



APISA 5 – Abstracts

Panel 1 – Regional Integration I (8113)

Regional Integration in the Asia-Pacific: The Challenge of Bilateralism

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In this paper, I compare Asian and European regionalism, difficulties in the path of further integration, and the outlook for the future. The topic is interesting because of the shifting fortunes of regionalism in the past two decades. The short-term future of regionalism is also clouded because of the contemporary debt crisis in several European Union member countries. The crisis has highlighted the flawed dynamics of regional integration outpacing institutional development, as evident in the failure of the EU to manage internal crises in a timely and effective manner. In time, the EU will probably rectify its institutional deficit, but in the immediate future EU failures have dimmed the attractiveness of regionalism elsewhere.

In comparative terms, the Asian-Pacific region is still at a primitive stage of regionalism, and the concern is less institutional deficit and more the continuing leadership deficit. In the 1980s and 1990s, Japan and Australia played a prominent role in moving the regional debate forward but have now removed themselves from centre-stage, and it is unlikely that China will step forward to fill the leadership void. East Asia will, I argue, find it harder to overcome its leadership deficit. My central argument, however, is that the any future attempt to promote East Asian regional integration has been undermined by the proliferation of bilateral agreements. These tend to divide, rather than unite the region under a common structure. Bilateralism is inconsistent with regionalism, and the European Union is a case in point. I will detail the terms and provisions of several existing bilateral arrangements and show why mutual inconsistencies will hinder and obstruct future regional integration.

The Economic Cooperation Organization's Experience: A Comparative Understanding of Regional Integration in West Asia

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This paper looks at the experience of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), which represents an attempt by some Western and Central Asian countries to deepen regional integration, especially in the realm of economics and trade. In order to develop a better understanding of the ECO, the paper compares the organization's institutional characteristics with those of other prominent regional institutions in Asia and Europe, namely the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The paper is divided into four major sections: (1) a brief introductory discussion of the enduring logic and appeal of regional integration; (2) a discussion of the historical origins of the ECO and the rationales and global forces that have served as an impetus for the formation of the ECO; (3) an analysis of the ECO's manner and depth of integration as compared to those of ASEAN and the EU; (4) an evaluation of the ECO's areas of strength and 'relative' success. Thus, the paper explores two crucial research questions based on a qualitative comparative analysis of integration in the specified regions: First, what are the main drivers behind regional integration in the West and in Central Asia, especially in the case of the ECO? Second, how does the ECO compare with ASEAN and the EU in terms of regional economic integration?

Regionalism in Europe and Asia: A Comparative Appraisal

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What Can An(other) Asian Democracy Index Do for Regional Integration in Asia?

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There have been numerous indices that have sought to measure the levels of democratization in Asian nation-states. Some of these indices have been given the moniker "Asian Democracy Index (ADI)" (or a variation thereof) by the researchers behind them. One such index, the CADI Asian Democracy Index, has recently been developed by local social science research centers to analyze the levels of democratization in Indonesia, the Philippines, and South Korea. Is the CADI ADI any different from earlier "scales" of democracy in Asia? Local social science research centers in each of these countries sought to undertake research that would differentiate itself from similar studies primarily by viewing democratization as a continuous process of power de-monopolization, which partly entails an examination of the (heretofore under-examined) level of economic freedoms and just resource distribution in Asian nation-states. In developing the index and analyzing research results, the researchers also took into consideration the biases of their sources of data: experts—with varying institutional (e.g., academic/nongovernmental organizations) and ideological affiliations (e.g., "left-left leaning"/"right-right leaning")—on socio-political and economic matters of their countries of residence. Ranking democracies is the least concern of the CADI ADI, which instead seeks to examine what hinders democratic de-monopolization in Asian nation-states self-identified as democratic, and thereafter revealing if there is such a species as a specifically "Asian" model of democracy, or at the very least interrogating previous claims of what the trajectories of "Asian democracies" are. This paper provides an overview of the preliminary analysis of the data obtained from pilot testing of the CADI ADI, as well as outlining what the researchers intend to do moving forward. Most importantly, the paper includes an examination of the possibility that the CADI ADI could uncover commonalities as well as divergences in de-monopolization processes in Asian nation-states—e.g., the comparative interrelations between nongovernmental organizations' representativeness and citizen's participation in electoral processes—information that could ease the way towards progressive integration within the region, mainly through the adoption of a form of "democracy" that is one in aim but varying in approaches. The paper also reflects on the ways that the index can avoid becoming a tool for the pushing for a regionalistic perspective that needlessly plays to an Orient/Occident dichotomy.

Achieving Kantian Peace in the European Union

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Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795) lays down three elements that are essential to the attainment of peace, namely, the presence of an international organization, the triumph of democracy and the effective implementation of a system of economic interdependence. This paper analyzes the applicability of the "Kantian Triangle" to the European Union through the coalescence of three schools of thought in international relations, namely, Constructivism, Neoliberal Institutionalism and Complex Interdependence. The EU's history of integration and its achievements are used as primary focal points.

From the desire to preserve the peace that Europe obtained after the Second World War, the European Coal and Steel Community, the earliest predecessor of the EU, was conceived. This organization facilitated interdependence in the region, for it integrated all its member states and required them to foster cooperation among each other. This interdependence eradicated the possible tension that may rise between member states by ensuring that every arrangement would pose mutual benefits. As the success of economic interdependence became imminent, the need to widen the scopes of the EU was realized. This led to the inclusion of the recognition and promotion of human rights, the elevation of the principles of justice and the need to combat crimes, and of course the need to entrench democracy. Making this a repetitive cycle will result to the stabilization of peace as postulated by Kant. Accordingly, the EU was able to accomplish this reaffirmation through the Treaties of Amsterdam, Nice, Maastricht and Lisbon.

Panel 2 – International Relations I (8116)

Regional response to global health issues:

The involvement of regional institutions in the fight against infectious diseases in Asia and Europe

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As the last two decades have been characterized by an acceleration of the emergence and re-emergence of infectious diseases like viral hemorrhagic fevers (Ebola, Rift valley fever,..), Hiv/Aids, Sars, avian flu, chikungunya virus, etc.. governments, international organizations as well as non-governmental actors have devoted their efforts to facing the issue of global health. Responses have been implemented and coordinated at the global, regional, national and local levels with various results.

While most recent articles and academic research on this topic have focused on the global, national and local levels, regional responses, notably in Asia, have been largely neglected.

In this context, this presentation proposes an “*état des lieux*” of the regional health governance of infectious diseases in Asia and in Europe. More precisely, it provides an assessment of the levels of involvement, effectiveness of strategies and the competence of regional institutions such as the European Union (EU), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in dealing with issues of public health. Interregional cooperation is also explored, notably through an analysis of the participation of the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) in the regional fight against infectious diseases.

The second part of this presentation is dedicated to examining the similarities and differences in regional health governance in these two regions and especially to a comparison of the roles played by Asian and European regional organizations when it comes to dealing with the spread of infectious diseases. This examination provides a unique opportunity to underline what the regions can learn from each other in this area and where they may further and strengthen their cooperation.

Finally, this presentation highlights the specificities of a *regional* response to global health issues as well as the main challenges and limits of this level of health governance. It concludes with a look at the meaning of regional integration in terms of the improvement of regional and global health.

Not very strategic but hardly immaterial: The dilemma and opportunity of China-EU cooperation

Max Lin, The University of Liverpool, UK

In 2006 Sino-European relations experienced intense strain as a result of the EU not lifting an arms embargo on China. Why did the postponement on lifting the ban on China touch such a raw nerve among the leadership of both the Europeans and Chinese? With the present European Union economic crisis having strengthened bilateral economic inter-dependence, what still needs to be explained is how Chinese and European leaders could hold such divergent positions about an issue which they have never disagreed on – the incontestable fact of bilateral mistrust – and the fact that what Europeans called “a postponement of the ban” could almost completely derail Sino-European relations, which the leaders of both sides had called a “strategic partnership.” As Europe regards the trading relationship with China to be exceptionally important, EU policy has focused on cooperation and support for Chinese social and economic reform to ensure sustained economic development, which in turn would spearhead China’s integration into the world economy, combat poverty in China and hasten World Trade Organisation integration. The EU arms embargo on China was a landmark attempt to upgrade the relationship with China from trade to strategic partners.

Based on a series of semi-structured interviews the author conducted in Beijing and Washington with 30 Chinese and 15 European experts, this paper draws a number of important conclusions in this regard. First, apart from the human rights issue, the postponement of the lifting of the arms embargo on China in 2006 mostly stems from the intervention of the United States – the negotiations stopped and the arms embargo remained. This situation has led Beijing to consider that the EU is not an independent actor. In other words, China is not necessary to upgrade the bilateral relationship with the EU to a genuinely strategic level. Second, although Beijing views the EU mainly as a trading partner, China still needs the EU with the strategic consideration while Beijing is confronted South China sea row with its neighborhood countries. Third, China is implementing its “12th five-year” plan, trying to speed up changes in economic growth, make strategic readjustments to its economic structure, and boost technological progress and innovation. The EU is China’s biggest source of foreign investment and technology imports, which has become China’s best partner to implement its plan.

The EU and normative change in East Asia

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The East Asian regionalization process is in transition. The acceleration of regional integration requires a greater level of institutionalization, particularly to confront new challenges posed by globalization. Meanwhile, though Westphalian system-based norms, particularly the concepts of state and sovereignty are being challenged elsewhere, there is no substitute for Westphalian rationality paradigm in East Asia (EA).

Against this background, some regional scholars look at the EU model as an example for possible normative change. However, as Ian Manners has pointed out, there has been some norms diffusion of a technical and functional nature from Europe but there is little evidence of an 'EU-isation' of normative values in EA. This is because of a lack of adequate understanding of Asian contexts by some EU policymakers and because there is resistance to some EU values. This relates to what A. Acharya calls normative priors of domestic contexts, which have not proven to be welcoming to new norms coming from the EU in a manner that reflects an EU world view. There is little analysis to date of the long-term effects of the EU's efforts at norms exporting, and especially integration-exporting to EA. The scholarly literature on the EU's relationship with Asia has paid little attention to this receiving aspect of norms exporting and integration norms-exporting in particular.

Therefore, while generally acknowledging that the EU is the 'gold standard' for regional integration, many regional theorists believe that East Asian regionalism should be understood in its own values and characteristics. Particularly interesting, Amitav Acharya coined the terms of "norms localization" by which he argued that EA made use of "localization" as a measure to adopt universal and EU-diffusing norms to fit with its own conditions. Given the above nexus between normative change and regionalism, a better understanding of the nature and future of regionalism in EA requires an insightful analysis of what kind of normative endeavors are employed by regional states and governments to maintain the relevance of regional institutions in the globalization context. It would also be helpful for future EU normative endeavors in East Asia.

This paper draws on relevant literature in addressing the question of EU norms diffusion and normative change in East Asia. The unsmooth developments in building East Asian regionalism have revealed that, although East Asian states recognize that regionalism is an irreversible trend in dealing with challenges related the processes of globalization, their concerns with state sovereignty and regime legitimacy have prevented them from creating and cooperating within effective regional institutions. However, the EU integration model is characterized by a post-Westphalian rationality, in which regions replace states as guarantors of peace and prosperity and voluntary authority concessions are made by regional states to a super-state entity, appears to be an over-ambitious near-future goal for East Asia. The paper argues that East Asia states should first absorb and re-define positive norms from the EU to bring about gradual national and regional normative change, thus contributing to the construction of future East Asian regionalism.

ASEAN-EU Approaches to Services

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Foreign direct investment (FDI) in service industries will feature prominently in the EU's bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) negotiations with ASEAN countries. The EU is particularly interested in liberalising such FDI in Southeast Asia, as this would go some way to compensating for the EU deficit in goods trade with ASEAN countries. This paper argues that contrary to EU statements, ASEAN countries do recognise that services are essential to development, but that they adopt a combination of two approaches that were first developed in urban contexts in developed countries: development and growth management. The first approach entails a greater state role in the promotion of service industries, as with financial services in Singapore and information and communication technology (ICT) in Malaysia. The second approach, illustrated by the experience of Malaysia and Thailand in the retail sector, seeks to mitigate the adverse economic and social effects of the growth of service industries. If EU FTA negotiations with individual ASEAN members are to have any chance of success, the EU must recognize the legitimacy of the specific approaches to service industries adopted by Southeast Asian countries.

The Thailand-Cambodia Border Dispute and Its Implications for ASEAN Community 2015

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Thailand and Cambodia are neighboring countries in Southeast Asia with a long common border and a history of disputes between them, especially concerning the Preah Vihear temple which has been a source of boundary dispute between Thailand and Cambodia for more than a century. The current confrontation between the two parties over ownership of the ancient temple and the surrounding land dates back to July 2008. The boundary dispute erupted into violence in August and October 2008, April 2009, January 2010 and February 2011 as troops from both nations

exchanged fire, each time with loss of life and severe bodily injuries. The boundary dispute between the two countries challenges ASEAN's core principle regarding peaceful settlement of disputes, namely non-use of force and its policy of creating a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in the region. This dispute is an example of the worrisome potential for conflict given the numerous unsettled issues in the region. Moreover, ASEAN will be in danger of losing its role as driver of the regional security architecture, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. Finally, the dispute between the two countries has the potential to jeopardize ASEAN's plan to become a regional community by 2015.

Panel 3 – Education, Society and Culture (8522)

The Feasibility of Task-based Language Teaching in a University Setting in Cambodia

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As Carless (2007) and Johnson (2001) have pointed out, task-based language teaching (TBLT) has been a subject of great interest within contemporary ELT. However, little is known about TBLT in the context of English as a foreign language such as Cambodia. Recognizing this gap, this study was initiated in order to investigate the feasibility of adopting TBLT in a university setting in Cambodia. The research method for this study involved semi-structured interviews with six university lecturers and a questionnaire survey with 143 juniors at that same University. It also analyzed the current textbook and some supplementary teaching materials that the six teachers used. The study found that a genuine task-based approach was not viable in this context. Rather, the findings suggested that task-supported language teaching might be more likely to be feasible. Based on these findings, pedagogic implications and the future research are discussed in the Cambodian setting.

Exploring the understanding of culture specific body language among Chinese learners of English

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Amy Zi Yang, Department of Educational Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University

Through an investigation, this paper reveals the understanding of culture-specific body language by CLEs (Chinese learners of English). The current situation could be summarized as: 1) Many typical culture-specific body language is used and understood by CLEs as universal body language; 2) The understanding of some controversial body language is still far from satisfactory. The explanation could be summarized as follows: 1) The increasing impact of Anglo-American mass media 2) Ethnocentrism will account for the misusing and misunderstanding of body language in multicultural environment. The introduction of the pedagogical projection: in classroom teaching and long time training will be suggested as the effective methods for the avoidance of ethnocentrism and the appropriateness in using body language

Words Misunderstood? Understanding the role of discourse in Philippine basic education reform

Mary Jocelyn dela Cruz, De La Salle University, The Philippines

Cosmopolitanism and the Environmental Challenge

Chandrachur Singh, Department of Political Science, Hindu College, University of Delhi, India

Panel 4 – Regional Integration II (8113)

Aid, Integration, and Crisis: East Asia's Lessons from European Structural and Cohesion Funds

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This paper aims to answer two main questions: the first, in the face of economic crises, what is the evolving role of EU internal funds (e.g., Structural Funds, Cohesion Funds) work as a catalyst for economic revival of the relatively lower-income EU members in the EU; and the next is to what extent the European internal aid case can be applied to future cases of the integrated East Asia.

European and Asian monetary cooperation and integration from the perspective of comparative political economy

Thomas Kalinowski, Graduate School of International Studies, Ewha Womans University, South Korea

This paper compares the European and East Asian monetary cooperation and integration since the breakdown of the Bretton Woods System in the 1970s. Countries in both regions initially followed very different strategies to cope with the new era of financial globalization and particularly the accompanying challenge of volatile financial flows and erratic exchange rate swings. Europe reacted by deepening regional integration in the form of the European Monetary System in the 1970s. This process led to the EMU and the introduction of the euro in 1999. Since the beginning of the global financial and economic crisis in 2007, the euro zone has gone through some remarkable reforms and particularly the establishment of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) established in 2010. The EFSF is often described as the first step to the establishment of a European Monetary Fund (EMF) and a more general EU “transfer union”.

In East Asia on the other hand, countries within ASEAN+3 followed national strategies of pegging their currency to the US dollar that provided a stability anchor for currencies in the region since the 1970s. These national strategies were quite successful for some time, but also contributed to the Asian financial crisis of 1997/98. Thus, since the Asian financial crisis, regional monetary cooperation within the ASEAN+3 is intensifying. The most substantial outcome has been the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) of regional currency swap agreements, a watered down version of the original Japanese proposal for an Asian Monetary Fund (AMF). Until now, the CMI still heavily relies on the IMF for its operation although discussion about a more independent AMF have reemerged since the beginning of the global financial and economic crisis. While discussions on the AMF continue, concepts of exchange rate coordination not to speak of an Asian Monetary Union (AMU) remain purely academic so far.

In this paper, I contribute to the understanding of the political economy of regional integration processes. I want to find out why European and Asian monetary cooperation have developed so differently. I am particularly interested in explaining why elements of an AMF are more advanced in Asia than discussions on an AMU, while in Europe the EMU clearly preceded the discussion on an EMF. I approach these questions by combining approaches from the literature on regional integration with concepts coming from Comparative Political Economy (CPE) and particularly the varieties of capitalism (VoC) literature. I argue that the different forms and speeds of regional integration can to a large extent be explained by the distinct regional political economies. The regional division of labor and the development of regional production chains have been the economic foundation of European integration since the 1950. These production chains particularly benefit from monetary integration while the ability to use exchange rates to create competitive advantages becomes less important. In East Asia on the other hand, national development states competed against each other in final consumer markets, which makes exchange rate completion an attractive policy tool and currency cooperation far more difficult. The Asian financial crisis, on the other hand, clearly showed that mutual support in case of currency crises is beneficial.

Give the crisis in the euro zone periphery since 2010 and the increasing costs of national exchange rate management in East Asia both regions are facing similar challenges. Thus, scholarly comparisons monetary cooperation and integration in both regions is expected to have important practical implications and can produce valuable lessons for the political discussion on regional integration in Europe and East Asia.

Regionalism and Conflict Management:

A Case Study of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Ramses Amer, Department of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University, Sweden

The purpose of the proposed paper will be to assess conflict management in the context of regionalism through a case study of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The ASEAN approach to conflict management will be outlined and the context in which it has developed presented. Also identified will be the achievements reached by ASEAN and the challenges that ASEAN has been facing in the field of conflict management. Three main dimensions are examined: first, the core elements of the approach; second, the role played by the Association in terms of conflict management; and, third, the possible impact of the ASEAN approach and its role in inter-state disputes among its members. In addition the possible relevance of the ASEAN approach on disputes involving also non-member states, e.g. in the South China Sea, will be explored in the proposed paper.

Energy Security and Regional Integration: the case of ASEAN

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Regional integration is propelled by many factors, however, trade and security can be considered as among the most prominent. This paper attempts to explore the prospect for integration in the ASEAN using transaction approach in the area of energy security. On one hand understanding energy security offers an explanation as to what extent security needs of countries are addressed as one regional security community. On the other hand analysis of quality

and quantity of transactions can illustrate to what extent countries are integrated, or have prospects for further integration. By synthesizing energy security and transaction theory I will put forward two arguments. One, the recognition of common vulnerabilities and complimentary capacities pushes regional cooperation to address energy security issues and two; as a result, this increasing cooperation has the potential to raise the intensity and volume of energy transaction among countries in the region. The paper points to two key findings. First is the question of how ASEAN has been investing politically and administratively to achieve closer regional energy policy integration, both in the policy and transaction flow aspects. This is despite the fact that, at least initially, variations in the energy security concerns of member countries make this project challenging. Secondly, as time goes on, there is a prospect that the energy security condition of countries in the region will become more similar as existing exporters see their supply decline and as higher economic growth further increase the need to import from outside the region. The main challenge though is that the question of regional energy security integration within the ASEAN inevitably collides with the energy security concerns of non-member countries, especially with China as it considers Southeast Asia as an energy gateway. This is in addition to the fact that energy security is seen by most actors in the region as interfacing with traditional security concerns, like territorial disputes, increasing naval capabilities, support to a pariah regime and protection of the sea lanes of communications. These findings illustrate how the pervasive question of ASEAN's relevance in the changing political calculus in East Asia as a whole impinges upon even specific policy questions confronting member countries.

Panel 5 – International Relations II (8116)

Diplomatic Guānxi: Analysing China's Strategic Partnership Network

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The paper examines the nature of China's network of "Strategic Partnerships". This is a term widely employed by policy-makers to describe Beijing's relations with partners as diverse as Australia, Russia, ASEAN, the EU, and the African continent. It is therefore surprising to learn that the term is presently ill-defined and poorly understood. It is also an under-studied area of International Relations (IR), where academics have not yet applied the theories of the discipline to rigorously analyse the concept of strategic partnering as a foreign policy strategy. This paper seeks to rectify these shortfalls and increase our understanding of this increasingly crucial element of international security order in the Asia-Pacific. It combines traditional IR methodologies with new concepts drawn from the fields of Business Studies and Organisational Studies in a cross-disciplinary approach to the problem. The paper advances a new analytical model for understanding the origins, features and consequences of China's expanding network of strategic partners. It aims to establish a greater conceptual basis for discussing "Strategic Partnerships" as a new instrument of security cooperation, as well as analysing the complex dynamics of China's rise to power.

Taiwan's International Relations and the Legacy of the Cold War

Linda Gail Arrigo, College of Humanities and Social Science, Taipei Medical University, Taiwan

This presentation is written from some involvement in foreign affairs work for the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, as well as long residence in Taiwan and casual discussion with retired foreign affairs officers. Although the Taiwan government, formally known as the Republic of China, continually laments its lack of international relations and China's continuing attacks on Taiwanese participation in any international organizations, neither the government nor the people of Taiwan show any broader reflection on the history of their exclusion.

The Republic of China, which effectively only controls Taiwan and a few small offshore islands, still claims in its Constitution to be the legitimate government of all of China, plus Mongolia (independent of China since 1924). Even after 1949 Chiang Kai-shek was propped up on Taiwan and supported in this claim by the United States as a means to isolate the Peoples Republic of China and till 1971 deny it the China seat in the United Nations -- part of the US Cold War strategy to stop the advance of communism, even if it meant supporting White Terror reigns. The ROC legislature elected in 1947 in China was only turned out in 1993. The US likewise spurred the ROC to sponsor the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and develop close relations with other Cold War diehards. Now only 23 countries, left over from the WACL and/or money diplomacy, remain as the dwindling formal diplomatic relations for the ROC.

But Taiwan's status as pariah is not just due to PRC encirclement and reprisal. What is less well known is the historic role of Taiwan as a conduit for the US to support repressive forces – e.g. the ARENA party of El Salvador, the contras in Nicaragua, and the white apartheid Nationalist party of South Africa. The last example will be discussed at length, from the author's trip with the DPP in July 1994.

Despite the fact that many figures of the DPP have suffered political imprisonment and have long proclaimed support for international human rights, the DPP has basically continued the policies of the KMT, even in the period

of the DPP's presidency, 2000-2008, and seems unaware of any contradiction in this, much to the chagrin of the author and other foreigners long committed to Taiwan human rights work.

European Union's values in its policies towards China and Taiwan: not such an 'empty speech'

Anna Rudakowska, Dept. of Global Politics and Economics, Tamkang University, Taiwan

The European Union (EU) describes its actions on the international stage as guided by a set of values, including peace, liberty, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. This self-representation of the EU as a normative power is put to a particularly hard test in its relations with China and Taiwan. The media, public opinion and academia label it as an 'empty speech' that has nothing to do with the reality on the ground. They criticize the EU's policies towards both Asian partners for fulfilling member states' economic and security interests and neglecting values. Moreover, the international community and particularly Chinese politicians, compare this self-representation to the 'colonialism in disguise'. In their opinion, the European Union is trying to dictate the rules of the cooperation on the world stage by imposing on others its own values. In the light of this controversy around the EU's normative self-representation, this article inquires into the role of values in the EU's external relations in general and in EU's relations with China and Taiwan in particular.

It proposes the discursive perspective on values as the most suitable method to examine the link between the EU's values and its policies on China and Taiwan. The goal is to show not if and to what extent, but how the values 'work' when they constrain actors and at the same time enable, when actors avail themselves of values. The argument is that the study of these processes in which actors justify their decisions with reference to values can greatly enhance our comprehension of the way in which values 'work' and of their role in the social world, such as the world of international relations.

The discussion about whether or not to lift the arms embargo imposed on China by the European Community following the 1989 Tiananmen Square events has been selected as a case-study. The arms embargo debate divided institutions, governments and the public in Europe for some years: starting in 2003, with the proposal to lift the EU's ban on arms sales to China, it was discontinued in 2005 after the introduction of the anti-secession law by the Chinese authorities.

The analysis of the discursive practices of the EU, China and Taiwan during the debate demonstrates the significance of values for the way in which the EU conduct its relations with Beijing and Taipei and vice-versa. It shows that certain values, as the element constitutive to the EU's self-representation vis-à-vis China and Taiwan are more than only an 'empty speech', since they set the framework for the dialogue and argumentation for all the three actors. Moreover, it demonstrates, that even the Chinese politicians, who maintain that EU's values serve only as an instrument in the hands of cost-benefit calculating EU's foreign policy makers, as well as Taiwanese politicians, refer to EU's self-representation with reference to values for their own purposes.

The Patterns of Interaction between Taiwan and China in the World Health Organization

Sigrid Winkler, Taiwan Fellowship, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan

Taiwan has attempted to gain better representation in the World Health Organization (WHO) since 1997, for a long time to no avail. As a state-based organization and part of the United Nations (UN) system, the WHO rejected all of Taiwan's approaches on the basis of its insufficient sovereignty. However, starting from 2009, Taiwan has received increased possibilities for interaction with and participation in the WHO. Ever since, Taiwan is included in the WHO's International Health Regulations (IHR) and has been attending the annual World Health Assembly (WHA) in the capacity of an observer. Such developments, however, would not have been possible without China's goodwill in the light of thawing cross-Strait relations.

This paper aims at analyzing the institutional links between Taiwan and China in the World Health Organization (WHO), and asks the question in how far Taiwan's participation can be classified as independent from China.

For this purpose this paper, first, traces back Taiwan's early attempts to participate in the organization and China's reactions. Of particular importance in this phase is the establishment of a secret Memorandum of Understanding between China and the WHO Secretariat in 2005, regulating the interaction between Taiwan and the WHO. Second, the paper analyzes in depth the arrangements found between Taiwan and China to allow for Taiwan's participation in the WHA and the IHR after 2009.

The paper is based on an innovative sovereignty conceptualization developed by the author in her earlier work. With the concept of functional sovereignty, Taiwan is not classified as fully-fledged, diplomatically recognized state, but functional sovereignty allows for Taiwan's participation in international relations and international organizations, as long as it is based on particular, functional issue-areas in which Taiwan's government has jurisprudence. Taiwan's independent membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), for instance, can be viewed in the framework of functional sovereignty. This paper questions, in a third step, whether Taiwan's participation in the WHO can be argued on the basis of functional sovereignty, despite the institutional linkage between Taiwan and China's participation in this organization being much closer than in the WTO.

Panel 6 – Economy (8522)

The impact of global financial crisis on the Asia-Pacific region

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The global financial crisis (GFC) began three years ago, but the world economy is still in its shadow. The sluggishness of economic recovery in the US and the recurrence of European debt crises destroy the confidence of investors as well as consumers. “Double dip” is a threat from time to time. Under these circumstances, it is imperative to fully understand the impact of the GFC and the effectiveness of various policy responses to it. Using the GTAP model, the GTAP database 7.0 and macroeconomic data, this paper will mimic the outbreak of the GFC and its impact on the Asia-Pacific region. The paper will also mimic and assess the effect of the policy responses in Asia-Pacific countries, such as large cash hand-out to low income households, risk sharing scheme to increase bank lending, massive government investment in infrastructure and capital-intensive goods, and tax cuts and subsidies to help business and save jobs. By analyzing the simulation results, this paper will shed light on the efficient ways to cope with a large negative economic shock like the GFC.

Economic numeraire in SI units, avoiding the effect of currency exchange rate volatility

Ian McFarlane, Department of Agricultural and Food Economics, University of Reading, UK

A commodity-based economic numeraire is proposed, defined entirely in SI units, which would be appropriate for regional integration in Asia. From weekly prices of traded food commodities from January 1999 to December 2009, we derive the cost of a basket of foods weighted by FAO data for actual consumption of cereals, pulses, tubers, animal protein and fruits, sufficient to provide the recommended food calorie intake. Our SI numeraire is defined solely from the actual worldwide consumption of food and energy per capita, and linked to fiat currencies via representative world market prices. The UN FAO estimated 2620 food calories (10.97 MJ) per capita per day to be actual world food energy consumption in 2009, which is close to the daily intake of 2633 food calories estimated by the UK Food Standards Agency to be the total energy expenditure of a male sedentary worker with a moderately active leisure time.

We further calculate a similar weighting for energy costs. The quantity of energy 80 kWh/cap/d used in the calculation of our results is about 64% of typical energy use in Western Europe and Japan in 2004-09. We show the combined cost of food and energy to be a useful proxy for the real resource cost of maintaining a lifestyle acceptable to the world population.

We show that real resource prices are stable in real terms, and likely to remain so. The duration of a boom in food price is limited because supply is elastic and response times are relatively short. A strong effect from energy prices was a dominant influence on food commodity prices during the price boom of 2006-08. We show that the link from energy prices to food commodity prices is permanent, arising from energy inputs in agriculture, food processing and distribution. Market failure in the oil sector is at present preventing similar correction in energy prices, but the marginal cost of oil supply is predictable, likely to remain stable, and significantly lower than the wholesale oil price prevailing in 2010. Calibration of currency value using a yardstick such as our SI numeraire offers an unbiased measure of the consistently stable cost of subsistence in the face of volatile currency exchange rates.

The Political Economy of Decentralization in the Philippines

Alfredo Sureta, San Sebastian College-Manila, The Philippines

The purpose of this paper is to analyze how the decentralization project in the Philippines impacted the political economy of local government units and Autonomy of the Muslim Mindanao and the Mountain Provinces. By using primary and secondary data, the paper will examine how provisions of the Local government code has both empowered and tied the LGU's to the central government. While the LGC's IRA provisions have resulted in creating islands of good governance it has failed to spread its advantages to the rest of the country. The reasons for this is revealed through the continuing lack of capacity for the LGU's to carry out its function and attempts to recentralize certain local government functions already devolved to the LGU's. Adopting a comparative historical analysis of key economic and performance indicators it will discuss how LGU's including the ARMM and CAR can strengthen its LGU capacities to developed and achieve the goals of decentralization and autonomy.

An Empirical Analysis of the Role of Export Percentage in Merger activities (M&A) in International Capital Market: Policy Implications

Chih - Hsiang Chen, Department of Finance, Ming Chuan University

This paper is the fifth part of a series of papers. In this paper, we summarize the empirical results of the previous four parts research, and present the important policy implications. The results from using three different statistical methods to estimate the Merger activities equation are presented. The data used for this study are from: (1) the 1987, 1982 Census of Manufactures, (2) U.S. Commodity Exports and Imports as Related to Output : 1991 and 1990, (3) Mergers & Acquisitions Journal (1988), (4) Directory of Corporate Affiliations (1986, 1987), and (5) Million Dollar Directory (1995). The 1987, 1982 Census of Manufactures is one part of the 1987 Economic Censuses which is conducted by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Also, U.S. Commodity Exports and Imports as Related to Output is conducted by U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Economics and Statistics Administration in U.S. Department of Commerce. These results show that the estimated coefficients for Export (Export Percentage) are not significant. This indicates that it is not an important determinant in merger activities (M&A) in international capital market.

Globalisation and Knowledge Management

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Apple, Google, Toyota, and GE all raised their companies' competitiveness and profit by implementing innovative strategies. Apple Inc. ranked first three years in a row from 2005 to 2007 among "The World's 50 Most Innovative Companies", a survey done by Boston Consulting Group. Different companies may use different types of innovation to raise their companies' profit. This thesis will prove that innovative companies have higher profits than control companies using t test to analyze data obtained from Compustat from 2002 to 2006. Four innovative companies will be selected: Apple, Google, Toyota, and GE to investigate why they succeeded.

Panel 7 – Regional Integration III (8113)

The EU Experience and East Asian Integration: Is There a Genuine Path?

Yi-Ju Wang, Department of International Trade, Overseas Chinese University, Taiwan

Ramon Santacana, Department of Spanish Language and Literature, Providence University, Taiwan

The East Asia region has had the most impressive economic growth in recent decades and integrated in the global economy with remarkable success. The countries in the region are very active trying to enhance regional economic cooperation and set up integration institutional frames in order to make their economies stronger and better prepared to fit the risks of global financial crises and other aspects like environmental, food security, disaster prevention and so.

Much of the literature that compares EU and East Asia integration focuses on the past success of EU economic and monetary integration, and tries to provide a path for East Asian integration. This paper uses a theoretical review, historical analysis, and comparative analysis as methodological approaches. The paper, 1) Reviews the theoretical aspects on integration, 2) and 3) Analyzes the development of integration in both regions, 4) Gives a comparative view of both processes and 5) Reflects on the convenience of setting the EU experience as a model for East Asia integration. Some conclusions and recommendations are drawn on the specificity of the East Asian Integration.

ASEAN in the Asia-Europe Meeting: The experience of external socio-cultural cooperation for the internal process of ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community building

Huong Le Thu, College of Social Sciences, National Chengchi University, Taiwan

In the recent years the ASEAN leaders have made noticeable efforts towards ASEAN Community building. The new direction toward which the organization is heading has been phrased as "One Vision, One Identity, One Community". The Charter has made relevant shift by such commitments as enhancing participation of civil societies, promoting greater people-to-people interaction, and fostering cultural awareness of the region. The organization is in the stage of important reinventing its structure and character.

In terms of external relations, ASEAN is facing a challenge to stay relevant in both intra- regional and extra-regional processes. With multiple, often overlapping and mutually competitive regional initiatives in Asia-Pacific,

ASEAN is facing a challenge to remain its central position in this new architecture. On similar token, current conditions have made ASEAN struggle to sustain its priority position in extra-regional relations. Particularly the relationship with Europe has been overshadowed by China's increasing density of bilateral networks with European partners. With the longest experience of inter-regional dialogue with Europe in the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) framework, where ASEAN can not only interact with the EU partners, but also with other Asian counterparts; it is an important platform for reinvigorating its position. In fact, since its establishment, ASEM was expected to play an important role in strengthening the ASEAN's voice in the international community.

One factor that distinguishes ASEM from other regional and trans-regional fora is it has a substantive socio-cultural cooperation pillar (third pillar). Although the relative low-profile in comparison to other two: political and economic, the third pillar has been the most successful.

All states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and ASEAN Secretariat are the members of Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). As the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is re-structuring itself to remain a relevant driving force in the region, it needs to simultaneously pay attention to its internal community-building, as well as to reaching out the global community. This study embarks on examining the unexplored value of cultural cooperation and its contribution to ASEAN's internal growth in terms of implication for ASEAN Socio-cultural Community, and also as a mean for ASEAN to enhance external relations. This paper shall explain the role of culture in Asia-Europe inter-regionalism; in particular it focuses on the ASEAN's participation in the processes third pillar programs. It seeks for a linkage between people-to-people partnership in Asia-Europe framework and the transformation of ASEAN into a "People-oriented organization". This study argues that socio-cultural aspects of cooperation contribute to maintaining relevance, comprehensiveness, and sustainability of the dialogue; and as a consequence helps ASEAN to maintain its significant position in internal intra- and extra-regional matters.

China's Economic Cooperation in East Asia

Sasinan Kruaechaipinit, Institute of China and Asia-Pacific Studies, National Sun Yat-sen University

So far, regional arrangements have seldom been used as instruments of power politics; instead, they have often been used to promote and consolidate domestic reforms that liberalize the markets and foster democracy. The pace of regionalism has accelerated during a period marked by substantial economic interdependence, a desire by countries to mediate trade disputes, and a multilateral framework that facilitated such mediation and the organization of commercial relation. Many scholars and policy makers view regionalism as a stepping-stone to greater global openness. In case of China, the rapid economic growth of China since the beginning of the economic reform in 1978 has increasingly integrated into the world market, the advanced economics and neighboring countries. In particular, close economic linkages with East Asian countries have been formed through the exchange of good, capital, service and technology. While China's neighboring countries received significant economic benefits from the expanding Chinese market, China itself needed to set up tight economic links with its neighbors in order to secure resources of market, investment, energy, technology, and management knowhow. For China, the rise of regionalism in East Asia has presented the opportunity to win the confidence of its neighbors and put up an institution block to the moves to contain it. Furthermore, China has an image as the center of Asia. Its economic interests as well as political calculations have promoted cooperation between China and its neighbors.

Beijing has begun to show clearer leadership in driving regional cooperation in East Asia, especially in politics, economic and security relation in the region. Moreover, China's economy has become more closely integrated with the Southeast Asia countries or ASEAN (The Association of Southeast Asia Nations). The relationship between China and ASEAN become closer when both sides have signed on "Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN and China" in November 2000. If the ASEAN-China free trade proposal comes to fruitful, it will create the world's biggest free trade area with a market of nearly two billion people. These closed integration have had important influences on promoting the prosperous economic and trade in East Asia region as well as on China and Southeast Asia relations.

The purpose of this study is to explore China's economic diplomacy toward East Asia region. This analysis is an attempt to apply international relations theory of neo-realism in order to examine China's commitments to economic cooperation in East Asia. For neo-realists, they see power as a possibly useful means, with states running risks if they have either too little or too much of it. Power is a possibly useful means, and sensible statements try to have an appropriate amount of it. In the crucial situations, the ultimate concern of states is not for power but for security. Furthermore, neo-realism's use the concept of power as a defining characteristic of structure. This study argued that China has implemented its economic diplomacy towards East Asia to protecting its domestic economy and to enhancing its political position in the international system.

Panel 8 – Presidentialism in Asia (8116)

From Aquino to Aquino:

Transitional Challenges and Presidential Leadership in Democratizing Philippines

Julio Teehankee, International Studies Department, De La Salle University, The Philippines

From Aquino to Obama: Presidential Time in the US and the Philippines

Mark Thompson, Department of Asian & International Studies, City University of Hong Kong

Presidential Politics in Taiwan and Democratic Development

Christian Schafferer, Department of International Trade, Overseas Chinese University, Taiwan

Taiwan's form of government is a relic of the Hsinhai Revolution of 1911 and the Chinese Civil War. It was designed to work under a one-party KMT dictatorship rather than in a modern democracy. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, there have thus been several constitutional amendments in the form of revisions of additional articles superseding the original ones. Notwithstanding, the authoritarian KMT rule for over four decades has brought about several misconceptions about the rights and obligations of constitutionally mandated institutions. For example, it is a common belief that the president has extensive constitutional powers and that he or she is the chief executive. In this paper, the author would like to address the implications of such misconceptions on Taiwan's political development.

Panel 9 – Economy and Society (8522)

The Meaning of Sufficiency Economy:

Key Elements for Sustainable Development in Asia and Europe

Istvan Rado, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, Thailand

The International Conference titled “The Meaning of Sufficiency Economy: Theory and Practice in Society, Economy, and Business” held between 18-19 October 2011 in Bangkok is being organized with the aim to further conceptualize the Sufficiency Economy concept, which has been the guiding philosophy of national development planning in Thailand since 2001. Central to the strategy is a notion of sustainability encompassing environmental considerations, balanced development to narrow gaps in wealth, and a political framework that ensures societal peace. Based on Thailand's experiences, as well as the contributions of theorists and practitioners from other parts of the world, the conference objective is to explore the potential of Sufficiency Economy as a strategy for sustainable development.

This paper will provide a summary of the conference outcome, which at the time of the APISA5 Congress will contain the latest research on Sufficiency Economy. The focus will be on those lessons learned, which are not only relevant to Thailand and countries with similar socio-economic conditions, in particular the so-called “transforming economies” in ASEAN; speakers from Europe, the US, and Australia are sharing their insights on the applicability of Sufficiency Economy principles in a wide range of shared conceptual (well-being, ownership regimes, human centered economics etc.) and societal (e.g. business and management) areas. Since the Gothenburg European Council in 2001 the EU development objectives are integrated in a holistic understanding of sustainability (social, economic, environmental). Thus, it will be shown that the key elements of sufficiency economy (moderation, reasonableness, self-immunity) apply to the European strategy as well in order to achieve long-term sustainability

Promoting Cultural Hybridity:

The Study of the Hong Kong and Chinese New Middle Class Across the Border under Globalization Era

Eileen Yuk-ha Tsang, Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong

The surging economic growth in China since the 1990s is attracting many of the Hong Kong middle class to work and live in Guangdong province. First, this paper finds that the Chinese new middle class and the Hong Kong middle class are re-establishing social, cultural, and economic relationships with each other in mainland China. Many members of the Hong Kong and Chinese middle classes are now working in Guangdong and Hong Kong respectively only for the purpose of making money. The process of re-establishing that connection is a process of cultural hybridity, despite that they have close economic integration. Even though both groups are Chinese, they are

virtual strangers to each other. Second, this paper argues that globalization and economic integration after post 1997 is promoting cultural hybridity, instead of providing a good window for cultural assimilation between the Hong Kong middle class and the Chinese new middle class. Further, they are not truly culturally integrating. Rather, they are coming together for the sake of economic expediency. This paper will focus on how the multiple components of these two diverse groups come together in an across the border relationship.

Corruption and National Development in Health and Education in Asian Countries

Marion Valencia, College of Arts, Sciences, and Technology, De La Salle Araneta University, The Philippines

This study deals on the challenges to nation states in Asia as may be provided by regional integration through determining how corruption affects national development of countries in the regions of Central, South, Southeast, and Southwest Asia. This is through inquiring on how the relationship between public spending and development outputs in health and education is intervened by corruption. Included are those countries ranked by the 2010 Human Development Index as Medium and Low Human Development in different time periods allowed by the availability of data. This includes Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Mongolia in Central Asia; Pakistan, India, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh in South Asia; Myanmar, Thailand, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Timor-Leste in Southeast Asia; and Yemen and Syrian Arab Republic in the Southwest. Specifically, the study answers the following question for each of the countries: 1. Is there a significant relationship between public spending on health and primary education with the corresponding development outputs? 2. Is there a significant relationship between public spending on health and primary education with corruption? The following hypotheses are drawn: 1. There is no significant relationship between public spending on health and the corresponding development outcome; 2. There is no significant relationship between public spending on health and corruption; 3. There is no significant relationship between public spending on primary education and the corresponding development outcome; 4. There is no significant relationship between public spending on primary education and corruption. The data used are World Development Indicators from the World Bank database, and Worldwide Governance Indicators.

Panel 10 – Comparative Analysis of EU and East Asian Community: Regional Integration and FDI Activities (8113)

Asia and Europe: Federal vs. Concentric Paths to Regional Integration

Joel Campbell, Pacific Region Faculty, Troy University, South Korea

The process of creating a regional integration framework for all of East, Southeast, and South Asia has taken several major steps forward since the Asian financial crisis. The ASEAN+3 process has brought the major nations of Northeast Asia together with ASEAN members in regular meetings, and efforts to forge bilateral and multi-lateral free trade agreements have made significant progress. Now, India, Australia, and New Zealand have been brought into that process, and the eventual result could be a pan-regional common market within a generation—or so the optimists believe. The road to such a common destiny, however, is strewn with obstacles, as geopolitics, great power interests, territorial disputes, and jealously guarded sovereignty may prevent the forging of a common Asian identity. Meanwhile, Asian businesses have used the process of globalization to create an informal regional integration on their own.

This paper looks at the major issues involved in the creation of any pan-Asian common market. It suggests that the success or failure of this undertaking will depend on creation of a new structure for ameliorating regional disputes. While the Japan-China conflict is the most serious obstacle to be overcome, a host of bilateral disputes throughout the region make Asian regional relations as tricky as ever. The two giant Northeast Asian nations must seek a “Grand Bargain” that involves setting aside some of their most habitual political posturing, and due to a long history of mutual suspicion, this will not be easy.

The paper also considers which of the major regional integration theories best describes the formation of an Asian economic community. While neo-functionalism captures the essence of the “ASEAN way” that balances cooperation and non-interference throughout Southeast Asia, functionalism may provide the most useful way forward as the disparate Asian nations seek improved mechanisms for solving a range of thorny economic and especially political issues.

Political Economy of FDI and Integration: EU and East Asia

Ken Morita, Faculty of Commercial Sciences, Hiroshima Shudo University, Japan

Yun Chen, School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University, China

The aim of this paper is to investigate the relationship between FDI and regional integration. As far as international trade is concerned, interregional ratio to the world total among East Asian countries has been rather significant, the ratio of which in 2006, for example, was 38.4 percent. The same ratio of NAFTA was 44.2 percent, and of EU was 66.9 percent. If compared with particularly EU, Asian ratio was not large. However, it was almost 40 percent which is similar ratio with NAFTA. Crucial difference of East Asia with EU and NAFTA is that, both EU and NAFTA have their formal institutions as “union” and “free trade area”. On the contrary, East Asia has never had such formal institutions. Thus, we often call the rather significant ratio of interregional trade within East Asia the “functional integration”. Compared with the Asian “functional integration”, either EU or NAFTA is named as the “institutional integration”.

What is the difference between “functional integration” and “institutional integration”, or EU and East Asia? In order for us to correctly recognize the difference, we have the “investment-trade” ratio, which means the ratio of trade as above as a denominator and of FDI as a numerator. The “investment-trade” ratio indicates that, in 2006, for example, EU had 1.43 and East Asia 0.43. What has caused such a big difference between 1.43 and 0.43?

In this paper, the authors analyze the difference between the “functional integration” and the “institutional integration”, which is, in other words, the difference of East Asia with EU by investigating the “path dependence”.

How Internal Politics Influenced the Opening-Up Policy in China

Hisako Shimono, Faculty of Foreign Studies, The University of Kitakyushu, Japan

The purpose of this chapter is to examine a role of political factors in economic development by investigating how the central and local governments involved in FDI inflow policy of Xiamen Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in Fujian. Although an opening-up policy has contributed to a rapid economic growth in China, it did not always bring the same consequences to the coastal areas. Even in the SEZs, regional differences have occurred significantly. These regional differences were often explained by economic reasons. However, taking into consideration the fact that both an economic policy making process and a policy implementation process cannot be free from political adjustments, it is of great significance in considering political aspects of the economic policy. The Xiamen SEZ is a good example to consider the hypothesis. This chapter analyses three events occurred in Xiamen: (1) the initiative to be a free port area like Hong Kong, (2) the relaxation of travel restrictions to the mainland by the Taiwan authority, and (3) the establishment of direct cargo ship lines to Taiwan.

What are the lessons of CMEA: Is CMEA Experience positive or negative?

Masumi Hakogi, Graduate School of Cultural Studies, Tohoku University, Japan

This paper focuses upon CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), which was chiefly organized by the former USSR in order to examine whether socialist economic integration was a positive or negative lesson.

Some experts say that CMEA was undoubtedly a negative lesson because we had an undeniable fact of its failure. Actually it was dismantled just after the end of the “Cold War”. To the contrary, however, some other experts insist that, it should be more carefully considered because, as far as income disparity is concerned among CMEA member countries, it had been decreased through the activities of CMEA, and also the structure of CMEA seemed to be well organized as one big country (the former USSR) and other small countries mainly located in Eastern Europe to work well.

The author thinks that such a dispute should be examined more than actually done, and he tries to approach in this paper.

Panel 11 – International Relations III (8116)

Chair: Alfredo Robles, International Studies Department De La Salle University, The Philippines

Turkey's foreign policy: Where to go?

Hüseyin Bağcı, Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Turkey

Waves of Tensions: Taming the Turbulent Disputed Waters of the West Philippine Sea

Kristina Camille Cablayan, University of the Philippines Diliman, The Philippines

This paper focuses on the recent developments in the West Philippine Sea and its implications to regional peace, security, and stability, and examines the efforts made by the concerned countries to promote cooperation in the area, particularly the Implementing Guidelines of the DOC and the Philippines

The Search for Leadership in Enhancing the ASEAN's Capabilities to Advance Human Security : The Role of Indonesia

Angguntari Ceria Sari, Parahyangan Catholic University, Indonesia

One concept that has permeated Southeast Asia and has become a popular catch phrase for some academics and activists is human security. Parallel with the adoption of human security agenda by these non state actors is the endorsement of the human security perspective by a regional organisation, which is ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). Although the phrase human security does not explicitly appear in plans and programmes and is rarely used by government officials, ASEAN has adopted various approaches from the ASEAN Community initiatives, multiple ad hoc mechanisms, including the adoption of the Asean Charter to cope with regional human security threats. Indeed, these initiatives have not been perfect and bold in nature, as expected by some people. For example, there has been some claim that the governments of Southeast Asian countries still regard comprehensive and human security primarily through “an established frame of reference” state-centrism and regime legitimacy, enshrined in the ASEAN Way with its emphasis on sovereignty, noninterference, and consensual decision-making in the context of political stability and, not least, regime legitimation. As the region attempts to push forward policy coordination or integration to deal with human security challenges, the role of leadership in regional integration comes to mind. For some theorists of regional integration, the presence of dominant countries is critical to determine the extent of integration or the process of coordination of public policies. In this regard, Indonesia has generally been regarded in ASEAN as a *primus inter pares*, or ‘first among equals’. This country played positive role in ASEAN, and greatly contributed to the success of the association during its first three decades of existence. Against this backdrop, this article attempts to examine the extent of leadership that Indonesia can provide leadership in regional integration within the human security context. In order to answer this question, this article will employ international leadership in an institutional building framework.

The Economic Diplomacy for the New Economy of Sustainable Development

Do Huyentrang, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam

In a world of transformation, financial crisis and natural disaster, sustainable development for the economy is highlighted as the thorniest issue of each country with the aim to “put forward new ideas about how to organize the solid foundations of sustainable economy at this juncture in history when there are clear signs that the global economy cannot move much further along the accustomed paths of industrial growth without ending up in total disaster” (Amlan Datta, 1997). Since launching the Doi Moi reform process in mid- 1980s, Vietnam has an impressive change in every field, especially in its economy and makes a great contribution into the international community, both regionally and globally. The achievements of Vietnam government’s policy to open up and integrate itself into the world system are remarkable, timely and sound, and its achievements are to become the part of ASEAN, AFTA, APEC, ASEM and many other forums, to build the sustainable development for itself and its regional community also. It can be seen very clearly that Vietnam has one of the most stable economies among the ASEAN countries while the other countries are suffering from financial crisis, debt crisis, and natural disasters. This is because of effective economic relations, and the effective diplomacy of Vietnam. Vietnam is different from the past. Vietnam economy is different from the past which is changed to be more suitable to the new economic global market and community. Alan (1997) said there was a time when “the new economics” meant Keynesian economics, which was notable as a response to the depression of the 1930s and the new economic situation that is struggling to grow today is very different from the past. It constitutes many countries’ responses to a new set of problems. Vietnam’s economic diplomacy should be changed more to adapt to the new economy for sustainable development as well, and Vietnam needs to improve its economy diplomacy, making its conduct of economic relations with the rest of the world more effective and beneficial to its interests. This is what the paper aims at in the research presented. The paper will present the following objectives:

- To provide background and updated knowledge on sustainable development, a new economy for sustainable development, economic diplomacy for the new economy including definitions, characteristics, objectives, tasks, actors, instruments, processes.
- To focus on risk and challenges to the economy of one country in the context of the world transformation, and highlights the importance to change the country's economy diplomacy to adapt to the new economy.
- To present what Vietnam is experiencing and what Vietnam is doing to ensure its sustainable development, especially the new economic diplomacy.

- To discuss the role of Vietnam to contribute to the world's new economy for sustainable development and the cooperation among Vietnam and its partners.

A lot of things need to be done to support economic development, and its need to have the mutual understanding about the importance of the economic diplomacy for the new economy of sustainable development. This needs to have a discussion about it also.

Panel 12 – China as a Good Neighbour: Rhetoric or Reality? (8522)

China and State Capitalism: Modernization and Rethinking of International Political Economy

Fanie Herman, Graduate Institute of International Politics, National Chung Hsing University Taiwan

China as the world's largest trading partner has developed its own form of capitalist political economy. China's State Capitalism is already global in reach and poses a challenge to other forms of capitalism, such as the Anglo-American capitalist system or continental capitalism (Rhine or Rhenan capitalism, practiced on continental Europe). This form of state capitalism is quite different from its western version and is characterized by a reliance on informal business networks, guidance from the state and socialist and imperial influences. It is a system in which the Chinese government uses capitalism and free markets to advance their own power and interests. Is Chinese state capitalism a new economic paradigm or a rejuvenation of old policies under a new consensus? With a new president elected in 2012, how has China benefited from capitalism under the tenure of Hu Jintao? Will a revival of Marxism alleviate economic and social imbalances and lift the masses out of poverty into the capitalist overdrive? What is the history of Chinese capitalism in the region, and how does it influence good neighbor relations? The aim is to provide answers to these questions, which also constitute the theme of the paper.

Sino-US Relations and Asian Security: Cold War II or Something New?

Alexis Littlefield, Graduate Institute of International Politics, National Chung Hsing University Taiwan

Are we witnessing the development of a Cold War in Asia, or is there something new, such as a post-US regional order in the making, or some combination of the above? The answer to these questions depends upon China's ability to reassure its neighbors that it is a worthy candidate for the title of regional hegemon. If China succeeds in this task, then there is an instance of a peaceful power transition in the Pacific and the US can gracefully step aside. If the answer is "no" then the question arises for what purpose is the US still authoring the Asian (particular East Asian) security structure? Was China unable to reassure its neighbors that it would be a good cop and provide the public goods that would allow everyone to prosper? If the goal of Soviet containment has in a sense been reached despite some setbacks along the way, what is the primary objective of American power in Asia, why are the Americans still there, and are they welcome? Has China, despite its economic integration, replaced the Soviet Union as security threat number one?

Official Chinese rhetoric often criticizes the US for Cold War thinking. But what exactly was the US thinking on the cold war? Simply put, it was to contain Soviet led Communist expansion in all corners of the world that were not members of the Warsaw Pact. Since Russian tanks rolling into West Berlin are no longer an issue, what does China mean by criticizing the US for old cold war thinking? China fears it has become the new Soviet Union in American policy. US officials and scholars for their part have pointed out that mutual mistrust thwarts a stable and constructive relationship. Washington is calibrating a strategy of deterrence, reassurance and restraint by balancing between firmness and accommodation. This is a tall order, and it is a seemingly "mission impossible" for the US to meet the security interests of the region without impeding upon China's three broad but inflexible core interests, which include Taiwan and territorial disputes in the South and East China Seas.

Although the Cold War is understood as a bygone US-Soviet rivalry, in the foreseeable future, Asian states will take a more active role in providing for their own security vis-à-vis China. In other words, a new cold war could see the replacement of the USSR with the PRC and the USA with democratic Asian middle powers, and the US playing a smaller role. These middle powers have a more vested interest than the US because of their proximity to China. China's heavy-handedness will extend and strengthen the life of the ageing US security network with its Allies, as well as usher in increased minilateral initiatives among the middle power states; that is, if China replaces the Soviet as the main perceived threat in the eyes of the US and its Asian allies. US domestic concerns and budget priorities frame America's stake and commitments in Asia as an unnecessary luxury. For this reason, even if Americans fear a rising China, they are not meeting that fear with tangible security moves; it is unproductive fear in the face of changing security, social and domestic political priorities. Other states, including India, Japan, Australia, South Korea and Taiwan are beginning to pick up this slack. Their initiative is in response to two trends, a waning US and a waxing China. China's truculent behaviour towards its neighbors will define the new era as one of cold war rivalry and a security community that excludes China, given the limits of the ARF and other *fora* in addressing hard security issues.

The Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership and its Implications for China's Role in East Asia Regional Integration

Tony Tai-Ting Liu, Graduate Institute of International Politics, National Chung Hsing University Taiwan

The US strategy to “return to Asia” under the Obama administration has important meanings for international relations in East Asia. Not only is the new policy a change from previous US unilateralism under the Bush administration, US emphasis on Asia also implies that Washington has recognized China's growing status and may be more committed to its allies and friendly countries in the region. The Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (TPP), formerly known as the Pacific Four (P-4) Partnership (Brunei, Chile, New Zealand, Singapore), is a major breakthrough of US commitment to East Asia in recognition of rapid economic development in the region. Since Obama's first official visit to Asia in 2009, seven formal rounds of TPP negotiations have been held and parties to the negotiation have agreed on settlement by the next APEC summit meeting in 2011.

As an extension of APEC, the TPP once again stimulates the competition between the two wide trends of regional integration in East Asia, namely East Asianism and Asia Pacificism. With East Asia being perhaps the most vibrant region in recent years where regional trade agreements (RTAs) has developed, the TPP brings yet another addition to the array of developing multilateral integration plans, such as the ASEAN plus and APEC. On the other hand, as trade agreements serve both economic and strategic purposes, the TPP has the potential to change the political and security environment in East Asia. As a country that is still consolidating its regional influence, China may see both challenges and opportunities in the TPP. This paper seeks to address China's domestic debate on the TPP and the economic and strategic implications of the TPP on China's growing role as the dominant player in East Asian integration.

The Transition of China's Security Strategy In Light of Its Recent Aircraft Carrier Development

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China didn't disregard military technology promotion and security strategy adjustment in their recent year's development period. One can observe this situation from China's diplomatic expression such as its will to cooperate with the U.S. to solve global issues or act in an ambiguous attitude against North Korea. One can understand China's adjustment in diplomatic and security strategy, as its will to play a stronger role in world politics and upgrade its status in the world. Many observers see such development as a threat to regional security that cannot be easily ignored. Beijing strongly refutes the China threat theory and sees itself as adopting a development strategy, rather than “rising” onto the world stage and challenging the international order.

However, it is hard to deny China's achievement in security strategy and military technology. In March, 2010, U.S. Pacific Command commander Robert F. Willard elaborated at the House of Representative about the accomplishments of China in its aircraft carrier technology. Recently, China has carried out its first trial run of its aircraft carrier. Even though China's aircraft carrier may not be ready for service as yet, one can see China's ambition in trying to expand its homeland defense from land to sea. This article seeks to go through the development in China's aircraft carrier technology and observe China's recent expansion and adjustment in security strategy.

Panel 13 – East Asian Regionalism, Governance, and Security (8113)

East Asian Governance and Regional Consensus

Brendan Howe, Graduate School of International Studies, Ewha Womans University, South Korea

“One World” is both an aspiration, and increasingly, a recognition of reality. International organizations help set the international agenda, act as catalysts for coalition-formation, and serve as arenas for political initiatives, leverage and linkage by medium and smaller powers (of crucial importance to intra-regional interaction and also to interaction with the United States). However, East Asia is still a decidedly state-centric environment in which governments jealously guard their monopolies of authority. This has resulted in a dearth of *effective* international organizations in the region as a whole. This paper addresses the unique obstacles to security cooperation in the East Asian region, which have derailed the process of international organization. However, new developments in the operating environment and new security agendas have not only reignited enthusiasm in the region for transnational governance, but have also generated strategic imperatives for rational security cooperation. Thus, despite the ongoing challenges, this paper also demonstrates that there are sufficient opportunities for cooperation for a degree of optimism regarding the future of an East Asian security community.

East Asian Regionalism: Positions and Priorities

Narayanan Ganesan, Hiroshima Peace Institute, Japan

There has been remarkable momentum in efforts towards the creation of an East Asian community in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis of 1997. The regionalist enterprise itself is however significantly older, and ideas and initiatives in achieving it have borne some successes and some failures. Among the chief reasons for why some schemes have succeeded and others failed are the multiple drivers involved in the process and their preferred directions. Gathering sufficient consensus among the major players has not always been an easy task and some preferences are less readily visible than others. Consequently, the regionalist enterprise has been subjected to some strains and occasionally exhibits lethargy. Moreover, since governments have important domestic constituencies and agendas to attend to, there is also the occasional introversion to attend to domestic imperatives or restraint to satisfy domestic constituencies. Developments associated with the Asian financial crisis of 1997 are examples of the former, while the agricultural lobbies in Japan and South Korea are an example of the latter. Then there are differences in the agenda items themselves, and how and when they should be introduced, if at all. Hence, for example, Japan, South Korea and the United States are interested in rational legal and enforceable principles that may require rewards and punishments to ensure compliance. They are also keen on furthering ideational norms, such as democratic governance and transparency, while some member countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China are disinterested in the evolution of such norms since these would in turn threaten the very regimes in power.

This essay identifies the major drivers of recent attempts at East Asian regionalism deriving from ASEAN-led initiatives and their preferences. It deals with five major actors, and they are ASEAN, China, Japan, South Korea and the United States. The paper is divided into three major sections, and the first details the positions and preferences of the five actors. The second section then draws on the areas of convergence and divergence between these actors, and the third section suggests the likely trajectory of East Asian regionalism in light of the findings.

Governance and Health Care Reform in China

M Ramesh, The Hong Kong Institute of Education

The mismanagement of the health care sector in China is well known, as there exists a huge literature highlighting the misaligned incentives that afflict the sector. Less well known is how the governance arrangements in China let to the sector's rapid deterioration. The paper will show that the Chinese health policymakers do not understand the dynamics of governance relationships that underpin the sector and therefore do not address them, leading to undesirable outcomes.

The Risk of Applying Realpolitik in Resolving the South China Sea Dispute: Implications on Regional Security

Renato de Castro, International Studies Department, De La Salle University, The Philippines

This paper examines the implications of China's *realpolitik* approach in its territorial claim over the South China Sea on regional security. It observes that China is using the following power-politics tactics: a) citing a historic claim; b) applying bilateral approach to weaken the ASEAN; c) relying on a divide and rule stratagem in dealing with individual ASEAN member states, and creating a wedge between the ASEAN and the United States; and d) buttressing its naval capabilities to enable it resolve the territorial dispute according to its own terms. In conclusion, the paper argues that China's use of *realpolitik* approach in resolving the South China Sea dispute will cause East Asia's future to become Europe's past.

Panel 14 – Politics I (8116)**New Information Communication Technologies and Election Monitoring in Southeast Asia
Crowdsourcing the Thai Elections 2011**

Max Grömping, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, Thailand

Elections, as one possible mechanism for a peaceful transfer of power and a way to articulate and aggregate populations' political desires, are becoming more and more rooted in Southeast Asian states. At the same time, there remain huge challenges for transparency and accountability of political processes throughout the region. The monitoring of elections by citizen groups, foreign governments and international observers is one mechanism to strengthen the democratic practice of elections by enhancing their transparency. It has become a common feature in

Southeast Asian elections. However, the degree of access and accreditation varies widely across countries and even across elections in the same country.

NGO networks, such as the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), exemplify the growing civil society engagement regarding election monitoring in Southeast Asia. Such regional networks enhance the capabilities of civil society monitoring efforts and compliment observer missions led by governments or international organizations. Given the consensus of non-interference in ASEAN, civil society initiatives are comparatively better placed than states or ASEAN itself to observe elections, expose misconduct and monitor electoral violence. The inclusion of citizens into election monitoring in Southeast Asia would be a logical extension of these existing efforts, especially in light of the goal of a “people-centered” ASEAN community. As of now, the “people” aspect is lagging behind in regional integration.

Given the increasing availability of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the region, crowdsourcing is an innovative and cost-effective way to enhance public participation and citizens’ engagement in election monitoring. Crowdsourcing has the potential to empower citizens by enabling them to report election-related observations via SMS, email, twitter, online form or other means, and thus harvesting the knowledge, expertise and observations of the multitude, and making them accessible for election monitoring purposes. However, it remains to be seen whether the advantages of crowd-sourced information (such as cost-effectiveness, timeliness or amount of data) can outweigh concerns regarding the accuracy of data or the potential for political manipulation.

Through a case study of the Thai general election 2011, this paper explores the potentials and challenges of crowdsourcing in regards to regional election monitoring. Still deeply engulfed in its protracted political crisis, Thailand held a general election for the House of Representatives on 3 July 2011. The aftermath of the mass protests and harsh state repression of March-May 2010 gave rise to fears of large-scale electoral violence, which however did not materialize. In the end, the landslide victory of the opposition Phuea Thai party was largely regarded as legitimate and the elections were seen as relatively free and fair. ICT was used in a pilot project (www.thaielectionwatch.net) to monitor incidents of electoral violence and electoral misconduct during that election. The project compiled media reports, citizen reports, and reports from ANFREL, mapping them in near-realtime to provide information to citizens and advocacy groups alike.

The paper argues that an integration of crowd-sourced monitoring with more established monitoring methodologies might be a good way to harness the potential of ICT-based approaches. From the perspective of regional integration, crowdsourcing might allow to include citizens directly in auditing political processes in their countries, and at the same time anchoring civil society engagement in the integration process.

The Globalization of International Election Monitoring Policy An Interdependent Decision Making Perspective on Policy Diffusion

Hye-Ryoung Jung, Embassy of the Rep. of Korea in Sri Lanka

This research aims to determine why international election monitoring policy is spread in a spatially clustered manner. Despite various domestic sociopolitical conditions and geopolitical pressures, the regional clustering of the adoption of international election monitoring policy has been observed over the two decades. To systemically examine the reasons for the diffusion pattern, I first focus on two diffusion channels: 1) direct interactions channelled through economic exchanges and shared memberships of international governmental organizations (IGOs) and 2) indirect linkages constructed based on the similarity of cultural or democratic ideas among the states. To specify these channels, I employ two broad sets of diffusion forces: 1) the adoption of one alters the pay-offs of the policy adoption for others and 2) the adoption of the other provides policy-relevant information about the benefits of adopting to other potential adopters. Based on these channels–forces mechanisms, I develop four possible arguments and construct measures of concepts by utilizing social network methods. I use a survival model in order to reveal which variables lead a state to adopt the policy, and estimate how long the state will maintain the status of the policy choice. Using operational concepts and the analysis model, I test 289 international election monitoring observation cases in 104 countries from 1980 to 2000. The findings suggest that domestic requisites and social/material incentives are not feasible for identifying the systemic causes of global policy diffusion. Moreover, diffusion forces channelled through direct interactions, such as trade competitions or shared IGO memberships, have little influence on the spread of monitored elections. The results indicate that the diffusion of international election monitoring policy is better described by cultural linkages, which have been less regarded as a probable inducing factor by existent literature. In addition, the findings indicate that democratic norms similar to those in western countries are one of the influential diffusion forces. Thus, policy makers are more sensitively responding to the international election monitoring policy choice of other states that belong to their cultural and democratic ideational reference groups. Moreover, having observed the actions of others before them, states follow the policy choice of the preceding states, rather than use strategic calculations or available policy information.

Institutions and Democratization: Election commissions in three Asian democracies

Cleo Anne Calimbahin, Political Science Department, De La Salle University, The Philippines

The emphasis of this paper is on the democratic process rather than democratic outcomes. Managing the basic elements of election administration is a crucial step in the democratic process. However, it is only one step among many. Therefore, while elections are not the sole attribute of a democracy, they do play a crucial role.

This paper will compare the election commissions of the Philippines, Thailand, and Korea. All three are Asian democracies and its election commissions experienced crucial institutional changes at critical junctures. For the Philippines and Korea, institutional reforms were initiated in the aftermath of regime change from authoritarianism to democracy. For Thailand, the Election Commission was formed under the 1997 constitution. All three election commissions have taken divergent paths as institutions. This paper is a comparison across space and time. It will evaluate the capacity and autonomy of these election commissions in key electoral exercises since 1987 for the Philippines and Korea and 2000 for Thailand.

By peering through the lens of election administration, this paper hopes to gain insights into understanding the state and state capacity. By looking into specific institutions, we get a better sense of specific capacities and issues of autonomy that concern these three electoral commissions. The relationship between the election commission and various political players is usually “mutually transformative”, but it is very difficult to accurately assess how each impacts the institution on the long term yet divergent institutional paths are evident.

In Search of Common Axes of Competition in East Asian Party Systems

Willy Jou, Waseda Institute for Advanced Study, Japan

In contrast to most studies of party systems in East Asia, which are organized around analysis of individual countries, this paper attempts to find commonalities in issue dimensions that structure party competition across the region. In place of the commonly used left-right paradigm, I theorize five dimensions that may form salient divides among major parties: economic issues, cultural values, preference for democracy, appraisal of former authoritarian rule, and national pride. Using the Asian Barometer survey, I investigate the degree to which one can distinguish major party supporters on each dimension. Results show that past regime evaluation and attitudes toward democracy constitute significant party divides in a majority of countries, while parties are rarely differentiated on economic issues.

Panel 15 – Migration (8522)**Creating Home Away from Home: Mobile Phones and Migrants Workers in Asia**

Maria Divina Gracia Roldan, Department of Political Science, De La Salle University, The Philippines

The inflow of migrant workers within the Asian region has been a significant phenomenon. With the growth of Asian economies, reliance on the supply of migrant workers has become more important to sustain competitiveness especially in labor-intensive sectors. The paper examines how mobile phones have become significant devices for migrant workers to adapt to new environments. The paper looks into: (1) the information and communication needs and practices, specifically of Indonesian, Filipino, and Bangladeshi migrant workers in Malaysia, and Myanmar, Cambodian, and Laotian migrant workers in Thailand; (2) their aspirations and interests on entertainment, local content, and media consumption; and (3) their social networks in their host environments.

Through in-depth interviews and photo novellas (picture stories), the paper investigates how migrant use of mobile phones paves the way for forming and maintaining social circles that are integral in their lives away from home. The lifestyles and mobile phone culture of selected migrant workers in Malaysia and in Thailand reflect how links with their own home countries are sustained with mobile technology as a tool. The paper hopes to shed light on the role played by mobile usage in building transnational ties, social capital and inclusion among Asian migrant workers.

Challenging Illiteracy of Female Migrants in Rural AustriaPamela Madeleine Kargl, Center for Social and Intercultural Competence
Johannes Kepler University of Linz, Austria

Coming to a foreign country and not being able to communicate with the local people is very challenging. For migrant workers and asylum seekers, two problems sometimes arise: lacking language skills and need for basic and professional education. What basic education? What is included in basic education? How can these basic education needs be addressed? What does it mean for a migrant woman to lack basic education skills? These are questions that will be discussed in this paper.

Patterns of International Marriages in Korea: the Impacts of Structural, Agential, and Policy factors

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Junmo Kim, College of Political Science, Konkuk University, South Korea

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International marriage is a rapidly rising phenomenon in South Korea that brings numerous social, political, and economic challenges, especially for a country that has largely been ethnically and culturally homogenous in the past. Historically, such marriages were rare and in many cases involved Korean women and men from countries that have had historical encounters and close geographic proximity to the country. The 1990s saw radical changes, such the rapid rise and fall of international marriages involving ethnic Koreans from China and the reversal of the previous historical trend. The 2000s saw further rise in the proportion of international marriages in relation to regular marriages, as well as greater diversity in the origins of the foreign spouses of both genders.

This paper describes the current state, the nature and character, and trends and patterns of international marriages in South Korea using gender disaggregated data. It explores and traces the shifts in these trends to the impacts of structural and agential factors, including demographic, policy factors, and state and non-state marriage brokers. In the process, it offers an initial gender disaggregated explanations for the spikes and dips in the marriages involving various groups that may be subjected to further studies and research.

Striking out the border: The possibilities of labour migration without regulation in Southeast Asia

Carmina Untalan, De La Salle University, The Philippines

The State of Philippine Higher Education System:**Facing the Challenges of Regional Integration and Interdependence**

Rizal G. Buendia, Department of Political Science, De La Salle University, The Philippines

The paper examines the state of the Philippine higher education (PHE) in the light of the current environment of increasing globalization and regional integration in Asia. As Asian economies are more integrated than ever before, and the demand for human resources is growing rapidly in an economy that is knowledge-based, the paper assesses the condition, opportunities, and challenges of PHE in line with its goal to contribute to the realization of ASEAN Community 2015 as well as strengthen human resources to improve the country's position in regional and global markets.

Using a qualitative methodological approach (key informant interviews and focus group discussions) and review of literature covering the period 1994 to 2011 (i.e., the time Philippine education system was tri-focalized that established the Commission on Higher Education [CHED]), the paper identifies key governance and socio-economic and political problems, issues, and concerns relevant to set off a comprehensive review and policy intervention needed to improve higher education system on the one hand, and advance its role and performance in the promotion of internationalization of higher education in the region on the other hand.

Panel 16 – Regional Integration IV (8113)**Accelerating Regional Integration Through Intercity Networks: Insights and Issues from East Asia**

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All too often, models of regional integration take the form of regional blocs, organizing themselves either on a supranational or an intergovernmental level, and hence the state-to-state attribution of integration efforts. The emerging literature on “bottom-up” forms of integration points out however that new forms of sub-state associations and engagement can also enhance that which integration ultimately pursues – greater interaction and cooperation. This paper foregrounds the ways by which intercity networks accelerate and complement community building efforts in East Asia. Broadly, the paper secures the logic that if intercity networks could adopt most of the integrative functions of regional blocs (i.e. adopting cohesive stances on regional matters and facilitating the free flow of goods and persons), then intercity networks can serve as strategic and viable rallying points for hastening integration efforts. By looking at two empirical cases of intercity networking in Asia – (1) the Asian Network of Major Cities 21 and (2) the United Cities and Local Governments Asia Pacific – the paper examines when and how models of city-to-city cooperation contributes to a bottom-up diffusion of regional integration norms. The first part draws on the language of norms scholarship and public administration to provide an overview of why cities engage in regional networks of cooperation. Tracing how intercity networks can broaden the zone of interaction and

agreement between partners completes that theoretical prologue. The second and third sections ground this theory of bottom-up norms diffusion within the context of the two case studies, analyzing how these international networks of Asian capitals and major cities produce, advocate, and frame intrinsically localized norms, such as how it is diffused and received internationally is in congruence with East Asian integration efforts. The data gathered from field observation, documentary sources, and interviews are discussed in these two sections. The last part fleshes out challenges to this model of intercity cooperative behavior and its link with Asian regional integration.

**Inter-city cooperation in terms of governance in Central China:
A case study in the Chang-Zhu-Tan City Cluster**

Lizhu Dai, Department of Geography, Hong Kong Baptist University

In China, inter-city cooperation is a new phenomenon and it has currently received more and more attention and favourable recognition by government and scholars. By examining the inter-city cooperation due to the governance perspective that existed in the Chang-Zhu-Tan City Cluster (CZT) in terms of its process and results, the paper aims to make a comprehensive exploration on how power was transferred by a mechanism of inter-city cooperation within the past two decades. In this paper, it is argued that a successful inter-city cooperation relies largely on institution, infrastructure and information. The involvement of the central government and multiple participants also contributes significantly to accelerating the progress of cooperation. Power struggles, keen political competition, similar industrial structures and repeated infrastructure constructions, and the lack of coordination and interaction system are found to be the barriers of inter-city cooperation.

**Global patterns of Transnational Organisations and Multi-level Governance?
Comparing City Networks in Europe and Asia**

Stefan Niederhäfner, Department of International Relations, Seoul National University, South Korea

Globalization and regional integration have changed the ways modern societies are governed. These two social developments not only alter the competences and capacities of nation states, but also influence all levels of political decision making and administration. In the field of European Studies it became - earlier than in other research areas - obvious that an empirically based analysis of modern governance, limited to analysis of the nation state level alone, fails to explain current political developments. Thus, it is necessary to have the systematic integration of sub-national levels, such as regional (e.g. provinces, states or departments) or local bodies (esp. cities), as well as inter- and supra-national bodies on a global or continental scale. Accordingly, the multi-level governance concept, which was introduced to the field in the early 1990 is and allows including all relevant layers of governance, has proven to be one of the most influential approaches to analyse regional integration.

That the national level is no longer the sole domain of international relations is adding ever more complexity to contemporary multi-level governance. The above-mentioned sub-national bodies do not limit their activities to the borders of their respective home countries anymore, as they participate in inter- and transnational organisations. One example of such organisations that enable sub-national bodies to have self-dependent external relations is the transnational city networks (TCN).

These networks are transnational, as their structure and membership is organized along functional or sectorial, and not national, lines. Their aim is twofold: firstly, to organize cross-border communication and cooperation within their membership and secondly, to represent their membership *en face* in other governmental levels, especially the international level. In doing so, they channel the distinctive, transnationally “generated” policy concepts, know-how and political support of their membership directly to the international level – bypassing the nation state level.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, this was particularly observed in the European context where some of the impacts of globalization have been pushed further than elsewhere by the mechanisms of EU Integration. Although the organisation and role of TCNs have also been analysed in other “western” nations, such as the USA or Australia, the city networks of Asia, not to mention East Asia, are yet a dark spot. This paper will deliver a first brief description of the most important TCNs active in Asia, such as the “Cities Development Initiative for Asia”, the “Clean Air Initiative for Asian Cities” and the Asian branches of the global city network “ICLEP”.

Combining a neo-institutional concept with the multi-level government approach, this author will compare the East Asian and European TCNs to elaborate if a “global pattern” of transnational organisation independent from domestic cultural and political conditions can be identified.

Furthermore, the specific characteristics of the multi-level governance systems in Europe and East Asia are analysed with their “logic” of integration rendered more precisely. There is no doubt that the concept of multi-level governance is useful in analysing European integration. However, this paper will show that this concept can also be fruitfully applied to the East Asian region as well.

Lastly, it will be possible to extrapolate results for the future of the nation state in both regions.

Networked Cities and the Global Disarmament Effort

Nikita S.W. Chiu, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland

Today's global challenges, such as poverty reduction, climate change and disarmament, transcend national borders. The scale and impact of these problems not only trouble national governments, but also directly affect populations at the local level, especially those in urban settings. Seeing that over half of today's population resides in cities, this research aims at examining concerted attempts of cities and local governments in resolving global challenges in security. Conceptualizing city-to-city co-operations in a networked format, the project aims at exploring cities' concerted activism in the global disarmament effort. In the absence of state enthusiasm for complete abolition of nuclear usage, the project aims at exploring the potentials and limits, motivations and network connections of anti-nuclear cities in the pursuit of a nuclear free-world. Particular focuses will be made on local governments' responses on the British and Irish Isles.

Panel 17 – Politics II (8116)**Confronting Separatist Movement: An Indonesian Experience**

Dafri Agussalim Agussalim and Galuh Dian Pramadewi Pramadewi

Department of International Relations, University of Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, Indonesia

One of the most serious challenges to the existence of nation states in this modern era is the emergence or re-emergence of separatist movements in many countries in the world. Although separatist movements, with a variety of expressions and manifestations, can be found in almost every part of the world - Asia, Africa and even in Europe - it has been a serious national problem in many countries in the South East Asia region, including in Thailand, Phillipine and Indonesia until the present. The challenge of a separatist movement to the existence of a nation state has become reality in a country such as Indonesia with its heterogeneous and complex social, economic, political conditions and regions. The fact that Indonesia comprises a variety of ethnic backgrounds, cultures, religions and regions has created a situation where a separatist movement is likely to emerge and re-emerge. The condition is worsened by the fact that there is are wide social, economic and political gaps and injustices, either vertically (between central and local governments) or horizontally (between local and local governments and communities) caused by a political and governmental system that is centralized and exploitative, including bad government management practices (corruption, collusion, nepotism and "discrimination"). As a result, although Indonesia can be credited with successfully solving the Aceh separatism issue, it is still struggling to prevent the emergence or re-emergence of separatist movement in many parts of its regions, and still has not succeeded to solve the separatist movement in Maluku and West Papua.

This paper intends to explore and analyse the long and difficult experience of Indonesia in dealing with and trying to solve the separatism issues. The exploration and analysis will be focused on the cause factors, the central government responses and policies, and the success and failure of the government efforts to solve the problems. This paper will argue: first, that the key factor to solve the problem of separatism in Indonesia is not on the separatists' side, but rather on the government (especially the central government) side itself. Any effort to solve separatism problems need to reform the government policy and practices, which are merely not to clean it from corruption, collusion, nepotism and "discrimination", but also must be followed by some policies that socially, economically and politically meet the sense of justice and are "non-discriminative" oriented, including non-exploitative and non-centralised. Second, the separatist movement not only threatens Indonesia's national security, but also threatens regional security, which is in turn can become an obstacle for the integration of Southeast Asian Nations.

Integration of Good Local Governance Concepts in Decentralized Planning Process in Cambodia

Sokphea Young, Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand

This research analyzes how Good Local Governance (GLG) principles are integrated in each stage of a decentralized planning process, and to analyze its impacts on institutional aspects of commune councils which are experienced with a decentralized planning process. Two communes with longer (since 1996) and shorter (since 2002) working experience with a decentralized planning process, the Khnach Romeas (KR) and the Prey Khpos (PK) of Battambang province, Cambodia, were purposively selected. The study covered six principles of good local governance, which are scrutinized from various sources, viz. rule of law, participation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, and effectiveness and efficiency. Seven stages of decentralized planning, namely (1) plan formulation, (2) identification/review needs and problems, (3) selection of the priority project, (4) district integration workshop (DIW) for fund raising and supporter, (5) approval on the development plan, (6) project implementation, and (7)

project monitoring and evaluation. These were adapted from the current commune development planning and commune investment program of decentralization of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC), and examined the aspects of good local governance principles in each stage. It is revealed that the plan of the KR commune well integrated the principles of good local governance, while the PK commune has fairly integrated these principles. Several factors were found that drove good or fair integration of the good local governance concept in both communes. The integration process produced positive and adverse impacts on institutional aspects of commune councils. Thereby, recommendations for policy implications for better good local governance integration were made eventually.

Institutionalizing Decentralization: A National Development Strategy

Tanvir Aejaz, Ramjas College, Delhi University, India

Decentering and recentering, to borrow a phrase coined by B.Guy Peters, are the political processes undergirded by the understanding and explanation of the fundamental knowledge of the policies, institutions and the environment. It is also a process whereby the architecture of politico-administrative institutions are innovated and embedded in the variegated socio-economic conditions for democratic outcomes. The question is, how do we do that? Do we need to have a universal macro paradigm for decentralization (one size fits all), or an epistemology of micropolitics and institutions forged in the local knowledge of democratic process?

The text of decentering and recentering seeks a context of participatory and representative democracy, and therefore, the pretext is inevitably political. The purpose is to syncretize democracy, development and decentralization in order to have strategies and institutional arrangements to tackle the problems of development. The idea is to reform centralized rent seeking state through re-alignment of the forces of power, principles (of subsidiarity) and resources.

This paper will explore the meaning, forms and nature of decentralization in the Indian context by examining a) the response of state governments to the national initiatives and local expectations of the devolution policies and plans and b) the sharp contestations and accommodations involving the incentive structures of the societies, at the local level seeking autonomy and devolutions. Exploring substantive democracy at local levels would also enable the understanding of the effectiveness of the local governance structure and the process of accountability and due process of law.

The paper will finally argue the policy variants in the building capacity of local governance through reforms in establishing priorities politically and in mechanisms that establish ranges of compliance.

From Formal Democracy to Substantial Democracy:

A comparative study of democratic decentralization cases from Five Southeast Asian countries

Alfredo Sureta, San Sebastian College-Manila, The Philippines

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the effectiveness of different decentralization efforts in five Southeast Asian countries, namely Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. Using a comparative historical analysis of institutions in the countries being studied, it will attempt to show how a normative political ideology can actually be vertically imposed from above, and be used to tap existing communal values of volunteerism and civic participation. The paper will show how despite the different political and social context of the cases presented in this research, the communities were able to utilize the public space opened up by decentralization in these countries that have a long history of centralized governance. Taking advantage of this political space the people in the cases involved institutionalized their participation in the planning, formulation, implementation and maintenance of policies that they created. The preliminary data gathered from this research will illustrate the benefits as well as the limitations of these decentralization initiatives. However, it will conclude with a call for more substantial decentralization while at the same time further democratizing and pluralizing both national and local government politics in the countries surveyed in this research.

Panel 18 – Society and Politics (8522)

Integration Policy: Women Empowerment in a Cross-Cultural Setting

Sherlyne Almonte-Acosta, College of Arts Sciences Education, St. Paul University, The Philippines

Japan has been touting itself as open to internationalization and the promotion of the ideal of international understanding. In reality, it remains a closed society and does not vigorously promote multicultural coexistence. The view of the general public to foreigners remains problematic. There are Japanese who accept and support the presence of foreigners while others continue to have strong reservations about having foreigners in their midst. For this reason, it is difficult at the national level to adapt policy integration to the needs of foreigners, and support

systems at the local level are often lacking. According to Tsuda (2002), no drastic changes in the form of integration policy will be initiated at the national level in Japan in the near future, as this would entail the introduction of massive structural changes that would test whether the entire society is willing to openly accept that the myth of homogeneity is a thing of the past (p. 221). In relation to this, the anxiety of Japanese people is apparent in different forms of demand, expectation and discrimination among foreigners, which have led to the segregation and subordination of foreigners despite their efforts to be integrated. Among these foreigners are Filipino women – Filipina(s) – who have earned a negative reputation due to the categorized entry point (i.e. entertainment and mail-order bride industries) of the majority of them.

This paper identifies the dimensions of empowerment in the lives of Filipino women through their views of their condition and experience in Japanese society. Through their efforts to adjust and recast their negative image in a society that is different from their own, obstacles and factors that influence their strategies for empowerment and shaped their lives are revealed. This paper also focuses on how women's strategies for empowerment facilitates change and carries implications for the role of education for women migrant's greater options for societal participation and improvement of, and positive change in, their status. Of particular interest are the questions: How are they empowered in coping with societal conflicts resulting from the absence of integration policy and intolerance of foreigners in the host society? What are the factors in the lives of migrants that call for educational intervention? As this is an ethnographic case study, data were gathered through interviews with 10 Filipino women from Japan's five prefectures. Interviews were triangulated with available documents and household and community observation.

Women's NGOs in Mongolia and Their Role in Democratisation

Tsetsejargal Tsedem, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, National University of Mongolia

There are feminist-inspired nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) all over Asia that choose to focus on a variety of issues. The strength of the Women's movements varies from country to country, and there is still the question of whether a public presence or numbers translate to real empowerment for women. However each Asian country's women's movement experienced its own struggles with issues of class, Asian feminists developed expertise at reading situations 'on the ground' and were selective about adopting directions from different aspects of feminist thinking globally. They have also been passionate about demonstrating their critiques in international forums (Edwards and Roces 2004: 15).

Women's movements in Mongolia, like women's movements in other Asian countries, started as a result of interaction with the West, and organizations concerned with women's issues arose. Although the number of Women's NGOs in Mongolia has grown tremendously over the past two decades, from only a few dozen in the early 1990s to over one hundred today, several problems continue to plague Women's NGOs, severely hampering their influence in both political circles and among the public at large.

After a century of women's activism in Asia, it is timely for both scholars and activists to look back and reflect on the history of women's movements in the region. Thus, this paper reviews the development of Women's NGOs in Mongolia, and discusses the role of Women's NGOs in the process of a political transition to democracy.

Identifying Effective Leader in Indonesia

Dita Siti Nurhayati Anastasia Diliyani, Faculty of Social Sciences, National Cheng Chi University, Taiwan

Indonesia is currently experiencing leadership crises in government at both the national and local levels. There have been 155 Bupati/Walikota and 17 governors suspected corruption over the last couple of years. Inappropriate administrative work and misinterpretation of rules in financial matters have become the main causes of the corruption accusations (Kompas.com, 2011). Indonesia, with an area of 1.904.569 sq. km, consists of 17.508 islands with an estimated population of 237 million people in 2010. It is not only as the largest archipelago country in the world, it is the fourth most populous country and has the largest Muslim population. Since 1998, Indonesia has been rapidly reforming its political and administrative systems. One component of this reform is the transformation from centralized government to decentralized government systems based on Law 22/1999 and Law 32/2004 (Ministry of Interior Website, 2010). However, the implementation of decentralization in Indonesia has not yielded expected results (Lewis, 2010). Prud'homme (1995) notes that decentralization measures are like some potent drugs: when prescribed for the relevant illness, at the appropriate moment and in the correct dose, they can have the desired salutary effect, but in the wrong circumstances, they can harm rather than heal. Due to the diverse characteristics of communities and pressing domestic and foreign issues, finding an ideal leader has been challenging for Indonesia. According to Berman (2006) such a leader must be a person concerned with both goal attainment (effectiveness) and the efficiency in order to achieve good public service performance.

Panel 19 – Regional Integration V (8113)

Mongolia in Newly Regionalizing Asia: From Central Asian Buffer to East Asian Participator

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So far, developmental and democratizing trends in Asia have been geared toward breaking away from a stagnant and autocratic Asia. As work toward a developmentally and democratically thriving Asia has borne some fruit, the next rising trend is regionalizing Asia (Inoguchi 2005). The push of the third wave of democracy (Huntington 1991), the collapse of socialist systems and the end of the Cold War caused changes in world politics. In the case of Asia, these changes have brought a new atmosphere not only to the diverse cultures and values of Asian regions but also to the political-economical and socio-cultural relations between countries in this region. For instance, as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the republics formerly under USSR control claimed sovereignty. In a political sense, especially with countries such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan claiming sovereignty, a new paradigm for Central Asia has appeared.

Although Mongolia is geographically situated in Central Asia, it is not strongly linked to Central Asia economically or socio-culturally. Therefore, Mongolia has sought a national identity within the East Asian region. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, Mongolia started to conduct its foreign and domestic affairs independently. Since that time, Mongolia has considered itself as an equal among North-East Asian countries not aligned with the Central Asian region which is closer in geographical setting.

This paper first offers reflections on the birth story of the Cold War 'buffer' nations in Asia. Then the paper shows how we have been considering North-East Asian countries as our third neighbour in the newly regionalizing Asia. Mongolia, which has only two geographical neighbours – Russia and China – has also been including the USA, South Korea and Japan in its frames of an identity as "the third neighbour".

Finally, this paper describes the economic-political and socio-cultural attributes which characterize Mongolian interests towards the East Asian community.

India's Ties with East and Southeast Asia: Prospects for Regional Integration

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India and the countries of East and Southeast Asia have millennia-old ties. Even today, the influence of Indian customs and culture is manifest in many countries across this region. Among these influence, mention may be made of the Angkor Wat temple complex in Cambodia while Pancasila (derived from the Sanskrit words, panca – meaning five – and sila – meaning principle) is the state philosophy of Indonesia. Moreover, Indian epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata are still enacted in many localised forms across the region and Buddhism spread to many countries in this region from India.

However, in the years following its independence in 1947, this region was overlooked by India for various reasons. That changed with the end of the Cold War when India's foreign policy makers decided to look afresh at these countries. In the early 1990's, India launched its "Look-East Policy", designed to reach out to the countries of East and Southeast Asia at around the same time when the country embarked on its economic liberalisation programme.

There are a host of areas where India and the countries of East and Southeast Asia have common interests. Here, mention may be made of maritime cooperation, which is one of the most important areas of cooperation, especially given the rise of maritime terrorism and piracy. India's coastline is adjacent to some of the most vital sea-lanes of the world stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Straits of Malacca while the Indian Navy is one of the strongest navies in the entire Asia-Pacific region.

One of the major factors in India's improving ties with the countries in this region has been India's booming economy, which has escaped the pitfalls of the current worldwide economic downturn. Besides this, India's membership in forums like the East Asia Summit has helped to bring India closer to the countries in this region.

This paper examines the areas of convergence and divergence in India's ties with the countries of East and Southeast Asia and suggests ways by which India and these countries can promote even closer ties. It will also detail how the economic and military rise of China will impinge on the ties between India and these countries. Also, it will suggest ways and means by which India and these countries can work around the areas of divergence in their ties and highlight the common challenges that India and these countries face, like terrorism, piracy, drug trafficking, gun-running, human smuggling and environmental degradation, among others.

This paper seeks to delineate the prospects for regional integration in the region encompassing India, East and Southeast Asia given their growing cooperation and analyses the challenges to the same. It will also look at how India's growing ties with the United States has affected its ties with countries in this region. The study will further examine the successes and failures of India's "Look-East Policy". Finally, it will chart out a roadmap for the future of regional integration in this region, given India's historical ties with the countries of East and Southeast Asia.

Neo-Keynesianism: Alternative Idea to face the Challenges of Contemporary Regionalism

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Liberal thinking has always experienced dynamic movements by giving birth to varieties of thoughts within liberal thought itself. This is expressed on the development of this thought from the idea of classical liberalism, Keynesian political economy, and also neo-Liberalism, which remains dominant today. However, in the development of the contemporary global political economy, neo-liberal thought has started to receive a strong criticism which evokes alternative ideas beyond this idea. One of the ideas which has the opportunity to become dominant is neo-Keynesianism.

From this starting point, this paper focuses on three elements. The first element is to map the shift of ideas from one liberal variant to another. The second element is to observe the opportunity of the contemporary spread of neo-Keynesianism. From mapping the important points, the shift and spread of an idea can be known. These points will then be used to analyze the spread of neo-Keynesianism in the domain of neo-Liberalism. The final element is to analyze whether neo-Keynesianism is one of the best alternative political economy ideas to manage regionalism at the domestic policy level.

From the analysis it can be known that the liberal thought has always experienced a dynamic with a pattern that tends to be regular. This pattern describes the ongoing competition between country and market to achieve a strategic and dominant position in the international political economy. To achieve the dominant position, there are several important points required which can enhance an idea in becoming dominant. First is the existence of momentum which can either be the change in global constellation, economic crisis, or political crisis. Second is the existence of an intellectual actor or agent who puts forward or socialize an idea. The last point is the existence of a political strength in the form of a support or a political legitimacy.

In the contemporary era, Keynesianism is being brought back to relevance in order to answer various regional and regionalism challenges which are difficult to be solved through neo-liberal schemes. This idea is considered “easy” bearing in mind how the world is currently at a massive economic crisis which requires the people to have alternative ideas in order to solve the problems within the economic crisis. This development depends also on the part of the actors/agents who represent those who are pro-Keynesianism who have always made efforts in order to have this idea accepted in various fields, such as Joseph Stiglitz and Paul Krugman. This effort will be continued to the point where neo-Keynesianism gains the political support and legitimacy necessary to be implemented in the practical fields. By paying attention to this development, the opportunity for neo-Keynesian ideas to be the dominant is actually quite immense. However, this opportunity still requires a long process due to various factors such as the weak movement that the agents are putting an effort on, the limited supporting political power and the people’s acceptance which can still be considered very weak.

The EU and State- building in Failed States: An Assessment of European Engagement in Afghanistan

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Failed states or states teetering on brink of disaster have been perceived as the major source of threat to peace and security in the 21st century by the international community including the European Union (EU). International engagement has been considered to be indispensable to break the cycles of fragility and violence affecting around 1.5 billion people across the world. The European Security Strategy 2003 explicitly recognizes that multiple threats arising due to state-failure have severe implications for European security and society. Building effective and legitimate state institutions is central to the European approach for ensuring peace and security and promoting inclusive development in the conflict ridden societies and states. It has been widely debated that “strategic identity” of the EU is deeply rooted in its state-building efforts in the failed states. Afghanistan was a classic case of state failure in 2001. As a safe haven for terrorists and the largest opium producer, Afghanistan under the Taliban was a severe threat to world peace and security. From the European perspective, Afghanistan provided the EU challenges as well as opportunities to quell the security threat and to establish its credentials as an effective global power that plays a greater role in maintaining peace and security beyond their traditional zones of influence. Legitimate and effective state institutions are the sine qua non for the conflict prevention as well as reconstruction and development in the post war Afghanistan; therefore, the EU has adopted a political-civil approach based on the principles of human security and good governance, towards the Afghan crisis and has taken the initiatives to build the state institutions. The EU and its member states are the major donors for reconstruction and development; and state-building, namely police and judicial reforms. The Afghanistan crisis has always figured in European regional diplomacy, especially towards Pakistan and India, to create a conducive atmosphere for peace and security. Now mixed trends appear in European policy towards Afghanistan. The long term military presence of European countries is not possible but the EU and member states recognize that developmental challenges in Afghanistan remain, thus they will continue to provide developmental assistance for the foreseeable future. In such a conceptual framework, this paper offers an analysis of the EU’s policies and approaches to state-building in failed states. The paper will also analyze European engagement in reconstruction and development and state-building in Afghanistan and how it may affect the EU’s credentials as a strategic entity in the world affairs.

Panel 20 – Politics III (8116)

HOPE OR DOOM?

Institutionalizing the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in the Midst of the “ASEAN WAY”

Joel Mark Barredo, Mahidol University, Thailand

No More Guns: External Assistance for Post-Conflict Rebuilding in Mindanao

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Following the conclusion of the 1996 Final Peace Agreement between the Philippine Government and the Moro National Liberation Front, external assistance for rehabilitation started to flow in earnest towards war-torn areas in Mindanao. Hobbled by governance problems, development aid delivery suffered many failures under the weak Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) structures and overlapping mandates with national agencies. A new framework under the 2001 Tripoli Peace Agreement between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) granted the MILF-linked Bangsamoro Development Agency (BDA) greater leverage as an NGO to direct international assistance for rehabilitation in contested areas. This new arrangement also ushered in a “peace and development” framework, which closely tied socio-economic investments (particularly in health, education and social services) to the achievement of long-term cessation of hostilities in the region. This peace and development framework has since guided national government and international donor projects.

Mindanao’s inclusion as a theatre in the US war on terror amplified and complicated external donor interest in the region. A quantitative and qualitative change in US assistance after 2001 was noted, including the prominence of the military as conduit for development aid. Japan and the EU have taken a greater interest accordingly, although assistance has now been re-tooled towards enhancing local governance capacity and overtly linking those with a direct stake (participation in the International Monitoring Team) in the outcome of the political negotiations between the Philippine government and MILF. The convergence of multilateral/bilateral aid through civilian/military mechanisms in key areas (e.g. Central Mindanao) is altering the discourse over development, peace and local power in the area. These currents are occurring over an atmosphere of tenuous peace and intermittent violent outbreaks such as those seen in the collapse of the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOAAD) in 2008 and the Maguindanao massacre (2009).

This paper seeks to trace changes in the nature of external assistance to Mindanao following agreements between the Philippine government and Muslim rebel groups by contextualizing them inside shifting development frameworks operative at the local level. The political effects of external assistance in terms of military-civil society relations and national-local power dynamics are explored. The paper will also examine divergent patterns of discourse (anti-terror and “human security” frameworks) in the external assistance for Mindanao.

Governance toward Human Rights: Freedom of Speech and Individual Privacy in New Media

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The purpose of this article is to explore issues in new media in the governance of freedom of speech and individual privacy. The Internet is an indispensable source of information today. With the creation of various types of new media, the Internet has become the broadest gateway and platform of spatial knowledge to interaction, and even turns to be the formation of a far and wide public field. The emergence of new media which breaks the original concept and rules of traditional media communication makes expression of individual speech more influential. Individuals become the participants and influencers of “freedom of speech.” However, in this interactive process, the impact is that who might inevitably lead to the perception of tort law.

This paper uses qualitative methods, including literature survey, comparative and hermeneutic methods, from the theoretical perspective of communicative rationality proposed by Jürgen Habermas as a scientific research basis of deductive approaches, combining with discourses on national governance and human rights to analyze the relevant information and data used in this article.

Meanwhile, the concept and belief that “Establishing a Nation filled with Human Rights” have been gradually shaping Taiwan. The government and the legal norms in laws should change with time to expand and transform by new developments in science and technology for practical aspects in issues of human rights. Under such circumstances, providing impetus for new spaces for interaction is crucial and lies within interpersonal principles between rights and obligations. The creative innovation of this paper focuses on perspectives of interactive communication to describe relations between the nation state and its citizens.

This paper hopes to build up rights and obligations of localizing knowledge, so that aspects of theories and practical evidence can interpret the difference and integration by analysis of new media in freedom of expression to compare with that of the traditional press. Reshaping the usage of new media rights and obligations for individuals,

this article tries to offer an interpretation for implementation of human rights in freedom of speech and individual privacy in situations with difficulties and suggestions, and that will create a new way for governance with consideration toward human rights.

E-Governance and Social Inclusion in the Philippines

Magno Francisco, De La Salle University, The Philippines

Panel 21 – Economy and Society II (8522)

Civil Society Organizations and the Nuclear Energy Debate in the Philippines

Punzalan Kevin Christopher, De La Salle University, The Philippines

Food security in the Lower Mekong Basin (LMB):

The villagers' dependency on the water-related resources in Steung Treng Province, Cambodia

Serey Sok, Department of Geography, Hong Kong Baptist University

Xiaojiang Yu, Department of Geography, Hong Kong Baptist University

Grassroots Democracy and the IT Policy in India:

Analysing Varying Approach of the State Governments

Rajesh K Jha, Department of Political Science, Rajdhani College (DU), India

Measuring Global Innovative Companies

Tsai Chen Li, Chihlee Institute of Technology, Taiwan

Chang-Hsing Chang, Yachin Li and Shine Juo-Mei Chiang

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