

# Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

**Democratization in South Korea and Inter-Korean Relations**

*Chien-peng Chung*

This essay explores a salient topic that is often overlooked in studies on South Korea's policies toward North Korea: the profound effect on inter-Korean ties brought about by the evolution of South Korea from authoritarianism to democracy in the last 16 years. It also wishes to address the thesis of whether democratization causes war, using South Korea as a case study.

Mansfield and Snyder have argued that democratizing states tend to be belligerent, because both old and new elite often resort to nationalist / ideological appeals to mobilize mass allies to defend their threatened positions and stake out new ones, and then found that the masses, once mobilized, are difficult to control. This essay submits that, whether a democratizing state wants to court conflict with another state depends very much on what these nationalist / ideological positions are. The external policies of a democratizing state will become more cooperative, if the elite promote the pacific preferences of newly empowered constituencies. In post-authoritarian South Korea, this linkage has favoured policies that reduce, rather than exacerbate, external tension.

Although there have been ups and downs in inter-Korean relations since democratization in South Korea, on the whole, relations between the two Koreas have improved. Participation by intellectual, student, labour, clerical and other "leftist" forces in the political process of South Korea has legitimized hitherto suppressed or muted calls for better relations with the North. It has even led to a change in the security thinking of the government in Seoul, from equating state security with regime security, to identifying it with the security of all Koreans.

**The Dispute Between Russia and Japan Over the Kurile Islands in the 1990s**

*Yutaka Okuyama*

The territorial issue of the Southern Kurile Islands between Russia and Japan has not been settled yet. In the Cold War period, the Russian and Japanese governments conducted the negotiations in context of the Cold War paradigm that was based on superpower rivalry. However, the end of the Cold War brought other elements for forming national policy, which included regional and local interests in the 1990s. In other words, the issue in the Southern Kurile Islands was no longer considered solely as a power struggle. This study refers to the existence of linkage between the national governments and regional and local parties that share common interests over the territorial issue. In the 1990s, in spite of different perspectives on the issue, regional and local cooperation between the Russian and the Japanese was gradually enhanced. At the same time, both central governments adopted a conciliatory manner to conduct territorial negotiations. Although the two governments could not reach an agreement to settle the territorial issue, both new conditions in the 1990s became new incentives for the future settlement. I argue that intergovernmental negotiations that involve not only national but also regional and local concerns are products of interaction of policies and perceptions of the national government, the region, and local residents.

**From Monopoly to Competition:  
Party Politics in the Bangladesh Parliament (1973-2001)**

*Nizam Ahmed*

The Parliament of Bangladesh, the *Jatiya Sangsad* (JS), which was monopolized by a 'single' party in the early years of independence, has become a competitive institution in recent years. This paper examines the significance of greater inter-party competition for parliamentary influence. In particular, it explores the ways the JS seeks to influence the process of legislation and to make the government behave. The paper concludes that party differences matter more in making the government behave than in the making of legislation. However, although the government domination of legislation has not changed much with changes in party competition, the JS has nevertheless a better scope now to affect legislative outcome, especially through amending legislation. Greater inter-party competition, however, has had some dysfunctional consequences; it has caused serious crises in parliamentary politics and paradoxically led to the decline of parliament. This paper has identified several structural and procedural constraints that have discouraged greater parliamentary assertiveness and suggested some measures for strengthening the JS by, among others, widening the scope for the opposition lawmakers and government backbenchers to play to a more proactive role.

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*Pacific Affairs*  
is pleased to announce the awarding of the first  
**William L. Holland Prize.**

This prize will be awarded annually  
for an outstanding paper  
published in *Pacific Affairs* during the preceding year that,  
in the opinion of the Editorial Board,  
best reflects the ideals of Bill Holland in promoting  
international understanding of the regions and peoples  
of Asia and the Pacific.

**The William L. Holland Prize**  
for the best article published in Volume 75  
(2002-2003) of *Pacific Affairs*  
has been awarded to

**JACQUES BERTRAND**  
(University of Toronto)

for his article  
*Legacies of the Authoritarian Past:  
Religious Violence in Indonesia's Moluccan Islands*  
published in Volume 75 No.1,  
Spring 2003, pp. 57-85

Dr. Bertrand's article seeks to identify the factors that contributed to Christian-Muslim violence in the 1990s in Maluku, casting this detailed example in a comparative and analytic perspective that speaks to those whose concerns might be very far from Indonesia, but who share the concern over ethnic and communal violence.

The William L. Holland Prize recognizes the success of Dr. Bertrand's article and serves to honour the memory of Bill Holland's dedication to open and accessible scholarship.

Dr. Bertrand's article may be viewed at our website:  
[www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca](http://www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca)



*Winner of the first William L. Holland Prize*

**JACQUES BERTRAND**  
(University of Toronto)

for his article

**Legacies of the Authoritarian Past:  
Religious Violence in Indonesia's Moluccan Islands**

published in Volume 75 No.1, Spring 2003, pp. 57-85



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ABSTRACTS

**Innovation in China's Local Governance: 'Open Recommendation and Selection'**

*Tony Saich and Xuedong Yang*

Development theory suggests that political innovation tends to occur as levels of well-being rise and markets expand. It is interesting to note, in this context, that a number of significant political reforms in rural China have begun in poorer rural areas. This has been the case with the return to household farming, village elections and now township elections. Crisis and distance from political centres, combined with astute political leadership, can stimulate significant institutional reforms that may affect nationwide policy. While elections for village leadership in China are generally accepted as legitimate, elections for township heads are more deeply contested and with the township forming the lowest level of state administration, it is nested in a more complex set of institutional relations. Direct election of township heads (as in Buyun, Sichuan) province has been declared unconstitutional but this has not stopped experimentation with alternative methods to evaluate township officials. One such promising experimentation is the "open recommendation and selection" process that has been carried out in Suining Municipality, Sichuan Province. This process broadens the scope of participation in the selection of local leaders but it retains the Leninist concern for control of the process and, most importantly, it does not contravene the constitution. This article suggests that without clear guidance from the centre, the only solutions available for localities to resolve the dilemmas they face are to experiment with procedures that operate within existing guidelines and to exploit the grey areas to enhance local representation and institutional adjustment.

**Japan's National/Asian Women's Fund For "Comfort Women"**

*C. Sarah Soh*

After the issue of Japan's responsibility for the "comfort women" exploded in 1992, Tokyo took a series of measured steps to deal with the demands of NGOs in Japan, South Korea, and elsewhere to reveal the truth and offer state compensation to victim-survivors of the Japanese wartime military comfort system. The United Nations has come to define that system as "military sexual slavery." This paper explores the transnational politics of redress for former comfort women from a critical comparative perspective: 1) by analyzing the responses of the Japanese government and civil society to the pressure of the international community, with a focus on the controversial National/Asian Women's Fund created by Tokyo to take moral responsibility and express Japan's national atonement to non-Japanese victim-survivors; and 2) by examining divergent responses of governments and NGOs in afflicted countries to the Fund's atonement projects. Although dismissed by militant activists as a "private fund," the Fund may be conceptualized as a national public organization or an "NPO" with a unique hybrid organizational structure, an inherent dilemma of representation, and internal tension. While it continues to incur severe criticisms from legal compensation advocates in unrelenting pursuit of their political goal, the Fund's implementation of its imperfect, limited, and yet substantive projects has served as a "constructive compromise" measure for 364 aged victim-survivors—improving their living conditions and helping them to heal their long-silenced inner wounds—in the face of the continuing stalemate of the international redress politics.

## Deepening Democracy in Taiwan

*Joseph Wong*

Over the past decade and a half, Taiwan has democratized. During this process of political change, progressive politics issues - social policy, environmental awareness, human rights - have become a part of the political mainstream in Taiwan. Simply put, democracy in Taiwan has deepened, moving from minimalist conceptions of procedural democracy to more substantive notions of social, economic and political citizenship. In this article, I explain the politics of democratic deepening in Taiwan. I offer four arguments. First, economic growth with equity inculcated a normative expectation among Taiwanese for continued socio-economic justice and for state intervention in the interests of the public good more generally. Second, the institutionalization of democratic competition created incentives for political entrepreneurs to latch onto, and thus legitimate, progressive politics issues. Third, the increasingly important role of societal actors during the 1990s and tightening electoral competition facilitated a continual 'spiral upwards' in progressive politics legislation. Finally, the construction of a civic national identity in Taiwan has reinforced democratic deepening.

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ABSTRACTS

**China and the North Korean Crisis: Facing Test and Transition**

*Ming Liu*

Chinese interests in the Korean Peninsula can be summarized by the general goal of guaranteeing the smooth development of China's economic modernization and the policy of opening to the international community, stability in the Korean peninsula, and maintenance of good relations with both Koreas simultaneously. North Korea is usually seen as a buffer-zone for China, but now many Chinese see this as an outdated concept. Over the past two years the refugee and nuclear crises have tested China's policies toward North Korea. The growing number of North Korea refugees coming into China truly surprised Beijing. Beijing adopted multiple means, including a massive search for defectors and repatriating them to North Korea, but also allowing asylum seekers in the embassies to go to Seoul via a third country. The last approach seems a successful compromise. The recent nuclear crisis gravely endangers Chinese interests. To rein in this crisis, Beijing took a more proactive role than ever before, leading to trilateral talks among Washington, Beijing and Pyongyang, and the six-party talks adding Japan, South Korea and Russia. For various reasons, China significantly cut down its economic assistance from 1994-1995, consequently limiting its political influence on North Korea. However, Beijing has turned this curtailed support into an incentive to lure North Korea in to participating in some regional economic cooperation programs, promoting gradual reform based on the survival while abandoning its military-first strategy.

**India and Russia: Reassessing the "Time Tested" Ties**

*B.M. Jain*

This article examines some vitally important issues such as defence, strategic, scientific and technological and nuclear cooperation as well as Pakistan and China as factors, setting new trends, in Indo-Russian relations. It critically surveys how their "time-tested ties" in the 1970s and 1980s got a sudden jolt following the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991. New Delhi-Moscow relations have oscillated from a steep decline in the beginning of the 1990s through a new political and strategic understanding in the mid-1990s to a mutually "productive" and "enduring" partnership during the Putin administration. This paper argues that since India and Russia have no direct conflict of interest, their bilateral ties are likely to attain greater heights, especially in the defence and strategic fields, than what they had even during the Indo-Soviet friendship era. Besides, their identical perceptions of and approaches to critical issues such as multipolar world order, counter-terrorism, and cooperation in nuclear technology are likely to further solidify their ties based on mutual trust. However, Putin's regime coupled with pragmatism and flexibility attuned to serving national interests, cannot be taken for granted by India. Without being led by euphoria, India and Russia will need to accommodate each other's concerns, compulsions and interests for a friendly and durable relationship.



## The Discourse of Unequal Treaties in Modern China

Dong Wang

This paper examines a symbol, *bupingdeng tiaoyue* (Unequal Treaties), that has received no attention in the current literature on the role of political ceremonies and symbols in China's national awakening and the formation of Chinese nationalism. This paper aims to repair this omission by tracing how the term acquired a strongly symbolic role and by analyzing the form, content, function and impact of the *bupingdeng tiaoyue* rhetoric.

First, this paper examines Chinese nationalism by looking at the discourse on the Unequal Treaties as employed by various forces in Chinese history. Second, the shared experience of the Guomindang (GMD)-Communists (CCP) with the Unequal Treaties reveals further details about a highly strained and precarious relationship in the United Front from 1924 to 1927. Part of the vocabulary, style, rhetoric and argumentation of the Unequal Treaties discourse became integrated as a perpetual element in the common inheritance of Chinese-ness. Third, the discourse on the Unequal Treaties alerts us to the continuing relevance of the subtle distinction between the political state and national culture, a distinction that both the GMD and the CCP have attempted to obliterate. Fourth, China's experience with the Unequal Treaties suggests that the spread and interpretation of international law can only take place on a particular nation's own terms. Fifth, this paper seeks to focus attention on China's positive role in the development and crystallization of international law against imposed treaties.

### Sustainable Forestry in Thailand: The Effect of Agenda 21 on Forest-Related Non-Governmental Organizations

Matthew J. Mohlenkamp

The purpose of this paper is to determine the effects of the United Nations Agenda 21 on non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) efforts to promote sustainable forestry in Thailand. The author focuses on the impact of Agenda 21 on three main factors that influence NGO activity: the NGO relationship with international donors, the NGO relationship with the Thai government, and the direct impact of Agenda 21 upon NGO policies and actions. Agenda 21 includes goals aimed at countering the problem of global deforestation by increasing the use of sustainable forestry practices and increasing cooperation between governments and NGOs. However, the three areas examined in this paper indicate that Agenda 21 has had a small and uneven impact upon forest-related NGOs in Thailand.

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ABSTRACTS

**China and Southeast Asia:  
Asymmetry, Leadership and Normalcy**

*Brantly Womack*

Despite remarkable growth in China's capacities relative to Southeast Asia during the reform era, their relationship has vastly improved. Increasing interdependence is part of the explanation, but interdependence between asymmetric partners can lead to hedging and balancing as well as to cooperation. Here the argument is made that the quality of China's regional diplomatic leadership has been decisive, complemented by the cautious deference of Southeast Asia. Reform era diplomacy has created a general situation of normalcy between China and Southeast Asia. Although normalcy creates a momentum favoring cooperation, the importance of leadership makes current trends vulnerable to changes in leadership direction. To the extent that Sino-US rivalry increases, the conditions of normalcy will be more difficult to maintain.

**From a Special Relationship to a Normal Partnership?:  
Interpreting the Garlic Battle in Sino-South Korean Relations**

*Jae Ho Chung*

The Seoul-Beijing relationship since the late 1970s until prior to diplomatic normalization [in 1992] was always treated as special, if not extraordinary. Since normalization, for much of the 1990s the relationship basked in a "honeymoon" period, in which mutual understanding and accommodation flourished. In the summer of 2000, however, the so-called garlic battle erupted between South Korea and China, pointing to the possible termination of the honeymoon phase. The pace, magnitude and subsequent shock waves of the trade dispute were felt so intensely that many observers assessed that the special relationship might finally give way to a more normal relationship based on interest and reciprocity.

While, in retrospect, the dispute has not necessarily put an end to the Sino-South Korean honeymoon, it has nevertheless revealed the sobering implication that China may have become willing to implement punitive actions against South Korea instead of adhering to a silent understanding and benign tolerance just for the sake of sustaining the beneficial relationship. More specifically, this article explores why China chose to retaliate against South Korea in the way it did, considering that Beijing applied tougher measures against Seoul than against Tokyo in a similar trade dispute. It seems that China did not retaliate against South Korea more harshly because it was weaker than Japan. Quite the contrary, it was South Korea that escalated the dispute prematurely out of considerations for its domestic politics, only to find itself facing a further escalation by China.

**The Anatomy of the Welfare-Zoku:  
The Institutional Complementarity of the Party Commissions and the National  
Reform Councils in LDP Decision Making**

*Benoit Rousseau Leduc*

Political networks and the so-called *zoku* are often presumed to be the culprits in preserving the status quo against market-oriented reforms in Japan. Yet these networks have rarely been thoroughly mapped or investigated. This article shows that Japan's parliamentary system under LDP rule has decentralized decision-making authority in party commissions and administrative consultation bodies, with important consequences on decision-making. The commissions have strengthened the linkages between interest groups and lawmakers and reduced the influence of the prime minister. This distinguishes Japan's parliamentary system from other countries with a similar constitution. This article investigates Japan's institutions of policy making by mapping one of the most influential groups in Japanese politics—the medical associations and the welfare *zoku*. Relying on data provided by the Ministry of Management, it quantifies financial linkages between interest groups and members of the Commission for Medical Care of the LDP as evidence of this influence. Historical cases of policy reform failures provide insights into complex policy-making processes and the influence of interest groups. Inversely, the article argues that the creation of supra-party decision-making institutions was necessary for the success of major market-oriented reforms. The national reform councils of Prime Ministers Nakasone and Hashimoto emerged as the only possible answer to carry out reforms by challenging existing LDP policy-making networks in the 1980s and 1990s. The supra-party national reform councils challenged the paternalistic authority that medical professionals held since the creation of Japan's universal health insurance system in 1962 and made reforms possible in areas where previous institutional processes preserved the status quo.

**The Strings of Neutralism: Burma and the Colombo Plan**

*Ademola Adeleke*

This article is a study in the politics of aid, focussing on Burma's participation in the Colombo Plan, an aid programme promoted by the West as a prophylactic against the resurgence of communism in South and Southeast Asia during the Cold War. At independence in 1948 the government of Burma had repudiated its Commonwealth links for a foreign policy of neutralism and nonalignment. Still, the fact that the government was desperately in need of development capital meant that it could not ignore the Colombo Plan, even though it was promoted by one of the ideological blocs in the Cold War. The article explores the intricacies involved in reconciling Burma's policy of neutralism with participation in the Colombo Plan and concludes that in general Third World countries, anxious for development aid, have little choice but to abide by the conditions set by the donors. They have to operate within the confines of the politics of aid.

**Letters In Support of the Institute of Pacific Relations:  
Defending a Nongovernmental Organization**

*Lawrence T. Woods*

The Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR, 1925-61) was one of the premier nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) operating at the international level for much of the early twentieth century. Given the rise to prominence of NGOs in contemporary international studies, examining the lessons to be learned from the IPR would seem prudent. Particular attention will be paid in this article to a series of letters written in support of the Institute at a time when its longstanding support from the Rockefeller Foundation was under threat. Like states, intergovernmental organizations and corporations, NGOs can find their roles as international actors in peril at various times and from various sources. If we are to include NGOs and civil society as prominent contemporary international actors, we will have to consider the conceptual and practical implications of how they face and deal with threats to their integrity and well-being. That there is now a wide variety and growing number of diplomatic “dialogue” channels—nongovernmental and governmental—in the Asia Pacific and elsewhere on a range of issues needs to be kept in mind. This need is magnified when one considers the linkages and information-sharing between channels. The argument presented highlights the IPR’s ability to preserve a major source of funding through a letter-writing campaign, the precarious nature of this dependence on an American foundation, the institute’s perceived importance as an early unofficial diplomatic dialogue channel, and the potential for this case history to influence the operations of contemporary NGOs.

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