



**UNIVERSITY  
OF MALAYA**

**INSTITUTE OF CHINA STUDIES**

马来亚大学中国研究所

# ICS Bulletin

No.3 2015



## International Workshop “ASEAN and China: A Mutual Socialization Contest”



**Left** Opening Speech by Professor Dr.Noorsaadah Abdul Rahman, Acting Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research & Innovation), University of Malaya. **Middle** Luncheon Address by Tan Sri Dato' Seri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan. **Right** Opening ceremony of the workshop.

In this workshop, Professor Lowell Dittmer and Professor Lee Poh Ping of the Institute of China Studies at the University of Malaya put together a team of scholars to discuss the relations between ASEAN and China.

In the first panel, Professor Sarah Tong and Miss Lim Wen Xin from the East Asian Institute of the National University of Singapore reviewed the past developments of China-ASEAN economic ties and concluded that the future of ASEAN-China economic ties remain positive because of economic complementarity, China's new initiatives such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the "One Belt One Road," initiative and ASEAN's push for connectivity. However, unbalanced trade between China and ASEAN and the varying degree of development within ASEAN remain the challenges ahead. The next paper was presented by Professor Cheong Kee Cheok, Dr. Yew Siew Yong and Dr. Yong Chen Chen, of the University of Malaya. They noted that the past drivers of China-ASEAN trade included comparative advantage and intra-industry trade. However, after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, intra-industry trade

could no longer serve as the main driver, while China's increased competitiveness means decreasing comparative advantage for many ASEAN economies except in the production of some natural resources. Hence, they concluded that the future driver should be foreign direct investment. The third paper was from Professor Zhao Hong of the East Asian Institute of the National University of Singapore. Professor Zhao discussed the Maritime Silk Road within the contest of the rising US-China competition in the region and the geopolitical risks associated with the territorial disputes in the South China Sea. He found that the economic vision offered by the Maritime Silk Road indeed contained many elements of mutually beneficial.

The second panel involved two papers. Dr. Ngeow Chow Bing from ICS suggested in his paper that China has since the late 2000s adopted a Great Power national identity that had profound impact on its foreign policy behavior,

*Continue in next page.....*

## International Workshop “ASEAN and China: A Mutual Socialization Contest”

.....Continue from page 1

as can be seen in its recent tense relations with a number of maritime neighbors. Professor You Ji of the University of Macao presented a paper that shed light on the behavior of the Chinese bureaucratic and military actors involved in the recent episodes of South China Sea disputes, and he concluded with an analysis that showed that under Xi Jinping, China’s South China Sea policy had undergone a major adjustment that emphasized more vigorous right-maintenance through selective actions and rhetorical sovereignty claims. The approach was more proactive and assertive, and had more PLA’s involvement, resulting in the emergence a civil-military convergence in guiding Beijing’s strategic policy to deal with South China Sea challenges. However, he cautioned against the interpretation that Beijing will become more aggressive in the future, as so far the evidence pointed to Beijing’s willingness to become more conciliatory when necessary.

The third panel featured three papers. The first paper was presented by Dr. Kim Hyung Jung of Yonsei University and Professor Lee Poh Ping of ICS, in which they discussed the trend of socializing regional norms through Track II diplomacy, in this case the Network of East Asian Think Tanks (NEAT). NEAT was indeed found to have played a major role in the regional socialization process, in particular the socialization of ASEAN norms, which overlapped with some principles of Chinese foreign policy as well. The second paper was presented by Dr. Reynaldo C. Ileto from Nanyang Technological University, who talked about the troubled Philippines-China relations in recent years. He reflected upon the changing narratives of history in the Philippines, where the US had changed from being a target of nationalist objection to a firm partner and ally against a common enemy, and how Vietnam came to be seen to have a shared history with the Philippines. On the other hand, the friendlier episodes of Philippines-China history had been downplayed in recent years, reflecting the tense bilateral relations. Finally, Professor Anthony Milner (ISIS Professor) shared his insights on the way the traditional Malay rulers viewed sovereignty and how such views continued to be relevant in today’s geopolitical context. The workshop was supported by a generous grant from Sunsuria Berhad. ♦



Professor Danny Wong presented a token of appreciation to Professor Noorsaadah Abdul Rahman for officiating the opening of the workshop.



Discussion during Panel 1: “ASEAN and China (Political Economy)”.



Discussion during Panel 2: “ASEAN and China (Issue of Security)”.



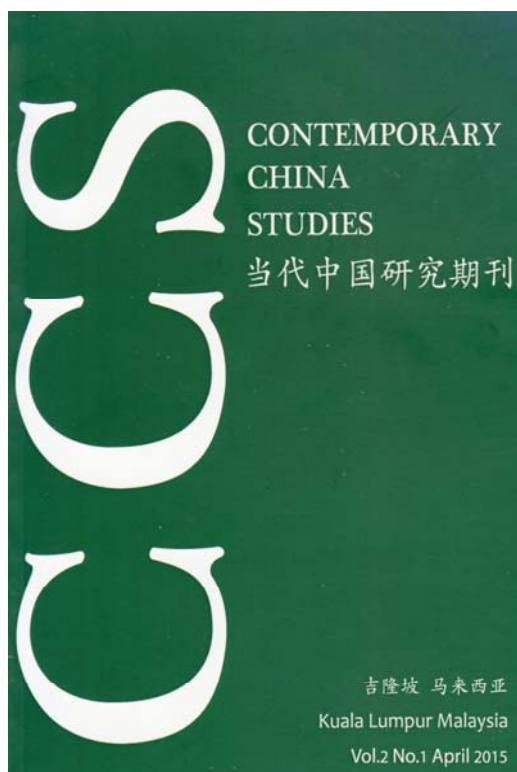
Discussion during Panel 3: “ASEAN and China (Towards Normative Integration)”.

<b>International Journal of China Studies</b>	
Volume 6	Number 2
August 2015	ISSN 2180-3250
<b>Editor's Foreword</b>	
<b>Special Focus on "Malaysia, China and the Asia Pacific in the 21st Century"</b>	
Images and the Shaping of Malaysia's China Policy: 1957-1974 <i>Lee Kam Hing</i>	107
ASEAN, China and Malaysia: Creative Diplomacy, Trade, and a Complex Sea <i>Vivian Forbes</i>	129
China at the Turn of the 21st Century: The Role of Public Opinion in Its Relations with Japan <i>Sitthiphon Kruarattikan</i>	149
Beyond Offensive Realism: Why Leadership Matters More than Structure in the Security Environment of East Asia <i>Li Yongcheng</i>	159
Global Maritime Axis: Indonesia, China, and a New Approach to Southeast Asian Regional Resilience <i>René L. Pattiradjawane and Natalia Soebagjo</i>	175
ASEAN-China Relations since Building of Strategic Partnership and Their Prospects <i>Do Tien Sam and Ha Thi Hong Van</i>	187
<b>Book Review</b>	
Ivan Tselichtchev, <i>China Versus the West: The Global Power Shift of the 21st Century</i> (2012) <i>reviewed by Zhang Miao</i>	197

## International Journal of China Studies Vol.6 No.2 August 2015

The new issue of the International Journal of China Studies (Volume 6, Number 2), the "Special Focus on "Malaysia, China and the Asia Pacific in the 21st Century" was published in August 2015. The issue features 6 research articles and 1 book review. Among the featured articles are:

- **Lee Kam Hing, Images and the Shaping of Malaysia's China Policy: 1957-1974**
- **Vivian Forbes, ASEAN, China and Malaysia: Creative Diplomacy, Trade, and a Complex Sea**
- **Sitthiphon Kruarattikan, China at the Turn of the 21st Century: The Role of Public Opinion in Its Relations with Japan**
- **Li Yongcheng, Why Leadership Matters More than Structure in the Security Environment of East Asia**
- **René L Pattiradjawane and Natalia Soebagjo, Global Maritime Axis: Indonesia, China, and a New Approach to Southeast Asian Regional Resilience**
- **Do Tien Sam and Ha Thi Hong Van, ASEAN-China Relations since Building of Strategic Partnership and Their Prospects**



## CONTEMPORARY CHINA STUDIES

### 当代中国研究期刊 Vol.1 No.2 April 2015

The new issue of the Contemporary China Studies (Volume 1, Number 2) was published in April 2015. The issue features 6 research articles. Among the featured articles are:

- 另类人生 - 刘富贵的“现行反革命案” / 王海光
- 为学·为人·为母-论陈衡哲的女性观 / 黄华
- 中国“三农问题”形成的原因以及“习近平-李克强”体制下农业的动向 / 马健
- 制度变迁与部门地位演化：一个国有科研企业的案例研究（1958-2010） / 彭长桂
- 从五四新文学到“动地吟” - 马来西亚华语诗歌朗诵运动（1988-2014） / 潘碧华、傅承得
- 浅谈中国与马来西亚的土地政策 / 张夜墨

## CHINA'S STATE ENTERPRISES

### Part 1 – CHINA'S MISUNDERSTOOD STATE ENTERPRISES

By Li Ran and Cheong Kee Cheok



Dr Li Ran,  
Research Fellow,  
Institute of China Studies,  
University of Malaya.  
liran@um.edu.my

In reality, the contrast between the Chinese and Western systems and consequently world views can be stark. There is no better example of this than the idea of the separation between the state and civil society .

Western media miss perceptions of the Chinese state and its enterprises die hard. Two recent media reports on changes to China's state enterprises are graphic illustrations. The first, reporting on likely mergers of these enterprises, referred to "the country's bloated state-owned sector" (Wei, 2015). The second, in a similar vein, discussed "reform of China's inefficient state sector" (Wildau, 2015). Characterizations such as these have been in use since before China's state enterprises first underwent major reform in 1993 and suggest to readers nothing much has changed. Apart from misinterpreting the motives for the initiatives reported, statements such as these fly in the face of extensive evidence to the contrary. The strategy of "grasping the large and releasing the small" (抓大放小), launched in the late 1990s, has reduced the number of fully state-owned enterprises to about 100, while a succession of reforms like the "split-share structure" reform in 2005 and listing on stock exchanges have seen major reduction in state ownership (but less of control) and the emergence of hybrid enterprises with ownership hard to determine (Knowledge@Wharton, 2001). Reforms have also produced globally competitive state enterprises like ZTE, Cosco, and CRRC, the last being a merger of two state railway companies (see Bloomberg, 2015). Those who continue to doubt the accomplishments of these reforms should read Hsieh and Song (2015).

Why do such misconceptions persist? They originate from the refusal, conscious or otherwise, to believe that strategies to achieve economic development and prosperity different from those propounded by the West can be viable. Even Hank Paulson, former



China's State Enterprises of the Central Government – Occupying Strategic Sectors in China's Economy (eg. ChemChina)

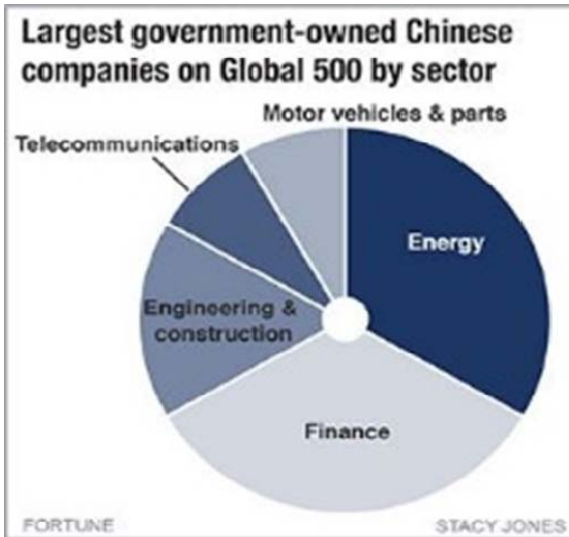
Source: Li, L. (2012). *State-owned companies' transcript for last year: Profit 3.6 billion with continuous decline*. Retrieved 30, September, 2015, from <http://www.chinaluxus.com/20120119/117027.html>

US Secretary of State, insisted that "[Jobs and growth] have to come from the private sector" (Mitchell, 2015). Even more fundamentally, they stem from a failure to understand that China's political, social and economic systems have evolved over several millennia under circumstances that predated and were distinct from those that shaped Western civilization. The combination of these factors has led to many Western observers viewing China through Western lenses and assessing China using Western norms.

In reality, the contrast between the Chinese and Western systems and consequently world views can be stark. There is no better example of this than the idea of the separation between the state and civil society. The mainstream Western view is that the state and civil society coexist but are separate one from the other. The debate about the size of government in relation to the private sector rests on this separation. More government means less private space, a zero-sum game. The Chinese view of government has been quite different. Chinese society sees government as part of, and embedded in, society, and plays a paternalistic role to its citizens in a rigid hierarchical system. The traditional Chinese terms for government officials – fu mu guan (父母官) – meaning literally parental officials, and for citizens – zi min (子民) – meaning children subjects – makes this role very clear.

The Western mainstream view that government exists only to take care of "externalities" – goods and services that no one would pay for to acquire despite the benefits they confer, or to dispose of despite the harm they cause – underpins the preference for private over government enterprise. Theories like agency theory and property rights all seek to explain the inferior performance of public enterprises and the superiority of private enterprises in which the functioning of the invisible hand leads to optimal outcomes. This was not how the Chinese traditionally viewed private enterprise, however. Of the four major occupations in traditional Chinese society – shi (士 – gentry scholars), nong (农- agriculturists), gong (工- artisans and craftsmen) and shang (商- merchants and traders) – the merchants and traders occupied the lowest rung of the social hierarchy.

While this social pecking order has certainly changed with the times, as wealth creation by initially Chinese overseas and now mainland Chinese is celebrated (although the quote "To be rich is glorious" [致富光荣] was misattributed to Deng Xiaoping), it cannot be inferred that the Chinese have abandoned the



Source: Cendrowski, S. (2015). *China's Global 500 companies are bigger than ever – and mostly state-owned*. Retrieved 30, September, 2015, from <http://fortune.com/2015/07/22/china-global-500-government-owned/>

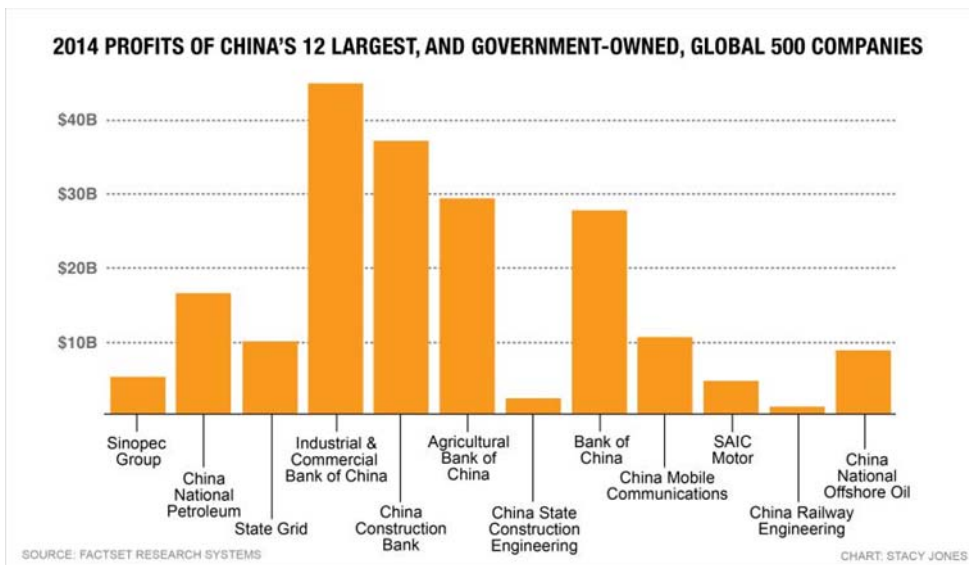
socio-economic order they lived under for millennia and embraced lock-stock-and-barrel Western concepts of private enterprise and freedom. The Chinese have at times taken on what they believed to be beneficial and incorporated it into their own system. But, as Philip Kuhn noted, the Chinese state has always been “shaped decisively by the flow of its internal history” (Kuhn, 2002: 1). Thus, the phrase “with Chinese characteristics” (具有中国特色的), as in “socialism with Chinese characteristics”, is not a quirky translation of Chinese ideas into English but a reference to this adaptation and endogenization of foreign ideas.

One result of this misinterpretation of Chinese state enterprises is to misconstrue the objective of China’s reform of its state enterprises. Although Zhu Rongji’s early reforms were indeed targeted at stemming the massive losses incurred by state-owned enterprises, subsequent reforms had targeted governance, in addition to efficiency (and profitability), upon which many Western commentators are fixated. Also, and again much criticized by these commentators, reforms were less about ownership than about control, with the Chinese government never intending to lose control over enterprises in industries it considered strategic. This exclusive focus on efficiency has also blindsided commentators to the real objective of mergers which, as shown by the example of CRRC above, is to create corporate behemoths capable of taking on global competitors.

Assessing Chinese state enterprises using Western benchmarks of efficiency and profitability also fails to take into account an important non-economic role that such enterprises are called upon to play. That is the strategic role of advancing China’s soft power. Chinese economic missions to developing countries are always made up of Chinese leaders accompanied by state-owned financial institutions and suppliers of equipment like ZTE. This approach of putting the money where the mouth is has strengthened Chinese ties with many countries targeted. The benefit to China of the presence of state enterprises in such missions certainly cannot be measured using standard cost-benefit analysis ♦



Dr Cheong Kee Cheok, Senior Research Fellow, Faculty of Economic and Administration, University of Malaya. [keecheok1@yahoo.com](mailto:keecheok1@yahoo.com)



Source: Cendrowski, S. (2015). *China's Global 500 companies are bigger than ever – and mostly state-owned*. Retrieved 30, September, 2015, from <http://fortune.com/2015/07/22/china-global-500-government-owned/>

---

Assessing Chinese state enterprises using Western benchmarks of efficiency and profitability also fails to take into account an important non-economic role that such enterprises are called upon to play.

---

*This article is the personal opinion of the writers.*

## The Kuala Lumpur–Singapore High Speed Railway: Why China is Right for the Job

- by Zhang Miao



Zhang Miao,  
Research Fellow,  
Institute of China Studies,  
University of Malaya.  
miao@um.edu.my

In the past few months, local newspapers have been flooded by reports about the increasing competition of getting Kuala Lumpur-Singapore High Speed Rail (KSHSR) among the high-speed rail (HSR) companies from China, Japan and Europe. Apparently, China has advantages with competitive price and an efficient construction record. However, apart from those strengths, what other advantages could China offer to outperform its competitors?

Looking back at the railway development of China, a total mileage over 16,000 kilometers by 2014 has made China the top country in the world with the highest HSR coverage. In fact, Chinese total mileage covered by HSR (16,000 kilometers) has exceeded half of the HSR total mileage of the entire world, far ahead of any other country in the world and larger than the high-speed rail network in the entire European Union

Technological development, coupled with the immense public funding the Chinese government throws at HSR –treating it as a strategic asset and sheltering these projects from hostile market forces in the process –has made China particularly well-suited to rapid HSR expansion. Although it is sometimes argued that the leap of Chinese HSR is partially a consequence of 4 trillion stimulus package that government unleashed to stimulate the economy during the Global Financial Crisis, it has also been true that HSR between Beijing and Shanghai has progressed by leaps and bounds with a funding of over 200 million yuan every day.

It is China's special institutional arrangements that have made such rapid development possible –the centralized state has easily solved challenges on investment, land acquisition and technological support facing huge infrastructure projects domestically and internationally. It is, therefore, not surprising at all that Chinese HSR, once having lagged behind others for 30 years, has rapidly progressed from a high-speed rail novice to the host of the world's largest high-speed network.

### Technologically capable

As the government has poured huge investment into research and development, Chinese engineers are catching up in some important fields. The 16,000-kilometer high speed railway network nationwide by 2014 is 100 per cent financed, designed and constructed by the Chinese. Extending to the high-altitude Tibetan Plateau and to the bitterly cold Northern area of China, it has overcome great geographical difficulties and climate challenges. On top of that, it has a satisfactory safety record. Meanwhile, it has been reported that China is in discussions with more than 20 nations including

the United States, Russia, Brazil and Thailand on the export of HSR technology and products. As one of the achievements of China's innovation effort, HSR has become the country's new name card in the international community. Notwithstanding the Wenzhou Incident in 2011, China has demonstrated rich expertise and experience in designing, building and operating a HSR network.



A total mileage over 16,000 kilometres by 2014 has made China the top country in the world with the highest HSR coverage.

Source: China News Service

### Economic implication: more than just a railway

During Premier Li's visits to Asia, Africa, Australia and Europe in recent years, messages were conveyed to foreign government leaders, railway planners and company executives that China's high-speed railway technologies are safe, reliable and economically competitive, and that China is willing to enhance co-operation in the railway sector. Largely due to his promotion, Chinese enterprises have been selected to take part in the construction of a high-speed rail in many countries and regions across the world, such as in Turkey. The fact that Chinese Premier Li has been recently titled as "Super Promoter" for Chinese HSR has unleashed a strong policy signal –it is the Chinese government that backs up the expedition of Chinese HSR.

On the one hand, the export of HSR equipment will help generate new growth opportunities in China's international trade and industrial upgrading. As China gradually transforms itself into a high-tech powerhouse and moves up the economic ladder, it is imperative for China to develop economic sectors that can sustain its growth in the future.

On the other hand, Malaysia would also be happy with such a big gift package to which a set of preferential policies on trade, tourism and human resources exchange are attached. Sino-Malaysia trade records of US\$100 billion in 2014

China's special institutional arrangement has made it possible-- the centralized state has easily solved challenges on investment, land acquisition and technological support facing huge infrastructure project domestically and internationally.

will be renewed when the railway further enhances the overall exchange among the cities and towns along the HSR lines. Along with the conventional commodities exchange, it would also bring millions of Chinese tourists to Malaysia. The consumption that tourism generates would simultaneously help revive the domestic market downturn and swipe off the negative image caused by recent MAS Airline incidents. These tangible benefits resulted from cooperation between the two countries should give sufficiently strong reasons why Chinese HSR should be selected.

### Complimentary financial benefits

Among many challenges confronting HSR construction, funding is the major concern of the government of Malaysia. It is estimated that the railway would cost about RM 214 million per km on average. Therefore, it is very unlikely for, for the Malaysian government, which is facing great fiscal pressure and a high level of government debt, to fund the project alone.

Given these financial difficulties Malaysia is facing, many analysts reason that KSHSR has a high possibility of becoming the first project funded by newly established Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Meanwhile, because of Malaysia's strategic location in the 21-century Maritime Silk Road, the "One Belt One Road" Fund may also have a role to fill up the huge capital gap. Of course, any decision of a multilateral development bank, such as AIIB, may not be solely made by China. But surely, how to take advantage of the recently unfolded AIIB in the context of this China-promoted "One Belt One Road" initiative is something that both Malaysia and Singapore governments should take time to consider.

In addition to the financial assistance from big international agencies, China stands out in terms of having flexible funding co-operative solutions, such as encouraging foreign nations with financial difficulties to repay their share of the investment with local resources. The recent attempt of "buying high speed rail with rice" by the Thai government is a classic example. Both sides have agreed the HSR project to link Bangkok with Nong Khai with an investment of approximately US\$30 billion to be partially financed by Thai agriculture product.

### The way forward: a Trans-Asian Railway Plan

While it is believed that the internationalization of Chinese HSR has become an imperative to ease the pressure of overcapacity in domestic market, China apparently has greater international ambition –the Trans-Asian Railway (TAR). As an integrated freight railway network across Europe and Asia, TAR aims to provide a continuous 8,750 miles (14,080 km) rail link between Singapore, China and Turkey, with possible further connections to Europe and Africa. This transcontinental railway network has sometimes been called the Iron Silk Road.

The idea was actually initiated by the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Mahathir, in 1995. TAR aims to create a super pathway in the Great-

Mekong Region by connecting Kunming with Singapore. Hence, the KL-Singapore component is of very importance as Kunming-Singapore link would only become possible after it is connected with other countries in Continental Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Myanmar. Being the beginning part of the grand plan of building an over-14000-kilometer economic gateway through Indochina, the KL-Singapore component hence will help China to achieve the core idea of the "One Belt One Road" initiative –interconnectivity –through economic integration and people-to-people exchange, between Southeast Asia and the whole of Eurasia.

With the internationalization campaign of Chinese HSR being successfully launched in Thailand in 2013, the standardization of rail gauge will be put forward to further facilitate Chinese domestic railway to be connected with Southeast Asian countries. When the Chinese Dream connects with Trans Asian Dream, the high-quality high-speed railway will bring not only speed of travel and convenience to the people, but also enriched life and prosperity to the region. ♦

---

How to take advantage of the recently unfolded AIIB in the face of 'One Belt One Road' initiative is the timely topic that both Malaysia and Singapore governments worth to work on.

---



Trans-Asian Railway in Continental Southeast Asia

Source: adapted from Raja M. (2006) at [http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Asian\\_Economy/HF14Dk01.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Asian_Economy/HF14Dk01.html)

*This article is the personal opinion of the writer.*

## Public Lecture - China's Rise, America's Dilemma

On 26 March Professor Dittmer delivered his public lecture, which was attended by a 100-person audience. In this public lecture, Professor Dittmer contemplated on the impact of the rise of China on the strategic choice of the US. The rise of the People's Republic of China, dramatically accelerated since Deng Xiaoping introduced "reform and opening" in late 1978, has been one of the most successful modernization programs in the world. In 1978, China was one of the poorest countries on earth. The real per capita GDP in China was only one-fortieth of the U.S. level and one-tenth the Brazilian level. Since 2014, according to the IMF figures using PPP measures, China has the largest aggregate economy in the world. Since the historic visit to China by President Richard Nixon in 1972, the United States has taken a supportive view of China's rise, at first for strategic reasons, later based on a mixture of trade complementarity and shared interests. But since around 2008, China-America relations have cooled. Why is this happening? What does Beijing want, what does Washington want, where are the points of friction, and how might they be reconciled? These are some of the questions that Dittmer attempted to answer in the Public Lecture. Professor Dittmer applied the Power Transition Theory from the field of international relations. He argued that historically power transitions between a rising power and an established power were periods of instability and war. The current case will result in the same scenario if not well managed. For power transition to be more manageable and peaceful, three conditions should be in place. First is that both sides do not have desire to go to war. Second is that the established power should refrain from containing the rising power. Third is that the rising power should continue to respect and interests of the established power. Dittmer argued only the first condition is met. While the US claims that it has no desire to contain China, the US foreign policy behavior speaks otherwise. As for China, although it claims no desire to challenge the hegemonic position of the US, its actions also speak otherwise. ♦



Public Lecture by Professor Lowell Dittmer, chaired by Professor Danny Wong, Director of Institute of China Studies.

## Publishing the Scholarly Way: the Asian Survey Case



Professor Lowell Dittmer  
Visiting Professor

Professor Lowell Dittmer, in his first seminar on 15 January 2015 while attached to the Institute of China Studies at the University of Malaya, discussed the history of the prestigious journal that he currently serves as the editor, Asian Survey. For many years Asian Survey remains one of the top academic journals focusing on current affairs in Asia, and today it continues to set the high standard of scholarship. Professor Dittmer discussed how the journal is managed and the editorial process, as well as the challenges in managing such a journal. ♦

## Southeast Asia, China and the US: The Emerging Triangular Logic

Professor Dittmer delivered his second seminar on 28 of May. Dittmer used the concept of Strategic Triangle developed back in the 1960s and 1970s, to examine China-US-Soviet relations. In this seminar, he used the Strategic Triangle concept to the relations between Southeast Asia, China, and the US. During the Cold War, Southeast Asia and China were ideologically divided. Mutual suspicion lingered through much of the 1990s. But soon after China's "reform and opening to the outside world" was launched in 1978, ASEAN and China began to perceive advantages in closer cooperation. China was invited to participate as a dialogue partner in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and helped set up the ASEAN plus three discussion forum. Trade and investment grew. In November 2004, China and ASEAN entered negotiations to create ACFTA, the world's largest free trade association, realized in 2010. This enabled China to displace the US as ASEAN's largest trade partner. China has also become the one of the largest investors of FDI in the region. Indeed, throughout much of the 2000s it appeared that ASEAN's socialization of its giant neighbor was succeeding, to the advantage of each. As the foreign policies of China and ASEAN converged, the US, once actively involved in the Indochina Wars, seemed to abandon ASEAN, preoccupied with its "War on Terror" in western Asia. But beginning in 2009, this pattern of relations began to change. In 2009 China submitted a nationalist map claiming much of the South China Sea as sovereign territory, and in 2010 Beijing included this among its "core interests." The nations of Southeast Asia tried to form a united front in defense of the territorial status quo via ASEAN. In 2010 the US under Barack Obama and then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton asserted an interest in preserving regional comity and freedom of navigation, despite having no territorial stake in the dispute. Since that time the tension has continued to escalate. How will it end? In this emerging Strategic Triangle, Professor Dittmer noted that Southeast Asia could assume the role of "pivot" that maintains ties with the two "wings" (China and US), but such a role is difficult to play and manage. ♦



## Hui Muslims in China: Brief History and Civilization

Dr. Rosey Ma, an expert on Chinese Muslims and currently teaches at Fatih University in Istanbul, Turkey, delivered a seminar entitled “Hui Muslims in China: Brief History and Civilization.” Dr. Rosey Ma discussed the historical beginning of the Hui people in China by recounting the movement of people between the Islamic world and China since the Tang dynasty. She also highlighted the different policies towards the Hui Muslims formulated and implemented by successive regimes (Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing, Republic of China), up until the current People’s Republic of China. She noticed the current regime’s policy of separating the ethnicity (Hui) from the religion (Islam), the result of which is the growing number of secular Hui people in China. ◆



Dr Rosey Ma,  
Fatih University, Istanbul.

## Confucianism and the Concept of Greater China



The seminar on 4 April 2015 is supported by the French Embassy in Malaysia and Malaysia France University Centre. The featured speaker, Professor Anne Cheng, is a renowned scholar on Confucianism. She translated the Analects of Confucius into French and had published several books on the history of Confucianism and Chinese thought. In this seminar, Professor Cheng proposes that Chinese universality is inseparable from a certain idea of civilization, informed mostly by Confucian sources, with a centre shining upon surrounding regions, and upon which the reality of imperial power superimposed itself. The geographical embodiment of this force is commonly known as the Sinicized world. Conversely, historically each time China was invaded and conquered by the “barbarians,” there was always the assumption that the latter would eventually end up being transformed and adopt Chinese civilization. Imperial China thus depicted itself not only as the centre of the world but also as a sort of “civilization-world,” and it was not until its encounter with the Western powers in the second half of the nineteenth century that it started to consider itself a nation amongst others. This conception of Chinese universality, of “China as a world,” according to Professor Cheng, is somehow making a comeback in contemporary Chinese intellectual discourse. It is once again becoming a type of nostalgic self-representation and a unifying factor in the predominant ideology of a “Greater China.” ◆



Professor Danny Wong and Dr Ngeow Chow Bing presenting a token of appreciation to Professor Anne Cheng.

## ICS Roundtable: Leader, Partner or Antagonist? China’s Role in the Southeast Asian Region

China’s increasing regional and global role is most vividly felt perhaps in the Southeast Asian region. In the past few years, China has come up with a number of initiatives to strengthen China’s relations with the countries in the region. On the other hand, China is also seen to become increasingly more forceful and assertive in its behavior and rhetoric toward countries that have territorial disputes with it. Southeast Asian countries watched anxiously the modernization of the Chinese military, and have more or less been receptive to the “rebalancing” to Asia from the United States. At the same time, Japan has come out with a more proactive security posture and intends to reassert its regional leadership again. Will the strategic landscape in the region become less hospitable to moderation and harmony? Will China eventually emerge as the leader of the region? Will it become a partner to the Southeast Asian countries? Will the conflicts over maritime boundaries and interests eventually draw Southeast Asian and other powers together to resist China? These are some of the issues that this Roundtable wishes to explore. It featured Professor Paul Evans, a renowned Canadian scholar on Asia Pacific security at the University of British Columbia. The Roundtable on 6 February 2015 concluded with the idea that ASEAN could play the role of the middle power that enjoys the ears of Beijing, much like what Canada’s relationship with the United States as a middle power to the superpower. ◆



Discussion with Professor Paul Evans.

### ICS Roundtable with Martin Jacques, the author of *When China Rules the World*



ICS Roundtable with Martin Jacques

ICS organized the second roundtable of the year with Martin Jacques, the acclaimed academic and author of the book *When China Rules the World* on 22 April 2015.

Discussion in the roundtable concentrated on the views (at both the elite and popular level) of the rise of China in the region and Malaysia in particular, as well as of how other actors in the region (the United States, for example) play a role in this new configuration of regional balance of power as a result of China's rise. Mr. Jacques also dwelt on the continuing relevance of China's "civilizational identity," such as the tributary system, in today's context. While the old tributary system that was based on hierarchy was definitely gone, discussions in the roundtable explored what a new form of Sino-centric tributary system that combined old views with modern conception of sovereignty would mean. ♦

### ICS Roundtable with Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University



ICS Roundtable with  
National Chengchi University

Professor Arthur Ting, the director of the Institute of International Relations at National Chengchi University in Taiwan led a delegation to visit ICS on 4 of June, 2015.

The delegation included Dr. Alan Hao Yang, Prof. Lee Chyungly and Prof. Liu Fu-kuo. The delegation shared with the ICS's academics Taiwan's policy towards the South China Sea issue and other aspects of the geopolitical situation emerging in the Asia-Pacific arena. Other topics of discussion included the evolving identity issues in Chinese societies such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the overseas Chinese communities. ♦

## Visit To Beijing-Quanzhou-Xiamen

Professor Danny Wong, Director of ICS, and Dr. Ngeow Chow Bing, Deputy Director of ICS, were invited by the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) of Malaysia to participate in a delegation that visited China from 13 to 18 of April. Other than Professor Wong and Dr. Ngeow, the delegation consisted of Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa (Chief Executive of ISIS), Mr. Shahrman Lockman (senior analyst at ISIS), Dato' Hussein Nayan (Director of the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs), Dato' Chin Yoon Chin (Director of Malaysian Institute of Maritime Affairs), Captain Yeow How Siong (Director of Traditional Military Affairs at the Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security), Dato' Abdul Majid Ahmad Khan (President of Malaysia-China Friendship Association and Former Malaysia's Ambassador to China), Professor Kamarudin Mudin (Deputy Vice Chancellor of the Universiti Malaysia Sabah) and Professor Neilson Ilan Mersat (Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak). The delegation was invited



Delegation to Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), Beijing, China



Prof Danny Wong with H.E. Peng Keyu,  
Vice President of CPIFA

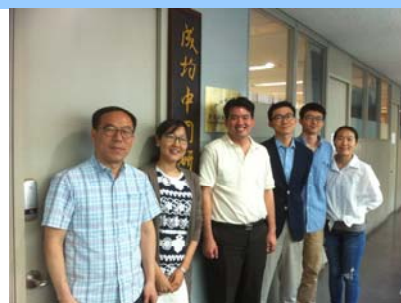
by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), an organization attached to the Foreign Ministry of China. In Beijing, the delegation met with Mr. Kong Xuanyou, the head of the Asia Department of the Foreign Ministry and the scholars at the China Institute of International Strategic Studies (CISS), a Chinese military-affiliated think tank, in addition to the scholars from CPIFA. On 14 of June, Dr. Ngeow and Mr. Shahrman presented on behalf of the delegation in a forum titled "Dialogue on China-Malaysia Relations" organized by CPIFA. Beijing-based scholars, included those from the Foreign Affairs University, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and China Institute of Contemporary International Relations also attended the forum.

While in Quanzhou, the delegation was received by members of the Quanzhou municipal government and visited the Maritime Museum in Quanzhou. In Xiamen, the delegation visited the Xiamen port authorities and Xiamen University, and had lunch with vice mayor of the Xiamen municipal government. ♦

## Visit To Sungkyunkwan University

Dr. Ngeow Chow Bing paid a visit to the Institute of China Studies at Sungkyunkwan University in Seoul, South Korea on 28 May 2015. The Institute of China Studies at Sungkyunkwan University is one of the top China-watching institutions in South Korea. Dr. Ngeow met with Professor Lee Hee-Ok, director of the Institute, and Professor Paik Woonyeal, deputy Director of the Institute. Both sides discussed and explored possibilities of collaboration between ICS at UM and ICS at Sungkyunkwan University. ♦

Visit to the Institute of China Studies at Sungkyunkwan University in South Korea National Chengchi University.



## New Members



**Dr Li Ran**  
Research Fellow



**Dr Lee Kam Hing**  
Senior Research Fellow



**Dr Zhang Miao**  
Research Fellow



**Dr He Yanqing**  
Research Fellow

## Staff Activities

### Professor Dr Danny Wong Tze Ken



- 6 - 7 June 2015, presented a paper at the International Conference on "Chinese Capitalism, ASEAN Economic Community and Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia 2", Chiang Mai University.
- 10 - 14 June 2015, presented a paper at the International Conference on "Hakka and Government Policy", National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan.
- 16 - 18 June 2015, presented a paper at the "China-ASEAN Regional Development Forum 2015", Nanning, Guangxi, China.

### Dr Ngeow Chow Bing

- 28 - 30 May 2015, presented a paper at the ISCCO conference held at Seoul National University.
- 29 May 2015, visit to Institute of China Studies at Sungkyunkwan University, South Korea.



### Dr Fan Pik Shy

- 1 Oct 2014 - 31 January 2015, Sabbatical Leave in Peking University, China.
- 1 March - 30 June 2015, Sabbatical Leave in New Zealand Asia Institute, Auckland University, New Zealand.



### Dr Ling Tek Soon

- 20 April 2015, presented a paper for the seminar at Department of Chinese Studies, National Pingtung University, Taiwan ROC on "The Kuala Lumpur Chinese Cemeteries Forced Eviction Crisis 1999-2000".
- 21 April 2015, presented a paper at "The 4th The Southeast Asia Min Nan Temples and Trade Network Research Forum" at National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan ROC.



### Dr Ahmad Murad

- 07 Feb 2015, presented a paper at the "13th Annual Conference and Research Symposium", Gachon University, South Korea.



### Dr Zhang Miao

- 1 - 5 June 2015, presented a paper at the conference "Korea Week 2015 - "Retrospect and Prospect" in Seoul, Korea.



## ICS's New Location

Please note that ICS has now moved to a new location: 4th Floor, Block B, Institute of Graduate Studies Building, which is still within UM's main campus. There will no longer be any ICS operation at the old premise, at the 5th Floor of Zaba's Memorial Library. The new location features more staff rooms and a bigger space to accommodate our resource center. ♦



## Appreciation



### Professor Lowell Dittmer (University of Berkeley, California)

Professor Lowell Dittmer has returned to University of California-Berkeley after spending six months with ICS from January 2015 to June 2015. During his time here, Professor Dittmer delivered two seminars and a public lecture, organized an international workshop, and held productive discussions with ICS's academics. Professor Dittmer will continue to work with ICS's staff over some joint publication projects. ICS wishes to thank Professor Dittmer for his great service to ICS and wishes him well. ♦

## Research Associate



### Mr Ma Hailong

Dept. of Anthropology,  
Sun Yat-sen University,  
China.



### Ms Wu Erbeimi

Center for Cold War International  
History Studies, History  
Department East China Normal  
University (ECNU), China.



**Professor Chan Tah Wei**  
Department of Chinese  
Literature, National Taipei  
University, Taiwan.



**UNIVERSITY  
OF MALAYA**

**INSTITUTE OF CHINA STUDIES**

马来亚大学中国研究所

For general inquiries, please contact:

**Institute of China Studies**  
**4th Floor, Block B**  
**Institute of Graduate Studies**  
**(IPS Building)**  
**University of Malaya**  
**50603 Kuala Lumpur**  
**Tel: 03-7956 5663/7967 7288**  
**Fax: 03-7956 5114**  
**Email: chinastudies@um.edu.my**

International Journal of China Studies	
Volume 4	Number 2 August 2012 ISSN 1780-0220
Editor's Foreword	
Special Forum on "Malaysia, China and the Asia Pacific in the 21st Century"	
Images and the Shaping of Malaysia's China Policy: 1977-2011	107
Lee Kuan Yew	
A BRIEF, China and Malaysia: Creating Diplomacy, Trade, and a Complex New Global Order	129
China at the Turn of the 21st Century: The Role of Public Opinion in the Relations with Asian Neighbors in East Asia	149
Strategic Relations Between Why Leadership Matters More than Structure in the Security Environment of East Asia	171
Global Markets Asia: Indonesia, China, and a New Approach to Southeast Asian Regional Realities	187
ASEAN-China Relations since Building of Strategic Partnership and Trade Prospects	197
On the East and the The Rising Sun	
Book Review	
From Traditionalism to Modernity: The Global Power Shift of the Asia Century (2012)	197
Reviewed by Cheng Shun	

### International Journal of China Studies

Manuscripts sent to < [ijchinastudies@gmail.com](mailto:ijchinastudies@gmail.com) >

NGEOW Chow Bing,  
Editor-in-Chief,  
International Journal of China Studies,  
Institute of China Studies,  
University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.