

Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

Privatization in the ASEAN States: Who Gets What, Why, and with What Effect?

R.S. Milne

Privatization in the ASEAN states (there is none in Brunei) has been carried out for many of the usual reasons, e.g., to increase efficiency, reduce government debt and lessen costly subsidization. It has also taken several different forms, sale, offers on the stock market, leasing, etc. Often, the government has retained partial control.

However, other motives may be present. In Singapore, these are relatively straightforward, to reduce the load on government. In the Philippines under Aquino and in Thailand during the Chatichai government the situation has resembled a free-for-all. In the absence of strong central direction, the rewards of privatization have gone to those factions exercising most power at a particular time — or to their allies. More consistent policies have prevailed in Malaysia and Indonesia. In the former, the principal beneficiaries have been those close to the government, and to the ruling party itself — UMNO (United Malays National Organization). In the latter, the rewards have gone mostly to those linked to the top leadership and to the largely-Chinese-owned “conglomerates.”

Crisis on the Periphery: The Rift between Kuala Lumpur and Sabah

Audrey R. Kahin

This article provides an analysis of the current tensions within Malaysia between the federal government in Kuala Lumpur and the state government of Sabah. The Sabah ruling party's departure from the Barisan Nasional (National Front) to join the opposition on the eve of the October 1990 federal elections was the immediate cause of these tensions, but it is clear that the Kuala Lumpur government, particularly the ruling UMNO party and its leader, Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, have been antagonized by the character and aims of Sabah's ruling party, PBS, ever since its formation in 1985. The PBS has been articulating the dissatisfaction of much of Sabah's population who feel the federal government has been trying to undermine the autonomy promised them when Malaysia was formed. The article traces the background of this dissatisfaction since 1963 and analyzes the dangers of the current situation and the prospects for a peaceful resolution of the present tensions, proposing a basis on which such a resolution might be achieved.

Education and Occupation: An Enquiry into the Relationship Between College Specialization and the Labour Market in Postwar Japan

Carl Mosk and Yoshi-fumi Nakata

To what extent does the interrelationship between the market for higher education and the labour market differ between Japan and North America? In this paper we show that choice of academic specialization in college is heavily guided by demand factors (that is by the relative earnings of different occupations) in North America. By contrast, in Japan choice of academic specialization is heavily guided by supply factors, especially by the policies of the national Ministry of Education.

The Politics of Emerging Pacific Cooperation

Donald Crone

A number of political factors are examined that underlie the recent delineation of a political and economic group in the Pacific centered on the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation conference (APEC). These include changes in domestic policies in several of the participants; the move toward regional trading blocs in other world areas; contentions over defining potential membership of the group; and competition for influence among overlapping international organizations in the Pacific.

The New Zealand Journal of History

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Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

Tokyo's Policy Responses During the Gulf War and the Impact of the "Iraqi Shock" on Japan

Courtney Purrington

Before the outbreak of the Gulf conflict, Japan was cautious in playing an active role in international affairs, commensurate to its status as an economic superpower. Large-scale international criticism of Japan's response to the Gulf crisis, especially from Japan's ally, the United States, shocked Japan. As a result, the Japanese government undertook the unprecedented dispatch of the military abroad for active duty in minesweeping operations for the first time in the postwar period. The "Iraqi shock" also softened the public's attitude towards the SDF, including its dispatch abroad. As a result, the government is attempting to legislate changes in SDF law so that the military can participate in U.N. peace-keeping operations, and is embarking on a process of political and administrative reforms so that Japan will be equipped to play a responsible leadership role in international affairs during the twenty-first century.

The 1989 Democracy Movement: A Review of the Prospects for Civil Society in China

Barrett McCormick

Shaozhi Su

Xiaoming Xiao

The 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement pitted a state with totalitarian intentions against an emerging civil society. Ten years of economic reform have begun to erode the rigid controls that the state violently imposed on society during the initial phase of Stalinism. Whether civil society is defined as autonomous organization, entrepreneurial activity, or an autonomous public discourse, there is clear evidence of the beginnings of civil society. Comparisons can be made between China and Eastern Europe where "civil society" was posed as a project to overcome Stalinism. Solidarity's autonomous organization, Hungary's entrepreneurial economy, and Havel's moral awakening can all be found as intentions or in some degree of realization. This qualified comparison suggests that China's future is not determined by China's alleged authoritarian culture. The future is uncertain, but there is a possibility that in the long run, socialism will appear an untoward detour in the process of establishing autonomous civil society.

The Fall of the Military Dictator, 1991 Elections and Prospects of Civilian Rule in Bangladesh

Talukder Maniruzzaman

It was hard mobilization of the people by students, lawyers, trade union and political leaders for nearly nine years which brought about the mass upheaval in November-December 1990 in Bangladesh. This upheaval led to the fall of General Ershad's regime. The elections that followed under a caretaker government brought into power a rentier and industrial class. This class was largely made up of the various types of intermediaries required for the disbursement of massive foreign aid to Bangladesh since 1972. This class also benefited from the policy of patrimonialism followed by successive governments of Bangladesh. The representatives of this class did not have much experience either as legislators or ministers. Still they might have time to "learn through doing." This is because of the fact that the armed forces, defeated by the people through mass upheaval, might not intervene in the politics of Bangladesh — at least in the short run.

Social Irrelevance of Politics: Hong Kong Chinese Attitudes Toward Political Leadership*

Siu-kai Lau

The relationship between politics and society in Hong Kong is weak, hence the politicizing impact of political conflict on society is limited. This study analyzes the separation of the political and social realms in Hong Kong from the perspective of public attitudes toward political institutions, leaders and groups. It was found that while public trust of political institutions was fairly strong, Hong Kong Chinese still had no trusted political leaders or groups in mind. There was an absence of socio-demographic bases of support for political leadership. The popular appeal of political leaders was blunted by the secondary priority they had conferred on social and economic issues, which were, however, rated as of great importance by the people. Moreover, the public was not able to differentiate between political institutions, leaders and groups in social and economic terms, depriving these institutions' leaders and groups of particular bases of social support. The public perception of social irrelevance of politics thus presents a serious obstacle to leadership formation in Hong Kong.

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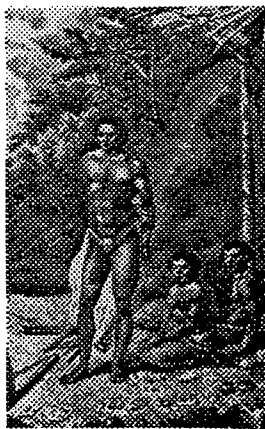
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ABSTRACTS

China and Canada's "Pacific 2000 Strategy"

Ronald C. Keith

This article explores the relationship between Canada's changing China policy and the new "Pacific 2000 Strategy." China policy historically responded to the rigidity of regional Cold War alignment in terms of "honest brokerage," protestations of internationalism and a self-interested application of the "third option" so as to accentuate new regional trading opportunities and Canada's foreign policy independence. Recent China policy is politically more focused on human rights performance and is less concerned with the internal dynamics of China's development and Canada's middle power facilitation of China's constructive role as a major regional actor. Concurrently, Canada's Pacific regional trading strategy is focusing more exclusively on the most advanced economies, and it has become conceptually subordinated to the strategic priorities of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. The lack of an effective China component within the "Pacific 2000 Strategy" has further served to obscure the emergence of a clear, comprehensive and distinctively Canadian approach to the Pacific region and the developing "Pacific Community."

Official Reactions to Modern Art in China Since the Beijing Massacre

John Clark

The official reaction to the art world after the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square was something of a watershed for the development of modern art in China. Progressive art editors were sacked, some critics came within an inch of trial for sedition, individual artists were later indirectly criticized, and the New Currents in Art Movement which had reached a peak in early 1989 with the China Modern Art Exhibition was generally brought into check.

But the purge of the art world was not immediate, nor was it entirely effective, and much modernist art continued to be produced, exhibited and illustrated if not in Beijing at least in regional centres.

The official statements and dispositions of personnel made since June 4th tend to indicate a deep-seated hostility for modernism and a nostalgic longing for ideological simplicities in art which had reigned during the Cultural Revolution and earlier. These moral yearnings tell us much about the political ideology of the inner, and largely aged, elite. They also indicate a continuing ambivalence about the assimilation of "Western" cultural products into "Chinese" culture, one where there is a barely spoken ethnocentric construction to arguments against the "modern."

Thailand's Development: The Role of Bangkok

Eliezer B. Ayal

This article explores the ways urbanization in general, and primate cities in particular, impact the economic growth of LDC. The resulting paradigm is applied to the role of Bangkok in the development of Thailand. Growth impulses in the form of technology, investment, trade and modernization in general, are found to be initiated in and spread from Bangkok. This takes place through corridors that are like rays emanating from Bangkok. This is contrasted to the policy of building growth poles in provinces far from Bangkok, which has failed in its two major objectives: diverting migrants away from Bangkok, and creating alternative centers of development. The specific economic activities in the corridors differ, depending on the resources of the provinces toward which they are leading. Our paradigm specifies that, for an expansion to be successful, it is important that the new steps occur within the agglomeration spillover range of the metropolis. As new areas in the corridors "metropolitize," the process extends further into the provinces. Much of the actual expansion in Thailand's development has occurred in this way, largely irrespective of government policies.

India and the Gulf Crisis: The Response of a Minority Government

J.K. Baral

J.N. Mahanty

The minority government headed by Chandra Sekhar, in the face of divergent pulls of the Congress and BJP, both of whose support was critical for its survival, did not find it easy to respond to the Gulf Crisis which had severe implications for India's economy. The momentum of a policy over the last several years reversing anti-Americanism on the one hand, and an anti-US and pro-Muslim stand of Congress and Janata Dal dictated by electoral calculations on the other, heightened the dilemma of the Sekhar Government which sought to cultivate the U.S., the sole superpower in the post cold war era, to tide over the economic crisis confronting India. The search for a balance between these divergent and contrary needs and pressures resulted in a Gulf policy marked by disarray, ambiguity, uncertainty and an unsatisfactory compromise.

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ABSTRACTS

Peaceful or Dangerous Collaborators? China's Relations with the Gulf Countries

John Calabrese

This study examines the nature, scope and implications of Sino-Gulf relations, particularly between 1989-92. It opens with an historical overview, pointing out conditions favorable and unfavorable to the development of Sino-Gulf ties during periods when they were negligible (1949-70), when they took root (1971-78), and when they began to flourish (1978-88). The study then tracks Sino-Gulf relations from 1989, showing them to have grown out of the interplay of developments occurring at the global level (e.g., the end of the Cold War, Sino-US friction); at the regional level (e.g., the end of the Iran-Iraq War and outbreak of Gulf War II); and within China (e.g., the alternation between economic reform and retrenchment). The study concludes that Sino-Gulf ties do not consist exclusively of military cooperation. Nevertheless, the military component of China's involvement in the Gulf, especially its assistance to Iran's nuclear program — notwithstanding China's accession to the NPT and other reassurances — requires attention and concern.

Russia and the Asia-Pacific Region

Leszek Buszynski

The article examines Russia and the Asia-Pacific region in terms of a retreat from the superpower status that was a characteristic of the Soviet Union. Foreign policy and security positions that were affirmed by the Soviet Union have been upturned, leaving in their wake debate and discussion about Russia's interests in the Asia-Pacific region. The article analyses the position of the "democrats" or the "Westerners" who constitute the present Russian government. Their attempt to obtain Japanese economic support for Russia's economic reform program has been stymied by the impasse of the territorial dispute. Russian public opinion has emerged as a factor in foreign policy decision-making in Russia's new democracy. Significant sections of Russia's Parliament oppose a settlement of the Northern Islands dispute that would result in the transfer to Japan of what are regarded to be Russia's "territories." The article examines a second opinion group in Russia which regards foreign policy issues in terms of geopolitics. The "geopoliticians" oppose the foreign policy of the "democrats" or the pro-Western group and give more weight to relations with China. The article concludes with the view that Russia's policy towards the Asia-Pacific region is still in the process of formation but, increasingly, will be influenced by the "geopoliticians."

**Leadership and Bilateral Relations:
Menzies and Nehru, Australia and India, 1949-1964**

Meg Gurry

This paper looks at the role of leadership in influencing and informing the bilateral relationship between Australia and India between 1949 and 1964. During these years Australia and India were led by the commanding figures of Robert Menzies and Jawaharlal Nehru, who dominated their own domestic and foreign politics, and who served their long periods in office concurrently. In many ways the international climate was being shaped in this era by the politics of the Cold War, but Canada under Louis St. Laurent and Lester Pearson was showing that this did not necessarily exclude relationships with non-aligned countries like India. The personal antipathy between Menzies and Nehru, in particular Menzies' lack of interest in Asia and its leaders, however, kept the two countries irreducibly apart, and allowed the Cold War to dictate the terms on which the relationship rested. Despite a number of common interests therefore — parliamentary democracy, the Commonwealth, the Indian Ocean, a shared language — Australia was seen in India as a client state of the United States and the United Kingdom, unable to make independent judgement. The cultural and psychological distance between the two countries remained irreconcilable.

Women and Revolution in North Korea

Kyung Ae Park

Studies on the position of women in society have shown considerable disagreement regarding the type of social system most conducive to the emancipation of women. The Western liberal Modernization perspective expects that the process of industrialization will remove traditional constraints on women, change the traditional pattern of sexual division, and thereby foster the liberation of women. The Marxist perspective, on the other hand, sees the roots of sexual inequality lying in privatization of property.

North Korea has closely adhered to the Marxist perspective on the "woman question." This paper examines North Korea's policies on the "woman question" and the status of North Korean women in order to analyze the socialist system's contribution to the improvement of women's lot in its political system. In so doing, such issues as women's status in the traditional society, women's role in and their contribution to the revolution, and the relationship between the socialist revolution and women's status in the post-revolutionary society will be addressed.

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