

TNI

# PEOPLE & POWER in the PACIFIC

The Struggle for the  
Post-Cold War Order

WALDEN BELLO



Foreword by Ted Wheelwright



# Contents

Tables, Maps and Figures	ix
Abbreviations	x
Acknowledgements	xi
Foreword by Ted Wheelwright	xii

## Part I: America's Pacific

1	The End of the Cold War in the Pacific	3
2	America's Contradictory Legacy	6
3	The Rise of a Pacific Power The 'Black Ships' Arrive, 9; The Clash of Empires, 11; Creating the Postwar Bases Network, 12; Forward Defense and Containment, 13; Strategic Diplomacy as a Substitute for Force, 16; Naval Backlash, 17	9
4	US Pacific Command Today Imperial Reach, 20; Sexual Labor and the Military Economy, 25; In Search of Enemies, 26	20
5	Missionary Democracy and US Foreign Policy: the Uneasy Partnership The Philippine Paradigm, 30; Containment and the Democratic Mission, 31; The Authoritarian Alternative, 33	30
6	The Economic Dimension of Expansionism: from Agro-mineral Exploitation to Export-oriented Industrialization Colonial Exploitation, 37; Export-oriented Industrialization (EOI), 39; Labor Control: the Korean Model, 42; Women Workers on the Cutting Edge, 43; Economic Growth and Income Concentration, 45; EOI and the Destruction of Agriculture, 46; EOI and Political Instability, 48	37

7	Ecological Disequilibrium	50
	Destroying the Rainforests, 50; The US and Export-oriented Forestry, 52; The World Bank and Deforestation, 53; The World Bank and the 'Big Dam Syndrome', 55; Depletion of Fisheries and Coastal Resources, 56; The Costs of Chemical-intensive Agriculture, 57; Industrialization and Toxication, 59; Environmental Troubles and Threats to the Pacific Islands, 61	
8	Strategic Colonialism in the South Pacific	66
	The US: from Trusteeship to Annexation, 66; France and Nuclear Imperialism, 70; Indonesia and the Politics of <i>Lebensraum</i> , 73; Australia as 'Big Brother', 75; New Zealand: the Consequences of Defection, 78	
 <b>Part II: The Japanese Ascendancy</b>		
9	Japan's New Regional Economy	83
	Japan's Rise to Economic Supremacy, 83; The Crisis of the NICs, 86; The ASEAN Countries and Asia's 'Second Industrialization', 90; The Philippines Bypassed, 95; China and Vietnam: the 'Last Frontier', 95; Japan and Australia: a Colonial Relationship?, 98	
10	The US-Japan Relationship: from Alliance to Antagonism	102
	The Cold War and the Resurrection of Japan, 102; Three US Reactions, 102; The Japanese Reaction, 106; The Question of Japanese Militarism, 106; Balance of Power Politics, 107	
 <b>Part III: A People's Pacific?</b>		
11	Towards a New Order in the Pacific	115
	Threats to Peace, Old and New, 115; An Alternative Pacific Order, 117; An Alternative Security Framework, 117; An Asia-Pacific Techno-trading Bloc, 122; A Regional Congress of NGOs, 124	
	Notes	126
	Index	139

# Tables, Maps and Figures

## Tables

4.1	US Military Presence in the Pacific Theater, by Location, as of 31 March 1990	24
8.1	Political Status of South Pacific Countries	69
9.1	Cumulative Japanese and US Investment in the Asia-Pacific Region as of 1988	84
9.2	10 Major Recipients of Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA), 1985-9	85
10.1	Japanese High Technology Compared with US and Russian High Technology in Areas of Military Importance	110

## Maps and Figures

4.1	US Military Forces, Weapons and Installations in the Pacific, 1992	22
4.2	Military Confrontation on the Korean Peninsula	28
9.1	Southeast Asian Regional Integration Toyota-style: Toyota Corporation's Auto Parts Complementation Scheme among ASEAN Nations	92
10.1	The Asia-Pacific Region: the View from Tokyo	108
11.1	The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ)	118