

Pacific Affairs

Vol. 63, No. 1

Spring 1990

	PAGE
The Philippine Bases and U.S. Pacific Strategy	<i>Gregory P. Corning</i> 6
Regionalism in the South Korean Job Market: An Analysis of Regional-Origin Inequality Among Migrants in Seoul	<i>Eui-Young Yu</i> 24
“Men Are More Able”: Rural Chinese Women’s Conceptions of Gender and Agency	<i>Ellen R. Judd</i> 40
Islamization and Legal Reform in Pakistan, 1979–1989	<i>Charles H. Kennedy</i> 62
Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 3-4)	78

ABSTRACTS

The Philippine Bases and U.S. Pacific Strategy

Gregory P. Corning

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

“Men Are More Able”:

Rural Chinese Women's Conceptions of Gender and Agency

Ellen R. Judd

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

Regionalism in the South Korean Job Market:

An Analysis of Regional-Origin Inequality among Migrants in Seoul

Eui-Young Yu

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

Islamization and Legal Reform in Pakistan, 1979-1989

Charles H. Kennedy

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

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- ASIA AND THE MAJOR POWERS: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy. Edited by Robert A. Scalapino, Seizaburo Sato, Jusuf Wanandi and Sung-joo Han. *Donald Crone* 78
- ASIAN COMMUNISM: Continuity and Transition. Edited by Robert A. Scalapino and Dalchoong Kim. *Chae-Jin Lee* 79
- ACHIEVING INDUSTRIALIZATION IN EAST ASIA. Edited by Helen Hughes. *Geoffrey B. Hainsworth* 81
- NATURE IN ASIAN TRADITIONS OF THOUGHT: Essays in Environmental Philosophy. Edited by J. Baird Callicott and Roger T. Ames. *Anila Srivastava* 83

China and Inner Asia

- POLICY IN EVOLUTION: The U.S. Role in China's Reunification. By Martin L. Lasater. *James C. Hsiung* 84
- AMERICA AND ISLAND CHINA: A Documentary History. Edited by Stephen P. Gilbert and William M. Carpenter. *James C. Hsiung* 84
- AKSAICHIN AND SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT. By John Lall. *Stella Sandahl* 86
- CHINA: A Macrohistory. By Ray Huang. *Wang Gungwu* 88
- THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE COMMUNISM. By Arif Dirlik. *David P. Barrett* 89
- LAST CHANCE IN MANCHURIA: The Diary of Chang Kia-ngau. Edited and with an introduction by Donald D. Gillin and Ramon H. Myers. Translated by Dolores Zen with the assistance of Donald G. Gillin. *Steven I. Levine* 90
- MISSIONARIES OF REVOLUTION: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920-1927. By C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How. *Lee Feigon* 92
- THE MANDARIN AND THE CADRE: China's Political Cultures. By Lucian W. Pye. *J. Bruce Jacobs* 93
- POLICIES OF CHAOS: The Organizational Causes of Violence in China's Cultural Revolution. By Lynn T. White III. *Keith Forster* 94
- CHINA'S UNIVERSITIES AND THE OPEN DOOR. By Ruth Hayhoe. *Stanley Rosen* 96
- RED EARTH: Revolution in a Sichuan Village. By Stephen Endicott. *Anita Chan* 97
- DAUGHTERS OF THE CANTON DELTA: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860-1930. By Janice E. Stockard. *Sulamith Potter* 98
- THE FOOD OF CHINA. By E.N. Anderson. *Elizabeth L. Johnson* 100

Northeast Asia

- MODERNIZATION AND BEYOND: The Japanese Trajectory. Edited by Gavan McCormack and Yoshio Sugimoto. *Joe B. Moore* 101
- BETWEEN MITI AND THE MARKET: Japanese Industrial Policy for Higher Technology. By Daniel I. Okimoto. *Kent E. Calder* 103
- THE MINER. By Natsume Sōseki. Translated with an Afterword by Jay Rubin. *Tamae Prindle* 104
- CRISIS AND COMPENSATION: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan, 1949-1986. By Kent E. Calder. *Brian Woodall* 106
- LORDSHIP AND INHERITANCE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL JAPAN: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System. By Jeffrey P. Mass. *William Wayne Farris* 107

South Asia

- SATI: Historical and Phenomenological Essays. By Arvind Sharma with Ajit Ray, Alaka Hejib and Katherine K. Young. *Dorothy Stein* 109

THE HARE KRISHNAS IN INDIA. By Charles R. Brooks.	<i>Verne A. Dusenbery</i>	110
CONSTITUTIONAL GLIMPSES OF MARTIAL LAW IN INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BANGLADESH. By Aleem-al-Razee.	<i>Robert S. Anderson</i>	112
MILITARY RULE AND THE MYTH OF DEMOCRACY. By Emajuddin Ahamed.	<i>Robert S. Anderson</i>	112
CANADA AND SOUTH ASIA: Issues and Opportunities. Edited by Arthur G. Rubinoff.	<i>Edward C. Moulton</i>	113
PUNJAB AND THE RAJ, 1847-1947. By Ian Talbot.	<i>Ian J. Kerr</i>	115

Southeast Asia .

BURMA: A Study Guide. Edited by Ronald A. Morse and Helen L. Loerke.	<i>U Thaw Kaung</i>	116
POLITICAL STRUGGLES IN LAOS (1930-1954): Vietnamese Communist Power and the Lao Struggle for National Independence.. By Geoffrey C. Gunn.	<i>Arthur J. Dommen</i>	117
PHAN BOI CHAU AND THE DONG-DU MOVEMENT. Edited by Vinh Sinh.	<i>Truong Buu Lam</i>	119
ETHNICITY AND THE ECONOMY: The State, Chinese Business, and Multinationals in Malaysia. By James V. Jesudason.	<i>R.S. Milne</i>	120
MALAYSIA'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM. By Richard Mead.	<i>L. C. Green</i>	122
SINGAPORE'S NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM: Education Reform for National Development. By Soon Teck Wong.	<i>Hugh Wilson</i>	123
STATE AND FAMILY IN SINGAPORE: Restructuring an Industrial Society. By Janet W. Salaff.	<i>Stella R. Quah</i>	124
POLITIEK-POLITIONEELLE OVERZICHTEN VAN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIE: Deel III: 1931-1934. By Harry A. Poeze.	<i>Robert Van Niel</i>	126
THE ROAD TO MADIUN: The Indonesian Communist Uprising of 1948. By Ann Swift.	<i>Justus M. van der Kroef</i>	127
THE FAR EAST COMES NEAR: Autobiographical Accounts of Southeast Asian Students in America. Edited by Lucy Nguyen-Hong-Nhiem and Joel Martin Halpern.	<i>Kate Frieson</i>	130

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

HONG KONG MONEY: How Chinese Families and Fortunes Are Changing Canada. By John DeMont and Thomas Fennell.	<i>Graham E. Johnson</i>	132
--	--------------------------	-----

Briefly Noted

DEATH OF A HERO: The U Thant Disturbances in Burma, December 1974. By Andrew Selth.	<i>Josef Silverstein</i>	133
HANDS ACROSS THE OCEAN: Managing Joint Ventures with a Spotlight on China and Japan. By Susan Goldenberg.	<i>Ralph W. Huenemann</i>	134
SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS 1989. Edited by Ng Chee Yuen.	<i>R.S. Milne</i>	134
NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC: A Message for Australia. Edited by Muriel Brookfield and R. Gerald Ward.	<i>Karen Brison</i>	135
THE FARTHEST CORNER: New Zealand, A Twice Discovered Land. By Harry Morton and Carol Morton Johnston.	<i>Robert Langdon</i>	136
NATIVE CULTURES OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By Douglas L. Oliver.	<i>William H. Alkire</i>	136
CALLIGRAPHY AND THE EAST ASIAN BOOK. By Frederick W. Mote and Hung-lam Chu. Edited by Howard L. Goodman.	<i>James O. Caswell</i>	137

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

GREGORY P. CORNING, Ph.D Candidate in the School of International Relations, University of Southern California.

EUI-YOUNG YU, Professor of Sociology at California State University, Los Angeles. He has authored and coauthored numerous articles and books on Korea and Korean-American communities.

ELLEN R. JUDD, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, at the University of Manitoba.

CHARLES H. KENNEDY, Associate Professor, Department of Politics, Wake Forest University. He has recently authored *Bureaucracy in Pakistan* (Oxford University Press, 1987); and coauthored *Government and Politics in South Asia* (Westview Press, 1987).

Pacific Affairs

Vol. 63, No. 2

Summer 1990

	PAGE
The <i>People's Daily</i> : Politics and Popular Will — Journalistic Defiance in China During the Spring of 1989	<i>Frank Tan</i> 151
Conflict and Non-Compliance in Chinese Politics: Party Rectification, 1983-87	<i>Bruce J. Dickson</i> 170
Institutions Without Leaders: The Hong Kong Chinese View of Political Leadership	<i>Siu-kai Lau</i> 191
Delicate Diplomatic Debuts: Chinese and Soviet Participation in the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference	<i>Lawrence T. Woods</i> 210
Japanese Democracy: Another Clever Imitation? Review Article.	<i>Adrian Marriage</i> 228
Correspondence	234
Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 148-150)	241

ABSTRACTS

The *People's Daily*: Politics and Popular Will — Journalistic Defiance in China During the Spring of 1989

Frank Tan

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

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

Bruce J. Dickson

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

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

Lau Siu-kai

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

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

Lawrence T. Woods

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

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- POWER AND INSECURITY: Beijing, Moscow and Washington, 1949-1988.
By Harvey W. Nelsen. *Gerald Segal* 237
- ARMING THE DRAGON: U.S. Security Ties with the People's
Republic of China. By A. James Gregor. Foreword by Robert
F. Turner. *Gerald Segal* 237
- PACIFIC-ASIAN ECONOMIC POLICIES AND REGIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE.
Edited by Robert A. Scalapino, Seizaburo Sato, Jusuf
Wanandi and Sung-joo Han. *Haruhiro Fukui* 238
- SUPERPOWER RIVALRY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN: Indian and American
Perspectives. Edited by Selig S. Harrison and K. Subrah-
manayam. *Surjit Mansingh* 239
- THE CRESCENT IN THE EAST: Islam in Asia Major. Edited by
Raphael Israeli. *Bruce B. Lawrence* 241

China and Inner Asia

- THE POPULATION ATLAS OF CHINA. Edited by Li Chengrui. *Dru Gladney* 243
- CHINA AND ITS NATIONAL MINORITIES: Autonomy or Assimilation?
By Thomas Heberer. *June Teufel Dreyer* 244
- THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COLLECTIVE FARMS. By Peter Nolan.
Jonathan Unger 245
- THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S NOMENKLATURA SYSTEM.
Edited by John P. Burns. *Lawrence Sullivan* 247
- A RESEARCH GUIDE TO CENTRAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT MEETINGS
IN CHINA 1949-1986. By Kenneth G. Lieberthal and Bruce J.
Dickson. *Lawrence Sullivan* 247
- CONCUBINES AND BONDSERVANTS: The Social History of a Chinese
Custom. By Maria Jaschok. *Ellen R. Judd* 249
- CHINESE WOMEN IN A CENTURY OF REVOLUTION, 1850-1950. By
Ono Kazuko. Edited by Joshua A. Fogel. *Ellen R. Judd* 249
- PIANOS AND POLITICS IN CHINA: Middle-Class Ambitions and the
Struggle over Western Music. by Richard Curt Kraus. *Colin Mackerras* 250

Northeast Asia

- THE FORMATION OF SCIENCE IN JAPAN: Building a Research
Tradition. By James R. Bartholomew. *Byron K. Marshall* 252
- US-JAPAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY EXCHANGE: Patterns of
Interdependence. Edited by Cecil H. Uyehara. *Martin Fransman* 253
- THE POTENTIAL FOR PARTNERSHIP: Canadian-Japanese Investment
and Technology Relations. By Michael W. Donnelly and John
Kirton. *David W. Edgington* 255
- JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES: A Time of Change. By Paul
Riethmuller. *Michael W. Donnelly* 256
- FIGHTING TO A FINISH: The Politics of War Termination in the
United States and Japan, 1945. By Leon V. Sigal. *Michael A. Barnhart* 258
- INTERMITTENT DIPLOMAT: The Japan and Batavia Diaries of
W. Macmahon Ball. Edited and with an introduction by
Alan Rix. *Coral Bell* 259
- VICTORIAN MISSIONARIES IN MEIJI JAPAN: The Shiba Sect:
1873-1900. By Cyril Hamilton Powles. *James L. Huffman* 260

South Asia

- POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH ASIA. By Dr. Parmanand. *Robin Jeffrey* 261
- TO THE GULF AND BACK: Studies on the Economic Impact of Asian Labour Migration. Edited by Rashid Amjad. *Bruce La Brack* 262
- INDIA IN TRANSITION: Issues of Political Economy in a Plural Society. By F. Tomasson Jannuzi. *Paul Wallace* 264
- SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, CULTURAL CHANGE AND FERTILITY DECLINE: A Study of Fertility Change in Kerala. By K. Mahadevan and M. Sumangala. *John C. Caldwell* 265
- POLITICAL REGIMES, PUBLIC POLICY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: Agricultural Performance and Rural Change in the Two Punjabes. By Holly Sims. *Murray J. Leaf* 266
- ILLUSTRATIONS AND VIEWS OF DUTCH CEYLON 1602-1796: A comprehensive work of pictorial reference with selected eye-witness accounts. By R. K. de Silva with W. G. M. Beumer. *Mary Morehart* 268
- INDIA AND INDONESIA FROM THE 1920s TO THE 1950s: The Origins of Planning. Comparative History of India and Indonesia, Volume 1. By L. Blusse, et al. *Yogesh Grover* 269
- PERSPECTIVES ON VEDANTA: Essays in Honor of Professor P. T. Raju. Edited by S. S. Rama Rao Pappu. *Wendell L. Minnick* 270
- POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION IN BANGLADESH: Problems of Participation. By Ahmed Shafiqul Huque. *Harry Blair* 272
- THE MYTH OF SHANGRI-LA: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape. By Peter Bishop. *George Woodcock* 273

Southeast Asia

- REFLECTIONS ON DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Edited by Lim Teck Ghee. *Rodolphe De Koninck* 275
- AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATIONS: Local Processes and the State in Southeast Asia. Edited by Gillian Hart, et al. *David S. Gibbons* 276
- THAILAND-U. S. RELATIONS: Changing Political, Strategic, and Economic Factors. Edited by Ansil Ramsay and Wiwat Mungkandi. *Ross Prizzia* 278
- THE VIETNAMESE ECONOMY 1975-86: Reforms and International Relations. By Tetsusaburo Kimura. *Vo Nhan Tri* 279
- FILIPINO POLITICS. Development and Decay. By David Wurfel. Edited by George McT. Kahin. *Lela Garner Noble* 280
- TRIUMPH OF MORO DIPLOMACY: The Maguindanao Sultanate in the 17th Century. By Ruurdje Laarhoven. *G. Carter Bentley* 282
- MILITARY ASCENDANCY AND POLITICAL POWER: A Study of Indonesia's Golkar. By Leo Suryadinata. *Ulf Sundhaussen* 283
- BETWEEN DAYAK AND DUTCH: The Economic History of Southeast Kalimantan, 1880-1942. By J. Thomas Lindblad. *David Hicks* 285

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

- MELANESIAN PIDGIN AND THE OCEANIC SUBSTRATE. By Roger M. Keesing. *W. E. Tomasetti* 286
- THE NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN AFFAIRS HANDBOOK. By Steve Hoadley. *Henry S. Albinski* 287

BRIEFLY NOTED

- CHINA BORN: Adventures of A Maverick Bookman. By Henry Noyes. *Stephen Endicott* 289
- THE BUSINESS OF THE JAPANESE STATE: Energy Markets in Comparative and Historical Perspective. By Richard J. Samuels. *John Price* 289
- THE BLUE-EYED ENEMY: Japan Against the West in Java and Luzon, 1942-1945. By Theodore Friend. *John Ingleson* 290
- JEWIS IN BRITISH INDIA: Identity in British India. By Joan G. Roland. *Thomas A. Timberg* 291
- PERFECTING SPELLING: Spelling Discussions and Reforms in Indonesia and Malaysia, 1900-1972. By Lars S. Vikor. *Tineke Hellwig* 292
- CHAM SCULPTURE ALBUM. Photographs by Nguyen Van Ku-Pham Ngoc Long. Introduction by Pham Huy Thong. Text by Cao Xuan Pho. *Mary Morehart* 293

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

FRANK TAN, A former journalist from China, Visiting Scholar at Stanford University during 1989-90.

BRUCE J. DICKSON, Ph.D. Candidate in the Political Science Department of the University of Michigan.

LAU SIU-KAI, Reader in Sociology and Director of the Centre for Hong Kong Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

LAWRENCE T. WOODS, Assistant Professor in the Political Studies Department of Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec.

ADRIAN MARRIAGE, Professor Emeritus, University of British Columbia, Canada.

Pacific Affairs

Vol. 63, No. 3

Fall 1990

	PAGE
No Great Reversal in Japan: Elections for the House of Representatives in 1990	<i>Michael W. Donnelly</i> 303
Soviet Policy in Southeast Asia: Towards Constructive Engagement	<i>Muthiah Alagappa</i> 321
Canada's Relations with Malaysia: Picking Partners in ASEAN	<i>Richard Stubbs</i> 351
South Korean Development: The Elusive Reality of Conflicts and Contradictions <i>Review Article</i>	<i>John Lie</i> 366
Matriliny, Women, Development —And a Typographical Error <i>Commentary</i>	<i>Robin Jeffrey</i> 373
Book Reviews (listed on pp.378 - 440)	378

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

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

Soviet Policy in Southeast Asia: Towards Constructive Engagement*Muthiah Alagappa*

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

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

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

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- ASIAN SECURITY ISSUES: Regional and Global.
Edited by Robert A. Scalapino, Seizaburo Sato,
Jusuf Wanandi, and Sung-joo Han. *Bilveer Singh* 378
- MACHINES AS THE MEASURE OF MEN:
Science, Technology and Ideologies of
Western Dominance. By Michael Adas. *Anthony Reid* 379
- POWER AND POVERTY: Development and Development
Projects in the Third World. Edited by Donald W. Attwood,
Thomas C. Bruneau, and John G. Galaty. *Ashok Kotwal* 381
- BUDDHIST HERMENEUTICS.
Edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. *Daniel Boucher* 382

China and Inner Asia

- THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG.
By Stuart R. Schram. *Arif Dirlik* 383
- THE GREAT BLACK DRAGON FIRE:
A Chinese Inferno. By Harrison E. Salisbury. *Michael Feller* 385
- GOLDEN INCHES: The China Memoir of Grace Service.
Edited by John S. Service. *Peter M. Mitchell* 386
- HANKOW, CONFLICT AND COMMUNITY
IN A CHINESE CITY, 1796-1895. By William T. Rowe. *Linda Cooke Johnson* 387
- LIFE ALONG THE SOUTH MANCHURIAN RAILWAY:
The Memoirs of Ito Takeo. By Ito Takeo, translated and
introduced by Joshua A. Fogel. *Ronald Suleski* 389

Northeast Asia

- THE JAPANESE TODAY: Change and Continuity.
By Edwin O. Reischauer. *Richard H. Minear* 390
- JAPAN AND PROTECTION: The Growth of
Protectionist Sentiment and the Japanese Response.
By Syed Javed Maswood. *Glen S. Fukushima* 391
- EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN JAPAN:
Lessons for the West. By Richard Lynn. *Akira Tachikawa* 392
- SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS JAPAN: An Analysis
of Trends in the 1970's and 1980's. By Myles L.C. Robertson. *Robert E. Bedeski* 393
- INTELLIGENCE ON THE ECONOMIC COLLAPSE
OF JAPAN IN 1945. By Shannon McCune. *Joe B. Moore* 395
- THEMES AND THEORIES IN MODERN JAPANESE HISTORY:
Essays in Memory of Richard Storry. Edited by
Sue Henny and Jean-Pierre Lehmann, with a tribute by
Sir William Deakin. *Gail Lee Bernstein* 396

South Asia

- THE MODERN INDIAN NAVY AND THE INDIAN OCEAN:
Studies in Indian Ocean Maritime Affairs, No. 2.
Edited by Robert H. Bruce. *Ashok Kapur* 398
- INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:
India from Asian Perspective. By P.C. Joshi. *David Groenfeldt* 399
- NEHRU: The Making of India. By M.J. Akbar. *Judith M. Brown* 400
- INDIA WINS FREEDOM: The Complete Version.
By Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. *Peter Harnetty* 401
- CAPITALISM AND CLASS IN COLONIAL INDIA:
The Case of Ahmedabad. By Salim Lakha. *Jeanne Hahn* 403
- PAKISTAN: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule.
By Golam W. Choudhury. *Anita M. Weiss* 404

- WAR AND SECESSION: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh. By Richard Sisson and Leo Rose. *Lawrence Ziring* 406
- THE FORESHADOWING OF BANGLADESH: Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1936-1947. By Harun-or-Rashid. *Craig Baxter* 408
- RELATIVE MERITS: A Personal Memoir of the Bandaranaike Family of Sri Lanka. By Yasmine Gooneratne. *John D. Rogers* 409

Southeast Asia

- LABOUR AND INDUSTRY IN ASEAN. By Peter Limqueco, Bruce McFarlane and Jan Odhnoff. *Donald Crone* 410
- THE VIETNAMESE TRADITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. By Ta Van Tai. *L.C. Green* 411
- LOST YEARS: My 1,632 Days in Vietnamese Reeducation Camps. By Tran Tri Vu. *L.C. Green* 411
- BLOOD BROTHERS: A Novel. By Pham Van Ky. Translated from FRÈRES DE SANG by Margaret Mauldoon, with an introduction and notes by Lucy Nguyen. *William J. Duiker* 415
- TO BE MADE OVER: Tales of Socialist Reeducation in Vietnam. Edited and translated by Huynh Sanh Thong. *William J. Duiker* 415
- CAMBODIA 1975-1978: Rendezvous with Death. Edited by Karl D. Jackson. *Ben Kiernan* 416
- HEARTS AND MINDS IN GUERRILLA WARFARE: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960. By Richard Stubbs. *Peter Edwards* 417
- RED REVOLUTION: Inside the Philippine Guerrilla Movement. By Gregg R. Jones. *Ivan Molloy* 419
- NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN INDONESIA: Patterns and Policies. By Christine Drake. *Nico G. Schulte Nordholt* 420
- CHILDREN OF THE COLONIAL STATE: Population Growth and Economic Development in Java, 1795-1880. By Peter Boomgaard. *Norman G. Owen* 422
- NOMADES ET SÉDENTARISATION À BORNÉO: Histoire Économique et Sociale. By Bernard Sellato. *Victor T. King* 423
- DUTCH AUTHORS ON ASIAN HISTORY Edited by M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, M.E. van Opstall and G.J. Schutte. *Els M. Jacobs* 424

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

- THE RED ORCHESTRA, VOLUME 3: The Case of the Southwest Pacific. Edited by Dennis L. Bark and Owen Harries. *Leszek Buszynski* 425
- WAGE, TRADE, AND EXCHANGE IN MELANESIA: A Manus Society in the Modern State. By James G. Carrier and Achsah H. Carrier. *C.A. Gregory* 427
- DEEP WATER: Development and Change in Pacific Village Fisheries. By Margaret Critchlow Rodman. *E. Paul Durrenberger* 429
- MISSIONARY LIVES: PAPUA, 1874-1914. By Diane Langmore. *John Barker* 430
- PLES BLONG IUMI: Solomon Islands, The Past Four Thousand Years. Edited by Hugh Laracy. *Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo & David Welchman Gegeo* 431
- ECHO OF A CULTURE: A Grammar of Rennell and Bellona. By Samuel H. Elbert. *Ray Harlow* 433
- THEY CALL ME FATHER: Memoirs of Father Nicolas Coccola. Edited by Margaret Whitehead. *John Barker* 434

Briefly Noted

- CHINA'S MODERNISATION: The Strategic Implications for the Asia Pacific Region. By Gary Klintworth. *Donald W. Klein* 435
- CHINESE ATTITUDES TOWARD NUCLEAR WEAPONS: China and the United States During the Korean War. By Mark A. Ryan. *Harvey Nelson* 436

- CHINA BRIEFING, 1989. Edited by Anthony J. Kane. *Ronald C. Keith* 437
- THE WU LIANG SHRINE: The Ideology of
Early Pictorial Art. By Wu Hung. *Jean M. James* 437
- VIETNAM: Facing the 1990's. Compiled by Richard Stubbs. *William S. Turley* 438
- HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF VIETNAM.
By William J. Duiker. *Ngo Vinh Long* 438
- TRENDS IN KHMER ART. By Jean Boisselier. Edited by
Natasha Eilenberg. Translated by Natasha Eilenberg
and Melvin Elliot. *Helene Legendre-De Koninck* 439
- CHINA TIDE: The Revealing Story of the Hong Kong
Chinese Exodus to Canada. By Margaret Cannon. *Yewn-Fong Woon* 440

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MICHAEL W. DONNELLY, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto.

MUTHIAH ALAGAPPA, Research Associate, International Relations Program, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii.

RICHARD STUBBS, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, McMaster University. Author of *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989).

JOHN LIE, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Oregon.

Pacific Affairs

Vol. 63, No. 4

Winter 1990-91

	PAGE
Soviet Strategies for Development: East Asia and the Pacific Basin	<i>Charles F. Ziegler</i> 451
Wither Malaysia's New Economic Policy?	<i>K.S. Jomo</i> 469
Emigration and the Future of Hong Kong	<i>Ronald Skeldon</i> 500
Exploring Theories of Female Leadership in South and Southeast Asia	<i>Linda K. Richter</i> 524
Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 448-449)	541
Index to Volume 63 (1990)	605

**Soviet Strategies For Development:
East Asia and the Pacific Basin**

Charles E. Ziegler

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

Whither Malaysia's New Economic Policy?

K.S. Jomo

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

Emigration and the Future of Hong Kong

Ronald Skeldon

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

**Exploring Theories of Female Leadership
in South and Southeast Asia**

Linda K. Richter

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

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

New from UBC PRESS

The Pacific Rim

INVESTMENT, DEVELOPMENT, AND TRADE

Second Revised Edition

Edited by Peter N. Nemetz

This new edition of *The Pacific Rim* combines a number of updated articles from the first edition with several new ones selected to represent current concerns facing foreign investors and trading partners. New contributions discuss the policy environment of Pacific strategic management, compare the financial centres of Hong Kong and Singapore, and present a theoretical framework for comparing US and Japanese trade policies. The second half of the book, which focuses on energy questions, contains new articles dealing with the progress and prospects for energy co-operation in the Pacific basin, Japan's trade in liquefied natural gas, and the excess capacity in the coal industry. **\$29.95**

VISA and Master Card accepted. Shipping \$1.60 for one book, \$.50 each add'l. For books to the United States \$3.50. Canadian orders, please include GST.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PRESS

6344 Memorial Road, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1W5

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PLURALISM:
Economic Policy in East Asia and the Pacific.
By Peter Drysdale. *Inge Bailey* 541
- IN SEARCH OF PEACE: Confidence Building and
Conflict Resolution in the Pacific. Proceedings of the
First Asia-Pacific Roundtable. Edited by Muthiah Alagappa. *Paul M. Evans* 542
- THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY: An Outlook.
Chief Editor I.I. Kovalenko. *Paul M. Evans* 542
- THE POLITICS OF TOURISM IN ASIA. By Linda K. Richter. *Frank F. Taylor* 545
- WOMEN'S ASIA: English Edition. By Yayori Matsui. *Sylvia Hale* 546
- ECONOMIC CONCEPTS OF IBN TAIMIYAH.
By Abdul Azim Islahi. *Salim Rashid* 547

China and Inner Asia

- CHINA'S FOREIGN TRADE: Impact on Growth
and Stability. By John C. Hsu. *Ralph W. Huenemann* 549
- THE ASIATIC MODE OF PRODUCTION IN CHINA.
Edited by Timothy Brook. *Martin J. Heijdra* 550
- JOHN FAIRBANK AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF MODERN CHINA.
By Paul M. Evans. *S.A.M. Adsheed* 552
- SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1945-1955:
A Joint Reassessment of a Critical Decade.
Edited by Harry Harding and Yuan Ming. *Robert G. Sutter* 553
- SCIENCE AND MEDICINE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHINA:
Research and Education. Science, Medicine, and
Technology in East Asia 3. Edited by John Z. Bowers,
J. William Hess, and Nathan Sivin. *Bruce J. Esposito* 554
- 6 TANYIN ALLEY. By Liu Zongren *Zhengwei Lu* 556
- DIALOGUES IN PARADISE. By Can Xue. *Zhengwei Lu* 557
- THE PIANO TUNER. By Cheng Naishan.
Translated with an Introduction by Britten Dean. *Zhengwei Lu* 558

Northeast Asia

- SECURITY IN NORTHEAST ASIA: Approaching the
Pacific Century. Edited by Stephen P. Gilbert. *Robert E. Bedeski* 559
- INFORMATION, INCENTIVES, AND BARGAINING
IN THE JAPANESE ECONOMY. By Masahiko Aoki *Keizo Nagatani* 560
- NEIGHBOURHOOD TOKYO. By Theodore C. Bestor. *Millie R. Creighton* 562
- MANAGING INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE: Cases from
Japan's Prewar Experience. Edited by William D. Wray. *Penelope Francks* 563
- SHINTO AND THE STATE, 1868-1988. By Helen Hardacre. *Mikiso Hane* 565
- THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF JAPAN. Volume 5:
The Nineteenth Century. Edited by Marius B. Jansen. *Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi* 566
- JAPAN'S INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, 1859-99:
Export Trade and Overseas Competition. By Shinya
Sugiyama. *Derek Massarella* 568
- MADE IN JAPAN AND OTHER JAPANESE "BUSINESS NOVELS."
Translated and edited by Tamae K. Prindle. *Sheila K. Johnson* 569
- POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH KOREA.
Edited by Ilpyong J. Kim and Young Whan Kihl. *Yunshik Chang* 571
- THE BOOK OF MASKS. By Hwang Sun-wôn.
Edited with an Introduction by Martin Holman. *J. Michael Allen* 572
- SHADOWS OF A SOUND.
Stories by Hwang Sun-wôn. Edited by J. Martin Holman. *J. Michael Allen* 573

South Asia

- ANTHROPOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL HEALTH:
South Asian Case Studies. By Mark Nichter. *John C. Caldwell* 574
- INDIA BRIEFING, 1989.
Edited by Marshall M. Bouton and Philip Oldenburg. *Arthur G. Rubinoff* 575
- THE STATE, POLITICAL PROCESSES, AND IDENTITY:
Reflections on Modern India. Edited by Zoya Hasan,
S.N. Jha and Rasheeduddin Khan. *Paul Wallace* 578
Lewis P. Fickett, Jr. 579
- RAJIV GANDHI: A Political Study. By Bhabini Sen Gupta.
THE CAT AND THE LION: Jaipur State in the British Raj.
By Robert W. Stern. *Dewitt C. Ellinwood* 581
- MUGHAL GLORY: Stories of Love, Loyalty, Honour,
Courage . . . By Muni Lal. *Fritz Lehmann* 582
- DIVISION AND HIERARCHY: An Overview of Caste in
Gujarat. By A.M. Shah and I.P. Desai. *Raja Jayaraman* 583
- MEMOIRS OF AN INDIAN WOMAN. By Shudha Mazumdar.
Edited with an Introduction by Geraldine Forbes. *Gail Minault* 585
- J.R. JAYEWARDENE OF SRI LANKA: A Political Biography.
Volume One: The First Fifty Years.
By K.M. de Silva and Howard Wriggins. *A. Jeyaratnam Wilson* 586
- THE EXPEDIENT UTOPIAN: Bandaranaike and Ceylon.
By James Manor. *Patrick Peebles* 587

Southeast Asia

- SECOND CHANCE: The United States and Indochina in the 1990s.
By Frederick Z. Brown. *Marilyn B. Young* 589
- VIETNAM'S INTERVENTION IN CAMBODIA IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. By
Gary Klintworth. *Georges Labrecque* 590
- BANKERS AND BUREAUCRATS: Capital and the Role
of the State in Thailand. By Kevin Hewison. *Ansil Ramsay* 592
- HEARTS OF SORROW: Vietnamese-American Lives.
By James A. Freeman. *John van Esterik* 594
- LEFTWARD JOURNEY: The Education of Vietnamese Students
in France 1919-1939. By Scott McConnell. *Constance M. Wilson* 595

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

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

Briefly Noted

- NORMALIZATION WITH CHINA: A Comparative Study
of U.S. and Japanese Processes. By Sadako Ogata. *Allen S. Whiting* 599
- A CHINA PAST: Military and Diplomatic Memoirs.
By T.G. Li, with Roman Rome. *Edmund S.K. Fung* 600
- BETWEEN FACT AND FICTION: Essays on Post-Mao
Chinese Literature and Society. By Kam Louie. *Michael S. Duke* 600
- CHU HSI: New Studies. By Wing-tsit Chan. *Willard J. Peterson* 601
- FAITHFUL ENDURANCE: An Ethnography
of Korean Family Dispersal. By Choong Soon Kim. *Kyung-Soo Chun* 602
Kichung Kim 603
- THE DREAMS OF TWO YI-MIN. By Margaret K. Pai. *Kichung Kim* 603
- FORM AND FREEDOM IN KOREAN POETRY.
By David R. McCann. *Ross Prizzia* 603
- POWER AND POLITICS IN THAILAND. By Kevin Hewison. *Ross Prizzia* 603
- LAND AND DIFFERENTIATION IN RURAL FIJI:
Pacific Research Monographs no. 19. By John Overton. *Adrian Tanner* 604

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

CHARLES E. ZIEGLER, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Louisville, in Kentucky. He is the author of *Environmental Policy in the USSR* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, 1987).

K.S. JOMO is head of Human Development at the Institute for Advanced Studies and teaches in the Analytical Economics division of the Faculty of Economics & Administration, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. He is author of *A Question of Class: Capital, the State and Uneven Development* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986) and *Growth and Structural Change in the Malaysian Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

RONALD SKELDON, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Geography and Geology, University of Hong Kong. He is the author of *Population Mobility in Developing Countries: A Reinterpretation* (London: Belhaven Press, 1990).

LINDA K. RICHTER, Professor of Political Science at Kansas State University. Her latest book is *The Politics of Tourism in Asia* (University of Hawaii Press, 1989).