

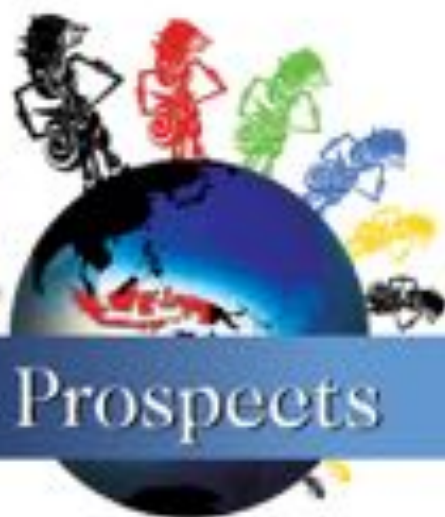
CONFERENCE REPORT



CALD Bali
Conference
2011

Pluralism & Development in Asia:

Issues & Prospects



PDI
PERJUANGAN



Council of
Asian Liberals
and Democrats

Freiheit-Stiftung
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

04-07 NOVEMBER 2011 | BALI, INDONESIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Concept Paper.....	1
Program of Activities.....	7
Profile of Speakers and Session Chairs.....	13
Opening Ceremonies	
Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP.....	24
Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP.....	25
Dr. Rainer Adam.....	26
Hon. I Made Mangku Pastika.....	26
Session I - Incentives and Constraints to Building and Strengthening Pluralistic Societies	
Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP.....	28
Hon. Kasit Piromya, MP.....	29
Mr. Win Htein.....	30
Dr. Makmur Keliat.....	30
Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP.....	31
Open Forum.....	32
Special Session - CALD Women's Caucus Forum	
Hon. Mu Sochua, MP.....	36
Hon. Henedina "Dina" Abad, MP.....	38
Open Forum.....	38
Session II - Pluralism and Political Development: Political Competition, Public Accountability and Popular Responsiveness	
Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP.....	40
Hon. Niccolo Rinaldi, MEP.....	41
Hon. Marutei Tsurunen, MP.....	42
Mr. Lau Hoi Keong.....	43
Open Forum.....	45

Session III - Pluralism and Human Development: Pluralist Underpinnings of Economic Growth, Social Cohesion and Environmental Sustainability

Sec. J.R. Nereus "Neric" Acosta, Ph.D.....	48
Hon. Dra. Eva Sundari, MA, MDE.....	50
Ms. Maysing Yang.....	51
Hon. Hugua.....	52
Hon. Mu Sochua, MP.....	52
Open Forum.....	53

Session IV - Islamic Pluralism and Its Role in Fostering Democracy and Development

Dr. Luthfi Assyaukanie.....	56
Hon. Hadjiman S. Hataman-Salliman, MP.....	57
Mr. Zia Banday.....	58
Open Forum.....	60

Closing Ceremonies

<i>Closing Keynote Address</i>	
Dr. Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort.....	61
<i>Synthesis</i>	
Sec. J.R. Nereus "Neric" Acosta, Ph.D.....	62
<i>Closing Remarks</i>	
Hon. Hasto Kristianto.....	63
Mr. Rainer Erkens.....	63
Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP.....	64

CONCEPT PAPER

A society that does not recognize that each individual has values of his own which he is entitled to follow can have no respect for the dignity of the individual and cannot really know freedom.

*Friedrich August von Hayek (1899-1992)
Nobel Laureate of Economic Sciences, 1974*

Freedom can only thrive in a society that recognizes and celebrates diversity. Diversity, in turn, creates an environment conducive for the flourishing of individual talents and potentials, which is an essential ingredient for both individual and societal development. This, more or less, summarizes the linkages between pluralism and development. The relationship, however, is far from being a settled one. For while development seems to be a universal aspiration, there is still a lively debate on the role of pluralism in the developmental process, and even on whether pluralism is desirable at all.

Asia appears to be a fertile setting for exploring the connection between pluralism and development. The region's political, socio-economic, cultural, religious, ethno-linguistic diversity, coupled with its diverging development experiences, makes it an interesting case in looking at the pluralism-development nexus.

Pluralism and Development: A Conceptual Clarification

Pluralism is broadly defined as “a belief in, or commitment to, diversity or multiplicity.” It is associated with the existence of party competition (political pluralism), a multiplicity of ethical values (moral pluralism), or a variety of cultural norms (cultural pluralism). From a liberal standpoint, pluralism is healthy and desirable, as it safeguards individual liberty and promotes debate, argument and understanding. Apart from guaranteeing individual freedom, pluralism is also claimed to result in social enrichment, since pluralism's tolerant stance leads to an increased willingness to allow others to think, speak and act in ways of which they disapprove. For this reason, decisions in pluralist societies are made through complex processes of bargaining and interaction that ensure the views and interests of a large number of groups are taken into account. Applied in the realm of politics, pluralism holds that political power should be widely and evenly distributed and not concentrated in the hands of the elite or ruling class (Heywood, 2002).

Pluralism in politics is associated with liberal democracy, a democratic system based on electoral competition between a number of political parties. It is a form of democracy that operates through the capacity of organized groups or interests to articulate popular demands and ensure government responsiveness. In order to realize

pluralist democracy, it is said that the following conditions must be met: 1) wide dispersal of political power amongst competing groups, and specifically, elite groups are absent; 2) high degree of internal responsiveness, with group leaders being accountable to members; and 3) neutral governmental machine that is sufficiently fragmented to offer groups a number of points of access (Heywood, 2002). These conditions, it is said, made political pluralism favourable to development.

Development, while universally aspired for, is marked by conceptual ambiguity. It is traditionally associated with economic growth and its concomitant indicator, gross domestic product (GDP). This equation of development with economic growth has been assailed by critics on grounds that GDP is a narrow measure of economic welfare that does not take into account important non-economic aspects such as more leisure time, access to health & education, the environment, freedom, or social justice. Economic growth, they said, is a necessary but insufficient condition for development.

The dissatisfaction with traditional definition and indicator of development led to the search for alternative conceptualizations. Michael Todaro (2000), for example, noted that there are three important aspects of development: raising the people's standards of living, creating conditions conducive to growth of the people's self-esteem, and increasing the people's freedom. This approach to development coincides with that of Amartya Sen (1999). According to Sen, development is the "process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy." He added that in this approach, the expansion of freedom is viewed as both the primary end and the principal means of development. Needless to say, this approach considers GDP as only one of the many indicators of development. Sen and Todaro's perspectives of development are embodied today in the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI). Now widely accepted and used, HDI takes into account not only GDP (per capita) but life expectancy and educational attainment as well.

At present, there appears to be a consensus that development is "an integrated economic, political, social and cultural process which will improve the quality of life for the entire population" (Pourgerami, 1991). Essentially, development can be categorized into three: development as democratization; development as modernization; and development as human development (Chilcote, 1994). Development as democratization is widely popular within American political science, and it tends to equate development with political democracy or formal and representative institutions, based on a division of powers in government (executive, legislative, and judicial) and a parliamentary system based on political parties and coalitions of parties. Viewed in this way, development is measured in terms of the number of parties, the degree of interest group competition, and recognition of individual rights. Development as modernization, on the other hand, largely considers

development in terms of economic growth. Development is assessed based on per capita income and other criteria that would distinguish advanced industrial nations from backward and less developed nations. Finally, development as human development looks at development in terms of human needs, where indicators are tabulated country by country in relation to literacy, schooling, health services, housing, provision of food, and economic growth.

It is common now to combine development as modernization and development as human development, as both of them incorporate economic growth, although the latter definitely has a much broader scope. Aspects of development, therefore, can be broadly divided into two: political development and human development.

Pluralism as a Tool for Political and Human Development

To what extent adherence to pluralism can lead to both political and human development? In theory, pluralism, given its preference for individual freedom and welfare, creates an environment supportive of developmental goals. In practice, however, pluralism is still not widely accepted, and a number of countries are still confronting issues and problems in instituting pluralism as a governing societal principle.

Pluralism is closely connected with building a multi-cultural society. Multiculturalism is essentially “cultural diversity arising from the existence within a society of two or more groups whose beliefs and practices generate a distinctive sense of collective identity.” This communal diversity may arise from racial, ethnic or language differences. Furthermore, multiculturalism implies a positive endorsement of communal diversity based on the right of different cultural groups to respect and recognition, or to the alleged benefits to the larger society of moral and cultural diversity (Heywood, 2002). While many countries in Asia are culturally diverse and therefore natural subjects to multi-culturalism, many are still in the process of constituting and sustaining a pluralist society.

The creation and survival of pluralist society appears to be of fundamental importance, considering its beneficial effects on both political and human development. Political development, as noted above, is usually associated with the institution of democracy as a form of government. Since pluralism recognizes and celebrates diversity as governing principle, the presence of diverse groups and institutions in society with varying interests is considered to be positive societal feature as it ensures state neutrality and equal chance of all groups to be heard. It also results in government efficiency and accountability, as the competition among groups facilitates state responsiveness to the demands and criticisms of various actors. In essence,



pluralism compels the state to aggregate interest and to observe inclusiveness in policy-making.

Due to the checks on governmental power and the resulting state responsiveness, citizens become more empowered to realize their full potential. Pluralism encourages the formation of a free environment where individuals can flourish, and where they can have the capacity to compete and fulfill their aspirations. Armed with essentials like adequate education and healthcare, for example, the individual develops the potential to become a productive citizen and member of society. In a pluralistic society that recognizes and celebrates diversity, creativity and innovation become the order of the day.

Countries where Islam is the majority religion are oftentimes criticized for not fostering pluralistic societies. Islamic societies are commonly described as intolerant, and even as potentially violent. This is largely due to the very limited conception of Islam. Islam is not monolithic - it has many strands, and to always associate Islam with fundamentalism is a grave mistake. As what observers say, "The truth is that while Islam is proudly monotheistic, it is fiercely, even violently, nonmonolithic." Moderate versions of Islam, for example, proved to be amenable to democratization and human development. The cases of Turkey, Malaysia and Indonesia are shining examples that Islam can be reconciled with democracy and development. Indonesia, in particular, has often been cited as a model of Islamic pluralism.

CALD Bali Conference on Pluralism and Development

It is in this light that CALD chooses Indonesia as the venue of its conference on "Pluralism and Development in Asia: Issues and Prospects." Indonesia, with more than 225 million inhabitants, has the fourth largest population in the world, and with 190 million Muslims, is considered as the biggest Islamic country. What is fascinating is how this country, despite its ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity, has managed to maintain peace and pave the way to democracy and development. There is no other place where this reality is more evident than Bali, which has been designated as a "Province of Peace, Democracy and Tolerance."

CALD Bali Conference on November 4-7, 2011 brings together government officials, parliamentarians, party leaders, academics and civil society activists to discuss the relationship between pluralism and development in Asia. Hosted by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), and with the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF), the conference aims:

- to tackle the issues and problems related to the theory and practice of pluralism in Asia, and consequently, to facilitate a broader understanding and greater appreciation of pluralism among the participants;

- to identify and discuss the links between pluralism and development, and the extent to which pluralism can serve as a tool for both political and human development;
- to analyze the cases of Asian countries where Islamic pluralism serves as a means to achieve and sustain democracy and development; and
- to provide the means of cooperation, exchange of ideas, interchange of information and network-building among – and between – liberal parties, organizations and individuals with pluralist and developmental orientation and vision.

The conference is divided into four sessions. The first session looks at issues and problems in building and strengthening pluralistic or multi-cultural societies. The second and third sessions analyze the linkages between pluralism and development, emphasizing in particular the pluralist underpinnings of political and human development. The fourth session addresses the connections between Islam and democratic and human development. Below are the guide questions in each of the four conference sessions. Please note that this list is not exhaustive but is only meant to facilitate conceptualization and discussion. Presenters may tackle other related issues and questions apart from those listed.

I. Session I: Incentives and Constraints to Building and Strengthening Pluralistic Societies

What are the characteristics of pluralistic or multicultural societies? How can multicultural societies be built and strengthened? What are the benefits of having multicultural societies? Are there factors that usually hamper the successful establishment and functioning of multicultural societies? How can supporters of multiculturalism address the criticism that it endangers freedom, threatens political stability, and leads to social breakdown and violence?

II. Session II: Pluralism and Political Development: Political Competition, Public Accountability and Popular Responsiveness

How can pluralism spur political or democratic development? To what extent political competition amongst groups results in more democratic politics? Are there necessary conditions which have to be satisfied before political pluralism could operate? How can the deconcentration of political power and presence of various groups with different interests enhance public accountability and government effectiveness? How can adherence to pluralism address socio-political problems like terrorism?

III. Session III: Pluralism and Human Development: Pluralist Underpinnings of Economic Growth, Social Cohesion and Environmental Sustainability

To what extent pluralism contributes to human development? How can adherence to pluralist values facilitate economic growth? Does recognition and celebration of diversity lead to social order or to social breakdown? How can societies



guarantee the protection and promotion of rights of women and religious and ethnic minorities? How can recognition and respect of various stakeholders guarantee environmental sustainability and social justice?

IV. Session IV: Islamic Pluralism and Its Role in Fostering Democracy and Development

What are the different strands of Islam? What are the features of pluralist or moderate Islam? How can a peaceful, pluralistic and tolerant strand of Islam be promoted and propagated? How can the extreme wing of political Islam, epitomized by Al-Qaeda, be addressed? What can be done to curb the expansion of Islamist movements that have often displayed socially conservative and undemocratic dispositions? How can Islamic pluralism foster democratic and human development? What are the features of countries like Turkey, Malaysia and Indonesia that made them reconcile Islam, multiparty democracy and human development?

This conference aims to look at the issues and prospects of pluralism and development in Asia. In particular, the conference focuses on the cases of Asian countries where pluralism accounts for developments in both the political and societal realms. By looking at the developmental potentials of pluralist societies, this conference hopes to facilitate greater understanding and appreciation of pluralism among the participants, and in process, contribute to a more democratic, tolerant and peaceful Asian region.

PROGRAM OF ACTIVITIES

Venue:

Ayodya Resort Bali
Jl. Pantai Mengiat, Nusa Dua
80363 - Indonesia
Telephone: +62 361 771102
Fax: +62 361 771616
www.ayodyaresortbali.com

5 November 2011, Saturday Conference Day 1

08:30 - 09:00 Registration

Grand Ballroom Foyer
Ayodya Resort Bali

09:00 – 09:45 **Opening Ceremonies**

Session Chair

Sec. J.R. Nereus “Neric” Acosta, Ph.D

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Presidential Adviser for Environmental Protection, Office of the President, The Philippines

Welcome Remarks

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation, Office of the President, Sri Lanka

Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP

President, Liberal International
Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands

Dr. Rainer Adam

Regional Director, Friedrich Naumann Foundation
East and Southeast Asia Office, Thailand

09:45 – 10:15

Keynote Address

Hon. I Made Mangku Pastika

Governor, Province of Bali
Indonesia

Conference Photo Session

10:15 – 10:45

Press Conference

Coffee/Tea Break

CALD Multimedia Presentation

10:45 – 12:45

Session I: Incentives and Constraints to Building and Strengthening Pluralistic Societies

Session Chair

Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP

Sam Rainsy Party, Cambodia

Speakers

Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP

President, Liberal International
Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands

Hon. Kasit Piromya, MP

Shadow Deputy Prime Minister and Former Minister
of Foreign Affairs (2008-2011), Thailand

Mr. Win Htein

Senior Member of the National League for Democracy (NLD) and
Senior Adviser to the Office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma

Dr. Makmur Keliat

Member of the Advisory Group, Bureau of Policy Research and
Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation, Sri Lanka

Open Forum

12:45 – 13:45

Lunch

Waterfall Restaurant, Ayodya Resort Bali

13:45 – 14:30

CALD Women's Caucus Forum

Session Chair

Ms. Jaslyn Go

Member, Singapore Democratic Party

Speakers

Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Chair, CALD Women's Caucus

Sam Rainsy Party, Cambodia

Hon. Henedina "Dina" Abad, MP

Former Chair, CALD Women's Caucus

Vice President for Policy, Liberal Party, The Philippines

Open Forum

14:30 – 16:30

Session II: Pluralism and Political Development: Political Competition, Public Accountability and Popular Responsiveness

Session Chair

Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint

Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee

National League of Democracy (Liberated Area)

National Council of the Union of Burma

Speakers

Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP

Leader of the Cambodian Opposition

Former CALD Chair

Sam Rainsy Party, Cambodia

Hon. Niccolo Rinaldi, MEP

Vice President, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe

Member of European Parliament, Italy

Hon. Marutei Tsurunen, MP

Member of the House of Councillors
Vice Director-General, International Department
Democratic Party of Japan

Mr. Lau Hoi Keong

Speaker of Youth Wing
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Coffee/Tea Break

Open Forum

16:30 End of Day 1

16:45 Leave for dinner venue

18:30 **Dinner and Cultural Show**

Governor's Residence (Jaya Sabha Garden)

Hosted by

Hon. I Made Mangku Pastika

Governor, Province of Bali
Indonesia

21:00 Return to the Hotel

6 November 2011, Sunday

Conference Day 2 / CALD Executive Committee Meeting

08:30 - 09:00 Registration

Grand Ballroom Foyer, Ayodya Resort Bali

09:00 - 11:00 **Session 3: Pluralism and Human Development: Pluralist Underpinnings of Economic Growth, Social Cohesion and Environmental Sustainability**

Session Chair

Dr. Vincent Wijesingha

Candidate for Parliament, 2011 General Elections

Treasurer, Singapore Democratic Party

Speakers

Sec. J.R. Nereus “Neric” Acosta, Ph.D

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

Presidential Adviser for Environmental Protection, Office of the President, The Philippines

Hon. Dra. Eva Sundari, MA, MDE

Member of Parliament (2009-2014), Indonesia

Ms. Maysing Yang

Vice President, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

CALD Founding Member

Hon. Mr. Hugua

Regent of Wakatobi, Indonesia

Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Chair, CALD Women’s Caucus

Sam Rainsy Party, Cambodia

Open Forum

11:00 – 11:15

Coffee/Tea Break

11:15 – 12:45

Session 4: Islamic Pluralism and Its Role in Fostering Democracy and Development

Session Chair

Mr. Ng. Lip Yong

Chairman

Central Unit of International Relations and Affairs

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Speakers

Dr. Luthfi Assyaukanie

Cofounder, Liberal Islam Network

Deputy Director, Freedom Institute, Indonesia

Hon. Hadjiman S. Hataman-Salliman, MP

Liberal Party, The Philippines

Mr. Zia Bandy

President of Islamabad Chapter

Liberal Forum Pakistan

12:45 – 14:00

Lunch

Laguna Restaurant, Ayodya Resort Bali

14:00 – 15:00

Closing Ceremonies

Session Chair

Mr. Hanjaya Setiawan

Member of the International Affairs Department

National Leadership Board, PDI-Perjuangan

Closing Keynote Address

Dr. Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort

Vice President of the Board of Directors

Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Germany

Closing Remarks

Hon. Hasto Kristianto

Vice Secretary General on Secretariat

Central Leadership Board, PDI-Perjuangan, Indonesia

Mr. Rainer Erkens

Resident Representative, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

Indonesia Office

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation, Office of the President,
Sri Lanka

20:00

Farewell Dinner

Jimbaran Beach

Hosted by

PDI – Perjuangan

PROFILE OF SPEAKERS AND SESSION CHAIRS



Dr. Andreas Pareira

Chairman for Defense, Security and International Affairs
 Central Leadership Board Member
 Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

Dr. Andreas Hugo Pareira is part of the National Board of PDIP under the leadership of Chairwoman of the Party Megawati Soekarnoputri. He is in-charge of Defense, Security and International Affairs. Since his involvement in the party in 1996, he had already assumed the positions of deputy chair of Research and Development of the party of West Java Province (1998-2003) and deputy chair of the party of West Java Province (2005-2010). From 2005 to 2009, Dr. Pareira was Member of Parliament of the Republic Indonesia.

Dr. Pareira graduated with a PhD degree from Giessen University Germany in 2003. He wrote his PhD thesis about the Asia-Europe Meeting, published by Peterlang Verlag, Frankfurt Germany. Before joining the party, he started his career as a lecturer in 1988 in the Department of International Relations, Parahyangan Catholic University Bandung Indonesia.



Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP

Leader of the Cambodian Opposition
 President of the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)

Hon. Sam Rainsy is the President of SRP, a Member of Parliament and leader of the national opposition of Cambodia. His political career began with Prince Ranariddh's Funcinpec Party, becoming the Prince's European representative in 1989. He had previously served as Minister of Finance in a coalition government that emerged in Cambodia after the UN-supervised elections in 1993, and was a Member of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia from 1992 to 1993.

In 1995, he formed the Khmer Nation Party, which became the current SRP when it was forced to change its name in order to contest the 1998 elections, in which he was re-elected to the Parliament. In the July 2003 elections, the SRP garnered the second largest number of votes.

Prior to his entry to politics, he was a financial analyst and investment manager with various banks and financial institutions, positions which included chairman and chief executive officer of DR Gestion, a Paris-based investment company and Bank Director at Paluel-Marmont. Sam received his MBA from INSEAD Paris.

In 2006, Liberal International awarded him with the Prize for Freedom honoring his dedication to championing human rights, democracy, and the rule of law.



Dr. Neric Acosta

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD)
Philippine Presidential Adviser for Environmental Protection

Dr. Neric Acosta is an experienced legislator, educator, ardent advocate of the environment, and international scholar. He was appointed Presidential Adviser for Environmental Protection by Philippine President, H.E. Benigno Simeon C. Aquino III. Currently the CALD Secretary General, Dr. Acosta was formerly the Secretary General of LP and served as representative of Bukidnon province in Northern Mindanao to the Philippine House of Representatives.

His major legislation included bills on clean water, solid waste management and biodiversity protection. Dr. Acosta was also the principal author of the groundbreaking Clean Air Act, a model of environmental legislation in Asia.

Dr. Acosta's passion for education earned him various scholarships. After completing his BA in Political Science from the University of the Philippines, he went on to complete an MA in Public Affairs (International Relations and Political Studies concentration) from the Indiana University of Pennsylvania and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Hawaii as an East West Center Scholar. He also attended the special programs Leaders in Development (1999) and Environmental Economics (2002) at the Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University. In 2004, he was named the first Filipino World Fellow of Yale University.



Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD)
Sri Lankan Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha is a Member of Parliament, Sri Lankan Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation and Chairman of CALD. He previously served as Secretary General of the Secretariat for Coordinating the Peace Process in Sri Lanka and was Secretary of the Ministry of Disaster Management and Human Rights. He was also president of the Liberal Party of Sri Lanka (LPSL) and was vice-president of Liberal International.

Hon. Wijesinha is a leading liberal theoretician in South Asia, and has conducted workshops on liberalism in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan and Indonesia. His publications include "Liberal Values for South Asia", "Declining Sri Lanka" and "Political Principles and Their Practice in Sri Lanka."



Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP

President
Liberal International

Hon. Hans van Baalen was born in Rotterdam, The Netherlands, on June 17, 1960. He studied International Law and International Relations at Leyden University. He served in the Royal Netherlands Army as an Officer for International Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC). At present, he holds the rank of Reserve Colonel. In 1988 he joined Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu as a Management Consultant. He left Deloitte in 1998 as Chief Executive Officer of Public Affairs Consultants, to start a career in politics.

In 1986, Hon. van Baalen joined VVD, the Dutch Party for Freedom and Democracy. In 1988, he became a Member and subsequently Chairman of the Dutch Group of Liberal International. From 1993 until 1998, he was International Secretary on the National Executive Committee of VVD and was VVD National Campaign Manager for the 1998 and the 2003 general elections. In May 1998 he was presented with the VVD Thorbecke Award.

In September of 1999, Hon. van Baalen succeeded Frits Bolkestein as a Member of the House of Representatives of the States General, the Lower House of Dutch Parliament. After the May 2002 general elections in which he lost his parliamentary seat, Hon. van Baalen went on a tour of duty to Bosnia for humanitarian relief work. In the January 2003 general elections, he recaptured his seat in Dutch Parliament.

Hon. van Baalen was Parliamentary Spokesman for VVD on Foreign & European Affairs and Defence. He was subsequently Chairman of the Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs and on Defence and of the Netherlands-Belgian Parliamentary Exchange Commission.

At the 56th LI Congress in Cairo, Egypt he was elected President of Liberal International.



Dr. Rainer Adam

Regional Director for East and Southeast Asia
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF)

Dr. Rainer Adam is currently the regional director for Southeast and East Asia of FNF. Prior to his appointment in September 2008, he was assigned in various postings in Indonesia, India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka, and managed a wide range of programs focusing on good governance and empowerment of the civil society.

His professional career also includes research and teaching experience at Bonn University on agricultural economics, and a three-year appointment at the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in Rome, Italy.

Dr. Adam obtained both his doctorate and master's degrees in Agricultural Economics at Bonn University, Germany.



Hon. I Made Mangku Pastika

Governor, Province of Bali
Republic of Indonesia

Colonel General Police I Made Mangku Pastika is the governor of Bali for the term 2008-2013. Governor Pastika was a former Chief of Balinese Police Region and former chief of Indonesia's National Narcotics Board. He is a member of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP).

In October 2003, he was appointed an Honorary Officer of the Order of Australia, "for service to Australia by heading the investigation into the bombings which occurred in Bali on 12 October 2002".



Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP

Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)

Hon. Saumura Tioulong is currently an opposition parliamentarian of the SRP, representing the capital city of Phnom Penh, a post that she holds since 1998. She obtained her MBA as well as her Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from the University of Paris. In Paris also, she later started her successful business career. Hon. Tioulong has been supporting the democratic development in Cambodia even if she was in France. From 1993 to 1995, she served as Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Cambodia. She is a signatory of the Win with Women Global Initiative and has been actively involved in CALD projects.



Hon. Kasit Piromya, MP

Shadow Deputy Prime Minister and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs (2008-2011), Kingdom of Thailand
Former Foreign Affairs Advisor to the Leader of Democrat Party of Thailand (DP)

Hon. Kasit Piromya is currently the shadow deputy prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand. He recently served as the Foreign Minister of the Royal Thai Government. Before his appointment as Foreign Minister, Hon. Piromya was the Director of International Affairs of the DP and advisor to the party leader, Hon. Abhisit Vejjajiva. He was also the former Ambassador of the Kingdom to the United States of America from 2004 to 2005. He obtained his Bachelor's degree in the School of Foreign Service in Georgetown University in 1968 and a Diploma in International Relations at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, Netherlands in 1971. His previous postings as Thai Ambassador include the following countries: Russian Federation, People's Republic of Mongolia, Republic of Papua New Guinea, Federation Republic of Germany, and Japan.



Mr. Win Htein

Senior Member of the National League for Democracy (NLD)
Senior Adviser to the Office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma

Mr. Win Htein is a founding member of the NLD. He had been arrested twice and served a total of 14 years and two months in prison between July 1989 and November 2010. Before and after his imprisonment, he served as senior adviser and secretary to the office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He is currently her head of security affairs.

Prior to his involvement in the NLD, Mr. Win Htein served the military from 1959 to 1977. He graduated as Best Cadet and earned a Bachelor of Science degree from the Defense Service Academy.



Dr. Makmur Keliat

Member of the Advisory Group, Bureau of Policy Research and Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia

Born in 1961, Dr. Makmur Keliat is currently the chairperson of graduate program of International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia. He holds a PhD degree from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi India. Previously, he served as executive director of the Centre of Global Civil Societies in 2001 and the Centre of East Asia Cooperation Studies in 2004. Both research institutes are located at the University of Indonesia.



Ms. Jaslyn Go

Singapore Democratic Party (SDP)

Ms. Jaslyn Go has been active with the SDP since 2007. Besides playing a key role in fundraising for the party, Ms. Go is also in charge of networking for SDP. She has spearheaded the "Friends of SDP" on Facebook, a web-based social networking tool.



Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Head, Women's Wing of Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
Chair, CALD Women's Caucus

A February 2010 New York Times article titled 'Crusader Rowing Upstream in Cambodia' explained that Hon. Mu Sochua is "part of a new generation of women who are working their way into the political systems of countries across Asia and elsewhere, from local councils to national assemblies and cabinet positions." For more than 25 years, Hon. Mu has been a leading human rights advocate. She has worked forcefully to prioritize women's issues in the wake of Cambodia's decades of tragedy. Joining with local and international

actors, she has been working to stop human trafficking, child abuse, domestic violence, worker exploitation, corruption, and government oppression.

Hon. Mu is currently battling governmental abuse of power in her own case, where she faces a possible jail term if the Cambodian Supreme Court upholds her criminal defamation conviction for criticizing the Prime Minister. Her case has been denounced internationally as a politically motivated prosecution that violated principles of due process and freedom of expression.



Hon. Henedina Razon-Abad, MP

Representative, Lone District of Batanes, Philippine House of Representatives

Vice President for Policy, Liberal Party of the Philippines (LP)

Hon. Henedina Razon-Abad is a member of the House of Representatives of the 15th Congress of the Philippines. She serves as the Chairperson of the Committee on Energy and Vice Chairperson of the Committee on Good Government and Public Accountability. She was recently elected as the Vice President for Policy of the LP. Hon. Abad was the former Chair of the CALD Women's Caucus and served as Vice President of the International Network of Liberal Women (INLW).

Previous to her post in government, she served as professor and dean of the Ateneo School of Government. At the Ateneo, she has held various senior administrative and teaching posts. She served many local NGOs in various capacities such as Chairperson of the Transparency and Accountability Network, Executive Director of the Philippines-Canada Human Resource Development Committee, Inc. and Coordinator of the Congress for a People's Agrarian Reform. She finished her economics degree from the Ateneo de Manila University and her Master of Public Administration degree from the Harvard School of Government. She also participated in various courses focusing on participatory development and leadership in transition economies of the Harvard Institute for International Development.



Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint

Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee

National League of Democracy – Liberated Area (NLD-LA)

National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB)

Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint is the director of the foreign affairs committee of the NCUB and secretary of the foreign affairs committee of NLD-LA. He has been a policy adviser to the democratic movement since 2003. He graduated from Rangoon University in 1984 with a BA (Honors) in History. He received his second bachelor's degree in Asian Studies and economics at the University of Texas in 1997. He also served as visiting researcher at the Harvard Institute for International Development.



Hon. Niccolo Rinaldi, MEP
 Member European Parliament
 Italia dei Valori – Lista Di Pietro

Hon. Niccolo Rinaldi is the Vice Chair of Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) Bureau and is a MEP for Italia dei Valori – Lista Di Pietro. He is also member of the International Trade Committee and substitute of the Human Rights and Development Committee. Hon. Rinaldi has a degree in Political Science (Florence) and wrote his thesis about the street economy in Dakar (1988).



Hon. Marutei Tsurunen, MP
 Member of the House of the Councillors
 Vice Director-General, International Department
 Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)

Hon. Marutei Tsurunen is the Vice Director General of the International Department and Vice Chair of the Administration Committee of the DPJ. He was first elected in the Upper House of the Diet (parliament) in 2002 and was reelected in 2007. In the Diet, he serves as Director of the Committee on Oversight of Administration, and is a member of the committees on environment, disasters, and international affairs, global environment and food issues.

Hon. Tsurunen is also Secretary General of the Parliamentarian's League for the Promotion of Organic Agriculture, Chairman of the Japan-Finland Parliamentary League of Friendship and Chairman of the Parliamentarian's League for the Collaboration with NGOs on Environmental Policy. He has written several books on his experiences as a naturalized Japanese citizen originally from Finland and life as a Diet member. He gives lectures around Japan on politics, education, social welfare and globalization. His essays are also regularly published in books, newspapers and magazines.



Mr. Lau Hoi Keong
 Speaker of Youth Wing
 Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM)

Mr. Wilson Lau Hoi Keong is an active PGRM member for the past 15 years, from 1996 until the present. He is currently the Chairman of the National Public Services and Complaints Bureau where he serves the public by solving their problems and complaints. Moreover, he also holds the portfolio of the National Youth PGRM Speaker as well as the Coordinator Chairman of Barisan Nasional (BN) Kepong Parliamentary. He was a candidate for the Kepong Parliamentary constituency in 2008 General Election. He is also the Vice Chairman for Malaysia Intellectual Properties Entrepreneurs and Organization and serves as an advisor to many Non-Government Organizations, Residence Associations and Buddhist Association.



Dr. Vincent Wijesingha

Candidate for Parliament, 2011 General Elections
Treasurer, Singapore Democratic Party (SDP)

Dr. Vincent Wijesingha received his PhD in social policy from Sheffield University. He is a trained social worker and has worked in the field both in the UK and Singapore. He is presently the Executive Director of Transient Workers Count Too, a non-governmental organisation advocating the rights of low-waged migrant workers. He also lectures and has published academic papers. Dr Wijesingha joined the SDP in 2010. He serves in the Central Executive Committee as Treasurer. He led the team that drew up Singapore's first alternative Budget: *Shadow Budget 2011: Empowering the Nation*. He contested the 2011 General Elections, and currently involved in the party's outreach work as coordinator of its Community Service Subcommittee.



Hon. Eva Kusuma Sundari, MP

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)
President, ASEAN Inter Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus (AIPMC)

A member of the Indonesian Parliament from PDIP, Hon. Eva Kusuma Sundari has been at the forefront of the struggle for women's rights in Indonesia and has worked with the Legislative committee to redraft a so-called "anti-pornography" bill that was particularly repressive to women. She is now the President of two Caucuses: AIPMC (ASEAN Inter Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus) and Pancasila Caucus focusing in pluralism. Apart from fighting for minority's rights, she also received an award from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) for her contribution to corruption eradication in Indonesia especially for her efforts in the establishment of PAC's (Public Account Committee) in Indonesian Parliament.



Ms. Maysing Yang

Vice President
Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (TFD)

Ms. Maysing Yang is Vice President of the TFD and represents the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan (DPP). She is among the founding members of CALD.

She served as vice chair in Research and Planning Board of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), and worked closely with the Vice Minister, Michael Kau, to establish Taiwan Foundation for Democracy in 2003 after the model of National Endowment for Democracy, USA.



Hon. Hugua

Regent of Wakatobi,
North Sulawesi, Indonesia

Hon. Hugua is the regent of Wakatobi regency, which is located in the province of North Sulawesi, Indonesia. He was elected as its first regent in December 2005 and was reelected in June 2011. He successfully promotes Wakatobi as one of the most famous tourist attractions in Indonesia and garnered awards for his work in development and the environment.



Mr. Ng Lip Yong

Chairman, Central Unit of International Relations and Affairs
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM)

Mr. Ng Lip Yong is the chairman of the International Relations and Affairs of the PGRM. Since joining the Party in 1981, he has held many positions at various levels including Vice President and National Youth Chairman. He was Deputy Minister of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry of Malaysia from 2006 to 2008. Prior to that, he was the Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Plantation Industries and Commodities. He was a Member of Parliament from 1999 to 2008.

Mr. Ng holds a B.Eng (Hons) degree in Electronic Engineering from the University of Sheffield and a M.Sc. degree in Microwave and Communications Engineering from the University of Leeds.



Dr. Luthfi Assyaukanie

Cofounder, Liberal Islam Network
Deputy Director, Freedom Institute, Indonesia

Dr. Luthfi Assyaukanie is the co-founder of the Liberal Islam Network and senior lecturer at Paramadina University, Jakarta. Dr. Assyaukanie obtained his PhD from the University of Melbourne, specializing in Contemporary Islam. His PhD thesis won the 2007 Chancellor's Prize. He published three books, contributed 50 entries in two Indonesian encyclopedias, and written hundreds of articles, mostly in Indonesian. His pieces appear in Indonesian newspapers, such as Kompas, Media Indonesia, Korantempo, and Jawa Pos as well as in English newsprints such as The Jakarta Post and The Straits Times of Singapore.



Hon. Hadjiman S. Hataman-Salliman, MP

Representative, Lone District of Basilan,
Philippine House of Representatives
Liberal Party of the Philippines (LP)

Hon. Hadjiman "Jim" Hataman-Salliman is the representative from the

lone district of Basilan. He was born on June 12, 1962 in Buli-Buli, Sumisip, Basilan. He became the Mayor of Sumisip, Basilan in 2001-2004, before running for Congressman of the Lone District of Basilan first in 2007, then in 2010.

Hon. Hataman-Salliman is LP member and is the Vice-Chairperson for several Committees including Committee on Mindanao Affairs, Committee on Muslim Affairs, Committee on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity, among others.



Mr. Zia Bandy

President

Liberal Forum Pakistan (LFP) - Islamabad Chapter

Mr. Zia Bandy is presently the elected President of Islamabad Chapter, Liberal Forum Pakistan, a Civil Society Organization, dedicated to the promotion of liberal and progressive ideas in Pakistan.

An investment banker by profession, he has a diverse career profile in armed forces and corporate sector. He took early retirement from Pakistan Navy as Lieutenant Commander and thereafter joined the financial sector. His corporate exposure includes domestic and overseas stints with reputed financial and multilateral institutions. He remains an adherent of the necessity of open society for optimizing economic development. An advocate of civic education, he has been engaged in conducting workshops and moderating seminars on linkages between politics and economy. He has satiated his activist urge by participating in advocacy initiatives for pluralistic society and market economy in Pakistan.

A graduate from Pakistan Naval Academy, he also obtained a MBA degree from Institute of Business Administration, Karachi. His spare time is spent in reading and writing. A nature lover, he adores to track in Margalla Hills, around Islamabad.



Mr. Hanjaya Setiawan

Head of the International Affairs Department

National Leadership Board, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

Mr. Hanjaya Setiawan is the Head of the International Affairs Department of the Central Leadership Board of the PDIP. He also serves as the chairperson of the foreign affairs division of the party's youth wing where which he has been an active member since 2006.

Mr. Setiawan has also been involved in the Indonesia Young Politician Forum, Mega for President Team (Presidential Election 2004), Professional Society for Democracy, and Institute of Peace and Justice. He graduated from Trisakti University where he majored in Electronic and Telecommunication Engineering.



Dr. Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort

Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF)

Since 1995, Dr. Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort has been Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors of the FNF. Apart from his political involvement with the Free Democratic Party (FDP), he was a member of the German Bundestag and has also served as a member of the Executive Committee in the Association of Former Members of the German Parliament and the European Parliament.

Dr. Zumpfort has a range of publications on problems of the economy, including economic analysis of conscription; deregulation of the service sector; and lobbyism. He is a co-publisher of FNF's liberal quarterly magazines on politics and culture. He is Director for Governmental Relations of TUI AG.



Mr. Hasto Kristiyanto

Vice Secretary General of Secretariat
Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

Mr. Hasto Kristiyanto is the Vice Secretary General of the Secretariat of the PDIP. He also serves as a coordinator for an association for political party reform. He has previously been secretary of the organizing committee for the second party congress of PDIP. As a former Member of Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia, he focused on the field of trade and investment. He took up International Business at the Prasetiya Mulya Business School.



Mr. Rainer Erkens

Resident Representative
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF), Indonesia Office

Mr. Rainer Erkens studied political science in Germany, Portugal and South Africa. After nine years of working at the Headquarters of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) of Germany, he joined the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF). From 1996 until 2011, Mr. Erkens represented FNF in Uruguay, South Africa and Brazil while spending the years 2005 and 2006 at the FNF Headquarters in Potsdam, Germany. In August 2011, Mr. Erkens was assigned as the new Resident Representative of FNF in Jakarta, Indonesia. He has published numerous books and articles on the different political issues concerning the countries he has been assigned to by FNF.

CONFERENCE REPORT

Opening Ceremonies



The conference commenced with the opening ceremonies chaired by Dr. Neric Acosta, secretary general of CALD and Philippine Presidential Adviser (Minister) for Environmental Protection. Among those who gave the welcome remarks were Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP, chair of CALD and Secretary for International Affairs of the Liberal Party of Sri Lanka; Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP, president of Liberal International; and Dr. Rainer Adam, regional director of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation East and Southeast Asia Office. The Governor of Bali, Hon. I Made Mangku Pastika, then delivered the keynote address.



Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation
 Office of the President, Sri Lanka

Wijesinha welcomed the delegates to the conference and said that it is significant to discuss “Pluralism and Development in Asia” in a place that embodies pluralism such as Bali, a Hindu island in a predominantly Islamic country. He described Bali “as very special in a different way, in particular for that wonderful air of laid back tolerance that I think characterizes South Asian cultures at their best.”

Wijesinha said that while people are categorized in terms of values they subscribed to, understanding the various classifications that human beings indulge into provides a key to the public's thoughts on pluralism. He explained that there is a tendency to see pluralism "as a doctrine that emphasized differences...and seen as recognizing different characteristics in different people and treating those as seminal." He explained identities further through the two worldviews posed by the Hindi writer Nirmal Verma in his book "India and Europe: Some Reflections on Self and Other." In the view that Verma characterizes as Western, Wijesinha said people recognize differences and exacerbate them, resulting in suffering, resentment and violence. In the other worldview, on the other hand, self was always accepted as "self-referential" - meaning others are not considered a threat to one's identity. Wijesinha believes this reflects tolerance and should "govern our concept of pluralism." He added that for such worldview, differences are accepted, recognized and respected because they are what make people human. He said, "We are unique as individuals and do not need confirmation of the validity of our identity through association with a group or dissociation from other groups." This view reflects liberal perspective which emphasizes individuality above all, he added.

Wijesinha then thanked the host party, PDI-P, and the CALD secretariat for arranging the event. He also thanked the FNF for the support and LI for its active involvement in the aspiration of other countries. Lastly, he thanked H.E. Megawati Soekarnoputri, former President of Indonesia, for gracing the occasion, albeit in absentia, and for her leadership in advancing her party and country towards the full fruits of pluralism.

Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP
 President, Liberal International
 Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands

van Baalen thanked CALD, PDI-P and FNF for inviting LI to the conference. He started by saying that Chee Soon Juan of the Singapore Democratic Party was granted the LI Prize for Freedom during its 57th Congress in Manila, and was formally awarded in Singapore just a day before the Bali conference. He lauded Chee for his peaceful, gentle and honest opposition towards a government that is not open and democratic. He also acknowledged Sam Rainsy who is also a laureate of the LI Prize for Freedom. van Baalen expressed great compliments about Asia, an Asia that does not resemble China, but Indonesia, which practices a plural form of democracy. He ended by saying that he believes that Asia will play a vital role in the world with Indonesia being an example of real, pluralist democracy.





Dr. Rainer Adam

Regional Director, Friedrich Naumann Foundation
East and Southeast Asia Office, Thailand

Adam highlighted the growth of Asia in terms of development, and said that it has become the “engine of the world” despite being one of the most diverse continents in terms of culture, language, ethnicity, religion, economy and political systems. He added that the growth of Asia could not solely be credited to China, but also to many smaller neighboring countries that provide livelihoods and have lifted millions of people out of poverty.

He also mentioned the advances of the region in terms of the remarkable social and political developments that are reflected in most of the social indicators of human development reports, showing that people in the region “live longer, are better nourished, have better access to health and education and generally, have a happier life.” In addition to these, there are also advances in political and civil rights as well as in good governance. There are stable democracies in northeast Asia: Japan, Taiwan and South Korea and Mongolia; and in Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. There are also advances in media freedom in Malaysia and Singapore and a “breathtaking development” in Burma. There are still challenges, but Adam said that even the post-socialist countries like Vietnam and China have to yield to their citizens and institute a more inclusive decision-making processes.

Adam complimented Indonesia for its “pragmatic policies, which embrace the market, which embrace entrepreneurship and which provide opportunities to people to use their talents to advance themselves.” He said that being an archipelagic state of thousands of islands with more than 200 million people, Indonesia “showed the resilience of the people and the belief in the principles of freedom and a just society.”

Finally, Adam stressed that without tolerance, no pure pluralism is possible since pluralism needs freedom. He then thanked the organizers and the Governor of Bali for gracing the event.

Hon. I Made Mangku Pastika
Governor, Province of Bali
Indonesia

The Governor of the Province of Bali, Hon. I Made Mangku Pastika, was present to welcome the delegates as the representative of the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle, to deliver the keynote address, and to formally open the conference. On behalf of the people of Bali, he thanked CALD for choosing Bali as the venue of the event, with its



conference theme complementing what Bali is known for: a province of “peace, democracy and tolerance.”

He gave a brief history of Bali’s past and explained that while there are various religious sects present in the island, Balinese people are able to develop a society that “recognizes and respects diversity, creativity and innovation.” He added that pluralism cannot be separated from multicultural societies - in Bali, there are Balinese Hindu (90% of the population), Chinese community in Bangli regency, and Moslem community in Kampong Islam Kepaon in Denpasar City. Moreover, the Governor explained the Balinese value of local wisdom such as *Paruman* and *Sangkepan* which means “sit together and discuss a subject for solution” and *ngaturang ayah* or *nguopin* which means “working hand in hand to lighten hard work. These local wisdoms have encouraged the growth of tolerance in Bali. He also shared the great philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* – “relationship between human the Almighty God, to the environment and among human” and *Tattwam Asi* which is a reflection that teaches how to behave and interact with others.

The Governor noted the provincial government’s vision to create an advanced, secure, peaceful and prosperous Bali – a modern Bali, but not retracting the Bali Hindu beliefs and culture. He also took the opportunity to promote tourism in Bali, with its beautiful landscape of mountains, lakes, rivers, and rice fields. After which, the Governor, together with representatives from CALD and PDI-P, performed the banging of the traditional Balinese gong to officially open the conference.



Session I

Incentives and Constraints to Building and Strengthening Pluralistic Societies



Session I focused on the issues and problems in building and strengthening pluralistic or multi-cultural societies. The session talked about the benefits of having a multicultural society and addressed the challenges that societies face in terms of freedom, social harmony and political stability. Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP, served as the session chair. The speakers were: Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP; Hon. Kasit Piromya, MP, Shadow Deputy Prime Minister and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand; Mr. Win Htein, senior member of the National League for Democracy (NLD) and senior adviser to the Office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; Dr. Makmur Keliat, member of the Advisory Group of the Bureau of Policy Research and Development from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia; and Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP.



Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP

President, Liberal International

Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands

van Baalen discussed the inherent covert and overt constraints to the functioning of pluralism. He said the state should be explicit about the liberty and equality of men, women, and those with other sexual orientations. He said that this becomes the basis for stability and ensures that citizens enjoy the same rights and freedoms. He added that as a liberal, he favors an efficient

state rather than a very big state. He also favors competition for social groups and political parties as well as the economy.

Pluralism also enables citizens to best compete in a society within the limits of a democratic law. Thailand, Taiwan, Philippines, and Indonesia, he highlighted, should be part of the binding concept of pluralism. He said that this “may ensure that there is not one overriding center of force of power.” He stressed that to have pluralism is to have a strong and stable democracy. He ended by saying that pluralism is a basic liberal instinct.

Hon. Kasit Piromya, MP

Shadow Deputy Prime Minister, Democrat Party of Thailand
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kingdom of Thailand

Piromya’s presentation complemented van Baalen’s speech and discussed that one way to achieve direct democracy is by decentralization/devolution, meaning decreasing the power of the central government. Through serious efforts of good leadership in furthering the decentralization process and giving the role more to the locality, development, progress, and peaceful cohabitation could be achieved.



Piromya stressed that every society is “pluralistic, multiple, diverse and heterogeneous in nature” and a mix of compositions go with it: the dominant and minority groups, the clans, the tribes, the religious sects, the conflicting ideologies, among others. He also discussed about the danger of not understanding diversity and the prejudices that go with it. The treatment of the Jews for the past 2000 years, flowing from the sin committed in crucifying Jesus Christ, serves as a case in point.

He said tensions are very evident on religions and one way to address it is “to work together in the principle of tolerance, acceptance of differences, (and) respect for human dignity”. He added that, “We must be brave enough to fight the negative aspects or interpretations of religious teachings.” It is very important, Piromya explained, to come up with common norms and values that should be taught to the younger generations in order to overcome the prejudices and to achieve peace, harmony, development and progress.

Piromya also shared his thoughts on his meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Rangoon earlier in the year, and his belief that she is a beacon of peace, harmony, and reconciliation who can work within the system. This, according to Piromya, is because

she was able to overcome conservatism in her political movement and started engaging the government.

In conclusion, he said he agreed with Hon. Hans van Baalen that pluralism is all about the promotion of liberal ideas and the acceptance of the notion of inclusiveness.



Mr. Win Htein

Senior Member, National League for Democracy
Senior Adviser, Office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Htein, who belongs to the multi-ethnic country Burma, started by briefly sharing his experience as a political prisoner for almost 20 years, as well as his commitment to the struggle for democracy. He said he was among the 9002 prisoners released in September 2008, but after speaking with foreign media over the phone about the lopsided judicial system, he was again sent back to prison the next day.

He discussed the current political situation in his country, the problems they currently face, and the efforts that could be done to help Burma move towards greater democratic reform. He said that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is currently engaging with the government and had met face to face with President Thein Sein. Some indications of reform are showing – media is more relaxed and open, over 200 political prisoners are freed, Chinese hydro-power projects in Kachin State were suspended after public protests, among others. However, these developments are not enough because there are still activists in prison and human rights violations are still prevalent in ethnic areas.

He noted that people should not forget that NLD won elections in 1990 by an overwhelming majority and that twenty years after, the party still enjoys the support of the Burmese people. Htein emphasized that without rule of law, judicial reform, and ethnic participation in the reconciliation efforts of the government, a genuine democratic reform would be difficult to achieve. He said “rule of law...is crucial and must be instituted.” He called on the international delegates to remind the Burmese government that “the faster it implements reforms, the better it will be for the country.” Finally, he said once Burma turns into a true democracy, it will be a triumph for CALD as well.

Dr. Makmur Keliat
Member of the Advisory Group
Bureau of Policy Research and Development
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia

Keliat posed three questions to start his presentation:
1) who is responsible to preserve and promote the idea of pluralistic society?; 2) what is the measurement that a political regime pays high respect for the principle of pluralistic society?; and 3) why is the idea of democracy not



automatically in line with the idea of pluralistic society? Keliat said that the state is “responsible to preserve and promote the idea of pluralistic society” and this should be enshrined in the constitution - being “a primary a collection of ideas that a polity would like to preserve or to achieve in the future.” However, he observed that there are cases when the law contradicts the principle of the constitution, so mechanism of judicial review is equally important.

To answer the second question, Keliat emphasized the nature and function of citizenship in a state and said that policies “should be made on the basis of citizenship principle and there should be no discriminative policy against cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds.” Keliat added that there is also a need to strengthen the capacity of the state, through education programs, in order to promote the idea of pluralistic society and to build citizenship.

Lastly, he explained the general understanding why democracy could weaken the idea of a pluralistic society. He said that in a democracy, the highlight is the people – it is for the people, by the people and of the people. But in Indonesia, he said the term citizenship is not so popular and “the idea of people sovereignty can be easily understood and transformed into the sovereignty of the majority.” And with this, there is a risk of having discriminative policies. He also pointed out that “democracy can reduce the capacity of the state to make positive intervention”, especially when communal sentiments become stronger. The fear is that some people may be tempted to rely on the function of communal groups rather than the welfare function of the state. In order to address this challenge, Keliat said it is important to strengthen the capacity of the state to promote the idea of pluralistic society, and make positive interventions in encouraging the state to educate the people about pluralism and to set non-discriminatory policies.



Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation
 Office of the President, Sri Lanka

Wijesinha, on the other hand, expressed how fun pluralism is. He said variety is a must and the need for different interests is essential to keep minds active. He added, “We need to explore new idea, and we do this best through experiencing and engaging with a range of perspectives.” However, Wijesinha also shared that pluralism entails risks and that conformity provides certainty, and familiarity inculcates security. In his presentation, he explored the relationship of pluralism, the risks involved and challenges, in relation to religion, individual freedom, and social development.

He discussed the two factors that have contributed to the institutionalization of the thrust towards uniformity in the construction of nation states. The first is the “strength of revealed religion” that is invasive of individuality and fuelled by a quest to convert. Wijesinha warned that in resisting measures that detract from individual

freedom, it is important to try to understand the motivation and address the root cause rather than degrade it. He also stressed that the focus on education, as reflected in the resources devoted to it, “encourages wide-ranging knowledge as well as thinking skills.” The second factor is the “impact of the doctrine of the nation state that developed in Europe some centuries back” which propagated the idea that there must be a reason for a country to be an entity - “the kinship of its peoples.” He also explained that while uniformity is essential to the survival of the currency and to promote free exchange of goods, people and services, such as in the case of the European Union, there is a risk that the more powerful can take over in terms of foreign policy, and political and economic union. Furthermore, impositions in case of monetary union will simply be “for the convenience of the powerful.”

Wijesinha explained the greatest constraint against building and strengthening of pluralist societies through experiences of Britain and France of the former Ottoman Empire, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, and Africa where rivalries based on different tribes and religious groups contributed to so much “violence and efforts to redraw boundaries.” In contrast, he highlighted Indonesia as a country that enshrines a minority language as that of the nation, that ensures that the benefits of uniformity are shared with no due advantages to the powerful, and that privileges the common principles of all religions which led to greater tolerance and mutual understanding.

Lastly, Wijesinha, like Keliat, underscored the need for education, and the need for a system that does not compartmentalize in order for children to “learn together, and to understand and appreciate their similarities and differences from each other...ensuring that they will not consider the other as a threat to their own identity.”

Open Forum

Pluralism, incentives, and economic growth



Muhammad Thamrin Husni, Program Officer from FNF Indonesia, asked what the real incentive of pluralism is. He said pluralism does not mean anything without the accompanying prosperity. Its aim, he said, should be economic growth. van Baalen said while he believes that prosperity is a valid goal, the state should nonetheless provide a basic level of decent living conditions with good standards for education, health service, security, competition, protection of minorities, among others. Piromya, on the other hand, shared that the word incentive is a difficult word to interpret, but the incentive of pluralism is recognizing the identities and differences without any kind of discrimination. A harmonious society can be achieved when pluralism is practiced.

Keliat observed that industrial products are produced in terms of homogeneity, but with respect to human beings, it is a different matter. Human beings cannot be generated like industrial products because the nature of human beings is diversity. He

said diversity is a gift and homogeneity is a danger, and it is therefore important to protect and preserve the nature of a human being in the context of diversity.

Wijesinha reiterated that pluralism is fun. He said pluralism encourages individuals to have pride in their own identity. He said there is a constraint when people want uniformity and that “individuality should be encouraged because when you try to suppress it, it will lead to divisions, separatism, agitation, uncertainty and volatility.”

Islamic teaching and suicide bombings

Husni commented on the speech of Piromya, particularly on the case of suicide bombings. He said that there is no teaching in Islam which claims that those who commit suicide will go straight to heaven. Piromya clarified that he did not say that Islam subscribes to such teaching. He did mention in his speech that there are certain groups that teach violence in order to achieve their goals. For this reason, he said that it is important to ask the Muslim moderates and the clergy to bring out the positive aspect of the teachings of Islam. He stressed that, “We cannot allow the teachings of Buddha, Mohammed, or Jesus to be misused and misinterpreted for political ends which can create not just racial, but religious war.”



Wijesinha said there are many interpretations of religion that lead to more extremism, and there are those who believe they are correct. In order to address this, he again emphasized the value of all-inclusive education which may prevent the misuse and misinterpretations of particular religions. He said, “On one hand, we cannot suppress those religions, but we can ensure a much wider perspective that will put them in context.”

Htein also asked a follow up question on education and said that the September 11 leaders and members were all highly educated, but they were still involved in this appalling incident. Wijesinha explained that education is not just about knowledge, but also about attitudes. He added that religious education is restrictive and has no real effort to establish the pluralism that has to be intrinsic with all kinds of religion.

Democracy and pluralism



Zia Bandy from the Liberal Forum Pakistan asked Keliat whether a state's continuous practice of democracy would ultimately induce moderation and pluralism. Keliat contextualized his answer by pointing out that in Europe, the state has been there for hundreds of years, but this is not the case for most states in developing regions like Southeast Asia. He added that there is really a big problem for those colonial states to have respect for democratic principles if people observe that they are honored more in breach than in compliance. Keliat emphasized once again that pluralism is meaningless outside the context of citizenship based on the rule of law.

Comments from delegates

Emil Kirjas, secretary general of LI, made some clarifications on the presentation of Wijesinha. He said that the collapse of the former Yugoslavia is not because of religion, language, and diversity. The collapse happened precisely because there was no pluralism – the people acted in a certain framework where they can say whatever they want even to the extent of hampering freedom, life and existence of other people on the basis of ethnicity. Kirjas noted that there is a huge responsibility on the politicians and the government to make sure that pluralism is not being misused, but rather nourished in a way that would ensure prosperity in the society.



CALD Secretary General Neric Acosta raised an issue for future debates. He asked regarding the impulse of the state to be more homogenous. He said, “If you have identities that are heavily politicized, then by structured instinct, the state would act to protect itself from being dismembered.” He added that diversity has to be protected in a way where it can even challenge the very integrity of that polity or state.

CALD Women’s Caucus Chair Mu Sochua commented about pluralism and gender, and observed that in some religions, there are few principles or initiatives for men and women to be equal. She said that such initiatives should be fostered, as the gender gap is so wide in some religions.

Special Session

CALD Women's Caucus Forum



A special session was dedicated for liberal women leaders after Session I. The CALD Women's Caucus organized a forum which aimed to answer issues and address the challenges concerning women in a pluralistic and secular society. Among the discussions were about religion and its influence in a secular society, women's political participation, women's rights, among others. Ms. Jaslyn Go from the Singapore Democratic Party chaired the session. The speakers were Hon. Mu Sochua, MP, chair of the CALD Women's Caucus, and Hon. Henedina Abad, MP, Vice President for Policy of the Liberal Party of the Philippines and former chair of the Caucus.



Hon. Mu Sochua, MP
 Chair, CALD Women's Caucus
 Sam Rainsy Party, Cambodia

Other than the CALD Women's Caucus, Mu is also representing the Sam Rainsy Party which is the leading opposition party in Cambodia, in terms of the legislators they have in the parliament as well as the issues and principles they fight for. Mu gave an update on the work of the Caucus and the current issues affecting women in Cambodia, particularly Cambodian domestic helpers working abroad.

Mu reminded the delegates of the commitment made by members of CALD to women in the region: "The commitment to (a) very special, progressive, (and) liberal

program called 'Win with Women' with a very global plan of action to promote and to ensure that within our parties, we have clear principles, we have clear strategies, (and) we have clear plan of action to give the women...who have made many sacrifices to join the party at every level." She further explained that it is a plan to break the barriers in political parties so that internal competition between men and women would be less of an issue. She also mentioned that the CALD Women's Caucus has been invited by the National League of Democracy to organize a workshop for the party's women's wing on November 15-17, 2011.



Mu also tackled in her presentation the state of Cambodian migrant workers in Malaysia as an example of situations that leaders should not take for granted. She noted that there are currently more than 30,000 Cambodian domestic workers in Malaysia, not including those who work in factories. The experiences of these workers, she said, reflect those of other domestic workers as well: gang rapes, severe forms of torture, and severe forms of exploitation of girls as young as 14 years old. To her knowledge, there are already confirmed cases of Cambodian workers' deaths in Malaysia. Mu called on CALD to be part of the solution and to collectively engage in the regional and international level by developing agreements and legislation. To conclude, she said that she recognizes the value of economic empowerment and economic freedom, but these should not justify exploitation in any way.

Hon. Henedina “Dina” Abad, MP
 Former Chair, CALD Women’s Caucus
 Vice President for Policy, Liberal Party of the Philippines



Abad provided insights on women participation in the Philippines and how it could be further strengthened. She started by recounting the Liberal Party’s struggles in the Philippines as the party that fought for good governance, human rights, and the politics of inclusion as the basic tenets of political practice. And now that the party is in power, with President Benigno Aquino III leading the party and the country, Abad said it is actually easier to be in the opposition where politicians just criticize. Now, she said that the liberals will have to contend with so many problems – problems that are historically rooted.

She noted that women in the Philippines have been historically marginalized. Nonetheless, with the results of a survey stating that the Philippines is one of the ten countries where women wish to live, it can be said that Filipino women’s sense of empowerment improved through the years. She reminded the delegates that as members of liberal democratic parties, one cannot talk about pluralism if “we do not try to put the lenses of women as we propose policies, as we draft legislation, and as we look for solutions.” It is also important to look at the issues from a woman’s perspective because development is not just about the pursuit of income growth, but also of balance – “the judicial balance of ecology, culture, spiritual and human development.”

Open Forum

On migrant workers and policies

Fifianty from FNF Indonesia asked if the migrant workers themselves know their rights and if they are educated regarding policies that protect them. Mu answered in the negative, although she emphasized that domestic workers possess rights and that these rights are protected. She said that the International Labor Organization Convention 189: Decent Work for Domestic Workers, adopted just last June 16, is a turning point that will change the lives of million of workers worldwide. Convention 189 recognizes the need to change the way society views domestic work. It would pave the way for all stakeholders and various sectors of society to re-strategize and re-evaluate for more inclusive policies and standards for workers, Mu said. “We need to provide them protection and we need to recognize the rights of migrant workers”, she added. She then thanked Indonesia for its two-year suspension of deployment of migrant workers to Malaysia because of the public outcry and the kind of exploitation happening in that country.

Ng Lip Yong from Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia agreed that there are indeed exploitation and abuse happening to migrant workers in Malaysia. He noted that they recognize the importance of foreign workers and their contribution to economic growth

of the country. However, he also pointed out their increasing problem with regard to security because of the 4-5 million domestic workers working in Malaysia. He noted that the middlemen who bring in the workers are the ones creating the problems. Ng said it is important to think of solutions rather than do the blame game. He said countries should develop their own economies in order to lessen the number of their people seeking employment abroad. He noted that Malaysia has already undertaken some measures to address the problem like a massive foreign workers registration to provide illegal workers amnesty and a fresh start. He said that they have also prosecuted employers who abused domestic workers and implemented biometrics to counter illegal activities.



Htein and Piromya both agreed that the government-to-government approach is an effective strategy to overcome the problem of illegal traffickers, who are usually the cause of exploitation.

Comments from delegates



Based on the discussion about migrant workers, Piromya presented some suggestions: 1) CALD should push the issue of migrant workers in the ASEAN agenda by writing to the Indonesian Foreign Minister who chairs the Bali Forum; 2) CALD should engage the ASEAN Human Rights and Women and Children Rights Commissions; 3) CALD members should work closely with civil society organizations, both locally and internationally to push the agenda at the regional and multilateral levels; 4) CALD members should focus on good governance because without it, there would be no domestic development and people will really seek opportunities elsewhere; and 5) CALD should push not only for discussion but more importantly, for action.

Son Chhay, MP from Sam Rainsy Party of Cambodia, observed that, "We are not committed enough to certain values that we have been subscribing for all this years", and that it is important to also bring these values when parties are already in power. When CALD parties enter the government, there are sometimes double standards and the values that they have fought for as opposition are taken for granted. Son said besides setting up goals, CALD parties should be committed to change the "bad habits and bad laws" and use the opportunity of being in power as a way to create a better environment.



Christine de Saint Genois, Vice President of the International Network of Liberal Women, said that women should never take the blame and should keep fighting for human rights and parity. She reiterated the importance of women being in politics and the need for education to make this possible.

Session II

Pluralism and Political Development: Political Competition, Public Accountability and Popular Responsiveness



Session II discussed the relationship of pluralism and political development and how pluralism encouraged public accountability and government effectiveness. This session also tackled the socio-political problems that can be addressed by a more pluralistic society. Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint, secretary of the foreign affairs committee of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), chaired the session. The speakers for this session were: Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP, leader of the Cambodian opposition; Hon. Niccolo Rinaldi, MEP, vice president of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE); Hon. Marutei Tsurunen, MP, member of the House of Councillors and vice director general of the international affairs department of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ); and Mr. Lau Hoi Keong, speaker of the Youth Wing of Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM).



Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP

Leader of the Cambodian Opposition
 Former Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 President, Sam Rainsy Party of Cambodia

Sam started by explaining that pluralism comes from the word “plurality” and “plural” is the opposite of singular. Singular means one and plural means many. He explained

that this is the same concept in political development - the process from one to many. Democratization, for example, is a process of having one source of power to many sources of power or counter powers. The same concept applies to economic development – from state monopoly to market competition.

Sam explained that pluralism is closely associated with freedom, which implies the right to choose and have several options. He added that the association between pluralism and freedom is as close as the association between freedom and democracy. Just like freedom, pluralism reflects a theory or ideology that that should be defended in order for a system to function well. In the broader sense, Sam explained that it is part of a battle to promote and strengthen democracy. He said pluralism “implies we have to break any monopoly to ensure that there are choices and options” because monopoly of the truth and information should not be tolerated. Sam noted that the struggle for pluralism is very evident in Cambodia and other Asian countries that are still fighting to promote democracy.

Lastly, Sam reiterated that as pluralism implies diversity, it does not exclude unity because strong, real, and lasting unity is based on diversity.

Hon. Niccolo Rinaldi, MEP
 Vice President
 Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
 Member of European Parliament, Italy



Rinaldi observed that the topic is very interesting, albeit quite ambitious. Political competition, public accountability, and popular responsiveness are topics that can be discussed thoroughly and separately. So to make his presentation succinct, Rinaldi provided a few elements for each topic and described them vis-à-vis pluralism and political development.

Rinaldi explained that political competition is the essence of political life among political parties, and that it can come in many forms. Political parties compete with each other and also within the same political party, the latter as a way for politicians to find a good internal balance in the party. Parties differ in structures and decisions are determined in many ways. Parties can organize primary elections to elect the president or chair of the party. Parties can also have a referendum within the party. The Free Democratic Party of Germany, for instance, had a difficult internal debate on which way to approach the Euro crises. In arriving at national and local decisions, Rinaldi also shared that there is political competition among institutions in government, parliament, and judiciary. Democratic accountability needs to be questioned and competition between and among institutions need to take place so interests can be expressed. Non-

political actors, such as the trade unions and churches, are also involved in the competition. From a global perspective, countries also compete with other countries.

On public accountability, Rinaldi gave examples of how institutions should function. Since some politicians always try to escape responsibilities, Rinaldi said the people are given the mandate to choose leaders and change the course of a society through direct participation and referendum.

As regards the judiciary, it should be neutral, independent and guarantee balanced politics. The bureaucracy, being an important element in public administration, should have a system where access to information is free and fast. In governance in general, decision must be checked and must have the trust of the people. There should always be accountability to the people despite trials and challenges, according to Rinaldi.

He argued “people know best”, and it is difficult to sell to the people. But there are ways to engage the public in order to gain popular responsiveness: by the use of ideology, by responding to individual interests, by force, by rational persuasion, and by indifference. Rinaldi concluded that as liberal and democratic politicians, they should know which way to use in order to gain the trust of people.



Hon. Marutei Tsurunen, MP

Member of the House of Councillors

Vice Director-General, International Department

Democratic Party of Japan

Tsurunen talked about political and social pluralism in Japan. He took the opportunity to thank the international community for the help and sympathy they received after the March 11 earthquake that hit east Japan and subsequently damaged the Fukushima nuclear power plant. He reported that the Japanese people are holding on to their unyielding spirit and are starting to build a stronger and environmentally friendly society. He added that they are now planning to replace all nuclear power plants with renewable energy. The disaster, Tsurunen explained, helped them encourage pluralism in Japan. Usually, the government and the ruling party cannot get support from opposition parties. But because of the disaster, it has united the Japanese people as they endeavor to address and overcome the devastation. Tsurunen said Japanese people differ with respect to social pluralism because of its homogenous society, having only one language and only two religions (Buddhism and Shintoism). There have been no big confrontations between the religions in Japan, but Tsurunen said there is still big discrimination against the minority people (foreigners) living in Japan. Japan is not as multicultural as it should be, he observed.

According to Tsurunen, in politics, pluralism works well. The small parties can still freely express their policies. He set himself as an example of political pluralism. He shared that he was born in Finland and moved to Japan at the age of 27. He gained his seat in the House of Councillors by being elected as one of the Diet members. To this day, however, he is the only foreign-born member of the body.

Tsurunen concluded by talking about public accountability. He said the bureaucracy has controlled the social life and politics for too long. Ministers change too often and some have no sufficient knowledge in their specific fields. He explained the importance of mutual trust and cooperation between the bureaucracy and the government. The bureaucracy has the know-hows and the government has the capacity to translate the knowledge into practical actions and solutions.

Mr. Lau Hoi Keong
 Speaker of Youth Wing
 Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM)

Lau recounted the experience of Malaysia with respect to the development of pluralism. He described the political party system that emerged after the 2008 election. He also provided input on where his party, the PGRM, stands in the current political landscape in Malaysia.



Lau described Malaysia as a multiracial country with a diverse culture and religious background. By nature, he said, Malaysia is pluralistic. But for years, the Barisan National, the national front alliance of parties, dominates the country - causing a very weak opposition. However, in 2008, the general elections brought forward political development. Lau described it as a gradual formation of a two party system in the country because the Pakatan Rakyat, the people's alliance made up of People's Justice Party, Democratic Action Party, and Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, denied the government of the two-thirds majority. The Pakatan Rakyat took over the control of four states in Malaysia namely: Selangor, Penang, Kelantan, and Kedah. It was biggest victory of the opposition in the history in Malaysia. He said "The emergence of Pakatan Rakyat as the alternative option for the people corresponds to political development."

Lau said pluralism is important in Malaysia because it is the guiding principle that permits a peaceful co-existence among Malaysians and among the political parties to better serve the nation. Pluralism gives rise to political competition.

He added that public accountability is vital to strengthen the checks and balance between the two dominating political camps. With the efforts and advances in

accountability and performance, the people as stakeholders can determine which party serves better. Lau emphasized that a pluralistic society provides a better social political environment that measures the performance of parties and that reminds them of the commitments they made during the election campaign.

Popular responsiveness, another important ingredient to the development of pluralism, is an indication of what the public wants and how the public reacts. He said the sentiments prevailing in Malaysia come from the younger generation, 90% of which are supporting the opposition party. Responsiveness is complemented through the significant role played by social media and networking sites to voice out the political views of people. Malaysians nowadays, he said, do not subscribe to the mainstream media (newspaper, radio, etc.), which is monopolized by BN. Online tools are actively being used to spread out news and help organize political events.

PGRM, he explained, stands for the best interest of all Malaysians irrespective of race and religion. The United Malays National Organisation, Malaysian Indian Congress, and the Malaysian Chinese Association are race-based parties while the PAS is a religion-based party. His party's concern, Lau concluded, is the merging of both UMNO and PAS because Malay Muslim makes up more than 60% of the national population. This, he said, would be contradictory to the principles his party adheres to.



Lau said, "It is disheartening to note that the government policy of Malaysia is still based on race and religion." But the bipartisan system has opened up more involvement of the people in politics. People are given more ideas and perspectives."

He continued, “Those living in urban areas now have more mature political views that transcends racial barriers and have more inclusive perspective based on common issues faced by all Malaysians just like living costs, social security, subsidy issues, fairness in judicial system, transparency in government practice.” He added that these positive changes would gradually form a more mature civil society for Malaysia. The upcoming election will be a test for the dominant parties of their comprehensiveness and flexibility towards pluralism and political development in the country.

Open Forum

Drawing lessons from the Italian experience

Piromya said that liberals could draw lessons and conclusions from the experiences of Italy where the Prime Minister controls the media and the very rich people, and where populist policies and propaganda prevail. He said this is very similar to Thailand’s experience, and noted that this should give liberals the precaution and admonition to fight against money politics.

Rinaldi responded that he is familiar with the similarities between Italy and Thailand in terms of the control that the Prime Minister exercises. He said the Italian Prime Minister is the richest man in Italy and controls the television, newspaper, advertising market, and the state media. Rinaldi said the Prime Minister uses this power to broadcast his propaganda, to gain consensus from constituencies, and unfortunately, to get elected democratically. But Rinaldi believes there are ways to counter the PM’s political weight and financial power. He said it is important to have an independent judiciary that will not be influenced by politics, to have a voice in the European institutions such as the European parliament, and to organize the civil society for collective call for reforms and accountability.



Changes in Japan

Banday asked Tsurunen if the diversity in Japan, which includes diversity in culture, gender, ethnicity, among others, is contributing to social harmony or tension. He inquired how the Japanese people deal with the changes from a conservative and traditional system to gradually being exposed to modernity and economic development. Tsurunen said that innovations and changes are indeed happening in Japan and poses challenges to society. How the Japanese responded to the challenges, however, is still open to debate.

Referendum and public responsiveness

Wijesinha asked Rinaldi about referendum and how one can justify it in terms of the question of accountability and responsiveness. Rinaldi said the question is very sensitive and matters regarding referendum deserve very long reflections. He said some look at referendum as a legal democratic tool because it is a way to empower people and make them express their opinions on relevant issues. Mature democratic countries such as Switzerland, Rinaldi explained, uses referendum to also stabilize the country and create social cohesion. It is an important bridge between the people and institutions, he added. However, Rinaldi also explained that people should be informed about the issues at hand. Proper training of political forces and neutrality and honesty of the media should also be promoted for referendum to work.

Comments from delegates

Hasto Kristiyanto, deputy secretary general of PDI-P, shared his party's experience in maintaining pluralism. He said they are a strong opposition, and at the same time a guardian of pluralism in Indonesia. They do not issue any policies that will discriminate their members. There maybe candidates who are party executives, but there are also candidates from the minority group in the party.

Htein asked a question about on the homogeneity of the population and how it affects social cohesion. Tsurunen emphasized that in Japan, pluralism works in politics, but not in the society. He said that being a homogenous society also has a negative aspect. The Japanese people have a hard time accepting people who think differently.



Nyo Myint of NCUB asked Lau how to create a balance between the ethnic Chinese and those of Indian origin in the party. Lau said they have a policy that certain portfolio will be given to other ethnic groups. PGRM is a multi-racial party, so the party uses the non-racial approach to handle most of the issues raised in the party and in the country.

Session III

Pluralism and Human Development: Pluralist Underpinnings of Economic Growth, Social Cohesion and Environmental Sustainability



Session III focused on pluralism and its effects on human development. This session included discussions on the relationship of pluralism on economic growth, social cohesion and environmental sustainability. Dr. Vincent Wijesingha, treasurer of the Singapore Democratic Party (SDP), served as the session chair. The speakers were: Dr. Neric Acosta; Hon. Dra. Eva Sundari, MP from the PDI-P; Ms. Maysing Yang, vice president of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy and CALD founding member from the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan (DPP); Mr. Hugua, regent of Wakatobi, Indonesia and an member of PDI-P; and Hon. Mu Sochua, MP, chair of the CALD Women's Caucus.



Sec. J.R. Nereus "Neric" Acosta, Ph.D

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 Presidential Adviser for Environmental Protection,
 Office of the President, Philippines

Acosta's presentation focused on the environment and talked about symbiosis, resilience, and justice as three important concepts to understand pluralism and human development. He explained that his presentation is based on ecological perspective, not just the economy because diversity adheres to nature itself.



He added that even if people have all the models for economic growth, investment, finance, employment, but if there are scarcity of forest, water, agriculture, food, then there will be no balanced ecology and no economy.

Acosta explained that nature and pluralism embody relationships across differences – the seas, river basins to the forests, the corals, the air, everything is deeply connected. This explains symbiosis: “sym-” meaning “with” and “-biosis” meaning “life.” Acosta said, “We are all with and related to each other’s lives and the life of nature as well.” The second concept is resilience which is the “capacity of systems to adapt, to absorb disturbances, but still retain the essential structures and functions of the system.” It is about the capacity of the country’s systems to adapt to disasters, flooding, landslides, and droughts everywhere in the world.

The Philippines right now, Acosta said, is the third most vulnerable country to climate change impacts. He said “the United Nations University’s Institute for Environment and Human Security and the German Alliance Development Works said the top 10 countries facing the highest risk are: Vanuatu, Tonga, the Philippines, the Solomon Islands, Guatemala, Bangladesh, Timor-Leste, Costa Rica, Cambodia and El Salvador.” He further explained that with the rich ecosystem the Philippines has, the damage is expected to be higher when natural calamities strike. If a country is not able to maintain balance or symbiosis, then it is hard to achieve resilience (that recovery and capacity to bounce back) and sustainability. The impacts of climate change are all affected by carbon footprint, governance, institutions, laws and environmental regulations.

The third concept is justice and Acosta said that “it is with justice that we understand that pluralism is essentially about rights, it is about respecting differences...about respecting the majority while protecting the minority.” This is the same with nature, he added, because nature has the right to resist when people utilize natural resources. Acosta emphasized that it is important to have limits “because there is such a thing as a carrying capacity for the earth” and nature must be treated with justice as well. With justice, he said, there is sustainability.

When liberals speak of free market, it means to have a level playing field with freer and fairer competition. And symbiosis can also be achieved in economic growth when the relationships function in terms of demand, supply, productions, consumption, buying, selling. With social cohesion, Acosta said it is really about the fabric in society where openness, respect, access, responsibility, are all key elements to translate pluralism into policies and incorporate it in institutions that balance the majority and minority.

Lastly, environmental sustainability, Acosta explained, is the return to ecology with all its dimensions – “population, people in interactions with the environment, land, air, water, the impacts that we have on land, air, water in the ecosystem, and the kind of impacts they have on us” as well as technologies and the way resources are being used for inventions, and governance that talks about how well laws and institutions are managed. Ecology, he further added, is the larger way of looking into all of symbiosis, resilience, and justice.

Hon. Dra. Eva Sundari, MA, MDE
 Member of Parliament
 Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle



Sundari talked about the challenges that Indonesia faces in terms of the governance and economic development. She shared the public's perception of how the government works and the realities that are attached to it. She also shared some facts about the current political and societal status of Indonesia.

She explained that despite the economic success and the democratic developments in Indonesia, which are commended by the international community, Indonesia is still struggling to eliminate the unpleasant realities attached to politics. Indonesia is included in the G20, and has been praised by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, but she emphasized that there are still important things to be done. She said the human development index in Indonesia decreased tremendously, from rank 98 in 2004 to rank 124 in 2011. The national budget, on the contrary, increased to four times the budget from 2004 with an economic growth of almost 6% per year. However, conflicts in provinces and villages have intensified and minority and religious rights have recently been curtailed. About 500 churches, for example, were closed down in West Java Province.

Sundari also emphasized the need to eliminate the rampant corruption in the government. She said the law enforcement is weak because politics intervenes with the law enforcement agents. The government, she added, would never be able to open up because of the so-called “cartel in politics” where businessmen, the powerful, the rich, control the management as well as the recruitment in political parties for the parliament.

Reforming the political party, she noted, is also a way to reform the damaged system. By having a government, parliament, politician, and policies that are transparent and accountable, people are guaranteed of their rights, she concluded.



Ms. Maysing Yang

Vice President, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

CALD Founding Member

Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan

Before Yang presented, she made an appeal to the plenary to support an international committee they are planning to form for fair elections in Taiwan. The aim of the committee, she said, is to safeguard democracy and human rights in Taiwan and to ensure a peaceful environment, domestically and internationally, during and after election day.

Yang presented Taiwan's experience of transitioning from authoritarianism to democratic pluralism. She briefly discussed its history, sharing that they have five ethnic groups and immigrants who came mostly from China and South Asia. Taiwan, she said, has been colonized by Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch. The Dutch were in Taiwan for 37 years and the Japanese for 15 years. Yang also narrated how difficult it was when the Chinese came to Taiwan after World War II and how the Taiwanese people were prevented to learn about their own culture and language. She believes, however, that the future of Taiwan's pluralism is an open society that involves immigrant integration (education, employment, public perception).

Yang also discussed how her party, the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan differs from the current ruling party, the Kuomintang Party of President Ma. While KMT is a rich party and most of their members are millionaires, DPP on the other hand is a party that promotes pluralism and diversity and this is reflected in its membership where indigenous groups are actively engaged. The DPP was established in 1986, just a year before Martial Law was lifted, and it was this time when the culture, the political aspiration, the free market as well as the pursuit for democratization started to develop. In 1996, the first general election was held, and in the year 2000, DPP won the presidency. It was during this time when the party focused on the minority, the aborigines, and really tried to bring back the culture and mother language of the Taiwanese people. Yang said that with the efforts of the party to develop pluralism, 83% of the people living in Taiwan identify themselves as Taiwanese. Also, 80% prefer independence and only 10% prefer unification with China.

Other than protecting and respecting the minority in Taiwan, Yang explained that DPP's platform also promotes the new minority, the new immigrants who are willing to learn and sustain the Taiwanese language. She said, "We think that the new

immigrants' culture is actually a bridge for Taiwan's culture to connect with other country's culture."

Hon. Hugua

Regent of Wakatobi, Indonesia
 Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle



Hugua described and promoted the environmental balance of environment, politics and public service in his province, Wakatobi. He said the effective perspective of a healthy ecology is the basis of policy-making in his province.

Hugua explained that pluralism is a mindset for wisdom – it is not management, not knowledge, and not skill. It is the respect for nature just as it is a respect for religion and people. He said it is egoism that destroys pluralism and it damages the world in general. In a diverse environment, he added that the focus on social cohesion, diversity of human beings, the vision for self and the state is what brings a diverse Indonesia into one. He also stressed that Indonesia's vision and direction should be independent from the politics of other countries, and that freedom should be the driver for its economy. With the highest diversity in the world, Hugua said that Indonesia's mantra is "unity in diversity."

He concluded by stressing PDI-P's commitment to make the party more active in strengthening and sustaining checks and balances for the development of the Indonesian democracy.



Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Chair, CALD Women's Caucus
 Sam Rainsy Party, Cambodia

Sochua, in her presentation, emphasized that one of the main elements of economic growth, social cohesion and environmental sustainability is land. Sochua said land is security, rootedness, and stability. She argued that the people have the right to their land – to cultivate it, to own it, and to enjoy it. However, the current government in Cambodia has mastered abuse of justice by grabbing land from its own people. Sochua said "millions of our families in all region face major obstacles that prevent them from benefitting and protecting the interest in the land they work upon" and this is because little is done about symbiosis, resilience and justice.

Sochua presented a video that showed the struggles they have as members of the opposition party, as citizens under very difficult circumstances who try to defend the very element of life and dignity. It showed what the party does in villages, in communes, and in the provinces Cambodia in order to inform and give hope to the people.

She also shared to the plenary that women leaders are able to make sacrifices for accountability and that women can be part of the competition. And as members of CALD, she posed a challenge on how to ensure that women become a part of the economic growth and the sustainability of the environment especially in an unlevel playing field. She noted three important things to focus on for women: 1) to eliminate legal discrimination (includes family marriage laws, the inheritance provisions and ownership of businesses, of land, etc.); 2) to help women understand legal education in the most simple way (teaching young students, young activists who go to the field about land laws); and 3) to empower the people (to teach and provide them with tools) and push for accountability in all respects of development.

Open Forum

Concretizing the concept of pluralism



Son from SRP Cambodia said that as politicians “we look into political ambitions” and that a politician’s objective is to create another world through pluralism with the goal of improving the implementation of democracy. His main question was “How are we going to do it?” How will indigenous people and nature be protected? How will institutions and the democratic fiber be strengthened?

Acosta said diversity is empirical. It is given and it is a manifestation of pluralism. He further explained that pluralism on one hand is a value and it “manifests in our constitutions, our laws, our programs, as a value that we must all promote and protect.” He presented three guideposts in order to further promote pluralism: 1) access to information (the more we have information in the localities and grassroots, the better for pluralism); 2) effective implementation and enforcement of laws (there is no use to have laws only on paper); 3) building of institutions (it is about bringing everything together in terms of efficient and accountable governance).

Sundari said the system should be constructed in a way that will enable the weak to have equal opportunity with the strong. A formative policy, she added, should be employed in order to make sure that the weak and the poor will be able to enjoy all the resources and economic benefits that have an impact on their welfare. While there might be a good flow of information in the system, the weak has not always been given the opportunity to control it. She stressed that the crucial thing is participation in decision-making and designing programs in order for the weak to have dignity in

engaging and later on, in leading. She added that policy making is essential to make sure that the value of pluralism is guaranteed and protected.



Yang emphasized the value of working closely with non-government organizations in order to develop social movements to protect the minority, the environment, the indigenous groups, the women's groups and human rights groups. Hugua explained that in a volatile environment of politics, to increase peace and prosperity is essential. Attacking opposing sides just to take over power is a bad idea, he added. With a more harmonious political landscape, pluralism can be more realizable. Mu focused on political parties and said that the contract with the people that includes values should be intact whether in opposition or in power. She added that the engagements and dialogues with civil society should always be present.

Comments from delegates

Piromya provided insights on how to further develop democracy in countries. First, he said it is important to learn through the experiences of South Korea and Taiwan as countries that have emerged from a military or authoritarian government and became fully democratic. Second, with the aid of reliable indices such as the Freedom Index of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, we can "read on the negative side of countries in order to know the starting point on how to better ourselves." Lastly, organize political volunteer programs and strengthen political education to develop the young generation's exposure to the vital issues of the country even at an early age.

Husni from the FNF Indonesia Office, commented on capitalism and political parties and noted that the challenge is to make them transparent. He said it is in the nature of every individual to strive for prosperity and the challenge for politicians is not to abuse power and capital to serve their own self interests.

Abad also commented on capitalism and said that “There is nothing bad about capitalism but it is corporate greed that we should not allow ourselves to be captive in terms of systems.” She added that problems arise when those who have capital want to capture policy and the political process. Abad reminded the plenary to prioritize the social contract of public servants to their people “to ensure that people do not just have enough income but they also have the opportunity to develop themselves.” Lastly, she stressed that in order to pursue pluralism, we need to change the framework we are operating from politics of patronage to politics of empowerment, and to establish the mechanisms that will enable even grassroots to participate in very basic decision making processes.



Session IV

Islamic Pluralism and Its Role in Fostering Democracy and Development



Session IV talked about Islamic pluralism and its role in fostering democracy and development. Mr. Ng Lip Yong, chairman of the International Relations & Affairs of PGRM, chaired the session. The speakers were: Dr. Luthfi Assyauckanie, co-founder of the Liberal Islam Network and deputy director of the Freedom Institute Indonesia; Hon. Hadjiman S. Hataman-Salliman, MP, from the Liberal Party of the Philippines (LP); and Mr. Zia Bandy, president of Islamabad Chapter of Liberal Forum Pakistan (LFP).



Dr. Luthfi Assyauckanie

Cofounder, Liberal Islam Network

Deputy Director, Freedom Institute, Indonesia

Assyauckanie presented the misunderstandings on pluralism and provided another perspective about the relationship between Islam and pluralism. Rather than discussing the role of Islam in fostering democracy and development, he focused more on the challenges of Islam in pluralism. Assyauckanie said there is not much problem when people talk about pluralism in politics and ethnicity. However, when people include religion in the equation, it becomes more of a challenge. Assyauckanie presented the general attitudes of Muslims when faced with issues on pluralism. One of these is regional attitude. Indonesian Muslims, he explained, generally accept and embrace diversity and it is true

that “unity in diversity” is one of their main national message. But misunderstandings happen when they hear about pluralism due mainly on the different perceptions about it.

He said diversity is a fact, but pluralism is not. Just like in his country, Assyaukanie explained how diverse Indonesia is – with over 300 ethnic groups, 700 languages, six major religions, and hundreds of denominations. Diversity in Indonesia, he further explained, is acknowledged in their constitution especially after 1999 when the human rights chapter was included. Even the people in Kalimantan and inner areas in Batan who do not subscribe to any formal religion are constitutionally protected. He said people are born to many of these groupings of ethnicities and languages, but pluralism is something that is acquired or achieved through respect of people, religion, ideology, among others.

He also explained that when it comes to religion, pluralism is not only about the “external”, but also about the “internal.” He said that within Islam and even Christianity, there are also many groupings, sects, and denominations and this is a fact that people should also accept.

Relativism is also another issue he discussed. He shared that some Muslim scholars do not accept pluralism because they think pluralism considers all religions the same. They also think that pluralism threatens Muslim religions because of the presence of so many identities. For this reason, they tend to be more defensive and at the same time, aggressive, in promoting their own belief. An example of this is the case of the Indonesian Council of Ulama, Indonesia’s top Muslim clerical body, in 2005 when they issued a very controversial fatwa against minorities. Assyaukanie said that the clerics were threatened by so many discourses on pluralism among the younger generation in the Muslim society. He added that throughout history, there have been so many fatwa’s issued against pluralism, secularism, and liberalism, and that there is a strong relation between fatwa and violence.

Hon. Hadjiman S. Hataman-Salliman, MP
 Liberal Party of the Philippines

Salliman focused on Mindanao, particularly the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) and identified the problems that hinder the attainment of genuine peace and development. He also mentioned the doable solutions currently being undertaken by various stakeholders in the Philippines.



Salliman also presented the three inhabitants (tri-people) of Mindanao: the Moros or Muslim Filipinos, the Lumads or the tribal people, and the Christians. He gave

a brief background of the migration of settlers in Mindanao and the sphere of influences that make for Mindanao's diversity. He said diversity is what makes Mindanao unique and a model for pluralism and that the abundance of "religious, cultural, and social ideologies makes for a positive attribute that is essential to attaining development."

He discussed the past and current conflicts facing Mindanao and narrated that the foremost problem is the Bangsamoro secessionist movements which calls for the recognition of its right to self-determination. He also discussed the two popular armed rebellion groups: the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) which settled with the demand to have a "regional political autonomy" and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) which calls for the creation of an independent Bangsamoro Islamic State. He said, with the lessons learned in the past negotiations, the Philippine government has adopted new approaches with MILF in the negotiating table in order to attain peace in the region.

Lastly, Salliman presented recommendations that should guarantee individual freedom, promote diversity of ideas, and ensure public accountability to achieve peace and sustainable development. It is important, according to Salliman, to respect diversity and each other's religious beliefs and practices; to build solidarity to establish a common vision through constant dialogue; to ensure that initiatives such as the Peace Process with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front are comprehensive, transparent, participatory and pragmatic; and to strive for economic development at the grassroots to help eradicate lawless elements. Salliman noted that the tri-people may have had a divided past, but the people of Mindanao remain hopeful in the "promise of pluralism" especially with the government's statement that "The exercise of any form of governance in the new autonomous region shall be conducted in a manner that is participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive and responsible, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and consistent with the rule of law."



Mr. Zia Banday
 President of Islamabad Chapter
 Liberal Forum Pakistan

In his presentation, Banday explained the Quranic injunction for Radical Muslims, provided a brief historical account of Muslim rule and described the revival of political Islam. He also explained how radical Muslim started in Afghanistan and presented current developments for modern Islam vis-à-vis democracy. He also shared a few suggestions for moving forward from Islam radicalism.

Banday started his presentation by stressing that he remains to be optimistic about his country, Pakistan, though it has been branded as one of the most dangerous places in the world. Pakistan already lost 35,000 civilian lives and around 5,000 security forces since 2001. The cost in material damage since the war against terror is enormous, Banday said.

Banday described the appalling experiences with radical and military Islam. He showed a photo of a beautiful valley in Pakistan that has been burned down by the Taliban in 2008. People were told to leave the place, but the people remained and showed hope that they could still rebuild the place. Banday explained that human resilience stayed and the human spirit continued to live in the area. He said "Nobody can tore it down, no Taliban, no religious right. People will come back."

He explained, however, that the situation behind the growth of radical Muslims is not that bleak but it is vital to find the tools that would help address the difficult situation. Banday enumerated several promising developments that give hope to social development:

1. Majority of Muslims countries are well integrated in the global economy.
2. Public support for religion-based violence has declined in Muslim countries.
3. Countries like Turkey, Indonesia & Malaysia have successfully maintained their Muslim identity along with democracy & economic modernization.
4. Arab spring has given a democratic path for moderate Islamists to power.
5. Dynamics of market economy is inducing moderation in broader populace.
6. Power of Radical Muslims to set public discourse cannot be underestimated.
7. Economy remains the Achilles Heel of Radical Muslims.

He also presented several proposals on the way to move forward:

1. Establish the reality of integration and tolerance for sustainable economic growth.
2. Establish civil pluralism as a tool to prioritize citizens' rights.
3. Make alliances across elites, whose stakes are threatened due to declining economy.
4. Promote lowering of barriers and increasing of competitiveness through market economy.
5. Propagate comparative role models in the Muslim world of inclusive and exclusive orientation
6. Stick to the opposition to the "IMPERIALIST" design while encouraging commerce across global spectrum.

Open Forum

Radicalism and education

Sam asked about the perception against imperialism and if the situation has already changed in Libya. He also asked if the Muslim radicalism has gone down in countries where the literacy rate is high. Banday said that Moammar Gadhafi had a very long reign of 42 years and people view him now as the dictator who has gone insane. Regarding radicalism, Banday cited Pakistan as his example. He said for the last 32 years, students did not have student unions and elections because they were banned and universities have been handed down to fundamentalist parties. The young generation today in Pakistan is not trained in local politics and has not done real activism due to the emergence of Internet generation and social media. Banday said that there would not be a lot of changes with the students in Pakistan without activism.



Rinaldi also commented about education, not the fundamentalist influence of education, but investment in moderate education. He said it is amazing to observe how popular the work of fundamentalist Madrasah in Pakistan while the western community, the international community, as well as moderate Muslims are not putting enough attention and effort in educating ordinary people. Salliman shared that Madrasah is an institution that is not being regulated by the Philippine government. He said they are advocating for it to be regulated by the ARMM government. With regard to dialogue, he said that the Ulama is a very effective machinery for the government to use in development.

Piromya asked about religious people in Indonesia issuing rules and regulations that contravene the spirit of freedom. Assyaukanie said this is because of the changing nature of the Ulama Council. Former President Soekarno, Assyaukanie recalled, established the Indonesia Ulama Council in 1975, and it was fully designed to assist government policy. However, since the political transition, the Council became more independent and its membership began to open up to extremists groups other than the major Islamic organizations. This unfortunate development explains the increase of conservative policies that go against the constitution, he added.

Closing Ceremonies

Closing Keynote Address



Dr. Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort

Vice President of the Board of Directors

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Germany

Zumpfort noted that the debates and discussions in all the conference session showed interesting and intelligent approaches to common problems. He shared some of the remarkable lessons learned from the presentation. The keynote speech of Governor Pastika for example reflected wisdom and experience on the topic when he defined pluralism as “protection of the minority and respect for the majority” – a definition that focused on the marginalized and minorities. He also agreed to Abad about the fact that it is really hard to be in power. The Free Democratic Party, for one, is experiencing the same hardships in Germany. The concept of “heavenism” and the discussions about equal recognition and equal rights for women all show creative liberal approaches.

He said that while everybody wants development, especially development for themselves, pluralism, on the other hand, goes beyond self-interest. Zumpfort stressed that real development is not possible without real pluralism. He added that pluralism has to be fought for because it is a prerequisite for development. Moreover, as liberals he said, “we favor social markets, dynamic and open, because we want as many people as possible to benefit from it.” Lastly, he said FNF is proud to have such a good cooperation with CALD. He also thanked the FNF Regional Office for the good work done in Southeast Asia.

Synthesis

Sec. J.R. Nereus “Neric” Acosta, Ph.D

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 Presidential Adviser for Environmental Protection,
 Office of the President, Philippines



Acosta gave a succinct synthesis of the conference, weaving the session topics into one comprehensive output. Pluralism, he said, was defined in the conference as a value in which liberals want to enshrine and embody in laws and constitutions. He added that pluralism should be exemplified in institutions and should define “our democratic practices and processes.” Acosta emphasized the fact that diversity and differences are inherent in a society and without the understanding of the various cultures, politics, ecologies and the differences in interests, ideologies, stakes -- divergence and dissonance are most likely to happen. To fully appreciate the benefits of pluralism, it is therefore imperative to strive and live for convergence, cohesion and co-existence -- “not uniformity, but the building of relations across differences.”

So in understanding the differences manifested in identities and in the quest for integration -- “not to deny identity but to allow for the recognition and accommodation even as we maintain identities,” it is important as CALD parties to enshrine pluralism in institutions as a value of governance. Acosta emphasized that as CALD, “we must be able to govern with our parties and political systems as democratic as we seek it to be.”

Acosta also said that it is vital to embrace hope and achieve a kind of resilience that would “allow for the capacity of systems to absorb disturbances and conflicts but without destroying the system itself.” Pluralism, he added, “has to move us towards that kind of resilience.”

Closing Remarks



Hon. Hasto Kristianto

Vice Secretary General on Secretariat
 Central Leadership Board
 Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

Kristianto, on behalf of Ibu Megawati Soekarnoputri and PDIP, extended the gratitude and appreciation to all delegates and speakers for their contribution and participation in the conference. He said PDIP is so honored to have hosted the three-day event, which produced very interesting and fruitful exchange of ideas and expertise on pluralism and development.

He shared a few of his observations and insights during the conference: 1) pluralism is not only the basic value that should be part of public policies, but also the “reality of living” that embraces diversity and uniqueness at the same time; 2) as members of political parties, liberals should strive to gain power through popular support and grab the opportunity to implement policies that are committed to pluralism; 3) it is essential, for pluralism to be part of the way of life, to protect the rights of minorities, respect the majority and strengthen the social capital; and 4) a strong legal foundation (i.e. law enforcement, trusted judicial system, protection for every citizen) can contribute to the development of democracy and pluralism.

Finally, Kristianto said that the conference “will reinforce our solidarity as politicians - improving party-to-party relationship between and among CALD members.”

Mr. Rainer Erkens

Resident Representative
 Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Indonesia Office



Erkens shared a brief, but important observation about Indonesia. He said he admired Indonesia’s founding father and PDIP’s founding father as well, President Soekarno for laying the ground work and foundation for the country’s language. With 700 languages, 300 ethnic groups, 6 major religions, the clear dividing lines are only in religions and not in languages. Indonesians have no linguistic problem and it was because of good leadership and good governance. Erkens said Indonesians prioritized and invested in education with “one Bahasa, one language” and this has always been a significant piece of Indonesia’s history.

Erkens thanked PDIP for showing a “high heart” in accommodating the delegates. He also said that FNF would continue to work with CALD, an organization he described as issue- and solution-oriented.



Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation,
 Office of the President, Sri Lanka

Wijesinha shared two things that are memorable in the conference. One is that the Governor of Bali is an impressive figure. He reminded the participants about the importance of relating to other as brothers - because a brother is part of yourself. Second, he thanked Abad for stressing the point about free market - that it is the “duty of the state not to permit greed and capture the policies of government.”

Wijesinha thanked PDI-P for showing courage as a party that makes unpopular decisions, but affirms the principles that are in line with tolerance and pluralism. He also thanked Rainer Adam, for the cooperation with CALD and for his “seminal work in Indonesia to support political parties as they strive to restore democracy.” He also thanked the CALD Secretariat for a fantastic job and noted that this year has been CALD’s most active year since its inception.

Wijesinha thanked Liberal International for the support throughout the year and for ensuring a memorable LI Prize for Freedom awarding ceremony for Chee Soon Juan. He also thanked Neric Acosta who has been “a rock of support now to three Chairs of CALD.”

Wijesinha said that the world today needs more pluralism with the increasing power and influence of more players on the world stage, which can be both a threat and an opportunity. He said, “We see the world from our own perspective, as an individual, but it should be in terms of being part of all else. We should not see ourselves as part of one group, in opposition to another, but rather as a part of all we see, just as all others belong in such overlapping circles.”