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Vol. 68, No. 1

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ISSN 0030-851X.
GST No. R108161779



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ABSTRACTS

Northeast Asian Economic Cooperation and the Tumen River Development Program

Andrew Marton, Terry McGee and Donald G. Paterson

The Tumen River Area Development Project is a plan for a transport mega-complex at the mouth of the Tumen River on the Sea of Japan. Because the three major stakeholders are the People's Republic of China, Russia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the project raises complex jurisdictional and economic problems. We review the context in which the project was established and then outline the evolution of the various plans for development of the region. Next the conditions for judging the efficacy of the project in both the short-run and the long-run are presented in the context of regional trade. The Tumen project may well play a significant role in stimulating the local regional economy, including Mongolia, and help raise the rate of economic growth in that part of Northeast Asia which has so-far lagged behind the rest. There is, however, a danger that if the project is implemented on too large a scale it may simply duplicate facilities in the region with no consequent aggregate benefit. The level of cooperation required among the stakeholders is high for the project to succeed and overcoming this impediment is still the project's greatest challenge.

The South China Sea Disputes: Implications of China's Earlier Territorial Settlements

Eric Hyer

China's approach toward the territorial disputes in the South China Sea exhibits a pattern similar to the one adopted in earlier territorial disputes settled in the 1960s and China's behavior in its unsettled dispute with Japan over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands. In these previous disputes, even though China asserted large "historical" claims, eventually Beijing concluded settlements based on realistic historical, geographic and security considerations. One conclusion that is drawn is that although Beijing may initially assert irredentist claims, it is more interested in stable and legitimate boundaries than maintaining these historical claims.

Adopting a comparative cases approach, this article concludes that if China follows the pattern that was established in earlier disputes in settling the South China Sea disputes, eventually Beijing will seek compromise settlements in order to realize more important national security interests. Using the Sino-Japanese case as a model, it is concluded that compromise settlements in the South China Sea based on principles of equity and modern international legal principles are likely, and China will not insist on recognition of its "historical" claim to all the islands of the South China Sea.

Factionalism in the Communist Movement in Nepal

Narayan Khadka

The Communist movement in Nepal was started in the late 1940s. Inspired by the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and by the success of communist revolution in China, the communists of Nepal called for a people's democracy. But by the mid-1950s, the communist leadership became divided over monarchy, parliament, constituent assembly, India, the Nepali Congress, and over other issues. A number of factors divided the communists ideologically into pro-Chinese and pro-Russian camps in the 1960s. Within these two camps several splinter groups emerged. By the 1980s there were as many as 20 communist factions. The unity-disunity syndrome is becoming even more pronounced in the 1990s. Ideological confusion created by the collapse of communism is the main reason

but egocentrism of the top leaders, the consequences of the incompatibility between democratic practice and communistic theory, etc., have also caused factionalism.

This paper examines the factors causing factionalism and concludes that if the communists could forge unity by redefining their ideological as well as strategic priorities in the democratic context, they could contribute to strengthening Nepal's fragile democracy.

**University Education in Sri Lanka:
The Political Consequences of Deteriorating Standards**

Bruce Matthews

Post-secondary education in Sri Lanka's several university campuses is in crisis. Apart from being underfunded and neglected for years by the state, the universities are also plagued with serious internal social problems. These diminish the quality of their programs and impair the preparation of the graduating student. This paper examines several pertinent issues, such as the impact of the ethnic and social-class "quota" admissions system; the backlog of admissions resulting from the closure of the universities for nearly three years in the late 1980s; the lack of discipline; fierce student ragging and intimidation; and the divisive issue of the use in instruction of the English language. The consequences of this faulty educational environment are several. They include the prospect of giving rise to another Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna-style militant organization, and the inability of the university system to produce trained and responsible professionals, inseparable from the state's aspiration to be in a "newly industrialized country." A final, oblique, but not the least implication is the fate of Sri Lankan culture itself.

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Subscription rates for 1995, payable in advance, post free: Domestic **\$24.00** Overseas **\$NZ35.00** Back numbers available: **\$8.00** (incl. GST) per issue in New Zealand and **\$NZ10.00** overseas.

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

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ABSTRACTS

Beijing's Relations with the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region: An Inferential Framework For the Post-1997 Arrangement

Jae Ho Chung and Shiu-hing Lo

This article explores the post-1997 relationships between Beijing and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region from a central-local relations perspective. At the same time, inferences are made from the trends emerging from China's current dealing with Hong Kong during the transition period. The article posits an inferential framework adopting four areas of interaction: planning and coordination, fiscal arrangements, personnel management and policy implementation. It concludes that the transition and post-transition arrangements can be viewed as a gradual and incremental process of learning and mutual adaptation by both sides. Moreover, administrative decentralization in China will coexist with Beijing's penetrative capacity in exerting political control over Hong Kong. Yet, Beijing will continue to selectively allow autonomy of post-1997 Hong Kong as long as the expanded autonomy does not amount to producing a penetration crisis.

UMNO Leaders and Malay Rulers: The Erosion of a Special Relationship

Hari Singh

The declining importance of feudal institutions to UMNO Baru's hegemony over the Malaysian political process and perceptions among the party's elite of the Malay rulers as contenders for political power led to a redefinition of the historical relationship between the UMNO Baru leaders and the Malay rulers, resulting in a subordinate political role of the latter underwritten by the "revocation" of the legal immunity of the Malay rulers. However, the recent constitutional crisis also revealed that there were limits to which the government could curtail the power of the Malay rulers. The role of the Malay rulers in the construction of ethnic Malay identity and as symbols of Malay sovereignty, together with public appreciation of the rulers as potential counterweights to executive power, moderated UMNO Baru's desire to significantly undermine royal institutions in Malaysia.

Development Challenges in a Poor Pacific Economy: The Case of Papua New Guinea

Anne Booth

This paper reviews the extensive literature on the slow growth performance of the economy of Papua New Guinea since independence and assesses the consequence of slow growth for sectoral employment and productivity growth. In the light of the stagnation in labour productivity which characterized much of the 1980s and the evidence of rising unemployment revealed in the 1990 population census, some suggestions are made for policy reform in the 1990s. It is argued that the macroeconomic climate in the 1990s is more conducive to faster economic growth and more rapid employment generation, providing the government implements effective policies in key areas, including exchange rate management, labour market deregulation and government expenditure control. A more effective policy of rural development will be also crucial if the problems of urban unemployment and crime are to be curbed, and the benefits of faster growth are to trickle down to the more remote rural areas.

**Political Economy of India's Textile Industry:
The Case of Maharashtra, 1984-89**

Supriya RoyChowdhury

In the liberalized economic environment of the 1980s the government of India sought to reverse the decline of cotton textile mills by withdrawing controls, liberalizing imports of technology and machinery and by offering credit and export incentives. This paper argues that restructuring of the cotton textile industry remained limited to those firms which entered the export market; the rest remained caught up in a stagnant domestic market and continuing competition from the small-scale powerloom sector which enjoys certain cost advantages by way of tax exemptions and a lower wage structure. Additionally, the state continued with the practice of taking over bankrupt mills primarily to protect employment.

In India the reality of democratic politics underlined the enduring political sanctity of the small-scale powerloom sector, of the public sector and of state patronage of organized labour. Within a democratic political set-up it may be difficult to counter or ignore groups who stand to lose from market-oriented policies. Thus in the context of a formal democracy, the need to balance incompatible interests may produce serious limits to the state's autonomy in putting together a new developmental strategy.

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ABSTRACTS

Women and Political Participation in China

Stanley Rosen

This paper examines the role of women in post-1949 Chinese politics, and considers the effect of various forces — government policy, modernization, foreign influence and culture — on women's political participation over time. It provides statistical data on women in leadership positions in the party and state bureaucracies, and contrasts the Cultural Revolution's overtly "political" strategy of mandated official quotas for leadership roles with the reform period's strategy which emphasizes the development of a long-term legal framework for the protection of women's rights, and which stresses the importance of competitive elections for holding public office. The changing role of the Women's Federation is also addressed. Beginning in 1990, when China first bid to host the 1995 UN Women's Conference — which has as its main slogan the equal fifty percent representation of men and women in power structures — there has been an attempt to reverse the numerical decline of women in political roles by reinstating a quota system, albeit a more modest one than its predecessor.

Rising Gender Inequality in Vietnam Since Reunification

Daniel Goodkind

This paper documents increases in gender inequality in Vietnam since reunification of the country in 1975. That contention is based upon an analysis of census and other survey data, a review of secondary source materials, and fieldwork. The rise in inequality has entailed the following: declines in relative survival probabilities for female children, worsened marriage prospects, greater occupational segregation, and increased female representation among the elderly and impoverished. At least four factors have contributed to these changes. The first is that wartime mobilization before 1975 had artificially inflated women's social position to an unsustainably high level. The second concerns the demographic outcome of the war of reunification which resulted in a relative surplus of women. The third is the free market reforms of the 1980s which signaled a diminished governmental commitment to social equity and contributed to a re-emergence of patriarchal Confucian patterns. The fourth is a set of other policy measures and historical circumstances which have enhanced preferences for bearing sons. The paper also assesses contrary and ambiguous evidence, such as the absence of a large gender gap in education, and suggests the possibility of future improvements in gender equality.

Rural Non-agricultural Development in Post-Reform China: Growth, Development Patterns, and Issues

Samuel P. S. Ho

The rural non-agricultural sector emerged in the 1980s as the most dynamic component of the Chinese economy and helped to rejuvenate and transform rural China. Although private enterprises have played an important role in some areas, rural non-agricultural development in most parts of China has been led by the collectively owned township-village enterprises. They expanded at first by filling niches in the domestic market and producing consumer goods not adequately supplied by the state sector, and since the late 1980s, they have become increasingly export-oriented. However, rapid rural non-agricultural development has been attained at considerable costs to the environment and has contributed to a worsening of regional inequality in development and income. While rural non-agricultural development has created and diversified employment opportunities for peasant women, it has not significantly improved the status of peasant women. It

is also becoming evident that property rights need to be clarified if rural industry is to achieve a higher level of technological competence and competitiveness.

Healing the American Rift with New Zealand

James M. McCormick

Since 1985, political and military relations between the United States and New Zealand have been ruptured over the issue of American nuclear ship visits and nuclear power generally. In this paper, I review the nature of the ANZUS dispute, analyze the impact of this rupture in several different policy areas between the two countries, and discuss the recent events in New Zealand-United States relations that have begun to alter this situation. In particular, I focus on the apparent emergence of a dual track policy of closer political cooperation between the two countries, even as the security relationship remains fissured. Such a policy is hardly without precedent: The United States has long tolerated a dual track policy toward France and NATO. While some initiatives have been undertaken by the Clinton administration, greater efforts by both sides will still be necessary for restoration of full ties between the two nations. Further progress in the relations between New Zealand and the United States, however, will likely have to await the 1996 elections in both countries.

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Winter 1995-96

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PRINTED IN CANADA

ISSN 0030-851X.
GST No. R108161779



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ABSTRACTS

Ethnic Tension and the Struggle for Order: China's Policies in Tibet

Solomon M. Karmel

Post-Mao reforms came to Tibet much later than to the rest of China, and like the aftershocks of an earthquake, they have been far less pronounced. In fact, since 1989, the ground seems to be shifting backwards, with many post-Mao reforms overturned or undermined.

This article employs hundreds of sources in the Chinese press and a limited number of sources published abroad by social scientists and Tibetan partisans to analyze the international and domestic causes for recent, praetorian trends in China's most rebellious territory. After a brief historical overview, it discusses five sources for restrictions imposed upon Tibet by its current leaders: (1) the largest outpouring of Tibetan, ethnic nationalist protest and dissent since 1959; (2) an increasingly problematic international situation, which poses new challenges to Chinese authority in Tibet; (3) a national development plan which permits great disparity in "open door" policies in coastal and hinterland regions; (4) the leadership's continued ethnocentric attitudes toward the value of Tibetan culture generally; and finally (5) residual, "leftist" ideas on religion and class struggle. The conclusion argues that even before the absorption of Hong Kong, China already is pursuing a "one country, two systems" policy, with the systems defined by the degree of autonomy permitted and divided along ethnic lines. The conclusion also argues that the success of the policy in Tibet is by no means assured.

Japan and the Asian Development Bank

Ming Wan

Japan's financial contributing power explains its key role in the ADB and its interest in the Bank as a symbol of its status in the world. However, even though Japan has become more powerful in the ADB since 1972, it has also become less concerned about its tangible and immediate economic gains from the Bank. This is because Japan's participation in the ADB has broadened its definition of interests due to a close institutional linkage between the ADB and the Ministry of Finance. This linkage has made Japanese officials identify their interests with those of the ADB. The paper shows that the existence of a strong domestic agency with an entrenched institutional connection with an international institution facilitates cooperation from a non-hegemon state in the institution.

The Transformation of Interest Politics in India

Stanley A. Kochanek

The explosion of group advocacy has led to a renewed attention to the study of interest politics and the impact of political, social and economic change on group formation, development and action. Interest group theory suggests that groups proliferate during periods of rapid change. A study of group evolution and change in India provides an excellent opportunity to assess the impact of systemic change on interest group development and behavior.

The accelerated process of economic, social and political change in India since 1947 has begun to alter the nature and conduct of interest politics as the country has experienced an increase in the mobilization, proliferation and transformation of groups. These changes have in turn altered interest group roles, styles and strategies. The Indian system of state dominated pluralism in which autonomous groups were overshadowed by an omnipresent state is eroding as interest politics have become less individual, patron-client and particularistic and more open and genuinely pluralistic.

The impact of systemic change has been most visible in the case of the Indian business community, traditionally the most organized and autonomous sector of India's complex interest group universe. Old established associations have been weakened by splits, dormant associations have become revitalized and new organizations have emerged to supplement and may even supplant the old. Changes within India's business associations have been accompanied by significant changes in the relationship between business and government. Government has become less of a regulator and more of a facilitator and business has become an increasingly important force in the governmental process.

**Developing the Information Industry in Taiwan: Entrepreneurial State,
Guerrilla Capitalists, and Accommodative Technologists**

Vincent Wei-cheng Wang

Promoting high-tech industries in the developing world is a very significant development. In particular, the modern information technology (IT), which integrates the cutting-edge of computer hardware, software, and telecommunication, revolutionizes economic and political relations, at both the national and the international levels.

This paper examines the major policies and institutions responsible for promoting the information industry in Taiwan. It finds that Taiwan's information industry was created on the solid foundation laid by the successful export-oriented electronics industry, and the current technology-intensive strategy is a natural extension of Taiwan's previous development strategies. It draws attention to three important factors that shape Taiwan's patterns of high-tech development: the many important roles played by the Taiwanese state, the strengths and weaknesses of Taiwan's decentralized industrial structure that is dominated by small- and medium-sized firms, and Taiwan's "accommodative" approach to IT development. Promoting IT is only a means for industrial upgrading, not an end in itself. In developing IT, Taiwan has maintained close ties with the global technological market and attempted to harness multinational corporations' investment with the country's macroeconomic adjustment, rather than asserting narrow economic nationalism and restricting the domestic market. Comparisons are also drawn between the Taiwanese model and other countries that differ in state roles, industrial structures (e.g., Korea's *chaebol* model), and technological approach (e.g., Brazil's "assertive" approach) to show that there are various ways for developing high-tech.

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Canadian Journal of Development Studies

Revue canadienne d'études du développement

Volume XVI No 3 November 1995
1994 CASID's Proceedings Issue

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Canadian Journal of Development Studies, University of Ottawa
550 Cumberland, Room 160B
Ottawa (Ontario) Canada K1N 6N5
Tel: (613) 562-5800 ext. 1561, Fax: (613) 562-5100