

Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

Taiwanese Democracy under Threat: Impact and Limit of China's Military Coercion

Tai-fa Yu

Since 1994, China has undertaken a series of intimidating military actions, including the firing of missiles in the vicinity of Taiwan, to prevent it from mobilizing international support for its independent status through high profile visitation diplomacy. These actions were also undertaken to influence the outcome of legislative and presidential elections, held respectively in December 1995 and March 1996. China hoped to stem the rising tide of separatist sentiments on the island state. China's military coercion has failed to a large extent to achieve the intended objectives, due to asymmetry of motivation, weak leadership in Beijing, ambiguous terms for settlement, the lack of international support, China's decision not to further escalate tension, and limitations inherent in coercive diplomacy that tend to curtail its intimidating impact.

Taiwan as an Emerging Foreign Aid Donor: Developments, Problems, and Prospects

Gerald Chan

Taiwan is financially rich but diplomatically poor. It has one of the world's largest foreign exchange reserves. However, only thirty countries recognize it as a sovereign state. Can Taiwan use its economic strength to break out of its diplomatic isolation? One way to do this is to give economic assistance or foreign aid to developing countries. In view of the shortage of funds worldwide available to assist the ever-increasing number of countries requiring help, some recent developments in Taiwan's aid programme are beginning to attract renewed world attention.

The establishment in 1988 of the International Economic Cooperation Development Fund marks a watershed in Taiwan's aid policy. This paper addresses the following questions: Why does Taiwan give aid? To whom does it give aid, and why? What is its aid mechanism? How do the quantity and quality of Taiwan's aid compare with other countries? What are the problems and prospects of Taiwan's aid diplomacy? All these questions open up a new area of research on Taiwan's external relations which involves a complicated mix of political, economic, development, and diplomatic issues. A common thread that runs through this paper is the linkage between Taiwan's foreign assistance and its political objective of gaining international recognition.

The paper concludes that Taiwan's ability to increase its aid capacity will no doubt ensure that aid can remain a useful, if limited, diplomatic tool and a potentially important economic tool.

**Advertising and Indian-Language Newspapers: How Capitalism
Supports (Certain) Cultures and (Some) States, 1947-96**

Robin Jeffrey

Big increases in the circulation of Indian-language newspapers and magazines since the late 1970s have made India's 11 largest official languages more widely read, written and circulated than ever before. New printing technology made these circulation increases possible, but the purchase and deployment of the technology have been spurred by the growing willingness of national advertisers, aware of vast and untapped non-English-speaking markets, to advertise in Indian-language publications. Contrary to what might be expected from European experience of the past 200 years, this embedding of regional languages does not appear to presage demands for secession or independence. The major Indian-language newspapers, owned by *local* capitalists who seek *national* (and international) advertising revenues, tend to validate ideas of Indian nationhood, even as they may simultaneously assert the honour of their own region and language.

**Technology Transfer to China During the 1980s: How Effective?
Some Evidence from Jiangsu**

Samuel Ho

During the 1980s, China imported an impressive amount of technology. But size alone cannot measure the success of China's technology import program. An equally, if not more, relevant success criterion is, How effectively did China use its opportunity to import technology? The purpose of this paper is to shed light on this question. Survey evidence from Jiangsu suggests that China's experience with technology import during the 1980s was at best uneven. Many import projects did not begin production on time and the increase in output was significantly less than expected. Among the problems uncovered were inadequate planning, poor preparation, wasteful duplication, and an inability to adapt the imported technology to local conditions. Such problems undoubtedly will continue to trouble China's technology program in the 1990s, but there are reasons for optimism. The most important ones are a significant hardening of the budget constraint faced by industrial enterprises, the increased reliance on foreign direct investment as a vehicle for technology transfer, and the fact that production and R & D are no longer strictly separated.

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ABSTRACTS

Regions and Nation: The Present Situation in China in Historical Context

Diana Lary

There are two credos about the Chinese State, that China has been unified for more than two thousand years, and that weakness at the Centre leads to chaos. Both are misleading. Unified control has not been a constant in Chinese history, but central weakness has caused diversity and devolution, not the breakup of the state.

This paper looks at the tools used historically by the Centre to control the regions, and their contemporary applications. In the ideological vacuum left by the Cultural Revolution, and the unevenness of economic change, Beijing faces major regional challenges, which do not threaten the breakup of the state but do call for greater regional recognition. One facet of the new regionalism is a stress on its historical roots. Beijing now has to treat the regions with caution, a process which involves negotiation, accommodation and bargaining.

Canada has a deep understanding of federal/provincial relations, but seldom applies this knowledge to looking at China. We still accept the official line that it is only the Centre that counts in China.

Institution Building in the Pacific — Canada in APEC

James M. Lambert

This article reviews APEC's evolving architecture and activities against the background of the growth and development challenges facing the Asia Pacific region. The opportunities and challenges presented to Canada as chair of the APEC process are discussed, as are the specific plans for APEC events to take place in Canada throughout 1997. The author asks whether the multilateral approaches pioneered in the postwar, Bretton Woods period remain relevant to addressing Canada's contemporary interests in the region. The paper identifies how APEC's evolution and consensus-based approach in fact diverge from those which prevail in other institutions, making it a "new-age" body. Canada's contribution to APEC's unique development, particularly in overseeing the rapid evolution of its economic and technical cooperation agenda, are detailed. The article concludes that in its approaches to APEC, Canada has been able to advance domestic interests and regional well-being.

APEC's Dilemmas: Institution-Building around the Pacific Rim

Nicole Gallant and Richard Stubbs

The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum has achieved a great deal since it was formed in Australia in 1989. Yet the more progress APEC makes in moving the region down the road towards greater economic liberalization and cooperation the more problems it faces. These problems arise in good part from two competing conceptions of regionalization and regionalism and are rooted in the different cultures, historical experiences and forms of capitalism to be found among APEC's members. The "neo-liberal" conception of how APEC should promote economic liberalization and regional cooperation, which is advocated by such members as Australia and the United States, stands in contrast to the "Asian view" which is advanced by Japan and a number of ASEAN members. These contrasting perspectives create dilemmas for APEC as it attempts to deal with such issues as expanding membership, the means for attaining APEC's goals, the extent of institutionalization and appropriate agenda items. These dilemmas are certainly not insurmountable; however, it will take a good deal of diplomatic skill, energy and good will to ensure that APEC continues to move ahead.

ASEAN, AFTA and the "New Regionalism"

Paul Bowles

This paper considers two questions. The first is why ASEAN chose to form AFTA in 1993 after previous economic cooperation schemes had been of more limited scope. It is argued that by the early 1990s, the rationale for a regional trading area had changed; the primary economic purpose was no longer trade creation but the avoidance of investment diversion to other parts of the world economy. The second, and related, question considers how the formation of AFTA relates to the latest wave of regionalism in the world economy. I argue that the "New Regionalism" is intimately linked to the dramatic increase in global capital flows since the mid-1980s and that two of the most interesting and important characteristics of the "New Regionalism" are the emergence of "North-South regionalism" and "multiple regionalism." The implications of this for the future evolution of AFTA, and its relationship with other regional trading initiatives, are assessed.

Regionalization in South Asia: Theory and Praxis

Ananya Mukherjee Reed

Historically, regional cooperation in South Asia has been fraught with problems. As a result, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) remained a somewhat defunct political organization since its inception in 1985. In the 1990s however, SAARC has gathered some momentum, due mainly to the forces of globalization and economic liberalization with many of the SAARC countries. Two particularly significant aspects of this development have been the formation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the rising vehemence of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). This paper will examine these changes in the trajectory of SAARC, and, more generally, the problems and prospects of regional cooperation in South Asia. I will argue here that (a) the "new" regionalism in South Asia is almost entirely a product of the contradictions of globalization, which increases competition on the one hand, and the need for collaboration on the other; (b) institutional structures, in and of themselves, *cannot* generate solutions to problems that emanate out of historical processes and structures; and (c) feasible strategies for cooperation in South Asia require the mobilization of nonstate actors, especially firms and groups undertaking various social movements.

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ABSTRACTS

Against the Current: The Survival of Authoritarianism in Burma

Jalal Alamgir

Authoritarianism has both structural and strategic sources. By synthesizing theoretical arguments on authoritarianism and comparing those to the Burmese experience, this paper explores how autocratic regimes in Burma have survived over time. It argues that the structural basis of authoritarianism in Burma was established during Ne Win's rule between 1962 and 1988. The repressive structure was justified in terms of nationalism, socialism, control of economic resources, and appeals to culture and tradition. The strategies that the State Law and Order Restoration Council, or SLORC, has adopted to counter the pro-democracy challenges since 1988 include outright repression, especially of students and the clergy, economic liberalization, media censorship and alliance with other authoritarian powers. Considering the politics of the National League for Democracy, or NLD, the paper concludes that the movement toward democracy in Burma is likely to be long drawn out and accomplished through negotiations rather than mass mobilization.

Trade and Environmental Diplomacy: Strategic Options for ASEAN

Manuel F. Montes and Francisco A. Magno

Efforts to incorporate environmental side agreements in global and regional trade regimes suggest two trends that ASEAN countries must contend with: (1) the reduction in the scope of sovereign countries to deal independently with environmental issues, and (2) the increasing use of trade measures to address environmental concerns. ASEAN can choose either to adopt a defensive stance, by slowing down the onset of these trends, as expressed for example in their reactive position on the issues pertaining to tropical timber and tuna exports, or take a proactive position, which means being actively involved in the process of framing international trade-related environmental standards. The authors argue that the adoption of a proactive strategy would enable ASEAN to become a significant player in the design of trade and environmental regimes. In the process of participation, the ASEAN countries would gain enhanced access to international support for efforts to improve their environmental policies and institutions, to make their firms conform to international production standards, and to become effective partners in the development of eco-labeling procedures.

Chinese Relations with Japan: Implications for Asia-Pacific Regionalism

Yong Deng

This article examines Chinese relations with Japan in the context of Asia-Pacific regionalism. Two propositions underlie the analysis. First, the way China and Japan relate to each other is a key factor that has greatly predisposed their respective postures toward Asian regionalism. Second, the pattern of their interaction greatly shapes the pace and structure of Asia-Pacific regional cooperation. The paper concludes that it is unlikely, in the foreseeable future, the two countries will evolve toward a confrontation that will lead to the collapse of regionalism. On the other hand, there is a uniquely essential "emotional" dimension in this bilateral relationship that often defies "rational" calculations of economic and political interests. Mutual suspicion stemming from present irritants and historical enmity engenders an inherent rivalry in shaping the regional order. It is unlikely that China and Japan would forge a political partnership to create an exclusive, well-structured Asian regionalism, even though they may jointly assert a stronger Asian voice in fora of Asia-Pacific cooperation.

The 1996 UMNO Party Election: "Two for the Show"

William Case

The United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the dominant political party in Malaysia, has long been distinguished by its democratic procedures. By providing this outlet, the UMNO has made possible a closure of politics at the national level, amounting to a stable semi-democracy. This paper begins by recording the UMNO's democratic procedures. It also charts, however, the ways in which these procedures were limited by the party's leadership as its general assembly election approached in 1996, then describes the ways in which the assembly unfolded. It concludes by speculating that if some constant amount of democracy must be practiced in Malaysia, and if democracy has been diminished within its dominant party, the country's broader regime must then be proportionately opened in order to avoid instability or costly coercion.

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ABSTRACTS

The ASEM: Managing the New Framework of the EU's Economic Relations with East Asia

Christopher M. Dent

Preceded by the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) forum and the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA), the recently inaugurated Asia-Europe Meetings (ASEM) initiative completes the triangle of formalised relationships that now exist between the triadic regions (Europe, North America, East Asia). This paper analyses the ASEM's function within EU – East Asia economic relations and the wider implications carried for the world economy. It discusses the global and triadic context of these relations, considers the theoretical and practical aspects of inter-regional arrangements such as the ASEM, studies how existing bilateral economic relations between the two powers have evolved, how the ASEM's framework and processes have originated from these and finally the issues of compatibility and conflict associated with the ASEM. The paper argues that managing both bilateral and ASEM-level economic relations simultaneously may prove problematical, as would "one-on-one" inter-regional relations for the foreseeable future. The ASEM's potential to produce considerable positive and negative impacts upon the new multilateral order is also discussed. In conclusion, it is contended the EU has significantly more to gain from the ASEM initiative, not only in terms of its direct outcomes but also from the new symmetry it heralds for intra-triad relations.

China, International Organizations and Regimes: the ILO as a Case Study in Organizational Learning

Ann Kent

Recent writing on China's foreign and defense policies has focused on the degree to which they constitute a "problem" in international relations. This study of China's relations with the International Labour Organisation since 1971, and particularly since 1989, reveals a learning curve which points to China's increasing sense of international responsibility and interdependence. In a period of twenty-five years, China has moved from a position claiming special exemption and privileges within the ILO to one in which it has accepted its reporting obligations and has acknowledged the validity of a number of ILO standards and their applicability to China. Some of these standards have been translated into new Chinese legislation, if not into practical implementation. Change has been brought about by a combination of exogenous and endogenous pressures — China's organizational interests within the ILO as well as domestic labour unrest — and has had the effect of altering China's perceptions of its self-interest. This case study suggests that, over time, considerations of domestic self-interest combined with international organizational pressures can be effective in promoting China's cognitive, as well as instrumental, learning within the international system.

Does Revisionism Work?: U.S. Trade Strategy and the 1995 U.S.–Japan Auto Dispute

S. Javed Maswood

The 1995 auto dispute between Japan and the U.S. was a particularly acrimonious episode in their bilateral economic relations. The main source of contention was an American demand, a derivative of revisionist principles, that the Japanese government agree to numerical targets on auto parts imports. It backed up this demand with a threat of sanctions against luxury Japanese car exports to the United States. The dispute was resolved before the sanctions went into effect but the result was unlike what the American government might have expected. The final agreement did not mention any numerical targets and, instead, the

U.S. decided to accept an earlier set of projections announced by Japanese auto manufacturers on auto parts imports. In the article, I analyze the failure of the U.S. to achieve its objective of securing Japanese commitment to numerical import targets and conclude that while foreign pressure may be necessary to achieve liberalization in Japan, it is by itself insufficient and requires, as well, support from powerful domestic groups within Japan, as is argued by Frances Rosenbluth and by Dennis Encarnation and Mark Mason.

ASEAN's New Challenges

Leszek Buszynski

The article examines ASEAN's post-cold war development in the light of three challenges. The first arises as a product of the organization's expansion to include Vietnam in 1995 and the intention to embrace Myanmar and the remaining Indochina states. With expansion ASEAN faces the problem of diluted cohesion. Secondly, ASEAN leaders have promoted economic cooperation as a means of strengthening the organization's cohesion which introduces new problems. The new members of ASEAN are not at the same level economically as the original members. Moreover, the economic agenda integrates ASEAN more closely with the external world which conflicts with the intention to preserve the Southeast Asian regional character of the organization. The third challenge is a result of ASEAN's efforts to participate in Asia Pacific security dialogue as a way of promoting regional security. The institutions created to support this dialogue may make ASEAN redundant. How ASEAN manages these challenges will shape its future as an organization.

The Rise and Decline of the Asian Century

False Starts on the Path to the Global Millennium

Christopher Lingle

Now in a revised edition which includes a discussion of the collapse of some of the Asian currencies, this thought-provoking and timely book challenges the view of the Asia-Pacific region as the centre of gravity for world economic growth. Lingle argues that the idea of the 'Asian century' was the brainchild of a diverse set of observers, some of them motivated by their vested interests in having the prophecy become reality. Others, he contends, were simply uninformed.

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