THE INTERNAL MOTIVES AND CONSEQUENCES OF UN PROJECTS: EVIDENCE FROM THE TUMEN RIVER AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

by

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PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTERS OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

July 2000

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Abstract

The Tumen River Area Development Programme is an ongoing process of building a free trade zone in North East Asia, and is extensively funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The value of this ambitious project as well as its motives and consequences has been questioned and interpreted in both positive and negative ways. Proponents of the TRADP consider it as a success of a free trade market. The opponents criticize the project as an unprecedented waste of capital. Such divergent views reflect the analysers' vision the world or rather their assumptions. The following is an attempt to give an in depth analysis of these assumptions, based on the theories of realism, liberalism, Marxism and feminism.

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Acknowledgements

The present work would not be available at its present level without the exceptional assistance of Prof. Lawrence T. Woods and Prof. Fiona MacPhail. I also owe my acknowledgement to all the staff of the Department of International Studies at the University of Northern British Columbia, who supported me both emotionally and professionally during this busy year of completing this research work.

My thanks to my family and all my friends, especially to my parents Dr.G.Eenjin and D.Lhamsuren and my friends B.Ankhbayar and Ch.Darisuren, who have always encouraged me in exploring new horizons.

"All too often the debates about [international] trends are cast in terms of simplistic paradigms of international affairs: a realist is said to underestimate the role of interdependence, or those neo liberal institutionalists who assume the emergence of a regional community misunderstand the continuing role of the balance of power. In the analysis that follows there is an attempt to take a more integrative approach that does justice to the complex story of how the impressive success in the [region] is beginning to transform international studies" (McGrew & Brook, 1998, p. 316)

1. Introduction

The most comprehensive example of an international organization in the contemporary world is the United Nations (UN), which was founded in 1945 after World War II. After fiftyfive years, the UN has become a giant system with numerous sister-organizations all over the world (see Appendix A). Scholars like Amos Yoder (1997), K.P. Saksena (1993) and J. Martin Rochester (1993) have studied this phenomenon. On one hand, they find that most contemporary states join or seek to join the UN. As of 2000, the UN consists of 188 member-states (United Nations, 1998). On the other hand, the UN is facing significant financial and practical problems because its main contributors, especially the United States, are withholding their membership fees, demanding reforms and budget cuts, and making it difficult for the UN to operate (Saksena, 1993) (see Appendix B).

This research project is an attempt to contribute to the explorations of the UN's capabilities by considering the organization's practical rationale in Northeast Asia. For decades the region was forgotten by the international community. With the accelerating process of globalization on one hand and the over exploitation of the natural resources on the other, there is little wonder such an expedition to the depth of the northern taiga has begun.

I have attempted to explore the rationale of the UN as an international governmental organization, using four theoretical lenses: realism, liberalism, Marxism and feminism. The technique of using multiple lenses was pioneered by Graham Allison (1971), who observed that "alternative conceptual lenses lead one to see, emphasize, and worry about quite different aspects of events" (p. v). Kelly Kate Pease (1999) has applied this technique to the study of international organizations. The advantage of such an approach is that it enables us to avoid the single minded assumptions of an individual approach and gives us an opportunity to look at the same issue from various perspectives. A broader overview of a complex, often confusing issue such as the rationale of an international organization is thus ensured.

In this research, the four theories are used to analyse the Tumen River Development Programme (TRADP), one of 5,000 projects implemented annually by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Probe Alert, 1995). This project is presented in the form of an extended essay and consists of an introduction, a discussion of the theories applied, a description of my case study, the analysis of my case study through the theoretical lenses provided, and a conclusion. To do this research I have gathered publications mainly from published sources (e.g. newspapers, magazines, reports etc.) and interpreted them in accordance with the theories applied. The key question examined throughout this project is: What are the internal motives and consequences of UN projects? I believe that this question has both practical and conceptual significance.

This question has a practical meaning because of the increasing urgency to revise the role of international organizations. The need for the very existence of international organizations is questioned today. The so-called 1999 "Battle in Seattle" between civil societies, corporations and governments over the World Trade Organization and its policies is a clear illustration of this challenge. International organizations have become an integral part of our everyday life. It is impossible for many of us to imagine our lives without cell phones, travelling to other countries and buying the goods produced elsewhere in the world. These activities are the products of international agreements and contracts, which in turn are products of the activities of organizations: World Bank Group (former International Bank of Reconstruction and Development or IBRD), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Universal Postal Union (UPU),

International Telecommunication Union (ITU), and UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). The increasing concerns about global environmental pollution and the prevention of growing health problems threatening our lives are the daily business of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) and World Health Organization (WHO). We must define the boundaries of such intrusive activities.

This project has conceptual implications because the traditional concept of international organization is now being challenged. A non-governmental organization, a multinational corporation or an inter-governmental organization like the UN are all understood to be international organizations today (Archer, 1992). For the purpose of this research work, the term 'international organization' refers to 'intergovernmental organization'. In order to redefine the old notion of an international organization one must understand the motives and consequences of an international project, often conducted by an international organization as a means to achieve its own goals. The UN is one of the biggest international organizations in the contemporary world. Therefore, the key question of this research -- what are the internal motives and consequences of the UN projects? -- may help to shed light on the complex of issues raised by various scholars.

However, the answer seems not to be an easy one. Different theories offer different, often contradictory, explanations. Thus the purpose of this research project is not to judge and find the single correct answer, but is rather an attempt to reveal the full picture of the hidden motives behind the UN developmental projects and their consequences.

2. Assumptions of Theories

Explaining the nature of international relations and the role of international organizations depends upon the theoretical approach that is used. Each theoretical approach offers its own explanations and is based on a particular set of assumptions. Understanding these different explanations is valuable. Examining an international organization from a single perspective is a "disservice to the study of the international organization and its development as a discipline" because "the priorities and actions of international organizations cannot be adequately understood unless considerable attention is paid to [some] theories that provide meaning to their activities" (Pease, 1999, pp. xi, 5). Below are the main assumptions used by each of the four theories applied in this research: realism, liberalism, Marxism and feminism (Pease, 1999).

2.1. The realist view

The core concept of realism is power. The source of this power lies in the combination of political and economic supremacy. Realists believe that all states exist in a hostile world that forces them to be prepared for conflicts. This situation might lead to war. Realists point to the distribution of development or the balance of power between states as a source of order in the international system. While there is no higher authority in international relations other than the state, there is a hierarchy of power. Some states enjoy dominance over others. Consequently, realists perceive international relations as being essentially conflictual, centred around nation states seeking and exercising power against each other. Power is a source of order in the international system (Pease, 1999). Realists see "the actions of ... states not on the basis simply of their announced policies or on the assumption that they will behave morally, but rather on the premise that they are seeking rationally to increase their power. They will devise policies that would protect their own society by amassing or maintaining sufficient power, alone or in coalitions, to maintain their essential security interests" (Keohane, 1986, p. 8).

Realists explain the creation of international organizations and their role in maintaining international order and cooperation through the hierarchy of power. Conceptually, international organizations are tools in the hands of great powers, which use these tools to dominate the lesser or weaker states. International organizations are, in fact, nothing more than the sum of their member-states. They are created and administered by more powerful states to legitimize their own dominant positions. The less powerful states join international organizations because the dominant states use their power and are able to grant "positive incentives and inducements" (Pease, 1999,7). For realists, governance of international relations is an exercise in maintaining the status quo or enhancing one's own power in comparison to others. This exercise is facilitated by international organizations. Power can refer to one's military or economic capacity. For realists and governments that follow realist approach, the term 'development' means to be "consistent, ordered preferences" so they can "calculate the costs and benefits of all alternative policies" in order to maximize their power (Keohane, 1986, p.ii).

2.2. The liberal view

Liberalism maintains a strong belief in the value of the individual, limited government, and the market. Liberalism believes that international relations are based on a peaceful exchange of goods, services, and ideas among societies, shaped by economic and social transactions. While war is a major problem, it does not define international relations, which are positive and constructive by nature. Liberalism sees international organizations as mechanisms to assist governments in overcoming collective problems and help them settle conflicts peacefully. For liberalism, international governance is based on the interaction of several kinds of actors -individuals, interest groups, government agencies, inter governmental and non-governmental organizations, and multinational corporations -- competing and working together to define and promote the "international collective good" (Pease, 1999, p. 9). Hence, liberals see that

international organizations are important in their own right, cooperating with governments and also acting independently.

2.3. The Marxist view

Marxism emphasizes economic and political inequality between nations in international relations, which leads to a superior-subordinate relationship and results in both violent and non-violent international conflict. In accordance with the Marxist view, the industrialised countries (capitalist or hegemonic) states are dominating over the weakest (proletariat) states because the nature of international organizations is determined by the underlying economic order (Pease, 1999). Marxism believes that contemporary international organizations and their laws reflect, promote, legitimize, and protect global capitalism. Unlike realists, who see international organizations as a partially positive establishment for less powerful states, Marxists view international organizations as tools of exploitation and mechanisms of domination that, in turn, foster uneven development: "In the Marxist view, states are only derivative; the real actors -- those that bring change and affect the lives of the people ...-- are classes and various class-based transnational associations [e.g. international organizations]" (Holsti, 1985, p. 68-69).

2.4. The Feminist view

Feminism examines international relations and international organizations through the lens of gender. This perspective seeks to understand what it means to be "feminine" both in theory and practice in international organizations. Feminism highlights the gender biases of realism, liberalism, and Marxism. Feminists believe that the masculine-feminine relationship defines international relations: "The dominant masculinity in Western cultures is associated with qualities of rationality, 'hardheadedness', ambition, and strength...The relationship between masculinity and femininity shows constancy in assigning greater value to what is associated with

masculinity and lesser value to that which is associated with femininity" (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.7). The relationship is one of superiority and inferiority. Therefore, international relations are conflictual and this conflict results from the superior-subordinate relationship, as in the Marxist view. Feminism thus builds upon Marxism, but goes beyond class conflict to identify other marginalized issues and groups such as women. The hierarchy that feminists see is gendered in nature, rather than being based on economic class. Consequently, international governance is characterized by the patriarchy, i.e. the hegemony of men. Masculine powers of the contemporary world (sovereign states) use the feminine ones (international organizations) for their own purpose in the world of politics (Pease, 1999).

International organizations have also gendered human features. The intergovernmental organizations have more power than the non-governmental organizations, which are often marginalized in terms of funding from the masculine sovereign states. This provides a way to review international issues in a gendered fashion. "Global gender inequality and the power of gender... order [one's] thinking and shape...reality" (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.11). Therefore, feminists see some international issues such as health, poverty, education and environmental protection as traditionally "feminine". Such feminine international issues are often marginalized and are mainly the scope of non-governmental organizations' activities. Attention is usually paid more to the "masculine" international issues, including economic and political concerns (Pease, 1999). Intergovernmental organizations like the UN usually handle these masculine issues under the direction of the masculine sovereign states.

3. Tumen River Development Programme (TRADP)

In 1989, the East-West Center, located in Hawaii, first circulated an idea of a free trade zone in the North East Asia in its academic papers (Lavalee, n.d.). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)¹ -- a massive international organization, operating in vast territories with diverse economies -- initiated discussions in 1991 which led to an agreement among five Northeast Asian countries to promote a sustainable and environmentally friendly economic development programme for the benefit of the peoples in the following areas (see Appendix C for a map of the area):

- Rajin Sonbong Economic and Trade Zone in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK);
- Eastern Mongolia;
- Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin Province, Northeast China; and
- Primorsky Territory in the Russian Far East

(www.cernet.edu.cn/undp/regional/ras92430.htm)

The initiative was named the Tumen River Area Development Programme (TRADP) after the Tumen River -- a central strand of the region, which springs from the crater lake of Chang Pai Shan Volcano and serves as a border where China, DPRK (North Korea) and the Russian Federation meet. The Republic of Korea (South Korea) joined the TRADP as the fifth member, while Japan obtained the status of an observer (Tumen Secretariat, 1998).

Geographically, the Tumen Region is situated in an area of 7,500 square miles, stretching from Yanbin and Changbaishan Mountains in the west to Ussuriysk in the Russian Federation's Primorsky Territory in the north, Nakhodka/Vostochny in the east, and Chongjin in the DPRK in the south (<u>Corporate Location</u>, 1995).

¹ The UNDP, founded in 1950, is today the largest suborganisation of the UN, with 130 offices worldwide and 7,000 employees (<u>Probe Alert</u>, 1995).

The TRADP focuses on regional economic cooperation involving the following sectors: investment and trade, transportation, environment, tourism, human resource development, telecommunications and energy. For each sector, initiatives are identified only if they involve two or more of the member countries. Policy documents used by the UNDP discuss the purpose of the projects as follows: "The intent is to achieve benefits that would not be achievable, or not as effectively achievable, by solely country based initiatives" (Tumen Secretariat, 1998). Currently, the TRADP is in its third phase. The first phase involved extensive planning and background studies. The second phase involved investment promotion and development initiatives designed to build momentum in the TRADP region as a growth triangle. The third phase addresses factors fundamental for regional economic cooperation and includes activities such as investment and trade, tourism, transport, telecommunications and energy (United Nations Development Programme, China, 1998). For instance, within the framework of TRADP the Hunchun/Kraskino rail border crossing between China and Mongolia was officially opened in June 1999; in April 2000, the tour service between Yanbin Prefecture of China, Primorsky Territory of Russia and South Korea was initiated (Tumen Secretariat, 2000). The UNDP sees the Tumen Region as "a future Hong Kong, Singapore, or Rotterdam" (Manguno, 1993, p. 6).

The UNDP aims to make the delta where the river meets the sea the gateway to Asia's hinterland and to convert the whole region into a "\$30 billion trade and transport complex, with 11 harbours, three international airports and an inland port rail hub" (Manguno, 1993, p. 43). Although the UNDP does not openly publish official estimates of natural resources, various observers like M. Lavalee, Denise Chai and Joseph Manguno speculate that such ambitious plans are supported by the rich natural resources of the region, despite its overall economic underdevelopment. The Primorsky Krai of Russia and Yanbin Area in Jilin province of China are the only significantly developed parts of the region (Tumen Secretariat, 1998; Rosencranz, Kibel, & Weiss, 1995). The Tumen Region has abundant timber, fresh water and vast mineral

resources. The sufficient water resources and plentiful cheap flatland provide great potential to grow and export wheat, beans, corn, soybeans and sweet potatoes. A modern infrastructure, including railways, roads, airports and seaports, is being built and will serve to ship raw materials and goods manufactured in the delta region to surrounding countries, providing a far shorter and cheaper trade route. Finally, the region is targeted to become Northeast Asia's centre of energy and telecommunications (Manguno, 1993; Marton et al, 1995).

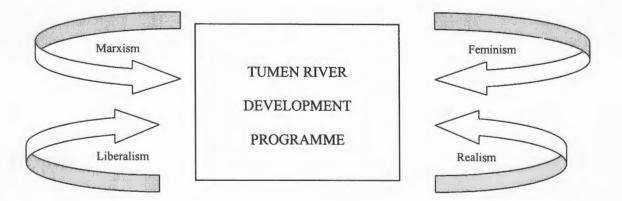
Unfortunately, the future might not be so bright due to the "hundreds of years of political and military upheaval" in and between member-states (Chai, 1993, p. 25). There are major conflicts between communist North Korea and capitalist South Korea, although in 2000 they both participated in the series of top-level meetings between the two countries. China has territorial disputes with Russia over at least two small sections of the boundary (despite a 1997) boundary agreement) and with North Korea over the 33 km section of boundary in the Paektusan mountains. China also claims Japanese administered Senkaku-shoto (Senkaku Islands/Diaoyu Tai) (Central Intelligence Agency, 1999). Russia is on the edge of chaos, facing enormous internal problems. Japan -- an observer and the greatest potential investor to the TRADP -- claims the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, and Shikotan and the Habomai group from the Russian Federation and the Liancourt Rocks from South Korea (Central Intelligence Agency, 1999). Mongolia is a remote land locked country, struggling to integrate into the world market system and to overcome its communist legacy of a central planned system. In addition, most of the countries involved are facing serious economic shortages (United Nations Development Programme, 1999; World Bank, 1990), which will be a substantial obstacle to successful implementation of the programme.

4. Analysis of the Tumen River Development Programme

A UNDP project, the TRADP, is an excellent model of complex and huge organizational machinery. Like the UNDP, the TRADP consists of member-states. Therefore, the TRADP is featured as a case study of this research to show "the conceptual confusion surrounding what an international organization is stems from the differing theoretical orientations" (Pease, 1999, p.5). Four different views on the same issue are utilised to explore the rationale behind the TRADP.

Figure 1 represents the simplified structural scheme of this research.

Figure 1



Each theory views states and international organizations in a different way. While liberals believe that an international organization is relevant, constructive and can help to explain international relations, realists, Marxists and feminists place more emphasis on the explanatory factors of power, class and gender, respectively. Based on their own particular assumptions, they explain the role and behaviour of an international organization differently, as previously noted.

While there are different and even sometimes contradictory streams within each theory, I have utilised the most general characterization of each theory in order to answer the following question: What are the internal motives and consequences of the TRADP? In search of this answer I have derived specific criteria for each of the four theoretical approaches. Specification of such criteria for each theory has not been done by scholars previously, although as was noted

earlier, analysing the same case through the different angles is not unique. I reviewed the literature on the TRADP to find evidence supporting each of the position.

4.1. Set of criteria

In order to develop separate sets of criteria for each of the theoretical approaches, I had to delineate the key ideas in each of the four theories, their assumptions about international relations and international governance, their vision of the role of an international organization. Table 1 illustrates the range of theoretical approaches used. The assumptions of the international system adapted for each theory are drawn from the work of Pease (1999). Based on these perceptions a set of three criteria was constructed for each theory. The criteria were designed to enable me to examine the practical implications of the core ideas as they apply to the TRADP. The implications of each criterion in the TRADP are briefly described in the last column.

4.2. Table 1. Comparative Table of Assumptions and Evidence: The TRADP*

		Characteristics	of the Theory		Case Study: The TRADP	RADP
Тћеогу	Main ideas	International relations	International governance	International organization	Analytical Criteria	Evidence
	Concept of power. States exist in a hostile	Essentially conflictual. Balance of power is a	Hierarchy of power. States are seeking and	A tool of the great powers to dominate	1. The lack of common goals.	Yes, absolutely.
u	world that forces them to be prepared for conflict and, perhaps,	source of order in the international system.	exercising power against each other.	lesser states. No more than the sum of their member-states.	2. The history of conflicts among the member-states.	Yes, major.
Realis	war.				3. The unequal power balance in the region.	Yes, explicitly.
	Value individuals, limited government and the market.	Positive and constructive. Peaceful exchange of goods, services and ideas	Interaction of individuals, interest groups, government	A mechanism to assist governments in overcoming	1. The benefits of market exchange between member- states.	Yes, explicitly.
usi		among states.	agencies and international organizations.	collective problems and help them to settle conflict	 The lack of partnership between governments involved. 	Yes, considerably.
Liberal				peacefully.	3. The common goals shared by various partners such as multinational corporations.	Yes, multinational corporations.
	Economic dominance of the developed (capitalist) states over the weak (proletariat)	Essentially conflictual. Leads to a superior- subordinate relationship based on economic class.	The hegemonic states exercise authority over the weaker states.	A tool of exploitation and a mechanism of domination that fosters uneven	 The role of the international organizations in fostering capitalist development. 	Yes, explicitly.
u	states.			development.	2. The negative consequences of exploitation of people and environment.	Yes, adverse consequences.
Marxisi					3. The evidence of unequal development of all member-states involved.	Yes, explicitly.

	Masculine-feminine	Essentially conflictual.	Characterized by	Objects to be used by	Objects to be used by 1. The masculine values and	Yes, explicitly
	relationships are ones	Leads to a superior-	patriarchy the hegemony	the states to further	interests of states and	
	of superiority and	subordinate hierarchy of	of men. International	their interests in	predominantly male	
	inferiority.	issues determined by	issues are ranked in a	world politics,	decision-makers are	
	Masculine powers of	gender interests.	gendered fashion.	without regard to	institutionalized within	
	the contemporary			concerns of gender,	international organizations	
	world (sovereign			and other	and take priority.	
	states) use the			marginalised	2. Feminine issues such as	Yes, partially.
	feminine ones			perspectives. Adopt a	education, health, poverty,	Only
	(international			gender-neutral	and environment protection	environmental
	organizations) for their			approach. Non-	receive less attention if any.	issues.
	own purpose in the			governmental	3. Disregard for the rights of	Yes, major.
	world of politics.			organizations are	the people in the region and	
us				more likely to take a	lack of consultation with	
ini				feminist approach	them.	
шə				while addressing		
Е				marginalised issues.		

*Source: columns #1-4 adapted from Pease (1999); columns #6-7 developed by the author.

As we see from Table 1, the theoretical approaches used in this research work view the role of an international organization from different perspectives. These perspectives are often in conflict with one another. The findings of this research are described below in detail.

4.2.1. The TRADP and the Realist Perspective

To examine the utility of the realist perspective in understanding the Tumen River project, I utilised the following criteria: 1) the lack of common goals; 2) the history of conflicts among the member-states; and 3) the unequal power balance in the region.

The analyses of a literature review showed that in accordance with the realist view the TRADP as an international organization would have little success.

1) the lack of common goals

The first reason for such a negative approach is the lack of a common goal. Too many different goals are trying to be achieved in the TRADP. The TRADP's members are China, Russia, Mongolia, North Korea and South Korea. Each country has its own unique reason for joining the project.

a) China wants to boost its underdeveloped northern territories, which were left behind as government policies focused on the development of southern coasts. Also, China is seeking to regain its right to navigate in the Sea of Japan through the Tumen River (<u>East Asian Executive</u> <u>Reports</u>, 1992).

b) Russia is interested in the project because it will open an opportunity to build infrastructure which will direct Siberia's vast mineral riches to the international market (Manguno, 1993).

c) Mongolia, as a landlocked country, is seeking the waterway to the Pacific to export its raw materials and other products (Institute of Marine Biology, 2000).

d) North Korea wants to break its economic isolation in order to overcome its economic difficulties (do Rosario, 1991).

e) South Korea, facing the shortage of its natural resources, has a great interest in developing the mineral and energy resources in the Far East. In addition to that, South Korea's ultimate goal from this project is unification with North Korea plus the Korean Prefecture in Yanbin Region of China. Lee Hong Pyo of the Sejong Institute was quoted as saying, "South Korea will want to participate under any plan for the sake of North-South economic cooperation, and, in this sense, we regard the Tumen River project as an outstanding opportunity for inter-Korea cooperation because it is one in which North Korea can easily take part. If successful, the project could go far toward economic unification of Koreans in South and North Korea and Yanbin in China" (as cited in Chai, 1993, p.27).

f) Japan, which currently holds the status of an observer, is searching for new markets especially in China, and the Tumen River harbours will be the closest way to get to China from Japan (Lavalee, n.d.).

Driven by these ambitious state intentions, and not just the market, the TRADP is regulated by governmental guidelines and intergovernmental agreements (Väyrynen, 1997). It is mainly because of the interests of the states, and not the individuals or multinational corporations, that the TRADP was established and is still active.

In addition, the states involved have their own bilaterally agreed ways to solve problems. These were established before the UNDP initiatives. Since 1975, North Korea has been a transit point for shipping Russian cargo to Southeast Asia; since 1983, it has been a transit point for Chinese cargo to Japan as well. China has used North Korea's Najin port since 1985 (Chai, 1993). The Tumen River has also provided access to Russian Siberia as there are major settlements of Chinese immigrants such as Harbin, Manzhouli and Karamskiy (<u>East Asian</u> <u>Executive Reports, 19</u>92).

The possible shift of millions of Chinese citizens as cheap labourers to the open free trade zone might be a potential cause of instability in the region which could reignite the historical hostility among the neighbouring countries. The degradation of the environment and ecological disasters also have major impacts on the development level of each country (Global Beat, 1999).

Such points support the realists' belief that expanding markets cannot behave rationally. Realists believe the market should serve the state and that interdependence is not necessary, if not impossible. Moreover, realists believe that sovereignty is an indivisible attribute of the states. Each country involved has become cautious due to the fact that with the progressing of the TRADP they will have to give a piece of land for the free trade zone (Institute of Marine Biology, 1998; Lavalee, n.d.).

The Russian, Chinese and North Korean view of the legal structure of development differs radically. Russia and China favour the idea of one designated area of free trade zone ruled by an international body. North Korea opposes this idea. North Korea wants each country to develop their own territory independently from each other as a special economic zone. These zones will allow each country to keep its sovereignty. After long negotiations North Korea finally agreed only to lease its area at the Pyongyang meeting of May 1993 (Chai, 1993).

Unlike the liberals who see development as a way to encourage the efficient distribution of resources and generation of significant levels of wealth, realists criticize a one-sided approach to development which in their opinion uses only the lens of money. Realists say that there are many other aspects of development which liberals do not take into account. For instance, the post-colonial policy of some countries has not been considered. The political difficulties of the TRADP support this view explicitly.

2) The history of conflicts among the member-states

The second reason realists would see the alliance of these countries as unworkable arises from historical hostility and ideological differences (Chai, 1993; Manguno, 1993).

a) North Korea is "still technically at war" with South Korea due to political contradictions (Sohn, 2000; <u>The Economist, 19</u>95). The tension between these two countries has been well-expressed by the Secretary of Defense of the United States, Mr. Cohen, who said, "there is no question that the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea is one of the most dangerous spots on Earth" (Dezhao, 1997, p.1). <u>The Times of India</u> quotes South Korean President Kim Dae Jung, who noted that "reunifying the divided Korean Peninsula looked premature [because the two countries] still remain ...at war as the [1950-1953 Korean War] ended only in an armed truce instead of a peace agreement" (2000, p.1).

b) South Korea and Russia have a long-term dispute over repayment of a US\$3 billion loan (Chai; 1993). The dispute began when South Korea decided to pull out its capital, which has been invested heavily in Russia since 1991 (<u>News & Letters</u>,1999). Moreover, South Korea is cautious of "the political risks in a project in which their partners are all socialist or former socialist countries" (Chai, 1993, p.29).

c) The member-states of the TRADP currently have territorial disputes with each other. Most countries involved are very sensitive about boundary issues either for political reasons (North Korea) or because of existing territorial disputes (Japan, China, or Russia).

d) The historical legacy of the region creates suspicion. Past Japanese colonization makes political barriers difficult to break (Manguno, 1993). Japan has been reluctant to take an active part of the project unless the Northern Territories/Kurile Islands territorial dispute with the Russian Federation is settled (<u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>, 1992).

3) the unequal power balance in the region

The member-states of TRADP also vary in terms of power, realists would say. There is an obvious presence of the more and less powerful states in the project. There is a fear of

political and economic domination by Japan and China over the other member-states. While the UNDP talks enthusiastically about the \$30 billion project, which aims to transform the TRADP region into a free trade zone, it is impossible to achieve this goal without Japanese money. China made substantial investments to open its cities Hunchun and Fangchun. As was commented by Prof. Wang Shengjin of College of Jilin University, "China's northeast provinces propose a development strategy to make the most of their geographical advantages and their existing industry [for the TRADP -- a] project [of] the 21st century" (Wang, 1998). The reason for such Chinese enthusiasm, would explain realists, is because China wants to challenge Japan, which is currently dominating Northeast Asia (McGrew & Brook, 1998).

If China and Japan reach a consensus somehow later on, realists would warn, the interregional cooperation between Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia will be weakened rapidly. "Capital from Japan and South Korea will be diverted from Southeast Asia to Northeast Asia, and these countries will be a source of raw material[s] and manpower, making them less dependent on Southeast Asia for labour and resources," observes Kim Dal Choong in <u>Business</u> <u>Korea</u> (Chai, 1995).

The less powerful states are almost ignored by the stronger ones. Russia is desperately battling to regain its power in the world arena, which was weakened after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and at the same time to soothe its internal territorial conflicts. The only country that has no territorial disputes, Mongolia, is considered by its more powerful neighbours as a "virtual non-entity". As Dong Yong Seung, who works for the Samsung Economic Research Institute, comments, "Mongolia's motivation for wanting to participate in the Tumen project is more psychological than economic. They feel isolated and think that if they don't get involved in the project, they will remain forever isolated" (Chai, 1993, p.26). The same is true for North Korea, which is trying to integrate itself in global economic cooperation and at the same time follow its communist values.

The United States, the current world superpower, has informal interests in the TRADP and has had contacts with the UNDP, but the United States cannot show the explicit interest because Russia is very wary of the United States presence in Northeast Asia as this area is a part of the Russian Far East (Manguno, 1993). China and Japan have been increasing their military expenditures in order to challenge the United States and yet both countries have territorial disputes with Russia (McGrew & Brook, 1998). This accelerating growth of the military expenses in China and Japan is a true fear for other Asian nations, "while protectionism and superpower meddling also present obstacles" (Chai, 1993, p.29).

With the increasing military power of China, Mongolia and North Korea fear that "with no Soviet Union to countervail, Chin[a] may become the major threat to Mongolia's [and North Korea's] independent survival" (Bedeski, 1999, p.4). The presence of a nuclear threat from North Korea is another source of instability in the region (Heppel, 1994).

Because there is such a tense situation in the region, realists would conclude, "when the UNDP eventually bows out, the project will be left up to the same powers which have been killing each other for control of this area for centuries" (Chai, 1993, p.29).

Conclusion on the realist view

To sum up, realists would see the development of the Tumen River region as "economically very attractive and yet politically extremely complicated" (Lavalee, n.d.). From a realist perspective the TRADP is an unnecessary project and a waste of the limited funds of the governments involved. The first reason is the lack of a single goal promoted by the memberstates as well as long time rivalry among the member-states. The presence of unequal power balance suggests even that the TRADP might be a potential cause for future conflicts.

4.2.2. The TRADP and the Liberal Perspective

I developed the following set of criteria to judge liberalism's view of TRADP as an international organization: 1) the benefits of market exchange between member-states; 2) the lack of partnership between the governments involved; and 3) the common goals shared by various partners such as multinational corporations.

1) the benefits of market exchange between member-states

Liberals believe in the benefits of the free market and see the market as enabling long time adversaries, divided by ideology and history, to come together under TRADP at round table discussions. They view TRADP as a tremendous success (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992). There are plenty of industrial sectors in the Tumen River area that interest investors, including agriculture/food processing, natural resources, forestry, light industry, banking, infrastructure, and tourism. On the other hand, local authorities are seeking investment in forestry, transportation, communications, energy, raw and semi-finished materials, processing industries, and high technology (Corporate Location, 1995). Liberals would believe that the on-going process of lessening customs restrictions and greater cross-national trade and investment opportunities in TRADP region has promoted the economic "complementarity from possibility to reality" (Dezhao, 1997, p.2). With this similar expression of interest on both investors and local authorities, the further development of the Tumen River basin will be inevitable.

2) the lack of partnership between governments involved

The liberals recognise that there are some conflicts among the states. However, they would believe that the TRADP has major importance in demonstrating the success of the market system in overcoming these conflicts.

Being a pro-liberal institution, the UNDP considers the Agreement on the Tumen River Area Development Programme as "historic" and a "model of people centred, environmentally sustainable development, with particular benefits to the poor and jobless in the region" (UN News Centre, 1995). The member-states involved in the project agree with this point of view.

For instance, as Kanamori Hisao, Adviser in the Japan Economic Research Centre, says, "Of all the economic development taking place in Northeast Asia, the most progress has been made in the development of the Tumen River area"(Hisao, 1998). Similarly, Kim Yong Hak, General Director of Overseas Project Department in South Korea, observes that "[TRADP will help] Northeast Asian countries to use a cooperative strategy [to have a] leading position in the world economy [to] prepare itself to meet the challenges of globalization and regionalism" (Kim, 1998). The Chinese perspective echoes this position: "Although the region still faces various development problems, both economic and institutional, the recent trends of economic cooperation and improved international relations make its future prospects brighter than ever" (Wang, 1998).

However, such ambitious plans are achievable only if TRADP member-states cooperate with each other. Despite this, Russia, China and North Korea have established their own development strategies (Kim, 1998). That is why the current speed of the TRADP is beginning to slow down. Because of this individualistic approach, the potential benefits of mutual cooperation are not as rewarding as was expected. The member-states do not open their markets freely. Hypothetically, if they would fully open their markets, the market itself would regulate the demand and supply in the region and eventually the Tumen River region would be a "second Rotterdam or Hong Kong" as proposed by the UNDP (Husband, 1998). In the broader point of view, realists believe that the selfish interests of individual member-states have often led them to seek an international organization to fulfil the role of mediator (Pease, 1999). This is true for the TRADP, as well.

3) the common goals shared by various partners such as multinational corporations

Thus, TRADP demonstrates that the process of "regionalisation can be both a response and a stimulus to the micro-economic forces driving globalization. Regional integration can play a valuable role in promoting internal competition. It can also be a crucial vehicle for international policy" (Cho, 1998, p.2).

The UNDP already contributes US\$5 million to promote the area (Chai, 1993). Since 1991, the UNDP has been organising the consultations, which facilitate regulatory and institutional arrangements and provide mechanisms to promote regional economic growth (Corporate Location, 1995). This cooperation would not be possible without the intervention of international organizations such as the UNDP.

Multinational corporations have key interests in the TRADP Region. The Japanese government has not shown an explicit enthusiasm in the project, even though it holds the status of an observer. However, Japanese companies are investing US\$50 million for the railway expansion project to connect Russia, North Korea and China. The United States companies invested US\$350 million. Hong Kong firms are also said to be interested in the railway port project. One of the largest conglomerates of South Korea -- Samsung -- made some large investments in the Jilin province of China, including the construction of a twenty-story railway station building, the development of communication infrastructure between China (Hunchun) and Russia, and the construction of a railway between China and North Korea (Chai, 1993).

Conclusion on the liberal view

In accordance with the liberal point of view, the TRADP shows that the market regulates itself as well as international relations without intervention from the governments. Unlike realists, who do not support the idea of the free trade zone and equal benefits of international cooperation, the liberals believe that through the market system the TRADP will help the rival countries to unite and make progressive economic choices. The TRADP once again proves the effectiveness of international organizations as negotiators and mediators in bringing the various partners under the same umbrella of development and creating an international regime which will lead to "economic growth and prosperity in an anarchic world" (Pease, 1999, p.176).

4.2.3. The TRADP and Marxist Perspective

The explanation of the Marxist perspective is provided below by applying the criteria of 1) the role of TRADP in fostering capitalist development; 2) the negative consequences of exploitation of people and the environment; and 3) the evidence of unequal development of all member-states involved.

1. The role of TRADP in fostering capitalist development

Marxists would believe that the UNDP is a mechanism to foster the capitalist domination, one virtuously used by the core states, namely the United States and Japan, to exploit the resources and the labour of the periphery countries like China, Russia, Mongolia and DPRK. The ultimate goal of the United States is to achieve a "residual hegemony" in a world of "geopolitical rivalry" (Camilleri, n.d.). The wealthy business class of the United States and Japan utilizes UNDP's "\$1 billion annual budget to exert formidable muscle over innocent people and self-sustaining environments" through the development projects like the TRADP. In the search for cheap labour in peripheral (developing) countries, the UNDP even neglects the major river system (Probe Alert, 1995). Probe Alert criticizes further: TRADP is "ridiculously ambitious, the capital input is too great, the area's resources are too few, and its vast size and complexity make it infeasible"(1995). <u>East Asian Executives</u> adds that "the Tumen River scheme [may] not prove [itself] feasible" (1992). As a result "although UN sponsorship has kept the Tumen scheme going, it has not made as much progress as the original Tumen River Area Development Program envisaged" (Cotton, 1997).

Moreover, the TRADP arouses "deep concerns about the inability of such a complex and essentially unknown entity to function well" (Marton et al, 1995). Yet this 'utopian' project -- as labelled by Probe International -- threatens millions of people and fragile ecosystems. The UNDP, despite its claim be promoting sustainable human development that is "pro-poor, pronature, pro-jobs and pro-women", is conducting one of the largest "destructive" projects in favour of wealthy business classes in the core (developed) countries.

2) the negative consequences of exploitation of people and the environment;

Liberal economy theory, argue Marxists, legitimises the dominant position of transnational capital, while unwilling participants, consisting of cheap local labour, see the TRADP as a "nightmare of destructive development". Being a pro-liberal organization, the UNDP manages the mega-project from the top, ignoring the local people (Probe Alert, 1995).

The United States, a hegemonic state of the contemporary world, uses the UNDP as a tool to "slam... the door in the faces of [the Tumen River area] citizens and push...[them] through [an] economically infeasible and environmentally devastating project that will impoverish millions, disempower countless communities and destroy the environment" (Probe Alert, 1995).

The workers of Japan and the United States are bearing the cost of such a gigantic industrial project, which is far beyond the original estimation of the UNDP because of the money spent on softening the tensions among the historically hostile states involved in the project. Countries involved in the TRADP also exploit their own citizens. The TRADP originators talk about skilled and cheap labour, which will be the core engine of the further development of the area, and yet protest against the free migration of this cheap labour. For instance, the migration of Chinese labour is an unwanted source of destabilisation for neighbouring countries. According to the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research of the Russian Federation, there are already up to 2 million Chinese in the Russian Far East, including 150,000 illegal immigrants settled in Primorsky Krai during the period of 1993-1994 (Alexseev, 1999).

The government of North Korea, another member-state of the TRADP, exploits its people till the critical edge of starvation. According to a Johns Hopkins University study, 1.5 to 3.0 million North Koreans have died of starvation during the period of 1996-1999 (Hoon, 1999;

Park, 2000). "Saddled with a crippled economy, the regime of Kim Jong II has suffered a shortfall of one to two million tons of food a year since 1995 and faces an equally sizable loss of loyalty" (Du Mars, 2000, May). An attempt by the North Korean government to preserve the current situation provokes the death of many innocent proletarians. Thousands of North Koreans have been killed attempting to cross the borders to China seeking food (Pringle, 1999, February). Despite of this fact, <u>Nodong Shinmun</u>, the leading newspaper of North Korea, keeps calling for ways to protect North Korean society from bourgeois culture in order to safeguard the nation's independence (as cited in Chai, 1993). From a Marxist perspective, the TRADP programme, intensively pushed by the governments of the member-states, will only deteriorate the already unbearable exploitation of local people in the area.

3) the evidence of unequal development of all member-states involved;

Marxists would believe that the TRADP is an 'immense industrial utopia' which involves too many resources and too much funding for the unsustainable programme: "Orchestrating international cooperation between nations historically hostile towards one another involves costs far beyond the amount of the tab picked up by the UNDP" (Probe Alert, 1995).

The economic and political context for the TRADP has been difficult, especially during its early phases. The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in sharp declines (by 50% or more) in the economies of the Russian Federation, Mongolia and North Korea, three of the four TRADP member-states. South Korea, the only country that is willing to pay for the TRADP activities, was a victim of the Asian financial crisis (Chai, 1993; Husband, 1998). On the other hand, the Marxists would speculate that as a core country, Japan "seek[s] a renewed influence in this area which they once controlled" through participation in the TRADP (Chai, 1993). Malaysia -- a typical semi peripheral country fighting for hegemony in the region -- has also expressed its interest in the TRADP (<u>MSANEWS</u>, 1996). Such interest is a demonstration of the greedy desires of newly industrialised countries seeking cheap labour or rather 'proletarian' forces. The

fact that many semi-peripheral newly industrialized East Asian countries like Malaysia, "have tacitly or explicitly close security ties with the United States and are crucial building blocks for any regional balance of power" will only add to the burden on the shoulders of the Tumen River area proletarians because they aim to "protect, expand or grab their share of Northeast Asia's potential" (McGrew & Brook, 1998; Manguno, 1993, p.44).

Conclusion on the Marxist view

The TRADP is an explicit demonstration of an attempt of the hegemonic classes in the core (US and Japan) and semi-peripheral (Malaysia, etc.) countries to exploit the weak classes in the periphery (the TRADP member-states) with the sole aim of exploiting their natural and human resources. These hegemonic classes use the UNDP and, consequently, the TRADP as a tool to achieve their goals.

4.2.4. The TRADP and the Feminist Perspective

Given the feminist view of international organizations, I assessed the TRADP through using the following parameters: 1) Masculine values and interests are institutionalized; 2) feminine issues such as education, health, poverty and environmental protection receive little attention if any; and 3) disregard for the rights of people in the TRADP region and a lack of consultation with them.

1) Masculine values and interests are institutionalized.

Feminists would argue that the very goal of the TRADP is masculine. The TRADP is designed to create Northeast Asia's first international free trade zone attracting investment, where beneficiaries will be states, decision-makers and investors, not the local people and least of all women and children. A comment by Herb Behrstock, the TRADP Officer, quoted in the Amicus Journal, clear illustrates the masculine values and interest institutionalized in the

TRADP: "There are tremendous opportunities in this region, and it should attract billions of dollars in investment over the long term" (Rosencranz, Kibel, & Weiss, 1995, p.17).

The term "institutionalized masculinist prerogative" is used by Joni Seager to explain the broader view of feminists, who argue that there is a superior-subordinate relationship between the developed countries, who invest to the programme, and the under-developed countries, who receive these funds. In accordance with the feminist point of view, the international development aid and investments are given to the Third World countries under conditional terms, which obliges them to "mimic the ideologies and economic policies of the already developed countries" with the final goal of integration into the global market. This leads to the eventual replacement of agriculture and/or artisan modes of producing for the needs of local market by the capital-intensive factories (Seager, 1993). This is the case of the TRADP.

For instance, the Russian government, one of the beneficiaries of the programme, is under tremendous pressure from the masculine forces -- developed states and international banking organizations -- to restructure the economy, introduce market principles, and establish a politically stable environment for financial assistance and investment (Schindler, 1993). The same applies for other TRADP member-states: Mongolia, South Korea and China.

Indeed, all states involved in the programme have targeted the area for intensive industrial development. A number of multinational corporations and joint ventures have already invested millions of dollars in textile and pharmaceutical factories along the Tumen River, as well as in chemical, mining, timber, and shipping companies.

Unlike Marxists who fight against the exploitation of the weakest periphery countries by the core capitalist states, feminists are concerned about the power of patriarchal leaders, sitting in the "rooms of multinational boardrooms, directed by the power of profit.... This dangerous development increases the gap between gender, instead of improving global economic differences" (genDerations, June, 23).

2) feminine issues such as education, health, poverty and environmental protection receive little attention if any

The TRADP decision-making levels are male-dominated; hence, the TRADP decisions are masculine. Driven by the masculine management and masculine priorities of economic development and political consensus, little attention is paid to the very existence of the feminine problems in the region such as education, health care and social welfare of the local people in this underdeveloped area. The environmental protection is the only feminine concern addressed in the TRADP. The <u>Amicus Journal</u> notes that the TRADP member-states endorsed a joint resolution to use \$2 million from the UN's Global Environment Facility for wetlands protection, environmental assessment training, land use planning, and the protection of international waterways (Rosencranz, Kibel, & Weiss, 1995). Doing little more beyond that, the UNDP officials claim that "it is a function of the local governments to institute [the feminine issue of] environmental protection". Instead, being a masculine organization, the UNDP wants to "confine its responsibilities to [masculine issues such as] organizing international agreements, intergovernmental relations, joint economic development, and questions of authority and sovereignty in the region" (Lavalee, n.d., p.4).

Meanwhile, within the TRADP framework the international and national companies and multinational corporations actively utilise 400 square kilometres of delta wetlands with the blessings of the masculine governments concerned. Such tremendous exploitation of minerals, timber, oil, gas, and coal resources creates much pollution in the process and threatens the very existence of the ecosystems of the region (Brach, 1997). The environmental problems in the region are on the edge of catastrophe.

The water quality of the region's coasts is degrading rapidly. In the Far East many animal populations are on the edge of extinction, including the leopard, black stork, mandarin duck, and red crowned and white naped cranes, 20 marine mammal species, and 278 species of fish,

100,000 migratory ducks, swans and geese. In addition, timber exports would destroy some of the world's largest remaining forests, including ecologically fragile taiga forests (Rosencranz, Kibel, & Weiss. 1995). The Siberian taiga, covering 2.3 million square miles, regenerates extremely slowly (Lavalee, n.d.).

3) disregard for the rights of people in the TRADP region and a lack of consultation with them.

The TRADP will have also an adverse impact on 'feminine' groups such as native people of the Tumen Region, particularly women. Native people of the Tumen Region are traditionally fishers, gatherers and hunters (Vishkartsev & Lebedev. n.d.). The rapid economic changes brought by the TRADP might have devastating effects on the physical and mental health of the inhabitants of the region. The feminine issues are similar to those observed by Debra Schindler among Russia's First Nations, including changes in the sedentary village life, problems in education and the "severe health problems affecting the entire population" of local inhabitants, are not being recognized by the officials of the TRADP (Schindler, 1993, p.95).

Conclusion on the feminist view

Feminists would claim that the TRADP is masculine in terms of the issues addressed. The UNDP, together with the states involved, place an enormous burden on the indigenous people of the Tumen River basin and ignore their immediate basic needs. The TRADP focuses only on masculine issues of international organizations and, at the same time, ignores feminine issues such as health and social concerns.

5. Conclusion

The TRADP is the largest regional development project ever, costing over 30 (thirty) billion dollars (Lavalee, n.d.; Tumen Secretariat, 1998). UNDP contributed over US\$4 million dollars to the initial phase of this project (UN News Centre, 1995). It aims to establish a special free trade zone in a remote underdeveloped area, which comprises 20% of Asia's territory. The area is inhabited by nearly 150 million people, who are divided by long time rivalries of "ideology, levels of economic development, legacies of civil war, border skirmishes and colonial bitterness" (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992; UN News Centre, 1995). The TRADP is a contemporary international organization and can be characterized as a miniature UN.

What are the internal motives and consequences of the UN projects such as the TRADP? In order to reveal these motives, a set of criteria has been developed for each theory applied in this research: realism, liberalism, Marxism and feminism.

The analysis has shown that realists would assert that the interrelations of countries involved in the TRADP are complicated by the lack of a common goal, a legacy of a hostile past, and the unequal power balance. Therefore, the motives of the TRADP's member-states are in conflict which might eventually lead to the potential wars in the region. The interests of both super and minor powers are explicitly represented in the TRADP region. The presence of such conflicts makes it difficult for the TRADP to maintain the status quo in the region. Hence, from the realist point of view, the TRADP is an unnecessary waste of time and capital.

Liberals would think that the motives behind the TRADP are very positive ones because they could lead to a harmonised world where everyone benefits equally from market profits. With this aim, the TRADP explicitly promotes market exchange of goods between its memberstates and invites various partners to share a unique goal of prosperity. The only obstacle is lack of partnership among the governments involved. The prosperity of economic cooperation

requires peace -- a process that will bring harmony and wealth to the region. Thus, the TRADP assists and supports concerned governments in their initiatives.

According to the Marxist view, the UNDP and the TRADP are fostering capitalist development by supporting the 'capitalist' states of the United States and Japan in their exploitation of the 'proletariat' member-states of the TRADP. The negative consequences of the exploitation of people is obvious within the TRADP region. For instance, the North Korean government is a TRADP member-state. At the same time, the North Korean population is suffering from starvation. Chinese immigrants have no privileges and are used as cheap labour. The unequal development of all member-states involved is another factor for concern. While the member-states of the TRADP are struggling with the internal problems, the hegemonic states from outside of the region like the United States, Japan and Malaysia are trying to become involved in the project in order to utilise the human and natural resources of the region. Thus, the TRADP is a tool used by core hegemonic states such as the United States to exploit the peripheral countries, e.g. member-states of the TRADP.

Feminists would argue that the TRADP is driven by gender bias. The TRADP is an international organization with clear masculine features. It deals with the 'masculine' issues such as economic and infrastructure development. Therefore, the economic change promoted by the TRADP has purely "masculine" results. The TRADP encourages changes that only favour 'masculine' governments and corporations. Meanwhile, the TRADP ignores traditional 'feminine' issues of health, poverty and, to a large extent, environmental concerns. If the TRADP took these issues into consideration women and native people might also be able to benefit from the project. Thus, the TRADP is a narrow-minded project which serves only the masculine powers.

As we see, the answer to the original question is controversial. It fosters polar views, depending on the theoretical approach one uses to judge international organizations. While proponents of the TRADP applaud the project as the most successful victory of a market system

and globalization, opponents argue that this programme destroys the environment and people, as well as bringing hostile countries to the edge of war: "Critics call on the riparian countries to modernize existing infrastructure, while others quip that if the countries wanted to cooperate, they would be doing it with or without a costly UN project of dubious benefit. Further, the three countries [China, North Korea and Russia] who will benefit most will not be paying for it, which raises the question of what possible good the project could be to the financiers" (Chai, 1993).

The aim of this research project has been to bring attention to these contradictory views and overcome the one-sided approach to this issue. There is no rule to judge who is right and who is wrong. The analysis of such diverse views can help us understand complex issues in a more comprehensive fashion. Development itself is a process which always raises multiple concerns. It brings progress, but at the same time can ruin our very existence by polluting the environment or destroying our culture.

I believe that the research presented in this project paper will help scholars, policymakers and people of Northeast Asia understand the complexity of the TRADP at the following levels:

a) At the local level, the TRADP is an ongoing project, where the outcomes are still to be determined.

b) At the regional level, the TRADP will not necessarily have a positive influence on cooperation between the countries of Northeast Asia or on the local people.

c) At the global level, viewing international organizations through different lenses will help us understand the pros and cons of development projects better.

If we analyse both sides without arguing who is right and who is wrong, then perhaps we might find a solution as to how to go forward without taking away the bridge on which we stand.

The UNDP's TRADP is worthy of further study given its scope and complexity. Given the analysis presented here, future students may want to explore the following issues: the

relationships between the TRADP member-states, especially given the history of these relationships; the role of the United States in the area and in this development project; and the connection between domestic politics in each member-states and the stagnation of the TRADP. The utilisation of different theoretical lenses will be essential in each case.

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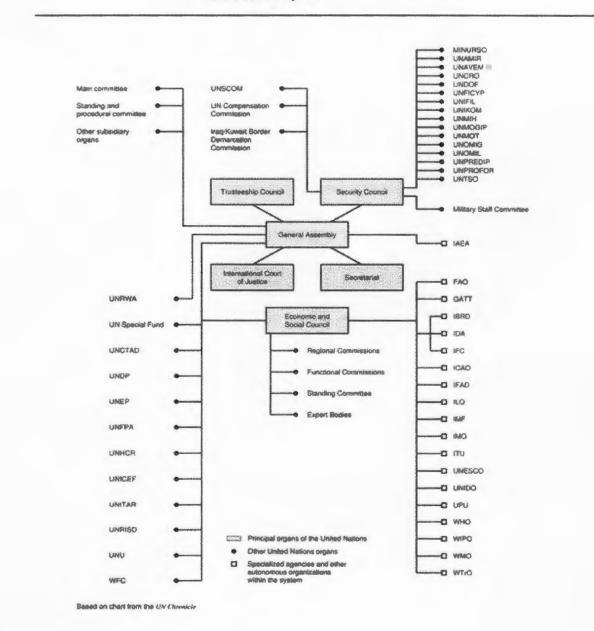
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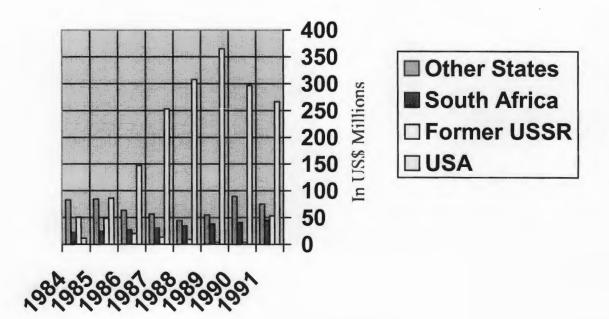
United Nations System



source: Johnson Library of Government Documents

Appendix B

UN Member-states' Contributions: Outstanding Areas As Of 31 December, 1992



Appendix C

Map of the Tumen River Development Programme.

