



State and Civil Society in the Context of Transition:

Understanding Non-Traditional
Security in East Asia

Edited by
Zhang Yunling

World Affairs Press

**State and Civil Society in the Context
of Transition: Understanding Non-
Traditional Security in East Asia**

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——东亚非传统安全问题研究

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Preface

The concept of "security" is traditionally relevant only to state, and the security threat to state mostly comes from outside by military means. Recently, "non-traditional security" has been broadly discussed since more and more security threats do not necessarily come from traditional area, i. e. the concept of security seems too narrow if only defined in the military term. In comparison, non-traditional security covers broader areas, ranging from political, economical, social aspects to ecological, environmental and cultural issues. While traditional security threat comes from the outside, non-traditional security threat comes from both the inside and the outside, mostly from within, and also while states are the major players in the traditional security area, in non-traditional area, they are more related to civil societies, individuals, as well as groups. Thus, in dealing with non-traditional issues, the interests of non-state sectors should be emphasized and their roles need to be encouraged. However, this does not mean that state simply becomes irrelevant. Actually, the government behavior and role are still crucial in both as a cause of the problem and as a player for the solution. This is particularly true in handling the cross boarder non-traditional issues, which need close cooperation among the states.

This project intends to study the non-traditional security challenges relating to political, economic, social and cultural transformation in East Asia. It covers three major issues: pluralism and society, migration and security, and state and civil society. Each issue is designed to be an independent sub-project part led by a coordinator. The study of part one focuses on two major issues; *The nature and challenge of a pluralist society*; *Roots of extremism and its risk*, coordinated by Takahashi Kazuo, Profes-

sor of Japan International Christian University. Part two studies the issues relating to development and migration. The following major areas are carefully analyzed: *Defining the nature of migration in the context of development*; *Cross-border migration and its management*, coordinated by Dr. Dewi Fortina Anwar, Director of Habibie Center, Indonesia, The focus of part three is the relations of state and civil society in the process of modernization. It intends to study the issues of *Re-defining the state and its role in a process of modernization*, *Emergence of civil society and its role in handling new challenges*, coordinated by myself.

This project, financially supported by the Ford Foundation, with more than 40 scholars from East Asian region directly as contributors and hundreds of indirectly as participants through several seminars, intends to create a network for studying and understanding the non-traditional security issues in East Asian region. The three volumes of this project study will make valuable contribution for this purpose.

I am pleased to be the initiator and general coordinator of this project, an understanding that would not be possible without the generous support of the Ford Foundation, especially the warm support from Professor Andrew Watson, resident representative of its Beijing office. My gratitude should go to Professor Takahashi Kazuo and Dr. Dewi Fortina Anwar who accepted my invitation for coordinating part one and part two studies. I owe to my assistant from the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Ms. Li Mo who has contributed greatly in doing the coordinating work.

Zhang Yunling
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
December 20, 2004, Beijing

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Introduction

Zhang Yunling^①

East Asian countries are experiencing great transformation toward a modern society that requires adapting to the changes of the government, society and individuals. Generally, changes have made the society more advanced, more affluent, and more comfortable. But they may also cause conflicts due to the misconduct of the government, increasing gaps, as well as resistance of the change itself. The emerging confrontation may become serious threats to the state, society, as well as human life. The real challenge is how to manage the process of transition and change more stable and beneficial to the people.

This volume contends 10 papers focusing on two major issues: the government and the civil society. The studies have shown that the risk is high if the governments fail to make timely adjustment and response and how important to develop a cohesive relationship between the state and civil society.

Dr. Liu Hong's paper illustrates the importance of the network between state, society and market in East Asia. He argues that to understand the complexity and multi-dimensionality of social transformation in modern Asia, it needs to go beyond the conventional dichotomy of the state-society as the two extremes of the spectrum and bring in other conceptual tools for the analysis. It is wrong "to conceptualize the state-network interaction"

① Zhang Yunling, Professor, Director of Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Coordinator of this research project.

as a zero-sum game. Furthermore, the network can and should also be understood in the regional context of non-traditional security. To tackle these problems, the cooperation and effective networking among various governments in the transnational context are essential.

Dr. Nathan's case study on the transition of Malaysia shows that it is possible to realize economic and social balance under the planning and leadership of Mahathir bin Mohamad with 47-year record of stability, economic development, and social harmony. However, new challenges emerge in a new domestic, regional as well as international environment. It has to be seen that whether it is possible to ensure that modernization, democracy, and social stability continue to be managed by the state using a pragmatic and progressive ideology in addressing the multi-faceted challenges of the 21st Century.

Republic of Korea (ROK) experienced a significant transition from the authoritarian to the democratic system. Professor Han Sang-Jin finds that for the transition, not only the political but also the socio-economic and the cultural transformation are equally important for democracy. Not only the formal and the procedural but also the substantive issues are to be properly raised and tackled. He uses the concept of "dual democratization" as a reasonable approach to explain the complexities of the transition. He argues that democracy is an ongoing process, continually expanding its frontiers. Democracy can last long when it could offer benefits to the people at large, particularly to those discriminated. The financial crisis opened up a broad road toward socio-economic structural reforms. He argues that the politics of consultation and compromise is an important condition for a stable and smooth democratic transition by eliminating the polarizing confrontation and fostering political plurality and diversity. Concerning the development of the civil society, the key problem is the citizens' active participation in such

discursive institutions as public sphere, civic organizations and NGOs, moral and cultural traditions, and ideological formations and so on.

In China case, Dr. Liu Neng argues in his paper that the social-economic change itself naturally brings about the new contradictions, which are of complex nature. They may be as a result of the change itself, i. e. from the old to the new, some deep rooted social-cultural heritage, may be as a result of the wrong policies of the government. Emerging social conflicts are a kind of non-traditional threat to the transition, to the state, which requires great efforts to handle. The role of the government has been questioned due to its overlapped growth-oriented behavior, which needs to be redefined and readjusted.

Dr. Cao Ziwei tries to define the proper roles in leading to China's continuous success of modernization by arguing that the government should fulfill its functions, but this does not mean it should do everything. All that are not supposed to be done by the government should be left to businesses, market, social organizations and intermediary institutions. He also argues that the government should utilize the influence of NGOs in support of the government's reform.

Terrorism is a new threat to the stability of the society. Dr. Tang Shiping, Zhang Jie and Yuan Chen intend to study the causes of terrorism through their preliminary quantitative analysis. They gave some interesting results, some of which, probably due to their limited data collection, seem very contradictory to the real facts.

Dr. Li Wen's paper well analyzes new challenges that East Asian countries are facing. He suggests that while in managing those new challenges as non-traditional security issues, the roles of both government and civil society are important and the emerging NGOs' role is of great significance.

Dr. Shigeto Sonoda did a good survey work on the develop-

ment of NGOs in Japan. He finds that the emergence of NGOs in Japan seem to be a result of a strong distrust on public institutions, especially on central government. Therefore, it is reasonable for the government to seek for better cooperation with NGOs in order to gain legitimacy from critical mass especially when budget scale is too small to solve non-traditional security issues only by the government. He argues that in Japan participation in NGOs is not automatically encouraged by the emergence of "critical mass" partly because people used to be accustomed to authoritarian way with little experience to organize civil groups and partly because they don't share any common social backgrounds as critical mass. In order to set up and manage NGOs, it is necessary to mobilize social resources. He suggests that NGOs have a network with governmental sections to get information and financial support while seeking for development and survival.

Compared with other East Asian countries, NGOs in the Philippines have been more developed. According to Dr. Gerardo L Largoza's paper, the implications of NGOs play an important role for enhancing social protection and reducing social tension. He finds that there are three common modes of government/NGO collaboration, which range from full government control with minimal NGO intervention, to full cooperation with government and NGOs assuming evenly balanced roles. The vibrant civil society networks that exist in the Philippines are an important resource in developing the kind of participatory ethic, and partnerships with the government that the development process need. He argues that to contribute more to the enhancement of social protection, they must play a greater role in policy discussion, advocacy and formulation — perhaps even to the extent of solidifying links with more programmatic political parties.

In Cambodia due to its special domestic situation, NGOs emerged rather late. Dr. Nguyen Sy Tuan's paper evaluates the

progress of civil society development in that country. NGOs are given the roles in embracing the development agenda, in particular by focusing on human resource training, community development, environmental protection, mine clearance, support for democracy, respect for human rights and development of civil society. NGOs show their active and positive roles in presenting a common platform for grassroots organizations working closely with the local people, to complement government's and donor's policies; in participating in consultation with the government regarding formulation of laws and regulations; monitoring developments and calling for better transparency and accountability of many important issues, particularly the suppression of illegal logging and the respect for human rights, which were recently hot issues in Cambodia and raising awareness of the problems of trafficking of women and children, the spread of HIV/AIDS and the campaign to ban land mines, and etc.. He argues that social organizations have help to create an open, democratic, free and friendly climate of civil society.

By focusing on the transition of state and civil society, our studies intend to illustrate the new challenges and see how both the government and society have readjusted to deal with those "new security threats" that they used not to be familiar with.

From the past experience we can see that the government's role used to be crucial for East Asian countries in their successfully economic development. It is considered that East Asian governments adopted a market-friendly approach in developing their modern economies, which led to the "East Asia miracle". The growth strategies of most East Asian countries included substantial government involvement, including government directed investment, government guided bank lending, government subsidies and tax incentives, also including capital-friendly policies aiming at encouraging foreign direct investment. This kind of government involvement is usually essential for business to

start and develop in East Asian economic taking off. Thus, bureaucrats, business and politicians work together in close consultation. The Asian financial crisis made it evident that an underlying element of the crisis emerged from this government—business coalition structure. For example, government directed investments and subsidized interest rates resulted in numbers of conglomerates in Japan, ROK and other countries with large amounts of misallocated investments. Government directed development is mostly based on a state-owned or government-directed banking system, which purposefully weakens the development of the capital market. It is clear that the role of the government needs to be redefined. Good governance should focus more on supervision, institutional guarantee for business, rather than direct involvement in the business. Good governance requires that authority is based on the rule of law, its policies are transparent, and it is accountable to the society.

More importantly, while growth is essential to create wealth, itself does not necessarily bring about social justice. A divided society, i. e. growing gap between the poor and the rich will pose serious political and social risk. For most East Asian countries during the past “miracle” time, they generally had high social cohesion and stability along with the economic growth. But that social cohesion and stability seem very fragile in facing the crisis. During the financial crisis, social hardships and suffering, social unrest and political instability suddenly broke up the old order. This urges the government to redefine its role again, from growth friendly policy only to a more social-oriented policy. Social stability requires a well-designed social safety net (SSN) to protect people from suffering or insecurity.

In political development, government used to play a key role in keeping the political and social order in East Asia. Usually, the stable political order used to play an important role in creating East Asian economic prosperity. However, it also accumulat-

ed problems and contradictions. The rule of man (a strong political leader) plus strong government direction and involvement into the economic activities resulted both institutional and policy problems. Growing economic and social disparity, corruption and mismanagement, all these may turn into a burning fire — a social unrest. The lesson from the past experience shows that the political compatibility to the economic and social development is crucial. This compatibility requires that political change and reform should be compatible to economic and social progress, and strengthening civil society and broadening social participation of political and economic activities should not be ignored.

The development of civil society, largely representing the emergence of NGOs, is a natural process for modernity of the society. In East Asia, NGOs find their important roles in mobilizing the people's participation, providing social assistance and bridging people and government. For most cases, NGOs used to get their legitimacy from the government and intend to be the partner of the government. However, this cohesion has been challenged in an open political, social and economical condition. In facing a fast changing society with great instability and uncertainty, how to define the role of NGOs and how to establish a cooperative relationship between the government and NGOs?

Network Building Between State and Society in the Asian Context

Liu Hong^①

Introduction

The role of the state in both the Western and non-Western societies has been a fascinating subject in the scholarly debates. With the advance of globalization and the emergence of civil society, a closer study of the state-society relationship in contemporary Asia has become essential for both theoretical and practical considerations. This relationship has also had important ramifications for the studies of non-traditional security in Asia, because issues such as terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, ethnic conflicts, exploding population growth, poverty, environmental degradation, and (illegal) immigration have all been influenced by the changing patterns of state-society linkages.

By going beyond the conventional state-society dichotomy, this paper is concerned with the role of the network and its interactions with the state and society in a globalizing Asia as well as

① Liu Hong, Associate Professor, Department of Chinese Studies, and Assistant Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore. The author is grateful for the constructive comments by Professors Zhang Yunling, Liu Xuecheng, Han Sang-Jin, and K. S. Nathan. He is solely responsible for the interpretations and remaining errors of this essay.

in the framework of non-traditional security studies. It is divided into two main parts. The first is theoretical and conceptual, discussing changing approaches to the state-society relationship in the Asian context and arguing for the need to bring the network into a center of our analysis. The second section employs the example of changing interactions between the state and networks in Singapore and China to highlight shifting role of the state, society and networks and their collaborations. The concluding section considers the implications of our empirical cases and argues that a network approach to the state-society relationship will contribute to a better understanding of the role of the state as well as non-traditional security issues in modern Asian societies.

I. Changing Approaches to the State-Society Relationship: An Overview

1. The Emergence of Institutionalism and Statism

Before examining the role of the state-society, it is necessary to provide some brief definitions of the state. There are a number of conflicting definitions of the state and at least four conceptualizations have appeared in the literature.^① These are (1) the state as government (“by which it is meant the collective set of personnel who occupy positions of decisional authority in the policy”); following Theda Skocpol, the state can be seen as “administrative, legal, extractive, and coercive organizations which are the core of the state” (Skocpol, 1985); (2) the state as “public bureaucracy or administrative apparatus as a coherent totality” and as an institutionalized legal order; (3) the state as ruling class; and (4) the state as normative order. In the context of national security, “it [the state] protects the rights of its

^① For more detailed discussions on the conceptualizations of the state, see Hawes and Liu 1993; Paul, Ikenberry and Hall 2003.

citizens from the harmful actions of other states and nonstate entities” (Alagappa, 1998a).

As it is usually defined, the state-society linkage is primarily an examination of “states *in relation to* particular kinds of socio-economic and political environments populated by actors with given interests and resources” (Skocpol, 1985). Within this context, the state is “an organizational entity that is at least partially separate from the larger society of which it is a part. While the society encompasses the wider territorial entity, the state is the political organization that asserts rulership of the society. It is the administrative, legal, and political institutions that together monopolize legitimate force and territorial sovereignty within its borders” (Ikenberry, 2003).

In conjunction with the rapid economic growth in East and Southeast Asia during the 1970s/1980s, various explanations have been advanced to interpret this new phenomenon. Two schools of thought emerged, Institutionalism and Statist approaches. As a variation of the former approach, the neo-Classic explanation looks at non-state variables. It stresses export-oriented, market-driven industrialization through a pursuit of comparative advantages and contends that East Asian governments “did not try to overwhelm the market, and were flexible enough to adjust policies when necessary”. This Institutionalism can be seen as an approach that “(1) incorporates private sector and public sector arrangements, (2) appreciates the coalitional bases of such arrangements, and (3) recognizes the utility of combining political support for local firms with pressure on them to conform to market forces”. In this view, developmental states are one component of, one participant in, broader institutions that provide solutions to the collective action problems common to developing nations (Doner, 1992).

The statist approach can be seen as a component of the revived scholarly interest in the role of state in modern society,