

Pacific Affairs

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Publications Mail Registration No. 07775
PRINTED IN CANADA

ISSN 0030-851X
GST No. R108161779



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ABSTRACTS

Guangdong's Challenges: Organizational Streamlining, Economic Restructuring and Anticorruption

Joseph Y. S. Cheng

Since 1979, Guangdong has been a laboratory in China's economic reform process, testing various reform policies and their political limits. In the 1990s, the thrust of China's economic reform has been transforming state enterprises into independent legal entities responsible for their own profits and losses. Re-defining government functions is both a prerequisite and a logical consequence of such reforms of state enterprises. The objective is to separate government from enterprises, and to promote "small government, big society". Guangdong's success in economic restructuring has enabled it to make satisfactory progress in organizational streamlining. However, corruption has been rampant in the province, attracting central interference, tarnishing its reputation and that of its leaders. Reducing the size of the bureaucracy is supposed to facilitate improvements in remuneration for civil servants and eventually contribute to combat corruption. The complex interactions of the above also raise the fundamental question of the limitations of the reforms in the absence of democratization.

Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines: Why the 1996 Peace Agreement is Fragile

Jacques Bertrand

The 1996 agreement between the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the government of the Republic of the Philippines ended more than two decades of hostilities. Its cornerstone was the creation of an expanded autonomous region in Mindanao, which must be confirmed in a plebiscite in 1999 or 2000. For the first time, the government of the Philippines and Muslims in Mindanao agreed on a shared understanding of the territorial claim of the Muslims. Muslims gained some protection of their way of life and a recognition of a right to self-government. Furthermore, MNLF leaders were given the opportunity to rule during the transition to a fuller autonomy.

Nevertheless, these achievements have been insufficient to attract the support of Christians, Lumads, and even many Muslims. Many factors have weakened the peace process. First, the transitional structures of autonomy do not provide a good test for future autonomous institutions because of mismanagement and corruption. Second, these structures received little support from groups other than the MNLF, including non-Muslims as well as Muslims, such as supporters of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Third, the agreement did not address the issue of land rights. Fourth, the peace accord has not produced many of its expected benefits, especially an improvement in living standards for Muslims. By the end of 1998, the peace process had been severely weakened. We could expect that the plebiscite on expanded autonomy will have little success. While the article argues that the 1996 peace agreement is fragile, it also concludes on some options that might strengthen it.

**Control Democracy, Institutional Decay, and the Quest for *Eelam*:
Explaining Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka**

Neil DeVotta

Despite their utility within specific contexts, theories centered on religion, colonialism, and caste and class cleavages are inadequate to explain Sri Lanka's complex and protracted ethnic conflict. Consequently, a more overarching framework, which argues that the two phases of Tamil mobilization — political and military — and the eventual push towards secession are a consequence of institutional decay, is utilized. The majority attempt to create a Sinhalese ethnocracy by marginalizing the minority Tamils within the context of a “control democracy” and the concomitant institutional decay is thus responsible for the durability and near intractability of Sri Lanka's bloody civil war. A devolved political structure that allows for a high degree of Tamil self-determination within a united Sri Lanka is called for in order to ensure the island's communal groups voluntarily coalesced.

U. S. Aid to Nepal in the Cold War Period: Lessons for the Future

Narayan Khadka

Nepal was one of the first countries in South Asia to receive U.S. aid. As in other countries, the U. S. used aid as an instrument of its foreign policy in Nepal in the Cold War period. The major foreign policy objectives of the United States in Nepal were a) to help Nepal maintain its independence and neutrality, b) to contain a possible threat of communism in Nepal, c) to support Nepal's development efforts, and d) to enhance Nepal's western orientation.

This paper has three main objectives, to examine the fundamental objectives of the U. S. aid in Nepal in the Cold War period, to assess the major achievements of the U. S. aid objectives, and to draw conclusions on the future directions of its aid. The paper uses an analytical approach using secondary sources of information. The paper concludes that the U. S. aid in Nepal was not successful in achieving its foreign policy objectives and that since some of the conditions have not changed despite the end of the Cold War, the U. S. will continue to maintain its foreign policy interest.

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Publications Mail Registration No. 07775
PRINTED IN CANADA

ISSN 0030-851X
GST No. R108161779



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ABSTRACTS

The Changing Nature of East Asia as an Economic Region

Dajin Peng

East Asia integration is characterized by informal integration, which distinguish East Asia from other regions emphasizing formal integration. The Regional Production Network (RPN) is a major type of informal integration. It was built by Japanese firms trying to create a Japanese-led multi-tier division of labor in East Asia. The theoretical basis of the RPN is the flying geese model (proposed by Akamatsu) and its modern variants. The RPN was instrumental in forging production ties among East Asian countries and has helped the export-led industrialization of East Asian economies. The RPN helped to drive Asian integration in the absence of strong formal integrative institutions in the region.

However, the RPN is built upon the dependence of other East Asian economies on Japan for technology and on the US for market. The system is likely to break down when the Japanese economy stagnates or when the US can no longer absorb the increasing exports. The breakdown of the RPN is the production factor for the Asian financial crisis. The flying geese model is also static in that it does not reflect the rapid catching up of certain followers. The dominance of the RPN has been challenged by the ethnic Chinese business networks, another type of informal integration. The Chinese networks have helped some ethnic Chinese economies, such as Taiwan and China, enabling them to perform better in the Asian crisis and to catch up with the industrialized countries in global competition. The evolution of the RPN reflects the changing nature of East Asian political economy.

Australian Democracy and the Compound Republic

Graham Maddox

Acknowledged as a post-Enlightenment country, Australia is evidently unencumbered by pre-modern institutions or ideologies. The dominant interpretation of the Australian polity is as a “liberal” nation, structured with constitutional impediments to collectivist action and accommodating to individualist policies. Characterization of Australia as “a compound republic” both reinforces constitutional brakes on coherent government action and forestalls moves to change the constitution into some novel republican form. Yet this paper argues that there is a legitimate collectivist tradition in Australian political history that should not be allowed to be stifled by the dominance of individualist constructions of the polity.

Foreign Aid, Domestic Institutions and Entrepreneurship: Fashioning Management Training Centre in China

David Zweig

The literature on internationalization suggests several ways in which external forces can affect domestic institutional change. Explanations for the extent of the foreign impact include changes in international relative prices, capital flows into a country which create new organizations or restructure existing ones, external demand for structural adjustment, and transnational intellectual communities, which introduce universal norms into an otherwise non-conforming country. Yet domestic forces, such as political structures and institutions – including organizational ideologies, commitments to domestic constituencies, industrial structure or path dependence, local government entrepreneurship, and the local policy environment – all undermine the influence of external forces.

This paper looks at the impact of overseas development assistance on three management training centres to assess whether foreign or domestic forces determined the rules, financial allocations, and pattern of organizational behaviour. It finds that domestic bureaucratic interests imposed powerful constraints on these new organizations. At the same time, foreign capital and global linkages helped these units evade some constraints that might have impeded their development. Despite China's image as a strong state, donors exerted significant influence over these projects. But each organization's property and internal rules, its domestic economic and bureaucratic environment, and the level of entrepreneurship of its leaders determined its pace and direction of development.

Ten Years of Chaos in Burma: Foreign Investment and Economic Liberalization under the SLORC-SPDC, 1988 to 1998

Stephen McCarthy

In 1988 Burma's military generals embarked upon a program of economic liberalization and the reversal of years of isolationism. Through a series of sweeping laws aimed at encouraging foreign investment and economic prosperity, the State Law and Order Restoration Council attempted to address a popular uprising while reinforcing the military's legitimizing role of economic stewardship. This paper will examine the nature of the SLORC's economic liberalization program over its ten year life, from 1988 to 1998, when the *Tatmadaw* reasserted its direct control over the economy. While focusing primarily upon foreign direct investment, the paper will also address the peripherals of engagement policy, the impact of the Asian financial crisis, and the effectiveness of U.S. sanctions. It will show that the *Tatmadaw's* economic liberalization policies failed because they were either short-sighted or expedient, and that the bulk of foreign direct investment was attracted towards short-term profit-making ventures. Burma's economy will continue to stagnate without the assistance of international funding and China's influence will continue to play a major role in addressing Burma's poor relations with the West.

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Publications Mail Registration No. 07775
PRINTED IN CANADA

ISSN 0030-851X
GST No. R108161779



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ABSTRACTS

Mahathir and the Markets: Globalization and the Pursuit of Economic Autonomy in Malaysia

Mark Beeson

No country has attracted more comment and attention in the wake of the recent East Asian economic crisis than Malaysia. Malaysian policy-makers chose to reject the conventional economic wisdom articulated by influential organisations like the IMF, and endeavoured to control a number of processes conveniently subsumed under the rubric of “globalization.” This paper examines this experiment and explores the factors that underpinned this course of action in the face of almost universal condemnation. I suggest that the response to the financial crisis was in keeping with a broader tradition of “interventionist” economic management, which has been driven by highly contingent considerations that are as much political as they are economic. The Malaysian case suggests that, whatever the motivations of policymakers may be, there are alternative strategies open to them, even in an era characterised by highly integrated transnational economic and political processes.

Taiwan in Japan’s Relations with China and the United States after the Cold War

Qingxin Ken Wang

Until 1972, the Taiwan question had been a major cause of tensions in Japan’s relations with China. The Taiwan issue has re-emerged as a new bone of contention. In the aftermath of China’s missile tests in the Taiwan strait in early 1996, Japan has committed itself to providing logistical support for American military operations in the Taiwan strait under the revised U.S.-Japan security cooperation guidelines. How do the Japanese perceive China and Taiwan after the cold war? How has Japan’s policy toward China and Taiwan changed in recent years? What are the factors shaping Tokyo’s relations with mainland China and Taiwan? How have the revised US-Japan security cooperation guidelines affected Japan’s relations with mainland China and Taiwan? These are the major questions to be addressed in this paper.

The arguments of this paper are as follows: The Taiwan issue has once again posed a major challenge to Japan’s stable relations with China as a result of China’s rapid international ascendancy and Taiwan’s democratization. Especially, Japan’s new security commitment under the revised security guidelines has placed Tokyo in a very difficult dilemma between preserving its alliance with the United States and maintaining stable relations with China. While Tokyo’s best hope is to see a peaceful resolution of cross-strait conflicts, Tokyo may have to provide logistical support for American military intervention in the event of armed conflicts in the Taiwan Strait even at the risk of triggering a military confrontation with China.

India’s Aborted Liberalisation – 1966

Rahul Mukherji

This article argues that a crisis of foreign exchange and consequent pressure from the international donors, in the absence of a favorable domestic economic environment, may not be adequate to generate a policy shift in a pro-trade direction.

I explain the political economy of a reversed liberalization in this paper. India was faced with a foreign exchange crisis in 1966, after having weathered two droughts and a war. It devalued its currency and initiated some trade reforms in return for foreign exchange. This pro-trade policy orientation was reversed by the end of 1966, and, by 1969, India had turned to unprecedented levels of economic nationalism. The aborted liberalization of 1966 highlights the role of executive orientation in killing pro-trade initiatives. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's need for political support in 1966, and, the ideational consensus in favor of import-substitution in the Indian Parliament and the policy community, account for this retreat from trade liberalization.

Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido and the Shaping of Ainu Identity

Lisa Hiwasaki

The Hokkaidô Ainu, who have inhabited what is now northern Japan for thousands of years, remain virtually invisible in Japanese society to the extent that the government does not recognize them as an indigenous people. One venue that plays a vital role in their representation in Japan is ethnic tourism, focused on tourist centres scattered across the northernmost island of the Japanese archipelago. Using data gathered during fieldwork in 1995, this paper will explore Ainu cultural and identity expressions as they manifest themselves through ethnic tourism in Hokkaidô. Active involvement in tourism has resulted in numerous changes for the Ainu economically, socially, culturally, and politically. By demonstrating the diverse ways in which the Ainu have been influenced by and through ethnic tourism, including some outcomes generated which benefit the Ainu, this paper will emphasize the importance of ethnic tourism both in Ainu contemporary culture and in the representations of Ainu in Japanese society today. Tourist centres serve as a venue where Ainu-Wajin relations are played out and through which Ainu ethnic identities are represented, formulated and reinforced. Examining tourism is integral to the understanding of the Ainu of the past, present, and future.

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Publications Mail Registration No. 07775
PRINTED IN CANADA

ISSN 0030-851X
GST No. R108161779



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ABSTRACTS

North Korean Perceptions of Self and Others: Implications for Policy Choices

Han S. Park

On the phenomenological premise that perceptions held by the perceiver constitute reality, the paper attempts to explain North Korea's policy choices and behavioural patterns by examining the perceptions held by the people in that unique and peculiar society. Viewed from this perspective, no behaviour or policy choice exhibited by the Pyongyang regime may be unexplainable. The institutional, historical, and leadership approaches that are most common in the study of North Korea have been unable to explain or predict the course of action taken by the government of the DPRK. Such mistaken approaches lead us to characterize North Korea as unpredictable, parasitic, and irrational. This article offers a cultural approach with emphasis on the norms, values, and beliefs that underlie the perceptions held by the people in that historical and political milieu. This approach leads one to conclude that the North Korean system is not only stable but also remarkably rational in pursuing national and regime interests in the international and inter-Korea arenas.

North Korea's Challenge of Regime Survival: Internal Problems and Implications for the Future

Scott Snyder

Many analysts have predicted that North Korea would not survive the loss of its Communist allies without undertaking economic and political reform, yet North Korea has defied the "natural laws" of the politics of transition to the post-cold war era by clinging to survival. The paper outlines how concerns about North Korea's collapse influenced the policy direction and response of the two Koreas and their neighbours, and analyzes the critical factors likely to determine the sustainability of the North Korean regime, including North Korea's continued economic decline during the 1990s; the North Korean famine; refugee flows; the energy crisis; the external security environment, including the impact of U.S. and Chinese policies toward North Korea; and prospects for political or military instability in Pyongyang. Despite North Korea's recent opening to the international community, the North Korean leadership still faces potentially dangerous political risks that must be overcome for the North Korean system to survive.

North Korea's Defensive Power and U.S.-North Korea Relations

Kyung-Ae Park

This article examines nuclear and missile tensions in U.S.-North Korea relations and analyzes North Korea's defensive power, i.e., its ability to resist U.S. influence. Contending that the missile and nuclear tensions are intertwined with North Korea's defensive power, it probes various sources of North Korea's defensive capability. Such domestic factors as threats to its survival, *Juche* ideology, rivalry with South Korea,

consolidation of the new regime, and being small are examined as factors that help Pyongyang increase its capacity to withstand pressure from Washington and compensate for the asymmetry of power between the two systems. Pointing to a paradoxical phenomenon of the “power of the weak,” the article argues that the traditional power approach falls short in accounting for North Korea’s role and influence in the nuclear and missile crises with the U.S. Although the U.S. is far more powerful than North Korea, America’s superior military or economic power does not guarantee North Korea’s compliance with U.S. interests when North Korea is determined to exercise its defensive power.

Peace and Neutrality on the Korean Peninsula: A Role for Canada?

Robert Bedeski

Canadian recognition of North Korea and the past decade of interaction suggest that Canada may be well suited to take the lead in further solution of the Korean Peninsula dilemma. The time has arrived to restart the 1954 reunification process that dissolved during the cold war. Without reunification, millions of North Koreans will remain under an oppressive regime, and without neutralization, the Korean Peninsula may continue to be a cradle of regional conflict. For decades, the D.P.R.K. has maintained its reputation as a rogue state with terrorism, alleged development of WMD (weapons of mass destruction), and an unwillingness to abide by international law. Economic bankruptcy and prolonged famine appeared as symptoms of approaching collapse, but Kim Jong Il’s regime has managed to survive; in June 2000, he suspended long-standing hostility and met in Pyongyang with South Korean President Kim Dae Jung. If the current trend of thaw continues, there may be opportunities to resolve the tensions of the Korean War, and even move toward reunification of the Korean Peninsula. With Canadian initiative, an international solution to reunification may be possible by restarting the Geneva Conference of 1954, and by working towards a neutralized and reunited Korea.

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