The Philippine Bases and U.S. Pacific Strategy
Gregory P. Corning 6

Regionalism in the South Korean Job Market: An Analysis of Regional-Origin Inequality Among Migrants in Seoul
Eui-Young Yu 24

"Men Are More Able": Rural Chinese Women's Conceptions of Gender and Agency
Ellen R. Judd 40

Islamization and Legal Reform in Pakistan, 1979-1989
Charles H. Kennedy 62

Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 3-4) 78

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The Philippine Bases and U.S. Pacific Strategy
Gregory P. Corning

Although manageable, the loss of U.S. military bases in the Philippines would entail high relocation costs and a significant decrease in operational flexibility. Yet, the price of compensation for the bases has increased dramatically and antinuclear sentiment in the Philippines threatens operational freedom. These factors coupled with rising Filipino nationalism leave the status of the Military Bases Agreement far from certain after 1991. The U.S. might well be evicted from the bases or choose to leave the facilities voluntarily. The basing question means not only delicate negotiations with Manila but fundamental decisions on relations with ASEAN and the Soviet Union. The United States must come to terms with Gorbachev’s active diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific and work to minimize regional hostility with ASEAN. The current challenges to U.S. Pacific strategy provide an important opportunity to relax superpower tensions in Southeast Asia.

“Men Are More Able”:
Rural Chinese Women’s Conceptions of Gender and Agency
Ellen R. Judd

The present paper explores conceptions of gender and agency expressed by rural Chinese women during fieldwork in three Sha-dong villages in 1986 and 1987–88. It situates these conceptions in terms of differing patterns of division of labour and separation of activity in the three villages studied. The villages — one still collective, one decollectivized and developing rural industry, and one concentrating on household-based commodity production — are compared in terms of the opportunities and constraints each context offers for women. Reference is made in each case to women’s organization at the village level and to current policies of the Women’s Federations addressed to rural women and recently implemented in the third village studied.

Regionalism in the South Korean Job Market:
An Analysis of Regional-Origin Inequality among Migrants in Seoul
Eui-Young Yu

This paper has attempted to deal with regionalism as it is reflected in the occupations of migrants in Seoul utilizing data from the 1980 census. The paper shows a clear pattern of discrimination against migrants, particularly males, from the Honam region, irrespective of whether they came from rural or urban areas. In white collar occupations, males are even less represented than their female counterparts from the same region. Relatively few people from the Honam region have succeeded in Seoul in obtaining positions that plan, administer, manage, or supervise. People from the Honam region are treated as a group, not as individuals. The analysis presented here strongly suggests that regionalism is one of the most powerful social mechanisms in Korea dictating the lives of millions of workers.

Islamization and Legal Reform in Pakistan, 1979–1989
Charles H. Kennedy

This article examines the policy environment and implementation of President Zia’s Islamic legal reforms in Pakistan during the past decade. It argues that such legal reforms have had only a minor impact on Pakistan’s legal system either in regard to legal structures, procedures, or in regard to criminal law. The article further argues that the policy environment facing Pakistani decision makers helps to explain the slow pace of implementation.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

ASIA AND THE MAJOR POWERS: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy. Edited by Robert A. Scalapino, Seizaburo Sato, Jusuf Wanandi and Sung-joo Han. Donald Crone 78

ASIAN COMMUNISM: Continuity and Transition. Edited by Robert A. Scalapino and Dalchoong Kim. Chae-jeon Lee 79

ACHIEVING INDUSTRIALIZATION IN EAST ASIA. Edited by Helen Hughes. Geoffrey B. Hainsworth 81

NATURE IN ASIAN TRADITIONS OF THOUGHT: Essays in Environmental Philosophy. Edited by J. Baird Callicott and Roger T. Ames. Anila Srivastava 83

China and Inner Asia


AKSAICHIN AND SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT. By John Lall. Stella Sandahl 86


THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE COMMUNISM. By Arif Dirlik. David P. Barrett 89

LAST CHANCE IN MANCHURIA: The Diary of Chang Kia-ngau. Edited and with an introduction by Donald D. Gillin and Ramon H. Myers. Translated by Dolores Zen with the assistance of Donald G. Gillin. Steven I. Levine 90


THE MANDARIN AND THE CADRE: China’s Political Cultures. By Lucian W. Pye. J. Bruce Jacobs 93

POLICIES OF CHAOS: The Organizational Causes of Violence in China’s Cultural Revolution. By Lynn T. White III. Keith Forster 94

CHINA’S UNIVERSITIES AND THE OPEN DOOR. By Ruth Hayhoe. Stanley Rosen 96

RED EARTH: Revolution in a Sichuan Village. By Stephen Endicott. Anita Chan 97


THE FOOD OF CHINA. By E. N. Anderson. Elizabeth L. Johnson 100

Northeast Asia


THE MINER. By Natsume Soseki. Translated with an Afterword by Jay Rubin. Tamae Prindle 104


South Asia

SATI: Historical and Phenomenological Essays. By Arvind Sharma with Ajit Ray, Alaka Hejib and Katherine K. Young. Dorothy Stein 109
THE HARE KRISHNAS IN INDIA. By Charles R. Brooks.
CONSTITUTIONAL GLIMPSES OF MARTIAL LAW IN INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BANGLADESH. By Aleem-al-Razee.
MILITARY RULE AND THE MYTH OF DEMOCRACY. By Emajuddin Ahamed.

Southeast Asia.

BURMA: A Study Guide. Edited by Ronald A. Morse and Helen L. Loerke.
PHAN BOI CHAU AND THE DONG-DU MOVEMENT. Edited by Vinh Sinh.
MALAYSIA'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM. By Richard Mead.
STATE AND FAMILY IN SINGAPORE: Restructuring an Industrial Society. By Janet W. Salaff.

Australasia and the Pacific Regions


Briefly Noted

SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS 1989. Edited by Ng Chee Yuen.
NATIVE CULTURES OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By Douglas L. Oliver.
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Frank Tan 151

Conflict and Non-Compliance in Chinese Politics: Party Rectification, 1983–87

Bruce J. Dickson 170

Institutions Without Leaders:
The Hong Kong Chinese View of Political Leadership

Siu-kai Lau 191

Delicate Diplomatic Debuts:
Chinese and Soviet Participation in the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference

Lawrence T. Woods 210

Japanese Democracy: Another Clever Imitation?
Review Article.

Adrian Marriage 228

Correspondence 234

Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 148-150) 241
ABSTRACTS

The People’s Daily: Politics and Popular Will — Journalistic Defiance in China During the Spring of 1989
Frank Tan

It is commonly assumed that a communist party newspaper, especially in China, automatically does anything the party leadership demands. People also tend to think that a party newspaper is a unified machine presenting a single voice with everyone who works for the paper contributing to that voice. This study explores how editors and reporters at the pinnacle of China’s official news apparatus, the People's Daily, defied government controls to express prodemocracy sentiments and promote the cause of student demonstrators in the spring of 1989. Analysis of two months of news coverage and other editorial matter in the People’s Daily indicates that a variety of tactics were employed to relay suppressed information and convey their sympathies. In terms of content, the tactics of rebellion included subtle use of journalistic techniques such as factuality, balance and attribution, as well as recourse to avoidance, allusion and distortion. Tactics related to presentation included use of headlines and other elements for emphasis and deemphasis, and manipulation of story placement and page layout.

Conflict And Non-Compliance in Chinese Politics:
Party Rectification, 1983–87
Bruce J. Dickson

The poor work style of party cadres has been a continual problem since the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power in 1949. Following Mao Zedong’s death in 1976, the party’s work style declined as cadres engaged in self-interested and corrupt behavior. Beginning in 1983, the CCP undertook a large-scale campaign to revive the traditional party norms of democratic centralism and “serve the people.” However, the organization set up to monitor this campaign did not have the institutional authority to enforce these norms, and the party offered no selective incentives — neither positive inducements nor threats of punishment — sufficient to encourage the compliance of individual party members. The choice of the party cadres, given this reward structure, was predictable: the continued pursuit of self-interest, rather than the collective goal of an improved party work style.

Institutions Without Leaders: The Hong Kong Chinese View of Political Leadership
Lau Siu-kai

Hong Kong possesses an institutional structure which exercises political leadership functions and which is generally trusted by the people. It fails however to produce a group of trusted political leaders. The trust that Hong Kong Chinese have in the leadership of their political institutions is diffuse, though institutions closely associated with the colonial government enjoy a moderately higher level of trust. What we might in turn call “political trust” is based largely upon “instrumental” considerations. The general acceptance of the existing nondemocratic political institutions, however, has impeded the rise of indigenous political leadership and engendered an idiosyncratic view of democracy. As a result, while the scheduled termination of colonial rule in 1997 threatens the breakdown of the existing institutional structure, the establishment of alternative democratic institutions and the emergence of trusted political leaders are made difficult. Accordingly, the leadership problem constitutes part and parcel of the “1997 malaise” in Hong Kong.
Delicate Diplomatic Debuts: 
Chinese and Soviet Participation in the 
Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference

Lawrence T. Woods

The utility of a nongovernmental approach to diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific is illustrated in this paper. Two case studies of consensus building within the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC) in advance of its fifth general meeting in Vancouver in 1986 are examined: the effort to secure the participation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the debate over observer status for the Soviet Union. Chinese participation was complicated by the desire of representatives from Taiwan to participate as well, a problem resolved with the aid of the Olympic Formula. Japanese objections to the Soviet request were eventually overcome by appeals to the principle of nonexclusiveness and the weight of consensus. The research suggests that the nongovernmental coup embodied by the Chinese, Taiwanese and Soviet presence at PECC V was dependent upon governmental recognition of and attempts to preserve this organization's diplomatic value.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General


PACIFIC-ASIAN ECONOMIC POLICIES AND REGIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE. Edited by Robert A. Scalapino, Seizaburo Sato, Jusuf Wanandi and Sung-joo Han. Haruhiro Fukui 238


THE CRESCENT IN THE EAST: Islam in Asia Major. Edited by Raphael Israeli. Bruce B. Lawrence 241

China and Inner Asia

THE POPULATION ATLAS OF CHINA. Edited by Li Chengrui. Dru Gladney 243

CHINA AND ITS NATIONAL MINORITIES: Autonomy or Assimilation? By Thomas Heberer.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COLLECTIVE FARMS. By Peter Nolan. June Teufel Dreyer 244


PIANOS AND POLITICS IN CHINA: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music. by Richard Curt Kraus. Colin Mackerras 250

Northeast Asia


FIGHTING TO A FINISH: The Politics of War Termination in the United States and Japan, 1945. By Leon V. Sigal. Michael A. Barnhart 258

INTERMITTENT DIPLOMAT: The Japan and Batavia Diaries of W. Macmahon Ball. Edited and with an introduction by Alan Rix. Coral Bell 259

South Asia

**Political Development in South Asia.** By Dr. Parmanand.

**To the Gulf and Back: Studies on the Economic Impact of Asian Labour Migration.** Edited by Rashid Amjad.


**Social Development, Cultural Change and Fertility Decline: A Study of Fertility Change in Kerala.** By K. Mahadevan and M. Sumangala.

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**Politics and Administration in Bangladesh: Problems of Participation.** By Ahmed Shafiquil Huque.

**The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape.** By Peter Bishop.

Southeast Asia

**Reflections on Development in Southeast Asia.** Edited by Lim Teck Ghee.

**Agrarian Transformations: Local Processes and the State in Southeast Asia.** Edited by Gillian Hart, et al.

**Thailand-U.S. Relations: Changing Political, Strategic, and Economic Factors.** Edited by Ansil Ramsay and Wiwat Mungkandi.

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**Filipino Politics. Development and Decay.** By David Wurfel. Edited by George McT. Kahin.

**Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: The Maguindanao Sultanate in the 17th Century.** By Ruurdje Laarhoven.

**Military Ascendancy and Political Power: A Study of Indonesia's Golkar.** By Leo Suryadinata.

**Between Dayak and Dutch: The Economic History of Southeast Kalimantan, 1880-1942.** By J. Thomas Lindblad.

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

**Melanesian Pidgin and the Oceanic Substrate.** By Roger M. Keesing.

**The New Zealand Foreign Affairs Handbook.** By Steve Hoadley.

**Robin Jeffrey 261**

**Bruce La Brack 262**

**Paul Wallace 264**

**John C. Caldwell 265**

**Murray J. Leaf 266**

**Mary Morehart 268**

**Yogesh Grover 269**

**Wendell L. Minnick 270**

**Harry Blair 272**

**George Woodcock 273**

**Rodolphe De Koninck 275**

**David S. Gibbons 276**

**Ross Prizzia 278**

**Vo Nhan Tri 279**

**Lala Garner Noble 280**

**G. Carter Bentley 282**

**Ulf Sundhaussen 283**

**David Hicks 285**

**W.E. Tomasetti 286**

**Henry S. Albinski 287**
BRIEFLY NOTED


JEWS IN BRITISH INDIA: Identity in British India. By Joan G. Roland.

PERFECTING SPELLING: Spelling Discussions and Reforms in Indonesia and Malaysia, 1900–1972. By Lars S. Vikor.


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No Great Reversal in Japan: Elections for the House of Representatives in 1990

Soviet Policy in Southeast Asia: Towards Constructive Engagement

Canada’s Relations with Malaysia: Picking Partners in ASEAN

South Korean Development: The Elusive Reality of Conflicts and Contradictions

Matriliny, Women, Development—And a Typographical Error

Book Reviews (listed on pp.378 - 440)
ABSTRACTS

No Great Reversal in Japan: Elections for The House of Representatives in 1990
Michael W. Donnelly

The Liberal Democratic Party in Japan won a resounding victory in elections for the Lower House held in February 1990. This essay attempts to explain the results. It does so by formulating a way to understand the relationship between candidate-oriented election campaigns in individual districts and party strategies fashioned at the national level. The argument is that the way in which the LDP organized a national approach to the campaign was important, possibly crucial to the conservative victory. The essay also examines the strengths and difficulties faced by the JSP in its approach to national campaigning.

Soviet Policy in Southeast Asia: Towards Constructive Engagement
Muthiah Alagappa

Since 1985 Soviet foreign policy has continued to undergo profound changes in all of its dimensions. In the Asia-Pacific region it is becoming more supportive of security and stability. This is visible in its commitment to a negotiated settlement of the Cambodian conflict and in the restructuring of its relations with Vietnam, both of which contribute to the reestablishment of the regional balance of power and also make Vietnam more amenable to political and economic cooperation with the ASEAN countries. Soviet relations with the ASEAN states have also improved quite substantially. By contributing to reduction of tension and resolution of regional conflicts, the Soviet Union is moving towards constructive engagement in Southeast Asia. However, as geopolitical concerns recede to the background, and economics and economics-related issues become more important, the weakness of the Soviet Union in these areas is likely to make it less relevant and limit its capability for constructive engagement in the region.

Canada’s Relations with Malaysia: Picking Partners in ASEAN
Richard Stubbs

Canada’s relations with Malaysia, and more generally with the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), have gone through three phases. These phases have been determined by the extent to which the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO) has been able to coordinate the activities of the increasingly fragmented bureaucracy responsible for the international aspects of Canada’s policies. From the late 1950s to the early 1970s Commonwealth ties meant that the PMO looked on Malaysia as Canada’s main link with the region. During the 1970s, at the prompting of Prime Minister Trudeau and the PMO, Malaysia was replaced by Indonesia as the preferred partner. Since the early 1980s, however, the ASEAN region has not received the attention of the PMO and as a result there has emerged an ill-focussed set of bilateral relations with Malaysia and the other original members of ASEAN.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

ASIAN SECURITY ISSUES: Regional and Global.
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Jusuf Wanandi, and Sung-joo Han.

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Western Dominance. By Michael Adas.

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Thomas C. Bruneau, and John G. Galaty.

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China and Inner Asia

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By Stuart R. Schram.

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The Memoirs of Ito Takeo. By Ito Takeo, translated and
introduced by Joshua A. Fogel.

Northeast Asia

THE JAPANESE TODAY: Change and Continuity.
By Edwin O. Reischauer.

JAPAN AND PROTECTION: The Growth of
Protectionist Sentiment and the Japanese Response.
By Syed Javed Maswood.

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN JAPAN:

SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS JAPAN: An Analysis

INTELLIGENCE ON THE ECONOMIC COLLAPSE
OF JAPAN IN 1945. By Shannon McCune.

THEMES AND THEORIES IN MODERN JAPANESE HISTORY:
Essays in Memory of Richard Storry. Edited by
Sue Henny and Jean-Pierre Lehmann, with a tribute by
Sir William Deakin.

South Asia

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Studies in Indian Ocean Maritime Affairs, No. 2.
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India from Asian Perspective. By P.C. Joshi.


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By Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

CAPITALISM AND CLASS IN COLONIAL INDIA:
The Case of Ahmedabad. By Salim Lahka.

PAKISTAN: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule.
By Golam W. Choudhury.

Bilveer Singh 378
Anthony Reid 379
Ashok Kotwal 381
Daniel Boucher 382
Arif Dirlik 383
Michael Feller 385
Peter M. Mitchell 386
Linda Cooke Johnson 387
Ronald Suleski 389
Richard H. Minear 390
Glen S. Fukushima 391
Akira Tachikawa 392
Robert E. Bedeski 393
Joe B. Moore 395
Gail Lee Bernstein 396
Ashok Kapur 398
David Groenfeldt 399
Judith M. Brown 400
Peter Harnetty 401
Jeanne Hahn 403
Anita M. Weiss 404
WAR AND Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh. By Richard Sisson and Leo Rose.

The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh: Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1936-1947. By Harun-or-Rashid.


Southeast Asia

Labour and Industry in ASEAN. By Peter Limqueco, Bruce McFarlane and Jan Odhnoff.

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Australasia and the Pacific Regions

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They Call Me Father: Memoirs of Father Nicolas Coccola. Edited by Margaret Whitehead.

Briefly Noted

China's Modernisation: The Strategic Implications for the Asia Pacific Region. By Gary Klintworth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE WU LIANG SHRINE: The Ideology of Early Pictorial Art.</td>
<td>Wu Hung</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIETNAM: Facing the 1990's.</td>
<td>Richard Stubbs</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF VIETNAM.</td>
<td>William J. Duiker</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRENDS IN KHMER ART.</td>
<td>Jean Boisselier</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHINA TIDE: The Revealing Story of the Hong Kong Chinese Exodus to Canada</td>
<td>Margaret Cannon</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ABSTRACTS

Soviet Strategies For Development: East Asia and the Pacific Basin
Charles E. Zieglar

This article examines Soviet economic policies toward east Asia and the Pacific basin under Gorbachev. Soviet initiatives toward the region have involved abandoning the Brezhnev regime’s policy of military intimidation in favour of economic cooperation and integration. This strategy is closely linked to domestic economic restructuring, in an effort to both reduce security costs in the Soviet Far East and to invigorate perestroika through qualitative new linkages to the dynamic Asian economies. Although there has been visible progress in developing economic relations with the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of South Korea, political disputes and structural impediments have limited Soviet attempts to obtain Japanese technology and investment. Overall, the chief obstacle to a major breakthrough in economic relations with east Asia is the Soviets’ inability to enact major structural reforms in the domestic economy.

Whither Malaysia’s New Economic Policy?
K.S. Jomo

The paper looks at the major social forces affecting the future of Malaysia’s New Economic Policy (NEP) as the end of the NEP’s Outline Perspective Plan (OPP) for 1971–90 draws near. The origins of the NEP are traced to the development experience in the dozen years after Independence before May 1969, and especially the failure of essentially laissez faire policies and the weak efforts at positive discrimination in favour of the indigenous (mainly Muslim Malay) Bumiputras. The NEP record is then examined in terms of the achievement of its objectives. Despite considerable poverty reduction and inter-ethnic redistribution, especially in terms of share capital ownership and occupational distribution, inter-ethnic tensions have grown—thus, negating the very premise of the NEP. It is then argued that the post-1990 period should be conceived in terms of several transitions of different durations to reduce excessive state intervention for inter-ethnic redistribution. Greater emphasis needs to be given to reducing inequalities (between ethnic groups, regions and classes), improving entitlements, enhancing efficiency, modernizing the economy and strengthening national economic resilience. Recent ‘structural adjustments’—e.g. privatisation without enhancing competition, regressive reforms of taxation and public expenditure—are criticised, and conditions conducive to progressive social reform are identified.

Emigration and the Future of Hong Kong
Ronald Sheldon

Emigration is not new from Hong Kong but its volume is presently at an all-time high. This paper examines whether this exodus is in response to the return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. While the impending transfer is clearly one factor, there are more important reasons to be found in the policies of potential destination countries and in those conditions which are giving rise to an increase in the movement of Chinese peoples throughout Asia. The characteristics of the emigrants are biased towards the upper end of the educational and occupational spectrum. The loss of these personnel to the local economy may cause short-term problems in particular sectors but Hong Kong’s long-term viability is more likely to be associated with the potential for regional development in the Pearl River delta as a whole than with the outflow of population.
Exploring Theories of Female Leadership in South and Southeast Asia
Linda K. Richter

Asia with its reputation for holding women in low regard has nonetheless had numerous female leaders over the last thirty years. Why this should be so and what effect that has had is examined in this research.

This study (1) explores several key variables in the political prominence of Asian women, (2) assesses what if any advantages or disadvantages women have in leadership roles in south or southeast Asia, (3) attempts to determine what if any impact women have as women in the politics of these regions, and (4) predicts rather gloomy prospects for female leadership in these regions.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PLURALISM: Economic Policy in East Asia and the Pacific. By Peter Drysdale.


THE POLITICS OF TOURISM IN ASIA. By Linda K. Richter.


ECONOMIC CONCEPTS OF IBN TAIMIYAH. By Abdul Azim Islahi.

China and Inner Asia


THE ASIATIC MODE OF PRODUCTION IN CHINA. Edited by Timothy Brook.

JOHN FAIRBANK AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF MODERN CHINA. By Paul M. Evans.


6 TANYIN ALLEY. By Liu Zongren

DIALOGUES IN PARADISE. By Can Xue. Translated by Ronald R. Janssen and Jian Zhang.

THE PIANO TUNE. By Cheng Naishan. Translated with an Introduction by Britten Dean.

Northeast Asia


INFORMATION, INCENTIVES, AND BARGAINING IN THE JAPANESE ECONOMY. By Masahiko Aoki

NEIGHBOURHOOD TOKYO. By Theodore C. Bestor.

MANAGING INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE: Cases from Japan’s Prewar Experience. Edited by William D. Wray.


MADE IN JAPAN AND OTHER JAPANESE “BUSINESS NOVELS.” Translated and edited by Tamae K. Prindle.

POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH KOREA. Edited by Ilpyong J. Kim and Young Whan Kihl.

THE BOOK OF MASKS. By Hwang Sun-wôn. Edited with an Introduction by Martin Holman.

SHADOWS OF A SOUND. Stories by Hwang Sun-wôn. Edited by J. Martin Holman.
South Asia

ANTHROPOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL HEALTH:
South Asian Case Studies. By Mark Nichter. John C. Caldwell 574

INDIA BRIEFING, 1989.
Edited by Marshall M. Bouton and Philip Oldenburg.
Arthur G. Rubinoff 575

THE STATE, POLITICAL PROCESSES, AND IDENTITY:
Reflections on Modern India. Edited by Zoya Hasan, Paul Wallace 578
S.N. Jha and Rasheeduddin Khan.
Lewis P. Fickett, Jr. 579

RAJIV GANDHI: A Political Study. By Bhabini Sen Gupta.
Devent C. Ellinwood 581

By Robert W. Stern.

MUGHAL GLORY: Stories of Love, Loyalty, Honour, Fritz Lehmann 582
Courage . . . By Muni Lal.

DIVISION AND HIERARCHY: An Overview of Caste in
Raja Jayaraman 583

MEMOIRS OF AN INDIAN WOMAN. By Shudha Mazumdar.
Gail Minault 585

J.R. JAYEWARDENE OF SRI LANKA: A Political Biography.
Volume One: The First Fifty Years.
By K.M. de Silva and Howard Wriggins.
A. Jayaratnam Wilson 586

THE EXPEDIENT UTOPIAN: Bandaranaike and Ceylon.
By James Manor.
Patrick Peebles 587

Southeast Asia

SECOND CHANCE: The United States and Indochina in the 1990s.
By Frederick Z. Brown.
Marilyn B. Young 589

VIETNAM'S INTERVENTION IN CAMBODIA IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. By
Gary Klintworth.
Georges Labrecque 590

BANKERS AND BUREAUCRATS: Capital and the Role
of the State in Thailand. By Kevin Hewison.
Ansil Ramsay 592

By James A. Freeman.
John van Esterik 594

LEFTWARD JOURNEY: The Education of Vietnamese Students
Constance M. Wilson 595

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

OCEANA VOLUMES 1 AND 2: The Native Cultures of Australia
and the Pacific Islands. By Douglas L. Oliver.
John Barker 597

Briefly Noted

NORMALIZATION WITH CHINA: A Comparative Study
Allen S. Whiting 599

A CHINA PAST: Military and Diplomatic Memoirs.
By T.G. Li, with Roman Rome.
Edmund S.K. Fung 600

BETWEEN FACT AND FICTION: Essays on Post-Mao
Chinese Literature and Society. By Kam Louie.
Michael S. Duke 600

Willard J. Peterson 601

FAITHFUL ENDURANCE: An Ethnography
of Korean Family Dispersal. By Choong Soon Kim.
Kyung-Soo Chun 602

THE DREAMS OF TWO Yi-MIN. By Margaret K. Pai.
Kichung Kim 603

FORM AND FREEDOM IN KOREAN POETRY.
By David R. McCann.
Kichung Kim 603

POWER AND POLITICS IN THAILAND. By Kevin Hewison.
Ross Prizza 603

LAND AND DIFFERENTIATION IN RURAL FIJI:
Adrian Tanner 604
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