

ABSTRACTS

Vol.48 No.3 2008 (No.389)

**Redress for the Holocaust (Shoa) and Nakba
as a Key to Solve the Palestine Problem (1)**

..... OKANOUCHI Tadashi

[Abstract]

The Palestine problem has been approached from the nationalist point of view. According to this view, the problem should be solved by the establishment of two nation-states. The Oslo agreement seemed to assure the two nation-states solution, but it failed by the growing violence between and within both nations. Nation as a type of community lost its power to integrate people into a peaceful entity. From the case of Maori indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand, the neo-tribe instead of nation can be found as a new type of community which enables to develop the peaceful process of redress for past wrongs (i.e., colonization, etc.). From this neo-tribalist point of view, redress for the Holocaust is not sufficient, as the redress for Nakba is not sufficient, comparing with the case for Maori neo-tribes. Therefore, if both the Holocaust and the Nakba cases will be treated like the Maori case as a set of past colonization process, the peaceful solution might be possible also in Palestine. Such neo-tribalist approach may be possible by the globalization process. Jewish and Arab neo-tribes could co-exist peacefully not only in Palestine but also in any other part of the world, along with continuing talking-process of redress for past wrongs in the network of public spheres.

Recently Started Structural Reform in Cuba

..... SINDO Michihiro

[Abstract]

Now in Cuba a structural reform is debated and tackled in the very restrained way in the political, economic and social fields. Because, there are many difficult and distorted problems in the Cuban society which have been accumulated during the process of the revolutionary transformation, such as the dual monetary system, salary system with which the citizens can satisfy their daily necessities only 25%, a stagnation of agricultural production, caused by the centrally ordered and planned system, the social corruption and moral deterioration which are observed amply in the society, the property system of the production

means, the ration system, the social welfare, decentralization of the decision process of the enterprise and governmental institutes, the increase of the market function.

The author describes how the problems are acknowledged by the government leaders in the last years and how now the reforms to resolve the problems are carried out without any clear declaration by the government.

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**Redress for the Holocaust (Shoa) and Nakba
as a Key to Solve the Palestine Problem (2)**

..... **OKANOUCHI Tadashi**

[Abstract]

The Palestine problem has been approached from the nationalist point of view. According to this view, the problem should be solved by the establishment of two nation-states. The Oslo agreement seemed to assure the two nation-states solution, but it failed by the growing violence between and within both nations. Nation as a type of community lost its power to integrate people into a peaceful entity. From the case of Maori indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand, the neo-tribe instead of nation can be found as a new type of community which enables to develop the peaceful process of redress for past wrongs (i.e., colonization, etc.). From this neo-tribalist point of view, redress for the Holocaust is not sufficient, as the redress for Nakba is not sufficient, comparing with the case for Maori neo-tribes. Therefore, if both the Holocaust and the Nakba cases will be treated like the Maori case as a set of past colonization process, the peaceful solution might be possible also in Palestine. Such neo-tribalist approach may be possible by the globalization process. Jewish and Arab neo-tribes could co-exist peacefully not only in Palestine but also in any other part of the world, along with continuing talking-process of redress for past wrongs in the network of public spheres.

“Liberal Empire” and Regime Change in the Iraq War

..... **TAKEUCHI Yukio**

[Abstract]

Imperialism and Empire have come back as not only political but also journalistic and academic terms with adjectives like liberal and democratic. Today the United States and Great Britain are called new and old Liberal Empire, neo-conservatives who played a critical role in the decision-making of the Iraq war are named “democratic imperialists”, and military actions against tyrannical regimes of human-rights abuser are termed “humanitarian intervention”. The

leaders of the Iraq war, George W. Bush and Tony Blair, when they addressed the reasons for the war, repeated the words like liberty and freedom (for the people of Iraq) in addition to the dangerous nature of the regime to the world peace. It should be noted that this new idea of intervention was supported by some prominent Liberal-Lefts while the majority of them opposed the war. According to a British journalist, J. Hari, this divided Liberal-Left was presupposed in Britain because the British Left had sometimes been divided between supporters of anti-colonialism and anti-fascism (pro-human-rights). The former opposed any kind of intervention, and the latter was likely to agree to intervention of humanitarian bases. Michael Ignatieff who is an eminent liberal tells that we need humanitarian (imperial) interventions to tyrannical regimes in the chaotic world after the end of the Cold War. Christopher Hitchens who was a renowned left most hated by conservatives asserts that regime change is necessary and criticizes the ordinary left for forgetting the importance of human-rights and actually supporting the most tyrannical regime, Saddam Hussein's. This note is a critical review of these new ideas of imperialism and intervention with some criticism of them.

**The Usefulness and Problems of International Cooperation for Disaster Recovery
from the Indian Ocean Tsunami Disaster: A Case Study on Banda Aceh, Indonesia
..... SAKAMOTO Mayumi, SAKAMOTO Masahide & KAWATA Yoshiaki**

[Abstract]

Disaster is a social phenomenon caused by a natural hazard. In order to reduce disaster risks, it is essential to understand the social aspect of disaster. In this study we will try to clarify how social factors affected the disaster recovery process, and discuss whether international cooperation for disaster recovery was useful through a case study of Banda Aceh, a region heavily affected by the Indian Tsunami Disaster that occurred on December 26, 2004. Firstly, we will review the international cooperation mechanism for a disaster affected area in order to understand its character. Secondly we will analyze how pre-disaster socio-political condition affected the disaster recovery process. Thirdly, based on field surveys, especially from those in permanent housing, we will analyze how local people comprehend international cooperation and whether it was useful for disaster recovery. Based on these analyses finally we will try to clarify the usefulness and problems of international cooperation, and propose key requirements for future cooperation.

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Crises of the Global Capitalism: Where Are We Heading?

KOBAYASHI Naoaki*

[Abstract]

Leaders of advanced countries that have enjoyed favor of globalization declared “We will address various political, economic and social challenges for extending globalization’s benefits to all” at G8 Hokkaido Toyako Summit held in July 2008. However, even if it is certain that people who cannot receive benefits from globalization are actually suffering, it is also incontrovertible truth that people involved in globalization willy-nilly are afflicted with its tremendous instability. At present, moreover, a lot of countries of the world are suffering from the influence of financial crisis generated in advanced countries. The failure of casino capitalism has caused all over the world a large adverse effect. Where is global capitalism heading? We should reexamine the market system that is an essence of global capitalism, and reconsider the significance of *the end of Laissez-Faire* advocated by John Maynard Keynes.

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Service Delivery Conflict in South Africa’s Water Sector: Phiri, Soweto’s Pre-Paid Meter Protest

Johann TEMPELHOFF*

[Abstract]

The forced resignation of South Africa’s President Thabo Mbeki in September 2008 was largely as a result of the re-strengthening of relations between the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). Differences between the Mbeki administration and a significant proportion of civil society are the result of general discontent with service delivery in respect of water supply, sanitation and electricity services at the local government level. The government’s alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu, who were increasingly marginalised after 2002, played an important role in protesting against levels of poverty and what was considered to be the inhumane treatment of civil society in an era of strong market-oriented economic development in the country.

In this article attention is given to service delivery, poverty and economic development, but the focus is primarily on the country's water sector. The protest of civil society against the commodification of water in Phiri, Soweto, is singled out. It is postulated that in the coming weeks and months the new interim government under President Kgalema Motlante will probably have to make policy shifts in the country's water governance strategies. These may well have a far-reaching effect on the sector.

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The Extra Economic Factors in the KORUS FTA

KIM Kwangwook*

[Abstract]

In the background of expanding and deepening cooperation between nations in economic fields, the extra economic factor is the object for consideration. These extra factors include national security, political, psychological and emotional attachments to other countries. Also considered, is the expectation of progress in the economic situation by the ratification of the Republic of Korea, U.S. Free Trade Agreement (hereafter the KORUS FTA).

As of December 2008, neither the U.S. nor South Korea has ratified the free trade agreement, even though the majority of obstacles to its ratification have been removed in both countries. One significant obstacle, the restriction by South Korea of U.S. beef imports, has been overcome, with the restriction being lifted as of June 2008. Another positive initiative has been South Korea's joining the U.S. visa waver program, which allows Koreans to travel to the U.S. for tourism or business for up to 90 days without the necessity of obtaining a visa.

The increase in tension between North and South Korea is, in part due to the strengthening of ties between the U.S. and South Korea. Consequently this alliance has had a negative impact on the security of East Asia. While continuously monitoring the tension of such a frame, it is necessary to consider the trading exchanges and interactions between North Korea and northeast Asian nations.

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Liberalism and Empire: Richard Cobden, J. S. Mill and J. A. Hobson

TAKEUCHI Yukio*

The Iraq War in 2003 is considered to be a typical case of Anglo-American imperialistic intervention. The leaders of the war, however, asserted that the war was necessary not only for the world peace but also for the Iraqi people who had been abused by Saddam Hussein's regime. And some prominent liberals supported the regime change on humanitarian causes. The author has ever written a critical note of these liberal discourses (*Quarterly Bulletin of Third World Studies*, 2008). Liberal empire and liberal imperialism have been much argued and written since the early 19th century. When liberals encountered the non-European world, something happened in their mind. Some of them accepted despotism as a way to rule “barbarians”. They thought that the utmost abuse of European power was better than the most temperate exercise of Oriental despotism. So the finest liberal of the 19th century, J. S. Mill, advocated progressive colonial despotism in India. Richard Cobden, the chief pillar of free trade movement and a great pacifist, claimed that it was not possible to govern India by the principles of Adam Smith (*laissez-faire*) because India was uncivilized. Even J. A. Hobson, the sharpest critic of imperialism, wrote that it is justifiable for western nations to use compulsory government for the control and education in the arts of industrial and political civilization of the inhabitants of tropical countries (though with strict conditions). This note is a historiographical review of the ideas of liberal imperialism.

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From Democratization to Crisis: Three Phases of Constitution Making in Turkey 1982-2008

Andrew ARATO*

This study conceptualizes Turkey's attempt to transform its authoritarian constitution of 1982 in three partially overlapping phases: 1. The politics of democratic transition, 2. The politics of Europeanization and 3. The politics of renegotiating the country's identity and the meaning of secularism. Each phase encompasses the previous ones, but the conflicts erupting during the last have the potential to threaten also the very considerable earlier achievements. I examine in particular the constitution making process characteristic of each phase, and how the majoritarian aspects of the last phase have helped to usher in a period of constitutional crisis. Failure of compromise and consensus among parties plays a particular role in this and I assign responsibility for it to both the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi = Justice and Development

Party) governmental side and to its opposition along with its allied state institutions, notably the earlier state president, the Constitutional Court, and the public prosecutor. I consider especially unfortunate, that in context of the crisis the anti-governmental side, using the judicial system, has attempted to resort to a “nuclear option” used before (but never against such a big majority), trying to close a governing party and ban its major politicians. The article, written before the actual decision on the case, and even the presentation of the Rapporteur for the Court (as well as a long interview I gave to the daily Milliyet that represented its perspective), maintains that there was a quite a different option that the Constitutional Court had – more compatible with the rule of law and democracy – if it wished to help preserve the secular character of the republic in the process of constitutional change. Finally, the article considers the positive role that European institutions and proposals of the current government are now playing to end the crisis, and to give Turkey, finally, in a fourth phase or stage, a popularly accepted, hopefully consensual, secular and civilian constitution.

Subsequent to the conclusion of the study in May, on July 30 the Constitutional Court decided not to close the AKP. The appendix indicates my reaction to that decision.

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Redress for the Holocaust(Shoa) and Nakba as a Key to Solve the Palestine Problem (3)

OKANOUCI Tadashi*

The Palestine problem has been approached from the nationalist point of view. According to this view, the problem should be solved by the establishment of two nation-states. The Oslo agreement seemed to assure the two nation-states solution, but it failed by the growing violence between and within both nations. Nation as a type of community lost its power to integrate people into a peaceful entity. From the case of Maori indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand, the neo-tribe instead of nation can be found as a new type of community which enables to develop the peaceful process of redress for past wrongs (i.e., colonization, etc.). From this neo-tribalist point of view, redress for the Holocaust is not sufficient, as the redress for Nakba is not sufficient, comparing with the case for Maori neo-tribes. Therefore, if both the Holocaust and the Nakba cases will be treated like the Maori case as a set of past colonization process, the peaceful solution might be possible also in Palestine. Such neo-tribalist approach may be possible by the globalization process. Jewish and Arab neo-tribes could co-exist peacefully not only in Palestine but also in any other part of the world, along with continuing talking-process of redress for past wrongs in the network of public spheres.

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A Review of Economic Theory for Sustainable Development

SAKAMOTO Masahide*

The modern economic system has been established without considering the limit of natural resources. It has considered that all problems could be solved through continuous economic development. However, recent continuous problems like a lack of natural resources, inability to recycle mass waste and the expansion of economic disparity between the developing world and developed countries appeared as a result of economic growth.

This indicates that in order to maintain economic activities, both developed countries, which have already achieved economic growth, and developing countries, which are still in the process of economic growth, must convey economic activities within the carrying capacity of the environment. Also expansion of economic disparity influences human society through disease, hunger, severe labor conditions including child labor, poverty due to lack of education, environmental disruption resultant from profit seeking, deterioration of security, etc. These reasons are why global society started to discuss how to achieve “sustainable development (SD)” considering economic sustainability and the reduction of economic disparity in a global context.

If global environmental problems and the poverty which have endangered human sustainability have its root cause in economic activities, then we have to establish economics or economic theories to limit economic activities within the carrying capacity of the environment and to keep fairness of social economy. In this paper, firstly, I define the concept of SD and categorize the discussion based on this definition, found in past studies. Secondly, I examine the usefulness and the problems of the SD Index from economical, environmental and social aspects in order to utilize it as a guideline for policy making. Thirdly, from a historical economic view point, I compare the value theory of traditional economics which consider value for nature and labor, essential for human development, in an abstractive way with the theory of Hans Immler, which considers it in a concrete way. Finally, through the analysis, I propose modified standards of SD, and economic policy based on it.

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Energy-Environmental Policy and Environmental Protection in Central and Eastern Europe

IWATA Hiroshi*

Why and how were so significant the environmental degradation and its effects on health damage in the former Eastern European countries under the centrally planned economy system? To resolve the above mentioned problems, we must analyze the relation between the former Soviet Union and the former Eastern European countries with energy supply and COMECON system that forced them the policy to promote the heavy industry preferentially. Moreover, we must analyze the reasons why the environmental policy did not function to control the environmental degradation in those countries. Why and how Central and Eastern European countries try to practice the environmental protection successfully in transition from the former system to market system? To resolve these problems, we must analyze the “positive side” of globalization on environment and the new environmental policy of those countries in transition. Of course, we must analyze the “negative side” of globalization on environment at the same time. Finally, we would like to research the sustainable way to improve the environment.

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Examining Participatory Innovations in Bolivarian Caracas: The Cases of the TWRs and SMCOs

Margarita LOPEZ MAYA*

The government of Hugo Chavez since 1999 has opened the spheres to promote popular participation in the public management. This constitutes the main part of the national revolutionary project. In the first presidential term between 1999 and 2007, this was called the “bolivarian” project or “participatory and autonomous” democracy. More recently, these are expressed in the idea of “socialism of the twenty-first century”, which the president has promoted as the guiding principle of his second government.

This article presents the results of research carried out in Caracas between 2006 and 2007 on diverse participatory innovations brought forward by the central government. The research was guided by a number of questions and a strategy based on the principle of participatory observation, including a large number of semi-structured interviews with participants, civil servants, and technicians who were involved in those innovations.

We will present the cases of Technical Water Round-Tables of the district of La Pedrera in the parish of Antimano, and the Self-Managing Community Organizations of the districts of Carpintero and Union in the parish of Petare. We will also present general aspects of the Urban Land Committees, Bolivarian Circles, and Communal Councils, which are more recent innovations initiated by the government. These examples of bolivarian innovations from the first term of the president (1999-2007) help us to reach comprehensive conclusions of these important ongoing processes of participation.

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The Political Status Issues of Guam as a Non-Self-Governing Territory: Chamorro Nationalists in Pursuit of “Self-Determination” and “Sovereignty”

NAGASH IMA Reo*

This article analyzes why Chamorro nationalists used the concepts of “self-determination” and “sovereignty” and what both the concepts meant for the political status issues of Guam in the 1980s and the 1990s. Guam became a possession of the United States in 1898, and was registered as a Non-Self-Governing Territory under the Charter of the United Nations in 1946 and defined as an “unincorporated territory” of the United States in the Organic Act of 1950. Chamorro nationalists not only had a drive to change the political status of Guam, but also addressed and discussed such various issues as land appropriation, environmental destruction and rapidly increasing emigration/immigration (for which the United States military and government were responsible). Because changing the political status was considered to be a solution to those social problems by Chamorro nationalists, the concepts of “self-determination” and “sovereignty” were embedded within the social conditions of the island. Moreover, Chamorro nationalists didn’t equate the concepts of “self-determination” and “sovereignty” with “independence” as a western modern state from the United States and emphasized “decolonization” and “self-government”.

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A Study on the U.S. Economy and Foreign Economic Relations in the Post-Cold War era

TOKORO Yasuhiro*

The declaration “The Global Plan for Recovery and Reform” that was adopted at G20 London Summit held in April 2009, agreed to strengthen regulation of the international capital speculation. At present, the world financial crisis is serious, and a sign of the decline of the “Hegemony” of American economy and rise of the other national economies, such as the BRICs, and the multipolarization of world economy progress. In this research, various problems of the American economy were analyzed from the viewpoint of foreign economic relations, especially North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as the typical frame of American “Regionalism”, in the Post-Cold War Era. This paper clarified the situation of an overseas transfer of American industry and its dependence on Mexico (a member nation of NAFTA has an abundance of low wage workers in the assembling processing industry) for the period concerned. The most important point is how we recognize the negative side of a

hierarchical regional integration, like NAFTA, for the American economy.

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From Human Development Strategy to Human Needs Approach

OTA Kazuhiro*

Development debate has revolved around quality of human life for a couple of decades. “Human Development” and “capability” concept have contributed to put human in the center of the debate. These innovative concepts, however, did not change the fundamental circumstances relating to poverty and development strategies. This paper discusses why these have limited impacts, and then takes up “Human Needs Theories” in order to consider the very basic question; what is required by human? Human needs approach based on individual autonomy may propose an alternative to improve not only the quality of life of each but also the social institution and structure concerned.

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Water War in Cochabamba

KAWAI Tsuneo*

This article presents an analysis of the process and a chronological account of the water war in Cochabamba, Bolivia, between the end of 1999 and April of 2000. At the beginning, I explain briefly the situation of poverty in Bolivian people. Next I will examine the governance of Bolivian government in the privatization of water in La Paz and El Alto, which preceded the privatization of water in Cochabamba. Then I clarify the process of water privatization in Cochabamba and people’s struggle against this process as it forces the multilateral company Aguas de Tunari out. Finally I examine some points of view presented in other articles related to the water war.

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World Financial Crisis and Its Impacts on the Developing Countries

YOSHIKAWA Kyuji*

The current world financial and economic crisis has now become global. While the crisis began in the financial markets in the United States on September 2008, developing countries are being severely hit through falling export demand and prices, tighter global financing conditions, and reduction of remittance. The structure of this paper is as follows: in the section I I describe the structures and the causes of current world crisis originated in the United States. Section II then examines severe international conditions around the developing countries. Section III describes the financial and economic cooperation among developing countries

especially in Latin America and East Asian countries. Finally, I present some concluding remarks about the reform of international financial architecture from the viewpoint of developing countries.

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Conflicting Priorities and Goals
within the Movement of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela

Steve ELLNER*

The process of radical change in Venezuela, which began with Hugo Chávez's advent to power in 1998, has lacked well-defined objectives and a long-term strategy to a degree unmatched by other revolutions over the last century. The Soviet revolution of 1917 and the Chinese one of 1949, for instance, were spearheaded by Communist Parties well grounded in ideology and doctrine that had been worked out over a considerable period of time. The Cuban revolution after 1961 inherited many of these positions, even though its leaders at first put forward a unique revolutionary strategy. In contrast, the Chavista movement emerged in the military with minimum intellectual input and a heavy dosage of nationalism and populism which defined more what it opposed than what it stood for. Furthermore, the international context was radically different. The collapse of the European socialist bloc in 1991 threw leftist movements world wide into disarray and left them with no easy answers to the paramount issues of the role of the state and private property in the economy and society.

Conflicting currents within the political movement headed by Hugo Chávez in Venezuela embody different strategies and policies. The movement's four major currents consist of: direct democracy in which direct participation in decision making largely displaces representative institutions; orthodox Marxism which advocates state-based socialism and privileges the working class; social prioritization which focuses on socialist values and emphasizes social over economic objectives; and pragmatic decision making which prioritizes efficiency and is concerned mainly with the viability of the economic system. The latter two models have generated the most debate among the movement's leaders. An examination of President Chávez's social programs, and particularly the support for worker cooperatives and community councils, helps clarify the different arguments and focuses of the social prioritization and pragmatic decision-making approaches. Venezuela's "trial and error" approach to change requires greater debate within the movement over the concrete problems that have arisen.

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European Economic Integration after WWII and the Monetary Committee of the Zone Franc: Focusing on “Europeanization of the Zone Franc”

FUJITA Ken*

In the mid-1950s, when 6 West European countries were struggling to establish the European Economic Community (EEC), the zone franc was finally formed as a “zone monétaire”. In order to consolidate the cooperation of the French metropole franc and colonial francs, the Banque de France led the centralization of the monetary policy in the zone franc in which the metropole franc worked as a key currency.

This article deals with “Europeanization of the zone franc” as a part of the systematic monetary policy in the French franc area. After a brief survey on the present condition of the zone franc (I) and an overview of the existing researches on the economic policies in the zone franc in the 1940s and 50s (II), this paper, consulting historical documents in the Archives de la Banque de France, elucidates the special characters of the zone franc through the remarks by P. Moussa, a French delegate in the EEC negotiations (III and IV).

As mentioned above, the zone franc constitutes a part of the euro area covering 16 EU countries, although most of the French colonies became independent in the 1960s. To explore the roots of sustainability of “Europeanization of the zone franc”, it is important to analyze the French proposal in the EEC negotiations. The French delegation was asked by the partners if the zone franc functioned as a monetary area like the sterling area. P. Moussa explained the definition of the zone franc and the concept of “Europeanization of the zone franc”. He demonstrated the sustainability of the immature zone franc, referring to the documents of the Comité monétaire de la zone franc in the Banque de France, as he was on the committee.

In this committee, W. Baumgartner, the governor of the Banque de France, played a leading part in the policy-making process. He tried to integrate the foreign currencies, including dollar, which overseas territories of the zone franc had acquired with the foreign currency reserves of the metropole France and thereby to give the zone franc the function of the “zone monétaire”. The conclusion of the committee guaranteed the unlimited convertibility of the French franc and the two kinds of colonial francs. The transferability in the zone franc, the base of the unlimited convertibility of the currencies in the zone franc, thus contributed the monetary stability of the French franc in the 1950s.

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Reexamination of the Economic Development Policy and the Industrialization Process in Developing Countries:

A Case Study of Economic Structure of Algeria

YOSHIDA Atsushi*

Starting from a position of extreme vulnerability from the late of 1980s, due to low oil prices, unsustainable foreign debt servicing, Algeria has undergone economic reform process under the IMF inspired structural adjustment program. The effects of reform began to be felt in 1999 while oil prices began to rise. Boosted by record oil price hikes until mid-2008, the regime of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika has outlined a national development agenda, which focused on reforms to sustain growth, to generate employment, and to reduce poverty. In the hydrocarbons sector, policy reform emphasized on rethinking the hydrocarbons law, which was originally conceived in 2005 as a liberalizing measure, but was revised the following year to give a strong central role to Sonatrach. In the development of natural gas sector, Algeria is set to witness a surge in gas export, with the completion of the new gas projects being undertaken that could help Europe to diversify its energy supplies.

Despite the satisfaction felt in Washington and Europe over Algeria's macroeconomic performance in recent years, it warns of the medium-term dangers resulting from continued low oil prices, which would significantly weaken the external and fiscal positions, reduce public spending and depress growth, and of the weak industrial performance. Algeria's economy is still highly dependent on hydrocarbons exports and the non-hydrocarbons sector is mainly inward oriented. This paper reexamines the recent economic development policy and the industrialization process in Algeria, and reconsiders the structural problem of the Algerian economy.

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Organization and Management of Socialist Industrial Enterprises in the Former Soviet Union

OKADA Shozo*

The process of the formation of the socialist industrial enterprises after October Revolution mainly consists of workers' control and nationalization of industrial enterprises. Workers' control which had been executed before the Revolution was the basis of the evolution of the socialist management policies in 1920's.

In this article, first, I analyzed the issues of management policies in the period of the birth and growth of socialist enterprises in view of motivation, incentives and managers. Secondly, I treated the system of one-man management (one-man responsibility) and investigated about its fundamental character. Finally, I reviewed the resistance to change in the Soviet economic system by the bureaucracy in the period of Perestroika.

A new system of motivation after the Revolution, where incentives played a more important role, was developed mainly through three new institutions, namely “Saturdayings”, work emulation and the “obligations”. These institutions were based on positive motivation and moral incentive. Because of shortage of labor in 1920’s, the motivational system was introduced in the conscripted work organization and it was based on capitalist norms, economic piece-work incentives and very severe negative incentives. This system became the typical type of Stalin’s model of management institutionalized in 1930-s. Besides these issues, there was one of the most important factors of the new system of Soviet enterprises. It was, of course, a personnel policy whose main objective was to replace all management staff by true Communists of proletarian origin. But it was clearly impossible and the problem became the urgent subject of factory management.

Some western scholars insist that one-man management was viewed as a microcosm of the Stalinist state’s ever increasing tendency toward centralization and dictatorial rule, others, a deliberate attempt to create a ruling class (or “little Stalins”) with despotic power in the enterprises. But, according to H. Kuromiya, there are some contradictions implicit in this standard interpretation. The party leaders never identified it with despotic power. One-man management meant institutionalized, accountable system with workers’ control incorporated and it embodied, that’s most important, a deliberate attempt to train the Communist managers in the midst of socialist construction to be real one-man managers. In short, it was not only based on negative but positive motivation. But the failure of this attempt led to the strong rule in the factories.

In the pages which follow, I referred to the issue of the resistance to change the Soviet type economy by representatives of the party “apparatchiks” and economic bureaucrats who had been built in the Soviet ruling stratum stemmed from Stalin’s ruling system, in the period “Perestroika”. The further inquiry yet remains to be done.

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A Study on the Characteristics of the World Economy after 1991

NAKANO Yoichi*

The purpose of this paper is to consider the trend of the world economy after 1991, and

what globalization is.

First, I analyzed real GDP rates, unemployment rates, consumer price indices, short-term interest rates, current account balances, general government gross financial liabilities in the major developed economies, and trade growth rates, foreign direct investment, portfolio investment, financial assets, military expenditures in the world.

Then, I examined some views of globalization, and have come to the conclusion that contemporary global capitalism has the following five characteristics:

- (1) The collapse of the USSR in 1991 was the turning point for global capitalism.
- (2) The world economy after 1991 is the second period of Pax Americana.
- (3) Neo-liberal globalization caused the present-day global capitalism.
- (4) The global economy has seen the worldwide expansion of armaments after 9/11/2001.
- (5) Global capitalism is a gap-widening society, with growing income inequality between rich and poor in the world.

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Japanese-Language Education in Vietnam in the 1970s and Today — From my Experiences in Hanoi and Namdinh —

MIYAHARA Akira*

This paper describes the outlines of Japanese-language education in Vietnam in the 1970s and today, and discusses their characteristics, focusing on my experiences at Foreign Trade University in Hanoi and Center for Japanese Language and Culture in Namdinh.

Foreign Trade University started a regular Japanese language course in 1973. In the 1970s, learners as well as teachers in the University eagerly worked on Japanese-language education under difficult conditions in the postwar days as a kind of duty to the country. Today, with the progress of market economy, the purpose for students to learn Japanese has changed to personal one such as getting a job with a Japanese company, and teachers also give priority to personal economic profits.

Japanese-language education in Vietnam is now expanding in quantity due to the increase of learners. However, in Foreign Trade University, the learning environments such as facilities, class size, teaching materials, and teachers' morale have not necessarily improved since the 1970s.

Center for Japanese Language and Culture was established in 2007 as a non-profit Japanese language school, the purpose of which is to give young people in Namdinh and its vicinity the chance of learning Japanese and Japanese culture in order to find employment in Japanese firms or to study in

Japan. Although learning environments of the Center are much better than those of Foreign Trade University, most of the students are not very well motivated.

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The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War

SAITO Haruko*

There have been few books published on the theme of Soviet policy towards the Vietnam War (including the Indo-China War) in the two decades since the end of the Vietnam War. Because the national archives in the Soviet Union which owned the documents related to the theme were closed except to the specially admitted scholars. The collapse of the Soviet Union freed some archives for Russian and the foreign scholars. In 1996, *The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War*, written by Ilya Gaiduk was published. This is the first book on the Soviet involvement in the Vietnam War using the previously unavailable documents.

In the Soviet period most of Russian scholars provided Soviet policy towards the Vietnam War as the harmonized line between its foreign policy aiming at the peaceful coexistence and the fraternal assistance of the national liberation movement by the Vietnamese communists. On the other side, some of the American scholars indicated that the Soviet Union had changed its policy from the negotiation with the U.S.A. to the military assistance for the Northern Vietnam in place of China whose political leaders desired the predominant influence in the North Vietnam. Gaiduk has indicated the turning point as 1965 year after the American bombardment against the Northern Vietnam following the Tonkin Gulf Incident.

This author doubts that the Soviet government exactly changed its policy intending the solution of Vietnam problems by negotiation with the Western Powers, notwithstanding the increasing supply of high technological arms and military specialists. Whether did the Soviet Union expect the military unification of Vietnam by North Vietnam army even at the impending phase, or not ? Whether did the Soviet Union have the urgent interests in Vietnam, or not ?

In this article the verifying process of Soviet government involving the Vietnam problems is investigated in five phases through the Vietnam War.

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Land Reform in the War : A Study on the Collapse of Landlordism in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam

TAKADA Yoko*

In this article this writer discusses the disintegration of the large land tenure established for the export-oriented rice production in the Mekong Delta during the French colonial period.

The writer brings into focus several points which are the social revolution in the Indochina war, the land reform operated by the Diem government to eliminate the large landowners with more than 100

hectares, the actual land policies in the liberated zone, and "Land-to-the-tiller" program performed by the Thieu government toward the abolition of the tenant system, to understand more profoundly the solution of land issues after independence. First, the history of land tenure in the colonial period is explained with the viewpoint of the French policies and the political economy of landlords. It was to encourage small-owners and to reduce the power of large landowners, but after that, it permitted the development of a far more powerful landlord class by means to distribute the concession land in the Transbassac, where only 2 % of all landowners with more than 50 hectares occupied 45% land in Cochinchina.

It is examined how the peasants who moved to the liberated zone in the Indochina war, squattered to cultivate the land of landlords absentees, based on the interviews with elder farmers in the field research done by the writer in 1997-8. By 1968, under the Diem's ordinance 57 and the French land purchase program, 132 thousand farmers had received the titles to their lands. But this was only about 12 % of the number of tenants in the Delta.

In the liberated zone, people carried out land redistribution, rent reduction and higher farm wages. From 1970 Thieu's program which was supported by the financial aid of USA granted land, a maximum of three hectares per family in the Delta. The law designed to eliminate tenancy system in all the country. The elder farmers above give evidences to have the title of their land squattered in the Indochina war by the program.

Last, the writer shows the larger land tenure than in the colonial time, still remained just before its collapse, based on the detailed data of land expropriation from 1958 to 1966 in Phuong Dinh province.

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The Vietnam War As Seen from the Chinese-Vietnamese Borders

FUJITA A. Kazuko*

In mid-January 1950, Ho Chi Minh crossed the Vietnamese-Chinese border on foot. The 59-year-old Chief of State of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) had walked for 17 days through the jungles of Viet Bac (northern Vietnam), disguised as a follower of a Vietnamese team under the name of "Dinh". It was Ho himself who declared the independence of Vietnam on September 2, 1945, but the DRV was still fighting for independence against the French without any official aid from the outside world. Building up scattered redoubts in northern and southern parts of the country, not a few of his colleagues were expecting to carry out a general offensive. Ho Chi Minh was convinced that large-scale international assistance would be vital for the third and the last stage of the Vietnamese anti-French resistance. Escorted by the Chinese, the President of the DRV left border town Jingxi for Beijing and for Moscow, and formally requested for military assistance from the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union. Skeptical of Ho's ideological orthodoxy, Stalin suggested "division of labor" between the PRC and the Soviet Union to Liu Shaoqi in July 1949, and then to Mao Zedong in early 1950.

Massive military and economic assistance, some of which was sent from the Soviet Union by way of the PRC, conditioned the Vietnam War against the French under the veil of secrecy. Although the will for independence of the Vietnamese people finally decided the destiny of the DRV, the personal characteristics concerned had important effects on the course of the war: Ho Chi Minh, who exercised unique leadership, living among the people and translating his own idea to action; Chen Geng and Vo Nguyen Giap, who respectively showed military genius at the border campaign in 1951 and in the battle of Dien Bien Phu particularly at its latter phase in 1954; and Zhou Enlai, who demonstrated great ability as a diplomat in persuading Ho Chi Minh, at Liuzhou in July 1954, to accept a pair of settlements—a temporary military line along the 16th parallel and national elections within two years. The decisions of Ho Chi Minh are to be reviewed in the final outcome of the Vietnam War against the U.S. in 1975.

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“American War Crimes” in Vietnam Reconsidered

FUJIMOTO Hiroshi*

On August 6th, 2006, *The Los Angeles Times* carried a one-page article based on the Vietnam War Crimes Working Group (VWCWG) Files, a collection of formerly classified documents compiled by U.S. Army investigators in the early 1970s. These files make clear that during the Vietnam War there were 320 substantiated incidents of atrocities committed against Vietnamese civilians (not including the 1968 Son My [My Lai] Massacre) and abuses of prisoners by U.S. armed forces. The VWCWG Files also officially recognized and documented evidence gathered by citizens’ investigations conducted during the War, such as the “Russell Tribunal” in 1967 and “the Winter Soldier Investigation” in 1971. Although officials treated atrocities as “isolated incidents,” the VWCWG Files prove that they were more common and more extensive than we were led to believe.

Many people questioned the legitimacy of American intervention in Vietnam as journalists and citizens’ groups exposed atrocities against Vietnamese civilians in the 1960s and 1970s. Similarly, the conduct of the post-9/11 “American Wars” in Afghanistan and Iraq has been increasingly criticized, especially because of the significant civilian casualties resulting from counterinsurgency operations against suspected “terrorists.” These similarities suggest that the United States has failed to address the lessons of the Vietnam War in regard to Iraq and Afghanistan. The VWCWG Files, as retired Brig. Gen. John H. Johns—a Vietnam veteran and member of the task force assigned to the VWCWG project—has argued, “deserve wide attention in light of alleged attacks on civilians and abuse of prisoners in Iraq.”

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Some Developments in the Draft Political Platform

of the Communist Party of Vietnam

FURUTA Motoo*

The Communist Party of Vietnam is going to hold its 11th National Congress in January 2011. In this Congress the Party plans to revise its political platform on national construction during the transitional period to socialism, which was created in the 9th National Congress of the Party in 1991. In September 2010, the full text of the draft political platform (to be revised in 2011) is made public in order to collect ideas of people before submission to the 11th Congress.

About the development of so-called <socialist-oriented market economy> there is a heated controversy on the role of state-owned economy. The draft is of a conservative content that confirms the insistence of the platform in 1991 saying the state-owned economy plays the key role and becomes the foundation of the national economy.

However, the draft draws a new tone about foreign policy which reflects new strategy since the Party Central Committee's Plenum in July 2003. According to this strategy, <friends and foes> are no longer determined by ideological affiliation, but by whether they are <cooperation partners> or not.

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AAIJ Member

Dynamism of Decision-Making Process of Agricultural Policies in Vietnam -Through the interviews with local cadres in the Red River Delta in 1994-

IDEI Fumi*

The purpose of this paper is to present the following hypothesis of my own on a dynamism of decision-making process of agricultural policies in Vietnam. Since the collectivization campaign of agriculture from 1958 in North Vietnam and through the process of unification of North and South Vietnam, it is difficult to understand any policies related to agriculture and rural areas only within the framework of unilateral decisions taken by the Central leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam or the Central government and their imposition from the above. The real dynamism of policy formation could be understood only through various levels of interactions between independent or sometimes defiant initiatives of peasants or local cadres and the Central leadership.

In order to support my hypothesis this paper took up "hidden contracting system" carried out already in 1975 at Doan Xa village, Do Son district (at present Kien Thuy district), Hai Phong Municipality. The "hidden contracting system", in other words, a contracting system concluded with households who were members of agricultural cooperative concerned with three guiding criteria, was originally tried in 1968 under the initiative of Secretary General of Communist Party of Vinh Phu

Province (at present Vinh Phuc Province). However, at that time, the Central leadership of the Party criticized severely this contracting system as a great deviation from the fundamental policies of the Party and the experiment was given up in the end. After several years afterwards, Doan Xa village took up this time “in secret” this experiment banned before with a tacit understanding of village level cadres at least. However, positive results of this experiment began to be known widely and finally the Party Committee of Hai Phong Municipality officially recognized the experiment and informed development to the Central leadership in 1980. However, the Central Committee of the Party and Government did not criticize this experiment and instead accepted positively the experiment and officially legalized through the propagation of the No.100 national policy declaration of contracting system.

This paper tried to analyze the process in which the Central leadership of the Party and the Government did not obstruct the “hidden contracting system” of Doan Xa village and accepted it within the national agricultural policy.

This paper depends upon those interviews I had with peasants and local cadres for three weeks from the middle of June in 1994 in Hai Phong Municipality, Thai Binh Province and Hai Hung Province (at present Hai Duong Province) in North Vietnam. The research project was related to “Peasants economy” and major counterparts of my interviews were cadres of Provinces, Districts and villages. At that time the period of “overproduction of rice” was already a popular subject of discussion in Vietnam.

*Vice President, Hong Nhung Company Limited (VN)

A Painful Structural Transformation under Globalization: the Mexican Case

Fernando RELLO*

In an evolution from rural societies to urban-industrial one, every country follows a common broad path. However, the characteristics and outcomes of each national path are diverse depending on the natural resources, population, institutions and culture possessed by each country. A typology of structural transformation paths is presented. Emphasis is made on social costs of each path. A successful path solves the food problem and eradicates poverty. In a non-successful path agricultural development is blocked, creating obstacles to economic expansion and poverty and inequality remain high.

Analysis of structural transformation in two Mexican regions shows that rural economies are closely intermingled with other economic sectors and forces. The growth of non-agricultural employment and migration appear to be determining factors of economic and social transformation.

The international context is key to a successful transformation. Globalization represents a major challenge to underdeveloped countries. The international economic system, tailored to the needs of rich countries, represents an adverse context to many underdeveloped nations.

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Beyond the Conflict of 100 Years Relations and Mutual Recognition between Japan and the Republic of Korea in Postwar Years

MUN Gyongsu*

This paper examines how Japan and R.O.K. should build the century of new cooperation beyond the conflict lasting for a century, while looking back on the transition and the attainment of mutual recognition between Japan and R.O.K in postwar years.

In ' . Japan/R.O.K. Negotiation: Unhappy Starting Point of Relations between Japan and R.O.K. in Postwar years', the dispute during Japan /R.O.K. negotiation 1952-65 between R.O.K. which had requested the compensation for colonialization since the annexation of Korea by Japan had been null and void, and Japan which insisted that the annexation of Korea was lawful and colonialization contributed to

the modernization of Korea is examined. There had been the problem in the background of the dispute that after Japan was defeated in World War II, reflection (harm responsibility) to colonialization and the war of aggression was not shared among Japanese people, however Japanese feelings to R.O.K. were the worst on the modern history.

In ‘ . The New Contacts of Japan and R.O.K.: Age of the Conflict over the Cultures’, Mutual recognition of Japan-R.O.K. from the 1980's to the 90's when Japan became the economic power for which Japan accounts for 10 percent of GNP of the world, and democratization and economic growth were achieved in R.O.K. simultaneously. At this time "嫌韓論[Kenkaron]" that criticizes the Korea culture and the Korean gained power in Japan, and the criticism to Japan by the Hangul generation gushed in Korea.

In ‘ . Globalization and Complication of Mutual Recognition’, the Japanese culture had been opened in R.O.K., and there had been Korean boom 韓流 in Japan from the latter half of the 90's to present. Reflection (harm responsibility) to colonialization and the war of aggression came to be shared widely in Japanese society. However, the backlash of perception of history became clear in Japan. There was a substantial change in the two countries people's recognition to others with Korean boom in Japan and Japanese boom in R.O.K. since the middle of the 2000's. In addition New Right gained power in R.O.K., but they faced the people's criticisms though the part of them argued on the justification of colonialization. In R.O.K., though the infiltration of the Japanese culture was remarkable, it was clarified that the criticism to colonialization and the distrust to Japan were still strong.

In the final section, a possibility over the exchange of the civic activities and the reconciliation of Japan- R.O.K. through learning each other, and cooperation is proposed.

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State and Society

KAWAI Tsuneo*

Reflecting changes of world situations, many studies have tried to theorize the relationship between a society and the state from a new viewpoint. In fact, the Marxist theory of state tended to understand structurally such a relationship through the class, neglecting the diversity of organizations and individuals that constitute a society. The essential features of the structure of state tended to be one-sidedly and schematically characterized as a mechanism for class domination. Instead, new state theories highlight a mutually empowering interaction between a society and the state, rather than viewing it as relationship

between the ruler and the ruled.

This paper first examines critically Michael Mann's concept of social forces, which is having a great influence on new state theories. Then I examine the problems of new studies on the relationship between the state and a society. Wang Xu's article "Mutual Empowerment of State and Society: Its Nature, Conditions, Mechanisms, and Limits", successfully points out the problems of the new state theories. In those theories, it is argued that the state and a society are in relationship of mutual support in becoming stronger together and that such a relationship is indispensable to their sustainable development. Thus, Wang critically examines "mutually empowering interaction between the state and social forces" claimed by the new state theories.

The state is generated from the ensemble of social relations within a given area. Therefore, the state is part of social relations. I discuss, within the social relations, the origin of the state, its public nature and legitimacy, its relative autonomy, and its relationship with the civil society.

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The Vietnam War As Seen from the Chinese-Vietnamese Borders

FUJITA A. Kazuko*

In mid-January 1950, Ho Chi Minh crossed the Vietnamese-Chinese border on foot. The 59-year-old Chief of State of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) had walked for 17 days through the jungles of Viet Bac (northern Vietnam), disguised as a follower of a Vietnamese team under the name of "Dinh". It was Ho himself who declared the independence of Vietnam on September 2, 1945, but the DRV was still fighting for independence against the French without any official aid from the outside world. Building up scattered redoubts in northern and southern parts of the country, not a few of his colleagues were expecting to carry out a general offensive. Ho Chi Minh was convinced that large-scale international assistance would be vital for the third and the last stage of the Vietnamese anti-French resistance. Escorted by the Chinese, the President of the DRV left border town Jingxi for Beijing and for Moscow, and formally requested for military assistance from the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union. Skeptical of Ho's ideological orthodoxy, Stalin suggested "division of labor" between the PRC and the Soviet Union to Liu Shaoqi in July 1949, and then to Mao Zedong in early 1950.

Massive military and economic assistance, some of which was sent from the Soviet Union by way of the PRC, conditioned the Vietnam War against the French under the veil of secrecy. Although the will for independence of the Vietnamese people finally decided the destiny of the DRV, the personal

characteristics concerned had important effects on the course of the war: Ho Chi Minh, who exercised unique leadership, living among the people and translating his own idea to action; Chen Geng and Vo Nguyen Giap, who respectively showed military genius at the border campaign in 1951 and in the battle of Dien Bien Phu particularly at its latter phase in 1954; and Zhou Enlai, who demonstrated great ability as a diplomat in persuading Ho Chi Minh, at Liuzhou in July 1954, to accept a pair of settlements - a temporary military line along the 16th parallel and national elections within two years. The decisions of Ho Chi Minh are to be reviewed in the final outcome of the Vietnam War against the U.S. in 1975.

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Review Article

Frederick COOPER, *L'Afrique depuis 1940*, Paris: Payot, 2008

KIDA Tsuyoshi*

In his *L'Afrique depuis 1940* (*Africa since 1940: The past of the Present*), recently published about a history of Africa, Frederick Cooper challenges some contemporary issues of Africa from a historical perspective, including colonialism, developmental politics, decolonialisation, independence movements, nationalism, post-colonialism, oil crisis, Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP), poverty, interethnic conflict. Reminding that Africa could develop in the colonial time as well as in the postcolonial period, Cooper claims that: 1) pre- and post-independent governments kept developmental policies so that there was some socio-economic improvement, 2) such a dynamics was broken down in Africa first by 1970's oil crises and then by 1980's SAP, 3) one of the problems might be "Gate-keeper State" making African economy structurally vulnerable. Thus, the author opposes a monolithic view of colonial and postcolonial histories of Africa, and proposes to objectively analyze contemporary Africa's problems in standing back from the independence and neo-colonialist theses. If Cooper takes the variability of African countries' social history and political economy for granted, it will nonetheless be necessary to take some sociocultural aspects into account, such a language in society for example.

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Construction of Democratic Governance and Social Movements in Kerala, India

MATSUSHITA Kiyoshi*

Amartya Sen said, “Despite the fact that economic growth in Kerala has been slow, it has achieved tremendous results in important areas such literacy, life expectancy and mortality rates.” What are the political, historical, social and cultural factors responsible for Kerala’s success? This article attempts to examine the case of Indian state of Kerala, focusing on democratic decentralization, the dynamics of party-social movement and state-society synergy.

The organization of this article is explained below. § examines the economic and political context of the introduction of People’s Campaign for Decentralized Planning. § reconsiders the social and political development, and the historical background by paying attention of various social movements which have a close relation to the Communist Party (CPM) in Kerala. § focuses on a discussion of the limit of labor militancy and the emerging democratic corporatism.

§ centers on the connection with the civil society and the strong associational environment in Kerala, with particular emphasis placed upon concerns over KSSP (Kerala Science Literature Association). Finally, § discusses with possibilities of a new investment environment and democratic local governance of the ‘state’ by synergetic effect between various domains, social actors, systems and movements.

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China’s Foreign Aid in Africa Since 1956

LI Enmin*

China’s relations with African nations have changed dramatically over the past decades. Africa’s oil now accounts for more and more of China’s oil imports, and China is Africa’s second-largest single-country trading partner, as well as a leading lender and infrastructure investor in North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

The deepening engagement of China in Africa since the end of the Cold War has provoked much discussions. Some scholars and media reports continue to debate *what* China is *really* doing in Africa, and *why* China provides foreign aid to the continent: some claim that it is primarily a tool of political diplomacy, some argue that it is largely intended to support development in LDC (Least Developed Countries) or HIPCs (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries), and still others point out that

China is just the latest exploiter putting its own economic interests (natural resources security etc.) above environment or human rights concerns.

China, as a global economic power, its foreign aid, trade and investments present both threats and opportunities for Africa, requiring an analysis that goes beyond simplistic caricatures of “good” and “evil”. This paper effectively provides comprehensive answers to the questions of what kind of foreign aid China has given to African nations since 1956, given within a proper historical context.

China’s foreign aid activities in Africa through patterns of investment, economic cooperation, trade, labor links, affect the environment, issues of peace, security and stability, possible regulatory interventions and the future strengthening of a China-Africa relationship. Drawing on three periods of experience in China-Africa relations, the paper argues that because of changes in international politics, China’s foreign aid always has been used to achieve a mixture of different goals in different times. The first period (1956-1978) and the second period (1979-1999) are characterized separately by political aid or economic aid, and the new trend of the third period (since 2000) is China’s effort to build a win-win relation through the activities of FOCAC (the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation).

China is a developing country, and in contrast to the rich donor countries, its foreign aid to Africa or its engagement in Africa is an extension of “South-South Solidarity.” China’s south-south commerce with Africa is about far more than minerals and oil. Its new-found interest in trade and investment with Africa presents a significant opportunity for growth and integration of the African continent into the global economy. China has ended poverty for hundreds of millions of its own citizens, and is now helping the developing world pave a way out of poverty. Africans are benefiting from China’s mixture of aid and investment.

Foreign aid has become an element in international relations. China has a long-term, well-planned strategy in Africa, but it is occasionally said to be like an instrument of neocolonialism’s strategy of domination. In order to wipe out the image and correct the misinformation of China’s role in the African continent, the paper concludes, China has to improve the methods of foreign aid, for instance, the high tied aid to Africa.

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The Sun for Flowers, Money for Human-beings! From Empire to World Market Society with Global Basic Income

OKANOUCHI Tadashi*

Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri wrote three books, i.e. *Empire*, *Multitude*, and *Commonwealth*. They were about domination of transnational corporations in the contemporary world, i.e. the new sovereignty of Empire, formation of revolutionary power of the new proletariat, i.e. ‘multitude’, and

prospect for anti-capitalist world revolution. In their political program for revolution, guaranteed basic income took an important position along with the citizenship for all immigrants.

Although their optimistic prospect was criticized by pessimistic Giovanni Arrighi, the merit of their argument was their optimism based on their philosophical assumption on human nature or desire to change the world.

However, their argument about guaranteed basic income was not definitely global, so that their perspective on revolution was limited and Euro-centric, and they failed to have a future prospect from Empire to the world market society with global basic income.

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From "Fish" to "Fishing Rod": Welfare and Development for Sub-Saharan Africa

KIM Kwangwook*

After World War II, Japan, China and South Korea developed from foreign aid recipient countries into foreign aid donor countries or have received and given aid simultaneously, although the size and start of aid programs differ from the three countries; these countries have expanded the size of their aid programs. While many other countries, including East Asia, are expanding dynamically, countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are showing only slow growth. However, it is questioned that this slow growth will continue in the future.

There has been a massive influx of foreign capital and goods due to the deregulation of Asian countries' investment together with the liberalization of foreign direct investment (FDI) under African governments since the end of the Cold War. African countries, which traditionally had trade and investment relations on an extensive scale with Europe, are showing marked trade with Asian countries. The economic growth is related to the enlargement of the commodity market and the development of the regions.

While Sub-Saharan Africa is emerging as a new consumer market, in East Asia Japan, China and South Korea are competing for obtaining natural resources and expanding the new commodity market in this region. Africa is seeking for a solution to quickly cope with the demands of developing countries through partnerships with Japan, China and South Korea; those countries are securing technologies, capital and talented personnel. Sub-Saharan Africa must make continuous efforts not only to construct infrastructure of its overall industry and expand medical educational facilities, but also to stop conflicts and secure political stability in the region.

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Local Governments under the Leftist Government of Brazil:
From Soybean and Oil Based Growth to Endogenous Development

YAMAZAKI Keiichi*

Utilizing the double frameworks of 'intermediate system' analysis and the political system change approach, this article attempts to analyze social policies of the municipal governments of the recent 'leftist' and 'middle way' countries in the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region. The article begins by confirming basic statistical data about the recent improvement of social indicators in the LAC region in Section 2. Then, in Section 3, the author discusses some theoretical points concerning the topic of 'state-society relationship' and decides to refrain from adopting the concept of 'fragile state' or 'failed state'. Rather than labeling a particular state as 'fragile', the article proposes a three-sector approach (i.e., state-market-society) and classifies the problem (or phenomenon) of a developing country's seeming 'fragile' or 'failed' into two categories: the first includes technical problems on the 'intermediate system' level, and the second is a matter of political choice characterized by the general law of capitalist accumulation. Section 4 goes on to examine the problems faced by local governments in Brazil from both the 'intermediate system' perspective and from a viewpoint of the limitations of the capitalist production mode. Finally, the author indicates that both intermediate-level challenges (e.g., capacity development of local administration) and policy-level challenges (related to the question of how to overcome contradictions of the capitalist mode of production) should be tackled simultaneously in order to overcome the difficulties currently being faced by the Brazilian local governments.

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Redeeming the Still Redeemable and Post-Sovereign
Constitution Making

Andrew ARATO*

This essay is part of a rescue operation, an attempt to redeem the still redeemable. The treasure it seeks to save lies not in the 18th century, or even 1956, but in the recent democratic transformations. It is about to be buried, who knows for how long, due to the perverse but

revolutionary attempt of the Bush government, supported by a veritable treason of supposedly post-revolutionary Central European intellectuals, to impose political democracy through military force, or to use democratization as the ideological arm of a neo-imperial project to establish a new type of control over the Islamic Middle East. Either way, the project is collapsing, but it is threatening to bury world-wide projects for democracy and democratization under its rubble.

My concern here for the dramatic new method of democratic constitution making, one that I call post-sovereign in the sense that the constituent power is not embodied in a single organ or instance with the plenitude of power, and all organs participating in constitutional politics are brought under legal rules. This method whose roots go back to the American revolution, and some experiments in more recent French history (1945-46), as well as the making of the *Grundgesetz*, was revived in Spain in the 1970s, was practiced in Central Europe in the years of regime change 1989-1990, and was perfected in the Republic of South Africa in the 1990s. It is still practiced in Nepal in the present decade, but without anyone outside noticing. Its key characteristics are a two-stage process of constitution making, with free elections in between, and an interim constitution. The underlying idea, unfortunately all too poorly understood, is to apply constitutionalism not only to result but also to the democratic process of constitution making. This method is the democratic alternative to revolutionary constitution making that all too easily steps over the threshold to dictatorship. And, this was the method that was reluctantly adopted in Iraq by the country's American rulers, and could very well be entirely compromised by that even if in a very pathological and unsuccessful form. Already, in Latin myAmerica, in the Andean republics, the alternative of revolutionary-populist sovereign constitution making has re-appeared, and after Iraq it will offer itself, in spite of the already authoritarian processes and predictably authoritarian outcomes as the better, more radical and indeed the more democratic alternative.

In what follows I would first like to present in the part the developed new paradigm of constitution making, as it has been fully realized in South Africa, making the relevant comparisons with the two classical models of democratic constituent power originating in America and France. I would like to show that all components of the model are significant and mutually reinforcing, including the role of the constitutional court that is the most important clue to the newness of what is involved. Next, I would like to argue, that while the application of constitutionalism to the process as well as the result of constitution making seems to be a conscious part of these new efforts, this move in my view does not represent a sufficient solution of the problem of legitimacy. The part of the essay will therefore focus on that question, trying to formulate a hypothesis that could serve as a beginning point for a normative theory of democratic post-sovereign constitution making. The part will reconsider the very old problem whether beginnings can be made legitimate.

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Globalization and Regionalization in West Africa —Overcoming the Colonial Divide—

MASAKI Toyomu*

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), founded in 1975, is one of the eight regional economic communities (RECs) recognized by the African Union. Each REC strives to construct a customs union as well as a monetary union through various programs aimed at the realization of a single African market along the lines of the European Union.

Eight of the 15 ECOWAS member countries form another sub-region called the West African Economic and Monetary Union (Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine, UEMOA). Under its monetary cooperation with France, the UEMOA member countries have a common currency that is issued by Banque Centrale des États de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (BCEAO) and it makes efforts toward a sustainable economic monetary union by implementing convergence programs.

This article gives the historical background and describes the evolution of these economic integrations in West Africa and, using examples such as the custom procedures between Ghana and Burkina Faso, concludes that the integration of the UEMOA and other members, most of which are erstwhile British colonies, might not be easy.

However, the article emphasizes the significance of the development of ECOWAS in the era of globalization. The population of most ECOWAS member countries is incredibly small, sometimes less than 10 million, and some countries such as Ghana and Gambia are surrounded by the UEMOA. Further, three landlocked countries—Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger—all of which are UEMOA members, are accessing the world market via English-speaking coastal countries because of political conflicts or poor infrastructure of French-speaking coastal countries. Further, a larger economic sphere could permit these exporters of primary products to industrialize through regional specialization and the development of intraregional trade. The paper concludes that Nigeria could hold the key in realizing the dynamic substantive economic integration not only in West Africa but also in the entire African continent.

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Conflicting Priorities and Goals
within the Movement of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela

Steve ELLNER*

The process of radical change in Venezuela, which began with Hugo Chávez's advent to power in 1998, has lacked well-defined objectives and a long-term strategy to a degree unmatched by other revolutions over the last century. The Soviet revolution of 1917 and the Chinese one of 1949, for instance, were spearheaded by Communist Parties well grounded in ideology and doctrine that had been worked out over a considerable period of time. The Cuban revolution after 1961 inherited many of these positions, even though its leaders at first put forward a unique revolutionary strategy. In contrast, the Chavista movement emerged in the military with minimum intellectual input and a heavy dosage of nationalism and populism which defined more what it opposed than what it stood for. Furthermore, the international context was radically different. The collapse of the European socialist bloc in 1991 threw leftist movements worldwide into disarray and left them with no easy answers to the paramount issues of the role of the state and private property in the economy and society.

As a result of the significant divergences and lack of formal critical debate within the Chavista movement, the starting point for the evaluation of the relative successes and failures of the Chávez government has to be the examination of the distinct goals that have emerged since 1998. This article will discuss the models that embody different lines of thinking within Chavismo and will briefly place them in historical and theoretical contexts. It will identify four very broad models which imply different sets of priorities and objectives on political, social and economic fronts. They are: direct democracy in which direct popular participation in decision making takes precedence over representative democracy; orthodox Marxism which defends state-based socialism and privileges the working class; social prioritization which highlights socialist values and emphasizes social over economic goals; and pragmatic decision making designed to maximize efficiency and contribute to the viability of the economic system. Chávez at different moments has given encouragement to each model, but has also established limits with regard to their applicability, at least for the present period. Although tension exists between the four models, they are not mutually exclusive and each one is far from cohesive.

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Painful Structural Transformation under Globalization: Reflections on the Mexican and Sub-Saharan Africa Cases.

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In their evolution from rural societies to urban-industrial societies, every country follows a common, broad path. However, the characteristics and outcomes of each national path are diverse depending on the natural resources, population, institutions and culture possessed by each country. A typology of structural transformation paths is presented which makes emphasis on the social costs of each path. A successful path solves the food problem and eradicates poverty. In an unsuccessful path, agricultural development is blocked, creating obstacles to economic expansion and poverty and inequality remain high.

Analysis of structural transformation in two Mexican regions shows that rural economies are closely intermingled with other economic sectors and forces. The growth of non-agricultural employment and migration appear to be determining factors of economic and social transformation.

The international context is key to a successful transformation. Globalization represents a serious challenge to underdeveloped countries. The international economic system, tailored to the needs of rich countries, represents an adverse context to many underdeveloped nations. This is particularly important in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, a region starting its process of structural transformation in the middle of pervasive poverty and very rapid population growth. It is argued that supporting agricultural sector must be the basis of a development policy in this incipient stage of Sub-Saharan Africa structural transformation.

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Construction of Democratic Governance and Social Movements in Kerala, India

MATSUSHITA Kiyoshi*

Amartya Sen said, “Despite the fact that economic growth in Kerala has been slow, it has achieved tremendous results in important areas such literacy, life expectancy and mortality rates.” What are the political, historical, social and cultural factors responsible for Kerala’s success? This article attempts to examine the case of Indian state of Kerala, focusing on democratic decentralization, the dynamics of party-social movement and state-society synergy.

The organization of this article is explained below. §II examines the economic and political context of the introduction of People’s Campaign for Decentralized Planning. §III reconsiders the social and political development, and the historical background by paying attention of various social

movements which have a close relation to the Communist Party (CPM) in Kerala. §IV focuses on a discussion of the limit of labor militancy and the emerging democratic corporatism.

§V centers on the connection with the civil society and the strong associational environment in Kerala, with particular emphasis placed upon concerns over KSSP (Kerala Science Literature Association). Finally, §VI discusses with possibilities of a new investment environment and democratic local governance of the ‘state’ by synergetic effect between various domains, social actors, systems and movements.

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The Vietnam War As Seen from the Chinese-Vietnamese Borders

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In mid-January 1950, Ho Chi Minh crossed the Vietnamese-Chinese border on foot. The 59-year-old Chief of State of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) had walked for 17 days through the jungles of Viet Bac (northern Vietnam), disguised as a follower of a Vietnamese team under the name of “Dinh”. It was Ho himself who declared the independence of Vietnam on September 2, 1945, but the DRV was still fighting for independence against the French without any official aid from the outside world. Building up scattered redoubts in northern and southern parts of the country, not a few of his colleagues were expecting to carry out a general offensive. Ho Chi Minh was convinced that large-scale international assistance would be vital for the third and the last stage of the Vietnamese anti-French resistance. Escorted by the Chinese, the President of the DRV left border town Jingxi for Beijing and for Moscow, and formally requested for military assistance from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union. Skeptical of Ho’s ideological orthodoxy, Stalin suggested “division of labor” between the PRC and the Soviet Union to Liu Shaoqi in July 1949, and then to Mao Zedong in early 1950.

Massive military and economic assistance, some of which was sent from the Soviet Union by way of the PRC, conditioned the Vietnam War against the French under the veil of secrecy. Although the will for independence of the Vietnamese people finally decided the destiny of the DRV, the personal characteristics concerned had important effects on the course of the war: Ho Chi Minh, who exercised unique leadership, living among the people and translating his own idea to action; Chen Geng and Vo Nguyen Giap, who respectively showed military genius at the border campaign in 1950 and in the battle of Dien Bien Phu particularly at its latter phase in 1954; and Zhou Enlai, who demonstrated great ability as a diplomat in persuading Ho Chi Minh, at Liuzhou in July 1954, to accept a pair of settlements—a temporary military line along the 16th parallel and national elections within two years. The decisions of Ho Chi Minh are to be reviewed in the final outcome of the Vietnam War against the U.S. in 1975.

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Between a "Great Transformation" and Continuity Perspectives
on Ollanta Humala's Government in Peru

Aldo PANFICHI* and Mariana ALVARADO**

A few months into Ollanta Humala's new administration (2011-2016), the predominant feeling both inside and outside Peru seems to be moderate optimism. Initially, a majority of voters, political parties, national and foreign investors and analysts, all seemed to agree on the positive nature of the first decisions and gestures made by this administration. Humala's motto "growth with inclusion" thus appeared to generate a wide consensus and managed to reconcile two goals that had been seen as conflicting. The possibility of maintaining macroeconomic growth and stability, and attracting foreign investments while at the same time increasing social programs, redistributive policies, state density and the recognition of excluded minorities seemed an attainable objective that united Peruvians as well as foreigners.

However, after a few months in office the initial relief at his moderate decisions begins to subside, and this initial consensus starts to wither. Gradually, the contending bloc in the electoral campaign is turning into an aggressive opposition.

Therefore, it must be reminded that only three months ago, high levels of polarization, racism and intolerance were the predominant features of the electoral campaign. Racist commentaries displayed in social networks blaming mestizos and people of indigenous descent of Humala's high ratings, and insulting them in very strong terms, made the pages of national and foreign news agencies. These were taken as a clear expression of the deep underlying social divisions that political correctness attempts to conceal in everyday life. Thus, electoral options, particularly in the second round of elections, produced a strong polarization that combined political orientation, with class, race and culture, making these divisions insurmountable.

The questions that will guide this article are therefore the following: How can we reconcile these two moments? Can the initial goodwill towards Humala be sustained in light of the deep cleavages it is built upon or is it just the typical "honeymoon" that characterizes the first months of new administrations? Furthermore, will the "great transformation" promised by President Humala be able to finally overcome the country's more profound social divisions?

In order to understand the current situation in Peru, and answer the questions above, this article is divided into five sections. The first recalls some of the main characteristics, actors and results of the last presidential campaign. The second describes the most important long-term political and

social processes that help explain the character of the electoral campaign and what was at stake in it. The third section explains why Humala's presidency is seen as the beginning of a new political cycle and identifies some of its main features; while the fourth takes a look at the main challenges this administration will face in the next five years. The last section concludes with an attempt to answer the stated questions in light of the information presented.

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On Civil Globalization

— Thinking about Its Developments and Problems in a Contemporary Popular Movement —

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To discuss the relationship between globalization and the recent changes in civil society in the developed country, this article tackles an objective analysis of globalized civil society in shedding light on its structural features and problems. For such an analysis, it is proposed to describe civil movements in Canada around the publication of *Noir Canada*, which triggered a Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation (SLAPP). It is claimed that globalization has a "nesting structure" of victims and perpetrators, and that there is a risk of populism due to media revolution for contemporary complex issues at the era of globalization. To find some solutions to those problems, an implication of scholars in humanities and social sciences as well as in natural sciences in the structure of civil society is advanced in the article.

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Changing State-Society Relations under Neoliberalism: Cases of ASEAN Countries

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Southeast Asia comprises of more than ten states which have various historical backgrounds, ideological orientations, political institutions, and economic performance. These states have commonly experienced the neoliberal economic trend and the democratization wave since the 1980s. The 1997/98 Asian Crisis not only damaged their economies but also induced to decade-long

leaders' step downs and institutional changes in those countries. Full-fledged neoliberal policies introduced after the Crisis undermined the foundation which the state powers had nurtured and relied on. In addition, new social forces emerging under neoliberalism have challenged the state dominance and apparatus. However, fundamental political transformation remains to be seen because conventional interest groups are still intact in the social and economic areas. Those phenomena have occurred in the various contexts in the ASEAN region. The paper examines the transformation processes of state-society relation by focusing on the four countries whose long-term political regimes have been changing; Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

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The Historical Embodiment of Cultural Policy:
from the Tabooed to the Festivalization of Beef Consumption in Taiwan

Hui-Tun CHUANG*

In 2005, Taipei Beef Noodle Festival was initiated to promote an image of Taipei city as the beef noodle headquarter of the world. The tremendous economic profits make the activities held annually in the successive four years. The government's propaganda of the festival reflects that the innovation of city's cultures depends on the reconstruction of collective memories. Yet this festival is invented and could not be made possible without the new urban cultural policy—the festivalization.

To fashion the culinary hegemony of beef noodle, the authority reinterprets the gastronomic history. It is the culturally appropriation and gastronomic indigenization of the beef-eating. Most people start forgetting that the beef-eating in Taiwan involves the colonial experience with Japanese and Western colonization rather than just the food consumption. As the beef-eating is associated with the symbolic meaning and the taste represents specific social identity, it reflects the layers of social stratifications between colonizer and colonized, between powerful and powerless. Through scrutinizing how the festivalization of foods becomes a modern and prevailing phenomenon, I attempt to illuminate not only the relation between food and social identity but also the transformation of identity in the colonial and post-colonial contexts. The impact of Taipei Beef Noodles Festival is examined by the historical comparison analysis in the trajectory of how the beef-eating itself is transformed from a social taboo to a significant culture.

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Media, Movements and Modernity: Similarity in Emerging Processes
of Public Spaces in-between Cross Taiwan Straits Areas after the 1990s

HONDA Chikafumi*

It may be difficult for Japanese current discourse on China, leaning toward party-state centric approach, to analyze dynamism of mainland Chinese recent emergence of public space between party-state and society. Hereby analysis on such dynamism in Taiwan, as a culturally resembling de-facto neighbor, is required prior to China, in terms of 1) social movement; 2) media accessibility; 3) popular culture etc. Then, in considering ideologically declined post cold war China, whether these three points are effective or not would be examined. Lastly, the possibility of mutual linkage of both public spaces between Taiwan straits and its background would be suggested.

Analysis on emerging and expansion of public space after 1990 in Taiwan is characterized with

1)transformation of civic movement, i. e., limited movement for democracy into socially wide supported "new social movement"; 2)such process stimulated by civic subversion of media system, i. e., underground magazine during the authoritarian period into widely accepted electric media after late 1990s, as CATV with active audiences3)the lift of the ban on long-prohibited Japanese popular culture.

The mainland case after 2000 seemingly has been tracing the similar way; 1)transformation of non governmental movement, i. e, which previously seeking for so-called democracy by a few intellectuals into widely joined quasi "new social movement", though more limited than Taiwan; 2)internet activism linked with such movement after the decline of traditional propagative media; 3)widely accepted popular culture originated in Japan like cartoon possibly through pirated reprint via Taiwan. Thus, as the last point suggested, it is quite difficult to eliminate economy-led cultural stimulation of dynamism of public space in Taiwan also in considering the emergence of it in mainland so far.And,if such economic-led model still effective,the reverse would be foreseeable, could lead to the integrated public space across Taiwan straits in the near future.

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The Structure and Development of Local Public Finance in the Philippines

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In the Philippines, People Power Revolution of 1986 led to re-democratization after 14 years of Marcos dictatorship, setting the stage for a radical departure from the centralist tendencies of the Marcos regime, and gave legal opportunities for people to participate directly in local governance.

The 1986 constitution, which was drafted immediately after Corazon Aquino took over as President, provides that "the territorial and political subdivision shall enjoy local autonomy", "Congress shall enact a local government code which shall provide for a more responsive and accountable local government structure instituted through a system of decentralization...", and the state "shall encourage non-governmental, community-based, or sectoral organizations that promote the welfare of the nation."

One of the most important boost to local governance is the Local Government Code of 1991 (Republic Act 7160) which has been considered as very revolutionary and the most progressive form of decentralization—devolution—in the sense that it provided for : (1) devolution of basic services, (2) increased sources of local financing, and (3) people's participation in governance. It reframed the discourse of governance when local governments began to play a key role in governance in a country.

The past twenty years have seen some strides and advances among local governments, however still many challenges and problems have served as obstacles to the implementation of decentralization and real local autonomy. It is within this context that this paper examines and sets out to identify the obstacles focusing on power structure in the Philippines and global capitalism in an era of globalization.

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