

# Pacific Affairs

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## ABSTRACTS

### **Aquino and Her Administration: A View from the Countryside**

*Gary Hawes*

This article evaluates the quality of democracy in the Philippine countryside. Based on interviews conducted during 1986 and 1987 with peasants, workers, party officials, candidates, and underground activists, the conclusion is drawn that democracy (at least in the countryside) is incomplete and severely flawed. The article further argues that the restoration of the pre-Martial Law political system means that most parties are once again organized from the top down and that the poor are structurally excluded from participation in decision making both within the political parties and the policy arena. This lack of meaningful participation for the poor coupled with an increase in the level of military violence in the countryside helps to explain the continued mass support for the revolutionary movement fighting against the Aquino government.

### **Japan's Mainstream Press: Freedom to Conform?**

*William Nester*

The nature of Japan's political system remains controversial. Is Japan ruled by corporatist ruling elite or is the system essentially pluralistic? A recent survey indicates that most Japanese not only believe their system is corporatist but identify the mass media as the most influential actor in the system. Although freedom of the press is constitutionally guaranteed, an analysis of Japan's mainstream press reveals a relatively cohesive news cartel that tends to support the government position on most central issues. Even news of scandals is picked up by the mainstream press only after it has broken elsewhere. Yet, in contrast to the common Japanese perception that the press is the most important actor in the system, the newspapers actually tend to be easily manipulated by the LDP, ministries, or corporate world. This study analyzes the press structure and role in Japan's political system.

### **Reform Corruption: A Discussion on China's Current Development**

*Stephen K. Ma*

Corruption among China's bureaucrats has accompanied rapid reform. This problem remains chronic and contagious. The paper argues that bureaucratic corruption in China during a period of reform is the result of several factors, including ideological confusion, incentive hiatus, lack of deterrence and "management gap." The paper also examines options for reform.

**Organizing Against Violence:  
Strategies of the Indian Women's Movement**

*Mary Fainsod Katzenstein*

The article examines the kind of power and resources that the Indian women's movement has utilized in the struggle to bring attention to women's subordination. The argument presented here is that by focusing on issues of violence against women (rape, dowry deaths, wife-beating, sati), the Indian women's movement has been able to provoke media notice, to secure public and state attention to women's issues and thus to exert influence far in excess of its numerical power or organizational cohesiveness. What gives a social movement strength is not just the ability to create organizational networks, strong leadership, access to funds—attributes usually thought of as movement "resources." At least as critical is the capacity of a movement to produce new meanings and to act as signifying agents. "Naming" the violence inflicted against women, the Indian feminist movement has begun a process of re-viewing the way women across a broad spectrum of Indian society see themselves as well as the way women's experiences are understood by those in positions of prominence in society and within the state.

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## ABSTRACTS

### **The Ministry of Finance and Chinese Politics**

*David Bachman*

This paper examines the role of the ministry of finance in the Chinese political process. First, it discusses the resources, constraints, and interests of the ministry of finance at the central government level. Second, it focuses on the roles the ministry of finance has played over time in Chinese economic policy making. These include a passive survivalist role; a bureaucratic interest group within three different types of coalitions; as a contender for power; and as a restorer of balance. Third, the roles the ministry plays are related to several broad independent variables, such as the political and economic climates, and the degree of financial centralization and decentralization. These structural variables are more effective in explaining the roles of the ministry than are ministry leadership variables.

### **Economic Reforms and Urban Development in China**

*Wen H. Kuo*

China's urban policy-makers have recently experienced mounting social pressures to improve their urban conditions. This paper argues that some of the urban development problems confronted by economic reformers originated in the Stalinist model of economic development instituted in prereform years. Overstress on the development of heavy industry and a centralized economic planning system deprived the cities of organizational structures which would have enabled them to achieve sound urban development. The economic reforms of recent years have initiated some urban-organization and policy changes. However, the pace and magnitude of change among cities varies, as does their ability to resolve their existing urban underdevelopment problems. Analysis reveals Chinese urban policy-makers are still reacting mainly to social pressures resulting from economic growth. The service needs of the cities do not seem to have played a significant role in the data insofar as the allocation of urban capital investment funds and the improvement or urban services are concerned.

### **Colonial Policy-Makers, Capitalist Class and China: Determinants of Electoral Reform in Hong Kong's and Macau's Legislatures**

*Shiu-hing Lo*

One-fifth of the members in Hong Kong's Legislative Council will be directly elected by citizens in future geographical constituencies in 1991. However, one-third of the members in Macau's Legislative Assembly were directly elected by citizens in 1976. In comparison with Macau, the pace of introducing directly elected seats to the colonial legislature was slow in Hong Kong from the 1970s to 1988. Unlike the Portuguese administrators in Macau, the British policy-makers in Hong Kong lacked the political will and missed several opportunities to democratize the colonial legislature. Moreover, the split within the capitalist class accounted for the early implementation of electoral reform in Macau's legislature. In both Hong Kong and Macau, a triple alliance between the colonial policy-makers, the capitalist class and the People's Republic of China determined the way in which electoral reform was introduced to the colonial legislature.



## **The Changing Political Role of the Hong Kong Civil Servant**

*Kathleen Cheek-Milby*

This paper explores the political role of civil servants in a transitional environment, the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, which will become a special administration region of the People's Republic of China in 1997. Hong Kong, unlike most countries, has not witnessed a merging of the roles of bureaucrats and politicians, but rather a clearer distinction between the two. While civil servants have traditionally been the only political actors in the colony, recent developments have witnessed the rise of the non-civil servant politician, and the consequent decline in the political power of the Hong Kong civil service. This paper traces this development and, based on recent empirical research, explores the attitudes of Hong Kong civil servants towards this change. In addition, the research highlights the imperative need for a clearer delineation of the new role that Hong Kong civil servants must play in the policy process to ensure the smooth transition of political power in 1997.

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## ABSTRACTS

### Development and the Environment in ASEAN

*Mark A. McDowell*

The rapid economic development of the ASEAN nations thus far has been achieved at the cost of substantial environmental degradation. The coexistence of traditional and modern sectors in these evolving economies creates unique stresses as a whole spectrum of environmental problems, from those of primitive agriculture to those of modern industry, must be dealt with simultaneously.

This essay provides an overview of the environmental issue in the ASEAN states, emphasizing the interrelationship of economic, political, legal, administrative, and geographical factors, with a focus on deforestation and the complex of problems surrounding it. A broader cross section of environmental problems will be discussed in a case study of Malaysian responses, both governmental and popular, to environmental challenges. The paper examines the role of ASEAN itself as a vehicle for environmental management, and the future of the environment in the context of the Asia-Pacific regional economy. It is argued that the ability of the ASEAN states to deal with environmental problems will be an important factor in determining the success or failure of the region's future development.

### The Sojourners:

#### Returned Overseas Chinese in the People's Republic of China

*Michael R. Godley*

Of the many Hong Kong residents who understandably worry about their future after 1997, the estimated quarter of a million returned Overseas Chinese (*guiguo huaqiao*) make a particularly interesting case study. Once motivated by patriotism or alienated by deteriorating conditions in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, they voted with their feet a second time when, after becoming disenchanted with life in the PRC, they fled to the British colony. Although many others have crossed the border because of hardship or political vicissitude, the returned Overseas Chinese were brutally mistreated during the Cultural Revolution when their very "Chineseness" was often brought into question. This article relates their experiences within the general context of China's modern political history. While recognizing that there were many problems in assimilation, not all of which should with any fairness be charged to the Communist leadership, the shocking treatment of individuals thought politically unreliable in the late 1960s and early 1970s because of their alleged "bourgeois outlook" and "foreign connections" invites further reflection.

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## Labor Strategy for Industrialization in South Korea

*Kyuhun Bae*

The remarkable economic growth of South Korea over the past several decades is often considered an unusual case because it does not fit neatly into the established pattern of development. However, it is not unusual in that it is a result of rational evaluation—a process of evaluation which involved interaction among government, employers, and employees who collectively took note of situations peculiar to South Korea. A labor shortage was overcome by the successful labor training program and its unique recruitment system—a mix of Japanese and western practices. Korean managers rationally evaluated alternative strategies and devised a balanced system that lies somewhere between Japan's *nenko* (system of seniority) and the west's market-driven system. The Labour-Management Council, the Factory New Village Movement, and the military model of entrepreneurial ideology were devices to skillfully manage this new labor force system. While this system is a product of a rational decision-making policy that bears local situations in mind it also draws on Korea's Confucian heritage.



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# Pacific Affairs

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## ABSTRACTS

### **Japan's Foreign Aid Policy: A Capacity For Leadership?**

*Alan Rix*

With Japan set to become the world's largest aid donor, this paper assesses Japan's capacity for leadership in international aid policy. It appraises the strictures in the domestic aid system alongside Japan's poor performance in many areas of aid activity. Long-standing dominance in aid to Asia, and recent growth in Japan's aid profile in the Pacific, suggest the potential for Japan to be seen as a regional leader in aid. Recent initiatives in increasing its aid flows, raising its contribution to debt relief, are also positive, but Japan's leadership position is yet to be reflected in most international financial institutions. External leadership capacity remains inhibited by domestic structural weaknesses in the aid system and insufficient political and popular support. There is little immediate prospect of Japan taking other than a limited leadership role in the foreign aid area. "Cooperative hegemony" between Japan and the U.S. is still the likely option for Japan.

### **Collaboration or Conflict? Foreign Aid and U.S.-Japan Relations**

*Robert M. Orr, Jr.*

The aid relationship between the United States and Japan has mirrored other aspects of U.S.-Japanese relations in the sense that it has vacillated between collaboration and conflict. In particular, commercially predatory Japanese aid policy remains the predominant American image. This article questions the extent to which this is true and argues that evidence suggests that mercantilist Japanese aid is diminishing. Beyond this conflict, the U.S. and Japanese aid programs have sporadically cooperated and in the interests of Japan, the United States and the third world. This collaboration should be enhanced.

### **Why Aid? Japan As An "Aid Great Power"**

*Dennis T. Yasutomo*

The rise of economic aid policy in the 1980s is one of the most striking developments in Japanese foreign policy. Japan will enter the 1990s as the world's largest aid-giving nation, surpassing the United States. This paper will explore the reasons for aid's emergence as a foreign policy pillar from the inception of ODA (Official Development Assistance) in the 1950s through the 1980s. It finds that aid for the Japanese has been a convenient, effective and popular diplomatic tool. Aid policy's continued centrality is explained by its gradual integration in Japan's vision of a future international role for Japan as an activist nonmilitary power.

**Japanese Transnational Corporations in Malaysia's State  
Sponsored Heavy Industrialization Drive:  
The HICOM Automobile and Steel Projects**

*Kit G. Machado*

This article assesses the balance between external and domestic factors in Malaysia's heavy industrialization drive. It focuses on relationships between the Malaysian state and its Japanese corporate partners in two key industrial projects as they pursued their strategies within the context of world and national economic trends. Malaysia's strategy derived primarily from domestic concerns, while its Japanese partners were following larger regional and global strategies. Joint venture agreements favored the transnationals, owing to their control of capital and technology, but Malaysia got much of what it initially wanted in both cases. In the mid-1980s, adjustments to recession, yen appreciation, and severe project problems became necessary. Malaysia temporarily gave increased control of the auto project to its Japanese partner and may thus have diminished control over its future direction, but it salvaged more than might have been expected in the steel project. External factors, particularly global economic trends and Japanese transnational efforts to take the lead in promoting regional economic integration, weigh most heavily in explaining project outcomes to date.

**RURAL CHANGE IN SOUTHEAST INDIA,  
1950s to 1980s.  
Kathleen Gough.**

This book deals with the problems of rural political economy in Thanjavur, Tamilnadu, in a historical context. It covers the period between the early 1950s and the early '80s, and is also an important contribution to comparative sociology. Together with her earlier book, *Rural Society in Southeast India* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), Gough's new work is an exhaustive analysis of rural change in Southeast India.

578 pp. Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1989,  
US\$29.95

North American distributor: Oxford University Press,  
200 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

## BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

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## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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### PAKISTAN

#### Transition from Military to Civilian Rule

GOLAM W. CHOUDHURY

A closely documented study of Pakistan's recent history, this book analyses the constitutional and political events and explores in detail the perhaps most revolutionary stage in the history of that country — the rule of President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988). Choudhury discusses such questions as: what form of government is the most suitable for a new nation? what is the place of a national religion in any society? and what are the ingredients of democracy? In writing this book, the author had access to unique research materials and data and also spent many hours in private interviews with President Zia. \$39.95

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