

Mark T. Berger, *The Battle for Asia: From Decolonization to Globalization*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. xii, 343pp. Hard cover ISBN 0-415-32528; paperback ISBN 0-415-32529.

During the last decade we have seen published a glut of books dealing with globalization and its implications for the nation state. While many of these works have been contributions to the ongoing public debate on the consequences of globalization, among them a small number of books stand out because of their breadth of scholarship and quality of analysis, and Mark Berger's book is in this reviewer's opinion one of them. Firstly, this book is immensely well written, and secondly, in contrast to many works, it provides both an excellent detailed historical examination of the topic and a thorough discussion of the relevant theories of modernization and the nation state.

The book is divided into three parts each with a clear coherent focus. Part I, consisting of three chapters, begins with a fine historical overview of the development of the nation state after colonialism, and the establishment of the international framework for national development within the context of US hegemony after the Second World War. In chapter two the author turns to a discussion of the 'rise and fall' (p. 79) of development economics. The focus is on an analysis of the role of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the US government in formulating some of the initial programs for national progress, and on the Indian experience between the 1940s and the 1970s. Chapter three is an illuminating discussion of the origin, and rise of the modernization theory and its importance in the intellectual debate. Likewise perceptive is the analysis of the development of Area Studies, and in particular Asian Studies, with its initial focus on Japan as model for national modernization in the 1950s and 1960s, owing to US policy in Asia. In this chapter the author argues that by the 1970s there emerged a number of 'theoretical challengers' (p. 106) to modernization theory, among them Guillermo O'Donnell's idea of 'bureaucratic-authoritarianism' (Ibid).

The four chapters in Part II look at how the interaction between geopolitics and development changed during the post-cold war period. The author begins with a discussion of globalization, which he sees as a 'US-led project' (p. 119). However, while the US obviously had a leading role in pushing globalization, this reviewer sees the idea that this made globalization a 'US-led project' as claiming a larger degree of control over developments than the US at any time seems to have had.

It may have been more correct to argue for a multi-locational focus. The chapter further looks into the changing global order in the 1980s, the shift to 'neo-liberal economic policies' (p. 124) pushed by the US, and the debt crisis which hit Latin America particular hard. The author argues that the late 1980s saw the passing of 'state-guided national development' (p. 141), and that while globalization remained 'grounded in US hegemony' (p. 142) globalization was increasingly changing the nation state system, and the relationship between the elements that make up the system. In chapter five, the author turns to a analysis of the rise of neo-liberalism during the late 1970s and the early 1980s, and how its proponents have attempted to change economic policy processes. A main focus is the 'neo-liberal ascendancy' (p. 168) at the World Bank and the IMF in 1980s, and how the rapid economic development in East Asia challenged these neo-liberal ideas. Chapter six deals with the revision of neo-liberalism during the 1980s and 1990s, and how by the end of the Cold War a number of analysts had begun to explain the rapid economic development in East Asia in terms of the 'Confucian origins' (p. 179) of Japan and the NICs . The chapter has an extensive analysis of what became known as the 'Asian Values' debate. The author claims that the 'New Asian Renaissance is best explained in terms of its relationship to particular state-mediated national developments' (p. 191) in the context of a changing global order. Chapter seven discusses the rise of the developmental state theory, and how during the 1980s work by Chalmers Johnson, Stephan Haggard, and Alice Amsden re-focused attention of the role of the state in development. The author argues however that, while attempts have been made to revise the developmental state theory, its proponents have failed in challenging the globalization project due to their negligence in taking into account in their analysis the 'transformation of the nation state system' after 1945 (p. 207).

Having claimed that the 'dominant narratives' (p. 212) of development in East Asia are ahistorical and technocratic, the author in the last two chapters attempts to provide a 'historically grounded analysis' of the transformation of Asia during the five decades from the 1940s to 1990s. While this Part III might not bring anything significantly new to the table, it is still a very engaging analysis of the changes the region underwent in the decades after World War II.

Mark Berger's *The Battle for Asia* must be seen as a valuable addition to the social science literature on Asian development during the last decades. Its strengths are in particular (a) a very detailed analysis of the developments of the different paradigms of development, showing

an impressive command of the literature, and (b) the detailed empirically-based analysis of the development that the Asian region has gone through during the last five decades.

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Shapan Adnan, *Migration, Land Alienation and Ethnic Conflict: Causes of Poverty in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Research and Advisory Services, 2004. xvi + 252 pp. ISBN 984-8111-07-7.

Shapan Adnan's *Migration, Land Alienation and Ethnic Conflict: Causes of Poverty in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh* is an excellent and timely book which explores a diagnostic approach in order to examine the causes of poverty among the indigenous peoples of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). It analyses and documents the causes of poverty of the hill peoples by examining their socio-economic and political organization, the process of land alienation, in-migration, out-migration, transmigration and the process of ethnic domination and discrimination. The author argues that poverty among these hill peoples is not simply a matter of 'lack of resources', which can be alleviated by just adding the missing items from outside; rather poverty is an 'outcome of complex causal processes mediated by the market, state and other economic and political institutions' (p. 13). Thus, the author argues that to study the causation of poverty, the conventional discourses on poverty alleviation and development would not bring any substantial outcome; rather it requires a diagnostic approach, which includes historical and political economic perspective with concrete policy recommendation to have a tangible benefit.

The book consists of nine chapters and each chapter begins with an introduction or summary of what is illustrated in that chapter later on. The first chapter of this book delineates the issues, objectives and methodology of the study. This initial chapter has also focused on the ethnic composition of the study area with a brief introduction of the CHT of Bangladesh. Chapter 2 of this book is particularly interesting as it discusses the historical background of CHT with particular reference to the

changes and transformations of socio-economic and political conditions affecting the way of life of these indigenous peoples living under these circumstances. The whole historical background of CHT has been divided into three time frames: the British colonial period (1760-1947), the Pakistani period (1947-1971) and the Bangladeshi period (1971 to date). During the British colonial period the East India Company was the first to subjugate the indigenous power structure to control the vast resources of CHT. The indigenous peoples were forced to transform their traditional swidden cultivation into cash crops through plough cultivation, which further led to the destruction of indigenous socio-political and economic organization. The ownership of land had been taken over by the colonial state and the CHT had been divided into three circles under the leadership of three indigenous chiefs who were mainly responsible to collect revenue for the East India Company. The chiefs were merely revenue collectors without any substantial authoritative or decision-making power delegated to them by the colonial administration.

The disadvantaged plight of the indigenous peoples continued during the post-colonial period as the paternalistic attitudes of the then Pakistani administration further worsened the socio-economic and political conditions of the CHT. The most controversial issue was the development of the Karnafuli Multipurpose Project to generate hydro-electricity through the creation of an artificial reservoir, which inundated thousands of acres of indigenous lands and uprooted many indigenous peoples from their homesteads. The emergence of Bangladesh as a separate nation-state in 1971 further superimposed the Bengali nationalist identity on these indigenous peoples and harsh steps had been taken by the state to integrate these indigenous peoples into the mainstream development process. A large number of Bengali people were sent to the CHT, which created a huge demographic imbalance which pushed these indigenous peoples into a minority position. These paternalistic attitudes provoked these indigenous peoples to form their own political organization *Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti* (PCJS meaning Chittagong Hill Tracts People's Solidarity Association) in 1972 to fight for their own righteous entitlements. The formation of PCJS and the aspirations of the indigenous peoples for autonomy led the government to term these indigenous peoples as secessionists. Full-scale military operations had been deployed by the state to stop the fight for autonomy of the indigenous peoples, followed by a bloody armed conflict for almost two decades until both parties signed a peace accord in 1997. Thus, the whole background of CHT of nearly two and a half

centuries is in fact a history of exploitation, deprivation, insurgency and destabilization leading to a drastic modification of the traditional social, political, economic and ethnic compositions.

From chapter 3 to chapter 5, the author further depicts the demographic transformation of CHT, which is characterized mainly by two factors: firstly, the implementation of the foreign aided hydro-electric project in Kaptai that resulted in a massive uprooting of indigenous peoples, and secondly, a massive inflow of Bengali migrants from the plains backed up by the state to ensure the planned demographic engineering component of the counter-insurgency strategy, which resulted in a huge decomposition and re-composition of the demographic milieu of CHT. The author argues that these two factors played a predominant role in creating poverty among the indigenous hill peoples.

To elucidate the causes of poverty among the hill peoples, the author employs a comparative analysis of their past and present economy in chapter 6 and 7 of the book. The main objectives of these two chapters are to illustrate the nature of transformation of the indigenous economy and how the traditional subsistence economy has been transformed over time into a capitalist and profit making enterprise, largely controlled by settler or non-resident Bengalis, and thereby ensuring further economic subordination of the hill peoples to the capitalist market forces. The traditional hill economy was largely very simple characterized by swidden cultivation associated with hunting and gathering, extracting forest resources and raising domestic livestock, which were mainly aimed at meeting everyday subsistence. One of the most crucial aspects of the then traditional economy was its association with the accepted cultural norms and rules that were embedded in its social organization. However, it was during the 1950s and 1960s that the hill economy started to transform, largely due to two factors: firstly, the huge loss of indigenous lands due to the implementation of different development projects leading to the change in occupation of these hill peoples, and secondly, their increasing interaction with the Bengali settlers, the state and different national and international organizations. The latter played and still play a crucial role in enticing capitalist enterprise into the hill economy. The contemporary CHT economy is linked to the national and global capitalist economy through a number of trading and business enterprises including the extraction of timber, rubber, cotton and exploitation of gas and oil. Particularly after signing the peace treaty in 1997, a range of national and multinational corporations, government and donor agencies and NGOs are involved in these inflows and outflows

of goods and services. The most profound changes that have occurred in the contemporary CHT economy are the transformation of control over resources and land alienation. It is largely the Bengali elites – traders and merchants – (with their social and political influence over the local and national government agencies, forest departments and security forces) that control most of the rubber and horticultural plantations. There has also been massive illegal logging and extraction of timber resources from the forests, thereby further depleting the ecology of CHT and making the lives of the indigenous peoples further vulnerable through land alienation. Apart from losing control over resources, another aspect of economic subordination of the hill peoples is their lack of political power over time, which precisely deters their own decision-making power. Most of the CHT development plans are designed in the government headquarters with minimum consultation, participation or consent of the indigenous peoples. Thus, the economic plight of the hill peoples is not fortuitous but rather a well-planned strategy of the state and its apparatus to control and tame these indigenous peoples.

The final two chapters of this book delineate the causes of poverty among the hill people using a diagnostic perspective, followed by a number of policy analyses and recommendations. The author argues that the contemporary poverty generating mechanisms of the hill peoples go beyond the conventional explanation of poverty. A number of complex processes and factors including privatization; market integration; forced commoditization; armed repression; demographic engineering; counterproductive development initiatives by the state, international and national organizations; and various mechanisms of exploitation play a crucial role in generating poverty among the hill peoples. The author suggests a range of policy recommendations that broadly address the minimization of exploitation and surplus appropriation; the reduction, expropriation and degradation of land and environment; ensuring balance in political power; and the reinforcement of the hill people's organization through education and consciousness. Finally, the author is of the opinion that the causes of poverty among the CHT hill peoples are more political than anything else and require political will from different corners to alleviate the plight of these hill peoples.

The only reservation I have about this book is that the policy recommendations suggested by the author do not actually supplant, but rather supplement some of the earlier proposals that discuss the politicization of poverty and strengthening the grassroots' movement as an alternative form of development (Escobar 1995; Ferguson 1994; Sen 1981). However,

the significant feature of this book lies in the authors' creative way of articulating and presenting the complex processes of poverty generating mechanisms in CHT using a diagnostic approach, which would be of benefit to policy planners, researchers and those concerned with the plight of the indigenous peoples.

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Andy Ong, *Maniac!* Singapore: Entrepreneur's Resource Centre, 2004. 176 pp. ISBN 981-05-2370-X.

If one were to look for a suitable categorization, Ong's book could easily be classified as belonging to the academic realm of Entrepreneurship (one of the fastest-expanding, and in this reviewer's indubitably biased opinion, most important disciplines within Business Administration). However, such a classification would hardly do full justice to the literary resource. In fact, this is the kind of book which professors would be well-advised to read as a primary source, and use its many bold statements as an opportunity to re-examine nascent entrepreneurial theories.

To find a review of Ong's book *Maniac!* in this academic journal may be slightly unusual, as it makes no pretence whatsoever to be an academic work. Nonetheless, Ong's new book deserves our most serious attention. Here are three reasons why:

- 1 This book will be influential. Although I am reviewing it fresh from the printing press and the book will start hitting the bookshops only in a couple of days, I have no doubt that this book will be a bestseller. As a rule of thumb, academics surely write with more sophistication, but very few will ever come close to being as influential as I predict this book to be. (Inevitably, Robert Kiyosaki's bon mot that he may not be a 'bestwriter,' but surely a *bestseller*, comes to mind).
- 2 As a serial entrepreneur and entrepreneurship trainer, the author has much credibility. As somebody who practices what he preaches, the author is worth listening to. Although only in his early 30s, Ong has been a serial entrepreneur for years, starting profitable ventures in quick succession – he currently co-owns eleven companies, and he made his first million at the age of 28. Ong's brainchild, the Entrepreneur's Resource Centre has trained more than 2,000 individuals in the essentials of entrepreneurship and these workshops have a niche market share of more than 90 percent in the highly competitive training market of the Southeast Asian city-state of Singapore.
- 3 The empirical basis for *Maniac!* is impressive. The author has interviewed 50 top entrepreneurs around Asia and his findings are a result of his close interaction and friendship with these business leaders from a wide range of industries.

Maniac! is structured into 8 chapters, and in addition, includes some information about the author and the Entrepreneur's Resource Centre. The term 'maniac' is developed throughout the book. It refers to perfectly

sane people (who are neither mad nor crazy) who, at first glance, may not appear that way.

The introductory chapter can be read as a contribution to the discussion as to what constitutes an entrepreneur. Some of the author's admittedly less-surprising findings include (1) determination (which he later, entertainingly, differentiates from 'blind determination'), (2) drive, (3) competitive spirit, (4) 'street intelligence', (5) integrity and (6) being people-oriented. Less expected findings include (7) focus on core expertise, (8) giving others the benefit of the doubt, (9) thrift, and (10) creating one's own 'luck'.

In line with Buckingham's and Clifton's (2001) excellent work on discovering one's distinct advantage, Ong advocates focusing on one's strengths rather than on one's weaknesses, and makes a humorous distinction of working adults into three categories: (1) The *Strugglers* have resigned themselves to fate, don't break out of their comfort zone and 'are contented as long as they have a job even though the long-term future looks bleak' (p. 25). (2) The *Conventionally Successful* are academic and professional high-fliers, but they often have mortgaged their future to financial institutions and are thus far from financially independent. (It is worth noting that Andy Ong is also the author of *Personal Financial Planning in Singapore*; financial independence is generally considered to be achieved when passive income exceeds living expenses). (3) In contrast to the *Strugglers* and *Conventionally Successful*, *Maniacs* are rulebreakers, calculated risktakers and innovators, who achieve their dreams.

The main part of the book is structured according to the 'seven life principles of Maniacs' (p. 32): (1) Logic, (2) Vision, (3) Innovation, (4) Perseverance, (5) Communication, (6) Partners, and (7) Passion. Ong's second chapter is particularly contrarian, as it goes against the 'logic' of what many Asian (and other peoples') parents may have ingrained in their children: 'Study hard, get good grades, work hard in a big corporate environment, attain your 5 Cs' (cash, credit card, car, condominium, country club) etc. (p. 35). Contrary to this traditional 'logic,' Ong advises against 'selling one's time' and rather pursue multiple streams of income.

In an interesting, implicit, contribution to the theory of opportunity recognition (or entrepreneurial discovery), Ong seems to favour the 'alertness theory' (famously advocated by 'Austrians' such as Kirzner), where, in Ong's words, one is 'constantly on the prowl for opportunities'. In addition, Ong emphasises the 'creative' aspect of entrepreneurial discovery, opportunities are not only *recognized*, but also *created*.

The second 'maniacal' life principle is vision. Without being able to summarise the richness of thought in this and other chapters, an example from Ong's own entrepreneurial career is outstanding. In illustrating a 'powerful dream attainment process,' dreams are translated into specific goals and goals are broken down into specific tasks (pp. 74ff.). It is Ong's vision to set up entrepreneurial resource centres, which have the resources to train, fund and mentor new entrepreneurs, *all over Asia*. He illustrates this vision with five goals (which in themselves can be broken down into specific tasks), which he has successfully implemented in Singapore: '(1) Find celebrity entrepreneurs to endorse the program. (2) Get the training framework done up. (3) Get support from the Government. (4) Get sources of funding. (5) Find competent individuals to act as mentors' (p. 75). In Ong's convincing opinion, a 'combination of having a grand vision and meticulous planning will produce extraordinary success' (p. 80).

The chapters on innovation, perseverance, communication, partners and passion are similarly stimulating, but due to space constraints, cannot be reviewed in similar detail. I will thus confine myself to sharing selected little gems.

- Jack Welch's (General Electric's retired CEO) quotation: 'There is no long-term future without short-term earnings' (quoted in p. 90).
- 'The only thing that always sells without fail is sex' (p. 99).
- Thomas Edison: 'The first requisite for success is to develop the ability to focus and apply your mental and physical energies to the problem at hand without growing weary' (quoted in p. 106).
- The advice on time management, i.e. to keep focused, control one's time and eliminate 'time robbers' (pp. 107ff.).
- 'Failure is just an event... Total failure only occurs when you choose to give up on yourself' (p. 123).
- The tips about finding the right partners (chapter 6) are easily worth the price of admission alone.
- The same can be said about Ong's advice on how to masterfully communicate to customers, employees and shareholders (chapter 7).
- The '3 R's' of cultivating a positive lifestyle: respond positively, reflect on one's overall good fortune, and rebound and go for the big prize (pp. 169ff.).

Like most publications, *Maniac!* is also not a perfect book. Future editions will undoubtedly improve on some minor stylistic shortcomings and one or two insignificant factual errors, which must have been created by the author's maniacal schedule.

In conclusion, this is a highly stimulating book on how to achieve entrepreneurial success. Without doubt, it will be widely read by existing and aspiring entrepreneurs in Singapore and among other English-language readers in Asia, and I foresee it being used in many entrepreneurial training workshops in the region. Andy Ong's book comes highly recommended and certainly constitutes, at the very least, a raw gem, which sparkles from many different angles.

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Ross Worthington, *Governance in Singapore*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. pp. 371. ISBN 070-07-1474-X.

This book seeks to identify, examine and explain who and what the core executive in Singapore is. In particular, it studies the core executive under Goh Chok Tong during 1991-1998 to determine whether there has been a change in how Singapore is governed following the stepping down of Lee Kuan Yew. To the author, Singapore is an interesting case study because it is a society that has evolved under the long rule of one political party and one premier. Singapore is not a liberal democracy but a society where political expression is strictly controlled. Citizens are generally cautious when it comes to politics and prefer to focus on materialism. Hence, it allows a small elite class to dictate and control Singapore while the working class is effectively kept out of the decision making process.

So what is a core executive? It refers to all those people, organisations and procedures that have a final say over policy in a particular country. In Singapore, even in the early days the People's Action Party had sought to include bureaucrats and the intellectuals within its circles to ensure that those that will be making important policy decisions do so from the same platform. This was the genesis of the core executive in Singapore.

The author notes that as a party, the PAP is dominated by the Central Executive Committee that is autonomous and autocratic. The party bureaucracy is kept very small and the party machine has no political power. PAP MPs are restricted from organising as a group and party service is not as important as an individual's perceived worth to the political executive. Hence the PAP as a political party and its rank and file have little clout in real terms over policy matters. Over the years, the political executive of the PAP has amassed a lot of power by using its parliamentary majority to enact laws that give it absolute control. It also uses constitutional, legislative and parliamentary procedural provision to prevent parliament from challenging or reviewing legislation. It is this way that the core executive as an entity is operationalised as the *de facto* decider over policy matters.

In fact, the extent of control is so far-reaching, the author argues, that even if there is a chance that PAP is returned in an election as opposition, it has access to institutions and can use existing rules to effectively block those who come into power. This is the crux of the problem facing Singapore – the absence of a sustainable political system that is strong and has

genuine legitimacy that is held in check ultimately by the people and not by a particular elite. The author goes on to argue that in contemporary times, even under Goh Chok Tong, not much has changed vis-à-vis in the daily business of parliament and law-making apart from a slightly more increased number of parliamentary meetings and the organisation of government parliamentary committees. Importance instead is still placed around the core executive, which under Goh has been diversified. Hence other sectors such as the military, officials from the government-linked companies, statutory boards, the National Trade Union Congress are now brought to the centre. The private sector's participation in the core executive has had only limited success. But others are even more problematic – one such sector is the legal profession.

The author notes that the legal profession remains hostile to the political executive. However, a small core of legal appointees nevertheless has been found that will manage political cases in a manner that will result in the desired outcome. Choices in the appointments of certain judges are made in the confidence that those appointees will then maintain and preserve the existing system. Hence the author argues no direction instruction is needed for these judges on how to behave in political trials.

The book is different because of its access to insider accounts of decision-making and the narration of some incidents committed to paper. One such incident the reader will come across is how Lee Hsien Loong (now PM) slapped former Cabinet minister S. Dhanabalan during a 1990 Cabinet meeting. In that meeting Lee is alleged to have had a quarrel with the then Finance Minister Richard Hu. S. Dhanabalan sided with Hu and was slapped by Lee which prompted Goh to compel Lee to apologise.

The publication of the book which included this incident prompted Goh Chok Tong (then PM) to mention in his 2003 National Day Rally speech that the incident was not true. About two months later Lee Hsien Loong himself came forth in the media to say it was he who wanted the story to come out and thus prompted Goh Chok Tong to mention it publicly. Lee went on to add that if the author of the book was in Singapore and had assets he would sue him. Another incident worthy of close attention is the details behind the decision to prosecute several civil servants under the Official Secrets Act (OSA), albeit in a milder form, for allegedly leaking the economic flash estimates for the second half of 1992.

The author reveals the layers of people and organisations involved in deciding whether and how to prosecute those involved, including Thar-

man Shanmugaratnam (current education minister) all of whom were investigated by the Internal Security Department. The author notes that the incident created awareness that Lee Kuan Yew's personal patronage had given the ISD great autonomy as well as a monopoly on internal security powers and resources. Although a series of related litigation connected to this breach of the OSA eventually resulted in the courts ruling that the responsibility of deciding on what constituted a state secret was no longer the prerogative of the ISD, ministers and Administrative Officers, but the courts. The political executive still have discretionary power to use the ISD to arrest, imprison and charge people under the provisions of the ISA. The centralisation of power within the core executive has resulted in no other alternative sources of power. Civil society is weak and the media and telecommunication is government controlled. The author argues that only the political opposition can play the role of a truly independent invigilator of the core executive. However, its capacity to operate and function effectively has been kept in check by the PAP.

This is where the author makes his key recommendation – the development of a PAP sponsored opposition. He argues that since the PAP is so perturbed about external challenges, if the PAP itself sponsored the development of an opposition this will lead to the rise of a truly independent set of checks and balances that will be beneficial for Singapore. In making this suggestion the author forgets his own analysis that the problem in Singapore is that the people with whom lies the final authority should be the ones deciding how an opposition to the PAP develops. By shifting this responsibility to the PAP he negates his own prognosis. Perhaps the answer to it lies in his final words of the book, 'I look forward to be proven wrong, but expect to be disappointed'.

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J. Oestrom Moeller, *A New International System*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), 2004. 54 pp. ISBN 981-230-287-5.

Former president Bill Clinton once remarked: 'Globalization is not an issue, it is a fact'. One could search databases of international media more than five years back and one would find that the word 'globalization' was still relatively rare. Today it pops up in every news magazine across the globe every week. And dozens of business seminars and conferences have this buzzword in their titles.

It is evident that the word is commonly used without a proper definition to back it up. Consequently, confusion arises around its exact use. To a large number of people, even in the media, 'globalization' means something like 'change related to international circumstances'.

But do not worry, wise guidance is at hand. The Danish ambassador to Singapore, Brunei, Australia and New Zealand, Joergen Oestrom Moeller, is no ordinary diplomat, but rather a scholar-administrator, who combines a unique career in the Danish diplomatic service with a profound intellectual curiosity. He has contributed numerous articles to scholarly journals across the globe and written 29 books, amongst which *The Future European Model* (1995) and *The End of Internationalism or World Governance* (2002) deserve particular attention.

His most recent publication is a more modest volume of only 54 pages. It is based on a lecture delivered at Singapore's Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in the spring of 2004. The ambassador draws upon ideas which he has discussed in previous publications (in particular *The End of Internationalism or World Governance*) but he manages to sharpen and refine some of his earlier conclusions.

Mr. Moeller prefers the word 'internationalization' to 'globalization', noting that the latter refers mainly to economic and not political matters. The core of his message boils down to the following: For decades, economic globalization has possessed one primary advantage: continued growth and higher standards of living. Lately, however, a dichotomy inside all nation-states between the elite and the majority of the population has emerged. The elites have chosen internationalism. They communicate with the elites in other nation-states, but not with the majority of the population in their own nation-state. The majority gets more and more introvert and partly nationalistic.

This is particularly true of Mr. Moeller's native country, far more than in Denmark's neighbours Sweden, Norway and Finland. There

is little doubt that he is worried about the future development of the European Union at a time when a series of referendums will soon put the Union's ability to serve as a model of institutionalised internationalism at stake.

Mr. Moeller points to the misunderstanding that the members of the EU have *abandoned* some of their sovereignty by joining the union, while they in reality they have *transferred* some of their sovereignty to exercise it in common with adjacent nation-states pursuing analogous policies.

The core of the future model for internationalism, which the ambassador chooses to recommend, is for power no longer to be restricted to one level (government of nation-states), but to be exercised at various levels and simultaneously. Power is not static; depending upon how and with whom you exercise it, available power can be enhanced.

In conclusion, the ambassador arrives at a definition of a new kind of sovereignty: the room for manoeuvre achieved by the nation-state to introduce national legislation in conformity with and not in contradiction to international rules and norms. The more the room for manoeuvre is achieved, the more sovereignty is realized: sovereignty here understood as the ability to implement national legislation in a global world.

The booklet does not point a finger at any particular major power, but between the lines the message is clear: Mr. Moeller is deeply worried about America's go-it-alone-policy in international affairs, in particular when military instruments are involved. With profound intellectual clarity he argues convincingly for a revised international world order, to replace the old one based on outdated notions of the nation-state.

This is a quick and easy must-read for every official in any government bureaucracy and every elected politician of the modern world. The Danish scholar-administrator has done it again, and deserves credit for speaking out on issues on which too many world leaders prefer to remain silent.

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Barry Buzan and Rosemary Foot (eds), *Does China Matter? A Reassessment*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004. 193 pp. Paperback. ISBN-0-415-30412-1.

Gerald Segal was a prolific writer who authored or co-authored 13 books and published more than 130 scholarly articles. Before he died in 1999 he published in the journal *Foreign Affairs* what remains his most debated and influential article 'Does China Matter?'

This volume brings together ten scholars to re-evaluate Segal's assessment of China. The book opens with an essay by Michael Yahuda on Gerald Segal's scholarship on Asia and China in particular. The contributors then examine the global and regional aspects of China's power and impact in the military (Bates Gill), political (Lawrence Freedman, Samuel S. Kim, Jean-Pierre Lehman), economic (Stuart Harris, Shaun Breslin) and cultural (David Goodman) fields. The concluding chapter by Barry Buzan frames the issues in a wider strategic perspective. The book also carries a reprint of Segal's article as it appeared in *Foreign Affairs*. It is useful to sum up the key points and arguments.

Segal's key argumentation, as it appears in his *Foreign Affairs* article, is that China is overrated economically (as a market), politically (as a global power) and culturally (as a source of ideas). At best, China is a second-rank middle power and as such it matters far less than often assumed. China is best understood as a theoretical power, i.e. a power that promises to deliver, but consistently fails to live up to the expectations it creates. Segal concludes that only when we understand how little China matters will we be able to develop a sensible and workable policy towards it.

Retrospectively, the most controversial claim in Segal's article is that China is a small market that matters relatively little to the world. To substantiate this claim Segal listed what he terms 'some harsh realities' about the size and growth of China's economy. Less than 200 years ago China's share of global GDP amounted to 33 percent. It declined to 6.2 percent in 1900 and was further reduced to 3.5 percent in 1997. In a global comparison China ranked 7th in the world, ahead of Brazil and behind Italy, and could only claim middle-power status.

Segal noted that official Chinese statistics had exaggerated China's growth since 1978. He argued that some 2-3 percent of the official growth rate were useless goods produced to rust in warehouses. About one percent growth was due to government spending on infrastructural projects and three percent stemmed from one time gains in taking the

peasant off the land and bringing them to the cities where productivity normally is higher. Taking all these modifications into consideration China's economy was effectively in recession by 1997.

In terms of international trade and investment the story was very much the same, according to Segal. Thus China only accounted for 3 percent of world trade in 1997, about the same share as South Korea and less than the Netherlands. FDI inflows to China was also greatly over-rated since much of it came from ethnic Chinese and was partly offset by increasing capital flight from China. In sum, China had managed to project an image of great importance in the economic field, but was in fact, at best a minor part of the global economy.

Stuart Harris and Shaun Breslin in their contributions agree that China's economic importance is mainly based on its assumed potential, although this potential 'is more evidential substantial' today (p. 54). This is a peculiar formulation given the fact that by the time the book was being produced the Chinese economy was displaying a renewed strength resulting in 8.3 percent growth in 2002, increasing to 9.3 percent in 2003. Many economists argue that these official Chinese figures underestimate the real growth by about 2-3 percent. In terms of international trade Harris and Breslin also fail to see the dynamics at work in the Chinese economy. China has during the last couple of years dramatically outdistanced the Netherlands (not that the Netherlands is a minor trading power; it in fact ranks 9th in the world in terms of exports). In 2003 China's foreign trade amounted to \$ 851 billion. According to recent figures trade has increased by about 35 percent in 2004 bringing China ahead of Japan, and only behind the US and Germany. In short, an immense sea change has taken place in terms of global trade patterns. In terms of FDI similar trends are at play. In 2002 China overtook the US as the most important destination for FDI in the world. In 2004 FDI inflows has increased substantially and China will for the first time on an annual basis attract more than \$ 60 billion in FDI.

When Segal wrote his article outsourcing was not the big issue. As Bresslin indicates this has changed. China has turned into the major outsourcing destination for the big global players. This has allegedly resulted in the loss of thousand of jobs in the west and there are strong political pressures to implement measures to encounter what appears to be unfair Chinese competition.

In short, in many important dimensions China does matter in the global economy. The economy is growing rapidly stimulated by strong export performances and ever growing FDI inflows. The global effects

are compounded by the strong demands the Chinese growth locomotive creates on the world's resources. Today China consumes two thirds of the world's cement production, one third of steel production and one quarter of aluminium production. What happens to the Chinese economy has immense repercussions.

In the cultural field Segal also felt that China was an overrated power. Thus he argued that the middle kingdom did not matter much in terms of global culture and as a source of ideas. India mattered much more and measured in terms of films, literature, and the arts Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore were much more important cultural influences. Goodman admits that such a claim stands in strong contrast to conventional wisdom. Most commentators acknowledge that East Asia show many common elements of a Chinese cultural heritage, not least in philosophy, religion and education. In the 1980s many scholars in fact began to attribute the economic success of East Asia to this common cultural (Confucian) background.

Goodman also acknowledges that the overseas Chinese represent a wider cultural and ethnic influence in the region. However, neither Segal nor Goodman addresses the link between shared identity and economic behaviour. This is a relevant theme because over the last two decades overseas Chinese communities account for about two thirds of all FDI flowing into China. Here a relevant question is whether the impetus to investing in the mainland is related to a strong sense of identity and shared destiny or whether the huge investments on the part of overseas Chinese are purely business oriented. It is interesting to note that Indians living overseas invest to a much lesser degree in their home land.

In his article Segal argued that China is a second rate military power and does not matter much in a strategic sense. Thus it is 'ludicrous' to claim that the west needs it as a strategic partner. Here Segal implicitly takes issues with the EU's strong efforts to establish a 'strategic partnership' with China. To do so would in Segal's mind be to confirm the Chinese government in its overblown self-perception. Freedman basically agrees with Segal and argues that China is confined to a regional position not 'only by the limited reach of its military strength', but 'also by a rather parochial sense of its interests' (p. 35). Again, one misses a perception of the long term trends at play. As Bates Gills shows, the Chinese armed forces are improving their capabilities rapidly and may already now be able to deny the US access to the Taiwan straits should a crisis occur, although they are no match for the US in other theatres further away from the Chinese mainland.

Barry Buzan's concluding chapter shows a deep awareness of the complexity of the question of whether or not China matters in a geopolitical sense. According to Buzan the status of a great power depends on the ability of the state concerned to be able not only to project its power beyond the immediate region but that it be able to manage and perhaps lead its region (p. 145). Thus China's global standing depends on what kind of relationship it has with its neighbours. Neo-realism suggests that there is a propensity of the weaker powers to balance against the stronger power. However in the Asian case there seems to be a tendency for weaker powers to bandwagon with the dominant power. Thus the ASEAN states and even India often go out of their way to avoid provoking China. The continued failure of Japan to find a way out of its economic predicament coupled with its failure to assume a wider responsibility during the Asian financial crisis indicate that Japan cannot fulfil the role as the dominant power in the region. But will Japan accept Chinese leadership? Japan essentially has three choices. It could mount its own deterrence against China, it could join other smaller East Asian countries in bandwagoning with China, or it could continue to work closely with the US. Whatever Japan decides to do has great global consequences. If Japan were to shift its alignment to China it would in one move greatly weaken the global position of the US and greatly strengthen China's position not only in the region, but also in the world. Then China would truly matter a great deal!

This book touches on a wide range of important questions in relation to China's economic, political and cultural development trajectory and how this is likely to impact on the world. Although the starting point is Segal's work on China, the contributors take the strategic discussion on China's current policies and future prospects a big step further. It is essential reading for everyone interested in the regional and global implications of China's rise.

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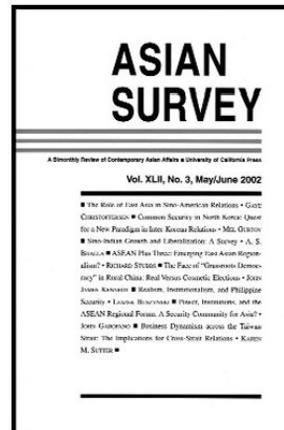
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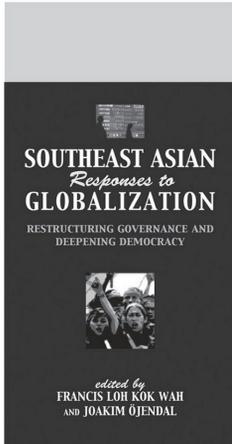
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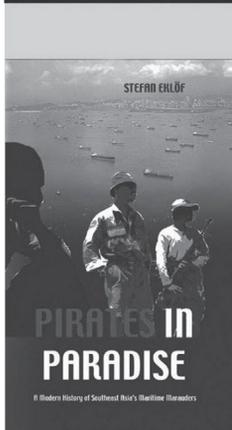
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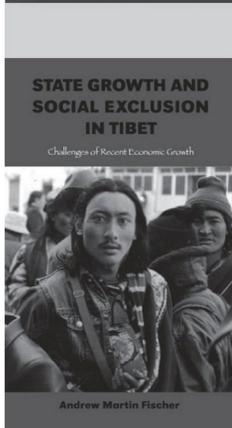
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