



Pacific Basin Research Center

PBRC

THE FIRST TEN YEARS
1991–2001

Soka University of America

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1991-2001**

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Soka University of America**

From the Director

The Pacific Basin Research Center was conceived as a means of integrating social science research with enduring values that are derived from human experience. Its purpose has been to engage a large group of scholars in mutual research focused on policies that would contribute to the achievement of peace and the pursuit of other major social aspirations. It was created in January, 1991 as an advance unit of Soka University of America, pending the recruitment and engagement of the new University's own faculty in those causes.

The University itself had already begun offering English language programs for foreign visitors since 1987 and at that time was planning to offer a master's degree program in Second and Foreign Language Education beginning in 1994. Reversing the customary evolution of universities from undergraduate to graduate instruction, its graduate and special studies preceded an undergraduate program that was to be inaugurated a few years later. The formulation of a full-scale curriculum for that purpose, and the development of a separate campus large enough



Dedication ceremony at Calabasas campus of Soka University of America.
(Photograph by Gregory Nakasuji.)

to serve a thousand students, would take place over ten years during which PBRC was to establish its distinctive research program.

From the outset, PBRC embodied several distinctive but somewhat paradoxical features: it would carry out an extensive research program, but it would not retain a resident staff for that purpose; it would confine its geographic scope to Asia and the Pacific, but the subjects it studied would be of global significance; it would establish a base in its Director's office at Harvard University, but it would be a free-standing and independent unit; its primary mission would be to develop and diffuse knowledge, but it would not engage in classroom teaching. In short, it was destined to serve unique academic purposes, ambiguous in style and under an organizational structure that departed from the standard university setting. The empowering elements were to be the flexibility and the extensive resources available to it at Harvard and the stability afforded by its recognition as a permanent element in Soka University of America. These assets joined to encourage intellectual experiments that would be difficult to sustain in most university centers.

On January 2, 1991, when PBRC was formally inaugurated, I accepted the invitation to become its first director. I was already an emeritus professor at that time, having enjoyed twenty-seven years of teaching at Harvard, after serving fifteen years in the classrooms of other universities, and so I had both the time and the inclination to respond wholeheartedly to the welcome invitation. Since Soka University of America was still largely a founder's vision, and since Harvard was willing to house my research ambitions, we agreed to work out of an appropriate center in Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Resources for that purpose were provided by Buddhist contributors in Japan and the United States, inspired by the leadership of the Soka Gakkai International's dynamic president, Daisaku Ikeda. In their generous wisdom, the donors imposed no conditions upon me or upon the PBRC: they chose to exercise no veto over the subjects, the conduct, or the publication of the research that would be forthcoming. All such operating decisions were to be made in my office. It was an ideal setting, which, among other things, gave me an opportunity to review the status of existing research in and regarding the Asia-Pacific region and to engage

in innovative thinking about how best to supplement the work of other scholars and centers. (Our approach is described in Appendix I.)

After ten years, SUA was operating as a full-scale institution of higher learning in California, with undergraduate students in its new campus in Aliso Viejo and a graduate program and other training facilities at Calabasas. A functioning office in Cambridge, Massachusetts was ready for a transition to a California base, where an already busy faculty was getting ready to receive it. And at SUA, a new director and a faculty committee was preparing to take over.

—John D. Montgomery

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PBRC's Research Cycles

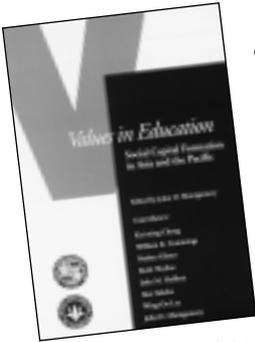
As a complement to the work of existing area programs, PBRC elected to concentrate on the policies that governments and other organizations had adopted in order to advance their public values. This approach enabled it to present comparative studies of political, economic, and religious institutions of the region, as well as to consider how they made these choices. Their policies would be interpreted as expressions of a “preferred future” of these organizations, and the programs linked to it were presumed to be efforts to bring it about (see Appendix I for a further discussion of this approach).

By definition, these “preferred futures” reflected their intention to “create value” in their societies, and thus, like the aspirations that lie at the heart of Buddhist doctrine, they would express the obligations that they had accepted. They would thus provide a standard by which to appraise the operations of the public and private organizations that dominate life in the region.

The topics of PBRC's research included contemporary problems of human rights, such as obstacles to a search for peace, cooperative behavior among social groups, and responses to the dual challenges of globalization and localization, all of which would benefit from careful documentary analysis and field work in their respective contexts.

Once we had identified our research priorities, we inaugurated a program of fellowships and research grants that would be open to competitive proposals from other scholars and centers. We examined the incoming proposals with the help of a small committee of scholars from Soka, Harvard, and other universities. Within our first few years we had made a series of grants and were able to extend our links to other organizations (see Appendix III). We held seminar-conferences at which we

consolidated our research topics and methodologies and planned the publication of our findings (see Appendix IV). These exploratory seminars provided a prototype for our future operations. Meetings were held in Bangkok, Hong Kong, Malta, and Berlin as well as at Harvard and Soka University of America.



The PBRC conference in Hong Kong produced the book *Values in Education, Social Capital Formation in Asia and the Pacific*, which presented the findings of an international group of scholars who analyzed how educational systems have built social capital by giving institutional expression to the values of their society. Half of the chapters analyzed the substance, content, measurement, transmission, or perseverance of values in Asia, and the other half examined how educational systems in the region have embodied them.

Four major research cycles included studies of “great policies” in the region; analysis of positive supports that governments gave to human rights; the infrastructure of cooperation within them that provided their “social capital”; and the responses that governments are making to the challenges of globalization as they seek to defend their sovereignty. In all, four other volumes resulted from these efforts:

- *Great Policies: Strategic Innovations in Asia and the Pacific Basin;*
- *Human Rights: Positive Policies in Asia and the Pacific Rim;*
- *Social Capital as a Policy Resource;*
- *Sovereignty under Challenge: How Governments Respond.*

Of the 85 grants made in aid of this research, 26 scholars explored the “Great Policies” theme, 23 worked on “Positive Policies in Human Rights,” 23 participated in the “Social Capital” project, and 13 engaged in the “Sovereignty” studies, together applying a comprehensive range of methodologies in the region’s diverse geographic settings.

This research produced some reassuringly unexpected findings, some of which may be recited briefly to illustrate the nature of the work.

First Research Cycle, 1991-93: Great Policies. Exceptional problems, where the issues transcend the conventional boundaries of public administration, inspire great policies, as governments and other large organizations adopt positive and innovative programs designed to advance their condition. These “great” policies, being rarities, transcend the conventions of government or of public administration in four respects: (1) they depart from incrementalist solutions to new problems and stretch across sectoral or ministerial boundaries; (2) they require new procedural or organizational devices for their implementation; (3) they generate new expectations that give them special visibility in the framework of public action; and (4) in time, they define new models of policy responses and suggest new paradigms of policy initiatives. The US Marshall Plan was a prototype of “great” policy-making: it was designed in the wake of World War II and the context of victory but was not really part of the military or diplomatic action; it employed techniques familiar to conventions of government (economic reconstruction and development, diplomatic relationships among states, disarmament with security objectives, and democratic participation), but its objectives and its operations transcended each of them and were frequently cited in dealing with other great problems.

PBRC identified and examined a series of such innovative policy experiences that had occurred in Asia and the Pacific Basin, including, among others:

- Taiwan’s land-for-bonds program, which merged historic “land-to-the-tiller” reforms with privatization of state industries in order to stimulate investments in both the agricultural and industrial sector;
- Taiwan’s planned economic transformation, which enlisted private and public initiatives in both industry and agricul-



ture to advance that country's international trade, making a transition "from Marx to market place";

- the creation of incentives in the People's Republic of China to reverse the emigration of its technical graduates abroad, in order to use manpower that would otherwise have been unavailable but was needed to advance the competitive potential of new industries;
- Korea's similar return-of-the-native policies, which provided incentives to its emigrants to come home to engage in the projected industrialization of the nation;
- Mainland China's energy conservation policies, which required mobilization of both "public" and "private" sector organizations;
- Korea's agro-industrial development policies, designed to produce balanced growth and serve a newly-defined national interest;
- Japan's experiments with American teacher volunteers on the Peace Corps model, which helped internationalize its secondary schools;
- Japan's use of aid to China to advance foreign policy purposes;
- Thailand's introduction of accelerated rural development techniques in order to generate political solidarity at the village level;
- policies of community management of natural resources in Mexico and Colombia, designed to shore up political legitimacy.

Although each of these great policies had made use of familiar techniques to serve their objectives, they had molded them in unfamiliar combinations, merging existing programs with imaginative new projects to observe new priorities and offering a transforming vision of future benefits that could overflow from existing vessels of government action.

Second Research Cycle, 1994-96: Human Rights. PBRC's second three-year cycle of research dealt with "positive human rights policies," enlarging on a theme that was to dominate the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1998. PBRC proposed to supplement the current pessimistic appraisals of human rights conditions, which reported trends in abuses and violations, by adding more optimistic data about the rising access to human rights. We began by exploring the nature and extent of public and private policies that were improving people's access to their rights, to balance observance of existing evidence of human wrongs.

Paradoxically, a discontinuity appeared between the acceptance of international agreements to avoid violating human rights and the adoption of independent national policies to affirm them. New international declarations and agreements on human rights kept cropping up every year or so, but an increasing number of countries were declining to ratify them.

Asian countries were expressing deep-seated misgivings about the implications of such "western" approaches to protecting human rights. Even so, their actions belied their doubts, for in many countries that had not proclaimed a commitment to positive human rights, the government's actions in that direction had been conspicuous and cumulative. The PBRC project was able to document a variety of such experiences with positive policies, including:

- U.S. and Japanese efforts to encourage the observance of human rights in China through diplomatic means;
- Chinese laws to protect women's rights;
- China's legal aid programs for those without access to personal lawyers;
- India's affirmative-action "reservations" or preferential treatment policies and its national human rights commission;



- science and technology policies designed to improve living conditions of the rural poor in Bangladesh;
- public health programs in the Philippines;
- protective policies for aged and women workers in Japan;
- “sunshine” policies to open the files regarding the “disappeared” victims of violence in Latin America;
- policies to protect the efforts of rights-based demand organizations in the Andes;
- education rights for Tibetan refugees in India.

Unlike the great policies studied in PBRC’s first cycle, nearly all of these policies were controversial in their own countries, even though usually they were applauded abroad. Positive human rights policies are not always admired at home, especially by those already enjoying privileged positions.

The range of policies adopted to enhance individual human rights ran the gamut of government action: setting up sites and services that could give people access to their rights; extending existing rights to new groups and individuals; recognizing new rights that were previously unacknowledged; making potential beneficiaries aware of their rights and the general public aware of wrongs in order to enlist popular cooperation in corrective action; combating elements hostile to the rights of disadvantaged groups; arbitrating among claimants to rights and privileges; and restoring lost rights. Yet in spite of the importance of the values they served, PBRC studies showed that such actions did not often require substantial new investments of public resources because they made use of existing processes, requiring little more than a change of focus.

The controversies that these policies aroused have revealed the conflicting and politically uncomfortable priorities they asserted. It was almost always the poor, the under-represented, the rural-based, the women, the aged, or the unpopular groups that gained the greatest advantage from positive human rights policies. One of the striking findings of this study was the regional differences in commitment to human

rights policies of all kinds. In spite of its economic prosperity, Asia has not led Latin America or all other parts of the southern hemisphere in its commitment to international agreements or constitutional protections of human rights. But the record of its commitment was improving, partly because these countries were showing that their agenda for action was accompanied by a record of improvement.

Third Research Cycle, 1997-99: Social Capital. Many public actions depend for their ultimate success on the support, or at least acquiescence, of identifiable groups of citizens; but the way in which these permissive public attitudes have enriched the prospects of various social improvement policies in a democratic state are not well understood. In its third cycle, PBRC studied how this “social capital” is being converted to such policy uses.

It began by defining social capital as “the cumulative capacity of individuals and social groups to work together for a common good.” This approach reverses the point of view that has dominated the literature on the subject, which concentrated on the conditions under which social capital is created and how it influences outcomes, including its by-products. While not ignoring background information in each such use, the PBRC studies considered how social capital becomes a resource to serve a variety of public purposes. The cases we studied came from different policy arenas: enrichment of special education programs, programs of rural development, service to the rights of indigenous groups, national reconciliation or reorganization, applications of science and technology to human problems, industrial relations, women’s rights, and even public aspects of religious observance. The indirect outcomes included increased or reinforced local self-reliance and control, enlarged confidence in public institutions, improved social mobility for the disadvantaged, historical preservation, and better social justice through more equitable allocations of resources. For example, we learned that:



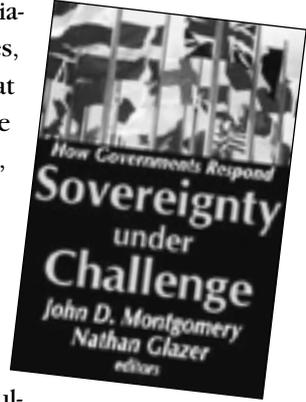
- Chinese leaders used the system of higher education to encourage new forms of commercial management, and then appealed to newly-minted entrepreneurs to transmit other values such as promoting one-child families;
- in South Korea the leaders began preparations for possible reunification with the North by establishing elaborate educational curricula intended to reinforce loyalties to family members across the border;
- Taiwan used its educational resources cumulatively, but for conflicting purposes, first to stress affinities with Chinese traditions, and subsequently to serve pluralistic purposes by celebrating the indigenous culture;
- China imposed new objectives upon old organizations, using labor unions, which were originally expected only to reinforce discipline in state-owned enterprises, to support special incentives to workers in foreign enterprises;
- Philippines and Mexico encouraged village-level agricultural organizations to promote national health standards;
- grassroots community development efforts in Bangladesh were initiated to advance national productivity goals but soon were used to promote social equity.

These cases showed that existing organizations could help achieve changing goals and still sustain their original capacity to function without sacrificing existing commitments, even when such diversions were not compatible with their own purposes. But sometimes this flexibility depleted an organization's essential strengths, especially when the new activities served primarily to enlarge the scope, reputation, and influence of its leaders rather than its members. PBRC concluded that considering social capital as a policy resource requires more sensitive attention to the circumstances of its use than does the conventional politician's treatment of a consenting or protesting "public" to advance transitory causes.

Fourth Research Cycle, 2000: Sovereignty under Challenge.

The considerable attention that scholars have devoted to “globalization” and “localization” sees them as constraints on a government’s independence of movement, but PBRC finds it also a potential source of opportunity for new initiatives. It is the responses to those challenges, rather than the challenges themselves, that define the meaning of sovereignty in the modern world. In making these responses, governments are redefining sovereignty. PBRC has examined these responses to four sets of relationships:

- economic challenges from multinational corporations, together with those emanating from the multilateral organizations established to monitor them;
- social movements, especially ethnic or regional demands that threaten separatism and border redefinition and result in changed internal relationships;
- intellectual challenges, which are both more surreptitious and less controllable than the others and which enter public consciousness through channels that governments find hard to monitor or control;
- calls for international standards that require governments to extend their present authority into new areas.



The PBRC studies show that in responding to most of the challenges presented by globalization governments take one of three positions: acceptance, co-optation, or rejection. For some states, the challenges have made it possible to amend existing policies or to take advantage of new opportunities; sometimes in the process they have surrendered some of their “sovereignty” to other authorities; but in rare cases they have asserted a strong position against the challenger. The substantive issues include actions involving official abuses of human rights; transactions that impede the capacity of a government to regulate com-

merce; pre-emptive standards imposed by professional groups that limit the scope of national regulations; tensions between internal cultural values and the international flow of information and intellectual transactions; the movement of financial resources among nations in order to avoid regulation; international charges of abuse made against public officials who were supposedly carrying out authorized duties; and cultural developments that altered conceptions of the state or nation and the independence of its policies.

The specific examples in the PBRC studies illustrate how “globalizing” challenges have evoked different responses:

- an appraisal of the impact that Human Rights Commissions in the Philippines, Indonesia, and India measured the international influence on these governments’ exercise of their sovereign powers to affect citizen rights. These responses have conspicuously transcended their immediate preferences and spilled over into an enlarged public interest in the subject;
- a study showing how Russia, which had attempted to control immigrants coming from China by asserting sovereignty over the area in contest, found itself dealing instead with a pluralistic society bordering on irredentism, reinforced by newcomers and cross-border trade;
- analysis of the opinions of Japanese politicians and officials showed how those who had resisted international prescriptions of domestic actions for dealing with climate change gradually accepted the challenge and even hosted a global conference on the subject;
- examination of the steps India took to protect intellectual property illuminated its accession to WTO standards regarding a quintessential domestic issue;
- identification of mixed consequences of the PRC’s efforts to suppress a religious organization suggested the existence of a rising challenge to a strongly-held domestic policy

because it threatened China's desire for membership in an international organization and its continued access to internet affiliations;

- comparison of the impact of international (especially American) standards on the constitutions of Fiji and Indonesia revealed a fundamental global influence on the instruments of sovereignty;
- a study of international influences on labor and human rights standards revealed cases in which they displaced government efforts, notably in Asian apparel industries;
- analysis of land reforms for indigenous people in the Philippines government showed the decline of sovereign power over illicit occupation by squatters and political dissidents;
- an evaluation of how the Malaysian government sought to minimize the effects of pan-Islamic influences emphasized their effect on the functioning of statutory courts;
- the identification of ways in which international health programs and standards have changed Asian governments' relationships with their own citizens showed innovations in polio control campaigns, tuberculosis treatment, and anti-malaria programs;
- a review of how Mexico and the United States responded to claims of dual citizenship indicated a decline in traditional views of their sovereign powers;
- a conspectus of technological and management influences of multinational corporations.

Other Programs

These four successive cycles have dominated PBRC's activities over the decade, but it engaged in other research programs as well. It carried out a survey of human rights experiences; participated in a major study of environmental problems of economic growth in China; conducted a project on the management of industrial and municipal waste; performed an appraisal of international economic implications of industrialization in Taiwan; co-sponsored a conference on reconciliation of ethnic discord in the region and one on national language policies; and supported a conference on the legal profession in East Asia. Most of this work was done outside Harvard, but PBRC has also supported research in collaboration with Harvard's Law School, the Divinity School, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the Center for Population and Development Studies, and the University Committee on the Environment. The findings of these studies were published in various forms (see Appendix IV).

One of the most ambitious projects PBRC undertook was its human rights survey, which examined personal experiences, both positive and negative, of a hundred respondents in the United States. In the hope of reaching a broad sample of experience, it started with an assembled form of the written survey and supplemented the results by asking respondents on the world-wide web to describe their personal experiences. About 600 experiences with human rights were reported in this pilot project, a large enough number to permit classification and detailed statistical analysis. One surprising, and to many, reassuring, finding was that income is not the primary determinant of rights: those with lowest income did not report worse experiences than did those with higher income. The rights most frequently cited in the responses were equal treatment under the law (usually involving police and other

local officials); freedom of thought, speech, religion (especially of non-Christians), and assembly; privacy of home and correspondence; work rights, including equal pay, rest, leisure, and union membership; and education and asylum. Most of the cases reported in the U.S. were reproaches not against governments, but against managers and supervisors in private corporations. Contrary to the expectations of the original Declaration of Human Rights, the state is not the most egregious offender, at least in America. It is ironic that in the country that prides itself on its distrust of government and its confidence in the private sector, its citizens experience violations in the workplaces and the shops more often than through national laws or bureaucratic abuses. These findings are reported in detail in John D. Montgomery's article, "*Human Experience of Human Rights*" (forthcoming in 2002).

Another major project was undertaken in support to a University-wide committee on environmental policies. PBRC funded field work by Chinese scholars who examined alternative means of alleviating the environmental damage caused by rapid economic growth. The book *Energizing China, Reconciling Environmental Protection and Economic Growth* was produced by an interdisciplinary team of specialists at Harvard University and cooperating Chinese institutions. Its findings presented comprehensive data and analysis of energy generation associated with industrialization and transportation, including its links to public health and environmental conditions, and examined the prospects for reducing dependence on environment-depleting sources of power.

An early PBRC initiative emerged out of a 1992 conference it held in Bangkok in conjunction with the Chulabhorn Research Institute, in which it identified the problem of municipal waste management as a source of repeated misallocation of resources at enormous costs to public health and the public treasury. An extensive PBRC project, *Technologies of Municipal Waste Management*, gained United Nations support to carry out an inventory of current practices (Larry Rosenberg, editor) that would make it possible to evaluate the effectiveness of current policies and inform municipal organizations about decisions they are making as they attempt to deal with the mounting problem.

In collaboration with the Board of Foreign Trade of the Republic of China and the Fairbank Center at Harvard University, PBRC prepared a book-length analysis of the implications of the new international environment regime for foreign trade policies in Taiwan and other Asian countries. The project was originally conceived in response to the UN's Agenda Twenty-One and the manifesto of the world conference on Trade and Environment. *Environment and Competitiveness: The Road Ahead* was published by the Board of Foreign Trade in 1995.

From the outset PBRC has been concerned also with problems of ethnicity and domestic peace. In 1996 it sponsored research leading to a 3-day workshop to evaluate and compare government policies regarding ethnic relations in 16 countries. The resulting book, *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific*, edited by Michael Brown and Sumit Ganguly, explored policies attempting to influence ethnic attitudes and behavior, ranging from language politics to economics, education, and civil rights. The effects of these policies were apparent everywhere, but unicultural or assimilationist policies tended to produce more conflict and violence than policies that favored multicultural or accommodationist strategies. The book presented a series of policy lessons and recommendations for political leaders in multi-ethnic countries. A related project carried the research a step further, looking to the consequences of language policy for ethnic identity. In its final years, PBRC supported research leading to a follow-up conference on ethnicity. The book *Fighting Words: Language Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia*, also edited by Michael Brown and Sumit Ganguly, is forthcoming in 2002. It contains case studies of ethnic problems in 15 countries: India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Vietnam, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, China, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand and Laos. Each chapter diagnoses the problems posed by the use of multiple languages in these countries, and analyzes the effectiveness of government policies to deal with these challenges. This book also presents a series of policy lessons regarding language use in multi-ethnic countries.

PBRC's grant to Professor William Alford, Director of the East Asian Legal Studies program at Harvard, supported a conference on "The

Emergence of an Indigenous Legal Profession,” held at Harvard in December 1998. The purpose of the grant was to examine the changing nature of the legal profession in East Asia, with particular attention to Japan, Korea, and China. The number of new lawyers is increasing at unprecedented rates, but more significantly, there are efforts afoot in each jurisdiction to re-examine the role of the legal profession and its relationship to the state and to society. These issues were discussed at the 1998 conference. Papers delivered at that conference are being edited for publication, most likely under the auspices of EALS, in 2002.

Institutional Future

On several occasions PBRC joined with international donors to convene groups of scholars from the U.S. and Japan to discuss Japanese multinationals in Asia. Their immediate purpose was to analyze how Japanese foreign investment influenced economic development in other parts of Asia. They identified the distinctive features of the Japanese system in comparison with those of other multinational corporations and considered some economic and social consequences of their activities. These conferences encouraged PBRC's decision to establish the Asia-Pacific Policy Program at Harvard.

PBRC had always planned an eventual return to its parent organization in California. But with the consent of the Soka University leadership, it has planned to include in this transition the means for continuing some of its research approaches at Harvard as well.

In 1997, in order to sustain the momentum of its research focus, PBRC inaugurated the Asia-Pacific Policy Program (APP) as a free-standing unit in the Center for Business and Government in Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. PBRC's purpose in supporting APP was to continue the research on the political economy of Asia that was initiated under PBRC by Dennis J. Encarnation, who serves as its director. Under a five-year grant from PBRC, APP has held a series of international conferences on foreign direct investment, issues of political economy in the region, and changes in the governance of Asian public and private institutions. It has enlisted collaborative support from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, Kansai Doyukai, and other sources (see Appendix II).

At the conclusion of this ambitious and productive decade, PBRC is developing plans for its new location in California, using its modest

legacy of research as a basis for teaching and for further study. It looks forward to its future as a contributing member of Soka University's faculty associations.



Aliso Viejo campus of Soka University of America.

Appendix I

“Why Study Policies?”

Speakers of English automatically recognize the difference between policies and politics, a distinction that gives them an analytic advantage because most other languages have only one word for the two concepts. The French, German, and Spanish terms “politique,” “Politik,” and “politica” embrace either (or both) of them, thus creating a semantic difficulty that confuses two worlds that are quite different from each other. It is an important difference: “policies” arise from aspirations toward some preferred future condition, while “politics” are the activities that are undertaken to move in that direction. One is the end, the other the means.

This is not a moral distinction, however. People tend to talk about policies with pride and to denigrate politics, but these judgments are misleading. Not all policies can claim to be noble (the Nazi policy of a “final solution” was certainly not), and in spite of their reputation, not all politics are predatory and sleazy (the Marshall Plan had few such unsavory elements). Moreover, the two can merge in disconcerting ways. Politicians who have saintly ambitions can fuel lofty aspirations by collaborating with others who are bent on evil purposes; and by the same token, essentially immoral policies have been known to benefit from the help of reasonably virtuous politicians. The public may be entitled to feel uncomfortable when good policies are advanced by hateful means, but its cynical, worldly tolerance routinely accepts tacky fund-raising extravaganzas in order to elect someone it believes to be a virtuous leader.

Those who prescribe policies—even modest proposals—do so in the hope of making their world a better place, and the clearer their conception of that future, the better their policies. The politicians succeed

best when they are able to discern how they fit in the promised future. Sometimes both players, bent on separating policies as ends from politics as means, submerge the ethical requirements of both. It should be no surprise that political scientists and other students of human behavior have concentrated their attention on means because they are relatively obvious and amenable to change. It is easier to work with means than to improve the end processes of making moral judgments and clarifying the preferences that go into making policies.

In short, we know more about means than ends. The result is that university departments of political science are larger, more productive, and more vocationally useful than departments of ethics. The former blossom with detached, impartial methodologies while the latter easily become prey to religious and theological zealots.

The Pacific Basin Research Center has chosen a reverse course, hoping to reaffirm some of the fundamental values that are espoused by its parent institution, the newly-established Soka University of America, which, we remind ourselves, was founded by Buddhists in pursuit of their avowed goal of *creating value*. The report to which this appendix is attached records the outcome of ten years' effort to increase our understanding of policies of all kinds, especially in the public sector.

There is much to be learned from a disciplined study that focuses on *policy as data*, an approach that occupies a relatively neglected corner in the much larger domain of political science. Policies are ubiquitous, to be sure, since presumably they underlie most political decisions, but they are so often unstated or misstated that examining them calls for special research strategies that enter into historical depths that lie beneath politics. The results can elevate both policies and politics to higher levels of public morality.

PBRC's studies of policy experiences have made use of many of the disparate methods that are currently employed in the political and social sciences, including some elements that are historical or comparative and some that are quantitative or qualitative, as well as cases that are organizational or individual in scope. They have benefited from the application of both modern and conventional techniques including

opinion surveys, field interviews, field trials, and documentary analysis, as well as events studies and the essential historical accounts that have been the foundation stones of research for centuries.

What distinguishes policy research from other forms of “political” studies is the focus on what individuals and organizations are “trying to do” as linked to “how they are going about it.” It embraces values as well as actions, without losing its concentration on the preferences for future outcomes that characterizes rational behavior. It includes as well the incidental, irrational, unintended forces and events that impinge on them.

Policy studies have contributed more to our knowledge than it has to our practices (for it is even harder to do than to know, as the proverbial but ubiquitous farmer tells his extension agent when pressed too hard: like the rest of us, he already knows better than he does). But the knowing is hard enough because policy experience is highly perishable. Every age seems to regard itself as above or even immune from lessons of the past, largely because policies are always so deeply embedded in their momentary context.

Even so, policy experiences have provided a useful guide to new activities in comparable circumstances. Hundreds of examples spring to mind: the reason that no one advocates another eighteenth amendment prohibiting the sale of alcohol in the United States, for example, is grounded in history, though applying the lessons of prohibition to hard drugs is an uncertain extension of that experience; the horrors of trench warfare were never replicated after World War I, though static territorial defenses continue in other forms. Studies of policies, when they exist at all, tend to concentrate on substantive issues (California’s energy shortages, the relative strengths and weaknesses of British and American health policies, Latin American and European experiences with monetary approaches to inflation). The value of such studies consists in their capacity to improve systems in place or to design new ones. But policy studies can also be “cross-substantive,” seeking commonalties and differences in the ways organizations deal with comparable but not necessarily identical issues.

Many examples can be drawn from the PBRC studies, such as the migration of the Marshall Plan successes to other countries that were induced to cooperate for their own development, a model that has informed parallel operations in Taiwan and Latin America. Or the example of the human rights commissions that were introduced in India to provide legal protection of under-represented populations, which was emulated from state to state and finally in other parts of Asia. Or, again, the governments that built upon their experiences with their social capital by reinvesting it, thus making collaborative uses of voluntary organizations to accomplish unrelated public purposes. An even more pervasive example is that of governments that have recognized a reduced role of the state in certain arenas of sovereignty that were once their jealously guarded prerogatives, but have gradually given way to global forces and sacrificed their exclusive jurisdiction by allowing other organizations to act in their place, including nongovernmental and other international bodies. All of these topics lie in the PBRC portfolio of policy experiences, and all have provided examples of learning how policies can be emulated or avoided by concerned public institutions.

The PBRC studies have confirmed the wisdom of consulting policy experiences carefully before emulating their apparent successes. The process of learning from policy experience is not well understood, however, and it therefore constitutes a fruitful arena for future study in teaching and learning programs at Soka University of America. In its next incarnation at SUA, the Pacific Basin Research Center will be able to devote serious attention to how governments and other large institutions have been able to draw selectively on their own experience and that of others to create new values.

Appendix II

Asia-Pacific Policy Program

In 1997 the PBRC inaugurated its Asia-Pacific Policy Program (APP) at the Center for Business and Government at Harvard, whose purpose was to continue to support research on the political economy of the region. It is currently engaged in teaching and research and in conducting symposia and publications relevant to its mission. Its principal objective is to be a center of competence both at Harvard and across the region regarding the complex interface between business, government, and the nongovernmental (NGO) sector.

From the inception of the APP Program, Dennis J. Encarnation has served as the APP Program's Director; John D. Montgomery has served as the Chairman of a Faculty Advisory Board that includes Professor Ezra Vogel and several other prominent scholars drawn from several Harvard graduate faculties. In July 2000, 3 years after the founding of APP, Dean Nye of the Kennedy School formally joined it to the School's other Asia programs in the Center for Business and Government.

The principal activities of the APP Program are empirical research and related symposia that result in publications appropriate to the needs of both academic and policy communities. These projects have generated additional funds from the MIT Japan Program, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, the Government of Singapore, and other sources, which greatly extended the reach of the APP Program, expanding both the quantity and the quality of its commissioned research and its co-hosted symposia.

During 1997-98, its first year of operation, the APP Program initiated a series of activities focused on financial and economic crises that were afflicting much of Asia, especially those involving the larger processes of regionalization and globalization. In September 1997, it

joined the MIT Japan Program to host the third of three workshops to review commissioned papers analyzing Japanese multinationals, which are Asia's largest source of foreign investment, technology, and trade. In December 1997, jointly with the World Bank and the UNDP, it held a High-Level Business-Government Roundtable in Bangkok to consider the crucial role of foreign investment in crisis-afflicted economies. As a follow-up to the Bangkok Roundtable, the APP Program co-hosted, again with the World Bank and UNDP, a Workshop on Foreign Investment and Poverty Alleviation, held at Harvard in May 1998.

A series of case studies and research papers commissioned at the May meeting were aired at the next High-Level Roundtable, held in Singapore in December 1998, during APP's second year of operation. These roundtables have involved more than fifty government policy-makers, business leaders, NGO activists, multilateral officials, and regional academics drawn from across Asia and the Pacific. In 1999 APP published its first collection of commissioned research papers in collaboration with MIT's Japan Program, *Japanese Multinationals in Asia: Regional Operations in Comparative Perspective*.

At the outset of its third year, 1999-2000, the APP Program completed its second collection of commissioned research papers, *Competing for Foreign Investment: Asia's Aggressive Pursuit of Jobs, Technology, and Exports* (forthcoming). It also launched two new research projects. The first project dealt with the "New Architecture" emerging across the Asia-Pacific region; the second, with the characteristics of that region's "New Economy." Both projects are tightly linked to "Asia Vision 21," an annual series of international conferences organized in 1999 by Professor Ezra Vogel and hosted by Harvard's new Asia Center. "Asia Vision 21" deals with unresolved policy issues that face Asia in the New Millennium. A series of bi-monthly workshops at Harvard began in May 1999 in order to spell out a research agenda and to commission papers; this early work contributed to the planning and execution of the second meeting of "Asia Vision 21" in Hong Kong in May 2000.

In 2000-2001, the fourth year of its operation, APP continued to host a series of bi-monthly workshops at Harvard that now aired com-

missioned research on both the “New Architecture” and the “New Economy” of the Asia-Pacific region. Several of the research papers commissioned for these two projects were presented during a special workshop coterminous with the third meeting of “Asia Vision 21” at Harvard in May 2001. At the same time, the APP Program also successfully concluded negotiations both with the World Bank and with Singapore’s Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) to co-host during the next academic year international conferences on, respectively, the “New Economy” and “New Architecture” of the Asia-Pacific region. These conferences allow the APP Program to continue its long relationship with the World Bank and to initiate a new set of relationships in Singapore—and as a result, to renew the Program’s contact with policymakers and researchers from across the region.

The first of these international conferences, co-hosted with the World Bank, was held in October 2001, early in the APP Program’s fifth year of operation, 2001–2002. The conference combined ongoing research from the APP Program’s “New Economy” Project with new research commissioned by the World Bank that updates and expands the Bank’s earlier, seminal “East Asian ‘Miracle’ Study.” A joint publication summarizing the proceedings of the conference is planned. Next, during January 2002, another international conference, this one co-hosted in Singapore with IDSS, will combine ongoing research from the APP Program’s “New Architecture” Project with new research commissioned by IDSS from among the region’s leading researchers. A joint APP-IDSS edited volume will be published from the conference proceedings. Finally, several of the research papers commissioned for these earlier conferences will be featured again during a special workshop coterminous with the next meeting of “Asia Vision 21,” to be held in Bangkok, Thailand, during May 2002.

While the principal activity of the APP Program is empirical research and related symposia, it is also contributing to the Kennedy School’s graduate program. Dennis Encarnation, the APP Program’s Director, teaches a graduate course on “Asia and the World Economy” that attracts between 75 and 100 graduate and professional students from across Harvard and the Boston community. This course provides a

source of research assistants for APP Program projects; and it provides another source of critical thinking on the problems it is examining and helps disseminate its research to relevant policymaking communities.

Appendix III

PBRC Grantees* 1991-2000

“GREAT” POLICIES PROJECT, 1991-1993

Prasert Chittiwatanapong, Thammasat University

“Impact of Japanese Aid on the Thai Construction Industry.”

Scott Christensen, Thailand Development Research Institute

“The Governance of Agro-Industrial Policy Reform in Thailand.”

William C. Clark, Harvard University

“Policy Experiences in Global Environmental and Economic Change.”

Dennis Encarnation, Harvard University

“An Emerging Yen Block? Foreign Investment and Related Trade in East Asia.”

Paul Englesberg, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

“Reversing China's Brain Drain: The Study-Abroad Policy, 1978-1993.”

Lin Gan, University of Lund

“Energy Conservation as a Megapolicy: The Case of China.”

Xiang-Hao He, China Associations of Science and Technology

“Environmental Dimension of Industrial Technological Development Policy in Chinese Medium and Small Enterprises .”

*Affiliation at the time the grant was awarded.

Takatoshi Ito, Harvard University

“Deregulation as an Inter-sectoral (mega) Policy in Japan.”

Bruce Johnston, Stanford University

“Strategic Notions and Great Policies: Reflections on Taiwan’s Experience with Economic Transformation.”

Yuen Foong Khong, Harvard University

“ASEAN as a Megapolicy.”

Danny Kin-Kong Lam, Seton Hall University

“Premier Sun Yun-suan’s High Technology Policy: The Makings of a Great Policy.”
“Taiwan’s Industrial Policy Towards the Semiconductor Industry (1980-1992) Policy Making Beyond Mega-Policies.”

David L. McConnell, Stanford University

“Japan Jets International: Implementing Innovations in Educational Policy.”

Vicki Norberg-Bohm, Harvard University

“Environment-Saving Energy Policies in Mexico.”

John Orme, Oglethorpe University

“The Original Megapolicy: America’s Marshall Plan.”
“Growth with Equity Megapolicies in Taiwan: Land Reform and Export-Led Growth.”

Vijaya Ramachandran, Duke University

“Agro-Industrial Development Policies in Korea, 1910-1970.”

Dennis A. Randinelli, University of North Carolina

“Processes of Strategic Innovation: The Dynamics of Decision Making in the Evolution of Great Policies.”

Frances Rosenbluth, University of California, San Diego

“Comparative Policy Making in Pacific Rim Countries.”

Miranda Schreurs, University of Michigan

“New Earth 21: A Mega-Policy for the Environment.”

Gangadhar Prasad Shukla, Harvard University

“Tax Policies Affecting Natural Resource Use in Asia.”

Chandra Shekhar Sinha, Tata Energy Research Institute

“Policies and Technology Transfer Needs to Develop Renewable Energy Technologies in Countries of the Pacific Basin.”

Changrok Soh, University of California, Berkeley

“High-tech Policy Experiences of the Korean Government during the 1980s.”

Vajjhala Sudarsen, University of Madras, India

“The Policy of Total Literacy in India and Its Conflict with the Federal State Policies.”

Fred von der Mehden, Rice University

“Intended Consequences, Unintended Means: Thailand’s Accelerated Rural Development Policy.”

Shang-Jin Wei, Harvard University

“From Marx to Markets: China’s Economic Reforms as a Megapolicy.”

Timothy C. Weiskel, Yale University

“GATT and Third World Environmental Matters.”

Quansheng Zhao, Old Dominion University

“Japan’s Official Development Assistance to China: A Bilateral Megapolicy.”

POSITIVE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES PROJECT, 1994-1996

Rosemary Aquino-Fernholz, De La Salle University, Manila

“An Evaluation of Social Forestry as a Policy Promoting Human Dignity.”

Thomas F. Carroll, George Washington University

"Indigenous Organizations, Protests and Human Rights in Ecuador."

Amrita Daniere and **Lois M. Takahashi**, University of California, Irvine

"The State, Community Values, and Public Health: Environmental Attitudes and Policies in Thailand."

Jonathan Hecht, Harvard University

"Women's Rights, State's Law: The Role of Law in Women's Rights Policy in China."

Mohammed A. Kalam, University of Madras

"National Forest Policy (1988) and People's Participation in Joint Forest Management in India."

Carol Kinney, Harvard University

"Youth Employment Policies in Japan and the US: Smooth Transitions or Rude Awakenings?"

Exaltacion E. Lamberte, De La Salle University, Manila

"Human Values in Public Health: Comparing Authoritarian and Democratic Programs in the Philippines."

Joshua D. Margolis, Harvard University

"Organizations and Dignity: A Lens for Business Ethics."

Gregory Paul P. Meyjes, North Carolina State University

"Policies Regarding Linguistic Diversity in Post-Independence India: Evolution, Interaction, and Raison d'Être."

Abdul Hye Mondal, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, India

"The Impact of Science and Technology Policies on Human Values in Bangladesh."

Charles H. Norchi, Yale University

"The National Human Rights Commission of India as a Value-Creating Institution."

Gary Orren, Harvard University

“City Year: Contributions to Human Dignity.”

Vasant Saberwal, Harvard University

“Forest Policy Formulation in India, 1865-1945: Origins of the Current Global Environmental Degradation Discourse.”

Lobsang Sangay, Harvard Law School

“Education Rights for Tibetans in Tibet and India.”

Jennifer Schirmer, Harvard University

“Bringing the Past into the Present: Relatives of the Disappeared in Latin America.”

Arvind Sharma, McGill University

“Human Wrongs and Human Rights.”

“India’s Reservation Policies as Affirmative Action.”

Jay S. Siegel, Harvard University

“Adverse Consequences of ‘Protective’ Public Policies: The Workplace Plight of Women and the Aged in Japan.”

Shiv Someshwar, Harvard University

“Local Politics and Macro Policies: Institutional Analysis of Environmental Degradation in the Western Ghats of India.”

Ming Wan, George Mason University

“Policies, Resource Commitments, and Values: A Comparison of U.S. and Japanese Approaches to Human Rights in China.”

James H. Williams, Harvard University, and **William K. Cummings**, SUNY Buffalo

“The East Asian Human Resource Approach: Examining Global Divergence and Regional Convergence.”

Yong Xia, Harvard Law School

“Human Rights Idea in the Contemporary Rural China: An Empirical Research.”

Yong Zheng, Ministry of Justice, Republic of China

“Access to Justice: Legal Aid in The People’s Republic of China.”

Junming Zhu, Peking University

“Rural Outmigration and Community Development in China.”

SOCIAL CAPITAL PROJECT, 1997-1999

Mary C. Brinton, Cornell University

“Social Capital in the Japanese Youth Labor Market: Labor Market Policy, Schools, and Norms.”

Jeffrey Broadbent, University of Minnesota

“Social Capital and Labor Politics in Japan: Cooperation or Cooptation?”

John C. Campbell, University of Michigan

“Losing Faith in Politics? Trends in Citizen Attitudes and Behavior in Japan and the United States.”

Christopher Candland, University of California, Berkeley

“Faith as Social Capital: Religion and Community Development in Southern Asia.”

Thomas F. Carroll, George Washington University

“Peasant Federations and Rural Development Policies in the Andes.”

Xiangming Chen, University of Illinois

“Both Glue and Lubricant: Transnational Ethnic Social Capital as a Source of Asia-Pacific Subregionalism.”

William K. Cummings, SUNY Buffalo

“Building Bridges of Understanding and Belief in the Pacific Rim.”

Jonathan A. Fox, University of California, Santa Cruz

“The World Bank and Social Capital: Lessons from Ten Rural Development Projects in the Philippines and Mexico.”

Alex Inkeles, Stanford University

“Measuring Social Capital and Its Consequences.”

Yoonmi Lee, Ewha Women's University, Seoul

“Constructing a New National Identity: Discourses of Unification in South Korean Education.”

Minghong Lu, Nanjing University, China

“Value Changes and Policy Implications: Business Education in China.”

“Re-employment as Social Capital in China: A Dynamic Perspective.”

Chin-ju Mao, University of Wisconsin-Madison

“Constructing a Taiwanese Identity: The Making and Practice of Indigenization Curriculum.”

Catherine Marshall, University of North Carolina

“Gender Equity Values in Education Policy: Cross-National Comparisons.”

Abdul Hye Mondal, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies

“Social Capital Formation: The Role of NGO Rural Development Programs in Bangladesh.”

Charles Norchi, Yale University

“Indigenous Knowledge as Intellectual Property.”

Murray Print, University of Sydney, Australia

“The Impact of Values, Policy and Civics Education in Pacific Rim Countries.”

Benjamin Quinones, Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur, and **Hans Dieter Seibel**, University of Cologne, Germany

“Social Capital in Microfinance: Case Studies in the Philippines.”

Heidi Ross, Colgate University, and **Jing Lin**, McGill University

“The Material School: Social Capital Formation and Stratification in Chinese Secondary Education.”

Jai Sen, Independent Researcher, Calcutta

“Strategic Alliance? Social Capital in the Narmada Campaigns: A Comparative Analysis of the Dynamics of Internationalization.”

Bill Taylor, City University of Hong Kong

“Trade Unions and Social Capital in Transitional Communist States: The Case of China.”

Carlos Alberto Torres, UCLA

“Teachers’ Organizations, The State and Society in the Pacific Rim: Value Conflicts and Collaborative Strategies in Educational Reform.”

Haunani-Kay Trask, University of Hawaii

“Native Social Capital: The Case of Hawaiian Sovereignty and Ka Labui Hawaii.”

Yongming Zhou, Duke University

“Social Capital and Power: Entrepreneurial Elite and the State in Contemporary China.”

CHALLENGES TO SOVEREIGNTY PROJECT, 2000

Mikhail A. Alexseev, San Diego State University

“Desecuritizing Sovereignty: Economic Interest and Responses to Political Challenges of Chinese Migration in the Russian Far East.”

Jeffrey Broadbent, University of Minnesota

“From Heat to Light?: Japan’s Changing Response to Global Warming.”

Ulrich Camen, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva,
and **Charles Norchi**, Yale University

“Challenging Sovereignty: India, TRIPS, and the WTO.”

Sonia Cardenas, Fellow, Harvard University

“National Human Rights Commissions in Asia.”

Jae Ho Chung, Seoul National University

“Challenging the State: Falungong and Regulatory Dilemmas in China.”

Donald L. Horowitz, Duke University

Domesticating Foreign Ideas in the Adoption of New Institutions: Evidence from Fiji and Indonesia.”

Carlos E. Juárez, Hawaii Pacific University

“The Political Dimensions of Globalization in North-Central Mexico.”

Ronnie D. Lipschutz, University of California, Santa Cruz

“Doing Well by Doing Good? Transnational Regulatory Campaigns, Social Activism, and Impacts on State Sovereignty.”

Rosemary Morales-Fernholz, De la Salle University, Manila

“Indigenous Land Rights: Who Controls the Phillipine Public Domain?”

Michael G. Peletz, Colgate University

“Judicial Process and Dilemmas of Legitimacy and Sovereignty: The Malaysian Case in Comparative Perspective.”

Dennis A. Rondinelli, University of North Carolina

“Sovereignty On-Line: The Challenges of Transnational Corporations and Information Technology in Asia.”

Lobsang Sangay, SJD Candidate, Harvard Law School

“The Challenges to the Sovereignty of Peoples Republic of China: The Case of Tibetan Government in Exile.”

Jeremy Shiffman, Syracuse University

“Orchestrating Collaboration Among Contending States: The World Health Organization and Infectious Disease Control in Southeast Asia.”

Appendix IV

Publications supported by PBRC

BOOKS

Brown, Michael E. and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific* (Camb., MA: The MIT Press, 1997).

Brown, Michael E. and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *Fighting Words: Language Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia* (forthcoming in 2002).

Encarnation, Dennis J., ed., *Japanese Multinationals in Asia: Regional Operations in Comparative Perspective* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Lamberte, Exaltacion E., *Public Health-Human Values Connection*, (De La Salle University Press, Manila, Philippines, 1998).

McElroy, Michael B., Chris P. Nielsen, and Peter Lydon, eds., *Energizing China: Reconciling Environmental Protection and Economic Growth* (Camb., MA: distributed by Harvard University Press, 1998).

Montgomery, John D. and Dennis A. Rondinelli, eds., *Great Policies: Strategic Innovations in Asia and the Pacific Basin* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995).

Montgomery, John D., ed., *Values in Education: Social Capital Formation in Asia and the Pacific* (Hollis, NH: Hollis Publishing Company, 1997).

Montgomery, John D., ed., *Human Rights: Positive Policies in Asia and the Pacific Rim* (Hollis, NH: Hollis Publishing Company, 1998).

Montgomery, John D. and **Alex Inkeles**, eds., *Social Capital as a Policy Resource* (Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001). Reprinted from *Policy Sciences*, Special Double Issue, Vol. 33, Nos. 3 & 4 (2000).

Montgomery, John D. and **Nathan Glazer**, eds., *Sovereignty under Challenge: How Governments Respond* (Rutgers, NJ: Transaction, forthcoming in 2002).

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Daniere, Amrita and **Lois M. Takahashi**, "Environmental policy in Thailand: values, attitudes, and behavior among the slum dwellers of Bangkok," *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Vol. 15, 1997.

Encarnation, Dennis J., "Toward Convergence? The Historical Evolution of Japanese and United States Transnationals in Asia," in *Japanese Investment in Asia: International Production Strategies in a Rapidly Changing World*, Eileen Doherty, ed. (San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 1995).

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Gan, Lin, "Global Warming and the World Bank: a System in Transition?," *Project Appraisal*, Vol. 8, No. 4, December 1993.

Johnston, Bruce (with **Albert Park**), "Dynamic Externalities and Structural Change in Kenya," in *Agriculture on the Road to Industrialization*, John W. Mellor, ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

Lindsay, Jonathan M., "Workshop on Technology Cooperation for Sustainable Development," Conference Report, *The Journal of Environment and Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Summer 1993.

Lindsay, Jonathan M., "Overlaps and Tradeoffs: Coordinating Policies for Sustainable Development in Asia and the Pacific," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 28, No. 1, October 1993.

Mondal, Abdul Hye and Nigar Nargis, “Bangladeshei Biggan O Projukti Unnayanei Niti Tatparata,” (“Policy Resources for the Development of Science and Technology in Bangladesh,”), *Bangladesh Unnayan Samiksha (Bangladesh Development Review)*, Vol. 14, Annual Issue, 1403 (Bengali Calendar).

Montgomery, John D., “A Program to Enhance Technological Choices in Asia and the Pacific,” *The Journal of Environment and Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Summer 1993.

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Montgomery, John D., “The Policy World-Jurisprudence as a Policy Science,” *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 54, No. 4, October 1995.

Montgomery, John D., “Bureaucrat, Heal Thyself!” *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 5, May 1996.

Montgomery, John D., “The American Pot and the Chinese Kettle: Joining Forces for Human Rights,” *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 56, No. 3, July 1997.

Montgomery, John D., “The Next Thousand Years,” *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XV, No. 2, Summer 1998.

Montgomery, John D., “Fifty Years of Human Rights: An Emergent Global Regime,” *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 32, No. 1, March 1999.

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Montgomery, John D., “Human Experience of Human Rights,” forthcoming in 2002.

Park, Albert (with Bruce Johnston), “Rural Development and Dynamic Externalities in Taiwan’s Structural Transformation,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, October 1995.

Wan, Ming, "Human rights and Sino-US relations: policies and changing realities," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1997.

Weiskel, Timothy C., "UNCED and After: Global Issues, Country Problems, and Regional Solutions in the Asia-Pacific Area," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 28, No. 1, October 1993.

WORKING PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS

Barkin, David, "Economic Integration vs. Sustainable Development." Paper presented at the Conference on International Trade Agreements and the Environment, Harvard, April 1994 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

Broadbent, Jeffrey P., "The Japanese Network State in US Comparison: Does Embeddedness Yield Resources and Influence?" Occasional Paper, Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, 2000.

Campbell, Bruce, "Moving in the Wrong Direction: The North American Free Trade Agreement and Environmental Sustainability." Paper presented at the Conference on International Trade Agreements and the Environment, Harvard, April 1994 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

Carroll, Thomas, T. Perreault, and A. Bebbington, "Indigenous Irrigation Organizations and the Formation of Social Capital in Northern Highland Ecuador," Conference of Latin American Geographers Yearbook, Vol. 24, 1998.

Chakarian, Janet L. "Trade and the Environment: GATT's Response to the Challenge." Paper presented at the Conference on International Trade Agreements and the Environment, Harvard, April 1994 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

Charnovitz, Steve, "Living in an Ecolonomy: Environmental Cooperation and the GATT." Paper presented at the Conference on International Trade Agreements and the Environment, Harvard, April 1994 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

Cosbey, Aaron and Nevin Shaw, “Beyond the WTO: Finding Appropriate Homes for the Issues of Trade and Sustainable Development.” Paper presented at the Conference on International Trade Agreements and the Environment, Harvard, April 1994 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

Daly, Herman E., “Against Free Trade: Neoclassical and Steady-State Perspectives.” A paper presented at the Conference on International Trade Agreements and the Environment, Harvard, April 1994 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

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French, Hilary, “The Greening of International Trade: Post-Uruguay Round Priorities.” Paper presented at the Conference on International Trade Agreements and the Environment, Harvard, April 1994 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

Kalam, Mohammed A., “Sacred Groves in Kodagu District of Karnataka (South India): A Socio-historical Study.” Pandy Paper in Social Sciences #21, (The French Institute, Pondicherry, 1996).

Lam, Danny and John R. Watt, *Environment and Competitiveness: The Road Ahead*. A Report to the Board of Foreign Trade, Taipei, July 1995 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

Montgomery, John D. and Timothy C. Weiskel, eds., *Values in Conflict: Policy Interactions in the Pacific Basin* (Soka University of America, September 1991).

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Montgomery, John D., ed., *A University for the Twenty-first Century*. A Report to Soka University of America, January 1993 (Cambridge, MA: PBRC, 1995).

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Wei, Shang-Jin and **Jeffrey Frankel**, "Open Regionalism in a World of Continental Trade Blocs," IMF Staff Papers, Vol. 45, No. 3, September 1998.

