



International Conference “Towards A Diamond Era of ASEAN-China Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”

With the support of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Kuala Lumpur, the Institute of China Studies successfully organized an International Conference on “Towards a Diamond Era of ASEAN-China Relations: Opportunities and Challenges” on 17 August, 2016, at the Hilton Hotel Petaling Jaya. The conference was organized to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of China-ASEAN Dialogue Relations. China's Ambassador to Malaysia, His Excellency Dr. Huang Huikang, delivered a keynote speech in the conference. In the keynote, Dr. Huang reviewed and discussed the excellent relations China

has maintained with Southeast Asian countries, in particular Malaysia. While acknowledging that certain difficulties (such as the South China Sea dispute) continue to pose some challenges to China's relations with certain countries in Southeast Asia, Dr. Huang nonetheless expressed confidence that relationship between China and ASEAN countries will continue to improve. Earlier, Professor Awang Bulgiba Awang Mahmud, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic and International) representing the Vice-Chancellor gave the welcoming speech.

Dr. Huang Haitao of Nankai University discussed the multi-layered challenges facing the building-up of mutual trust between China and ASEAN countries. Dr. Thi Hien Luong from the Diplomacy Academy of Vietnam analyzed the legal implications of and reactions to the July 12 Permanent Court of Arbitration's (PCA) award on the South China Sea issue, while Professor Li Mingjiang of Nanyang Technological University also discussed the South China Sea dispute, focusing on ways to improve mutual trust in the wake of the PCA's ruling. Professor Li suggested China should be included within the security architecture of the region, while a multitrack discussion that involves extra-regional powers such as the United States and Japan may also be necessary. Professor Dafri Agussalim of Universitas Gadjah Madra, on the other hand, delivered a paper focusing on the non-traditional security issue in ASEAN-China relations.

In another panel, Professor Lu Jianren from Guangxi University presented a paper that analyzes the political, economic and cultural motives of China's proposal to re-establish construct the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road.



Opening Ceremony by China's Ambassador to Malaysia, His Excellency Dr. Huang Huikang with Prof Awang Bulgiba and Prof Danny Wong looking on.

International Conference

“Towards a Diamond Era of ASEAN-China Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”

.....Continue from page 1



Keynote speech by China's Ambassador to Malaysia, H.E. Dr. Huang Huikang.

He also analyzed the advantages and opportunities, existing problems, and current challenges of China-ASEAN industry cooperation, and finally presented some suggestions on the improvement of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road and the amelioration of China-ASEAN industry cooperation. Dr. Liu Aming from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences focused on China's views of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). According to Dr. Liu, China views the RCEP as a driving force to promote domestic economic reforms in order to expand trade and FDI and will continue to support ASEAN-led regional cooperation by advancing RCEP negotiations. Dr. Benny Teh Cheng Guan of the Universiti Sains Malaysia presented a paper that discussed the idea of a people-centered ASEAN and how China, through ASEAN-China cooperation, could help in its realization.

Professor Tang Zhimin of Panyapiwat Institute of Management (Thailand) described in his paper the key mechanisms and major achievements in Science and Technology cooperation between China and Thailand, and identified new potential technological sectors and operational mechanisms for further science and technology cooperation in the future. Dr. Le Hong Hiep from the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute presented a paper on ASEAN's role in Vietnam-China relations and discussed ASEAN's impact and limitations. His major argument was that Vietnam, in dealing with China over the South China Sea dispute, had to rely on other measures as ASEAN had produced only limited impacts on this issue. Dr. Lean Hooi Hooi of Universiti Sains Malaysia reviewed China-Malaysia economic relations, including bilateral trade, investments, and tourism. Mr Shahrman Lockman, from the Institute of Strategic and International Studies Malaysia presented Malaysia's perspectives on the South China Sea issue. In this presentation, Mr

Shahrman pointed out several major interests of Malaysia in the South China Sea, including offshore resources extraction, freedom of navigation, and regional peace and stability. He then discussed why Malaysia tended to take a different approach from other countries in dealing with the South China Sea issue, including public perceptions, leadership, and geography. Finally, Dr. Ngeow Chow Bing, of ICS, presented a paper on Malaysian perceptions of China. Drawing from a commissioned survey in April 2016, of Malaysian attitudes towards China, Dr Ngeow's paper confirmed that in general Malaysians have a positive view of China, see China as the country with the most influence in the region, and welcome China's economic rise and growing economic presence in Malaysia. On the South China Sea issue, Malaysians are generally not well aware of the complexity of the issue, but nevertheless a significant number of people expressed concern over this dispute. ♦



Section of audience during the conference.



Discussion during Panel 1. From left, Prof Huang Haitao, Prof Li Mingjiang, Dato' Majid Khan (Chair), Dr Thi Hien Luong and Prof Dafri Agussalim.



Left Panelist from Panel 2 (from left): Prof Lu Jianren, Dr Benny Teh, Prof Anthony Milner (Chair) and Dr Liu Aming. **Middle** Dr Lee Poh Ping (middle) chaired the Panel 3 with Dr Le Hong Hiep and Prof Tang Zhimin. **Right** Panellists from Panel 4, Dr Ngeow Chow Bing, Prof Lean Hooi Hooi, Dato' Chin Yoon Chin (chair) and Mr Shariman Lockman.

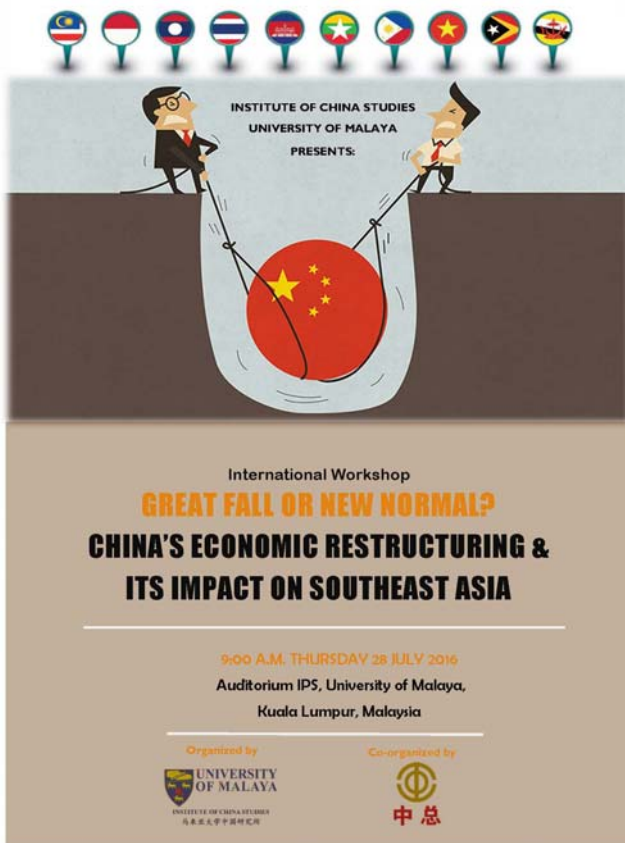
International Workshop: “Great Fall or New Normal?” China’s Economic Restructuring and its Impact on Southeast Asia”



With support from by the Associated Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry Malaysia (ACCCIM), ICS organized an International Workshop on “Great Fall or New Normal?” on 28 July 2016. The workshop was officiated by Professor Awang Bulgiba Awang Mahmud, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic and International). The workshop focused on three themes: the ongoing plan within China to reinvent its economic development model from investment-driven to consumption-based, which will result in slower economic growth (the so-called “New Normal”), the impact of such transition on Southeast Asia as a whole, and the impact of such a transition on individual countries. Professor Woo Wing Thye from the University of California-Davis, and also an Associate Fellow of ICS, delivered his penetrating analysis of the difficulties of China’s economic transition, particularly in relations to the state-owned

enterprises and state-owned banks. According to Professor Woo, the soft-budget constraints of these institutions continue to be the main source of problems in China’s economic reforms. Professor Joseph Cheng, of City University of Hong Kong, provided the political and ideological background of China’s economic transition by tracing the evolution of the Chinese Communist Party.

Professor Xiao Wen and Dr. Pan Jiadong from Zhejiang University, and Dr. Li Ling and Professor Quan Heng from Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, presented perspectives from within China on China’s New Normal. Xiao and Pan’s paper focused on challenges related to industry structure upgrading, while Li and Quan’s paper discussed supply-side structural reforms. Professor Sarah Tong and Dr. Kong Tuan Yuen from the National University of Singapore and Dr Zhang Miao and Dr Li Ran from ICS, University of Malaya, discussed in their respective papers the impact of China’s New Normal on trade and investment relations with Southeast Asian countries. Finally, in the studies of individual countries, Dr Cheong Kee Cheok and Ms Wang Qiangyi (both University of Malaya) focused on Malaysia, Dr. Joseph Lim (Ateneo de Manila University) on the Philippines, Professor Natalia Soebagjo and Mr. Rene Pattiradjawane (Centre for Chinese Studies) on Indonesia, Dr. Hoang The Anh and Dr. Ha Thi Hong Van (Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences) on Vietnam, and Phouphet Kyophilavong (National University of Laos) on Laos. ♦



Opening speech by Datuk Ter Leong Yap, President of the ACCCIM.



Luncheon talk by Tan Sri Rastam, Chairman & CEO of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia .



Prof Awang Bulgiba presenting a token of appreciation to Datuk Ter with Prof Danny Wong looking on.

Regional Implications of the Internationalisation of Uyghurs: A Case Study of Southeast Asia's Uyghur Refugees

By Stefanie Kam Li Yee



Stefanie Kam Li Yee
Associate Research Fellow,
International Center for
Political Violence and
Terrorism, S. Rajaratnam
School of International
Studies (RSIS), Nanyang
Technological University
issstefanie@ntu.edu.sg

One particular development of the Uyghur issue with transregional and international implications concerns the trans-migration of Uyghurs into Southeast Asia since 2009

The issue of terrorism for China has until recently been confined to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR), China's far northwestern province. Sparing no efforts to prevent and crack down on the three forces of evil – terrorism, extremism and separatism to ensure its internal security and stability, China has sought to combat the instability in the region through the combination of soft and hard approaches: softer approaches include socio-economic developmental responses and harder approaches include tightened security measures. Such means utilised by the CCP, which include tighter state control of religious or cultural practices and encouragement of Han settlement or colonialization have often played a role in generating ethnic minority discontent and separatism and terrorism (June Tüefel Dreyer 2005, Michael Clarke 2008). China has attributed a variety of terrorist attacks to a Uyghur-led terrorist East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) or the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP). In recent years, terrorist attacks also appear to have expanded beyond Xinjiang, along with changes to the method of attack; this was highlighted by the suicide bombing attack at Tiananmen Square in 2013, when Uyghurs mounted a deadly crash using an SUV, killing 5 bystanders and the Kunming train station knife stabbing attack in 2014, which claimed 29 lives and wounded 143 others. With the rise of the Syrian conflict and the emergence of the Islamic State, the locus of Uyghur militancy has also shifted from South Asia (Afghanistan and Pakistan) to the wider Middle East. This was acknowledged in a statement by Chinese Major-General Yin Jinan who asserted the role of 'East Turkistan organisations' in the Syrian civil war and subsequent statements by Chinese officials which placed the number of Uyghurs involved in the Syrian conflict at around 300. In parallel to the expansion of the terrorism threat, Chinese nationals and interests have also been implicated in terrorism abroad. Growing consciousness of a terrorism threat to Chinese interests and nationals has led China to adopt a more comprehensive response with respect to its counter-terrorism legislation, as was seen in the passing of the counter-terrorism law in December 2015.

Several factors explain the transnationalisation of Uyghur separatism and terrorism: the rise of radical Islamism in Central and South Asia; Uyghur grievances towards the state's minority policies; China's rise and its increasing integration with the global political and economic order as well as the events of 9/11. Since 1949, various international factors have also contributed to fuelling ethnic minority discontent within Xinjiang. These include the Sino-US and Sino-Soviet enmity during the Cold War, the



The Second China-ASEAN Police Academic Forum, held in September 2016. Among the topics discussed was cooperation against terrorism.

collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the post-9/11 war in Afghanistan, as well as continuing linkages between Turkey and the Uyghur diaspora.

One particular development of the Uyghur issue with transregional and international implications concerns the trans-migration of Uyghurs into Southeast Asia since 2009. Uyghurs detained by authorities in transit countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand have been either found with fake Turkish passports or claimed Turkish citizenship. For years, Turkey has served as a sanctuary for migrant and exile Uyghur communities as well as Uyghur refugee organisations. The political backdrop of Turkish sympathy towards the Uyghurs concerns the anti-Communist position of Turkish governing elites at the height of communist rule in the 1960s and China's hard-line stance towards Xinjiang's separatists. However, with political and economic issues increasingly embroiled, Turkey has been placed under Chinese pressure to harden its stance towards the Uyghurs. This has made it hard for Uyghurs to travel to Turkey, but has not deterred them from seeking Southeast Asian countries as a transit point for entering into Turkey. Turkey's concession towards China's requests, including a pledge to jointly crack down on anti-China separatist activities in Turkey, relates to the increasing sensitivity and concern over the issue of Uyghur terrorism in 2000s.

Moreover, increasing evidence of Uyghur links with local militant groups in Southeast Asia have generated serious concerns. As terrorist networks like the Islamic State (IS) have capitalised on social media networks to appeal to the grievances of the myriad of militant groups in Southeast Asia, given the Uyghurs' existing grievances, terrorist groups may potentially find Uyghurs an attractive target, co-opting them through moral consequentialist appeals. This is in line with Irm Haleem's (2012)



China's first Commissioner of Counter-Terrorism,
Mr. Liu Yuejin

thesis that Islamist extremist groups use moral claims to mobilise others, and that such moral consequentialist claims justifying the use of violence enables them to garner support and legitimacy for their cause. The same can also be said for Uyghur militants, in particular the Uyghur-led TIP, which has released a number of propaganda videos making appeals for armed struggle, incorporating radical Islamist rhetoric to justify its campaigns of hatred. The possibility for Uyghur militants to co-opt other Uyghur diaspora through the virtual domain and spur them to carry out terrorist attacks in the international arena cannot be discounted, given the increase in usage of social media networks by terrorist groups to facilitate the spread of propaganda. These developments indicate the weakening of boundaries and subsequent broadening of political goals, which could potentially see terrorist attacks by emboldened Uyghur separatists and terrorists linked to more insidious transnational networks, with potential regional and international security implications. In addition, the Southeast Asian region is also home to ethno-separatist insurgent groups and militant jihadi groups. In recent times, reports have also pointed to evidence of Uyghurs collaborating with local militant groups. This was seen in September 2014, when Indonesian authorities foiled a possible terror plot between Uyghurs and Indonesia's militant group, the Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT), and arrested four Uyghurs who had entered into Indonesia using forged passports.

Nonetheless, in pertinent to Southeast Asia, it is important to distinguish between the different categories of Uyghurs. While a majority of them enter into the region on the pretext of seeking refuge or to transit through Southeast Asia into Turkey, only a handful of Uyghurs have been implicated in militant and terrorism. Specifically, Uyghurs have been found linked to the Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT), an Indonesian militant group based in Central Sulawesi's Poso. Furthermore, the case of the Erawan Shrine attack in August 2015 which exposed the role of a Uyghur criminal human smuggling network facilitating the trans-migration of other Uyghurs also points to troubling regional implications

flowing from these developments. Nonetheless, while analysing the transnational Uyghur issue, its regional and transregional security implications should not be seen in isolation from the issue in Xinjiang. The internationalisation of the Uyghur issue is inextricable from the issue of Uyghur separatism and terrorism domestically. To understand the regional dimensions of the Uyghur issue, one must not fail to take into a balanced account of the issue's domestic dimensions. This includes closer examination of nature of the problem in Xinjiang, including the Chinese government's domestic policies in relation to Xinjiang, the drivers for Chinese approach in Xinjiang, as well as the underlying causes for Uyghur transmigration. ♦

To understand the regional dimensions of the Uyghur issue, one must not fail to take into a balanced account of the issue's domestic dimensions. This includes closer examination of nature of the problem in Xinjiang, including the Chinese government's domestic policies in relation to Xinjiang, the drivers for Chinese approach in Xinjiang, as well as the underlying causes for Uyghur transmigration



China Participating in International Counter-Terrorism Exercises in Indonesia, 2013.

This article is the personal opinion of the writer.

Malaysian Perspective of the South China Sea Issue

Shahriman Lockman



Shahriman Lockman,
Senior Analyst,
Institute of Strategic and
International Studies.
Malaysia.
shahriman@isis.org.my

On July 12, 2016, the South China Sea Arbitration between the Philippines and China finally issued its Arbitral Award, in which the Philippines claim sweeping legal victory. China, however, has refused to recognize and enforce the ruling. In the midst of this dispute, Malaysia's low-profile policy posture towards the South China Sea dispute has often been contrasted with the Philippines' (or for that matter, Vietnam's as well) more proactive policy approach. In this paper, I will offer some opinions as to how Malaysia views the South China Sea issue and why it has taken a different policy posture compared to other claimant states in Southeast Asia.

In order to understand Malaysia's perspective, it is necessary to understand what are Malaysia's strategic interests in the South China Sea. Below I offer three strategic interests.

First, Malaysia has a strategic interest in maintaining access to the resources in its exclusive economic zone (EEZ) in the South China Sea. Thanks to its offshore fields in the area, Malaysia is Southeast Asia's second-largest producer of oil and natural gas and the world's third-largest exporter of liquefied natural gas (LNG). Depending on global energy prices, the sector accounts for between 20 and 40% of the Malaysian government's revenues.

Second, Malaysia needs to preserve its freedom of movement across the South China Sea. Unlike other claimants, Malaysia is physically separated into two sizeable territories by the South China Sea. At the widest points, the distance between Peninsular Malaysia and the states of Sabah and Sarawak in Borneo across the South China Sea is over 800 nautical miles; at its narrowest, the distance is about 330 nautical miles. Unsurprisingly, Malaysian defence planners have long regarded it in the country's strategic interest that no major power dominates the sea-air gap between those two major landmasses.

Third, Malaysia has an interest in stable and predictable relations between all countries – especially the major powers – in the South China Sea. In other words, it needs to ensure that international law is upheld.

Given these strategic interests to Malaysia, one may suspect that Malaysia will take a more proactive policy approach to protect these interests in the South China Sea. Instead, Malaysia has adopted a relatively quiet and cautious approach, especially with regard to China. Below are perhaps some of the reasons.

First, Malaysia wants a stable relationship with China principally because of the strong economic ties between the two countries. China is Malaysia's largest trading partner while Malaysia is China's third-largest trading partner in Asia after Japan and South Korea. Malaysia-China trade in recent years has hovered around the US\$100 billion mark. China's investments in Malaysia are also growing.

Second, there are favourable opinions towards China in Malaysia, both among the public as well as among the officials to a certain extent. As a result, there is little domestic pressure to adopt a confrontational stance towards China on the South China Sea issue. According to the Pew Global Attitudes Project, Malaysians have consistently expressed overwhelmingly favourable opinions towards China. Malaysia is usually among the top five countries in the world in this regard.

Among officials, there is also a certain degree of pride in the fact that Malaysia was, in 1974, the first ASEAN Member State to establish diplomatic relations with China. Many officials also remember that it was Malaysia that initiated China's engagement with ASEAN in 1991. In July that year, the then Malaysian Foreign Minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (who later became Prime Minister) invited the then Chinese Foreign Minister, Qian Qichen, to attend the opening ceremony of the 24th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM) in Kuala Lumpur. The relationship is viewed as one in which Malaysia has put a lot of effort in building and therefore worth preserving.

Third, Malaysia realises that it has limited "balancing" options in the South China Sea. As a relatively small country, Malaysia cannot afford to build a military deterrence that can match those of the major powers. In terms of aligning itself with the United States to balance against China, Malaysia faces domestic limitations. The Malay Muslim community, which forms the majority of the Malaysian population, has some degree of suspicion towards the United States. Many Malay Muslims in Malaysia feel that the United States has played an unhelpful role in the Middle East. For Malaysian leaders, it would be politically costly to be seen to be too close to the United States.

Fourth, the current Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Razak, sees the relationship with China in special terms. According to most accounts, Prime Minister Najib sees the Malaysia-China relationship as an "inheritance" from his father, who was the Malaysian prime minister who initiated diplomatic relations with China in 1974. Furthermore, given that a general election will have to be held in Malaysia within the next two years, Prime Minister Najib would prefer not have any complications on the external front. Instead, he needs to concentrate on domestic issues.

Given this policy posture, what would be the key challenges to Malaysia-China relations in the context of the South China Sea dispute?

All the key challenges to Malaysia-China relations on this issue stem from the compression of geography in the South China Sea. In the past, Malaysia had the luxury of distance from the Chinese mainland. Until recent years, China's ability to project its presence in the southern reaches of the South China Sea was limited. As a result, disputes only used to get truly heated between countries further north: China, the

In the long-run, it should be the aim of ASEAN and the international community, through careful diplomacy, to encourage China to move towards a form of non-compliant compliance of the Tribunal Award of 12 July 2016

Philippines and Vietnam. That began to change over the past seven years or so as tensions have risen in the South China Sea.

Since the end of 2013, China has constructed artificial islands on seven of the insular features it occupies in the Spratlys: Cuarteron, Fiery Cross, Gaven, Hughes, Johnson South, Mischief and Subi Reefs. The ability to conduct refuelling, resupply and low-level maintenance on China's artificial islands – without having to return to Hainan or the Chinese mainland – would enable that presence to be intensified. Malaysia suddenly found China present at its doorstep. No longer are the frontlines of the dispute at a safe distance.

One artificial island that has caused particular apprehension in Malaysia is Fiery Cross Reef. It is only about 145 nautical miles from Malaysia's Swallow Reef. Possibly the most developed of all China's artificial islands in the Spratlys, Fiery Cross has port facilities and a three kilometre airstrip that can support almost all types of aircraft. Furthermore, Malaysia is seriously concerned by the presence of the China Coast Guards in Malaysia's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) since 2013, especially in the waters around South Luconia Shoals. The risks to Malaysia-China relations from the South China Sea issue have therefore grown.

ASEAN-CHINA RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE

Finally, I would address some of the issues related to ASEAN-China relations in the context of the South China Sea dispute. First, we should not expect too much from the Code of Conduct (COC) on the South China Sea. The COC is not going to be a "silver bullet" that will suddenly restore calm to the South China Sea. This is not because the officials have not tried hard enough. They have. Instead, the COC will not be a robust document simply because both sides have different interests when it comes to its formulation.

Southeast Asia-China relations are characterised by asymmetry. This is especially so when it comes to security issues such as the South China Sea dispute. Southeast Asian countries are keenly aware that it approaches the relationship with China from a position of relatively weakness. For Southeast Asian countries, the COC is partly aimed at restraining China. From China's perspective, strong restraints in the proposed COC is likely to be unacceptable given that it sees that the United States will not be similarly restrained. China is therefore probably going to assess that it is against its interests to have a COC that is robust and legally binding.

Second, pending the conclusion of the COC, we will have to rely on spin-off and interim measures that arise from the discussions on the DOC and COC. An example of a spin-off measure is the proposed Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES) for the South China Sea. Instead of waiting for the issuance of the COC, ASEAN and China have sensibly agreed to roll out measures they have already agreed on. These include "early harvest" measures such as the ASEAN-China senior officials' hotline for contingencies at sea, to be established between the various Foreign Ministries.

While we should welcome the setting up of this hotline, we need to be realistic of its effectiveness. It is easy to

agree to hotlines, but they are difficult to implement. For starters, you need to ensure that they answer the phone on the other side. And even when they answer the phone during emergencies, it is not certain whether they can do anything about it. Given that some Foreign Ministries in the region are relatively low in the pecking order, it remains to be seen whether they can play useful roles in contingencies that involve other agencies such as their militaries and coast guards.

Third, even if the COC will not be a robust document, it is important to maintain ASEAN-China dialogue on the South China Sea. Discussions on the DOC and COC currently take place through the Senior Officials Meeting (SOM) and the Joint Working Group (JWG) on the Implementation of the DOC. These have become the de facto mechanisms for ASEAN-China discussions on the South China Sea. In the long run, ASEAN and China should consider expanding the agenda of these two mechanisms to include all aspects of the South China Sea, and not just about the DOC and COC.

In the long-run, it should be the aim of ASEAN and the international community, through careful diplomacy, to encourage China to move towards a form of non-compliant compliance of the Tribunal Award of 12 July 2016. What does non-compliant compliance mean? Take, for example, the case of *The Republic of Nicaragua v. The United States of America*. In 1986, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) instructed the United States to pay reparations to Nicaragua for supporting the Contras and for mining Nicaragua's harbours. The United States initially denounced the ruling but eventually "paid" the reparations by packaging it as economic aid worth US\$500 million. In other words, the United States complied with the substance of the judgement, but indirectly and certainly without reference to it.

It might be possible – not now, not even in the near future, but perhaps after ten years – to persuade China to partially comply with the findings of the Arbitral Tribunal, but without saying that it is doing so in response to the Award. Whether or not China can be persuaded to take this route is uncertain. This is not a matter of a half a billion dollars. Rather, it involves what China regards as an inherent part of its territory. China will surely not renounce its claims in the South China Sea entirely. But maybe it could be persuaded to meet with the Southeast Asian claimants half way and find a mutually acceptable resolution to the various disputes.

In closing, it should be underscored that the South China Sea issue is only one aspect of ASEAN-China relations, which are overwhelmingly positive, meaningful and beneficial to both sides. This should always be in our minds even when we discuss the difficult and sensitive issues of the South China Sea. ♦

This article is the personal opinion of the writers.



International Workshop

“The Changing Faces of Asian Transformation: Dynamics, Driving Forces, Modalities”

On 2 June 2016, the Institute of International Relations of National Chengchi University in Taiwan and ICS co-organized an international workshop with the theme of “The Changing Faces of Asian Transformation: Dynamics, Driving Forces, Modalities.” The workshop featured several scholars from the National Chengchi University, including Professors Arthur Ding, F. K. Liu, Scott Lin and Alan Yang, as well as scholars from Malaysia, including Dr. Hoo Chiew Ping from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Dr. Michael Connors from University of Nottingham-Malaysia, and Dr. Roy Anthony Rogers, Dr. Ngeow Chow Bing (ICS) and Dr. Khoo Ying

Hui from the University of Malaya. Topics presented in the workshop included China's defense industry reforms, food security in Asia, human rights norms in ASEAN, and the role of religion in China's public diplomacy. ♦



Delegation from National Chengchi University, Taiwan and scholars from Malaysia.

ICS WORKSHOP


**THE CHANGING FACES OF ASIAN TRANSFORMATION:
DYNAMICS, DRIVING FORCES, MODALITIES**



DATE: 2 JUNE 2016


TIME: 9.00 A.M

**SEMINAR ROOM, INSTITUTE OF CHINA STUDIES
4TH FLOOR, BLOCK B
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES (IPS BUILDING)
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA, KUALA LUMPUR.**



The United States and China in an Era of Uncertainty

East Asia and International Relations (EAIR) Forum



Professor Dr. David M. Lampton

*Director of SAIS-China and China Studies,
School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS),
Johns Hopkins University*




28 June 2016, Tuesday
10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

Treaty Room,
Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations (IDFR),
Jalan Wisma Putra, 50460 Kuala Lumpur

RSVP by 27 June 2016 <athrana1@gmail.com>

The United States and China are in a period of uncertainty not seen in bilateral relations since the 1970s. The United States has elections that are proving unprecedented. In China, jockeying in the run up to the Nineteenth Party Congress of 2017 is intense. Worldwide, resentment against globalization and slowed economic growth is creating additional pressures. And finally, shifting balances of power are forcing strategic recalibrations throughout East Asia and in the U.S. military posture. Professor Lampton will examine these forces and the prospects that they can be managed in the decade that lies ahead.

Co-organized by:

Public Lecture: “The United States and China in an Era of Uncertainty”

Co-organized with Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs, this ICS Public Lecture was delivered by Professor David Lampton of Johns Hopkins University on 28 June 2016 at the Treaty Room, Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations (IDFR). The United States and China are in a period of uncertainty not seen in bilateral relations since the 1970s. The United States has elections that are proving most unpredictable, while in China, jockeying in the run up to the Nineteenth Party Congress of 2017 is intense. In addition, the forces against globalization have intensified in recent years, while shifting balances of power are forcing strategic recalibrations throughout East Asia and in U.S. military posture. Professor Lampton examined these forces and on how they could be managed in the decade ahead. ♦

ICS Seminar by Tan Sri Michael Chen Wing Sum “Reminiscences of Razak’s Visit To China in 1974 and Sino-Malaysian Relations”

Tan Sri Michael Chen Wing Sum was a former Minister of Housing, Local Government and New Villages and President of Senate of Malaysia. He was one of the main actors involved in the establishment of diplomatic relations between Malaysia and China in 1974. In the seminar on 5 May 2016, Tan Sri Michael Chen recounted his experience as head of a ping-pong delegation to China in 1972, and how such a visit was part of the process leading to the establishment of diplomatic ties. In 1974, he was also a member of the Malaysian delegation to Beijing headed by the then Prime Minister Tun Razak and witnessed the close interactions between leaders of the two countries and the signing of the joint communique that established diplomatic ties. He also discussed what he remembered as the major issues of concern to the officials of both countries and shared his observations of the top leaders of China at that time, including Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Jiang Qing. ♦



Delegation from Jinan University, China

A delegation from Jinan University visited ICS on 20 June 2016. The delegation was led by Vice President Professor Xia Quan, and its members included Professors Pan Qiliang, Ju Hailong, Gu Naihua, Tang Jingtai, and Fang Ling. The delegation exchanged ideas on academic collaboration and future joint projects with ICS. ♦



Delegation of Jinan University with member of ICS and Department of Chinese Studies, University of Malaya

Delegation from Peking University, China

The President of Peking University, Professor Lin Jianhua, led a delegation to visit the University of Malaya on 26 June 2016, meeting with staff and scholars from ICS and the Department of Chinese Studies of the University of Malaya. Members of the delegation included Professors Zhang Dongxiao and Zhai Kun. The delegation and ICS discussed possible joint academic collaboration in the future. ♦



Delegation of Peking University led by Professor Lin (forth from left in first row) with member of ICS and Department of Chinese Studies.

Delegation from the School of Sinology, Mae Fah Luang University, Thailand

A delegation from the School of Sinology of Mae Fah Luang University, Chiang Rai, Thailand, paid a visit to ICS on 11 August 2016. The delegation was led by the Dean of the School of Sinology Professor Pranee Chokkajitsumpun, Assistant Dean Dr Kanlaya Khaowbanpeaw, Dr Norachat Wang, and Mr. Ajarn Eakachai Thaweeprorachai. The delegation discussed matters such as academic exchanges and collaboration with ICS and University of Malaya. ♦



Delegation of School of Sinology, Mae Fah Luang University and ICS members.



Discussion with delegation of Peking University

ICS Roundtable with Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) on Malaysia-China Relations



Delegation of CPIFA and ICS members

The CPIFA delegation to ICS on 9 May 2016 included Ambassador Wu Hailong (President of CPIFA), Ambassador Peng Keyu (Vice President of CPIFA), Ambassador Chai Xi (China's former ambassador to Malaysia), Professor Zhang Jianping (National Development and Reform Commission), and others. The Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) is one of the top public diplomacy think tanks in China, related to the Ministry of Chinese Foreign Affairs. In 2015, a Malaysian think tank delegation under the leadership of Institute of Strategic and International Studies Malaysia (ISIS Malaysia), in which ICS also participated, visited CPIFA, and this is the reciprocal visit by CPIFA. ICS held a roundtable with the delegation, discussing issues related to Malaysia-China relations, China's Belt and Road Initiative, and the South China Sea dispute. ♦

Delegation from Jinan University, China

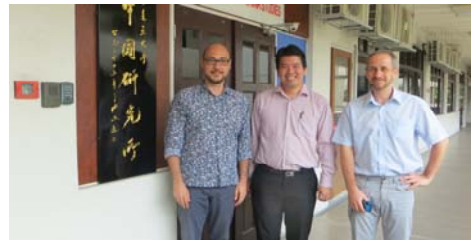
A delegation from Jinan University visited ICS on 20 June 2016. The delegation was led by Vice President Professor Xia Quan, and its members included Professors Pan Qiliang, Ju Hailong, Gu Naihua, Tang Jingtai, and Fang Ling. The delegation exchanged ideas on academic collaboration and future joint projects with ICS. ♦



Delegation of Jinan University with member of ICS and Department of Chinese Studies, University of Malaysia

Visit by Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences

Two research fellows of the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Dr. Jakub Hruby and Dr. Thomas Petru, visited ICS on 25 May 2016 and discussed with ICS staff regarding their research project on the promotion of Chinese culture in Southeast Asia and other forms of cultural diplomacy or soft power of China. They also discussed matters related to possible academic collaboration in the future. ♦



Dr. Jakub Hruby and Dr. Thomas Petru with Dr. Ngeow Chow Bing, Deputy Director of Institute of China Studies.

STAFF ACTIVITIES



Professor Dr Danny Wong Tze Ken

- Professor Danny Wong was invited as Keynote Speaker at the "Third International Biennial Conference On Malaysian Chinese Studies", organized by the Malaysian Chinese Research Centre, Kuala Lumpur, 28-29 May 2016.
- Professor Danny Wong chaired a panel session at the International Conference on "Synergizing 'Belt and Road' Initiative with ASEAN Community Development Strategies", organized by the Center for China's Relations with Neighboring Countries, Fudan University, in Shanghai, China, 27-28 June 2016.
- Professor Danny Wong presented a paper at the International Conference of "Coping with Transnational Crisis: Chinese Economic and Social Lives in East Asian Ports-Cities, 1850-1950", organized by the History Department, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 10-11, June 2016.
- Professor Danny Wong chaired the Technical Advisory Committee of the First Sub-Regional Meeting for 'Promoting Intercultural Dialogue and a Culture of Peace in South-East Asia Through Shared Histories', organized by UNESCO, Bangkok, 12-14 July 2016.





Dr Ngeow Chow Bing

- Dr. Ngeow made a presentation at the Network of ASEAN-China Think Tanks (NACT) Working Group Meeting, organized by Foreign Service Institute, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Philippines, and China Foreign Affairs University, at Hotel Jen, Manila, Philippines, on 19 May 2016.
- Dr. Ngeow gave a paper at the East Asian Symposium of the World Forum on China Studies, organized by Asiatic Research Institute, Korea University, and Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, at Seoul, Republic of Korea, from 22-23 May 2016.
- Dr. Ngeow was a member of a Southeast Asia Think Tank Delegation that visited China from 12 June to 24 June. The delegation was invited by the International Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and included 14 scholars and experts from Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, and Indonesia. The delegation visited Beijing, Nanjing, Suzhou, Fuzhou, Quanzhou, and Xiamen, and held dialogue sessions with Chinese scholars from the International Department, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, National Reform and Development Commission, Nanjing University, Jiangsu Academy of Social Sciences, and Xiamen University. In addition, the delegation also visited the headquarters of China Railway Construction Corporation, the Suzhou Industrial Park, Fujian provincial government, and other places of interest.
- Dr. Ngeow made a presentation at the International Conference on "Synergizing 'Belt and Road' Initiative with ASEAN Community Development Strategies", organized by the Center for China's Relations with Neighboring Countries, Fudan University, in Shanghai, China, 27-28 June 2016.
- Dr. Ngeow was invited to participate in a conference organized by the China Overseas Development Research Center of Huaqiao University, in Xiamen, on 26 August 2016.



Delegation of Southeast Asia Think Tank visited China.



Dr Fan Pik Shy

- Dr Fan presented a paper entitled "A Preliminary Study of the History, Architecture and Belief Activities of the Fu De Gong Temple at Beliong, Sarawak, Malaysia" in "The 4th Taiwan International Conferences on Hakka Studies" organized by College of Hakka Studies, National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan on 10 September 2016 – 11 September 2016.
- Dr Fan carried out research field work in Kuching and Beliong, Sarawak from 20-23 Ogos 2016. This is for UMRG project "The Hakka in Malaysia and Southeast Asia: The Challenge of Sustaining Dialect Identity".



Dr Ling Tek Soon

- Dr Ling presented a paper entitled "A Study on One Belt One Road and Malaysia-China Relationship" in a seminar on "Klang Binhai Fellowship Association Lecture Series", organized by the Persatuan Persahabatan Binhai Klang Selangor, in Klang, Selangor, Malaysia on 15 May 2016.
- Dr Ling made a presentation entitled "A Study on Yang Du 's Thought of Constitutional Monarchy" in "International Seminar on Dr Sun Yat Sen and Nanyang Chinese", organized by Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman Sungai Long Campus, Malaysia and The National Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, Taiwan in Sungai Long, Selangor, Malaysia on 11 June 2016.
- Dr Ling spoke on "Heng Ann Community in Malaysia", in a seminar on "Putian Youth Summer Camp in Malaysia" organized by The Federation of Heng Ann Associations Malaysia Youth Division, in Hulu Langat, Selangor, Malaysia on 13 June 2016.
- Dr Ling presented a speech entitled "The History of Chinese in Malaysia before World War II" in a seminar of Study Tour of Department of Philosophy, Fu Jen Catholic University", organized by the Chinese Studies Department, in University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on 12 July 2016.
- Dr Ling was invited as a panel moderator in a seminar: "Tamadun Islam dan Tamadun Asian (TITAS) National Conference", organized by Sinology Unit, Institute of Chinese Studies, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman Sungai Long Campus, Malaysia and Institut Darul Selangor, Malaysia in Kajang, Selangor, Malaysia on 14 July 2016.



Dr Lee Kam Hing

- Dr Lee Kam Hing presented jointly with Dr Lee Poh Ping a paper entitled "Revisiting Wang Gungwu's Chinese Politics in Malaysia" at the Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 28-29 May 2016



Dr Peter Chang Thiam Chai

- Dr. Chang attended the 1st International Think Tank Forum of 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, organized by the Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, at Guangzhou, China on 10th--11th May. The aim of this meeting was for scholars from countries engaged with China's Belt and Road initiative to establish ties and enhance cooperations.
- Dr. Chang made a presentation at the East Asian Symposium of the World Forum on China Studies, organized by Asiatic Research Institute, Korea University, and Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, at Seoul, Republic of Korea, 22-23 May 2016.
- Dr. Chang presented his research on the China factor and the status of Chinese Malaysia at the "Third Biennial International Conference of Centre of Malaysian Chinese Studies" held at Kuala Lumpur on 28-29 May 2016.
- Dr. Chang was at Beijing to participate as a panelist at the International Confucian Association Forum on the Asian Civilization Dialogue on 8th -- 12th July.



Dr Lee Poh Ping

- Dr Lee presented a paper on "ASEAN centrality and middle powers in a changing strategic situation in the Asia-Pacific region" in the International Conference on ASEAN (ICONAS) organized by AEI, University of Malaya and Korean Association on Southeast Studies on 21-22 July 2016.
- Dr Lee participated in a panel organized by Asia Link of Australia on ASEAN views of the South China Sea dispute. Dr Lee edited proceedings published in Australian Financial Review under the title "Australia should listen to Southeast Asian views on China" on 12 July 2016.
- Dr Lee presented jointly with Dr Lee Kam Hing a paper entitled "Revisiting Wang Gungwu's Chinese Politics in Malaysia" at the Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 28-29 May 2016.



Dr Li Ran

- Dr. Li Ran was invited to participate in a conference organized by the China Overseas Development Research Center of Huaqiao University, in Xiamen, on 26 August 2016.



Dr Zhang Miao

- Dr Zhang Miao made a presentation at T20 Think Tank Forum (T20) International Conference on "Innovation, New Economy and Structural Reform", Jun 17-19, 2016, Zhejiang Province, China, organised by Zhejiang University, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai Institute for International Studies, and Renmin University.



International Journal of China Studies

Manuscripts sent to < ijchinastudies@gmail.com >

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



**UNIVERSITY
OF MALAYA**

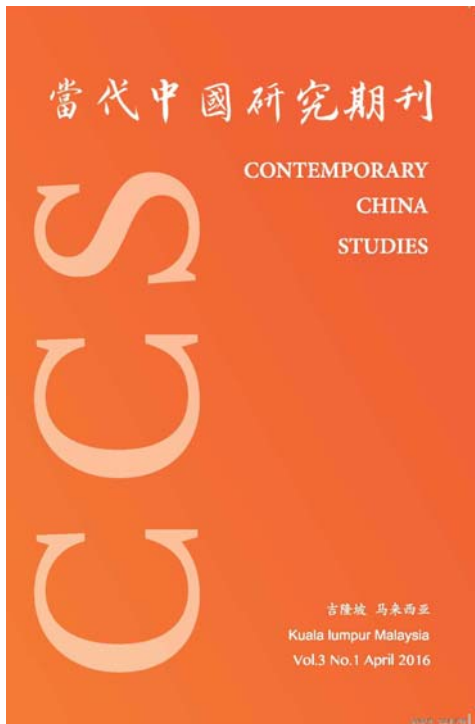
INSTITUTE OF CHINA STUDIES

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
Website: <http://ics.um.edu.my>





CONTEMPORARY CHINA STUDIES

当代中国研究期刊

Vol.3 No.1 April 2016

The new issue of the Contemporary China Studies (Volume 3, Number 1) was published in April 2016. The issue features 5 research articles. Among the featured articles are:

- 中国崛起、中华民族复兴与东南亚华人的身份认同问题 / 章龙炎
The Implication of the Rise of China and the Rejuvenation of the Chinese Civilization towards the Beijing's Overseas Chinese Policy / Chong Ling Guan
- 越南与中国合同法之比较研究 / 裴氏秋贤
A Comparative Study of Vietnam and China's Contract Law / Bui Thi Thu Hien
- 马中建交与旅游产业的发展 / 吴明珠
Development of Sino-Malaysia Diplomatic Relations and the Tourist Industry / Wu Ming Chu
- 流落南洋的举人：从丘菽园诗看其跌宕的一生 / 潘碧华、赖静婷
The Wandering Poet in Nanyang: The Dramatic Life of Qiu Shuyuan / Fan Pik Wah & Lai Chin Ting
- 《倾城之恋》女性主义的多重主题 / 杨 春
"The Whole of Love" and the Multiple Themes of Feminism / Yang Chun

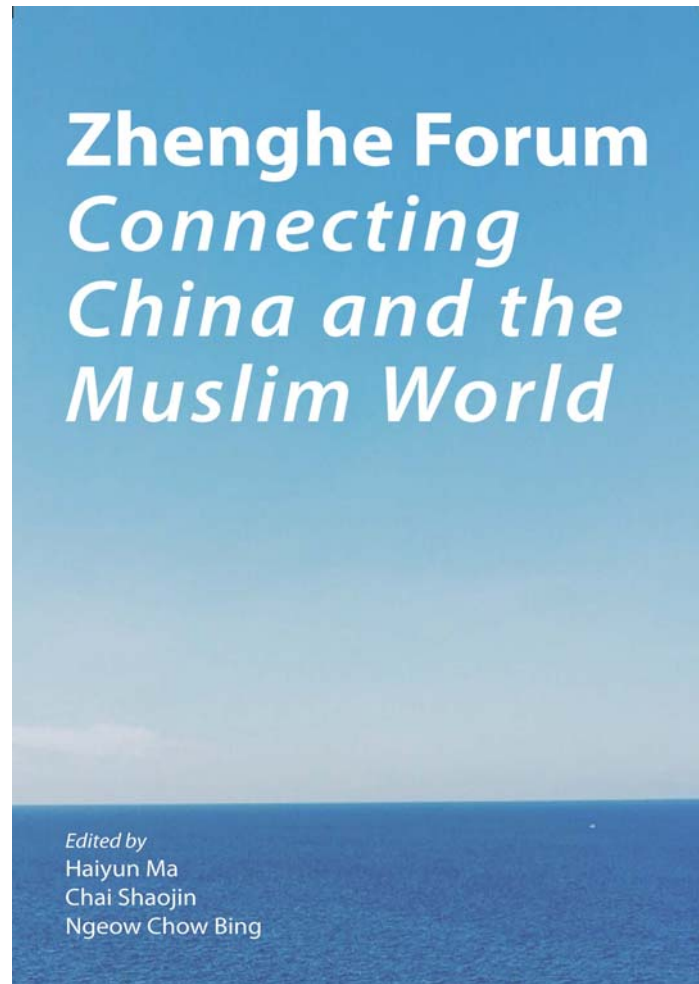
International Journal of China Studies		
Volume 7	Number 2	August 2016 ISSN 2180-3250
Research Articles		
Globalizing the Chinese Social Assistance Program: The Authoritarianism That Listens?	121	
<i>Huisheng Shou</i>		
Culture and Commerce: China's Soft Power in Thailand	151	
<i>Kornphanat Tungkeunkunt</i>		
Normative Hierarchy in Informal Economic Institutions: Docile China versus the Assertive West	175	
<i>Hironori Wada</i>		
Research Notes		
Effective Corporate Board Structure and Agency Problems: Evidence from China's Economic Transition	199	
<i>Zhang Cheng, Cheong Kee Cheok, Rajah Rasiah and Zhang Chen</i>		
Understanding the Economic Diplomacy between the Philippines and China	215	
<i>Tina S. Clemente</i>		
Book Reviews		
William J. Norris, <i>Chinese Economic Statecraft: Commercial Actors, Grand Strategy, and State Control</i>	237	
<i>Reviewed by Jonathan Eli Libut</i>		
Edward N. Luttwak, <i>The Rise of China vs. the Logic of Strategy</i>	239	
<i>Reviewed by Kai Chen</i>		

International Journal of China Studies

Vol.7 No.2 August 2016

The new issue of the International Journal of China Studies (Volume 7, Number 2) was published in August 2016. The issue features 3 research articles, 2 research notes and 2 book reviews. Among the featured articles are:

- ***Huisheng Shou*, The Authoritarianism That Listens: Economic Integration and Welfare Restructuring in China**
- ***Kornphanat Tungkeunkunt*, Culture and Commerce: China's Soft Power in Thailand**
- ***Hironori Wada*, Normative Hierarchy in Informal Economic Institutions: Docile China versus the Assertive West**
- ***Zhang Cheng, Cheong Kee Cheok, Rajah Rasiah*, Effective Corporate Board Structure and Agency Problems: Evidence from Chinese Economic Transition**
- ***Tina Clemente*, Understanding China's Economic Diplomacy with the Philippines**



Zhenghe Forum Connecting China and the Muslim World

The Institute of China Studies has published a new book, ***Zhenghe Forum: Connecting China and the Muslim World***. It is based on collection of papers from a conference in 2015 and includes 14 chapters that are divided into five sections: (1) Zheng He, the Indian Ocean, and the Muslim Word; (2) Chinese Muslim Migration and Transnational Experiences; (3) Chinese Perspectives on Islam and Islamic Perspectives on China; (4) Interactions between China and the Muslim World in the Early 20th Century; and (5) Islam in Contemporary China: Developments and Issues. It is edited by Professor Haiyun Ma of Frostburg State University, Dr. Shaojin Chai of the UAE Ministry of Culture, and Dr. Ngeow Chow Bing of the Institute of China Studies. The price of the book is RM50.00.