<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Korea's Foreign Policy and Future Security: Implications of the Nuclear Standoff</td>
<td>Mel Gurtov</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Policy on Korean Unification in the Post-Cold War Era</td>
<td>Seung-Ho Joo</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Japanese Election System</td>
<td>Raymond V. Christensen</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Implications of the U.S.-ASEAN Discourse on Human Rights</td>
<td>Stephen A. Douglas and Sara U. Douglas</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 a 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.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

**Asia General**

**WATER RESOURCES MANAGEMENT IN ASIA: Volume 1:**

Richard M. Bird 89

**TAXATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AMONG PACIFIC ASIAN COUNTRIES.** Edited by Richard A. Musgrave, Ching-huei Chang and John Riew.

**NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND THE FUTURE OF CONFLICT.** By Martin van Creveld.

Haider K. Nizamani 91

**ATOMIC DIPLOMACY: Hiroshima and Potsdam:**
The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power. By Gar Alperovitz

Colin Noble 92


Colin Noble 92

**WOMEN AND REVOLUTION: In Asia, Africa, and the New World.** Edited by Mary Ann Tetreault.

Stephen A. Douglas 94

**ISLAM, MUSLIMS AND THE MODERN STATE:** Case-Studies of Muslims and Thirteen Countries. Edited by Hussin Mutalib and Taj ul-Islam Hashmi.

Lawrence Ziring 95


David W. Edgington 97

**China and Inner Asia**

**CHINA OPENS ITS DOORS:** The Politics of Economic Transition. By Jude Howell.

Pitman B. Potter 98

**CHINA IN THE ERA OF DENG XIAOPING:** A Decade of Reform. Edited by Michael Ying-Mao Kau, et al.

Pitman B. Potter 100


Samuel P. S. Ho 101

**MANDATE OF HEAVEN:** A New Generation of Entrepreneurs, Dissidents, Bohemians, and Technocrats Lays Claim to China’s Future. By Orville Schell.

Anita Chan 103

**CHINA’S AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY:** Policies, Problems, and Prospects. By Eric Harwit.

Samuel P. S. Ho 104

**GIFTS, FAVORS, AND BANQUETS:** The Art of Social Relations in China. By Mayfair Mei-hui Yang.

Lucien W. Pye 105

**THE SAGA OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN CHINA:** From Malinowski to Moscow to Mao. By Gregory Eliyu Guldin.

Graham Johnson 107

**PRESCRIPTIONS FOR SAVING CHINA:** Selected Writings of Sun Yat-sen. Edited by Julie Lee Wei, Ramon H. Myers and Donald C. Gillin.

Harold Z. Schiffrin 109

**TAIWAN IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC IN THE 1990s.** Edited by Gary Klintworth.

Robert E. Bedeski 110

**Northeast Asia**

**BUSINESS ENTERPRISE IN JAPAN:** Views of Leading Japanese Economists. Edited by Kenichi Imai and Ryutaro Komiya.

John C. Ries 111


Dennis Dicks 112
WOOL IN JAPAN: Structural Change in the Textile and Clothing Market. Edited by Christopher Findlay and Motoishige Itoh.


THE POPULATION OF NORTH KOREA. By Nicholas Eberstadt and Judith Banister.


JAPAN'S TREATY PORTS AND FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS: The Uninvited Guests 1858-1899. By J. E. Hoare.


SOUTH ASIA


WOMEN, EDUCATION, AND FAMILY STRUCTURE IN INDIA. Edited by Carol Chapnick Mukhopadhyay and Susan Seymour.

SOUTH ASIAN HORIZONS, ENRICHED BY SOUTH ASIA: Celebrating 25 Years of South Asian Studies in Canada, Volume I, Humanities. Edited by Elliot L. Tepper and John R. Wood.

SOUTH ASIAN HORIZONS. ENRICHED BY SOUTH ASIA: Celebrating 25 Years of South Asian Studies in Canada, Volume II, Social Sciences. Edited by Elliot L. Tepper and John R. Wood.


SOUTHEAST ASIA


BRITAIN AND REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, 1945–49. By Tilman Remme.


DISCREPANT HISTORIES: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures. Edited by Vincente L. Rafael.

BEWITCHING WOMEN, PIOUS MEN: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia. Edited by Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz.

ADJUSTMENT AND DISCONTENT: Representations of Women in the Dutch East Indies. By Tineke Hellwig.

APPROACHING SUHARTO'S INDONESIA FROM THE MARGINS. Edited by Takashi Shiraishi.

SOUL, SPIRIT, AND MOUNTAIN: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters. By Astri Wright.

SOUTHEAST ASIA


Britain and Regional Cooperation in South-East Asia, 1945–49. By Tilman Remme.


Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures. Edited by Vincente L. Rafael.

Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia. Edited by Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz.

Adjustment and Discontent: Representations of Women in the Dutch East Indies. By Tineke Hellwig.

Approaching Suharto's Indonesia from the Margins. Edited by Takashi Shiraishi.


South Asia


Women, Education, and Family Structure in India. Edited by Carol Chapnick Mukhopadhyay and Susan Seymour.

South Asian Horizons, Enriched by South Asia: Celebrating 25 Years of South Asian Studies in Canada, Volume I, Humanities. Edited by Elliot L. Tepper and John R. Wood.


Southeast Asia


Britain and Regional Cooperation in South-East Asia, 1945–49. By Tilman Remme.


Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures. Edited by Vincente L. Rafael.

Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia. Edited by Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz.

Adjustment and Discontent: Representations of Women in the Dutch East Indies. By Tineke Hellwig.

Approaching Suharto's Indonesia from the Margins. Edited by Takashi Shiraishi.

Australasia and the Pacific Regions


INDUSTRIAL POLICIES IN THE PACIFIC. Edited by Gunnar K. Sletmo and Gavin Boyd.


A HEART AT LEISURE FROM ITSELF: Caroline Macdonald of Japan. By Margaret Prang.


Briefly Noted


PRIVATIZING MALAYSIA: Rents, Rhetoric, Realities, Edited by K. S. Jomo.

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA By Ann Turner.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MEL GURTOV is Professor of Political Science and International Studies at Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, and is editor-in-chief of Asian Perspective.

SEUNG-HO JOO (Ph.D., Penn State) is Assistant Professor of Political Science at University of Minnesota – Morris, U.S.A.

RAYMOND V. CHRISTENSEN is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Kansas.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS is Associate Professor of Political Science, and Sara U. Douglas is Associate Professor of Agricultural and Consumer Economics. Both are at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
THE CHINA JOURNAL

Formerly The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs

ISSUE 35 January 1996

Yunxiang Yan, The Culture of Guanxi in a North China Village

Alastair Iain Johnston, Learning Versus Adaptation: Explaining Change in Chinese Arms Control Policy in the 1980s and 1990s

Scott Rozelle, Stagnation Without Equity: Patterns of Growth and Inequality in China's Rural Economy

David Bachman, Li Zhisui, Mao Zedong, and Chinese Elite Politics

Anne F. Thurston, The Politics of Survival: Li Zhisui and the Inner Court

Lucian W. Pye, Rethinking the Man in the Leader

Geremie R. Barmé, Private Practice, Public Performance: The Cultural Revelations of Dr Li

Leo Ou-fan Lee, Visualizing the Tiananmen Student Movement

Subscription Rates (two 230-page issues per year—plus a free copy of this issue for new subscribers): Within Australia: $25 per year, students $20, institutions $30. Outside Australia: US$25 per year, students US$20, institutions US$30; or the equivalent in other currencies. New 3-year subscriptions: $60/US$60, institutions $75—plus 2 complimentary copies (this and another issue).

I would like a: □ 1-year □ 3-year subscription

□ Enclosed is my cheque (payable to The China Journal)
□ Please charge to my □ Bankcard □ Mastercard □ Visa

Card No. Exp. Date

Name Signature

Address

Payments to: Contemporary China Centre, RSPAS, The Australian National University, Canberra, ACT 0200.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada-Japan Trade in an Asia-Pacific Context</td>
<td>Terry Ursacki and Ilan Vertinsky</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in South Asia</td>
<td>Kishore C. Dash</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Idea of Freedom in Burma and the Political Thought of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi</td>
<td>Josef Silverstein</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family and Household Structure in Vietnam: Some Glimpses from a Recent Survey</td>
<td>Charles Hirschman and Vu Manh Loi</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 154–56)</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
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.

The New Zealand Journal of History

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

Vol. 29, No. 2, October 1995 contains:

Donald Denoon  Settler Capitalism Unsettled
Ian Barber      Between Biculturalism and Assimilation: The Changing Place of Maori Culture in the Twentieth-Century New Zealand Mormon Church
John E. Martin  Unemployment, Government and the Labour Market in New Zealand, 1860-1890
Paul Monin      The Maori Economy of Hauraki 1840-1880
Susan Moller Okin Gender and Relativism in Recent Feminist Historical Scholarship

The New Zealand Journal of History is published twice yearly, in April and October, by The University of Auckland. Subscription rates for 1996, payable in advance, post free: Domestic $24.00 (incl. GST); Overseas $NZ35.00. Back numbers available: $8.00 (incl. GST) per issue in New Zealand and $NZ10.00 overseas.

Subscriptions and all business correspondence should be addressed to the Business Manager, New Zealand Journal of History, History Department, The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

REDISCOVERING RUSSIA IN ASIA: Siberia and the Russian Far East.
Edited by Stephen Kotkin and David Wolff. Gaye Christoffersen 251


MERCHANTS AND FAITH: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean. By Patricia Risso Andre Wink 254

China and Inner Asia

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT OF THE CHINA VENTURE
By Paul Steidlmeier. Pitman Potter 255


MOBILIZING THE MASSES: Building Revolution in Henan.
By Odoric Y. K. Wou. Roger V. Des Forges 259


THE GRAND SCRIBE’S RECORDS: Volume I:
The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China.
By Ssu-ma Ch’ien. Translated by Tsai-fa Chen, Zongli Lu, William H. Neinhauser, Jr. and Robert Reynolds.
Edited by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. Gary Arbuckle 263

THE GRAND SCRIBE’S RECORDS: Volume VII:
The Memoirs of Pre-Han China.
By Ssu-ma Ch’ien. Translated by Tsai-fa Cheng, Zongli Lu, William H. Neinhauser, Jr., Robert Reynolds, and Chiu-Ming Chan. Edited by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. Gary Arbuckle 263

Northeast Asia

THE UNITED STATES AND NORTHEAST ASIA.
By Robert H. Puckett. Wenran Jiang 265

DIVERSITY IN JAPANESE CULTURE AND LANGUAGE.
By John C. Maher and Gaynor Macdonald. James E. Roberson 266

CULTURAL NATIONALISM IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN: A Sociological Enquiry. By Kosaku Yoshino. Scott Clark 267

South Asia


THE EXPERIENCE OF POVERTY: Fighting for Respect and Resources in Village India.
By Tony Beck. Harry Blair 270

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA.
By Craig Baxter. Pratap Bhanu Mehta 271
SWAMI SAHAJANAND AND THE PEASANTS OF JHARKHAND: A View from 1941.
Edited by Walter Hauser.


By A. Jeyaratnam Wilson.

Southeast Asia

THE MEGA-URBAN REGIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA.
Edited by T. G. McGee and Ira M. Robinson.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL FUTURE: The Search for Sustainability.
Edited by Harold Brookfield and Yvonne Byron.

MACROECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA’S TRANSITIONAL ECONOMIES. Edited by Manuel F. Montes, Romeo A. Reyes and Somsak Tambunlertchai.


By Pierre Brocheux.

BACKFIRE: The CIA’s Secret War in Laos and Its Link to the War in Vietnam.
By Roger Warner.

By Ronald D. Renard

AGRARIAN REFORM IN THE PHILIPPINES: Democratic Transitions and Redistributive Reform.
By Jeffrey M. Riedinger.

URBAN USURPATION: From Friar Estates to Industrial Estates in a Philippine Hinterland.
By John P. McAndrew.

By Mark R. Thompson.

BORNEO LOG: The Struggle for Sarawak’s Forests.
By William W. Bevis.

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

THE FAR EAST AND AUSTRALASIA: 27th Edition
Contributors

VIETNAM: The Australian Dilemma.
By Terry Burstall.


HOW “NATIVES” THINK: About Captain Cook, for Example.
By Marshall Sahlins.

THE PREHISTORIC EXPLORATION AND COLONISATION OF THE PACIFIC.
By Geoffrey Irwin.

Stuart Conbridge 272
Craig Baxter 274
Partha S. Ghosh 275
Patrick Peebles 277

Yue-Man Yeung 278
Geoffrey B. Hainsworth 280
Geoffrey B. Hainsworth 281
Anthony Short 282
Hy V. Luong 283
Alfred W. McCoy 284
Chao-Tzang Yaunghue 286
Philip F. Kelly 288
Philip F. Kelly 289
David Wurfel 291
Rodolphe De Koninck 292
John Barker 294
Carl Bridge 296
Carly A. Thayer 297
John Barker 297
Brian Chisholm 299
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

TERRY URSACKI is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Management at the University of Calgary. His most recent book is The Long and Short of Canada-Korea Economic Relations: Analysis and Recommendations (Kingston, John Deutch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, Queen's University, 1994), with I. Vertinsky, T. Oum and K. C. Dong.

ILAN VERTINSKY is a member of the Institute of Asian Research, and Vinod Sood Professor of International Business Studies at the University of British Columbia. He is also a senior fellow and director of the Centre for International Business Studies at the same university. His latest book, Japanese Economic Policies and Growth: Implications for Businesses in Canada and North America (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1994) was co-authored with Masao Nakamura.

KISHORE C. DASH is a Visiting Fellow in the Program of International Economics and Politics at the East-West Center, Honolulu.

JOSEF SILVERSTEIN is Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J. (The Political Legacy of Aung San, rev. ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia 1993 Program, 161 pp.)

CHARLES HIRSCHMAN is Professor in and Chair of the Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle.

VU MANH LOI is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle.
False Starts, Succession Crises, and Regime Transition: Flirting with Openness in Indonesia  
Jacques Bertrand 319

The Greening of Burma: Political Rhetoric or Sustainable Development  
Raymond Bryant 341

Lam Peng Er 361

Alternative Visions of Security in the Asia-Pacific  
Sheldon W. Simon 381

Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 314–316) 397
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 elite. 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 interdepartmental 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.

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.
# BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

## Asia General

**MEGATRENDS ASIA:** Eight Megatrends that are Reshaping our World. By John Naisbitt.  
*Philip Kelly 397*

**ASIA'S RURAL COOPERATIVES.**  
Edited by K. K. Taimni.  
*A. H. Somjee 398*

**GLOBAL COMPETITIVENESS AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH IN TAIWAN AND THE PHILIPPINES.**  
By Cheng-Tian Kuo.  
*Stephan Haggard 400*

## China and Inner Asia

**CHINESE WOMEN SPEAK.**  
By Denyse Verschuur-basse.  
Translated by Elizabeth Rauch-Nolan.  
*Yuen-Fong Woon 402*

**CHINA AFTER SOCIALISM: In the Footsteps of Eastern Europe or East Asia?**  
Edited by Barrett L. McCormick and Jonathan Unger.  
*Nina Halpern 403*

**CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS ON CHINA'S ETHNIC FRONTIERS.**  
Edited by Stevan Harrell.  
*Millie Creighton 404*

**NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE CHINESE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.**  
Edited by Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven.  
*Michael Schoenhals 405*

**PRIVATE BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC REFORM IN CHINA.**  
By Susan Young.  
*Robert Y. Eng 407*

**CENSORED BY CONFUCIUS: Ghost Stories**  
By Yuan Mei. Edited and Translated by Kam Louie and Louise Edwards.  
*Philip Clart 408*

**GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: A Documentary History of Hong Kong.**  
Edited by Steve Tsang.  
*Maurice D. Copithorne 409*

**TAIWAN: National Identity and Democratization.** By Alan M. Wachman.  
*Paul W. Hao 411*

## Northeast Asia

**STRUCTURE AND POLICY IN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES.** By Peter F. Cowhey and Mathew D. McCubbins.  
*J. Mark Ramseyer 412*

**JAPAN IN THE POSTHEGEMONIC WORLD.**  
Edited by Tsuneo Akaha and Frank Langdon.  
*John Nelson 413*

**TEXTILES AND INDUSTRIAL TRANSITION IN JAPAN.**  
By Dennis L. McNamara.  
*Leonard Lynn 414*

**UNMASKING JAPAN TODAY: The Impact of Traditional Values on Modern Japanese Society.** By Fumie Kumagai, with the assistance of Donna J. Keyser.  
*Ofer Feldman 416*

*Ofer Feldman 416*

**DISCOURSES OF THE VANISHING: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan.** By Marilyn Ivy.  
*Marilyn Iwama 418*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A NEW WOMAN OF JAPAN: A Political Biography of Kato Shidzue.</td>
<td>By Helen M. Hopper.</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTERN WOMEN WORKING IN JAPAN: Breaking Corporate Barriers.</td>
<td>By Nancy K. Napier and Sully Taylor.</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRITING GROUND ZERO: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb.</td>
<td>By John Whittier Treat.</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENSO: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War — Letters to the Editor of Asahi Shimbun.</td>
<td>Edited by Frank B. Gibney. Translated by Beth Carey and Frank B. Gibney.</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRKI: Social Conflict and Political Protest in Early Modern Japan.</td>
<td>By James W. White.</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATE AND SOCIETY IN CONTEMPORARY KOREA.</td>
<td>Edited by Hagen Koo.</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DARK MOON: Eighth Army Special Operations in the Korean War.</td>
<td>By Ed Evanhoe.</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE KOREAN WAR: An International History.</td>
<td>By William Stueck.</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE EAGLE AND THE PEACOCK: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward India Since Independence.</td>
<td>By M. Srinivas Chary.</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGULATING REPRODUCTION IN INDIA'S POPULATION: Efforts, Results, and Recommendations.</td>
<td>By K. Srinivasan.</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRASS ROOTS POLITICS IN INDIA: A Century of Political Evolution in Faizabad District.</td>
<td>By Harold A. Gould.</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASS RESISTANCE IN KASHMIR: Origins, Evolution, Options.</td>
<td>By Tahir Amin.</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSLIM COMMUNITIES OF SOUTH ASIA: Culture, Society, and Power.</td>
<td>Edited by T. N. Madan.</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PUNDITS: British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia.</td>
<td>By Derek Waller.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Colin Noble 420
Millie Creighton 422
Colin Noble 423
Richard Jones 425
Brett L. Walker 426
Paul W. Kuznets 427
Steven Hugh Lee 429
John Lie 431
Ronald Suleshi 432
Arthur G. Rubinoff 434
Mukesh Eswaran 435
Dhirendra K. Vajpeyi 437
Reeta C. Tremblay 438
Sheila McDonough 439
Patrick Peebles 440
Anne-Marie Gaston 442
Reeta C. Tremblay 443
Southeast Asia

GLOBALISATION AND THE ASEAN PUBLIC SECTOR. Edited by Sirajuddin H. Salleh and Ledivina V. Carino.

VIETNAM: Revolution in Transition. 
By William J. Duiker.

PROPAGANDA, POLITICS, AND VIOLENCE IN CAMBODIA: Democratic Transition under United Nations Peacekeeping. Edited by Steven Heder and Judy Ledgerwood.


UN PEACEKEEPING IN CAMBODIA: UNTAC's Civil Mandate.
By Michael W. Doyle.

CAMBODIA: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC. By Trevor Findlay.

PEACE-KEEPING IN A PEACE PROCESS: The Case of Cambodia.

Australasia and the Pacific Regions


HE ALO A HE ALO: Face to Face: Hawaiian Voices on Sovereignty. Edited by Roger MacPherson Furrer.


LITERACY, EMOTION, AND AUTHORITY: Reading and Writing on a Polynesian Atoll. By Niko Besnier.


Briefly Noted

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

JACQUES BERTRAND is a researcher at the North-South Institute, Ottawa.


LAM PENG ER is a Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, National University, Singapore.

SHELDON SIMON is professor of political science at Arizona State University at Tempe.
Nation, Identity and the Intervening Role of the State: A Study of the Secessionist Movement in Kashmir

Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay 471

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

Arthur G. Rubinoff 499

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

Tomoko Fujisaki, Forrest Briscoe, James Maxwell, Misa Kishi and Tatsujiro Suzuki 519

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

Eric Shibuya 541

Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 466–468) 557

Index to Volume 69 (1996) 619
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 disenchanted 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.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

DRIVEN BY GROWTH: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region. Edited by James W. Morley. P. P. Courtenay 557


PEOPLE'S INITIATIVES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: Lessons of Experience. Edited by Syed Abdus Samad, Tatsuya Watanabe and Seung-Jin Kim. Geoffrey B. Hainsworth 560

LAW AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY. Edited by Phillip S. C. Lewis. Pitman B. Potter 561


LOGGING THE GLOBE. By M. Patricia Marchak. T. G. McGee 564

China and Inner Asia

CHINA DECONSTRUCTS: Politics, Trade and Regionalism. Edited by David S. Goodman and Gerald Segal. Pitman Potter 566

CHINESE AWAKENINGS: Life Stories from the Unofficial China. By James Tyson and Ann Tyson. Pitman Potter 566

DOWN TO EARTH: The Territorial Bond in South China. Edited by David Faure and Helen F. Shu. Diana Lary 569


MORNING SUN: Interviews with Chinese Writers of the Lost Generation. By Laifong Leung. Rosemary Haddon 571

CROSSTALK AND CULTURE IN SINO-AMERICAN COMMUNICATION. By Linda W. L. Young. Jan W. Walls 573

Northeast Asia

THE ANTIMONOPOLY LAWS AND POLICIES OF JAPAN. By H. Iyori and A. Uesugi. Mark Tilton 574

COPING WITH THE MIRACLE: Japan's Unions Explore New International Relations. By Hugh Williamson. John Price 575

JAPAN UNDER CONSTRUCTION: Corruption, Politics, and Public Works. By Brian Woodall. Ofer Feldman 578

JAPAN'S NAME CULTURE: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political and Social Context. By Herbert Plutschow. James E. Roberson 579
THE FURTHEST GOAL: Englebert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan.
By Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey and Derek Massarella.

FISHING VILLAGES IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN.
By Arne Kalland.

THE KOREAN ECONOMY: Perspectives for the Twenty-First Century.
By Hyung-Koo Lee.

LANDOWNERSHIP UNDER COLONIAL RULE: Korea’s Japanese Experience, 1900–1935.
By Edwin H. Gragert.

NORTH KOREA: Ideology, Politics, Economy.
By Han S. Park.

South Asia


AN INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER RECALLS HER LIFE: Manmohini Zutshi Sahgal.
Edited by Geraldine Forbes.

MISSION AND TAMIL SOCIETY: Social and Religious Change in South India (1840–1900). By Henriette Bugge.

By Yunas Samad.

Southeast Asia


VIETNAM 1945: The Quest for Power.
By David G. Marr.

VIETNAM IN A CHANGING WORLD.
Edited by Irene Nordlund, Carolyn L. Gates and Vu Cao Dam.


Australasia and the Pacific Regions

URBANISATION IN POLYNESIA: PACIFIC 2010.
By John Connell and John P. Lea.

NATION MAKING: Emergent Identities in Postcolonial Melanesia.
Edited by Robert J. Foster.

MIGRATION AND TRANSFORMATIONS: Regional Perspectives on New Guinea.
Edited by Andrew J. Strathern and Gabriele Sturzenhofecker.

PAPUAN BORDERLANDS: Huli, Duna, and Ipili Perspectives on the Papua New Guinea Highlands.
Edited by Aletta Biersack.

ARTICULATING CHANGE IN THE "LAST UNKNOWN". By Frederick K. Errington and Deborah B. Gewertz.

Constantine N. Vaporis 581
Scott Schnell 583
Young-lob Chung 584
Vipan Chandra 586
David C. Kang 588
Tony Beck 589
Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh 590
Geoffrey A. Oddie 592
Lawrence Ziring 594
William V. Rapp 596
Alexander Woodside 598
Pierre Brocheux 599
David Hicks 600
Victoria S. Lockwood 602
John Barker 602
Monica Minnegal 604
Dan Jorgensen 605
Robert Tonkinson 607
STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN LAND:  
A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands.  
By Francis X. Hezel.

SOUTH PACIFIC ORAL TRADITIONS.  
Edited by Ruth Finnegan and Margaret Orbell.

COLONIAL TECHNOLOGY: Science and the Transfer of Innovation to Australia.  
By Jan Todd.

Briefly Noted

CHINA'S ECONOMIC REFORM.  
By Shangquan Gao.

THREE CHINESE ECONOMIES: China, Hong Kong and Taiwan Challenges and Opportunities.  
Edited by Linda Fung-Yee Ng and Chyau Tuan.

TAIWAN'S ELECTORAL POLITICS AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION: Riding the Third Wave. Edited by Tien Hung-mao

Edited by Aran Patanothai

By Douglas Haynes and William L. Wuerch.

Chinese Opera
Images and Stories

Siu Wang-Ngai
with Peter Lovrick

In this book, a series of brilliant photographs from live performances and lively plot summaries reveal the excitement, colour, drama, and action of Chinese opera while also offering a unique view of Chinese society. The plays are organized in groups to give an idea of the Chinese 'chain of being.' English and Chinese names of the operas are included as is a complete guide to the photographs in Chinese.

256 pages, 10 x 10", 193 colour photographs, $49.95

Order from UBC Press. VISA and MasterCard accepted. Shipping $5.00
Tel: 604/822-5959; fax: 604/822-6083; e-mail: orders@ubcpress.ubc.ca
6344 Memorial Road, Vancouver, BC Canada V6T 1Z2
REETA CHOWDHARI TREMBLAY is an associate professor of Political Science at Concordia University. Her areas of specialization are Comparative Public Policy and South Asian Politics.

ARTHUR RUBINOFF is a professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto.

TOMOKO FUJISAKI is a pharmacist, and a public health and social development expert who is currently a visiting fellow at Harvard School of Public Health.

FORREST BRISCOE is a research associate at John Snow Inc. Research & Training Institute, Boston.

JAMES MAXWELL is director of the Environmental Practices Study at MIT and is also director of the Environment and Health Center at John Snow Inc. Research & Training Institute, Boston.

MISA KISHI is a physician who is currently working with the Rockefeller Foundation sponsored Leadership for Environment and Development program.

TATSUJIRO SUZUKI is a research fellow at the Central Research Institute of Electric Power Industry Tokyo and a visiting scholar at MIT’s Japan Program and its Center for International Studies.

ERIC SHIBUYA is a doctoral candidate in the Environmental Studies Program in Political Science at Colorado State University.