. She completed her PhD in history on the political economy of eighteenth-century Java at Leiden University in December 2005. During her stay at ARI, she plans to study, firstly, the operations of Chinese associations (like *huiguan*, *pang*, temple and burial organizations) and how they facilitated what she sees as long-term Chinese capitalism in Southeast Asia from the late seventeenth to early twentieth century; secondly, the history of the maritime political economy of the Indonesian archipelago, linking Singapore, Riau and Maroke (Papua New Guinea), exploring the routes and networks of ordinary people and the ways they find fate, from the 1950s to the present.



**Assoc Professor Michael Feener** commenced a 3-year joint appointment with ARI (Religion and Globalisation cluster) and Dept of History on 28 June 2006. Assoc Professor Feener's research focuses on the intellectual and cultural history of Islam in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Born in Salem, Massachusetts, he was trained in Islamic Studies and foreign languages at Boston University, Cornell, and the University of Chicago, as well as in Indonesia, Egypt, and Yemen. His publications include *Islam in World Cultures: Comparative Perspectives* (2004), and *Muslim Legal Thought in Modern Indonesia* (forthcoming, Cambridge University Press). At ARI he will be working on several projects dealing with modern Islamic thought and culture in the Religion and Globalization cluster. He is concurrently Associate Professor of History at NUS.



**Dr. Jiuan Heng** commenced a 6-month appointment as an Assistant Professor under the ARI Writing Scheme on 3 July 2006. Dr. Jiuan Heng read PPE at Oxford (1990) and obtained her PhD in philosophy at Columbia University (1997). Her publications explore the Self as Body, treating embodiment as a strategic site of being, becoming and communicating. It allows her to indulge her interest in aesthetics, non-propositional knowledge, comparative philosophy, general philosophy and ecology. At ARI, she will be completing *The Inward Turn in Chinese Painting*. It attempts to reconstruct the philosophical basis of the tradition of scholar painting that achieved its major breakthrough in the Yuan Dynasty, marrying calligraphy, painting and poetry. It will also explore what is Chinese about contemporary Chinese art, after the end of the tradition.



**Professor Duncan McCargo** commenced a one year appointment as Visiting Senior Research Fellow (Religion and Globalisation cluster) on 3 July 2006. Duncan McCargo (PhD SOAS, London) is professor of Southeast Asian politics at the University of Leeds, UK. His recent publications include *Politics and the Press in Thailand: Media Machinations* (Routledge 2000), *The Thaksinization of Thailand* (with Ukrist Pathmanand, NIAS 2005), and Patani Merdeka, a guest-edited themed issue of *Critical Asian Studies* (March 2006). During his time at ARI, he will be writing up his fieldwork-based research on "Patani: religion, conflict and the politics of identity," for a book to be published by Cornell University Press.



**Dr. Jan Mrázek** is on a 6-month appointment as an Assistant Professor under the ARI Writing Scheme for the period 10 July 2006 to 31 December 2006. Jan Mrázek (Ph.D. Cornell, 1998) is Assistant Professor in the Southeast Asian Studies Programme, NUS, teaching Southeast Asian visual and performing arts. An art historian by academic training, half-trained as a Czech violinist and a Javanese puppeteer and a musician, and undisciplined by nature, he is the author of *Phenomenology of Puppet Theatre: Contemplations on the Art of Javanese Wayang Kulit* (KITLV Press, 2005) and editor of *Puppet Theatre in Contemporary Indonesia: New Approaches to Performance Events* (Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), and co-editor of *What's the Use of Art? Functions, Movements, and Memories of Asian "Art Objects"* (University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming). In the last few years, he has been learning to play Thai music and writing about comparative phenomenological reflections on Javanese and Thai music and musical instruments. At ARI he will be finishing a book on the interactions between television and Javanese *wayang kulit* theatre and their cultures.



## ARI RECOGNITION

**Professor Brenda Yeoh** delivered the plenary address on "Gender, Globalising Households and Transnational Families: A View from Singapore" at the International Geographical Union 2006 Conference, Brisbane, 3–7 July 2006.

**Professor Chen Kuan-Hsing** delivered a keynote address on "De-imperializing East Asian Geo-politics," to the 4<sup>th</sup> Meeting of East Asian Regional Conferences in Alternative Geography, National Taiwan University in June 2006. He also gave the keynote address, "Towards integration of Asia," at the "Imagining Community / Nation Without (Cultural) Borders: An International Conference on Inter-Asian Culture, Communication, Conflict and Peace," Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand in July 2006. He was also:

- Working committee member, Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Society

- Board Member, (International) Association for Cultural Studies

- International Advisory Committee, Program of Cultural Studies, Shanghai University

- Board Member, Cultural Studies Association, Taiwan

**Professor Chua Beng Huat** was made Member of the Advisory Board, Australian Research Council's Cultural Research Network.

**Professor Bryan Turner** gave a lecture on "The Rise and Fall of Civil Society – some problems for Asia" on 6 June 2006 at Kobe University at a conference on Civil Society in Asia. He also delivered a lecture on "Globalization and Mobility Rights" in Ewha Womens' University, Seoul, 8–11 June 2006.

**Professor Gavin Jones** gave the keynote address at the Family Studies Colloquium in Kuala Lumpur on August 7–8, 2006, organized by the Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development in collaboration with the National Population and Family Development Board, Malaysia and Universiti Putra Malaysia. The theme of the colloquium was "Protecting and Strengthening the Family: Challenges and Opportunities."

**Professor Tony Reid** delivered a keynote lecture, "The Cosmopolitan City as an Asian Maritime Tradition," at a conference on "Towards the Construction of Urban Cultural Theories," 18 March 2006, Urban-Culture Research Centre, Osaka City University. He also delivered a keynote lecture on "Pluralising the Conversations," at the 6<sup>th</sup> Conference of Asian Scholarships Foundation,

on 3 July 2006 in Bangkok.

**Dr Johannes Widodo** delivered the keynote at the 2nd International Conference on Sustainable Architecture and Urban Design in Tropical Regions, 3–5 April 2006, in Yogyakarta (Indonesia), entitled, "Towards Culturally and Environmentally Sustainable Architecture in the Tropics." The conference was organized by iNTA (International Network of Tropical Architecture) and Duta Wacana Christian University, Yogyakarta. He was also:

- International Jury member for UNESCO Asia Pacific Awards for Culture Heritage, Bangkok

- Voting member of ICOMOS International Training Committee (CIF) and Executive member of ICOMOS National Committee for Indonesia

- Scientific Committee Alfa-IBIS Network Research (Delft, Netherlands)

- Executive Core and Scientific committee member of mAAN (modern Asian Architecture Network)

- Executive Core and Scientific committee member of iNTA (International Network of Tropical Architecture)

**Dr Zheng Yangwen** was invited to deliver a keynote at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on the History of Alcohol and Drugs, sponsored by the Alcohol and Drugs History Society to be held at the University of Guelph (Toronto), August 11–12, 2007.

## Eulogy



**Ng Kian Boon** who was a research assistant at ARI passed away suddenly on 15 May 2006. Professor Gavin Jones said a few words about Kian Boon at the ARI Institute meeting.

"The death of Kian Boon has affected us all. We need time to grieve and to reflect on his life. KB was unique. Each one of us is unique of course, but perhaps we could be excused for saying that Kian Boon was more unique than some of the rest of us. He loved his motorbike as many of us know. Those of us who have ridden motorbikes will know the wonderful sense of freedom, and of empathy with other people who ride motorbikes. He belonged to a group which traveled long distance on motorbikes which I will come back to in a minute. That was an important part of his life. He wasn't a conventional person,

he didn't find it easy to follow an 8am – 6pm kind of routine, but that didn't mean he didn't work hard. He worked very hard and he worked strange hours sometimes. The key thing I think for Kian Boon was to get the job done and he did that and wasn't terribly concerned about the hours he needed to work.

Now, I need to say something about the occasion of his death. He used to take long motorbike trips with a group of his friends even as far as Northern Thailand - Chiangmai, places like that. Remarkable how they covered long distances in a short period of time. He had planned a trip to Surat Thani in Thailand and for one reason or another one by one the colleagues he was going to ride with pulled out of this trip but he decided to go anyway. This was over the long weekend. So he did go and he successfully reached Surat Thani but on the way back in Phattalung province, which is a little to the north of Hatyai, he met with an accident. At the wake, his father told me what happened. A young motorcyclist, 19 years old without a license, entered the highway from a side road on the left without really looking at what was happening, so Kian Boon couldn't avoid him and he struck a glancing blow on his motorbike. The young motorcyclist was not badly hurt but Kian Boon was flung from his bike and killed instantly. His family took great comfort in the fact that

he was killed instantly, perhaps he would be happy that was the way he went.

ARI meant a lot to Kian Boon. His father told me at the wake that Kian Boon used to leave messages, notes, letters, just in case anything should happen to him on these long trips. On this occasion he left a note which said that if anything should happen, something should be left to support the work of the family group in ARI. I thought that was quite remarkable. We don't know any details about it but once we know more about it, we will think of suitable ways to use the gift.

KB interacted with many people in the NUS, not only the people in ARI. I received a note from one of his fellow graduate students since he was doing his PhD in Sociology. She said among other things, 'I am very sorry to hear about Kian Boon's demise this morning. He was such a cheerful fellow, ever ready to contribute ideas in class. I still can't believe he is gone. It just makes me realize that life can be so vulnerable, just to share this with you and to convey my condolences on the loss of your RA.'

# ASIAN METACENTRE FOR POPULATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT ANALYSIS

## Recent Seminars

**Seminar on Fertility Transition in Asia: Linkages with Socio-Economic Development and Family Planning Programme**  
By Bhakta Gubhaju  
Population Affairs Officer,  
Emerging Social Issues  
Division, UNESCAP, Bangkok,  
Thailand & Visiting Affiliate,  
Asia Research Institute, NUS  
23 May 2006  
Co-organised by ARI Study  
Group on Family and Life  
Cycle Changes and the Asian  
MetaCentre

The Asian region is not only diverse in social and economic development, but also in its level of fertility. According to the 2006 ESCAP Population Data Sheet, the total fertility rate in the region has dropped to 2.3 births per woman. This regional average, however, masks considerable differences in the total fertility rates (TFR) observed among subregions. Country experiences reveal that various factors have contributed to the decline in fertility. It has, however, been found that sustainable fertility decline occurred in countries with higher human development indices. By contrast, fertility decline had slowed down or even stalled in countries where the fertility transition began at a lower level of the human development index.

**Public Seminar on Demographic Instability and Development**  
By Ian Pool  
Scientific Consultant, CIRCED  
University of Waikato,  
Hamilton, New Zealand  
4 July 2006  
Co-organised by the ARI  
Study Group on Changing  
Family in Asia and the  
Asian MetaCentre

In the period following the publication of the UN Population Division's first projections, the international community

focused on issues of rapid national population growth. But from the 1970s the world started to become demographically more turbulent, with severe consequences for the age-distribution at working and childhood ages hanging over many parts of the world. The Cairo Population Conference confounded the issues by concentrating on reproductive choice and the empowerment of women, and by paying disproportionate attention to ageing, at the expense of other aspects of age-structural transitions that are far more pressing.

This paper took up only one aspect of demographic instability coming from redistribution: age structural transitions (ASTs), of which structural ageing is merely the end-product. Drawing on work of an IUSSP Committee, a RAND-Corporation study, and the CIRCED-book launched recently, this paper discussed recent research on this issue and the different paradigms that emerged. It then reviewed the effects of ASTs, and examined policy implications.

## New Publications

**Asian Population Studies  
Volume 2, No.1, March 2006  
Special section on the  
"Left Behind"**

Special section edited by Liem Nguyen,  
Brenda S.A. Yeoh, and Mika Toyota

This themed section focused on the impact of migration, including recent migration trends such as the 'feminization' of migration and "brain-drain" of health workers, on the well-being of the groups of the "left-behind" – particularly women, children and the elderly in Asia. The special section argues that a multidimensional approach is needed, taking into consideration not only the economic impact of remittances but also factors such as social networks and gender effects. The papers published in this special section were first presented at an International Conference on "The Impacts of Migration on the "Left-Behind" in Asia", co-organised by the Asian MetaCentre and the Institute for Social Development Studies, Vietnam on 10-11 March 2005.

**Asian MetaCentre Research  
Paper Series No. 20  
The Social Organization of  
Remittances: Channelling  
Remittances from East and  
Southeast Asia to Bangladesh**

By Md Mizanur Rahman and Brenda  
S.A. Yeoh

The research paper can be downloaded from the website at [http://www.populationasia.org/Publications/Research\\_Papers.htm](http://www.populationasia.org/Publications/Research_Papers.htm)

## APPOINTMENTS

### 3-Months Visiting (Senior) Research Fellowships

Applications are invited for a **3-month Visiting (Senior) Fellowships** to commence on **2 July 2007, 1 October 2007 or 2 January 2008**. The positions are intended for outstanding active researchers on Asian topics, with a balance anticipated between senior and junior, the Asian region and the world. At least one published outcome is expected, and applicants who do not normally publish in English will be encouraged and assisted to do so. Interdisciplinary interests are encouraged. "Asia" as a research field is defined loosely in terms of the region in which Singapore is positioned.

The closing date for applications is **15 November 2006**. The next opportunity to apply will take place in 6 months with an anticipated closing date of May 2007.

### One Year Visiting Fellowship

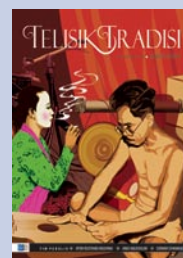
Applications are open to NUS academic staff at all levels to apply for a **One-year Visiting Fellowship** for the following periods:

One Visiting Fellowship to begin in **July 2007**  
One Visiting Fellowship to begin in **January 2008**

The NUS One-year Visiting Fellowship is intended to encourage ambitious research and writing projects which either mesh with existing clusters or identify promising new targets for a collaborative inter-disciplinary research cluster. It is intended for NUS academics with at least three years of post-doctoral experience and a strong research profile. Applications will close on **31st September 2006**.

For details on how to apply and more information please visit <http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/appointments.htm> or email: [joinari@nus.edu.sg](mailto:joinari@nus.edu.sg)

## NEW BOOK



**Jennifer Lindsay**  
(editor)  
*Telisik Tradisi:  
Pusparagam  
Pengelolaan Seni*  
(Learning from  
Tradition: Diversity in  
Arts Management)  
Jakarta: Yayasan Kelola  
2006

## FORTHCOMING ARI EVENTS

### Public Lecture on RELIGION & CITIZENSHIP IN EAST ASIA

#### Distinguished Visiting Professor

**Prasenjit Duara, Professor of History and  
East Asian Languages and Civilizations  
University of Chicago, USA  
16 August 2006, Asian Civilisations Museum**

Behind the apparently stable division between religion and secularism expressed at a constitutional or institutional level in East Asia (and less stably elsewhere), a busy traffic between 'religious' and 'secular' ideas and practices has taken place through the twentieth century. In particular this paper is concerned with the circulation of "global models of religious citizenship" and the simultaneous re-formulation of the consciousness of citizens and religious subjects. Reacting to the perceived or alleged claims of Christianity (itself undergoing re-formulation) as the spiritual ideology of the modern era, East Asian societies began to create their own new distinctions between ritual, religion, superstition and the secular. Part I of the paper will touch upon the role of religion in the Japanese empire, the Confucian religion movement, the New Life movement of the KMT, the adaptation (and non-adaptation) of popular redemptive societies in China and Korea such as the Chongdogyo or the recent Falungong, among others. Part II will explore the role of religion among Peranakans in the Dutch Indies as an expression of another "Chinese" mode of dealing with the religion-secular traffic.

### WORKSHOP ON "OF ASIAN ORIGIN": RETHINKING TOURISM IN CONTEMPORARY ASIA 7-9 September 2006

Recent years have witnessed a seemingly relentless surge in the movement of tourists "of Asian origin." Indeed, bodies such as the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), confidently predict that over the coming decades Asia will have the fastest growing population of tourists on the move in the world. Despite such predictions, very little attention has been given to the social, cultural and political implications of Asia's transformation from mere host destination into a region of mobile consumers. Hosted by the Asia Research Institute, this workshop sets out to address this gap by offering the first sustained examination of tourism in Asia by Asian tourists.

In response, this workshop seeks to move beyond current western-centric orthodoxies of tourism to add fresh approaches for understanding the changing nature of tourism in Asia. We strongly welcome contributions which consider the validity of current tourism theory for understanding contemporary Asia, and where appropriate, offer new conceptual and analytical directions. Thoroughly interdisciplinary in nature, this workshop

promises to explore the broader implications arising from tourism "of Asian origin;" and, in so doing, provide rich, and highly innovative, insights into the rapidly changing socio-cultural landscape of contemporary Asia.

**This will follow the ARI 5th GRADUATE  
WORKSHOP on QUESTIONS OF  
METHODOLOGY; RESEARCHING TOURISM  
IN ASIA  
organised in collaboration with the University  
of Otago from the 5-6 September 2006.**

#### THEMES INCLUDE

- When to tick, when to listen; quantitative versus qualitative approaches
- Gossip or narrative; what exactly does data look like?
- Research ethics and tourism
- Playing the field; negotiating relationships and the politics of identity
- Researcher, exile or tourist?; Undertaking cross cultural research
- Journeys of Rigour; epistemological departures and methodological arrivals

### Conference on International marriage, rights and the state in Southeast and East Asia 21-22 September 2006

This conference seeks to investigate the phenomenon of international marriages, in particular, those issues related to the power of the nation-state, and its custodial relationship towards 'its' citizens in East and Southeast Asia. In investigating these issues, the conference seeks to tease out the processes and consequences of institutional control over the "international marriage" in East and Southeast Asia using a variety of disciplinary perspectives, including demography, social policy, law, geography, sociology, social anthropology, politics, gender studies and history.

### Workshop on Muslim-non-Muslim marriage, rights and the state in Southeast Asia 23 September 2006

This workshop will examine the phenomenon of marriages contracted by a Muslim and a non-Muslim in Southeast Asian countries, and the processes and consequences of institutional control over them. Different countries in Southeast Asia have different institutional constructs within which marriages can take place across the religious divide.

#### Key Issues:

- Politics of legal recognition, including gender differences in legal status, in international marriage.
- The legal barriers to rights and privileges in Muslim-non-Muslim marriage, particularly in contexts where religion plays a role in the demarcation of rights and privileges
- The process of legal recognition of children of Muslim-non-Muslim marriages, their access to rights and privileges
- The consequences of Muslim-non-Muslim marriage dissolution – policy and practice – with regards to custody of children, religious conversion and re-conversion issues, etc.
- The dominant state ideology of the 'family' and how it plays out in Muslim-non-Muslim marriages

## THE ARI INTERVIEW – PROFESSOR BINOD KHADRIA



**Binod Khadria**, Professor of Economics at the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, is the author of *The Migration of Knowledge Workers* (1999). He is currently a Visiting Senior Research Fellow jointly appointed by the Asia Research Institute and the Department of Economics (FASS) at the National University of Singapore. ARI post-doctoral fellow Teo You Yenn interviewed him about his work and his thoughts on contemporary migration scholarship.

### TYT: How did you begin studying migration?

BK: My interest in migration studies goes back thirty years when I started social science research as a graduate student in Jawaharlal Nehru University. Migration was then a peripheral area, with some marginal interest in the topic of brain drain. A post-doctoral stint at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, and later a Fulbright Senior Visiting Scholarship provided further opportunities of interaction. The writing of *The Migration of Knowledge Workers* (1999) was facilitated by the award of a Times of India Fellowship, for work on a subject of national importance to India.

### TYT: As a migration scholar, what do you see as some of the most central issues of the field today? How are these different from, say, thirty years ago?

BK: If I were to visualize a locus of three central issues encompassing the universe of discourse in migration today, I suppose I'd like to generically term them as "age," "wage," and "vintage." Migration concerns with the aging population structures in the developed countries are primarily labour market mismatch issues, prompting policies that encourage youth immigration to fill the quantitative physical gaps of numbers. Soaring migration of medicos and nurses and care-workers to look after the ailing and the aged, health tourism, etc., would be part of this group of labour transfer issues. Second, wage concerns would be related to temporary migration replacing permanent migration, the former leading to higher turnover of migrant workers and thereby slower growth of the overall wages, bills, perks and pension commitments to foreign workers in countries of destination. Dynamics of remittances and tax liabilities of migrant workers would also form part of this group of financial transfer issues. The third group would comprise the competitive agendas and strategies of nations to accumulate quality human capital for the generation of the latest "vintages" of knowledge through cost-effective talent flows embodied in the mobility of professionals in cutting-edge areas like information technology, bio-technology and so on, as well as the mobility of tertiary students in a variety of fields. National security concerns of the post 9/11 immigration regimes and issues like dual-citizenship would also belong to this genre of knowledge transfer issues, including globalization or segmentation of the curriculum between citizens and foreigners.

To draw a comparison between now and thirty years ago, one noticeable difference is the centre of focus now shifting from source-country determinants of migration to destination-country determinants. Today, migration flows are formidably demand-determined and worker-seeking as opposed to being supply-determined and work-seeking thirty years ago. Migration was then seen as a one-sided game of loss or gain, leading, for example, to "brain drain" or "brain gain." Even if the game is still

largely one-sided, at least the new perspective is that of a win-win cooperation between the countries of origin and destination and the migrant stakeholders in them, say through "brain circulation" and the burgeoning "diaspora." The new century marked a paradigm shift to which I think the universe of discourse in migration research is still adjusting.

### TYT: What is the relationship between policy makers and academics when it comes to discussions of migration? What are the most productive sites and which are the most problematic areas?

BK: I strongly feel that migration is an applied human subject directly involving day-to-day life of individuals and the community that academics endeavour to observe and analyse. The immediately productive sites for collaboration between academics and policy makers could be the financial issues where incentives and penalties could divert the diaspora resources like remittances into the right channels—of education and health, I would say. Even the middlemen that infest the so-called "migration industry" can be reined in through such carrots and sticks. More challenging is the area of labour transfer and the knowledge transfer issues where the conflicts of interest across countries are not static but dynamic—spread over different time-horizons for receiving and sending societies. These are still not insurmountable. Most problematic is the area of policy implementation. Academics make recommendations and the policy makers introduce the necessary amendments in the policy. Beyond this there is no space for a joint monitoring of how these policies are actually put into practice. Most of the violations of the norms begin with the discriminatory treatment that migrants receive at the foreign consulates located in their own countries. Unfortunately, this is an area which the countries consider "non-negotiable sovereign territory" when it comes to opening it up to multilateral negotiations where both policy makers and academics can influence decisions—whether by lobbying or moral suasion.

### TYT: What makes ARI/Singapore an appropriate place for your current work? How do you see the relationship between scholars of different countries?

BK: Presently, I am working on a manuscript on the *Emergence of Asia in the Global Labour Market*, and my being at the Asia Research Institute has definitely influenced the work. I think ARI's strength lies in being the prime gateway to multi-disciplinary exposure on intellectual thinking in East and Southeast Asia. Its growing interest in other spaces of Asia, like South Asia for example, is reflective of its potential dynamism upon which one can build more bridges. ARI's being in Singapore also provides for the multiple-advantages of a developed-country infrastructure, a friendly cosmopolitan and multi-lingual atmosphere, and geographic proximity to most regions of Asia. I find it a rendezvous for scholars from a mix of countries which would normally remain under-represented in other similar international institutes. Within NUS, ARI has the potential of becoming a catalyst and possibly even a hub for interaction between various departments and faculties.

# ARI Lecture: China as a Global Power

**Dr. Martin Jacques**

**Research Fellow, Asia Research Centre,  
London School of Economics, UK**

**Senior Visiting Fellow, ARI**

**19 April 2006**

**National Library, Victoria Street**

Although the rise of China has, over the last two or three years, acquired a new kind of global recognition, we are, of course, only at the very earliest stages of this process. It may seem a little premature to speculate about what China will be like as a global power, but in reality that process is already well underway. In international relations theory, it has been common to see China in terms of earlier rising powers like Germany and Japan. But such a template is bound to hugely underestimate the novelty and distinctiveness of China's emergence on the global stage. I want to explore seven questions as a way of trying to understand the meaning and significance of China's rise as a global power and how that process is likely to reshape the world.

First, there is the meaning of size. The potential of China lies, above all, in the sheer magnitude of its population, one-fifth of the world's total. Of course, historically, population size has not always been aligned with economic strength: in fact, the period of European industrialisation and colonialism was characterised by a marked divergence in that relationship. But, with the rise of China, and India too, it would appear that this tendency is, up to point, being re-established. Looking at size from a completely different perspective, the rise of China (and India again) marks the emergence of a quite different kind of nation-state, the mega-state, which is bound, in time, to reshape and transform the nature of global inter-state relations.

Second, China is a nation-state with a difference: as many have commented, Chinese civilization and culture are, by global standards, extraordinarily old, long pre-dating China's emergence as a nation-state. The implications of this not only for China but also for the world may be elusive, they are also bound to be profound. What for example, do they mean for our understanding of the nature of Chinese nationalism? For such a huge country, China is remarkably homogenous in its self-perception. Other huge nation-states are ethnic melting-pots: China is not. Again the implications are profound: what, for example, will that mean for China's perception of the rest of the world as it becomes a global player?

Third, China will, for a long time to come, be both a developed country and a developing country. Ever since 1800, the major global powers have generally combined two characteristics: they have enjoyed amongst the highest gross GDP and the highest per capita GDP. China will be different: it will have one of the highest GDP but still a very low per capita GDP. In other words, it will have one foot in the developed world and one foot in the developing world. Fourth, the rise of China obliges us to ponder the meaning of its communist legacy: the great irony is that 1989 marked the collapse of European and Soviet communism, while 1978 marked the beginnings of the rebirth of the Chinese communist tradition. Alas, a



proper recognition of the specificity of the Chinese communist tradition has been largely lost in the wave of triumphalism that followed 1989.

Fifth, the emergence of China as a global contender transforms the global significance of East Asia. From 1800 to 1950, Europe was the global epicentre: even after 1950, it remained strangely pivotal because of its geopolitical significance during the cold war, a centrality that was finally extinguished by the events of 1989. East Asia has now supplanted Europe as the most important region in the world, not just economically, but also in political and military significance: it is the new global epicentre. Sixth, the rise of China marks the emergence of a new kind of modernity on the global stage. Hitherto, with the sole exception of Japan, all the advanced countries were derived from European civilization. Japan, of course, was not, but its global impact has been limited. China's roots are quite different from those of the west and, because of its size, its global impact will be far greater than that of Japan.

Seventh, the key relationship that will increasingly define global politics is that between the United States, the extant power, and China, the rising power. Ever since the early 1970s, the relationship between the two has been largely equable, although always volatile, but it seems highly likely that it will become increasingly conflictual: this does not necessarily mean a return to something like the Cold War, which had its own specificity, but growing tensions between them seem inevitable.