

Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

The Present Fortune of Tradition-bound Authoritarianism in Myanmar

Bruce Matthews

Reconciliation between Myanmar's authoritarian SPDC government and the exponents of democracy remains elusive. Despite tensions attending the political struggle, the military regime continues to grow in confidence, in several ways. These include a sense of rightness or privilege based on certain perceived cultural and historical determinants that, in their opinion link political rule with despotism. Other features discussed are the tight infrastructure of the SPDC cabinet and the loyalty of a vast military force. But there are as well striking features that point to SPDC's underlying lack of confidence, and which reveal a polity in a state of moral emptiness. These include reliance on arcane superstitions, the nascent moral authority of the Buddhist monastic order and, above all, the living presence of Aung San Suu Kyi. Despite outward appearances of political stagnation and civil resignation, changing economic and social conditions in Myanmar tempt one to conclude that this epoch of despotism is drawing slowly to a close.

Politics and Paths of Rural Development in China: The Village Conglomerate in Shandong Province

Weixing Chen

This article, based on primary research in China's Shandong province, examines the rise of the village conglomerate (VC), one of the most significant aspects of economic and social development in rural China since the mid-1980s. It describes the emergence of the VC in the new policy environment, discusses the rise of rural elites and the first generation of Chinese peasant entrepreneurs with the development of the VC, and highlights the VC path and its implications for China's development in general and for rural development in particular.

Interministry Coordination in Japan's Foreign Policy making

C.S. Ahn

A concern over the growing trend of "multi-track diplomacy" has been expressed by many students of Japanese foreign policy. What is at root in the problem of "multi-track diplomacy" is the failure of interministry coordination in Japan's foreign policy making process. Aside from outlining the multi-dimensional process of interministry coordination involved in Japan's foreign policy making, this article discusses the loci, actors, and bureaucratic behaviors of interministry coordination. Emphasis is placed on the analysis of various impediments to interministry coordination. Structural impediments, such as the compartmentalization of each ministry partaking in foreign policy making, are discussed along with an assessment of the corrective measures taken to eradicate such impediments. Also discussed are the attitudinal and behavioral traits of Japanese officials evinced in official interactions and interministry competition. Two capsule studies show how such traits have contributed to the failure of interministry coordination. A section of the article treats the roles played by political parties in interministry coordination before and after the ending of one-party rule by the Liberal Democratic Party.

**The Japanese Government in Two Mexican Financial Crises:
An Emerging International Lender-of-Last-Resort?**

Saori N. Katada

By comparing the Japanese government's policy responses to the two Mexican financial crises of 1982 and 1994, this paper examines the reasons why the Japanese government became actively involved in supporting and funding the first rescue plan, but not the second. Emerging Japanese economic power does not provide a sufficient explanation for the difference in Japan's behavior, nor can it indicate the conditions under which Japan assumes an international lender-of-last-resort role. By focusing on both the interaction between Japan and the United States in facing the crises, and domestic dynamics of the Japanese government-private financial sector relationship, the paper demonstrates that the absence of several critical conditions in the 1994 crisis caused the Japanese government's inaction. These conditions include strong and direct pressure from the United States, international coalition between American and Japanese private financial sectors involved in the crisis, and the political power of the banking sector vis-à-vis the Japanese government. In the case of the 1994-95 Mexican crisis, the Clinton administration's political stake in NAFTA and Mexico, as well as new emerging markets in the 1990s with their own financial instruments and their risk-hedging mechanisms, curbed pressure and decreased the motivation for the Japanese government to get involved.

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BRUCE MATTHEWS, C. B. Lumsden Professor of Comparative Religion at Acadia University, Nova Scotia. His research and writing focuses largely on questions of religion and politics in Theravada Buddhist South and Southeast Asia, particularly Myanmar and Sri Lanka.

WEIXING CHEN, Assistant Professor of Political Science at East Tennessee State University.

CHOONG-SIK AHN, U.S. Department of State Foreign Affairs Analyst.

SAORI N. KATADA, Assistant Professor of the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California.

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ABSTRACTS

India's Emerging Space Program

Dinshaw Mistry

This article reviews the history and development of India's space program, analyzes the capabilities of its space assets, and examines their political, economic and geostrategic aspects. In the thirty year period since its inception in the 1960s, India's space capability has progressed gradually from launching light scientific payloads into low orbits, to being able to launch more useful remote-sensing (reconnaissance) satellites to mid-altitude orbits. India will soon have the capacity to launch even heavier communications satellites to higher geostationary orbits (GEO). India's space program is thus emerging out of its developing stages and stands poised to join the ranks of a select group of states that can not only build but launch their own satellites to GEO.

Influenced by changing political and economic circumstances, India's space assets have found varying applications — they have been utilized for socioeconomic development, to fulfill political objectives, and have produced military spin-offs and commercial applications. India's space assets are now sufficiently advanced to find applications for power projection and force multiplication, achieved through satellite reconnaissance, intelligence and communications. India's increasing capabilities in this field, combined with the modernization of India's conventional forces, will by the turn of the century, begin to affect the strategic relationships between India and its traditional adversaries, Pakistan and China. Such shifts in the regional balance of power will have important security implications for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions.

China's Telecommunications Industry: Development Patterns and Policies

Eric Harwit

This paper takes a comparative developmental approach in analyzing the rapidly developing telecommunications industry in China. It first formulates a framework of analysis based on policy decisions that shaped telecommunications growth in other parts of the developing world. It then looks at China in the light of these patterns and tests for the strengths and weaknesses of the PRC's own actions.

The analysis focuses on government policy and its implementation since the founding of the PRC, and documents developments in the construction of a modern and accessible telecommunications system. A case study section focuses on China Unicom, a challenger to the state monopoly carrier.

The paper concludes that the Chinese government seems to recognize the importance of moving beyond the traditional central state monopoly control of telecommunications. The PRC is also taking tentative steps to allow foreign companies a greater role in modernizing the industry. Overall, government policies have had a positive effect in expanding opportunities in this key economic sector.

ASEAN and the Management of Regional Security

Shaun Narine

This article critically examines the ability of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to manage the East Asian security environment. It evaluates ASEAN's past attempts to influence regional security and uses this historical analysis to assess ASEAN's current efforts at building regional security arrangements. The paper's main argument is that, historically, two factors have limited ASEAN's ability to manage regional security: one, the interests and actions of the great powers, who have set ASEAN's operational parameters; two, divergent security

perceptions and interests within ASEAN itself. These factors continue to operate in the contemporary period, and may now be even more influential than in the past. ASEAN's ability to manage regional events may be reduced as the great powers become more directly involved in the region. ASEAN's unity may be undermined by the tensions introduced into its ranks by its expanding membership. ASEAN's regional role will remain circumscribed by the interests of its individual members as well as by the interests of the great powers.

Inoue Kowashi and the Dual Images of the Emperor of Japan

Yoshimitsu Khan

This essay traces the course of establishing and legitimizing Imperial rule in Meiji and prewar Japan. For the Meiji oligarchs who overthrew the feudal Shogunate, fashioning a united system of laws and modernizing other governmental institutions became necessary in order to establish a nation-state, enhance the nation's strength, and revise unequal treaties and trade agreements. All this was done with the aim of successfully competing with established world powers. Domestic and international affairs of Meiji Japan were appropriately described by the term *naiyūgaikan* (worries at home and troubles with the outside) used during that unsettled period.

Meiji thinkers and leaders were confronted with enormous difficulties in achieving their goals. From 1868 to 1905, catching up with the West was their most driving concern. The Western powers were extremely intimidating, and pre-industrial Japan, in so many aspects of its development, was so far behind.

Inoue Kowashi (1843-95) was one of the most significant forces in the evolution and maturation of the Meiji Restoration — the intellectual engineer for Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909) and many other prominent Meiji leaders whose positions afforded them the opportunity to wield actual power. This study reveals how prewar Japan was influenced by Inoue.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

DINSHAW MISTRY is a graduate Research Associate at the Program in Arms Control and is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois.

ERIC HARWIT is an Assistant Professor of Asian Studies at the University of Hawaii.

SHAUN NARINE is a Fellow at the Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto.

YOSHIMITSU KHAN is an Assistant Professor of Japanese and East Asian Studies, Union College, Schenectady, New York.

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ABSTRACTS

**New Challenges to Japan's Aid:
An Analysis of Aid Policy Making**

Keiko Hirata

Japan's foreign aid has reached a turning point in the face of domestic and international challenges. A national fiscal crisis has forced Japan to reduce its aid budget after a long period of expansion. At the same time, changes in international politics have heightened international expectations about both the quality of Japanese aid and the aid leadership role that Japan might play. Using Japanese aid to Vietnam and Cambodia as a case study, this paper analyzes the interests and policies of the key aid policy-makers in Japan — in the government, bureaucracy, business community, and non-governmental sector — as they confront these dual challenges. It also examines efforts at fiscal and administrative reform as an expression of the balance of forces among these contending actors. The paper concludes that the fragmentation of Japanese aid policy, coupled with the current fiscal crisis, means that Tokyo will have a hard time assuming the international aid leadership role expected of it.

**Political Structure and India's
Economic Reforms of the 1990s**

Baldev Raj Nayar

Faced with an economic crisis in 1991, India made a paradigm shift from the state to the market in respect of both the internal organization of the economy and its orientation to the global economy. The explanation for both the economic crisis and the reforms enacted in its train lies not in the international system, but predominantly in the domestic sphere, particularly the changing dynamics of state-society relations within a democratic framework, and altered experience-based elite preferences about economic policy. The democratic nature of the Indian state also explains the limited nature of change, for the requirements of legitimacy of such a state place limits on reform that imposes sacrifices on key societal groups, particularly in the absence of a crisis.

**Chinese Consular Representation
in British Hong Kong**

Peter Wesley-Smith

Attempts by China to appoint an official representative in the colony constitute a theme of Anglo-Chinese relations vis-à-vis Hong Kong. This can be seen in such areas as customs and telegraphs administration. In addition there is a long history of Chinese proposals for a consul. The Hong Kong government was traditionally opposed, while the Chinese government seemed not concerned about the compromise to claims of sovereignty over Hong Kong which such proposals necessarily acknowledged. Yet when the Hong Kong authorities unexpectedly changed their minds on the matter, just before the Japanese occupation, China was apparently worried about the consequences for sovereignty, and no arrangements were made. By the time the PRC government reasserted the former policy, Hong Kong was unable

any longer to agree. China had to make do with the New China News Agency as a nonconsular representative instead. The role and function of the NCNA are now, following Hong Kong's reversion to Chinese sovereignty, problematic.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

KEIKO HIRATA is a doctoral candidate in Political Science at the University of Hawai'i. She has published widely on the topic of Tokyo's foreign policy and foreign aid. She spent 1998 as an affiliated researcher at Tsukuba University in Japan and Hanoi National University in Vietnam.

BALDEV RAJ NAYAR is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Political Science, McGill University, Montreal. His most recent contribution in the field of International Relations is "India As A Limited Challenger?", in T. V. Paul and John A. Hall (eds.), *International Order and The Future of World Politics*. (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming, 1999)

PETER WESLEY SMITH is Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Hong Kong. The revised edition of his *Unequal Treaty 1898-1997*, an account of the treaty which leased the New Territories part of Hong Kong to Britain and whose expiry meant the end of Hong Kong as a British territory, was published by Oxford University Press in January 1998

PRATAP BHANU MEHTA is Associate Professor of Government and Social Studies at Harvard University.

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ABSTRACTS

**Border Politics and the Broader Politics of Thailand's
International Relations in the 1990s: From Communism to Capitalism**

Paul Battersby

In the era of the so-called "borderless world," it is fashionable to regard the concept of territoriality as an anachronism. Plans to integrate the economies of countries sharing the resources of the Mekong Basin invite analysis in terms of the logic of globalization. Yet, as the recent history of relations between Thailand and neighbouring Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos emphasizes, secure borders are vital for the development of transnational economic linkages. For much of the cold war, military challenges to the power of central governments rendered the political map of mainland Southeast Asia a "cartographic illusion." States were politically divided, while poorly defined and porous borders were easily crossed by revolutionaries and refugees. Neutralizing the challenge for the Communist Party of Thailand in the early 1980s, the Thai State moved to establish political control over formerly contested frontier areas. Similar trends in Myanmar and Cambodia in the 1990s have made tactical assistance to separatist and antigovernment guerrilla armies in neighbouring countries redundant as an instrument of Thai national security policy. A pattern of territorial consolidation has emerged — assisted rather than hindered by the ongoing incorporation of mainland Southeast Asia into the global economy. As Thailand seeks to transform its borders from buffer zones into gateways for trade and investment in Indochina and beyond, so has the stricter regulation of cross-border capitalist activities become crucial to the achievement of this key regional objective.

**A Historical Reevaluation of America's
Role in the Kuril Islands Dispute**

Bruce A. Elleman, Michael R. Nichols and Matthew J. Ouimet

This article looks at two prevalent misconceptions about the U.S. government's policies on the Kuril — Northern Territories — Islands dispute. The first is that Roosevelt agreed at the Yalta Conference to cede "all" of the Kurils to the Soviet Union. In fact, the Yalta agreement never used the word "all" and it was only during August 1945, during a series of exchanges between Stalin and Truman, that Truman agreed in General Order No. 1 to grant the USSR occupation rights to "all" of the Kurils, including the southernmost islands traditionally considered to be part of Hokkaido. The Department of State's interpretation of the Yalta agreement and General Order No. 1 was that the Soviet occupation of the southernmost Kuril islands was intended to be a temporary military occupation only, until such a time that a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty transferred sovereignty of the Kurils to the USSR. The second misconception concerns the so-called "Dulles Threat Incident" of 1956, when Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu that if Japan gave up its claim to the southern Kurils to the USSR, then the United States might feel obliged to retain Okinawa in perpetuity. A large number of scholars, and especially Soviet scholars, have claimed that Dulles's "threat" was intended to torpedo the renewal of friendly Japanese-Soviet relations. By examining newly declassified documents, this article shows that Dulles was actually trying to help the Japanese negotiators by offering them American-backed leverage against the Soviet Union. This article concludes that, contrary to many scholarly criticisms, the United States government's policy on the Kuril Island dispute has been consistent in stating that in the absence of an official peace treaty, the disputed islands remain Japanese territory.

Challenges for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

David B. H. Denoon and Evelyn Colbert

As the thirtieth anniversary of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) approached in 1997, there was due satisfaction in its record of molding cooperation in the region and optimism about its future. However, the economic crisis that has swept through East Asia has dimmed hopes for ASEAN. In this paper, ASEAN's means of achieving its past successes are analyzed as well as its prospects for future progress in expanding its members to ten states, economic integration, and security cooperation.

Corporate Power in the Forests of the Solomon Islands

Peter Dauvergne

This paper assesses the environmental impact of multinational companies on commercial timber management in the Solomon Islands since 1990. As more and more companies, especially from Malaysia, have spread throughout the country, the capacity of the state and societal groups to develop and enforce effective rules has become increasingly strained. Corporate bribes and pressure on state and community leaders have further contributed to inappropriate policies and weak enforcement. In this context, by the mid 1990s loggers had pushed log production over three times higher than the sustainable yield. With minimal controls, and in an effort to maximize profits and minimize risks, companies in the Solomon Islands have ignored environmental and harvesting guidelines, broken promises to landowners and communities, evaded export and income taxes, developed informal and formal arrangements that lower prices and increase production, and constructed complex corporate structures that obscure financial and environmental accountability. The environmental impact of timber companies is not unique to the Solomon Islands. Similar patterns are also found in other parts of the Asia-Pacific, South America and Africa.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

PAUL BATTERSBY is a lecturer in the School of Australian and International Studies, Deakin University, Victoria, Australia.

BRUCE ELLEMAN is a History Ph.D. from Columbia University (1993) and author of "Diplomacy and Deception: The Secret History of Sino-Soviet Diplomatic Relations, 1917-1927" (M. E. Sharpe, 1997). Presently Assistant Professor of History at Texas Christian University.

MICHAEL NICHOLS is a History graduate student at Texas Christian University and Associate Editor (Spencer Tucker, editor) of "Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: A Political, Social, and Military History" (ABC-CLIO, 1997).

MATTHEW J. OUMET is a lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Washington.

DAVID DENOON is an Associate Professor of Politics and Economics at New York University.

EVELYN COLBERT is retired from the U.S. Department of State.

PETER DAUVERGNE is a Lecturer, Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney. His book, *Shadows in the Forest: Japan and the Politics of Timber in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), received the 1998 Harold and Margaret Sprout Award, presented annually by the International Studies Association for the best book in international environmental affairs.

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