

# Pacific Affairs

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## ABSTRACTS

### **South Korea's Foreign Policy and Future Security: Implications of the Nuclear Standoff**

*Mel Gurtov*

South Korea's foreign policy was significantly recast under the "Northern Policy" of Roh Tae Woo and the "new diplomacy" of Kim Young Sam. Spurred by rapid economic development and progress in democratizing politics, South Korea looked to break from policies dominated by the cold war and the major powers. Its initial successes, including accords reached in 1991 with North Korea on denuclearization and reconciliation, were significantly undermined by the ensuing controversy over Pyongyang's nuclear program. This article explores the setbacks that the nuclear dispute caused to South Korea's unification policy and its relations with the major powers, especially the United States. North Korea effectively used the nuclear card to enhance its legitimacy, deflect absorption by the South and deter the U.S. nuclear option. Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the dispute, opportunities exist to build on the U.S.-North Korea "Agreed Framework" and strengthen the peninsula's and regional security. Working from a "common-security" framework, the article proposes a number of ways — such as changes in U.S. nuclear policies, a Northeast Asia security dialogue forum, and invitations for North Korea's participation in regional economic cooperation following on full U.S. and Japanese diplomatic ties with Pyongyang — to build trust and reduce threat perceptions. South Korea should support such initiatives, which are more likely to achieve useful contact with the North than will its current insistence on direct talks.

### **Russian Policy on Korean Unification in the Post-Cold War Era**

*Seung-Ho Joo*

This article explores Russian policy on Korean unification in light of Russia's new foreign policy line and changing international environment in Northeast Asia. Initially Yeltsin's foreign policy was pro-Western in nature and idealistic in tone. Russian foreign policy gradually shed off the legacy of the Gorbachev era, and put on independent and pragmatic features beginning mid-1992. Russia's new foreign policy called for an even-handed approach toward North and South Korea. Nevertheless, the Moscow-Seoul relationship was developing into cooperative partnership while the Moscow-Pyongyang relationship remained estranged. Many Russians favor a unified Korea because it might serve as a counterbalance against China and Japan. Russia can potentially play a constructive role for Korean unification by serving as a mediator between the two Koreas and by sponsoring a multinational conference to resolve the Korean question. In the near future, Russia is likely to be preoccupied with its internal problems and play a marginal role for Korean unification.

### **The New Japanese Election System**

*Raymond V. Christensen*

Japan's first non-LDP government since 1955 adopted electoral reform as its main legislative priority when it came to power in 1993. Though the LDP returned to power as a coalition partner in mid-1994, the electoral reforms enacted remain in place. It is claimed that these reforms will lead to a two-party system in Japan, more open and democratic politics, greater debate of issues, and cleaner election campaigns. Upon closer study, many of the claims appear to be exaggerations. The new electoral system will probably lead to the creation of two or more larger parties, but the balance of power is likely to be held by junior coalition partners. Though party image and issues will play a larger relative role in future campaigns, the range of credible choices that voters will have will have narrowed. Money will also remain the lifeblood of Japanese election campaigns. The electoral reforms are a step in changing Japanese politics, but they are only a first and tentative step.

**Economic Implications of the U.S.-ASEAN  
Discourse on Human Rights**

*Stephen A. Douglas and Sara U. Douglas*

While the ongoing exchange of words about human rights and democracy between Americans and Southeast Asians may include vague threats of trade reprisals from official U.S. sources, neither the record of U.S. trade policy — including policy toward China — nor a review of domestic political considerations suggests that these threats ought to be taken very seriously. Apprehension within the Southeast Asian business community and aggressive official promotion of the “Singapore School” position on Asian democracy reflect undue concern about possible trade sanctions. Somewhat less visible and coherent, but growing in significance, are contributions to the discourse from nongovernmental organizations and transnational corporations and labor organizations.

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

# Pacific Affairs

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## ABSTRACTS

### Canada-Japan Trade in an Asia-Pacific Context

*Terry Ursacki and Ilan Vertinsky*

This study examines the prospects for Canadian trade with Japan in light of three major influences: trends in the Japanese market, the U.S.-Japan trade dispute, and the increasing prominence of Japanese corporations in rapidly developing Asia. While Japan's market is likely to become more open as deregulation proceeds, its changing industrial structure and demographic profile will increasingly demand goods which Canada is ill positioned to provide. U.S.-Japan trade friction provides Japan with a constant temptation to show informal preference to the United States in trade and investment decisions, but more importantly every U.S. success in obtaining formal concessions through bilateral use of threats undermines the rule-based trading regime on which medium-sized open economies such as Canada depend. Asian economic growth will present new challenges to Canadian firms even to retain their existing sales as Japanese firms shift production offshore.

### The Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in South Asia

*Kishore C. Dash*

Will economic interests drive the South Asian countries toward greater cooperation? Or will the continuing political tensions among South Asian countries and the low-intensity, informal war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir deprive the region of a historic opportunity to achieve cooperative development in the post-cold war era? This article explores these questions by examining (a) the domestic political and economic dynamics of South Asian countries in order to underline impediments and opportunities for expansion of regional cooperation, (b) the current level of these countries' economic interactions and potential for regional economic interdependence, and (c) international compulsions. The analysis suggests that to the extent that political tensions remain unresolved, any substantial growth of regional economic cooperation is unlikely. Rather, regional cooperation in South Asia will pass through a stop-and-go pattern of growth in which state-directed, limited, pragmatic cooperation on specific techno-economic issues is possible over a period of time.

### The Idea of Freedom in Burma and the Political Thought of

**Daw Aung San Suu Kyi**

*Josef Silverstein*

This is an examination of the roots of the modern idea of freedom in Burma and its role in the present contest between the military rulers, who deny the modern version and, instead, seek to impose a permanent dictatorship devoid of political and social freedom, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who stands for the restoration of freedom and democracy through peaceful and legal means. The essay examines the two roots of the modern idea of freedom: Buddhism and modern liberal thought and their merger to form the modern idea. It concludes with an examination of the political ideas and writings of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Based on modern Burmese thought, she speaks to the people in terms they understand and respond to. It is argued that she, and not her military opponents, discusses ideas that the people share and offers goals they peacefully struggle to achieve.

**Family and Household Structure  
in Vietnam: Some Glimpses from a Recent Survey**

*Charles Hirschman and Vu Manh Loi*

The conventional portrait of Vietnamese family structure, both in popular discourse and in much of the scholarly literature, resembles the East Asian Confucian model with patrilineal and patrilocal traditions. Data from a recent sample survey in rural and urban areas of Vietnam show more complex patterns with independent living arrangements more common than shared residence with either the father's or mother's family. Social ties between adults and their nearby, but non-co-resident, parents are very close for both men and women, but men have more frequent contact with their parents than do women. Vietnamese family organization appears to have elements of both the East Asian Confucian tradition and the bilateral family structure that characterizes Southeast Asian societies.

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Editors: Judith Binney and M.P.K. Sorrenson

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## ABSTRACTS

### **False Starts, Succession Crises, and Regime Transition: Flirting with Openness in Indonesia**

*Jacques Bertrand*

Between 1990 and 1994, Indonesia experienced a period of relative openness (*keterbukaan*) of its political system. This paper tries to explain why the Indonesian government engaged in a process of liberalization which was abruptly reversed in the summer of 1994. It argues that the crisis of succession was a strong motivator for Suharto to support liberalization, as a means of assessing the viability of the New Order's institutions after his departure, of testing the support for potential successors, and of containing the military's role in the succession process. It adds to the literature on regime transitions by offering an explanation for "false starts" towards regime change. Specifically, it supports the view that liberalization can occur in the absence of significant societal pressures and is usually preceded by a split in the élite. In addition, it can be used as a tactic to resolve some of the dilemmas that succession crises create.

### **The Greening of Burma: Political Rhetoric or Sustainable Development**

*Raymond Bryant*

The implementation of "sustainable development" policies is an inescapably political process. This paper uses a Burmese study to explore some of the implications of this situation. Burma's military rulers are introducing a series of reforms centred on the forestry sector in keeping with commitments made at the 1992 Earth Summit. These reforms include notably a new Forest Law, a major reforestation project in the central Dry Zone, and a new inter-departmental management structure to enhance coordinated state activity. In aggregate, these initiatives elaborate traditional "scientific" forestry so as to develop a "green image" for this politically-isolated regime. State intervention in aid of environmental conservation also facilitates enhanced political control over a potentially unruly population. Yet Burma's long-standing role as a natural-resource producing country, as well as its status as a "late developer" in the region, suggest that state-sponsored environmental destruction will continue to be the norm in the country. The paper concludes that "sustainable development" policies in Burma, as elsewhere in the Third World, will become practice only unevenly, reflecting the vicissitudes of political interests and power.

### **The Japanese Communist Party: Organization and Resilience in the Midst of Adversity**

*Lam Peng Er*

Why is the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) able to sustain its electoral support in the mid-1990s despite the negative fallout from the Tiananmen Incident, the collapse of the Soviet Empire and the crisis of communism? A key reason is the JCP's adaptability and ability in promoting mass-based candidate support organizations (*kōenkai*) to mobilize electoral support. Similar to the other Japanese political parties and unlike the West European communist parties, the JCP too has adopted a mode of political mobilization often based primarily on personalities, patronage and social networks rather than policies and ideology. Thus the JCP has programmatic party organizations and service-based *kōenkai* that cater to different tendencies, interests and needs among the electorate. However, there are limits to this *kōenkai* approach; it is difficult to woo support from voters who are not tied to its social networks. Unless and until the JCP is able to change its authoritarian image, the party is unlikely to significantly increase its popular support in a society that has accepted democratic norms in politics.

## Alternative Visions of Security in the Asia-Pacific

Sheldon W. Simon

The notion of an Asia-Pacific community is at best premature. Global economic pressures operate against closed regional systems; global democratization trends run up against the many variants of Asian authoritarianism; and subregional economic and security nodes are seen as more relevant to most nations' needs than broad Asian-Pacific concepts. Nevertheless, new security architectures are being created which permit Asia-Pacific states to discuss regionwide security concerns for the first time. Both at the governmental and nongovernmental levels new bodies — The ASEAN Regional Forum and the Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific — have been created. Their purposes include the provision of early warnings for impending security conflicts and a search for common confidence-building, reassurance, and transparency measures. While these new arrangements are being developed, old security ties continue for the time being. U.S. forces deploy throughout the Asia-Pacific, facilitated by bases in Northeast Asia and limited port calls and joint exercises in Southeast Asia. This combination of reliance on old security partners and new pan-Asia-Pacific discussions portends an *inclusive* regional approach to security that parallels developments in the economic realm — involving all major players rather than excluding outside actors.

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## ABSTRACTS

### **Nation, Identity and the Intervening Role of the State: A Study of the Secessionist Movement in Kashmir**

*Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay*

The year 1989 saw longstanding Kashmiri demands for autonomy transformed into calls for freedom (*azadi*) from the Indian state. Kashmir's traditional leaders, who had derived their legitimacy from the nationalist movement against the Dogra ruler in the forties, were replaced by the younger generation whose appeal derived from the movement's successes in challenging the Indian state and from its pursuance of the goal of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. During the past seven years, the movement has not only maintained a solid momentum in the valley itself but it has also spread to the three Muslim-majority districts of the Jammu region. This paper argues that the failure of the Indian state to accommodate the state-sponsored nationalism with the informal Kashmiri nationalism has resulted in the rise of antistate structures. These structures remained silent for four decades due to the pursuance of two specific state strategies: the repression of a legitimate democratic opposition and the pursuance of patronage politics. It is suggested that although these strategies ensure the maintenance of the political power and material security of the power holders over a limited period of time, if unaccompanied by economic development they quickly reach a saturation point. In such an overpoliticized state, both the power holders and the disenchanting masses resort to overt political violence.

### **Missed Opportunities and Contradictory Policies: Indo-American Relations in the Clinton-Rao Years**

*Arthur G. Rubinoff*

Indo-American relations, freed from their historic shibboleths, were expected to flourish after the winding down of the cold war and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Despite some evidence of improvement in the military and economic spheres, better ties have not materialized in the 1990s. This article examines the reasons why the American-Indian relationship failed to improve during the period in which the Clinton and Rao administrations overlapped. It finds that both sides mishandled relations. The contradictory policies of the Clinton administration which simultaneously pressured India to liberalize its economy while criticizing New Delhi on human rights and nuclear issues undermined the very officials who strove to improve ties. In the face of criticism from Washington and opposition at home, Indian diplomats lost their enthusiasm for rapprochement and unwisely emphasized protocol over substantive diplomacy. The controversy that surrounded the passage of the Brown Amendment which restored aid to Pakistan in 1995 despite Islamabad's violation of the 1985 Pressler Amendment is a case study of the delicate nature of the Indo-American relationship. In resurrecting cold war rhetoric, Indian parliamentarians and American congressmen demonstrated their unwillingness to establish a new relationship. The U.S. Congress characteristically abrogated its responsibilities and deferred to the executive branch on an issue considered marginal to American interests.

**Japan as Top Donor:  
The Challenge of Implementing Software Aid Policy**

*Tomoko Fujisaki, Forrest Briscoe, James Maxwell,*

*Misa Kishi, Tatsujiro Suzuki*

Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) is undergoing a major transformation in the post-Cold War era. As total aid supply has stagnated in the 1990s, Japan has emerged as the new top ODA donor. Taking the leadership in this area, Japan has recently joined the international community in shifting from provision of traditional "hardware" infrastructure and equipment, to "software" — human resource development and institutional building, emphasizing social issues like AIDS, women in development, population, and the environment. Although expressing strong policy support for software aid issues, Japan's present bureaucratic complexity, human resource constraints, project monitoring and evaluation, and generally closed policy process limit the ODA administration's ability to implement them.

Our analysis suggests some changes which may benefit the present system: structural reform, including streamlining the ODA bureaucracy and strengthening its software aid elements, and opening ODA processes wider to participation by those outside the government, including fostering linkages with external organizations.

**Roaring Mice Against the Tide  
The South Pacific Islands and  
Agenda-Building on Global Warming**

*Eric Shibuya*

This paper details the efforts of the South Pacific island nations to place the issue of global climate change onto the international political agenda. An issue of great import for the South Pacific islands for nearly a decade now, the issue of global climate change reached its greatest visibility with the 1992 "Earth Summit" in Rio. This paper reviews the literature on agenda building, and also details the issue of global climate change and the special interest that the small island states have had in that issue. Then, it uses the case of Vanuatu, a leading force among the South Pacific island nations, and focuses upon Vanuatu's efforts to bring the issue of global warming to the discussion table for not only the small island states, but for the advanced industrialized states as well. Finally, it offers some observations concerning potential avenues for action and constraints faced by the small island states in affecting international environmental agreements.

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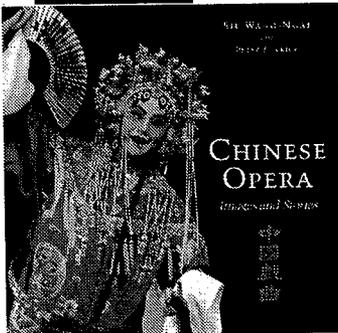
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