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CONTENTS

SPECIFIC ECONOMIC HIGHLIGHTS
OF MYANMAR

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Abstract

Myanmar has been struggling hard to cross the various stages of economic development and achieve the position of self-sustained growth. Democracy versus junta have always been found at crossroads against each other. Such contradictions and confrontations always hamper the swift developing process of Suvanna Bhumi   the gold land Earth. The objectives of prosperity in golden land of unity and amenity in its seven divisions and 65 districts are yet to be achieved. Its geographical conditions, natural resources, manpower quality and skill, technical know-how, investment and financial potentialities are partially mobilized and require to be geared in extensively with a dynamic approach, to transform the agro-based primary sector economy into secondary and then move to tertiary stage. The purpose of the study is to find out the possibility of economic viability and succeeding survival of Myanmar. This may result to bring more welfare and well being for the common man, needy and destitute. Its rapid economic development is yet to be pushed and placed on self-propelled mode of tremendous achievement and prosperity. This may enhance the living standard and promote egalitarianism in Myanmar, and to gain the ultimate goal of poverty alleviation. This may relieve the economy from the constraints of stagnating exports and burgeoning imports, a necessary requirement for the position of surplus balance of payments.

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1. History

The known history of Myanmar dates back to the 11th century, when king Anawarahta unified the country and founded the First Myanmar Empire in Bagan. This empire encompassed the areas of present-day Myanmar and entire Menam Valley in Thailand. It lasted for two centuries. In the 13th century Mongols invaded it. The second Myanmar Empire with its capital at Bago was formed by King Bayintnaung in the middle of 16th century. It was followed by Myanmar Dynasty in 1752, founded by king Alaungpaya. When this dynasty attained its culmination, the British occupied it. Myanmar became British colony, after giving tough resistance to British in the Anglo-Myanmar Wars of 1825, 1852 and 1885 A.D.

During the Second World War, Myanmar was occupied by Japan and remained under its suzerainty from 1942-1945, and was again reoccupied by Allied Forces in 1945. However, Myanmar continued its struggle and got independence on 14th of January, 1948, after remaining 62 years under British colonial rule.

In the past Myanmar known as Suvanna Bhumi-the golden land Earth, for its fertile land and rich natural resources, is one of the largest country on the mainland of South-East Asia. It total land area is 676577, sq. kms. Its international border of 5858 Kms. is shared with Bangladesh (271 kms), and India (1338 kms) on North West, followed by China (2204 kms) on North East, neighboured by Laos (238 kms) on the east and Thailand (2107 kms) on the South-East. It has a total coast line of 2832 kms, which stretches 2090 kms from north to south and 925 kms from east to west on the Indian Ocean. It is twice the size of Vietnam. It is of size Texas, United Kingdom and France; combined. Myanmar may be seen as a forest-clad mountainous country. It is

surrounded by three parallel mountain ranges. Begins from the eastern extremity of the Himalayas, which runs from north to south, stretches to the western Yoma (Rakhine Yoma), the Bego Yoma and the Shan Plateau. The snow-capped peak of Mt. Hkakaho Razi at 5881 metres is the highest in South East Asia. Because of these mountain chains, the country is naturally gifted with three-pornged river systems, i-e the Sittaung, the Thanlwin and the main, the Ayeyawady, which is 2170 kms long and is the main source of water for its major tributary, the Chudwin lengthening 960 kms. Therefore, this river is main and central source of water for Myanmar, as it forms the vast delta 240 of kms by 210 kms. It may be mentioned that Myanmar is a land of islands, extensive rice plains, rivers, valleys, forests, hills and mountains.

Topographically, Myanmar can be divided into seven regions: viz; the northern hills, the western hills, the shan plateau, the Central Belt, the lower Myanmar delta, the Rakhine coastal Region and the Tanintihay coastal strip. Myanmar has a tropical monsoon climate with three seasons. The summer season (February to May), the rainy season (May to October), and the winter season (October to February). Annual rain fall in the coastal areas varies to 500 C.m to 75 C.m in the central dry zone. Myanmar is the moderate temperature zone with 32° C in coastal and 21° C in delta area. The ethnic groups of Myanmar (embracing all national races) include indigenous races, such as Kachi, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Bamar, Mon, Rakhine, and Shan. Therefore its ethnic composition may be divided into Burma 68%, Shan 9%, Karen 7% Rakhine 4%, Chinese 3%. In the year 2005, its total paopulaiton was 54.7 million, having 49.7% males and 50.3% females. Its official language is Burmese. However English is widely used also. Buddhism is its major religion (80%) followed by Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and some animists. Its capital is Yangoon. It may move to newly

constructing capital at Pyinmana in the north of Rangoon. Union of Myanmar is formed with seven states (Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Mon, Rakhine, Shan) and seven divisions (Saging, Taninthayi, Bago, Magway, Mandalay, Yangon, Ayeyawady). It is therefore known as golden land of unity and amenity. It has Seven Divisions and 65 districts.

2. Specific Economic Highlights

Economically Myanmar is holding very important position in the region. It is the founder member of GATT and signatory to WTO. Apart from the membership of international organizations, Myanmar is also member of various regional groupings, such as ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), Greater Mekong sub-regions (GMS), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technology Economic and Co-operation (B1 MST-EC), Ayarwaddy Chao Phaya Mekong Economic Co-operation Strategy (ACMECS).

As Myanmar is widely associated with international, regional and national economic groupings, therefore its economic activities can be visualized in a summarized way.

A)   According to the geographical conditions, natural resources, labour, investment and financial potentialities, Myanmar can be termed as agro-based country. About 70% of population live in rural areas, therefore depends on agriculture and it allied sectors. Approximately 51% of its land is under forestry. Myanmar has constructed more than 284 dams. In 1988, it has 138 dams, embankments, reservoirs to cultivate more than 37.14 million acres and provide urban water supply. Presently, it has 284 big and small dams. Small dams, tube wells, hand pumps and other forms of cultivation have also been introduced. It has also developed agro-based industries. It has more than 150 Sugar mills, producing 75474 metric tons of sugar in 2003,

against 37117 in 1995. It produces all other kinds of food and cash crops. Rice is staple food, therefore all efforts are being taken to improve its yield and gain bumper production. Myanmar cultivates more than 12 million acres rice as moonsoon paddy, and 4 million acres as summer paddy. The production totals to 1198 baskets of rice. More than 10 million acres have been put under double-cropping system. About 170 new dams have also been constructed from 1988-2005, to bring more land under cultivation. Myanmar is also producing beans, pulses, edible crops, industrial raw material fruits, vegetables, etc. It also produces cotton, sugar cane, jute, maize, rubber, palm oil, tea, pepper, coffee, groundnuts, sesame, sunflower, mustard, ginger, etc. After meeting the native demand, surplus is exported to earn foreign exchange. Myanmar is also rich in fresh and sea water prawns and fishes. Its natural Lakes, reservoirs and man-made Lakes are consisted on the area of 2 million hectares, which also produce fish production. Myanmar had more than 125 lacs acreage under fish breeding ponds and 2 lacs acreage under prawn. Myanmar earned more than 318 millions $ by exporting fishes and prawn breeding in the year 2003. In the field of live stock, it has variety of cattle breeding farms for Buffalo, Cattle, Sheeps, goats, pigs, chicken, ducks, and others.

In the field of forestry, it has a natural forest area of 10359 sq. miles, protected public forest of 12540 sq. miles and 8050 sq./ miles of reserved forests. In these areas teak plantation, commercial plantation, village plantation, industrial plantation, watershed plantation and thitseint plantation are carried out, to fetch bumper wood and timber production, meant for national and international use. In the year 2002   2003, total teak and hard wood production touched 3 million tons and one million tons respectively. The forest department has established more than 38 wild life sanctuaries on the total area of 12331.17 sq. miles or 4.72%

of the national area to ensure effective conservation, protection of water and land resources, biodiversity and environment. Forestry plantations are regularly maintained and enhanced. Arid Zones Greening Department also works hard for environmental conservation, greening arid areas to gain wood-based finished products for rural people. It may ensure moderate climate and prevention of desertification. Myanmar also fetches more than 170 tons of honey production, 296 million tons of chicken, 165 million tons of pork and 80 millions tons of beef production.

B)   As regards industrial development, the government of Myanmar has been developing the industrial base of the country at a rapid speed. It is trying to diversify the economy from agro-based position into an industrialized one. It has organized the enterprises and factories in respective regions and industrial zones. It has divided the industrial setup into two fractions i-e industry 1 & Industry 2.

The following table reflects the comparative industrial position of Myanmar, in the year 2004.

S.No	Industrial Sector	2004	1988
1.	Factories and Plants (Nos).	57000	1854
2.	Employees (million)	25	-----
3.	Goods Produced (K million)	10204	-----
4.	Industrial Zones	19	-----
5.	Industry 1 Factories (Textiles, food stuffs, Pharmaceuticals, General and Maintenance and paper).	153	-----
6.	Industry 2 Factories (medium-sized), Tyres and Tubes, heavy and light motor vehicles, pumping machines, power tillers, tractors, threshers, hoes, light bulbs, flourescent tubes, transformers, electric meters, electrical appliances, Dry cell plans, etc.	19	----
7.	State owned Factories	723	567
8.	Private owned Factories	44749	39802
9.	Cottage Industries	8500	----
10.	Co-Operative Factories.	157	139

Source: Myanmar Building A Moderate State   Government publication, 2004, various pages.

Myanmar industrial production s annual turnover is more than K 200 billion with a total investment of K 300 billion. Government of Myanmar fully encourages the Public and Private sector industrial development of the country. It has also entered into joint-ventures schemes with various countries of the region such as Daewoo Electronic Company of Republic of Korea, Feuitz Werner Company of Germany, Suzuki Motors Company and Matasushita Electronics Company of Japan and Ekarat Transformer Company of

Thailand, to promote industrial expansion, skill and improvement of technology.

C)   As regards energy and electricity, one may observe that the Ministry of energy was established in 1985 to promote energy sector. This ministry is also responsible for oil and gas exploration. Its various departments, such as energy planning, Myanma oil and Gas enterprise, Myanma Petrochemicals enterprises and Myanma Petroleum Products enterprise. In the year 2003, Myanmar had 3 oil refineries, 3 fertilizers factories, 3 LPG extraction plants, one Carbon di-oxide plant and one Tar Plant. Production of these energy producing plants earned 129754.457 million kyat in 2003 against 2498.684 million kyat in 1989. These also earned foreign exchange of 332.837 US $ against 13.180 $, respectively, in the corresponding years.

In terms of electric power, it may be mentioned that Ministry of Electric Power was separated from the Ministry of Energy, in the year 1997. Electricity is necessary for agricultural and industrial production. In order to meet the increasing demand of economic development, Myanmar has constructed more than 30 hydroelectric plants, 30 gas fired and recycle plants, to meet the requirement of 5064.20 million units of electricity distribution. Presently its generating capacity is 1029.451 megawatts, reflecting 555.854 megawatts increase than 1988. It has developed 4 more recycling power plants, 3 boiler power plants, 11 natural gas power plants, one coal powered plant and 567 diesel power plants, to produce the electricity requirements of the country. More-exploration has also been developed through joint-venture system, in accordance with the private investment policies. These joint ventures exploit the national mineral resources, through exploration, feasibility survey, digging mines, constructing refineries and melting industries. They also upgrade the production potential of

the country and make arrangements for storing and trading of minerals, industrial raw materials and precious stones. These state and private owned sectors are contributing towards the production of iron and steel, coal, cathode, copper, Jade, Gem stones, Pearl, limestone and gypesum.

D)   In terms of transport, the Myanmar Government has constructed a network of roads and bridges to facilitate the smooth transportation of passengers and goods. Small, medium and large bridges, roads and railroads have been constructed throughout the country to ease the problem of transportation. In the year 2004, Myanmar had 18600 miles of metalled roadways. It has formed more than 15 groups for special construction Project for Bridges, which have constructed more than 191 long bridges on rivers, hills etc to link the eastern and western parts of the country. It has also constructed more than 9056 rail road bridges up to 2004, as well as, 780 railway stations and rail roads of 3952 miles. It has also constructed 91 jetties for local vessels, upto the year 2004. This has encouraged the water ways transport. Myanmar has 38 air fields to cope with increasing rush of local and foreign air travelling and cargo handling.

E)   The government of Myanmar has been putting its efforts to improve the means of communication, postal service and telegraph system throughout the country. These services fulfill the requirements of the people in economic, social and management sectors. Modern communication technologies are also being introduced at a rapid speed for quick convenience and contacts. In the year 2005, the country had 133, post offices, 483 telegraph offices and 80 computer telegraph offices, as well as 4049 fax cimile services. It has 826 telephone offices and 787 telephone exchanges, which are serving 3.50 lacs of telephone lines. Besides, it has micro wave services, Modern Satellite Communication facilities, 24 T.V relay Station and 79, e-

libraries. The system has also weded with CDMa, Cellular, DECT, GSM telephones. It is also provided with e-mail Internet, X.25 lines, micro link, local satellite stations, viz, DOMSAT, VSAT and iPSTAR, stations. All these and other allied modern systems have improved the ways of information technology throughout the country. This has created interlinkages, between local, national and international communicating links and co-ordinations.

F)   Myanmar s ministry of trade and Commerce has been making all-out efforts to contribute towards four economic objectives. The main objective is proper evaluation of the market-oriented economic system. Besides, it has Directorate of trade. It has 17123 Import and Export Entrepreneurs and 2305 Economic services for the promotion of commerce, Border Trade Department and Myanmar Agricultural Producing, to boost up it commercial activities.

The ministry of Commerce also organizies Trade Fairs to attract local and foreign companies to acknowledge themselves with trading commodities of Myanmar. It also facilitates the foreign countries to arrange such exhibition with in country. So far more than 10 such fairs have been arranged. Myanmar, itself has also arranged about 30 such fairs abroad.

Besides, it has a Border Trade Department which fulfills the responsibilities i) to enhance bilateral friendship between Myanmar and neighboring countries, ii) to promote bilateral trade and ensure its regularity, iii) to collect taxes, iv) to facilitate tradesman with one-window operation, v) to regulate smoother inflow and out-flow of commodities. So far Myanmar has established border trade engagements with China, Thailand, India, Bangladesh, and Laos. In the year 2002-2003, neighboring trade amounted to $ 84.7

million, with favourable surplus for Myanmar. In year 2004, Myanmar s exports touched the ceiling of 2988.51 million $ against imports of 1868.76 million $, showing a surplus position for Myanmar. In the same year foreign investment inflow was upto 7591.90 million $.

The following table may reflect the composition of Exports of Myanmar

Kyat Million

S.No	Item	2002	2003	2004	2005 (April)
1.	Gas	4247	5919	3334	3461
2.	Teak and other woods	1880	1874	2149	810
3.	Pulses	1898	1744	1407	503
4.	Garments & Textiles	2985	2973	1298	368
5.	Shrimp & Fish Products	829	829	1003	230
6.	Metal & ere	288	288	503	220
7.	Rice	754	754	112	90
8.	Rubber	76	89	81	61

Source: Internet information, based on EIU (2004, 2005, 2006), MCSO (2006).

3. Conclusion

While concluding it may be observed that golden land of unity and amity, known, as Myanmar has emerged as a economically viable state. It is striving hard towards attaining repaid economic development and bring more welfare and well being for the comman man and the needy.

Agriculturally the country is moving fast to retain its food autarky. Agriculture is the back bone of economy and contributes about 40% to the GDP. For industrial advancement country has been divided into 24 development zones. It may diversify the production of both consumer and durable goods. The Social sectors like education, health, human resources, social welfare, anti narcotism and drugs, are also being vigorously developed, for the scientific and technological achievements and improvements.

Myanmar government is moving on the path of more liberalized economy and encouraging direct foreign investment and private sector. This has promoted endogenous and exogenous, confidence building atmosphere for economic promotion, based on market oriented system. This has been helpful in exploiting natural and mineral resources of the country.

Summing up the over all performance, one may be surprised to note that in the year 2005, the economy of Myanmar grew by 12.2 % as compared to 12% in 2004. It is putting its efforts to decrease its reliance on agriculture and increase on industry and services. This may enable economy of gaining self sustaining position. Myanmar is earning a surplus foreign exchange earning position through exporting natural gas, which contributed 4.4 % to the GDP, in the year 2005. About I billion $ have been earned from the export of gas and it may increase in the succeeding years. Sectors like agriculture, manufacturing, transport, services and tourism are also supporting the surging movement of economic growth. The position of its currency has been stabilized i-e 6 Kyat: US $ 1. Foreign investment specially in the field of Gas and oil is increasingly pouring in from China, Thailand, Japan, Malaysia, South Korea etc. The foreign investment in this sector jumped to 54.3 million US $ in 2004, as compared to 44.0 million $ in 2003. Relatively other sectors are

attracting lesser quantities of direct foreign inflows. The inflationary prices of gas and oil have enriched the foreign exchange position of Myanmar and national monetary reserves. The foreign exchange reserves position went up from 265 million US $ & in 1999 to 672 million $ in 2004 and 774 million $ in the first quarter of 2005.

Finally, it may be opined that Myanmar, a developing economy, is significantly moving on the path of rapid economic development. It may ameliorate the lot of teeming millions and gain the prominent position for the country in the Comity of Nations. Economically, country may be brought on sound foundation of well being and prosperity. It may bring the benevolence of society in general and improvement of living standard of the society of Myanmar.

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POPULATION CONTROL POLICY THROUGH GENDER LENS: A LOOK AT CHINA

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Abstract

This paper will examine whether gendered assumptions are embodied in population control policies, and if there are any resulting social justice concerns, specifically gender equality, women s health. This process can be studied by using China as a case study because its nationalist rhetoric calls for state centered population control involving socio-economic implications. The paper will first discuss gender as a tool of analysis set forth by the feminist perspective as a theoretical base, addressing gendered assumptions and explore whether population issues are gendered. By understanding population issue through the lens of gender, we can examine whether gendered assumptions were the basis of state-centered population control policy in China, and if this policy impacted society. China is also an interesting case study because its population control policy has been controversial within the international community, particulary those interested in human rights and social justice.

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Gender

What is gender and how does it apply to population and reproductive issue? Gender is a social construct involving power relations based on societal preference and norms, which include both women and men. In other words gender differences are interwoven with systems of the power and societal hierarchy based on the dividing lines of age, class, ethnicity and race[1]. As De Barbieri states gender is the social construction that defines and gives meaning to sexuality and human reproduction. Gender is a system of power relations over certain capacities of the human body: sexuality and reproduction. Central to this system of power is the control men exercise over women s sexuality and reproductive lives and the power that men exert over women s capacity to work [2].

Gender is a useful tool of analysis, because it allows us to explore the assumption that reproduction and birth control are inherently women s responsibility, simply because women physically get pregnant and give birth. Jiggins writes, Population control policies target women as bearers of children as if they were solely responsible for their own fertility, yet in reality women, may have little say in fertility decisions [3]. This posses a dilemma for policy makers who wish to effectively control population (for what ever reason) because of the social justice components involved in such policies. Keeping in mind that both gender and population issues are socially constructed, one can begin to see the links between the two concepts and their relationship.

Population Control Policies: Population control can typically take two forms   measures to increase the population or measures to decrease the population. As noted by Montgomery[4] governments adopt antigrowth policies for several reasons: to conserve food and water, to maintain economies of scale in farm units, to improve the quality of services available to the community, and to maintain homogeneity. This implies environmental and economic reasons.

Correa describes six types of Trends in Population Policies: Fully established state   led policies which follows the Malthusian model, often implement draconian measures. In this type, governments are convinced that reducing population must be a component of development policies[5].

Semi-established policies include policies that have been in place for a long time, but have partially been implemented as a result of political controversies, cultural or women s resistance**.** Combined policies include situations in which state led policies are mildly involved and do not fully explain fertility decline, but promote and support both the family planning and market operations**.** Pronatal policies are those in which state sponsors measures to increase the population (found in many Eastern European Countries during the Cold War)**.** Double-Standard Policies specific groups are targeted for fertility control while others are left alone or provided with incentives for high fertility. The basic needs approach links fertility decline with the expansion of education, health services and better economic opportunities for women.

Social Justice: Some of the most talked about aspects to over population and population control are social, economic and environmental impacts. Traditional theorist such as Malthus, Hardin and Ehrlich focus on the impact of over

population on the environment and on economics. Social Justice is defined under the broad umbrella of human rights. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights human rights are comprised of social justice issues. Including economic issues (labor rights), political freedom (equal justice) and adequate health. Interwoven throughout human rights and social justice is gender (see below) figure-1.

Human Rights

Social Justice

Economic Aspects   Political Aspects   Health Aspects

Gender   Gender

Labor   Equity   Reproduction Health
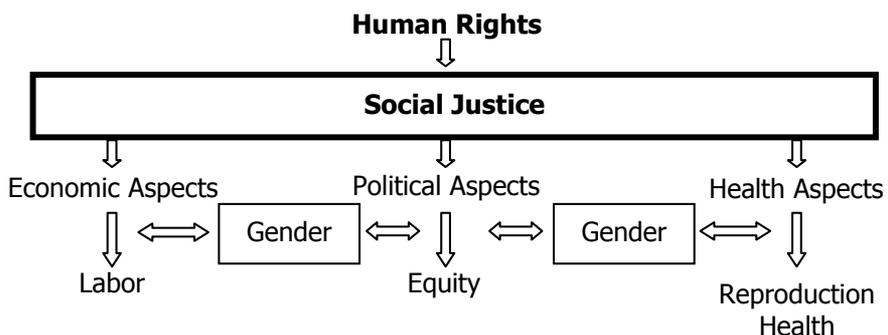
The environmental justice literature and the eco feminist literature provide us with a useful definition of social justice which includes environmental degradation, poverty, racism, sexism, classism, animal cruelty, etc. Social justice Gottlieb[6] asserts, is part of contemporary environmentalism which focuses on issues of empowerment and equity. In other words, in order for social justice to exist, empowerment and equity must also exist.   In fact, The Declaration on the Environment and Development suggests that the eradication of poverty (principle 5) and the inclusion of women, indigenous people and oppressed people (Principles 20, 22, 23) are crucial to the empowerment of society and the health of the environment.

This paper incorporates the notion of social justice as empowerment and equality among humans and nature and to evaluate whether population policies are gendered,

specifically the effects upon women and social justice (economics, politics and health).The interconnections between gender, population control policies and social justice can be found through crucial questions. How is population control policies gendered? Do gendered population control policies perpetuate social injustice? What can we learn about reproductive policies and state sponsored population control policies (e.g. .case of China). Are there connections between reproductive control and socialist ideology? These are not new questions or concepts, but have been discussed by many scholars in differing fields past 30 years. What is not so common in the incorporation of the state sponsored control measures of China into a discussion about women s choices, social justice and universal rights.

Feminist Theory and Population Control

Coined as the Decade of Women, the 1970s marked the beginning of a new era in the global women s movement. Feminist scholars and researchers brought internal women s issues (health, environment, equality, labor reproduction and population control) to the forefront of many international forums and conferences. For example, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forums of Discrimination Against Women defines gender discrimination as well as the right of reproduction choice[7].

[Men and Women shall have the] same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and the means to enable them to exercise these rights (CEDAW 1979 Article16).

Social Justice: Economics, Politics and Health

The UDHR asserts that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Article 1) and without distinction of any kind such as race, color sex, language religion .   (Article 2) (1945 UDHR) this paper focuses on three main components of human rights (recall figure 1) labor as an economic aspects of social justice, equity as political aspect of social justice and reproductive health as a health aspect of social justice.

Labor is an interesting and complex component of economic social justice because it crosses all ideological boundaries, including capitalism and socialism. In both scenarios laborers are an essential part of the economy in that they keep industry (or agriculture, etc.) running, which in terms keeps the economy running.

Gender plays an important role in labor because often, the division of labor is split between women and men e.g. in most cultures child care and house keeping jobs are viewed as feminine, whereas medical and mechanical jobs are viewed as masculine. This paper acknowledges the importance of gender and labor as two component of social justice and will be evaluated in the case study.

Equality, as a political component of social justice allows us to observe the power dynamics of policy making. The feminist literature in dedicated to deconstructing policy hierarchy through a discussion of gender equality. Terisita De Barbieri asserts that the leading voices and actors in policy making have been, for the most part, male and as a result, population policies aim to preserve the existing social order, with its hierarchies and divisions, De Barbieri argues that the design of population policies and planning programs have been and continue to be dominated by a

male perspective. Her assertion also suggests that power imbalance between male-policing makers and those affected by the policy (pre-dominantly women) clearly create a non-egalitarian political environment. Her assertion also suggest that gendered assumptions are the basis of scientific inquiring, and often times, scientific research and data are the backbone of public policies, particularly population control policies, e.g. she asserts that population control has been mostly implemented through birth control programs, which have concentrated on female methods of birth control as opposed to male methods of birth control[8].

In the book, Ecofeminism Mies and Shiva develop a formal critique of current population control policies, pointing to the many inequities of gender, class and race which have resulted in human rights violations. Essentially they argue that population policies and reproductive technologies are racist, sexist, imperialist and anti-poor which have resulted from the traditional Malthusian-type policy which seeks to decrease the global population at the expense of poor women. The female body s generative capacity has now been discovered as a new area of investment and profit making for scientists, medical engineers, and pharmaceutical companies. Thus technologies are based on exploitation and domination. The aim is total control of all women s reproductive capacity - in this, the women as a person with human dignity is ignored.

In fact, Correa found that because global contraceptive sales are so high ($2.6-2.9 billion a year), the pharmaceutical companies reap a great deal of eco power and are able to influence governments and their policies[10].

Political inequities and power imbalances involved in such technologies suggest a third component of Social justice health particularly reproductive health, e.g. the birth -

control short called Depo-Provera was tested on women in India for many years during the drug testing and development stages, which resulted in the sterilization of hundreds of women in India[11]. Cites many other examples of Depo-Provera guinea pigs including minority women in the USA Aboriginal women in Canada, poor women in Thailand, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Jamaica and many more[12].

Such health concerns, along with discrimination and coercion can also be found on many   Third World women, e.g. Norplant was administered to 1,000 women in Bangladesh, none of whom were told that they were participating in a list sponsored by the Bangladesh Fertility Research Program[13]. The testing of contraceptives on women throughout the globe suggests that social injustices are indeed occurring. In addition to coercion by population programs, discrimination and poor services, maternal mortality and unsafe abortion provided empirical evidence of persistent gender biases in program creation and implementation[14].

Thus, it is clear from the feminist literature that social justice issues of labor, equality and reproduction health are interwoven throughout the critiques of population control theories and policies. The literature clearly illustrates gender inequities and gendered assumptions about reproduction and contraception, these gendered assumptions are found in reproductive science

Role of Women and Population in Socialism

Theoretically, socialism focuses on eco and societal issues. Socialism outlines an economic system of production and consumption in which both are dependent upon and driven

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[‡] Once again see Bandarage 1997, Mies & Shiva 1993, Sen 1994.

by supply and demand, not profit (as in capitalism). As for the societal aspects of socialism, it focuses on creating an egalitarian society, particularly class and gender equality. Verdery[15] argues that the socialist state takes on a potential role which implicates gender by seeking to eradicate female/male differences to an unprecedented degree, casting onto the state certain tasks associates with household gender roles.

Montgomery[16] adds to this by assisting that government intervention is necessary to influence or control individual action in the interest of the common good; demographically driven population policies have assumed that individual welfare would be advanced by collective action to assist, persuade, or include individuals to increase or decrease their fertility to meet socially desirable goals. Although socialism and feminism, as complementary ideologies offered women recognition of their oppressed status and the promise of equality[17], the reality was that gender equality was never achieved. Using Socialist ideology as an excuse, the state supported gender equality in order to incorporate women in the work force[18]. Women s reproduction was merely another facet of labor. They were supposed to uphold all of the old patriarchal values (Women doing house work and child rearing) while simultaneously satisfying socialist labor values. The socio-economic realities of socialism encompass gendered labor inequalities stemming from the state s will to industrialize.

Finally, let us revert back to the original research question and ask Does socialism contribute to the discussion of whether gendered assumptions are imbedded in population policies? Interestingly the literature suggests that the power structure in socialism involves gender in three notable ways. First is the Marxist notion that women s emancipation can come only with socialism. As a result,

Marx places the responsibility of gender equality on socialism. Secondly socialism illustrates a gendered power structure that as part of the policy making dynamic, women s labor and reproduction are seen by the state as essential to industrialization adding an eco element. As women entered the work force, the socialist state argued that women would gain autonomy and empowerment. Thirdly, this socialist power structure involves a state and its society, theoretically based in egalitarian values undermined by industrialization and eco development, both of which seem to be at odds with each other.

The One   Child Policy of China

The People s Republic of China (PRC) was established as a Socialist state in 1949. The Socialist state believed that one of the major inhibitors to eco growth was the large (and growing) population. With this concern in mind China began to regulate fertility and established a state sponsored population control policy which called for negative population growth. This section looks at China s Socialist experience with population control, specifically the so called One Child Policy.

John Aird reports that the first public call for birth control was delivered at the National People Congress on September 18, 1954. The census indicated that population number had increased dramatically and the state believed that this could only have negative effects on the economy. By 1955 Mao warned that uncontrolled population growth would lead to the extinction of the Chinese people and that human race must control itself to achieve a planned increase[19]. Mao believed that a larger population would deplete China s agricultural and economic resources. In 1956 the Ministry of Public Health issued a directive requiring local health agencies to promote birth control

actively. Interestingly this refers to the Socialists ideology in that the state took on a paternal role because it knew what was best for its citizens. The state used this socialist principle to mandate and implement unpopular policies, causing a dilemma for the state.

The Second population control campaign (1966) urging families to limit procreation and later, the third campaign beginning in 1975 involved stricter enforcement of the pro birth policies[20]. The state urged families to have no more than 2 or 3 children. Although Birth Control was not mandating, couples were urged to utilize free family planning facilities, for the good of society   so as to prevent an economic disaster that would eventually lead to famine and the extinction of the Chinese. By the late 1970s, the population growth of China had dropped from almost 26 per thousand in 1970 to 12.6 in 1976[21]. Encouraged by these figures, the government recognized the implications of halting the population control effort and soon embarked on the one child policy (1979).

China s one child policy is one of the most talked about fertility control policies in the world, and one of the most controversial. The controversy stems from human rights concerns over alleged reports of coercion and corruption by local enforcers, and from praises by some environmentalists, who believe that China is doing a good job reducing population and thus reducing environmental harm.

The One Child Policy is different from the other attempt at reducing the population in that this policy placed heavy consequences on those who had more than one state approved Child. As a result 70% of 170 million women in China were using birth control, of these 25% had been sterilized, while only 10% of their male partners had been sterilized[22]. By 1990, women s contraceptive prevalence rate

was as high as 100% in some communities, among the users, 62% had IUDs, 27% were sterilized and 6% were married to sterilized men[23]. The following graph compares China contraceptive rates to global rates. Notice that China s female sterilization figures are similar to global numbers, yet drastically different with regard to IUD use. This is interesting because it indicates that China is indeed focusing on female fertility control measures at both the same rate as the rest of the world (sterilization) and above the global average (IUD).

It is clear from this data that the One Child Policy relieved heavily on promoting and providing female forms of contraception, while virtually ignoring male forms of contraception. This raises question about gendered perceptions and social justice. Although China is commended for allowing women access to safe abortion (Not only is abortion legal, but because of cultural norm no shame or guilt is attached to having an abortion (Davin 1987, 121) and keeping maternal mortality rates low. In fact, Joni Seager[24] reports that maternal mortality rates in China (1990) are similar to those found in many industrialized nations, specifically between 10 to 100 deaths per 100,000 live births. Although there is no quantitative evidence, qualitative research suggest that forced abortion usually take place in the country side where women tend to have more children than the cadres allowed, followed by forced sterilization[25].

Another aspect to this policy is the restriction on births that are mentally challenged. 1995Eugenics Law later renamed Maternal and Infant Health Care Law is to prevent new births of inferior quality, particularly in under developed or poor areas[26]. The above assertions raise many social justice concerns, particularly surrounding equity and reproduction freedom.

Incentives and Disincentives: Along with the strong practices regarding contraceptives which primarily focused on women, the official incentives and disincentives of the One Child Policy seem to affect both parents (except for maternity leave).For those who comply include a certificate entitling them to a monthly allowance, while the child grows up, extra paid maternity leave, lump sum and gifts. Priority in housing, health subsidy, extra work points, bonuses, old age subsidies for the parents and free medical care. Single children have privilege access to education, free health care, job preferences[27].

Some of the disincentives include a social payment or fine if an official office holder, the parent can be demoted, blocks on future promotion, and the wages of parents can be locked by 10 or 15% monthly until the child reaches a set age - usually between 10 and 16[28]. Some of the penalties for rural families include cuts in the amount of contract land and increase in the quotas to be supplied to the state, birth expenses must be the responsibility of the parents and maternity leave is unpaid, no priority in health care or education for the child, and charges will be levied for both[29].

This One Child Policy was enforced by the local cadres. Boland (1994, 98) reports: Despite official denials, coercion plays a large role in China s population control. Much of the coercion is psychological - implicit or explicit threats of force. Typically Party members, local officials, co-workers, and neighbors bring intense pressure to bear on individuals to enforce the One-Child Policy. Despite, the reported abuses surrounding enforcement of China s policies, many international population control organizations uphold China as a model for other countries. In a confidential letter to Dr. Nafis Sadik, from Walter Holzhausen, UNFPA Director in Bangladesh, wrote that most donor representatives in Bangladesh greatly admire the Chinese Success in

population control, brought about with massive direct and indirect compulsion , thus upholding China as a model for emulation[30]. The result of this polarization of opinion is that values regarding the environment, economy and human rights are placed into hierarchy, illustrating the trade off s of the policy. In other words, economic and environmental concerns are placed above human rights and social justice concerns, causing confusion on all sides of the debate.

The greatest obstacle to the general acceptance of the One Child Policy is son preference. Chinese culture s preference for a son, as a result there has been the re-emergence of the infanticide of girl babies and of high mortality rates for infant girls. A 1982 statistic shows that there are 108.5 males to 100 females in 1982[31]. In 1992 an estimated 1.7 million girls were aborted[32].

Reframing Chinese Population Control Policies through gender and Social Justice

Finally, as the research question asks, how does the One-Child Policy of China add to the discussion of whether gendered assumptions are embedded in population control policies and if there are verifiable impacts on social justice issues?

We must begin by looking at the role of gender, using De Barbieri s[33] definition of gender as a social construction that defines reproduction and the power relations involved, we can assess the linkages between gender, reproduction and socialist China.

The Chinese Communist Party believes that reproduction is the key element to economic prosperity and development. Too many people meant that the state committed to socialist welfare and redistribution would deplete its

economic and agricultural resources in order for the growing population to survive. And because much of the One Child Policy is centered around women s contraceptive methods, this suggests that the State equates population control with women s reproductive control (and assumes that fertility is the responsibility of women) as opposed to both men s and women s methods. As a result, gender becomes a primary component of the One Child Policy and the larger goal of eco development.

Gender is also a key component of Chinese nationalism and propaganda. Using gender equity (based in Marxist theory) as a theoretical base for the inclusion of women in the labor force, and that all must work for the good of society a nationalist (Paternal state) trend was evolving. As Aird states The (Chinese) Ministry recognized that birth control would not be popular, however, they asserted that birth control was not the private affair of individuals, but a matter of importance for the national welfare and therefore an affair of the state [34]. Thus it becomes clear that in China, gendered assumptions about population control are/were constructed through certain, economic political and health components of social justice in China, specifically eco development concerns, labor policies, state nationalism and reproductive control measures. As discussed earlier, the One Child Policy is seen as controversial because although it is accomplishing its goal of reducing population, it has been more criticized for its reported coercive methods (forced abortion, female infanticide and sterilization) resulting in social injustices, particularly regarding equality and health.

In Conclusion, China s One Child Policy contributes much to the discussion of whether gender is embedded in population control policies and any resulting social injustices. China s One-Child Policy suggests that eco

development modernization, labor policies and nationalism produce a gendered population control policy which aims at negative population growth. Once again, women s contraceptive methods, not men s, are the primary focus of the state implemented plan. Women, not men, are often required to undergo abortion, sterilization, and IUD insertions. It is primarily women who endure the wrath and scrutiny of societal and states pressure to have One Child. And finally, it is China s female fetus, because of their gender, are more likely to be aborted, due to cultural son preference. These examples suggest that gendered assumptions (about development labor, and nationalism) are embedded in China s One-Child Policy, thus causing great stress for the Chinese policy-makers and the rest of the global community.

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JAPAN KOREAN PENINSULA: HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES

Dr Lutfullah Mangi[§]

Abstract

This research article deals with non-traditional security issues, also known as human security, in general and towards the Korean Peninsula and Japan, in particular. It is not possible that security be viewed in military terms alone. World faces the challenge of tackling non-military threats such as, growing food and water scarcity, environmental degradation, growing population, HIV, AID, Malaria etc. These issues have to be tackled through a cooperative approach. Japan is one of the leading advocates of the concept of human security in the world. Japan provides official development assistance to developing countries for human security   related issues. On the Korean Peninsula, North Korea faces a number of human security issues, such as food and energy scarcity, violation of human rights, environmental degradation etc. on the other hand, South Korea is facing different types of human security   related issues such as rural   urban migration and drug trafficking. In addition to non-traditional security issues traditional security still remains the main concern on the Peninsula.

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Introduction

At this pivotal juncture in history, a sea change is occurring in international affairs moving, though slowly, from the traditional focus on national security towards a concern with human safety and development and economic matters. In the opinion of the Ambassador Ogata Sadako the former Co-Chair UN Commission on Human Security, the real security is more than keeping strong military forces. It has to be based on overall human security to ensure the livelihood of individual .[1]

The traditional approach to security studies is focused on protecting states from external threats. Whereas the non-traditional or human security concerns directly threaten significant number of people, especially in the developing world. The human security concerns also known as new security challenges , which were over-shadowed by the Cold War competition between the United States and the former Soviet Union, have emerged on the political agenda of the world in the post Cold War era.

The UN *Human Development Report 1994* defines the components of human security as environmental scarcity and degradation, the spread of diseases, ethnic and sectarian conflict, over population, refugee movements, water and food scarcity, drug trafficking, human trafficking and organized crime. In addition, the emergence of non-state actors with ideologies of extremism is also posing a biggest threat to human security, especially after September 11, 2001.

This paper will focus on human security   related issues in three East Asian countries namely: Japan, North-Korea and South-Korea. Though Japan is not facing human security related concerns, it is very much involved in human security   related issues in the developing world. Japan has declared the 21st century a   human centered   century.

The end of the Cold War has not brought peace and tranquility on the Korean Peninsula. It still remains tense and militarized, as it used to be during the Cold War period. North Korea is a garrison state ruled by National Defence Commission headed by Kim Jong IL. Most of the non-traditional security challenges faced by North Koreans such as, food and energy scarcity, violation of basic human rights, growing   population,   unemployment,   migration, environmental degradation etc stem largely from the failure of North Korea state to guarantee the welfare of her citizens.

In addition to traditional military   related concerns, South Korea faces a host of human security   related issues such as fast growing population, urban migration, food, energy and environmental scarcities.

Definition

We are still witnessing the emergence of the concept of security. In the opinion of Ann M. Florini and P.J. Simmons, the most fundamental disagreement in the re-defining security literature is over whose security should be the object of the security policy: that of the state or that of the individual .[2]

Even defining the concept of human security there is little agreement on where to draw a line. Alessandro Politi writes that the   issues that involve the use or threat of violence (civil conflict, transnational terrorism and organized crime)

can be accommodated in an expanded definition of security. Politi is of the opinion that issues such as, environmental degradation; population growth and migration are not necessarily being considered as security issues.[3]

The UN *Human Development Report 1994* proposes a profound transition in thinking from nuclear security to human security, or from the narrow concept of national security to the all encompassing concept of human security .[4]

In the opinion of Professor Akiku Fukushima, non-traditional security threats or risk are those which are not militarily *perse*, such as energy and human rights, may ultimately lead to armed conflicts.[5]

The UN Commission on Human Security, launched in June 2001, defines human security, to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment . The Commission further elaborates that human security complements state security in four respects: first, its concern is individual and community rather than the state. Second, menaces include / more than / threats to state security. Third, the range of actors is expanded beyond the state alone. Finally, achieving human security includes   empowering people.

The First writers on the subject human security who made the conceptual threats and security were Laster Brown in his 1977 world watch paper entitled Redefining National Security which talked about the environmental threats to the planet and to human wellbeing. Richard Ullman s article Redefining Security 1983, Norman Myres article entitled Environment and Security 1989 and Jessica Methew s article Redefining Security 1989. Probably, Jessica Methew s paper was the best paper written on the subject

re-defining security at the time of the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

In the post-Cold War period the attitudes towards the meaning of security are changing rapidly in the world. The UN Human Development Report 1994 and the establishment of the UN Commission on Human Security in June 2001 are the best examples of changing attitudes towards the concept and meaning of security.

Human Security Concerns and Japan

Today, Japan is one of the leading advocates of the concept of human security and it attaches great respect to human security in the world. Japan introduced a new concept of comprehensive security in the 1970s, which included military and non-military threats ranging from military attack, economic wellbeing, pollution, national disaster, crime and terrorism. In this context security was broadly defined as the protection of life and core values of people .[6] In today s Japan four groups are taking positions regarding Japanese security policy: the pro-alliance Realists, the pro-alliance Liberals, the independence   oriented nationalists, and believer in global or human security.[7] The main advocates of human security school or the peace research school in Japan are, Professor Kuniko Inoguchi, Professor Sakamoto Yoshikazu, Professor Asai Motofumi and Ambassador Ogata Sadako.

The human security dimension became one of the important foreign policy goals of successive Japanese governments since the end of the 1990s. In his speech in Hanoi in December 1998, the Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi declared human security as an important element of his country s foreign policy. He also announced the establishment of Human Security Fund in the United

Nations. Since its establishment Japan has contributed more than 100 million U.S. dollars in the Fund for human security.

Almost all the successive governments since Obuchi were of the opinion that human security in all its dimensions requires a political order. Therefore, the spread of democracy and justice in the society and economic wellbeing are necessary for building human security within and between national borders and globally. Human Security , says Professor Isezaki Kenji is a matter in which human life and death hangs in the balance .[8]

On June 24, 1999, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, and the United Nations University, Tokyo, jointly organized an international symposium on the theme of human security. In his keynote address, the state secretary of Foreign Affairs, Keizo Takemi noted that, In order to explore the concept of human security as a policy idea, which Japan is conveying to the international community as one of the essential principles for the conduct of Japanese foreign policy in the twenty first century. [9]

In addition, the Japanese government and many Japanese people believe that in developing countries with a limited budget, greater military expenditure often leads to less investment in the economic infrastructure, thus further restricting improvements in living standards, creating social instability, and potentially triggering internecine conflict.[10] It is in this context that Japan s Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) and cooperation policies are very much linked with human security dimension. The ODA Charter of 1992 says that all the recipient countries of ODA are bound to curtail military expenditure and to help arms control and arms reduction. The Charter underlines that the basic philosophy of economic cooperation, which is based on

(i) humanitarian consideration (ii) recognition of interdependence among nations of international community (iii) environmental conservation and (iv) support of self help efforts of recipient countries. Recipient countries cannot use Japanese ODA money for military purposes at all. The basic philosophy of ODA Charter 1992 was to provide assistance to the basic human needs sector and humanitarian aid in the developing countries to overcome human security related issues.

Under the new ODA Charter of 2003, the Japanese government renewed its commitment to making the best use of ODA to address the human security related issues such as poverty, famine, refugee displacement, natural disasters the environment, infectious diseases, gender, democracy, human rights, ethnic and religious conflict and terrorism.[11]

Japan is number one provider of ODA in the world. The nature of Japanese ODA is to promote social sector, economic infrastructure, agricultural development and environmental conservation in the developing world. Japan s aid and assistance to developing countries is not politically oriented or for strategic purposes. On the other hand, for example, US extends one third of its total bilateral aid to Israel, France extends 80 percent of its ODA to former colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the United Kingdom directs over 60 percent of its bilateral ODA to British Commonwealth countries.[12]

Today, according to some estimates, 1.3 billion people continue to live in extreme poverty; 1.1 billion people do not have access to safe and clean water; more than 800 million people are suffering the effects of malnutrition and starvation, some 12 million children under the age of five continue to die every year from preventable diseases.

Human kind is also being threatened by emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases such as AIDs, Malaria, and Tuberculosis etc. The environmental, energy, water and food scarcities are causing social conflicts in the developing world. According to the UN Population Fund, the world population is projected to grow from about six billion to more than 8 billion by 2025, and as much as 9.8 billion in 2050. About one half of the entire human population has no access to even the most basic medicines.

For the maintenance of world peace and stability through economic and assistance, Japan provided 500 billion Yen to developing world in the year 2002. Approximately, 30% of the total Japanese ODA to developing countries goes to environmental projects. Japan s 1992 ODA charter indicate the development and the environment are two sides of the same coin . The population growth, increased consumption of resources, and greater pollution has all contributed to environmental damage. In many developing countries environmental problems are jeopardizing the foundations of development.

Environment

Japan is engaged in international cooperation in five environmental fields: measures against air and water pollution as a result of the process of economic growth, global warming which threaten the very existence of mankind, water issues, conserving the natural environmental degrading as a result of population growth and poverty, and to promote environmental education.[13] In this regard, Japan has established a forest and Environment Division which is responsible to dispatch engineers, researchers and other experts and inviting counterpart, personnel from developing countries to Japan to participate in training programs. In 2003, 13 technical cooperation

projects were implemented in Asia and Oceania, 5 in Central and South America and two in Africa, for the purpose of planting forests, developing basic technologies, for breeding native plants, improving soil quality, and developing technologies for creating farm forests in semi arid areas.[14]

In June 2001 Japan s government overhauled decades old Forestry Basic Law to better emphasize the country s concern for global environmental protection. In January 2001, a new Forest and Environment Division was established which is responsible to dispatch engineers, researchers and other experts and inviting counterpart personnel from developing countries to Japan to participate in training programmes.

Other areas where Japan is providing aid and assistance in the field of human security to the developing world are: population and food, human rights and democracy and Antipas and laundries.

Population and Food

In many developing countries population growth is directly linked to the problems of poverty, unemployment, and starvation, lack of education and deterioration of the environment. On the other hand, a slowdown in the growth of food production has been noted.[15] Within twenty years the world population would increase from 6 billion to more than 8 billion. Most of this population increase is taking place in developing countries, where, a lack of adequate food is already among the various types of social and economic problems these countries face.[16]

The Japanese government announced its Global Issues Initiative on Population and AIDS in February 1994 to provide effective assistance to developing countries. The total amount of ODA which Japan provided to developing countries in the first five years (1994-99) under this programmes was $ U.S. 3 billion.[17]

As for food issues, the Japanese government has been cooperating with developing countries in providing grant aid in the form of food, assistance for increasing food production, and technical assistance for the development of farming communities.[18]

Human Rights and Democracy

For the promotion of human rights in the developing world Japan has adopted a two-pronged strategy: to provide support to the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and other UN organizations; and regular exchanges concerning human rights through bilateral dialogues with ODA recipient countries in the developing world. Japan has long promoted cooperation for the strengthening of democracy in developing countries under the basic policy of Partnership for Democratic Development (PDD).[19]

The ODA Charter of 1992 states that in providing assistance to developing countries attention to be paid to the degree to which human rights are supported and protected .

Landmines

The third area where Japan is providing aid and assistance is landmine. An estimated 85 million to 110 million uncleared landmines are thought to remain in soil of 60 countries. Each month some 2500 civilian are killed, wounded and maimed by landmines and many more are driven from homes and agricultural fields. The United Nations calculates that it will take 1100 years and 33 billion dollars to clear landmines currently in the ground.

Japan has been taking positive action on the anti-personnel landmine issue. In March 1997 Japan hosted Tokyo Conference on Anti-personal Landmines. In the Tokyo Conference members drafted the Tokyo Guidelines, establishing zero victims as the ultimate goal of international effort in regard to anti-personal landmines issue. Between 1999 and 2001 Japan provided 10 billion Yen in the field of mine clearance and of helping landmine victims. Between 1990 2000 Japan had extended $ U.S 30.59 million through UN Voluntary Trust Fund for Assistance in Mine Clearance and other agencies as an assistance for demining.[20]

Japan is the leading advocate of human security related issues in the world. The issue of human security is a key aspect in implementing Japanese aid to developing countries as it is also the key perspective in developing Japan s foreign policy.

Korean Peninsula

On the Korean Peninsula divided political structure of the Cold War era remains and tensions continue unresolved. The situation has become more complex after North Korea s nuclear test in October 2006. The East Asian security

agenda in the early 21st century does not differ the security agenda of the Cold War era. North Korea is a garrison state ruled by the National Defence Commission headed by Kim Jongil. Most of the non-traditional security challenged such as food and energy scarcity violation of basis human right, growing population, unemployment, and migration are the result of an authoritarian regime in Pyongyang.

Most of the non-traditional security challenges stem largely from the failure of North Korean state to guarantee the basic welfare of her citizens. The North Korean domestic problems can have regional repercussions. The international community is increasingly concerned about the human security concerns in North Korea.

At the end of the Second World War, the Japanese in Korea surrendered, but the occupying forces at the ceasefire the USSR North of 38th parallel, and the USA South of it resulted in a lasting division of the country as North and South Korea.

North Korea was declared a People s Republic in 1948 under the leadership of the Worker s Party with Kim Il Sung as President. In the following year the remaining Soviet forces withdrew from North Korea. Kim Il Sung died in 1994 and was replaced by his son Kim Jong Il as President and head of the National Defence Commission of North Korea. Despite its serious economic hardships since the mid 1990s North Korea has beefed up its military spending. North Korea s Military First Policy is a threat to human security not only for North Korea, but for the Peninsula and beyond. Instead of the collapse of the North, South Korea and Japan seeks the gradual transformation of the North Korean system. North Korea suffered severe economic shocks due to the collapse of communism in USSR in 1991 followed by a famine in the mid 1990s. Pyongyang had formally issued an emergency appeal for international humanitarian food aid in

1995.

According to the joint report of Seoul Forum and New York Council on Foreign Relations, the human security concerns will remain there until North Korean regime make some structural economic changes, allow adequate monitoring, and address other humanitarian concerns.

Food shortages continue to persist in North Korea. In addition to South Korea, Japan and other countries and international agencies, such as World Food Programme, NGOs, Red Cross and individual governmental organizations have been providing assistance to North Korea since the famine of the mid 1990s. In response to North Korea s formal requests UN agencies such as, United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA) FAO, UNICEF, UNDP were able to collect $ US 1.2 billion from the second half of 1995 through 2002.[21] It has been estimated that anywhere between 200,000 and 3 million people died of starvation during North Korea s great famine of 1995 1999.[22] As has been mentioned earlier North Korea has been suffering from severe food shortage, following Table gives clear picture of supply and demand of food in North Korea.

Table 1

North Korea s Food Supply and Demand

(Unit: 10,000 tons)

Year	Demand	Supply
1992	650	443
1993	658	427
1994	667	388
1995	672	413
1996	673	345
1997	670	369
1998	639	349
1999	650	389
2000	606	422
2001	613	359
2002	626	359
2003	632	413
2004	639	425

Source: *Understanding North Korea, 2004*, Institute of Political Education for Unification, Ministry of Unification, South Korea, p. 151, quoted in Woo Scongji, North Korea s Food Crisis Korea Focus, Vol 12, No. 3, May - June, 2004, p.67.

Above figures show that North Korea still cannot cope with food demand. The South Korean Ministry of Unification has published in early 2004 a shocking picture of daily food rations in North Korea.

Table 2

Daily Food Rations

Category	Daily Food Rations	
1	900g	Workers with jobs requiring much physical exertion
2	800g	Miners, heavy machinery operators
3	700g	Regular works
4	600g	University students and hospital patients
5	500g	Middle school students
6.	400g	Primary school students
7	300g	Elderly pensioners and house wives
8	200g	Children 2-4 years old and Prisoners
9	100g	Infants less than one year

Source: *Understanding North Korea, 2004*, Institute of Political
          Education for Unification, Ministry of Unification, South
          Korea, p. 279, quoted in Woo Seongji, North Korea s
          Food Crisis *Korea Focus*, Vol 12, No. 3, May   June,
          2004, p. 70

In the opinion of South Korean Professor of Food and
Nutrition, Chang Namsoo, this amount of food ration is far
below what Korean received under Japanese colonial rule
(1910-1945) when the overall food supply was extremely
poor. At that time per capita grain consumption was 419
grams per person per day.[23]

As a result of food shortages, infectious diseases such as
tuberculosis are rapidly spreading in North Korea. Due to
the lack of basic services people are being increasingly
exposed to serious health risks. In addition, people are

fleeing to China and South Korea because of acute food shortages there. According to one estimate, the number of North Korean defectors in China is between 100,000 and 300,000.

The international community is increasingly concerned about the human rights situation in North Korea. The main sources of information on North Korea s human rights situation are: the UN Commission on Human Rights, Human Rights Watch Asia, and Minnesota Association of Lawyers for Human Rights and Emnesty International. These human rights organizations publish regular reports about the North Korean human rights record. They indicate that human rights abuses in North Korea have become institutionalized as an inevitable outcome of the country s political and social structure. [24] The North Koreans current poverty and misery are the result of the authoritarian nature of regime.

It is noteworthy that by threatening mass destruction Pyonyang succeeded in extorting benefits from the rest of the world, especially from Japan, South Korea and China in its efforts to prop-up its regime.

Despite its serious economic hardship, North Korea has beefed up its military, especially since the mid 1990s. The regime is abusing its own people and threatens South Korea. It is difficult to predict the future of North Korea. Its quick collapse especially after its nuclear test would not be in favour of South Korea, Japan and China, and would destabilize the whole region. Instead of the collapse of the North, these countries seek the gradual transformation of the North Korean system.

South Korea

The Cold War legacy continues to linger on the Korean Peninsula. The traditional military concerns are at the top other security concerns can in no way overshadow or replace it. The military expenditure in East Asia increased by approximately 5 percent in real terms in 2002. Following is the military expenditure of North and South Korea between 1995 and 2005:

North Korea	Billion Won	South Korea	Billion Won
1995	n.a	1995	11.074
1996	n.a	1996	12.243
1997	n.a	1997	13.102
1998	2.9	1998	13.594
1999	2.9	1999	13.337
2000	3.0	2000	14.477
2001	3.1	2001	15.388
2002	3.2	2002	16.364
2003	3.62	2003	17.04
2004	3.93	2004	18.09
2005	4.19	2005	20.08

Source: SIPRI Yearbook: *Armaments Disarmament and International Security, 2003* Oxford University Press, London, p.342, and International Institute for strategic studies, *the Military Balance 2005-2006*, Routledge, London, 2005 and 2006.

In the post-Cold War period South Korea has been trying to reduce tensions in the peninsula through economic aid and assistance to and trade with North Korea. South Korea

remains committed in providing food, medical supplies, fruit, and electric power, and equipment, fertilizer to North Korea as a humanitarian and mutual aid. The outside world is divided on the issue of providing aid and assistance to North Korea. Most of the observers are of the opinion that aid and assistance to North Korea is increasing the security dangers rather than peace and stability in the Peninsula. Their main argument is that the outside aid and assistance is further strengthening and stabilizing the repressive North Korean regime, therefore aid and assistance should not be provided to North Korean government.

In the opinion of Professor Moon Chung-in, for South Korea, however, the enduring military threat from North Korea manifested by the tense confrontation along the demilitarized zone (DMZ) still remains the primary existential security problem. Other security concerns [non-traditional] can in no way overshadow or replace it .[25]

The major non-traditional security issues that concern South Korean government officials and scholars are food and energy securities. South Korea used to be an agrarian society. By the 1990s, the agriculture sector accounted for less than 10 percent of GDP, a decline that has generated considerable public debate. [26]

Another problem South Korea is facing is population dynamics and migration from rural to urban areas. About 25 million people, more than half of the Korea s total population resides in greater Seoul metropolitan area, causing urban congestion and deteriorating quality of life. Given the military situation in the Peninsula the large concentration of population in Seoul also causes concern for military reasons as well.[27]

Like other developed and developing countries in the world, South Korea also faces the problem of drug trafficking such as, Hong Kong Triads, Japanese *Yakuza*, and the Russian mafia, [28] connections with their South Korean partners.

Conclusion

Despite the fundamental disagreements regarding the definition of security in the post Cold War era, the non-traditional security concerns or human security issues can be accommodated in an expended definition of security. We will have to find the ways in solving the problems of individuals and distancing ourselves from the traditional idea of nation .

It has been noted in this paper that world population is growing rapidly, especially in the developing countries, and there is slow-down in the growth of food production. The water scarcity, abnormal weather conditions and growing menace of international terrorism have also been noted. In order to tackle these issues, there is a need of multilateral approach of cooperative framework rather than zero-sum game. Japan is the best example in providing assistance to basic human needs in the world. The other developed countries should follow the Japanese approach in this regard. Their aid and assistance should be for basic human needs rather than for the political and strategic considerations.

Japan is vulnerable to energy security. It does not have any significant sources of energy. The peace and stability in the developing world is very much linked with the economic security of Japan. Therefore, in order to achieve world peace and stability through economic aid and assistance, Japan would continue to provide humanitarian aid and assistance to developing countries, at least for the foreseeable future.

On the Korean Peninsula, military security still remains the top security concern. The U.S. military presence in South Korea and Japan is stabilizing force in the region. Even China is recognizing the importance of the presence of U.S. troops in the region. In some quarters in China, the U.S. military presence in the region in being considered as a deterrent to Japan s militarization.

The North Koreans are facing severe problems because of the repressive regime there. Their miseries have also been compounded by U.S economic sanctions. After North Korea conducted its nuclear test in October 2006, the United Nations Security Council has imposed comprehensive sanctions against North Korea. The sanctions would further aggravate human suffering there. Instead of punishing the North Koreans, the nuclear issue should be resolved through six-party negotiations.

In sum human security requires a democratic order in the world. Today more than 140 countries have established multiparty electoral system of government. The spread of democracy is a hallmark of human progress and a necessary pillar for building human security in the world.

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PAKISTAN   BRUNEI DARUSSALAM: ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS

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Abstract

The research article entitled   Pakistan Brunei Darussalam to Boost Economic and Trade Relations   is written with the purpose to examine the position of Pakistan   Brunei Darussalam economic and trade relations. Pakistan and Brunei Darussalam have little two-way trade despite good trade relations and there is a need to take measures to enhance it and is a high time for joint business ventures as the business community in Brunei Darussalam is highly impressed with Pakistan s growth rate. The exchange of trade delegations between the two countries would help boost the volume of bilateral trade. Both the countries were members of the Organization of Islamic Conference. There is a lot of scope for Brunei to make investment in Pakistan. Brunei can make direct investment in Pakistani infrastructures, banking, insurance, oil & gas, IT, textile, automobiles, construction and hotel industries, etc and can also enter into joint ventures with Pakistani counter parts.

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1. Introduction of Brunei Darussalam

Barunah!' exclaimed early settlers who reached the Brunei River. From the 14th to the 16th centuries Brunei Darussalam was the seat of a powerful sultanate extending over Sabah, Sarawak and the lower Philippines. The current Sultan represents one of the oldest continuously ruling dynasties in the world. The 1959 Agreement established a written constitution which gave Brunei Darussalam internal self-government. In 1971, the agreement was amended and revised to assert full internal independence except defence and external affairs. In 1967 His Highness Sultan Haji Sir Muda Omar Ali Saifuddien abdicated in favor of his son Pengiran Muda Mahkota Hassanal Bolkiah[1].

On January 1, 1984 Brunei Darussalam resumed full independence and the Sultan took office as Prime Minister, Finance Minister and Home Affairs Minister, presiding over a cabinet of six. In October 1986, the cabinet was expanded to 11 members, and Primary Resources designed to boost the country's development.[2]

Brunei Darussalam is alienated into four districts namely Brunei/Muara, Tutong, Belait and Temburong. Bandar Seri Begawan is the capital of Brunei Darussalam with an area of about 16 sq. Brunei Darussalam is located on the north-west of the island of Borneo, between east longitudes 114 degrees 04' and 11 degrees 23' and north latitudes of 4 degrees 00' and 5 degrees 05'. It has a total area of 5,765-sq. km. with a coastline of about 161-km along the South China Sea. It is bounded on the North by the South China Sea and on all the other sides by Malaysian State of Sarawak.[3]

In fact the land surface is developed on bedrock of tertiary age comprising of sandstone, shale and clays. The terrain in the western part of Brunei Darussalam is predominantly

hilly lowland below 91 meters, but rising in the hinterland to about 300 meters. The eastern part of the state consists predominantly of rugged mountain terrain, rising 1,850 meters above sea level at Bukit Pagon. The coast has a wide, tidal and swampy plain. Brunei Darussalam has an equatorial climate characterized by a uniform high temperature, high humidity and heavy rainfall. Temperatures range from 23 - 32 Degree Celsius, while rainfall varies from 2,500 mm annually on the coast to 7,500 mm in the interior. There is no distinct wet season. The population of Brunei Darussalam in 2004 is estimated at 357,800 persons, the said total, 186,200 are males and 171,600 females. The population distribution by district shows that Brunei/Muara District still has the largest share with a total 247,200 persons while Belait and Tutong Districts have 59,600 persons and 41,600 persons respectively. Temburong District has the smallest population of 9,400 persons.[4]

2. Trade Relations between Pakistan and Brunei

Pakistan - Brunei Darussalam have little two-way trade despite good trade relations and there is a need to take measures to enhance it. Pakistani entrepreneurs can initiate joint ventures with their counterparts in Brunei Darussalam in various sectors. It is a high time for joint business ventures as the business community in Brunei Darussalam is highly impressed with Pakistan s growth rate. The exchange of trade delegations between the two countries would help boost the volume of bilateral trade[5] The Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) President Mian Shafqat Ali praised the Brunei Darussalam backing to Pakistan s efforts to become a full-dialogue member of ASEAN. According to him both the countries were members of the organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and shared common perceptions on world issues and had a firm

commitment to the preservation of peace and security.[6]

The visit of Pakistan s prime minister to Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand and Singapore was part of Pakistan s look east policy launched in October 2003. It was meant to strengthen relations in multiple fields and for developing institutional linkages with these East Asian countries. And there is a lot of scope for Brunei to make investment in Pakistan. Brunei can make direct investment in Pakistani infrastructures, banking, insurance, oil & gas, IT, textile, automobiles, construction and hotel industries, etc and can also enter into joint ventures with Pakistani counterparts. It is time to invest in Pakistan due to its growing performance, improving indicators and investment friendly pro-active policies of the government. There is no limit on foreign equity and foreigners can transfer capital, profits and dividends to their country. No permission is required to establish any industry in Pakistan by foreign investors.[7]

The setting up of a joint-investment company with Brunei was also a positive inclusion with a paid capital of US$ 50 million that will explore possibilities in the industrial, manufacturing and non-manufacturing sectors, services, and marketing. As trade is exceedingly low level between Pakistan and Brunei (i.e., hardly US$ 5 million), the setting of this joint-investment company will make a dent on trade between the two countries.[8]

Both the countries need to follow it up so that the opportunity available is not swept by the tides of quick flowing time. A total of $ 60,000 has been donated to the Pakistani Earthquake Humanitarian Fund. The donation came from staff of Brunei Shell Petroleum (BSP), Brunei LNG, Brunei Shell Tanker (BST) and Brunei Shell Marketing (BSM), together with an additional   contribution made by BSP. The cheque was presented by the Managing Director of BSP,

Doctor Grahaeme Henderson to the Acting High Commissioner of Pakistan to Brunei Darussalam, Mr. Sayed Abrar Hussien. It is hoped that the contribution will alleviate the sufferings of the victims. This contribution shows the continuing generosity of BSP, BLNG, BST and BSM staff to help others who is in need. The donation was held last night in Jerudong. The following table-1 and Figure-1 shows the trade balance of Pakistan with Brunei.[9]

Table 1: Pakistan and Brunei Trade Balance

(USA $ Million)

Year	Export	Import	Balance of Trade	Total Exports of Pakistan	% Share in Total Export	Total Imports of Pakistan	%Share in Total Imports
1997-98	0.324	0.409	-0.09	8627.663	0.00	10118.021	0.00
1998-99	1.404	0.170	+1.23	7779.285	0.02	9431.656	0.00
1999-00	1.847	0.121	+1.73	8568.599	0.02	10309.425	0.00
2000-01	1.260	0.300	+0.96	9201.595	0.01	10728.918	0.00
2001-02	0.935	0.910	+0.03	9202.218	0.01	10342.865	0.01
Total	**5.77**	**1.91**	**3.86**	**43379.36**	**0.06**	**50930.89**	**0.01**

Source: Government of Brunei (2003) Chamber Secretariat, National Chamber of Commerce and Industry Bandar Seri Begawan. pp.7-9

Pakistan Brunei Trade Relations
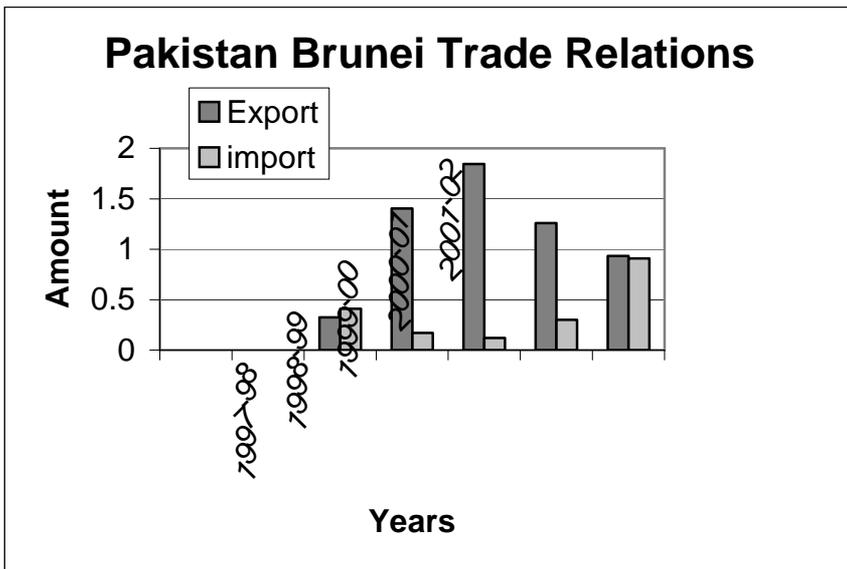
It is clear from the above table-1 and figure 1 that exports to Brunei were more as compared to import from Brunei to Pakistan in the year 1997-98 Pakistan exports remained less as compared to import from Brunei. The balance of trade of Pakistan remained deficit just about 0.09 million US$. In the year 1998-99 the balance of trade increased 1.23 million US$ again balance of trade increased 1.73 million US$ in the year 2000-01. Similarly the balance of trade went up by 0.96 US $million and in the year 2000-02 the balance of trade increased by 0.96 million US $. In the year 2001-02 the balance of trade increased by 0.910 million US $ million.

Thus it is concluded that the trade of Pakistan with Brunei is very small because its share in total exports occurs just about 0.02, 0.02, 0.01 and 0.01 from 1998-99 to 2001-2002. So in future government should think to export there commodities which are here in access and in Brunei in scarcity. Pakistan mainly exports the following commodities to Brunei Darussalam. The following table-2: shows the Pakistan s major exports to Brunei till to 2002.[10]

Table -2: Pakistan Major Exporter
(Million UA$)

S.No	Pakistan Major Exporter	1999-2000 Million US$	2000-02 Million US$
1.	Articles of apparel/ cloth access	68.000	38.480
2.	Textile Yarn and Fabric	1085.580	627.340
3.	Rice	94.310	38.780
4.	Cotton	000.00	432.560
5.	Metal Manufactures	000.00	5.6260
6.	Manufactures	000.00	56.260

Source: Government of Brunei (2003) Chamber Secretariat, National Chamber of Commerce and Industry Bandar Seri Begawan.pp.17-19

Table-3: Pakistan Major Imports
(Million US$)

S.No	Pakistan Major Imports	1999-2000 Million US$	2000-02 Million US$
1.	Sp. Machinery for particular industry	2.590	0.000
2.	Non Ferro metals	0.000	213.850
3.	Tea	49.790	25.210
4.	Transport vehicles	8.570	22.670
5.	Telecommunications equipment	11.240	0.750

Source: Government of Brunei (2003) Chamber Secretariat, National Chamber of Commerce and Industry Bandar Seri Begawan, 14-17

It is clear that Pakistan mainly export textile yarn & fabric, articles of apparel/cloth accessories, sports goods, fish, footwear, cotton, rice, metals manufactures and others to Brunei.

Items of import from Brunei are namely paper, paper board and articles, inorganic chemicals jute raw excl, cutting and waste, non-Ferro metals, tea, transport vehicles,

telecommunication equipments, special machinery for particular industries.   [IMF, Direction of Trade Statistics, Data for 2004 includes figures for the first three quarters.][11]

3. Pakistan and Brunei to Enhance Bilateral Trade

Pakistan-Brunei Darussalam set up a Joint Study Group (JSG) comprising experts from both sides to identify ways and means of enhancing bilateral trade including certain role. Pakistan suggested that study group could also look into the possibility of a Free Trade Agreement and Comprehensive Economic Partnership between the two countries. JSG will submit its report within 6 months of its establishment. The Second Pakistan - Brunei Darussalam Joint Commission Meeting (JCM) was held in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam on March 16-17. Pakistani delegation was headed by Secretary Economic Affairs Division Khalid Saeed whereas the Brunei Darussalam delegation was led by Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Brunei Darussalam Pengiran Dato Paduka Osman Patra.[12]

Pakistan and Brunei considered various possibilities of cooperation to promote Brunei Premium *Halal* Brand which include exporting livestock and meat into Brunei, joint venture companies in corporate farming and establishment/certification of abattoirs in Pakistan. Both sides initialed the Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation between the two countries and Agreement on Brunei-Pakistan Joint Investment Company was also signed during the Joint Commission Meeting.

Pakistan and Brunei agreed to consider enhancing of cooperation in labor and manpower sector and Pakistan offered the services of its highly professional, skilled and semi-skilled personnel who could contribute to the

development projects and operations in Brunei, similar to the arrangement that Pakistan has with Malaysia. Brunei promised to consider the proposal. It was agreed that both sides would follow up with the relevant agencies on Pakistan s request that the fellowship and membership of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Karachi be recognized in Brunei Darussalam. Both sides also agreed to look into the possibility of concluding a visa waiver Arrangement for diplomatic and official passport holders. Brunei Darussalam would also consider expediting the visa approvals for businessmen from Pakistan traveling to Brunei.[13]

4. Pakistan, Brunei to Co-operate in Various Sectors

Pakistan and Brunei Darussalam have agreed to set up a Joint Commission to promote cooperation in the fields of defense, education, technical cooperation and human resource development. In March 1996, Pakistan and Brunei agreed to set up the Joint Commission under the terms of agreement signed and to convene the first meeting of the commission later in same year. Both countries agreed that the Islamic solidarity based on mutual respect and commonality of interests would benefit all the Muslim states and also assure them of a positive and dynamic role for promotion of international peace and progress. They reiterated their determination to act in concert to promote the consensus amongst the *Ummah* and to strengthen their deliberative flora, including the OIC.[14]

The two sides agreed that the establishment of peace and security of South Asia required non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes. The prime minister apprised Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah of the recent steps taken by Pakistan aimed at defusing tension in South Asia. Both sides expressed deep concern over the plight of the Kosovar

people and stressed that the UN Security Council must play an effective role in finding a political solution of the crisis and the deployment of an international peace keeping force which guaranteed the return of the refugees to Afghanistan at their homes in safety and honor and ensured respect of the basic rights of the Kosovar people.[15]

The Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Shoukat Azia extended an invitation to Sultan of Brunei to visit Pakistan. The Sultan of Brunei and Prime Minister of Pakistan reaffirmed the enduring kindness of the traditional friendship which existed between the governments and peoples of Brunei Darussalam and the Pakistan and which was characterized by lofty levels of mutual sympathetic and respect between the leaders of the two brotherly countries.[16]

Conclusions

It is concluded from the above study that:

1) Pakistan-Brunei wants two-way trade despite good trade relations and there is a need to take measures to enhance it. Pakistani entrepreneurs can initiate joint ventures with their counterparts in Brunei Darussalam in various sectors.

2) It is a right time for joint business ventures as the business community in Brunei the exchange of trade between the two countries would help boosts the volume of bilateral trade which still not sufficient. .

3) Brunei can make direct investment in Pakistani infrastructures, banking, insurance, oil & gas, IT, textile, automobiles, construction and hotel industries, etc and can also enter into joint ventures with Pakistani counterparts.

4) Both sides expressed their views that there was a need to increase bilateral trade for which all efforts would be made to facilitate exchange of business delegations and a greater exchange of goods and services.

5) Pak-Brunei signed a bilateral avoidance of double taxation agreement and expressed the hope that this would facilitate cross-border transactions and investment opportunities in various sectors.

6) Pakistan-Brunei encouraged the energy and petroleum authorities to explore the possibilities of energy cooperation, such as investment in refinery and human resource exchange program in oil and gas industry of Pakistan and   to promote Brunei Premium *Halal* Brand which include exporting livestock and meat into Brunei.

7) Pakistan and Brunei agreed to consider enhancing cooperation on labor and manpower. The Pakistan side offered the services of its highly professional, skilled and semi-skilled personnel to Brunei.

8) The trade of Pakistan with Brunei is very small, because Pakistan mainly export primacy products but not value added products so in future government should think to export there commodities which are here in access and in Brunei in scarcity. It is also suggested that the government should export value added products to Brunei and improve her trade in future.

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A SOCIO-POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF 1988 SEOUL OLYMPIC GAMES

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Abstract

Seoul Olympics of 1988 has been regarded among the most successful events in modem Olympic history in terms of increased number of participants and political transformation in South Korea. This paper deals with both as an event and as a long-term effort contributed to political, economic and cultural change. Politically, it was central tool for successful diplomacy and an important factor in liberalization of the internal policies; economically coincided with the rise of the nation's electronics and telecommunication industry; and culturally, played a leading role in opening new perspectives on the outside world particularly for young generation of Koreans. The paramount goal at that time was to update and improve its national image; it was largely associated with political agenda expecting numerous socio- political consequences and could be used as a project to mobilize entire nation. The political leadership adopted the policy of confidence building measure well before the commencement of Seoul games, resulting in almost universal participation, and successfully conducted some events also in North Korea, and regarded as one of the great diplomatic achievements of this peninsula towards peace and fraternity.

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Introduction

The study of the relationship between sports and politics has a long history, traceable in the western world to the ruminations of early philosophers about the ancient Olympics. Exploring all the dimensions of its relationship is a very large topic, the breadth of which is suggested by John Hobennan, that sport is a latently political issue in many of the societies world over, as deep-rooted traditions that exist in the society, which inhere in a sport culture are potentially ideological in a political sense. This latent political content becomes more evident when one considers some major polarities that bear on sport and the political world such as amateurism versus professionalism, individualism versus collectivism, male supremacy versus feminism, nationalism versus internationalism. All of these thematic conflicts belong to the world of sports, and all are of ideological significance in a larger sense.[1]

Considering the socio-political influence on sports, certain themes of great relevance can be summarized in relation to the three structural levels inherent in both the Olympic movement and the global system: national, international, and transnational. These levels correspond to three basic forces at work in the world and within the Olympic movement. This formulation draws most on Espy's,[2] works that provides an organizational framework for further discussion.

Sport and Nation

The political nature of the modem Olympics intrinsically derives, partly, from their structure, which is built around the nation-state. The Olympic Games are structured in terms of nation-states as the participant athlete is a representative of a nation-state, and the national Olympic

committees are organized in the national boundaries. The international sports federations are composed of national federations that are organized within nation-state boundaries and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is regarded as the umbrel1a organization for the other sport organizations within the context of the Olympic Games and other approved Olympic events; and IOC members themselves are considered as ambassadors of the nation they represent. Within this context the nation-state is the primary actor in the games, even though acting on behalf of the sport organizations.[3]

The consequence of this structure, the opponent of nationalism has partly plagued the modem Olympics since its inception in 1896. In addition to the formal structures, the design of Olympic ceremonies highlights nationalistic symbolism. In the opening ceremony, athletes enter nation by nation, the head of state of the Olympic host is accorded special honor, and the national anthem of the host country is played. In each medal ceremony, the winners' names and countries are announced, the national flags of the three medalists are raised, and the national anthem of the winner's country is played.

The ceremonial practices or formal structures prescribed by the International Olympic Committee are not the only factors responsible for problems caused by nationalism in the games, but the media and the participating nations themselves also play an important role in this context. Weeks and months before the Olympic Games begin; it is common for the narrative in mainstream news media around the world to stress the question of which country will "win" the Games or where particular nations will place. In nations both large and small, winning athletes are frequently treated as national heroes.[4]

The present limited research, to some extent, offers a valuable opportunity to explore the nature of Korean nationalism and how it may have been affected by the massive international interaction occasioned by the Seoul Olympics; as Korea possessed a distinctive and relatively homogenous language and culture, the history of which stretches back approximately 5,000 years.6 In keeping with this heritage; the Korean people share a unique notion of nationhood, as embodied in the words *Uri Nara,* which literally means 'our nation'.[5]

The pursuit of national pride and national prestige through Olympic success has become a hallmark of the modem games as it has, largely become a domestic phenomenon, experienced within a nation by its citizens. This derive often takes the form overall improvement in a nation's sports program, with the goal of better performance in international competitions. The number of Olympic medals won is frequently construed as an important indicator of the strength of a nation. During the cold war years, attainment of national prestige through sporting success was a common objective of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.[6] In modern times, major actors on the international scene attach increased importance to sport and especially to the Olympic games, as participation grows and television provides maximum coverage to large number of spectators and the participant nations involved in competitions; as great importance is attributed to the Olympics by governments, athletes, and spectators alike, as prestige is inherent in the event.[7]

South Korea undertook a massive effort during the 1980s to improve its sports programs, leading to an impressive total of 12 Olympic gold medals in Seoul and placing Korea fourth among competing nations, behind the USSR, East Germany, and the United States. Korea's overall total of 33 Olympic

medals placed it sixth among all competitors.

The national pride, as experienced by citizens relates to one of the reasons why sport is the concern of the government, policymaking and social order that impinge on one another. It is largely believed, that sport creates politically useful social resources in the process of character building as an agent of socialization,[8] Although political scientists, so far, have not paid comparatively much attention to its important role in political socialization.[9]

The liberal pluralist theories of culture, the state, and civil society view sport as a set of voluntary social and cultural practices that provide effective releases from the tensions of everyday existence. Sport is consensual and is not seen as a formal part of the state system. The scholars of Physical Education believe that sport can be used to divert the energies of the masses away from problems of the political and social system of the developing or developed nations, and can be an effective tool for raising political consciousness.[10] From the moment Seoul was awarded the Olympics, the Korean government embarked on a systematic and well-funded program to broaden and strengthen the athletic prowess of the nation. The goal of this effort extended far beyond the training of athletes and teams for Olympic competition that led to a rapid expansion of the televised sports programs within Korea.

The national elites and political actors have long recognized the usefulness of association with winners, as projected and seen in the ritual ceremonies where Presidents and Prime Ministers or Head of the governments invite to congratulate the winning players and teams. In the same manner numerous national leaders have also used sport as an instrument of foreign policy and diplomacy, as in the case of the U.S. and Soviet-led boycotts of the 1980 and 1984

Olympics or the "pingpong diplomacy" pursued by China with the United States in the early 1970s. The succession of South Korean presidents, from President Park Chung Hee through Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, sought to associate themselves with the idea 0.£ a successful Olympics as a national project. In so doing, they were simultaneously pursuing national reunification and waging a propaganda battle with the North, on the one hand, and seeking increased legitimacy for their own military based governments, on the other. The powers of their presidential incumbency offered many advantages, but also attempted to benefit from association with the Olympics. The opposition politicians and such other factions as the church, students and labor also sought to adopt appropriate Olympic meanings in the political struggle-taking place in Korea in the course of rapid economic and social changes taking place in organizing the Olympic Games.

Sport and the Moral Order

The moral basis of sport pertains to each of the foregoing structural levels of the Olympics and the international system, as well as to the forces of nationalism, internationalism, and transnational that was at work within and among them. The questions of morality and sport are easily profound and pervasive as those of morality and politics. In Hobennan's analysis of sport, politics, and the moral order,[11] the core doctrine of the Olympic movement is unprincipled, to some extent, that strives for necessary global participation, even at the expense of elementary moral standards, and described the world of sports and politics coexist since centuries, and that each may on some occasions impinge upon the other in a destructive manner. The most notable example was the global silence that ignored the Tlatelo1co massacre, in which hundreds of university students were killed just days before the 1968

Mexico City Olympics. As Hobennan put it, the world leaders whose national teams have confirmed their participation, were reluctant to condemn that bloody tragedy occurred before the commencement of the Olympic Games. Many of them observed it with political dimension and also tested it with Olympic spectacle; consequently, the 'world conscience' became quiescent."[12]

On September 17, 1988, more than one billion people worldwide watched the Olympic Opening Ceremony, telecast from Seoul. This was the largest television audience in history. Other aspects of this mega-event include the $407 million sale of television rights to the Olympics, with NBC making up the largest single part of this record setting total. Global television and the politics of the Seoul Olympics provided an inside look at what went on during the 16 days of competition, and the several years leading up to this mega-event.

The scholars have paid much attention to Asia in recent decades involving efforts that brought remarkable economic dynamism. Another subject of growing interest was contemporary politics in the region; and during these years the relationship between politics and economics had evolved differently around the region. In some nations, such as Taiwan or South Korea, rapid economic growth was accompanied by political liberalization; in the Philippines, the move toward political openness preceded the economic take off, and Singapore, experienced economic dynamism while continuing authoritarian political leadership that rejects some fundamental beliefs of liberal democracy.

The Seoul Olympics-both as an event and as a long term national effort-contributed to political, economic, and cultural change in South Korea. Politically, it was a central tool of South Korea's successful northern policy and a factor

in liberalization at home. Economically, it coincided with the rise of the nation's electronics and telecommunications industry to the position of leading exporter of this region. Culturally, it was pivotal in opening up new perspectives on the outside world, particularly for younger generations of Koreans.

The impact of staging the 1988 Olympic Games at Seoul brought considerable change in the attitudes of the Korean people. As the cold war waned, a third transformation took place within South Korea during the 1980s. The nation moved from the heavy-handed military dictatorships of the cold war era toward a more liberal, democratic system of government. The Fifth Republic under President Chun Doo Hwan was the last of these dictatorships, and it became widely known among Koreans as the "Sports Republic" because of both the Olympics and the introduction of professional sports in Korea.

Conclusion

The Seoul Olympics was a political project with numerous sociopolitical consequences. The top-down Korean leaders understood that the Olympics would have tremendous influence and impact on economic growth and publicity value in their international propaganda battle with North Korea; and will magnify the eventual scope in terms of socio- political development of the people.

The eyes of the world focused through television and other media on South Korea's capital-Seoul, hosting Twenty-fourth Olympiad; and got massive worldwide attention centered on the Korean peninsula and received a special position in the realm of politics, relating to the fabrics of nationalism, internationalism, and trans-nationalism. The 1988 Summer Olympics not only brought political stability in this

peninsula but also coincided with rapid economic growth and transformation into an industrialized nation.

The efforts by South Korea and representatives of the Olympic movement made it possible in co-hosting of several events of the 1988 Games in North Korea; it was an important part of Olympic history, as in the wake of the Seoul Olympics, Hungary, several other Eastern European nations and eventually Peoples Republic of China, former Soviet Union established official diplomatic relations with South Korea.

The Seoul Olympics were conducted with a prime objective of fostering Korean reunification; policy makers used the games as an effective tool for nation-building process, it was successful effort that brought tremendous economic growth, political stability and progressive social change among South-North Koreans. This was a remarkable achievement.

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SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANISATION (SCO)

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Abstract

A qualitative change has been observed in the world power structure after the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. In consequence of these changes a paradigm shift has been witnessed in the foreign policy determinants of the nation states including China. Believing in *Panchsheel*—the five principles of peaceful coexistence—as the guiding principle of the foreign policy behaviour, China has not only refused to accept U.S. dominated world order and began striving for the emergence of polycentric world order. In order to achieve these objectives, the Chinese policy-makers initiated the process of confidence building with its neighbouring countries particularly the Central Asian states and Russia by resolving border disputes. These confidence building measures created conducive atmosphere for the creation of regional cooperation to check American and Western influence in the region. The emergence of Shanghai Co-operation Organisation is the manifestation of such moves. This organisation is not only meant to boost cooperation between the member countries in fields of politics, trade-economics, culture, education, energy**,** transportation, ecology, science and technology but also destined to fight against separatism and extremism, and ensure security and stability in the region.

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Dismemberment of the Soviet Union and subsequently the emergence of the United States of America (U. S. A.) as the sole-superpower of the world, synthesized a qualitative change in the world power structure. The bipolar power structure of the Cold War era transformed into the unipolar World Order with overt intentions of the U.S. policy-makers to perpetuate unipolar power equation for the purpose to maintain U.S. supremacy on the global affairs. However, Chinese leadership seems reluctant to accept U.S. dominated world ordered. Contrary, they began to strive for the polycentric world order based on the equality of the sovereign states. In 1997, the Chinese President Jiang Zemin, addressing the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, had strongly opposed any designs of hegemonism in international affairs. He maintained:

> We oppose hegemonism .We do not impose our social system and ideology upon others, nor will we allow other countries to force theirs upon us. We shall work to bring about a just and rational new international political and economic order. This order should be based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence[1], conform to the purpose and principles of the United Nations Charter and reflect the trend of the times to seek peace and development.[2]

In order to check U. S. hegemonism in the world in general and in the Central Asian region in particular, the Chinese leadership has embarked on the strategy of removing distrust among the neighbouring countries by resolving disputes and forging multilateral cooperation at regional levels. China s engagements in the Central Asian region and its active participation in forming and working of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (S.C.O.) is the manifestation of China s above mentioned intentions.

The purpose of this article is to analyse the causes of the establishment of the S.C.O., examine its objectives, understand its organisational structure and evaluate its performance with particular reference to China s perceptions.

Evolution of Shanghai Cooperation Organization

China and the former Soviet Union were at odds during the Cold War era but changed realities of the end of the Cold War drove them to renounce the policies of containment and embark on the strategies of engagement. During the last many decades the Chinese authorities had made territorial claims to the former Soviet Union, on the areas of present Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.[3] Despite such claims, China avoided indulging itself into any conflict, instead it followed the path of conflict resolution through mutual understanding . In 1989, in order to create conducive atmosphere for trust and security in the region, China and the former Soviet Union engaged in the process of confidence building. The process began with initiating dialogue between the two countries to resolve their border dispute. Subsequently, both countries demarcated their eastern and western borders and the border agreements were signed between the two countries on May 16, 1991 and September 3, 1991 respectively.[4]

Later on, these bilateral talks, initiated by the then Soviet Union and China, transformed into pentagonal mechanism of confidence building and conflict resolution. In April 1996, five states of the region : Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyz Republic–signed a multilateral agreement in the Chinese city of Shanghai, called Shanghai Five mechanism. Following the successful suit of the Sino-Russian border agreement, the Shanghai Five mechanism also set for the resolution of the border disputes between the Central Asian states and China. The main objective of

such efforts was to create favourable atmosphere in the region to create a tension free relationship among the member countries,[5] for the purpose to generate better conditions for the broad based regional cooperation.

Initially the border negotiations were held in four plus one framework Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, plus China in 1991, which were followed by bilateral negotiations. In 1994, China resolved its border dispute with Kazakhstan[6] and in 1999; the former signed a border agreement with Kyrgyzstan.[7] The Shanghai Five group countries successfully resolved their border disputes and created a 7400 k. m. belt of peace and stability in the Central Asia. [8]

This group of the five nations, which established their contacts for the short term task of evolving a mechanism to resolve the border dispute, later on, extended their cooperation for the long term objectives of strategic partnership, fighting against drug trafficking and terrorism , uphold current border and to clamp down on separatist groups operating in their territories , and forge joint venture against political separatism especially linked to Islam. [9]

China took concrete steps to build confidence in the military field between the Central Asian states and Russia. In this regard an agreement of Mutual Reduction in Armed Forces in the border areas was signed in Shanghai and Moscow by the head of states of Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Russian Federation and Tajikistan in 1996 and 1997 respectively.[10] They also forged co-operation in the fields of trade and economics. In 1998, 1999 and 2000 three summits were held in Almatey, Bishkek and Dushanbe respectively where appropriate documents were signed in which contracting parties agreed to co-operate in the fields of

transport and communication. They also agreed to simplify the procedures of import and export with in the five countries.[11]

In 2000, Uzbekistan sought the status of an observer in the Shanghai Five mechanism and on June 15, 2001, it became a full-fledge member of the organisation when the heads of the six states[12] agreed to transit the Shanghai Five mechanism into a higher level of strategic co-operation. The member countries were of the view that

> Dynamic development of the process of the political multipolarity, economic and informal globalization in the 21st century the transition of the Shanghai Five mechanism to a higher level of cooperation will contribute to more effective joint use of the possibilities that are opening up and meeting new challenges and threats.[13]

Evaluating the five year performance of the Shanghai Five all the heads of states appreciated the role played by the forum to

> Meet the needs of humanity and the historical trends toward peace and development in the condition that took shape after the end of the Cold War, revealed the vast potential of good neighborliness, unity and cooperation through mutual respect and mutual confidence between states belonging to different civilizations and different cultural traditions.[14]

In the light of applaudable performance of the Shanghai Five mechanism, six heads of states agreed to sign a protocol of transforming the Shanghai Five mechanism into a strategic and economic co-operation of Shanghai Co-operation Organisation (S. C. O.). By virtue of the S. C. O.

declaration the contracting parties agreed to embark on the mutual tasks of:

- Strengthening mutual confidence, friendship and good neighbourly relations between the participating states;

- Encouraging effective cooperation between them in the political, trade-economics, science-technical, cultural, educational, energy transportation, ecological and other areas;

- (Forging joint) efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security and stability in the region, to build a new democratic, just and rational political and economic order. [15]

Notwithstanding the co-operation in the field of security, the member countries of S. C. O also agreed to use

> Vast potential and broad possibilities of mutual beneficial cooperation between the participating states in the trade and economic field, exert effort to promote cooperation and diversify its forms between the participating states on the bilateral and mutual basis. To this end a negotiating process will be started with in the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization on issue of creating favorable conditions for trade and investments, a long-term Program of Mutual Trade-Economic Cooperation will be developed and corresponding documents will be signed.[16]

In order to promote trade and economic cooperation among the S. C. O. member countries the Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabo, addressing the S. C. O. Prime Ministers meeting

in 20033, proposed to set up a free trade zone between the member countries to boost economic cooperation among the member countries.[17]

Organisational Structure of S. C. O.

In order to achieve the geostrategic and geoeconomic goals of the organisation the member states resolved to establish the following three uppermost decision making bodies:

  1. The Council of Head of States
  2. The Council of Head of Governments
  3. The Council of Ministers

The member countries agreed to hold annual official meetings of the heads of state(s) and regular meetings of heads of government(s). [18] For the strong backup method, it was decided that under the auspicious of the Council of Ministers, the Foreign and Defence Ministers of the member countries would also meet annually while the Cultural Ministers would meet in the second half of the year.[19]

For decision making mechanism, the member countries agreed to adopt the *modus operandi* of general consensus among the member countries, except the issue of the suspension of the membership of any member country. In connection with the expulsion of any member state from the organisation it was agreed to make decision by consensus minus one vote of the member state concerned .[20]

In order to facilitate the working of the organisation and to implement the decisions of these high profiled councils the following secretarial and subordinating bodies have also been established.

S. C. O. Secretariat

The heads of states of S. C. O. in their Moscow meeting, held in May 2003, decided to establish S. C. O. secretariat in Beijing.[21] The Secretariat was set responsible for the provision of organisation, technical and information assistance to activities supported within the framework of SCO   [22] Furthermore, this body was assigned the tasks of :

- Collecting information from the member countries for the purpose to frame the initial agendas of the S. C. O. meetings and submit them to State Coordinator s Council

- Organizing dialogue among the member countries on the proposed draft documents for review and approval

- Contributing in the process of drafting and implementation of the draft resolutions of S. C. O.

- Providing protocol assistance and arrangements for S. C. O. activities and the General Secretary s activities

- Looking into the budgetary and funding matters of the Secretariat and S. C. O.

- Establishing liaison and communication with other international organisations and states

Council of National Coordinators

This body was formed for the purpose to coordinate and look after the routine activities of the organisation. The

prime task assigned to this body was to make arrangements for the meetings of the Head of States, Head of Governments and Foreign Ministers. It is mandatory for this body to hold at least three meetings in a year.

Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS)

In the first S. C. O summit the then Chinese President Jiang Zemin forwarded a proposal of establishing antiterrorist centre and suggested the member countries to solve their problems through friendly consultation.[23] According to the article 8 of the Declaration of Shanghai Co-operation Organisation, the member states emphasise the need of struggling for regional security; combating terrorism, separatism and extremism. In order to materialise these objectives the member states agreed to establish a regional anti-terrorist structure of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization located in the city of Bishkek– the capital city of Kyrgyzstan.[24]

The establishment of the anti-terrorist structure by the S. C. O. was the strategic triumph of the Chinese policymakers for the reason that by entering into such arrangements China has achieved its strategic goal of isolating the splitist elements in the Xingjian Autonomous Region by wining over the support of C. A. Rs. and Russian Federation against them.

RATS is the permanent body of S. C. O. based in Tashkent (Uzbekistan). This body was assigned the task of establishing working relations with the administrative body of S. C. O. member states and strengthen coordinate with the international and regional organisations like U. N. Security Council and its anti-terrorist committee, for the purpose to meet the challenges of terrorism, separatism and extremism in the region. In order to curb three

evils   terrorism, separatism and extremism, RATS was designated to:

- Analyse data gathered from the member states on the issues related three evils

- Create data bank of terrorist structure, presenting considerations on building up cooperation by the organisation against three evils

- Hold conferences with the objective to share experiences on the issues related to anti-terrorism, anti-separatism and anti-extremism struggles

China s Pursuits

China has multifaceted interests in the Central Asia region. For China, this region has tremendous geoeconomic and geostategic significance because this region has emerged as one of the potential economic centres of the world in the post-Cold War era. The C. A. Rs have a sizeable consumer market of about 55 million people. This area is enriched with the huge reserves of fossil fuel. These reserves are estimated at 23 billion tons of oil and 3000 billion cubic meters of natural gas.[25] Due to tremendous strategic and economic significance, the region has emerged as the hub of diplomatic activities. After the independence of the C. A. Rs. the Central Asia has emerged as an important region not only for Chinese but also for the Western countries and U.S. because of its richness in Uranium resources.[26] Every peripheral state has embarked upon the task of influencing C. A. Rs. in order to protect their national interests and get strategic and economic benefits. As a result, major world

powers as well as some regional powers are currently engaged in a New Great Game for gaining and enhancing their influence in the region. In this regard, each player is endeavouring to out play the other. [27] After 9/11, blatant attempts have been made on the part of the Western powers under American auspices to topple some the Central Asian governments in the name of colour revolution for the obvious reason to change balance of power in their favour.[28] The tug of war between the external powers coupled with intra-state ethnic conflicts and territorial disputes, the Central Asian region has been exposed to serious quarrels. Consequently, Chinese leadership has been keenly observing diplomatic activities in the Central Asian states. According to the former Chinese Premier Li Peng, China has keen interest in stability and security of the region.[29] China has strong reasons to be vigilant about the diplomatic activities in the region because it shares border with the Central Asian States- Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan. It seems understandable that any political activism across the border would ultimately influence the Chinese population of Xinjiang because bulk of the population on either side of the borders shares a common origin.[30] The Chinese Muslims, called Uighur, belong to same Turkic origin as the majority of the Central Asian people do.[31]

These factors have compelled China to engage herself in the Central Asian affairs. Consequently, China embarked upon a dual task of improving bilateral relations with the Central Asian states and become their partner in regional security arrangements. In this regard, China has framed a special policy towards the Central Asian states based on the four principles. In April 1994, the Chinese Premier Li Peng visited Central Asian states during his visit he forwarded the following four principals:

- Maintain good-neighbourly relations and peaceful co-existence;

- Promote mutually beneficial cooperation and prosperity;

- Respect the free choice of the people of every nation and principle of non-interference in each other s internal affairs;

- Respect mutual territorial integrity and sovereignty and maintaining the stability of this region.[32]

In order to promote bilateral relations, China has been trying to resolve its border disputes with the C. A. Rs., which they had inherited from the Czar era. During the Soviet era, in 1963, China registered its territorial claims against the former U. S. S. R. on the basis that Russia, during the Czar times, occupied substantial Chinese area through unequal treaty of Chugu-Chak or Tarbagatai Treaty signed between Xinjiang ruler Yakub Beg and Russia in 1867. Later on, in 1871, Russians occupied Chinese territories of Kuldji, and upper valley of the Ili River.[33]

In the changed circumstances of the post-Cold War era Chinese leadership instead of adopting a policy of hot pursuits regarding the territorial claims, followed course of mutually agreed resolution of the disputes. Besides putting efforts in resolving the border dispute, a significant development has been observed in bilateral relations of China and the Central Asian States in the fields of economics and trade, science and technology, culture and education. In this regard several bilateral and multilateral agreements have been signed between the Central Asian States and China.[34]

> With each Central Asian country China has signed agreements providing for bilateral cooperation in the fields of economy and trade, credit and investment. The trade is developing so fast that China has already become one of their top trading partners. Take Kyrgyzstan for example. The total foreign trade of Kyrgyzstan, the share of their bilateral trade jumped from 1-2 per cent in 1992 to 28 percent in 1996. China now ranks among its leading partners, second only to Russia.[35]

These positive developments at bilateral levels became the source of confidence-building between the regional actors but also became the driving force for regional actors, particularly the Central Asian States, China and Russia, to enter into regional arrangements like S.C.O. and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building-measures in Asia (C.I.C.A.)

Analysing the above developments at regional and bilateral levels, one can safely conclude that the prime objective of China s foreign policy, after the end of the Cold War, was to avoid confrontation and promote peace and tranquillity in the region because, in Chinese perception, in turbulent atmosphere they would be unable to achieve their geostrategic and geoeconomic goals. Chinese leadership considers that conflict-prone region could provide pretext to the U.S.A and Western countries to interfere in the region and materialise their hegemonic designs. In order to check the Western and American designs, China had embarked on the policy of confidence-building by resolving bilateral conflicts and pave the way for multilateral co-operation. These moves worked as catalysts to generated conducive atmosphere for the formation of regional equation among the Central Asian States, Russia, China and other potential partners like Pakistan, India and Iran. For obvious reasons,

the regional strategic co-operation like S.C.O., would not only work as a check on the fulfilment of the Western and American designs in the region and maintain balance of power in China s favour. Furthermore, China s policy moves in the Central Asian region are also intended to uphold its national integrity by checking ethno-religious influences in its Xingjian Autonomous Region. The emergence of the Central Asian states as the independent states and the rising wave political Islam has became a source of inspiration for the separatist elements in the Xingjian region of China.

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For details see Declaration on the Creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization , *op. cit.*

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] See Article-9 of the Declaration of Creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization , *op. cit.*

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2) To set certain large projects on economic and technological co-operation and give priority to those in transportation, energy, telecommunication, agriculture, home appliances, light industry and textile.

3) To set long-term objective for regional economic co-operation and gradually set up a free trade zone with in the SCO. For details see People s Daily online, September 15, 2003. Retrieved September 15, 2005. <http//:english.peoplesdaily.com.cn.>

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PAKISTAN   MALAYSIA ECONOMIC RELATIONS

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Abstract

The economic and trade relations between Pakistan and Malaysia have always been sound but the balance of trade has remained in favor of Malaysia due to value added products. Pakistan is one of the leading buyers of some of the Malaysian products. Pakistan s major exports to Malaysia are non-value added products. Malaysian side has also shown keen interest for investment in the field of oil exploration in Pakistan. Both the countries have agreed to start negotiations that could lead to free trade agreement. Total trade between both the countries in 2003 was $713 million. Out of which $623 million went to Malaysia and remaining $90 million came to Pakistan. Pakistan and Malaysia trade relations need to be improved so that Pakistan may improve its economic conditions and learn from the experience of Malaysia. We need to understand the nature of trade relations with Malaysia and explain possibilities to find new ways to improve our relations.

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Introduction

Pakistan and Malaysia are contrasting cases with regard to the impact of economic growth and both the countries have emerged as independent states after World War II, with somewhat similar economic structure but quite dissimilar in institutions and social conditions. The economic similarities are reflected in their dependence on natural resources, including agriculture and minerals, and in their income and employment levels and exports[1]. The dissimilarities however are more significant in terms of the level of income per-capita, in addition, unlike Pakistan, Malaysia was ethnically more diverse, and ethnically played a major role in distribution of wealth and income. However, the economic and social conditions of the majority of Malay (Bumiputera) population were quite similar to the Muslim population in Pakistan[2].

The main objectives of this paper are to analyze why Malaysian economy is stronger as compared to Pakistan and why Pakistan does not export to Malaysia value-added commodities when in Malaysia there is a huge scope of Pakistan made commodities. How the Pakistan   Malaysia relations can be made stronger in future and Malaysian Government wants to give boost for foreign direct investment in Pakistan and Malaysian companies are actively involved in the Oil and Gas exploration projects etc. In this regard data were collected through secondary and tertiary sources for this research article.

This research article is written with a purpose to analyze the present position of Pakistan   Malaysia economic and trade relations and to suggest ways to improve the balance of trade of Pakistan which comes every year in deficit. This paper starts with the introduction and the organization of the paper is as follows: Section 2 contains analysis of

Pakistan Malaysia economic growth and structural transformation, Section 3 compares the changes in standard of living in Pakistan Malaysia role of private sector and its competitiveness. In Section 4, Pakistan Malaysia trade balance has been discussed. Finally Section 5 draws conclusions and suggestions.

Pakistan   Malaysia Economic Growth and Structural Transformation

From the very beginning, Malaysia enjoyed far more favorable conditions than did Pakistan in several respects. Malaysia had significantly higher income per head far higher rates of adult s literacy and school enrollment of male and female children, far lower infant endowment of natural resources in relation to the population.

Malaysia s real GDP grew annually at an average of 6.6% compared with 5.3% in Pakistan during 1955-2000[3]. However, Pakistan s economic growth rate was significantly higher in the 1960 s and modestly higher in the 1980 s. It should be added that Malaysia s growth rate was higher than 6.0% per year throughout the period except in the second half of the 1950 s and 1990s and the first half of the 1980 s given the lower level of average income in Pakistan in the 1950 s and private consumption accounted for 82% of GDP as against 63% in Malaysia, the ratio fell to 73% in Pakistan and to 49% in Malaysia by the end of 1990s [4]. It should be noted that the ratio of private investment to GDP was similar in the two countries in the 1950 s but in Malaysia private investment rose to nearly 20% in the 1990 s, and stayed unchanged at 9% in Pakistan. Similarly, the share of public investment in GDP doubled from 7% in Malaysia but fell slightly in Pakistan from 8 to 9% during the same period. The Malaysian government estimates that real per capita GDP grew impressively at an average annual rate of 5.7%

between 1985 and 1995. The recovery was led by foreign demand for Malaysia s exports, with next exports accounting for more than three quarters of this growth[5].

Change in Standard of Living of Pakistan Malaysia

The standard of living reflected by a number of economic and social indicators, shows that the quality of life in Malaysia has improved far more impressively than that of Pakistan. In 1999 Malaysia occupied 56th position and Pakistan 127th from a list of 162 countries [6]. The values of Human Development Repot Index (HDI) for Malaysia and Pakistan were 0.330 and 0.183 in 1960 and 0.832 and 0.445 in 1995, respectively. The gap in per capita income between Malaysia and Pakistan increased from about 5:1 in 1960 ($ 975 versus $ 181) to 9:1 ($ 4,600 versus $515) in 2000. Similarly differences are seen in the changes in income per capita measured in purchasing power parity dollars; the gap was 2:1 in 1955, 3:1 ($ 1,278 versus $ 421) in 1975, and rose to 4.5:1 ($8,209 versus $ 1,834) in 2000. In addition to these differences it is important to examine the changes in other indicators of the quality of life[7].

The population grew more rapidly in Pakistan from 36 to 150 million than that of Malaysia from 6 to 24 million, increasing the gap between their populations from 5:1 in 1947 to 7:1 in 2004[8]. However, in both countries the gap between them slowed particularly since the late 1980 s. In 1960 the total fertility rate was 7.0 in Malaysia and 7.5 in Pakistan, but fell to 3 in the former and 5.3 in the latter by 2000. In 1960, the crude birth and death rate was higher in Pakistan than that of Malaysia, but the difference between two countries had increased significantly by 2004. Since the fall in the both rates was far larger in Malaysia than in Pakistan, it should be noted that Malaysia is far more urbanized than Pakistan (56% of the population of Malaysia and 37% of the population

of Pakistan lived in urban areas) although about one quarter their population lived in urban areas in 1960[9].

Pakistan Malaysia Trade Balance

Pakistan and Malaysia enjoy a long-standing and time-tested bond of friendship, which has grown over the years. The excellent relations with Malaysia cover cooperation in various fields such as trade, investment, education, tourism and technical cooperation programs. Bilateral cooperative endeavors could be further developed and deepened in new areas for the mutual benefit of both countries as grow from strength to strength. [10]

The bilateral economic relations between Pakistan and Malaysia have always been sound but the balance of trade has remained in favor of Malaysia due to export of palm oil, rubber, wood, machinery, chemicals, electronic appliances and timber. Pakistan is one of the leading buyers of aforementioned products. Pakistan s major exports Malaysia are cotton yarn, readymade garments, rice, leather, fruits and vegetables, textile products, surgical instruments, sea food, textile yawn and tobacco etc. Pakistan is fourth-largest importer of palm oil from Malaysia[11]. Total bilateral trade in 2000-01 was $713 million, $623 million going to Malaysia and remaining $90 million came to Pakistan. Just 87% share of trade goes to Malaysia and 13% share came in Pakistan[12]. The following table-1 and Figure-1 shows the evidence.

Table 1:

Pakistan Malaysia Trade Balance

(Million US$)

Year	Export	Import	Total Trade Volume	Trade Balance
1996-1997	31.249	562.836	594.085	531.587
1997-1998	28.342	714.488	742.830	686.146
1998-1999	33.515	633.387	666.902	599.872
1999-2000	45.739	439.257	484.996	393.518
2000-2001	50.706	429.220	479.926	378.514
2001-2002	51.759	456.320	508.079	404.561
2002-2003	90.000	623.000	713.000	623.000

Source: Government of Malaysia, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, p.34.

Figure 1:

Pakistan Malaysia Trade Balance

Amount in US $
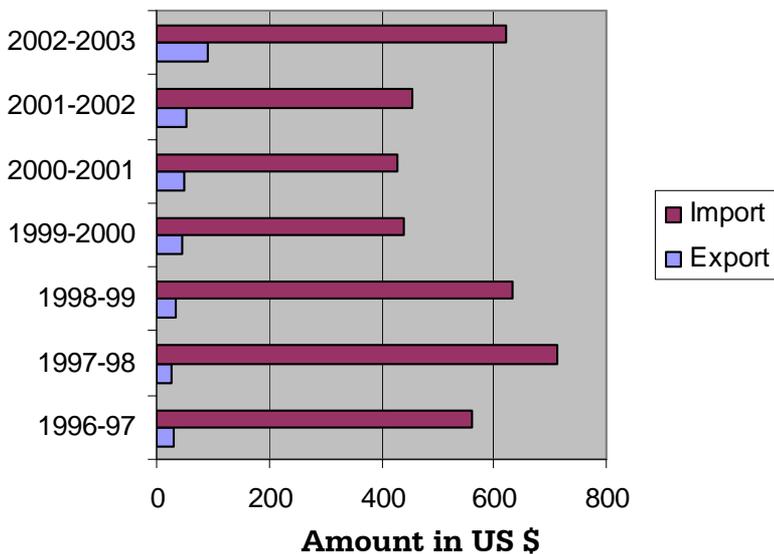
It is clear from the table-1 and figure-1 that Pakistan s balance of trade remains in deficit every year from 1996-97 to 2002-2003. As the trade deficit of Pakistan has been widening over the last decade, so Pakistan needs to find ways to narrow down the deficit through cooperative endeavors, which may include, trade, investment, joint ventures between the private sectors, and the possibility of relocating labor intensive industries. Our country can export non-traditional items such as engineering goods, steam boilers, heavy-duty cranes, tractors, cement, railway equipment, auto parts, agriculture machinery, chemicals and computer software to Malaysia. In this way, trade can also be promoted by active participation in trade fairs and exhibitions[13].

Conclusion and Recommendations

1.   The economic and trade relations between Pakistan and Malaysia have always been sound but the balance of trade has remained in favor of Malaysia due to export value added products.

2.   Pakistan mainly exports to Malaysia rice, textile products, surgical instruments, seafood, leather, fruits and vegetables, textile yarn, beverages and tobacco etc.

3.   Malaysia has shown its keen interest for investment in the field of oil exploration in Pakistan. In the past Malaysian investors have shown their interest in power projects, telecommunications, information technology, housing, road construction projects, and port development.

4.   The Pakistan   Malaysia agreed to make more endeavors to increase trade between the two

countries through their respective export promotion agencies.

5.   Pakistan and Malaysia in 2003 achieved a major milestone in their exports. Pakistan for the first time crossed $10 billion mark and Malaysia crossed $100 billion.

6.   A major contributory factor for Malaysia s success has been the shift of economic activity from primary commodities to value-added products, manufactured goods and services.

Recommendations

1.   Pakistan Malaysia should further promote the economic and trade relations. There is a need for frequent and close interaction between the two countries, both at the government and private sector level.

2.   The government of Pakistan should develop projects, in different fields like, agro-, coal mining, information technology, housing projects, engineering goods, textile industry, electrical good and electronic. Malaysian investors may be encouraged to invest in such joint ventures.

3.   The government of Pakistan should find ways to narrow down the deficit through export value-added commodities to Malaysia.

4.   Pakistan can export non-traditional items such as engineering goods, steam boilers, heavy-duty cranes, tractors, cement, railway equipment, auto parts,

agricultural machinery, chemicals and computer software to Malaysia.

5. The government of Malaysia is appreciative of the business and investment opportunities accorded to Malaysian private sector to participate in the economic development of Pakistan mainly in power, constructions, telecommunication, transportation, and oil and gas exploration in our country.

6. Pakistan has made significant progress in exports during the last 5 years but this is not enough. Pakistan should feel a need of quantum jump in export earnings. The trade policy 2004-2005 is an excellent policy and what is required is the implementation of this policy to achieve $13.7 billion export target. Together it can transform Pakistan into an export-oriented country.

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MANAGING ETHNIC DIVERSITIES: MALAYSIAN EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

Malaysia, at present, is a politically stable, peaceful and working democracy in which all races and religious groups equally participate. Malaysia has succeeded in managing national integrity very well despite its multicultural, multiethnic and multi-religious contradictions. The New Economic Policy (NEP) introduced by Malaysia after its May 13, 1969 race riots worked well to achieve inter-ethnic economic parity, and to eradicate poverty, and has succeeded in avoiding inter-ethnic discrimination. Equal sharing of economy among all the communities, right to education to all, equal power sharing in political sector, and proper security system to ensure orderly functioning are some of the ways by which the multicultural societies vulnerable to ethnic and religious stresses can survive in this globalized world.

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Introduction

Nation states in a modern world are formed of various sociological cultural identities. Mono-ethnic societies are rarely found in world today. Any state necessarily possesses a great majority and one or more ethnic minorities or ethnic groups. Ethnic group can be defined as a group of people with a distinctive collective consciousness based on a common language or culture.[1] The states because of having different ethnic, cultural and religious minorities are characterized by inter-ethnic conflicts over power, wealth and recognition. Few of the examples of violent internal conflicts are the continuing throes in Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia, Azerbaijan, Sri Lanka and many more.[2]

Malaysia is one of the most ethnically and religiously diverse nations in the world today, having all the world s major religions, as well as major Asian ethnic groups. In Malaysia, peace prevails as the various groups co-exist in harmony and tolerance. Malaysia possesses many ethnic groups, large and small. But there are three major groups; first is Malays that make up 54 per cent of the population. Then there is Chinese minority that is large one, make up near 35 per cent while Indians constitute 11 per cent of the population. Remaining 12 per cent is made by other indigenous groups.

Malaysia has many major religions, such as Islam, Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism.[3] Even though being multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, Malaysia successfully managed to prove itself politically stable, peaceful, working democracy in which all races and religious groups participate.

British East India Company brought Chinese immigrants in Malaysia in the late eighteenth century for the purpose of trade and military bases to carry out their valuable China trade. Chinese and Indians were allowed free immigration to Malaysia as the Malays refused to work outside their villages for inadequate salaries. As a result income disparities between the various communities became the primary cause of serious race riots of May 1969. Therefore, there was a sheer need of policies to eradicate the poverty and differences among the various ethnic divisions in the country. The New Economic Policy (NEP) was thus introduced to improve the economic status of Malays. [4]

The NEP was an ambitious twenty-year plan (1971-90), with the following main objectives:

- *To restructure Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function; and*

- *To eradicate poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysian, irrespective of race.* [5]

The plan was very significant in a sense that it allowed the economic growth and more importantly the equitable sharing of such economic growth. It had a very positive impact on the stability of multi-ethnic society of Malaysia, as it was launched with the declared objective of eliminating the identification of race with economic function. In practice, this meant special assistance and affirmative action to raise the levels of education, employment and income of the indigenous people. This study traces the policies by which Malaysia manages its diverse multi-ethnic society.

The Brief History of Malaysia

Malaysia as a federation of 13 states in South East Asia was formed in 1963. The country is geographically divided into two regions: Peninsular Malaysia (or West Malaysia) and Malaysian Borneo (or East Malaysia). Previously agrarian Malaysia has now turned into industrial one, mainly focusing on manufacturing and tourism as its major sources of income.

From 7th to 14th century, Malaysia was dominated by Hindu Culture imported from India. In 10th century Islam began to arrive in Malaysia, which turned many Malay-Indonesian people into Muslims. Then in 16th century, Malaysia fell under European colonial power, first the Portuguese, then the Dutch and finally the British. The European domination brought with itself the immigrant workers from China and India to work for the colonial economy created by them.

Malaya (as Malaysia was previously called) like other East Asian states was occupied by Japan from 1942 to 1945. It brought an end to the colonial system in Malaysia. But Malays had to face opposition from communist group which was later on suppressed by British military and Malay and Chinese political leadership. This insurgency resulted in the establishment of Malaya Federation (North Borneo and Singapore) in 1957. Malaya turned into Malaysia in 1963 after achieving full control of British territories of North Borneo and Singapore. But soon in 1965 Chinese-majority Singapore and the Federation seceded from Malaysia and secured independence. After all these settlements, Malaysia faced Chinese-Malay race riots on May 13, 1969 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The riots continued for a substantial period of time, and the government declared a state of national emergency.[6] The creation of a successful capitalist economy in Malaysia and the avoidance of major ethnic

conflicts was a clear aim of the Malaysian state after May 1969 riots. Because Malaysia has realized that the social unrest and political instability is always hindrance to the economic prosperity of the country.[7]

Malaysia, since 1970 s has been ruled by the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) against the Chinese and Indian leadership through their National Front Coalition. Malaysia under UMNO has prospered tremendously. It is now a strong middle income country with its citizens enjoying a per capita income of $12,100. Although historically dominated by the Malays, modern Malaysian society is heterogeneous, with substantial Chinese and Indian minorities. It is now a genuinely integrated and multi-cultural society. [8]

Ethnic Composition /Demographies

The ethnic composition of Malaysia was one of the basic components that were responsible for the ethnic conflicts or ethnic differences in the country. Almost half of the Malaysian population is ethnically Malay; about 35 per cent is ethnic Chinese, with remaining portions being Indians and other South Asian migrants.

This ethnic mix has caused problems for the country. The Malays known as Bumiputras (sons of the soil) were deprived of process of economic growth in the country. The Malays were kept confined to the agricultural sector by British so as to prevent them from rapidly expanding rubber industry.

The Chinese, the largest minority of the country was industrious in nature. Due to this nature, they focused on mining and commerce and this industrious habit made most of the Chinese rich. Mostly the Malaysia s banking and

insurance industry run by the Chinese gave them more and more stronghold on economy of the state.

The Indians were brought in Malaysia by British government to work on rubber plantation. Initially they were less successful as compared to Chinese. But due to British colonial policy of educating ethnic South Asians to work in the bureaucracy, gave upper hand to these South Asian people mostly Indians to become intellectual elite. This education policy created the enlightenment and guidance for Indians and also intermarriages between Indians and Malays gave them more sense of nationalism that drove them towards national development.

Traditional Malay society had almost lost their political sovereignty to the Chinese. In early 20th century, the non-Malays had almost outnumbered Malays; it appeared as possibly the Malays would become a minority in their own country. Differences between Chinese and Malays were mainly based on language and religion, as the Chinese were mostly Confucian or Buddhist and Malays were largely Muslims. The Malays were afraid of importing religions particularly Christianity. In response, a small class of Malay nationalist intellectuals began to arrive in the early 20th century in order to revive Islam in the country. [9]

Islam is now country s official religion that approximately comprises 60% population. The other main religions are: Buddhism 20%, Christianity 9% and Hinduism 6%. The Malays, the largest community, peak their native language that is Behasa Melayu, whereas Chinese in Malaysia speak a variety of Chinese dialects including Hokkien/Fujian, Cantonese, Hakka, and Teochew. The Indians are mainly Hindu Tamils that s why they mostly speak Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Hindi. Most of the middle to upper-middle class Indians and Chinese in Malaysia also speak English as

a first language.[10]

Ethnic Diversities and Political Differences in Malaysia

The creation of multi-ethnic society in Malaysia and the Malaysian nexus between ethnic problems and economic and political issues is largely the outcome of the British policies from the late 18th century to 1957, when independence was granted. It created the ethnic conflicts and antagonism among the various ethnic groups as they tried to preserve their distinct cultural identities, particularly their language and culture. Malays were reluctant to use of Tamil and Chinese languages in the education system as they saw it as a hindrance in the formation of a truly national community, whereas the Chinese and Indian feared the loss of their cultural identity.

The government made the Malay language as a national and official language. All schools were required to adopt Malay as a medium of instruction but Chinese and Indian schools were allowed to function with their languages as the main medium of instruction. Hence, the Malay was more adopted as an official language than as a national language. Another policy by the government-National Culture Policy was opposed by ethnic communities other than the Malay community as it was considered as having Malay-Muslim nature. The policy was based on three basic principles: first it was based on the culture of indigenous people, second, other cultures were to be incorporated in a common national culture, and third that Islam was to be an important element in the national culture. Most of the Malays supported it but other ethnic groups did not support it at all. Thus the various ethnic groups remained culturally alienated from one another being discontent over such government policies.[11]

The political development of the Malaysia began with the foundation of United Malays National Organization (UMNO) in 1946 against the Malayan Union proposed by British in the same year with a common Malayan citizenship regardless of race, which created fear in Malays that due to this union the Chinese and Indians would be permanent and equal part of Malayan future. The UMNO favored the independence of Malaya (including Federated and Unfederated Malay states, plus Penang and Malacca-but not Singapore), but if it was run only by the Malays. As the British found themselves uncomfortable with UMNO, they sought to encourage Chinese to form a Chinese-based political party that eventually resulted in the formation of Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) in 1949. The MCA comprised of the anti-communist Guomindag (KMT) leaders and wealthy Chinese businessmen with a purpose of protecting their economic interests. The party could not gain much support of working-class Chinese.

On the other hand the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) led by middle-class leftists, was formed in 1946 to protect the interests of the Indian community. Later on, both the MCA and MIC joined UMNO to win Malayan independence on a policy of equal citizenship. The MCA and MIC along with UMNO were determined to forge an agreement that suit all the communities and hoped that they could live equally in a stable independent state.[12] The UMNO-MCA-MIC Alliance won victories in local and state elections in both Malay and Chinese areas between 1952 and 1955. By participating in the Alliance, MCA and MIC were able to maintain their communal and cultural identities, but both parties were given less independent positions as UMNO was dominant party among them. The MIC president, V.T. Sambantham, was criticized by the members of the MIC for not pursuing greater citizenship and educational rights for Indian community. Similarly MCA leaders though being influential

financially could not gain much Chinese rights within the association, but anyhow remained attached to the Alliance.[13]

At the May 1969 federal elections, the UMNO-MCA-MIC Alliance gained only 48.5% of the vote, although it was still in majority in the legislature. The Alliance gained the support of only half of the Malay population and one-third of the non-Malay vote. As the Alliance was ethnically divided, it only retained control of the federal government, which caused the communal tensions as the result was considered as the Malay-political hegemony. The MCA had lost most of the Chinese-majority seats to Gerakan or Democratic Action Party (DAP) formed by the Chinese socialist against the government policies of 1950 s and 1960 s. The Chinese defeat gave birth to the anti-government demonstrations by the Chinese community which turned into riots and inter-communal violence in the capital on May 13, 1969. It spread out quickly to other major cities. In this violence about 6,000 Chinese homes and businesses were burnt and at least 184 people were killed. [14] The state of emergency was declared by the government and the power was vested in National Operations Council (NOC) which was established to restore order. National Operations Council was headed by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak. The Malay senior bureaucrats and leaders from the Alliance were the members of the Council. The government suspended parliament and political parties, imposed press censorship and placed severe restrictions on any political activity.

Tun Abdul Razak after discussing with all major parties regrouped the Alliance into an enlarged coalition, the Barisan Nasional (National Front). This included UMNO, the MCA, the MIC, the main Malay opposition party, Part Islam SeMalaysia (PAS, or the Malaysian Islamic Party), the Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (People s Movement Party) and

the People s Progressive Party (PPP). The Democratic Action Party (DAP) was only opposition party left outside the coalition. Abdul Razak held office until his death by 1976. In order to maintain national unity, he preferred to share power even being confident that UMNO could rule alone. This sentiment was repeated by his successor Mahathir Mohamad, who held power for 22 years. During his years many policies were introduced that led to the transformation of Malaysia s economy and society.

**Policies Introduced to Manage Ethnic
Diversities and Political Differences**

With the UMNO s support in Barisan Nasional, Razak introduced an affirmative action plan in favor of the Malays. This plan led to the implementation of New Economic Policy (NEP), a twenty year restructuring program for greater state intervention to accumulate capital on behalf of the Malays and to create Malays capitalists. The NEP was to achieve inter-ethnic economic parity, and to eradicate poverty.[15]

This policy seems like a decisive shift in economic power from the Chinese to the Malays. This policy indeed succeeded in decreasing the poverty rate from 49.3 per cent in 1970 to only 15.0 per cent in 1990. It also supported government in decreasing the unemployment. In industrial sector including mining, manufacturing, construction, utilities, and transport, 918,000 Malays were working in 1990 as compared to 173,000 in 1970. Similarly, in service sector 1.2 million Malays and other indigenous people were provided employment in 1990 whereas in 1970, the number was 213,000. In case of restructuring of corporate ownership and wealth of Malay people, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was a great success in a sense that it raised the Malay ownership from 2.4 per cent in 1970 to 20.3 per cent in 1990. The NEP also called for the Non-Bumiputera Malaysian s

share, the target was to raise the share from 32.3 percent in 1970 to 40 per cent in 1990. But surprisingly it rose from 46.2 per cent in 1990. It was made possible only by decreasing the foreign ownership share from 63.3 per cent in beginning of policy that is in 1970, to 25.1 per cent in the targeted year of 1990.

The economic growth helped the Malaysian government to improve the quality of life. According to the Human Development Index developed by United Nations Development Program, a widely cited index of social development, Malaysia ranked fourth in the world in terms of improvement in the Human Development Index between 1970 and 1990.

It shows that the modernization of rural life certainly took place, the quality of life has greatly improved, the inequality in distribution of wealth has improved since then, and the ethnic discontent has lessened to a satisfied extent. In short the Malaysian government has been quite successful in managing ethnic differences and prospering the country through introducing various effective and ambitious affirmative action plans.[16]

Malaysia has enjoyed economic progress since 1970. The policies introduced in 1970 still remain in place. It has had regular elections since 1974 and in effect a one-party state, with the UMNO-controlled National Front (Barisan Nasional) usually winning nearly all seats, while the DAP wins some Chinese urban seats and the PAS some rural Malay ones. The result is that every community-Malay, Chinese, Indian, aborigines-is better off now than before. The Chinese are economically the most advanced and prosperous group in Malaysia. Hence they are satisfied with the government having all political powers in government s hands. The Indians are in a very small number thus they have no any

influence on any government policy. All this content in the various ethnic groups is because of government s confidence in all groups; the Malaysian government always involves all communities and its leaders in the decision making process and share power with them.[17]

Conclusion

Malaysia one of the most plural societies due to the ethnic and cultural diversity has been generally free of ethnic tensions after 1970s. The post-crisis Malaysia is successful in avoiding inter-ethnic discrimination after implementing its massive affirmative action program known as New Economic Policy (NEP). This program was successful in altering the structure of society, creating balance of power among various groupings, and establishing the role of state in the economy.[18]

Managing societies with many cultures, ethnic groups and religions is not an easy task. Malaysia is a heterogeneous society with about 60 large and small ethnic groups with different cultures and languages, having various religions; it is definitely a great example for other countries with diverse ethnic, religious and cultural groups. Malaysia has managed national harmony very well despite its multicultural, multiethnic and multi-religious contradictions. Even though Malaysian ethnic communities still possess their respective identities, they think themselves as one nation-as Malaysians only. Malaysia is now a politically stable, peaceful and working democracy in which all races and religious groups equally participate. This all happened by giving the citizenship to all the immigrant groups-Chinese and Indian communities. They now share political power with the Malays, and sit in the federal cabinet and state executive councils. They were also granted the right of education in their respective languages with the Malay

language being official and national language. All the Malaysians whether indigenous or immigrants have freedom of worship and all groups are free to practice their respective religions.[19]

Other heterogeneous nations of the world can benefit from the experience of Malaysia by adopting the policies introduced by Malaysia not only at the time of crisis but also in the post-crisis scenario. Equal sharing of economy among all the communities, right to education to all, equal power sharing in political sector, and proper security system to ensure orderly functioning are some of the ways by which the multicultural societies vulnerable to ethnic and religious stresses can survive in this globalised world.

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SINO-JAPANESE DISPUTE OVER EAST CHINA SEA: THE MATTER OF RESOURCES AND SEA POWER

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Abstract

East China Sea dispute proves to be one of the complicated issues in Sino-Japanese relations. Since both countries dependence on oil and natural gas is growing every day to run their economic engines, both China and Japan consider East China Sea resources essential for their energy needs. The incidents occurring in the territorial waters of each other can be escalated to a military clash in the sea between Japan and China. The article tries to examine the origins of the dispute as well as the diplomatic efforts made by China and Japan to resolve the puzzle. The article also discusses the island dispute between Japan and China in the light of history evidences and international law point of view.

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Introduction

Despite advances in inter-continental nuclear weaponry and the heavy build up of land power over six decades, sea power continues to be a strategic imperative and its importance has only increased after the end of the Cold War.

The rise of geo-economics means that the economic uses of the sea far eclipse its military use. The whole subject of sea power is thus more complex than it once seemed in the age of Mahan. Eric Groove perceptively notes, the states that possess the most power full navies (hence, naval power) do not possess the world s largest merchant fleet, in the emergent age of sea power.[1] The United States, the most power full naval power was by the end of the 1986 outflanked in merchant shipping by Liberia, Greece and Japan.

Historically Japan and China have enjoyed a great status of being sea powers. At present the dispute among the two Northeast Asian neighboring states over the East China Sea highlights their battle for supremacy in the sea. The political and strategic pundits predict a major clash if the issue of Sino-Japanese confrontation over the East China Sea is not resolved. The modernization of People s Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) and an ocean going navy possessed by Japan can lead towards a major war between them in the sea.

East China Sea, an arm of the Pacific Ocean, located off the eastern coast of Asia. The sea is surrounded by Kyushu Island and the Ryukyu Islands on the east and by Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait on the South. It merges with the Yellow Sea on the northwest. The most important ports on the sea are Shanghai, China, and Nagasaki, Japan. Shipping and fishing in the East China Sea are economically important.[2] Due to the absence of a mutually agreed median

line both states have skewed their own lines to separate the territorial waters of Japan and China.

The conflict between Japan and China over the East China Sea where there are rich oil and natural gas deposits is heating up. In a world of diminishing resources, estimates have 200 trillion cubic feet of potential gas reserves and up to 100 billion barrels of oil deposits on the entire shelf of the East China Sea and that is where the danger of miscalculation and deadly escalation lies.

The issue became so controversial when China signed contracts in August 2003 with oil development companies in China and other countries including Royal Dutch/ Shell and the United States oil company Unocal for exploration of gas projects in the East China Sea worth billions of dollars. Japan expressed its concern that the fields may intrude upon Japan s exclusive economic zone (EEZ).

Japan is concerned that the Chinese drilling could draw off natural gas from Japan s territorial seabed, while Beijing considers Tokyo s claim as infringing on its interests and sovereignty.[3] The officials in Beijing believe that Japan is so much concerned about China s economic development and trying to contain it at least in the East China Sea.[4] However, the two countries started talks to resolve the issue and several proposals were exchanged in several rounds of negotiations but the situation remains unchanged.

This research paper will examine this issue thoroughly and will also scrutinize the origins of the dispute, its historical background, consequences, implications and efforts towards resolving the dispute.

Japan, China and the East China Sea

East China Sea is part of the Pacific Ocean, between the east coast of China and the Japanese Kyushu Island and the Ryukyus. It merges in the north with the Yellow Sea without any definite line of demarcation, connects with the South China Sea through the Formosa Strait, and with the Sea of Japan through the Tsushima and Korea Straits. Its greatest length (about 800 miles) is between Matsu Island, off China, and Nagasaki, Japan. Its area is estimated at 485, 000 square miles. Its average depth is 640 feet and its extreme depth is 9,070 feet.[5]

The seabed slopes gently from the Chinese coast until it drops abruptly into the Okinawa Trough whose depth reaches nearly 2,300 meters at its deepest point. China holds the Okinawa Trough, which does not follow the Japanese coast closely, proves that the continental shelves of China and Japan are not connected, and that the Trough serves as the boundary between them.

China has coast line of 18,000 kilometers (10,800 miles) in length, but its exits to the sea run into the exclusive economic zones (EEZ) of neighboring states, including two Koreas and Japan. The latter is the geographic opposite state whose long coast line, interrupted by gaps, linking the islands of Japan proper with the Ryukyus (Okinawa) is parallel to the Chinese coast line. The maritime territory claimed by Japan, which in the Chinese view far exceeds what is allowed under the law of the sea, obstructs the Chinese access to the seabed oil and gas resources over which China has sovereign rights under the same law. Because Japan claims EEZ extends to the disputed Diaoyutai, which is less than 200 nautical miles from the Chinese coast line and is claimed by China, its sea denial threat actually extends into China s maritime territory. The

only open entry left for mainland China to the high seas is through the Taiwan Strait. Even there, it has to be careful not to tress-pass into the other half of the strait shared with Taiwan, as the latter remains outside People s Republic of China s (PRC) jurisdiction and claims a separate identity, with the support of Japan and the United States.

Japan due to the absence of agreement unilaterally drew a median line , which is rejected by China on the ground that it is skewed in favor of Japan. Japan considers all waters east of this unilaterally drawn median line to be Japanese territory. The Chinese would draw the line quite differently, and it would run in the middle course between the western coast line of the Ryukyus (Okinawa) and the eastern coast line of Taiwan, which Beijing considers to be part of China. A line thus drawn, even without the Taiwan part, would have Diaouyutai (Senkaku) in the Chinese EEZ, instead.

In accordance with the Law of Sea (LOS) Convention Japan declared its EEZ in 1996 and China in 1998. Despite the absence of a mutually agreed middle line, the Chinese began explorations in the 1980s with the view of developing natural gas in the Xihu Trough, a region slightly under 200 nautical miles in a bee line from the eastern point of the China coast base line, or 215 nautical miles.

Even after a thorough study it still is very difficult to imagine to whom the Diaoyutai (Senkaku) belongs. Respectable Japanese historians, such as Professor Kiyoshi Inou (1972) of Kyoto University and Professor Murata Tadayoshi (2004) of Yokohama University, both have spent years in research, offered drastically different and dissenting views from the Japanese government and supported China s claim to the Senkaku.[6] While the former Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui openly supported the Japanese government s position that the island (Diaoyutai)

belongs to Japan.[7] After stepping down from the office in 2000, Lee publicly admitted that during his presidency he had ordered Taiwan s Navy not to intervene when elements from the Japanese right built a nearby light tower and planted Japanese flags on Diaoyutai to assert Japanese Sovereignty.[8]

The question has to be answered from both the standpoints of history and the law. The study done by the Japanese above mentioned historians show that the Diaoyutai (Senkaku) was not part of Ryukus, a Chinese protectorate before 1895 when Japan annexed it, and also that the Diaoyutai was detached from Japan at the end of the World War II as a United States occupied territory (returned to Japan in 1972). The study also demonstrates that the island was part of Taiwan under the Manchu Dynasty of China until 1895; even the Ryukuans recognized this fact. According to history evidences the earliest record of Chinese presence in Diaoyutai dated from 1532, or 363 years before Japan came upon the island, calling it Senkaku. According to some authentic sources of history Diaoyutai was included in the Chinese defense networks against the encroachments of Japanese pirates that frequented southern Chinese coasts in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

In response the Japanese official position is that the Senkaku islands were returned as part of Okinawa in 1972 by the United States. The US government in answering inquiries from the Chinese-American civic group categorically stated that the United States had only exercised administrative rights not sovereign rights over Diaoyutai between 1951 and 1972, when it was turned over to Japan.[9] Even if Diaoyutai was returned to Japan by the US as part of Okinawa, Japan would have to prove evidence that it was part of Ryukus (today s Okinawa) in history.

Origins of the Dispute

It was an Okinawa Prefecture businessman Tsunehisa Omija predicted rich oil deposits in the sea. On Yaeyama Islands, there are beaches with star shaped structure corpses also found along the Persian Gulf, leading to believe that there would be under sea oil fields in the neighborhood of the islands Japan calls the Senkaku. Since 1948, when the islands were under the administration of the US military, Omija had conducted his own investigations, and in 1969, he successfully applied for the mining right in the sea.

An investigation report by the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) also pointed out the possibility of oil deposits there.[10]

Uruma Resource Development Co., a subsidiary of Toyo Oil Development Co. affiliated with then Nissho Iwai, succeeded the mining right from Omija and applied to the then Ministry of International Trade and Industry (now Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry) for the right to explore in the sea around the Senkaku Islands in 1973 and received approval. But for 33 years since, the Japanese government has approved no test drilling.

Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi visited China in 1999 and was offered by the then Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji for joint resource use. But Obuchi returned home without responding to the proposal, missing a good opportunity to break the deadlock over the development of resources in the sea.

China has since carried out test drilling in more than 20 places near the Japan s drawn demarcated median line between the two countries and begun production at the Pinghu gas field. China does not regard the median line as

legitimate. China is proposing joint development with Japan only on the Japanese side of the median line and areas near the disputed islands.

The Energy Needs of Japan and China

China is racing to develop natural resources to meet its rapidly growing domestic demand for energy as the economy races ahead. With its annual GDP growing at close to 10 percent annually during the past 25 years, China s appetite for energy has developed rapidly. The Institute of Energy Economics in Japan also forecasts that oil consumption in China will grow to 590 million metric tons in 2020 from 220 million tons in 2000, and the country s oil imports will soar to 450 million tons during the same period compared with 250 million tons for Japan.[11]

Just over a decade ago, China was still a net exporter of oil. Today, it is the fastest-growing user of oil in the world, ahead of energy-efficient Japan and second only to the United States in terms of total consumption and imports. China will not only become more dependent on imported oil and gas for its future economic growth, modernization and prosperity but its reliance on supplies from the volatile Persian Gulf, and from politically unstable West Africa, also seems set to increase.

Meanwhile, Japan, the world s second largest economy has almost no natural resources of its own and relies on others especially the Middle East for nearly 90 per cent of its oil as an energy source.[12] Japan is also negotiating for access to oil and gas reserves with Russia and Iran, among others.

That is why China and Japan are racing to secure other sources of supply closer to home, including Central Asia, Siberia and the East China Sea. Tokyo is contesting Beijing's

right to develop a gas field near the edge of Japan's exclusive economic zone in the East China Sea and launched its own seismic survey in the area despite a stern warning from China recently not to risk any action that could upset bilateral relations and regional stability. The field is estimated to contain up to 200 trillion cubic feet of potential gas reserves and up to 100 billion barrels of oil deposits.

The Recent Developments

It is obvious that the planes and ships of Japan and China operate in close proximity to one another which ultimately can cause a clash. Incursions by Chinese planes and submarines into Japanese waters are occurring more frequently, and when ships and planes operate in close proximity to each other, the danger of an accident increases. Avoiding such an accident requires clear knowledge of both sides' rules of engagement and I am not confident (that the two countries have that) , said Bonnie Glaser, senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.[13]

On 10th November 2004 a Chinese *Han*-class nuclear-powered submarine entered Japanese territorial waters near Taramajima Island. Subsequently on November 16, Beijing apologized for the incident, which had resulted in Tokyo declaring a maritime operation for only the second time since 1945. However, the incident highlighted the increasing activity of the People s Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), in the region.[14]

This was not the first time that the incidents like that were detected. In 2003 Japan had detected eight incidents of Chinese ships operating in Japan s EEZ without prior notification; such incidents were also identified in January-

April 2004. Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Liu Jianchao made clear that the water where the Chinese vessels entered is disputed and not the EEZ of Japan , accordingly, it is absolutely normal for Chinese vessels to conduct scientific research in the waters. [15]

In July 2005, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry finally approved an application of the test drilling right filed by an oil development company, but if company carries out test drilling it will be resisted by Chinese Warships and it will not do so until an environment is prepared. So far four Japanese companies have applied for the test drilling but work is yet to begin.

In October 2005 when Japanese and Chinese officials met to discuss the energy development in the East China Sea Japan had presented a proposal for joint development extending across both sides of the median-line boundary while China held to its previous position that joint development should take place only on the eastern (Japanese) side of the line. However, the two countries progressed in defining the area for joint development. The talks were broken off by China in response to Prime Minister Koizumi s visit to Yasukuni Shrine on October 17, 2005.

The Japanese Asia and Oceanic Bureau Director General Sasae Kenichiro visited Beijing and held informal talks with the Chinese officials but the talks failed to make any progress. Japanese officials said that the China s response to Japan s proposal was problematic and that China was preparing to present its own proposal at the time of next round of negotiating table.

The situation remained stalemate in talks held in Beijing in March 2006, when China neither agreed to cease development in the Chunxio gas field nor assured to provide

data on exploration activities   China also did not agree to respond Japanese proposal for joint development   Beijing later proposed joint development only in two areas, one in the north of the East China Sea near the median-line but still in the territory in dispute between Japan and South Korea and a second in the south in the vicinity of the disputed Diauytai (Senkaku) islands. Japanese diplomats initially agreed to further study the proposal, but later expressed strong dissatisfaction with Beijing s proposal. Japan s Chief Cabinet Secretary Abe told a news conference on March 8, 2006 that Japan could not accept China s proposal and noted that Japan has the right to carry out test drilling .[16] The *Sankei Shimbun* reported that Abe had upbraided Sasae for not refusing the Chinese proposals outright.[17]

China, however, saw it differently, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Qin Gang characterizing Chinese proposal as rational, reasonable and constructive in contrast to Japan s unilateral position, said "We hope Japan can carefully study the plan proposed by China,"[18] Japanese Foreign Minister later made clear that the Senkaku islands are indisputably Japan s territory both historically and under international law and that Japan would not allow co-development in the area.[19]

Once again, Beijing refused to accept Japan s claimed median-line boundary along with its proposal for the joint development of the Chunxio field. China also continued to reassert its sovereignty claim over Diaoyutai/Senkaku islands. China s Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang announced that China would continue to develop the Chunxio field until agreement is reached on joint development.[20]

Appealing for not to be nervous Japanese Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry Nikai Toshihiro told a Lower House Budget Committee on March 8, 2006 that the various problems on the negotiating table with China   Sovereignty issues as well as History- are not problems that can be solved quickly and will have to be dealt decisively. Two days later Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) approved legislation to protect companies engaged in the exploration and development of natural resources within Japan s exclusive economic zone (EEZ).[21]

Due to the concerns that China may have violated Japan s interests in tapping marine resources Japan always requested that China provide the exact locations, depths and other related data of its offshore drillings underway in the East China Sea but China on every occasion refused to provide data regarding offshore drillings.

Japan s conservative media also reports that Japan appeared to conclude that China is collecting oceanographic data for possible submarine warfare around the area, which Japan considers strategically necessary for China to boost its military presence in comparison with Taiwan as well as the United States.[22] The disputed gas field is in the vicinity of Taiwan and the disputed Senkaku Islands, which are claimed by both countries. The Japanese government seems to believe that this is why China has refused to give any data and information on its oil and gas development in the region.

In 2003 Japan had detected eight incidents of Chinese ships operating in Japan s EEZ without prior notification. Japan raised that issue in the meeting on UN Convention on the Law of the Sea held in Beijing on 22 April 2004. Japan also reminded in the meeting that in 2001 both countries agreed for advance notification of conducting maritime research

activities in other country s EEZ. But the Chinese delegation refused to take the responsibility and insisted that the Japan s southernmost island, Okinotori, is not an island but rocks, thus disallowing Japan s EEZ claim measured from that point and allowing the activities of maritime research vessels near Okinotori.[23]

The Chinese activities continued in the areas Japan considered under its EEZ. On 7 May 2004 Chinese research ship *Number 7 Fen Dou* found operating without any advance notification near Uosturi Island in the Senkakus. The Japanese foreign ministry protested and asked Chinese Embassy to end the survey activities but the China made clear that the waters where Chinese vessels entered is disputed and not the EEZ of Japan, so it is absolutely normal for Chinese vessels to conduct scientific research in the waters.[24]

The Japanese government also confirmed press reports which said that China had started construction of an exploration facility in the Chunxio natural gas field, an area of the East China Sea near the demarcation line between China and Japan. Reacting to the press reports the LDP s Working Group on Maritime Interests, chaired by Takemi Keizo issued a report advocating the creation of an intergovernmental committee, under the Prime Minister to deal with maritime related issues. The report also urged the government to develop a comprehensive national strategy and to begin survey immediately of natural resources on the Japanese side of the demarcation line. The report offered nine proposals dealing with the illegal Chinese maritime research activities.

The opposition Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) also intended to submit legislation aimed at banning other countries from resource exploitation in Japan s EEZ. The

LDP on 17 November 2005 followed suit, announcing its intention to submit legislation in next year s ordinary Diet Session. The LDP s special Committee on Maritime Interests exposed draft legislation that would protect ships and crew engaged in exploration activities in Japan s EEZ, establish a 500-meter safety zone around exploration platforms, and forbid entry into the safety zone to unauthorized ships.

During the meeting in Beijing between officials of both countries on May 30-31, 2005, both nations agreed to resolve issues through continuing talks and joint development of resources and to establish working groups on issues related to the maritime boundaries. In April 2005 Japanese Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry, announced that Japan was preparing to grant exploratory drilling rights in the disputed waters of the East China Sea. Following his statement, in April 2005 Japan s Director General of Asia and Oceanic Affairs Sasae told the minister at the Chinese embassy that Japan was moving to grant exploration rights. He again requested that China stop its activities and provide Japan with exploration data.[25]

After several rounds of negotiations, the two parties are not close to a resolution. In diplomatic language, both countries say that they hope to cooperate with each other, conducting joint exploration and sharing the region s resources. But in reality, the two parties have different definitions for the term joint exploration . To Japan, it means that China must stop its current projects, turn over all existing geological data to Tokyo before both sides can share the potential resources of the region, including the gas fields on the Chinese sides of Japan s declared median line. The Chinese find such demands unacceptable. China interprets joint exploration as Japan not interfering with any current Chinese development on the Chinese side, even according to Japan s median line. Instead, China agrees to share

resources found in the disputed area between the two
median lines claimed by Tokyo and Beijing.

The Japanese press became so active to address the issue
almost every week. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* criticized the
government for being so slow in responding due to the
influence of pro-China forces and called on the Prime
Minister s Office to exert leadership on the issues.[26]

Conclusion

The two neighboring states are among the world s top most
importers of primary energy. The rich wealth of oil and gas
resources on the seabed of the East China Sea is, therefore,
like a dragnet of conflict, further exacerbated by the latent
competition for sea power dominance in the region.
Although maritime geography and the law of the sea seem
to be on the Chinese side, Japan is not likely to budge from
its present position, considering that the 1982 Law of the
Sea Convention is subject to different interpretations in
accordance with two cordial principles for maritime
delimitation. Whether or not the final resolution will be
decided by naval power depends on the success or failure of
diplomacy, and ultimately on whether rationality will
triumph over base instinct that has marred Sino-Japanese
relations since traditional times.

If the diplomacy failed to resolve the heating up issue
between China and Japan the conflict seems to be
inevitable. Even if the countries do not mean to start a
military clash, accidents in the sea could spin out of control
given the combination of distrust and lack of communication
between the two countries can lead towards a military
clash. The Tokyo governor Shinto Ishihara after visiting the
islets in May 2005 already warned against the possibility of
a major conflict in the future.[27] In the current circumstances

both Japan and China have no any other option except to work together, although occasional friction is likely because the matter is complicated by history issues and the territorial dispute. Japan in recent situation might want to accept China s joint project proposal. Japan also might improve the climate for future cooperation through collaboration in resource development.

With economic interdependence of the two neighbors deepens almost every day, with unprecedented flows of goods, investment and joint ventures in both directions, the cooperation between the two countries is much better option than to compete each other.

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GOVERNMENT S POLICIES, CHANGING STATUS OF JAPANESE WOMEN AND THEIR CONCERNS

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Abstract

Gender equality has been one of the most important issues throughout the world. All governments throughout the world are pressurized by the human rights based national and international organizations to ensure the human rights and gender equality in all walks of life. This research paper attempts to present the social, economic and political situation of Japanese women and also their concerns regarding marital and career matters. The Japanese society is very much traditional and Japanese family s philosophy is based on the principles of Confucian loyalty and obedience . The Japanese society originally derived from Chinese heritage; hence they value the group over the individual. Sharing of family matters outside is considered cultural shame and defame. This paper also puts a light on the initiatives and policies taken by the Japanese government for the betterment and equal rights of women in the society.

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Introduction

The Japanese society is very much traditional and male-dominated, where all the family members in general and women in particular are expected to obey the orders and decisions of the family head (father). The Japanese family s philosophy is based on the principles of Confucian loyalty and obedience . That s why Japanese prefer group over the individual. Sharing of family matters outside is considered cultural shame and defame. These cultural values and traditions have restricted the role of women within family while authorized all privileges and powers to man. Before World War II, the status of women in Japanese society was very low. The Constitution at that time did not guarantee the equality of the sexes, and women had neither the right to vote nor the right to be elected. Under the Civil Code, wives were not only regarded as incompetent, but their property, inheritance and other rights such as to exercise parental authority were restricted. The new Constitution 1946 guaranteed for the first time the equality of men and women under the law. Consequently, the Civil Code was revised; domestic laws were enacted, including the Fundamental Law of Education and the Labour Standards Law. These positive changes resulted in widespread improvements in the legal status of women in the family as well out of family. For the first time in 1960s women began to participate in economic and social activities. But the equality of men and women still remained the problem because of the deeply rooted traditional concept that women must stay at home and serve the aged ones and their children.

The raising movements and campaigns for women s equal rights, gender issues at international level and emerging Non- governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other civil society networks have provided a conducive environment

for women to take steps forward for their equal rights and respect. Realizing the international pressure and changing social values and roles regarding women throughout globe, the Japanese government took many development initiatives for the improvement of women s living standard. The Child Care and Nursing Leave Law passed in 1992, which allows one year leave to care for child or three months to take care of aged parents. The Basic Law for education prohibits the discrimination in educational system. In 1996, the Basic Plan for Gender Equality 2000 was prepared and Basic Law for Gender Equal Society was promulgated in 1999. For preventing the domestic violence against women, in April 2001, the comprehensive law for Prevention of Spousal Violence and Protection of Victims was also promulgated. In the same year, the Council for Gender Equality and Gender Equality Bureau were also established within the Cabinet Office and were given responsibility for planning and coordinating the gender equality policies. As the result of these concrete steps, forty three women were elected as members of House of Representatives in September 2005 election. With introduction of pro-women policies and initiatives by the government, the participation of women in economic, social and political sectors has increased. As the result the roles of women shifted from family to mainstream, but still they are far away from decision making policy matters and are facing social and cultural pressure regarding their changing roles and responsibilities.

Family Structure and Women

The Japanese family traditionally was the formal ordering of family and was characterized by the Confucian, Buddhism and Samurai feudalism principles of loyalty and obedience. The Japanese society originally derived from Chinese heritage, they value the group over the individual. The

traditional Japanese society supports extended family, wherein the loyalty and obedience is very high and well established value. Discussion over family matters outside is considered as cultural shame. This patriarchal family system has given authority to father who expects his orders and decisions to be obeyed without any questioning merely. For maintaining father s image as boss, mostly he remains far away from the daily life of family including his children. That is why the mother　child relationship is still stronger than father-child relationship. After 1960s, by increasing employment opportunities (subordinate positions), the promotion and improvement of women s standard has become more secure. The strong impact of western culture through electronic as well as print media, the Japanese family structure had gone under many rapid changes. The Non- governmental Organizations (NGOs) had further worked as an additional forceful inspirational factor. As a result the emergence of the modern Westernized family structure is seen in today s Japan. In 1993 the percentage of nuclear family became 59.5%.

The changing role of women in Japanese society is also shown by their employment patterns. Traditionally Japanese women have worked until marriage and then they "retired" to become housewives. In recent years women have increasingly worked longer until "retirement"[1]. This traditional mentality of over all Japanese society clashes with the interest of employers (multi national companies) criteria and requirement of hiring female staff. On the other hand the less economic dependency of women has shaken the chains of traditional structure of family and then social acceptance of nuclear family, love marriage and divorce in the society is increasing day by day. The pattern of mate selection also shifted from arranged- marriage to love - marriage. On the issue that "love marriages are better than arranged marriages," 57 percent responded affirmatively

and 36 percent, negatively. The divorce rate has been rising in recent years, and in 2000 it stood 23 percent of all marriages[2]. In 1990, the divorce rate (per thousand populations) was 1.28 and it increased to 2.25 in 2003. The changing roles of Japanese women and increasing number of unmarried and divorced women have disturbed the family patterns but the most affected of this phenomenon are women particularly children. Some conservative commentators suggest that young people have been spoiled and no longer have the social skills, patience and mental toughness to cope with the ups and downs of married life[3]. No doubt the family patterns and values regarding the women have been changed from time to time but yet the male dominancy is still observed in Japanese society. These changing roles of women and male dominancy have further doubled the responsibilities of women and due to this women have been suffering a lot socially and psychologically.

Once upon a time, when Japanese women had preferred family and were devotees of serving the family particularly old ones but after 1980s they have become worried about their career and future. Now a days one in four Japanese women aged 30-34 prefer to her career not getting married and having children. Hiro Shibata (35) who works for a multinational pharmaceutical company said that her priority was career. She further added, I am not against the marriage. It is just not happening to me now . She said that she loved children but when asked if she was worried about her biological clock, she replied: I have the time, then I will have to think about it [4]. For many women, the pressure of living with in-laws is considerable, and in particular women are often reluctant to live with their husbands mothers. Mothers-in-law have traditionally played and still are playing a vital and powerful role in the household hierarchy in Japan. Jolivet quotes one source as saying most of

country women who came to see me want to divorce their in-laws rather than their husbands [5]. It is clear that they like the behaviour of their husbands but can not adjust themselves with in- laws because of complicated and congested family structure. Japanese society is more traditional rather than liberal, where women are expected to serve for their male family members particularly old ones following the social norms and values. A survey of new brides reported that only 12% expected their marriage to be happy. There is an old Japanese saying, "Kekkon wa josei no hakaba de oru" which translates as "marriage is a women's grave. One author noted that "Japanese still regard marriage not as the culmination of a romance but as a commitment that is primarily social and practical in significance[6].

Women s Movement

The women s suffrage movement emerged in Japan during pre war days, centering the women s suffrage league. The right to vote and to be elected was conferred upon Japanese women in 1945, when the war ended. After 1960s many women s groups and networks were established and they focused the equal status of women in the society. The Seikastsu Club Co-op, a group of political women activists was established in 1965. In 1995, organized through Seikastsusha Network, the group doubled its representation at the local assembly level, going from 80 to 150[7]. In 1975, Liaison Group, comprising 49 women s NGOs was established. The groups organized conferences on women to establish goals for actions towards realization of gender equality from the stand point of female citizens. Other important women s groups are: Violence Against Women in War-Network Japan (VAWW-Net Japan) and the Working Women Network. The group Asian Women Liberation formed a feminist international core in Japan, which

themetized economic and sexual exploitation and appealed to political and work oriented groups. Its work opened communication and cooperation with popular women s movement in Asia. The second network the Asian Women s Conference (Aija Josei Kaigi) was formed in 1992, which embraced many important action groups or family /relationships the body and cultural issues[8].

The Japanese women s movement during 1990s again underwent transformation, which was marked by the turn to gender equality and establishing the linkages with global and regional civil society. The 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, helped Japanese women and civil society organizations to present the situation of women and also create communication and contacts with regional and international networks and organizations. United Nations declared 1990-2000 as a decade for women; as the result many changes took place in the status of women throughout world and to some extent women took a breath of rest and relief. The increasing communications and contacts in East Asia as well as global level, the Japanese women movement was also accelerated and broadened.

Women s Participation in Politics

The effective traditional and cultural values, norms, rituals reflect the magnitude of existing gender difference in the society and on the basis of daily life observation and experience one has to accept that political values and social behaviour of women is quite different from that of their men. Japanese women being more religious and devotees of family s values, have a secondary position in family matters, and mostly spend much time in taking care of children and older members of their family. All these above mentioned factors are definitely responsible for a lack of women interest as well participation in politics and also these

factors put hindrances in the well employment (High Positions) of women. In 2000, Japan ranked 41 out of 70 countries based on United Nations criteria for gauging the level of women participation in society, bellow El Salvador and Btswana[9]. More recently, Patterson and Nishikawa (2002) argue that the gender gaps in the policies references mainly account for gender   based patterns of support and rejection of parties. They argue that women, who focus on women s issues such as social welfare, the home and environment, are more likely to support left-wing parties, whereas men, who focus on economic recovery, the budget deficit and tax reforms are more likely either to be non aligned or to support one of the opposition parties[10]. Some commentators suggest that house wives are apolitical because they are not subject to the politicizing interference of the workplace. After 1990 the number of women is increasing to show their involvement in political activities and electoral process. In 1990 and 1996 elections older women and older men equally liked to vote[11].

According to "Report on the Study of the Political Parties' Replies to the Questionnaire on their Policies regarding Women" conducted by "Beijing JAC"in June 1998, the proportion of women among the Party members then was as follows; The Komei-to showed the highest record with 47.1%, followed by 40.5% of the Kyosan-to (Japanese Communist Party), 38.3% of the Jimin-to (Liberal Democratic Party) and about 30% of the Shamin-to (Social Democratic Party).[12] The figures clearly show sufficient number of women members at party, but the active and leading role of women in party as well politics is still very low. The position of women member in Diet and Local Assemblyman is also very poor, however; to some extent it is increasing but not sufficient. The number of women member in Diet was 27 (3.6 %) in 1984, that increased to 70 (9.7%) in 2004, and again it decreased to 66 (9.2 %) by 2005. At present, there are 43

(8.96%) women in lower house out of 480 and 34 (14.05%) in upper house out of 242. The figures show that percentage of women in lower and upper houses is very much low and it comes on 96 rank in the world and is less as compared to Pakistan which is 73 (21.35%) out of 342 seats in lower house and 17 (17%) out of 100 in upper house.

Table-1

Women in Diet Member Positions (1984-2005)

The Diet (percent)			Local Assemblyman (percent)		
Year	**Number**	**Ratio**	**Year**	**Number**	**Ratio**
January 1984	27	3.6	1984	1,078	1.5
July 1985	29	3.8	1985	1,102	1.6
March 1986	29	3.8	1986	1,154	1.7
March 1987	29	3.8	1987	1,447	2.2
February 1988	29	3.9	1988	1,480	2.2
July 1989	40	5.3	1989	1,562	2.4
February 1990	45	5.9	1990	1,633	2.5
March 1991	46	6.1	1991	2,102	3.2
July 1992	49	6.5	1992	2,158	3.3
March 1993	49	6.5	1993	2,238	3.4
March 1994	52	6.8	1994	2,279	3.5
March 1995	51	6.8	1995	2,757	4.3
March 1996	48	6.4	1996	2,849	4.4
March 1997	57	7.6	1997	2,954	4.6
March 1998	60	8.0	1998	3,070	4.9
March 1999	68	9.1	1999	3,872	6.2
March 2000	68	9.1	2000	3,982	6.4
March 2001	79	10.8	2001	4,147	6.8
March 2002	74	10.2	2002	4,231	7.0
March 2003	72	10.0	2003	4,670	7.9
March 2004	70	9.7			
March 2005	66	9.2			

Source: White Paper on Gender Equality, Gender Equality Bureau, Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, Tokyo, May 2005.

Employment and Japanese Women

The changing in social norms, gender behaviour and attitude due to globalization and modernization, Japanese women have succeeded to come out of home to take part in economic and social activities, but yet are seen only engaged in manual jobs such as working on building sites, farms, driving trucks, and such type of labour work. Most of women are part time workers, and so are not enjoying the same benefits as their male colleagues. Despite Japan s remarkable economic growth during the postwar period, very few Japanese women have obtained positions of power and authority within the country s political, bureaucratic or economic structures.[13] This presents how the roots of patriarchy and discrimination against female workers (gender discrimination) are deepened in Japanese society. The most prominent example is the office ladies , young white-collar female employees, who are just helpers in the offices, assisting their male colleagues in sharpening pencils, taking messages, photocopying and distributing memorandums.[14] Often women are obliged to take care of elderly relatives, especially in-laws, and have difficulty in balancing these demands with close of the workplace. For these women, unskilled part time work is common alternative; another is running a small business. Sugimoto argues that most women who work part time are not frustrated would-be career women, but women who are not sufficiently well-off to become full-time housewives; their ideal is to become women of leisure.[15]

Generally, it is seen that women by their 20s enter job/workforce but by their late 20s and early 30s quit job for getting marriage and caring of children and old family members (particularly male). In their 40s again they seek for the employment, at this stage of age it is very hard for women to have the good positions. This trend of entering,

quitting and re-entering is a major hurdle in the sufficient employment of women. That s why a great number of women are engaged in low standard work rather than managerial and executing positions.

Table-2

Women in Managerial Positions (1984-2004)

(ten persons)

Year	Directors		Section Manager		Chiefs		Non- Managerial	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
1984	27,221	287	67,107	1,015	68,488	2,758	1,083,782	392,765
1985	26,705	275	67,947	1,074	75,656	2,933	1,102,311	392,542
1986	27,591	310	68,240	1,185	72,732	2,782	1,080,110	387,478
1987	28,551	355	69,058	1,217	72,768	3,291	1,073,481	381,491
1988	30,502	293	74,042	1,509	78,969	3,624	1,157,417	417,129
1989	33,398	421	78,335	1,574	78,367	3,576	1,154,073	418,074
1990	35,649	409	82,281	1,658	80,964	4,017	1,182,929	423,109
1991	38,561	449	89,451	2,098	82,897	5,101	1,242,213	453,127
1992	39,735	662	92,214	2,706	83,834	5,567	1,221,881	454,227
1993	39,396	622	89,309	2,243	88,294	6,455	1,220,633	454,485
1994	38,070	535	84,968	2,213	79,099	5,056	1,169,454	428,315
1995	39,926	537	88,916	2,448	78,510	5,711	1,224,180	446,186
1996	36,732	518	89,984	2,792	84,451	6,159	1,181,760	428,014
1997	39,508	886	90,338	3,359	84,932	6,621	1,175,547	422,025
1998	38,776	774	89,476	2,830	84,187	6,778	1,173,835	416,776
1999	38,861	815	91,336	3,069	85,669	7,000	1,135,329	402,659
2000	37,725	838	88,087	3,514	80,390	6,537	1,141,792	395,256
2001	38,241	701	85,653	3,124	80,067	6,649	1,085,119	372,171
2002	38,497	920	84,614	3,799	74,162	7,105	1,052,331	365,270
2003	36,491	1,115	82,732	3,779	71,555	6,739	1,025,559	355,832
2004	38,022	1,010	88,734	4,402	72,255	7,934	1,114,985	383,743

Source: Basic Survey on Wage Structure, Statistics and Information Department, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, Government of Japan, Tokyo, March 14, 2005.

Notes: **Director:** Head of a group comprised of more than 20 employees or more than 2 departments.
Section Manager: Head of a group comprised of more than 10 employees or more than 2 sections.
Chief: A person usually called "chief" regardless of the number of the people in a group.
This survey was taken among companies which have more than 100 employees.

The multinational companies prefer to hire young unmarried girls, as the result of this attitude of companies, the number of unmarried women as well as divorced women is increasing rapidly. Economic independency, quest of career and specific requirements of multinational companies for hiring unmarried females have left negative effects on family environment and as the result the number of unmarried and divorced women is increasing. According to Labour Force Survey, in 1984 there were 5,000,000 unmarried and 2,320,000 were divorced or widowed out of 2,263,0000 female employees, where as the number has increased to 7,530,000 unmarried and 2,910,000 divorced or widowed out of 26,330,000 female workers in 2005.

Table 3

Female Employees by Marital Status (1983-2005)

(ten thousand females)

Year	Total	Never Married	Married	Divorced or Widowed
1983	2,263	500	1,531	232
1984	2,282	517	1,532	232
1985	2,304	523	1,543	237
1986	2,327	542	1,547	237
1987	2,360	559	1,562	237
1988	2,408	581	1,585	240
1989	2,474	606	1,623	243

1990	2,536	638	1,645	252
1991	2,592	670	1,661	260
1992	2,619	689	1,663	265
1993	2,610	693	1,647	268
1994	2,614	705	1,636	271
1995	2,614	719	1,623	271
1996	2,627	730	1,625	272
1997	2,665	738	1,649	277
1998	2,656	746	1,627	282
1999	2,632	740	1,609	282
2000	2,629	742	1,602	284
2001	2,629	749	1,592	284
2002	2,594	736	1,571	275
2003	2,597	742	1,564	284
2004	2,616	746	1,573	287
2005	2,633	753	1,579	291

Source: Labour Force Survey, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, Government of Japan, Tokyo, January 31, 2006.

Note: Female Employees:
Actual number of those working, including females with a job but not at work.

Governments Initiatives for Betterment of Women

Encouraging gender equality is an integral part of the structural reforms, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi appointed Prof. Kuniko Inoguchi, as Minister of State for Gender Equality and Social Affairs, the first ministerial post to deal exclusively with these issues in October 2005. As a result of the general election that took place in September 2005, there is now an unprecedented number of female members of the House of Representatives - forty-three (43), an increase by twenty-six (26) percent. While women's participation in society is growing and more women are

involved in decision-making processes, yet the proportion of the whole they represent still remains unsatisfactory.

At the national as well as international level, Japan has taken concrete steps for the advancement of women following the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which has **proven** effective in protecting the human rights of women and promoting gender equality. To promote the participation of women in the policy and decision-making process, the Government of Japan set a specific numerical target in this regard in 2003: women will account for at least 30 percent of the leadership positions in all sectors of society by the year 2020.

Japan announced "The Initiative on Women in Development (WID)" at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. Since then, it has been making a significant contribution to WID-related activities, especially in the areas of education, health, and the economic and social participation of women. In this conjunction, the Japanese government drew up the "Initiative on Gender and Development (GAD)," with the idea of changing the environment surrounding women in developing countries and stressing the importance of gender mainstreaming in development. Under this new initiative, Japan will further strengthen its efforts to promote gender equality and empowerment of women in developing countries. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law, passed in 1985, revised in 1986 enforced in 1999 prohibits gender discrimination in every stage of working lives starting from classified advertisements, recruitment process, and employment until retirement. Within the law, articles to prevent sexual harassment and to implement positive action were established, and the protection of maternity and maternity leave was enhanced. The Child Care and Nursing Leave Law passed in 1992, gives one year

leave to care for child or three months to take care of aged parents. The Basic Law for education prohibits the discrimination in educational system.

In 1996, the Basic Plan for Gender Equality 2000 was prepared that paved the path for promulgating the Basic Law for Gender Equal Society in 1999, this law also pushed the cabinet to approve the Basic Plan for Gender Equality in December 2000. Japan government has also taken efforts to prevent domestic violence against women. In April 2001, the comprehensive Law for the Prevention of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims was promulgated. In December 2004, an amended and strengthened law also took effect, and a basic policy was adopted in accordance with the amended law. By the passing of this law, the system of patriarchy has been weakened and women s rights are protected.

In 2001, the Council for Gender Equality, chaired by the Chief Cabinet Secretary, who is also the Minister for Gender Equality, was established within the Cabinet Office as a new forum where ministers and intellectuals can share their knowledge and experience and discuss the broad range of issues related to gender equality. The Council was given a mandate to monitor the implementation status of government policies and to study and deliberate on the impact of government policies on the formation of a gender-equal society. At the same time, the Gender Equality Bureau was established within the Cabinet Office and given responsibility for planning and coordinating the gender equality policies of the Government as a whole. By strengthening the national machineries, policies on gender equality are being implemented under the strong leadership of the Cabinet Office.

The Government of Japan is also taking initiatives to promote the participation of women in the policy and decision-making processes. Since 2001, Prime Minister Koizumi has appointed eight female ministers in his cabinet. Also, at the local level, there are four women governors currently holding office. These facts clearly show an increase in the political empowerment of women in Japan. Furthermore in 2003, the Japanese government set a concrete goal that by the year 2020 women should occupy at least 30 percent of the leadership positions in all sectors of society.

Conclusion

The emerging concept of modernization and easy access to modern source of information and communication has brought about rapid social and cultural changes throughout world. Developing concepts of gender equality, gender mainstreaming, gender sensitization and gender balance throughout the globe has provided a platform liberal and middle class to come forward for getting rid of the expired and defective concepts and rituals. By this the monopoly and dominancy of male members in the society has become weakened. As the result of these rapid changes at the global level, Japanese society has also gone under many social and cultural changes. The old family patterns shifted from extended family to nuclear family, arranged-marriage to love- marriage and the male dominancy over family members (particularly women) shifted to equal rights and respect based. Japanese women started to take part in the economic and social activities. These sudden and unexpected changes particularly the changing roles of women affected the old family system and as the result violence against women, increasing number of divorces and single family is seen in the Japanese society.

The Japanese government has also taken sufficient initiatives for gender equal society. Many laws were promulgated and council for gender equality was established within cabinet office. In 2001, Prime Minister Koizumi has appointed eight female ministers in his cabinet and in 2003; the Japanese government set a concrete goal that by the year 2020 women should occupy at least 30 percent of the leadership positions in all sectors of society. As the result of these pro women policies and initiatives women have succeeded to break the chains of male dominancy but having a lack of social acceptance of women s role out of family, they are facing many social problems. Now a days there is a vital need to aware and sensitize the public about the social acceptance of women s roles in the social and economic development. For this, civil society organizations particularly women s right based NGOs and feminist groups have to come forward to raise public awareness.

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