

# Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

**Helping to keep the Peace (Albeit Reluctantly):  
China's Recent Stance on Sovereignty and Multilateral Intervention**

*Allen Carlson*

This article argues that the conventional wisdom about Chinese intransigence on intervention (and sovereignty) is inaccurate. It does so by illustrating that a subtle yet significant shift in the Chinese stance on both issues took place over the course of the last fifteen years. Indeed, since the early 1990s, the Chinese have committed to a series of multilateral endeavours that gradually modified China's stance on intervention and, by extension, sovereignty's role in international politics. This development was initially the product of a historically framed set of calculations within China concerning the relative costs and benefits involved in allowing for a redefinition of the balance between state sovereignty and intervention in the international arena. However, these considerations were supplemented over the course of the decade by two new forces: (1) repeated Chinese participation in humanitarian operations created a new precedent which affected the way some within the foreign policy community interpret the legitimacy of intervention; and (2) growing interest in Beijing in portraying China as a responsible member of the international community pushed the Chinese to make more compromises on the sovereignty-intervention nexus.

**Environmental NGOs in China: Roles and Limits**

*Jonathan Schwartz*

There exists an ongoing debate over the nature of state-civil society relations in authoritarian regimes. There are those who argue that civil society organizations represent the beginning of the democratization process. This view suggests a zero-sum relationship between the state and civil society, with the state ceding control of public space to increasingly powerful civil society organizations. Others argue that civil society organizations can work with the state in a positive-sum relationship where both sides benefit from cooperation to achieve shared goals. This debate has growing relevance in China where civil society organizations are increasingly finding a voice. What is the nature of state-civil society relations in China? What roles can civil society organizations in China play? In this paper I explore these questions by focusing on China's environmental non-governmental organization community—arguably the most advanced manifestation of Chinese civil society. I identify three main manifestations of environmental non-governmental organizations that have arisen in China, noting their strengths and weaknesses. Drawing on examples of these various manifestations, I evaluate their influence, impact and potential. What activities do these organizations carry out? Why do they enjoy state support? I conclude that China's environmental civil society remains highly constrained by the state even as it continues to gain power and influence. Of the various manifestations of environmental non-governmental organizations, the greatest potential for effectiveness lies with the form that I define as semi-NGOs.

**Sustainable Development and the Social and Cultural Impact  
of a Dam-Induced Development Strategy  
—the Bakun Experience**

*Yee Keong Choy*

This article investigates sustainable development from the perspective of indigenous communities, based on empirical studies of the Bakun Dam project in Malaysia. It analyzes the socio-economic and ecological implications of the links between Bakun's growth vision and the socio-cultural sustainability of the indigenous communities in Sarawak. It emphasizes that promoting sustainable development should mean protecting the source of the indigenous communities' social fabrics and cultural identity—in this case, the Bakun forest ecosystem.

**Park Chung Hee and the Making of 'State Populism' in Korea:  
The Case of the New Community Movement**

*Seung-Mi Han*

The long-lasting authoritarian government of Park Chung Hee (1961-1979) was characterized by a strong state and equally strong resistance from the people. And yet this resistance—which ultimately contributed to the regime's collapse—emerged only in the latter half of Park's rule, in the period after the mid-1970s when his control increased. More recently, Park's rule is also remembered quite favourably by many Koreans, especially with regard to his achievements in modernization and economic development. Using the New Community Movement (*Saemaül Undong*) as a critical case, this paper analyzes what lies behind this ambivalent popular attitude toward Park, and concludes that Park's rule was a curious amalgam of a strong capitalist drive and rather "anti-capitalist" populist ideals that re-worked the egalitarian ethos of the Korean village tradition. This ethos succeeded in mobilizing a widespread popular zeal for a better life, while Confucianism was upheld only as a ruling ideology to guard the authoritarian rule. However, the dynamism and techniques of popular mobilization generated and used throughout the NCM ironically also produced fierce opposition to the Park government, and eventually contributed to the toppling of Park's regime.

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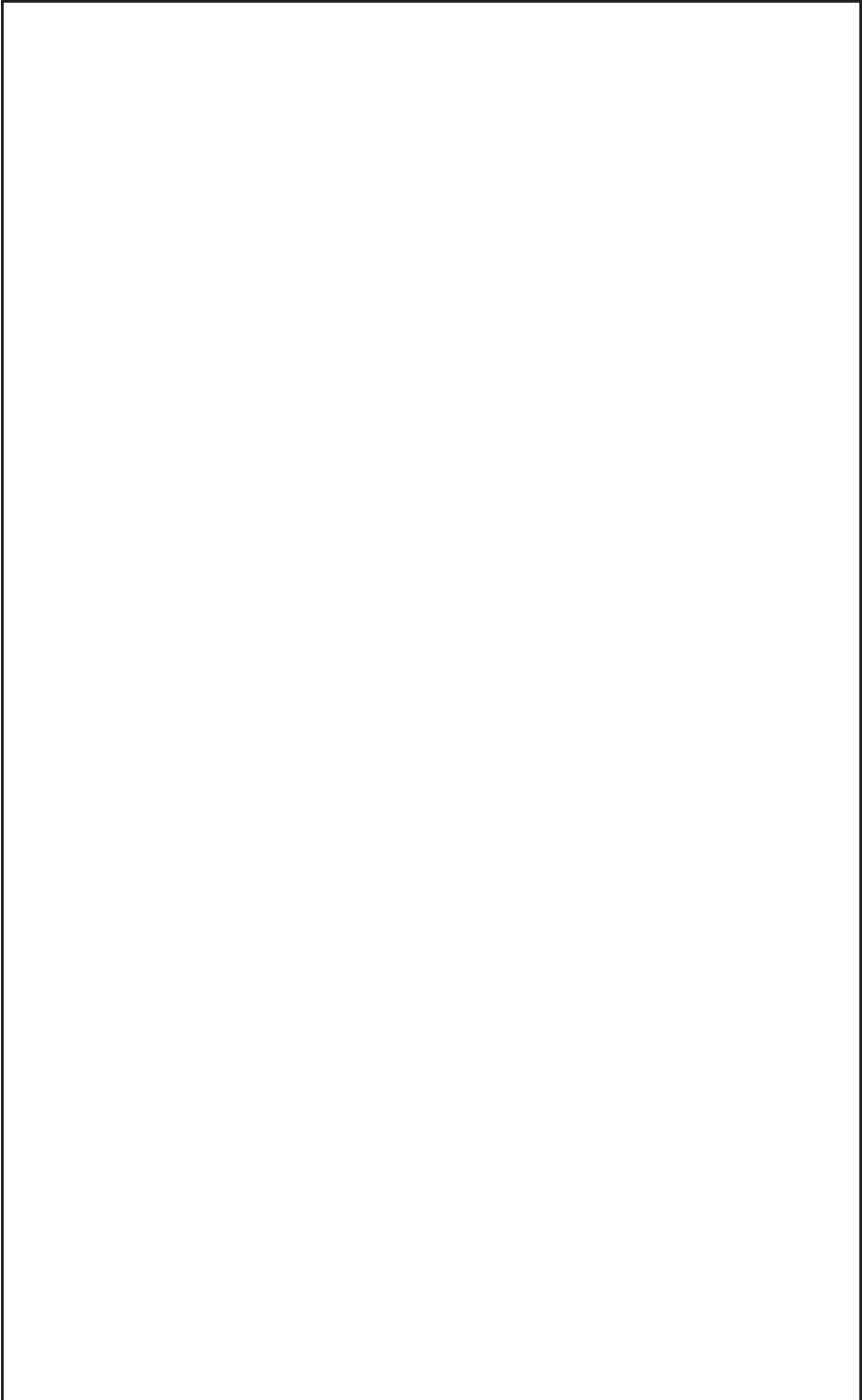
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***Pacific Affairs***

is pleased to announce the awarding of the second  
**William L. Holland Prize.**

This prize will be awarded annually  
for an outstanding paper  
published in *Pacific Affairs* during the preceding year that,  
in the opinion of the Editorial Board,  
best reflects the ideals of Bill Holland in promoting  
international understanding of the regions and peoples  
of Asia and the Pacific.

**The William L. Holland Prize**  
for the best article published in Volume 76  
(2003-2004) of *Pacific Affairs*  
has been awarded to

**ADEMOLA ADELEKE**  
(University of Lagos)

for his article  
*The Strings of Neutralism: Burma and the Colombo Plan*  
published in Volume 76 No.4,  
Winter 2003-2004, pp. 593-610

Based on archival sources, Dr. Adeleke's article recreates a sense of the intrigues and political posturing between the British, the Burmese and the Americans in this particular incident effectively to make a useful general point about the politics of aid.

The William L. Holland Prize recognizes the success of Dr. Adeleke's article and serves to honour the memory of Bill Holland's dedication to open and accessible scholarship.

Dr. Adeleke's article may be viewed at our website:  
**[www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca](http://www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca)**

*Winner of the second William L. Holland Prize*

**ADEMOLA ADELEKE**

(University of Lagos)

for his article

**The Strings of Neutralism:**

**Burma and the Colombo Plan**

*published in Volume 76 No.4, Winter 2003-2004, pp. 593-610*



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ABSTRACTS

**Agile Big Man: The Flexible Marketing of Yao Ming**

*Thomas Oates and Judy Polumbaum*

This article examines National Basketball Association player Yao Ming's complex global celebrity, analyzing how diverse constituencies in the U.S. and China contribute to constructions and readings of his public image. As sportsman, corporate pitchman and cultural emissary, Yao has proven an extraordinarily adaptable figure; among his varied roles, he represents an exemplary vehicle for the NBA's global designs, a well-behaved alternative to the bad-boy stereotype of the African American athlete, an expression of ethnic empowerment and masculinity that contradicts typifications of Asian males as effeminate and weak, and an embodiment of Chinese national pride. In short, Yao's career illustrates a new model of global sporting stardom, incorporating notions of "flexible citizenship" and "flexible celebrity" suiting the transnational marketplace of the 21st century.

**The First Tiananmen Incident Revisited:  
Elite Politics and Crisis Management at the End of the Maoist Era**

*Frederick C. Teiwes and Warren Sun*

The first Tiananmen crisis of April 1976 is one of the crucial, if inadequately understood, moments in the history of the People's Republic of China. Using recently available as well as more long-standing sources, we provide an alternative analysis to a widely accepted interpretation that the crisis resulted from the radical "gang of four's" posthumous criticism of Premier Zhou Enlai, while during the crisis itself the radicals forged an alliance with Hua Guofeng and other beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution since both groups felt threatened by popular support for Deng Xiaoping, and the two groups jointly carried out a harsh suppression of the protesters in Tiananmen Square. The actual dynamics were quite different. There were very few criticisms of Zhou after his death, while the limited mourning for him had been imposed by Chairman Mao Zedong. During the crisis, nearly all Politburo members sought to manage the crisis through restraint, with beneficiary Wu De and radicals Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao particularly notable. Although compromised by pressures of the crisis, in the longer term the common interests of the beneficiaries were much greater with Deng's old revolutionaries than with the radicals. The radicals themselves were far from united, one of many indications during the 1972-76 period, that the very concept of a "gang of four" is exaggerated. Finally, despite an unprecedented situation where, due to ill health, Mao was unable to exercise close control, the Chairman still dominated the process.

**Democratic renewal by "Digital" Local Government in Japan**

*Yasuo Takao*

This article examines the Japanese government's use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) as tools of democratic renewal, with special reference to citizens' political engagement. It illustrates how Japanese local governments are able to integrate ICTs to further citizens' participation, and as such adds to the general argument that local governments are inherently more capable of accommodating

such participation than national governments. A prominent corollary of this claim is the assumption that ICT-based technological mediation is constructing new forms of participatory democracy that may complement the representative system of government.

### **Burma, China and the U.S.A**

*Wayne Bert*

China is establishing an economic and military position in Burma that strengthens it *vis-a-vis* both India and Southeast Asia and improves its access to the Indian Ocean. The transportation network China is helping establish in Burma has economic value for both countries, but may also serve strategic purposes. Such developments and Burma's dependence on China are contrary to US interests, but US policy toward Burma has focused on moral symbolism and neglected development of a policy that would encourage real change. US policy is equally ineffective in countering Chinese influence, encouraging democratization and stopping human rights abuses. India and Thailand especially are concerned about China's growing influence. India has been moving with increasing urgency to reengage with Burma and counter Chinese influence. The US should also take steps to reengage the Burmese government, gain leverage in the economy and try to coordinate a common policy toward Burma with Europe, Japan, India and ASEAN. The focus should be on realistic incremental change rather than the system transformation many in the West seem to hope for. Changes in US policy would increase US effectiveness in moving Burma toward a more democratic polity that would promulgate a foreign policy more typical of Southeast Asian countries and more compatible with US interests.

### **North Korean Reform and Opening: Dual Strategy and 'Silli (Practical) Socialism**

*Young Chul Chung*

On 1 July 2002, North Korea proclaimed the adoption of a new reform policy for 'Economic Management Improvement' (7.1 policy), North Korea is now in a transitional process shifting from 'reform within the system' to 'reform of the system.' It is clear that North Korea will be tied with the 'capitalist world economy' with a 'strategy for living together with capitalists.' North Korea named all this change as '*silli* (practical) socialism.' North Korean reform has a 'dual strategy.' One face is the coexistence of planning and market on the grounds of the partial introduction of the capitalist economic system; the other is the solidification of the traditional socialist system such as '*Juche*.' This 'dual strategy' is not an economic structure such as 'dual economy' but rather a set of political policies. On the other hand, the 'reform within the system' implies a change in the system with respect to its efficiency, but while this system seeks 'technological efficiency', the 'reform of the system' seeks 'allotment efficiency.' The '7.1 policy' shows that North Korea has taken the step into 'reform of the system' (which seeks efficiency), as opposed to 'reform of the system' (that would include change of the system). However, *Juche* and *Silli* could as easily contradict each other as complement each other. At this point, as the '7.1 policy' is the 'product of pain,' its continued management might involve a 'continuation of pain.'

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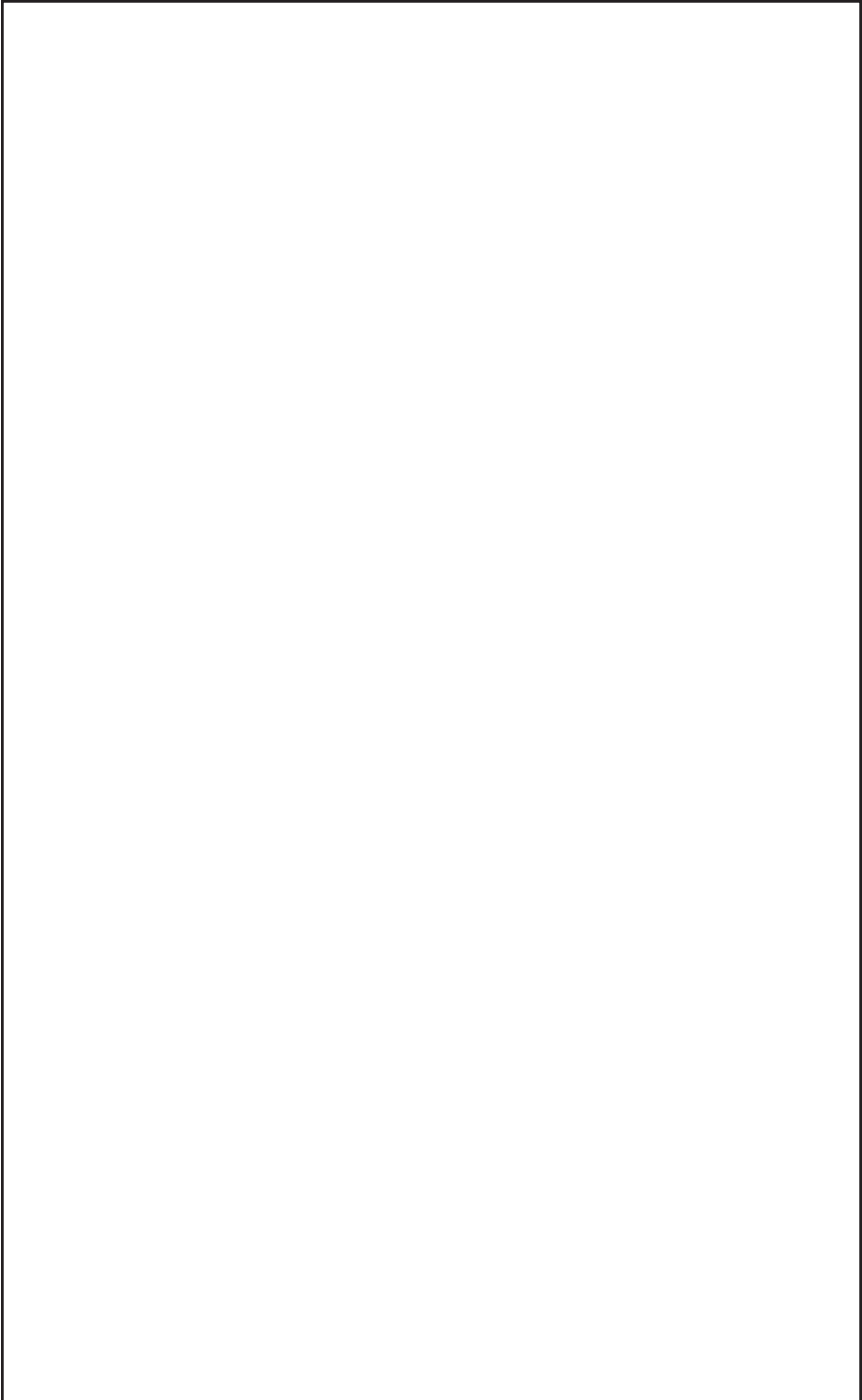
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# Pacific Affairs

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— *Special Issue* —

## THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ELECTRICITY REFORM IN ASIA

Guest Editors: *James H. Williams and Navroz K. Dubash*

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ABSTRACTS

**Asian Electricity Reform in Historical Perspective**

*James H. Williams and Navroz K. Dubash*

The laws and institutions governing electric power in Asia are in the midst of an uncertain transition. After decades of state control of electricity, in the 1990s Asian nations began transforming their power sectors to align with globally prevalent neoliberal trends. Following an initial burst of market-oriented reforms, electricity liberalization in Asia has slowed and sometimes dramatically changed course, responding to international events and to country-specific battles over the sector's future. The struggle over the institutional arrangements of electricity is of fundamental economic, political and symbolic importance in Asian societies, and also constitutes an important specific instance of Asia's response to globalization. This paper describes the broad regional context of Asian electricity, with emphasis on the international forces that have shaped the sector's evolution. It starts with an historical sketch of the electricity industry in Asia during the Cold War, followed by a discussion of the origins of electricity reform as a global phenomenon. It then describes the course of electricity reform within Asia, with particular attention to the role of international actors such as foreign investors and the World Bank, and catalytic events such as the Asian financial crisis and the California electricity crisis. The paper shows how, from origins to outcomes, the trajectory of electricity reform in Asian countries has reflected the complex interactions of international and domestic political economy.

**State Power and the Logic of Reform in China's Electricity Sector**

*Emily T. Yeh and Joanna I. Lewis*

This article analyzes China's current electricity sector reforms, arguing that they can be understood as a creative response of the party-state to a set of technical and resource constraints on the one hand, and, on the other, to its own dynamics of adapting to internal and external changes in order to maintain legitimacy. The article discusses how the historical trajectory of China's power sector development shaped current technical constraints. Geopolitical concerns about energy security, the growing importance of international financial institutions for attracting the necessary foreign investment to build new capacity, and continuing problems with state-owned enterprises are all important factors in constraining the state's ability to respond to existing technical and economic challenges. At the same time, the Communist Party's reinvention of itself in a bid to stay in power also motivates and shapes its decisions about electricity. Moreover, the imbrication of the electric power sector with elite politics and top leaders' personal power bases give the sector special importance in the larger process of reform. After discussing these issues, the article examines four challenges to successful electricity reform in China: recurring power shortages and surpluses, price distortions and market manipulations, institutional reorganization, and inter-regional equity. These challenges illustrate the larger and sometimes unintended consequences of reforms in the electricity sector.

## **Current Reforms: The Politics of Policy Change in India's Electricity Sector**

*Sunila S. Kale*

Since Independence in 1947, India's electricity sector has twice undergone broad policy change. In the 1950s, publicly owned, vertically integrated monopoly utilities were established in each state. Since the early 1990s, there has been a push to reverse earlier policies by including market strategies and private actors in the sector. This essay suggests that these moments of transformation are best understood with reference to the interests and political power of dominant groups within India, coupled with the prevailing global economic ideology. In the 1950s, the global norm for the sector advocated public ownership, which accorded well with the interests of India's industrialists and bureaucrats alike. By the 1990s, however, an emergent global consensus advocated the entry of private actors to the electricity industry. Within India, industrialists, increasingly dissatisfied with high tariffs and unreliable supply, have supported the new consensus. However, agricultural groups who profit from extensive subsidies, and elected state politicians who benefit by maintaining control of politically sensitive tariffs, have proven resistant to change. The interplay of such a wide panoply of interests has had mixed effects on the functioning of the sector. Indian states have undertaken a variety of restructuring measures, with varying results. The central government—the focus of this paper—has promoted a series of policy initiatives, culminating with the Electricity Act 2003, to increase private ownership and market strategies. The tussle over electricity reform in India is further complicated by a current rethinking of the strategies of marketization and privatization of electricity functions.

### **Electricity Reform at a Crossroads: Problems in South Korea's Power Liberalization Strategy**

*John Byrne, Leigh Glover, Hoesung Lee, Young-DooWang and Jung-Min Yu*

South Korea's economic miracle was founded on a rapidly expanding electricity sector, using a model we term 'synergistic development,' in which electricity and economic growth are regarded as mutually reinforcing imperatives of modernization. A legacy of the model has been high public sector debt, extensive use of nuclear energy, high environmental costs, and low public accountability. During its 35-year pursuit of synergistic development, South Korea was transformed socially and politically, replacing a military dictatorship with a democracy and evolving an active civil society, while becoming integrated into the global economy. When the Asian economic crisis hit South Korea in 1997, the electricity sector's financial vulnerability was exposed and structural adjustment measures were demanded by the international financial community. In response, South Korea revised its development model, embracing a neoliberal reform programme we term 'harmonized development.' The liberalization and privatization plan was of unusual scope and ambition. But by June 2004, the government had lost confidence in the ideal of harmonization and halted the sector's privatization. In this paper, the economic, political, social and environmental contradictions of the reform effort in South Korea's electricity sector are analyzed.

**Thailand's Electricity Reforms:  
Privatization of Benefits and Socialization of Costs and Risks**

*Chuenchom Sangarasri Greacen and Chris Greacen*

Over the past five decades Thailand's electricity arrangements have evolved from largely self-regulated state-owned utilities, to limited private-sector participation (under small power producer and independent power producer programmes), to officially approved plans for retail competition. A recent shift to a "National Champion" self-regulated monopoly model for generation and transmission maintains a focus on privatization but de-emphasizes competition and independent regulation, and raises substantial concerns for small consumers and the environment. This historical narrative traces the governance of the Thai electricity sector, including "electricity reform" in its various manifestations. In the context of Thailand's ongoing social and economic transformations, we examine the roles of government, utilities, NGOs, multilateral institutions, and the private sector in shaping electricity governance. Key features include politically potent electric utilities that have been able to successfully reject certain aspects of neo-liberal reform (competition, regulatory oversight) while embracing others (stock market capitalization); a significant cadre of well-placed individuals able to benefit from transfers of public assets to the private sphere; and a civil society that has had difficulty in identifying and preventing electricity sector activities that run counter to the public interest.

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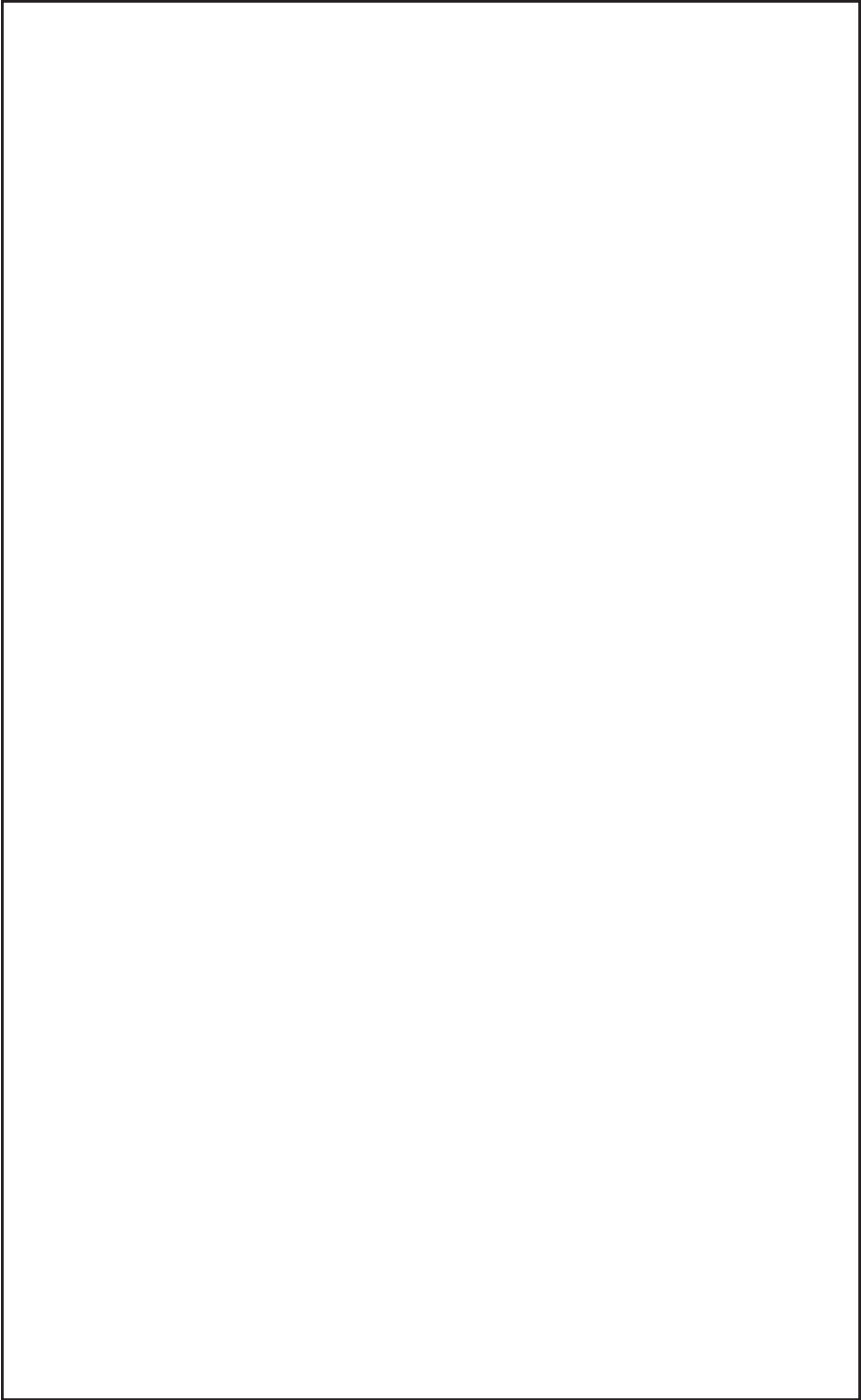
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ABSTRACTS

**The Impact of the State on Workers' Conditions –  
Comparing Taiwanese Factories in China and Vietnam**

*Anita Chan and Hong-zen Wang*

Taiwanese-managed factories in Vietnam treat workers better than in China. This paper seeks to explain this unexpected phenomenon. Four factors are seen to contribute to this difference: the two country's household registration systems, the living arrangements of workers in these factories, the behavior of the two nations' trade unions and, crucially, the role played by the two governments. This comparative study concludes that intervention by the state is critical in improving labor conditions.

**Legacies of Matriliney: the Place of Women and the "Kerala Model"**

*Robin Jeffrey*

Kerala's famed matrilineal system disintegrated in the twentieth century, and the last legal vestiges were abolished in 1976. This essay discovers that legacies of matriliney endured in 2003. Matrilineal precedents still affected cases in civil law; matrilineal attitudes had left their mark on employment structures; and sentimental attachment to matrilineal practices influenced the disposal of personal property and the organization of public trusts. The paper argues that expectations and sentiments stemming from matriliney were the key ingredient that made Kerala, and the place of its women, so notably different from the rest of India and many other places in the tropical, ex-colonial world.

**The Evolution of US-ROK Security Consultation**

*George Ehrhardt*

US-ROK consultation is often praised, but rarely explained. This article examines the history, motives and (often diverging) interpretations of US-ROK consultation. In doing so, it lays out a theoretical framework for distinguishing types of consultation and understanding why states value different types depending on their position in an alliance. It argues that consultation serves two functions in an alliance: technical consultation to coordinate behaviour, and political consultation to alleviate a dependent state's concerns about its ally's actions. During the decades that it controlled the ROK's foreign policy, the US has rarely been interested in political consultation, but the ROK's growing independence since the late 1990s has resulted in a different dynamic: whereas South Korea today seeks technical coordination to ensure that the United States and Japan match its policies towards North Korea, the United States is more interested in political coordination to discuss goals and approaches prior to planning policy.

**Domestic and International Considerations of Taiwan's 2004 Presidential Election:  
An Interdisciplinary Roundtable**

*Scott Simon, Wang Fu-chang, Joseph Wong, André Laliberté and Robert D'A. Henderson*

On March 20, 2004, Taiwanese presidential incumbent Chen Shui-bian was re-elected with a thin margin of victory. Chen's Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) ticket, with feminist Annette Lu as vice-president, garnered 50.11 percent of the vote, compared to 49.89 percent for Lien Chan and James Soong in a coalition of the former ruling Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and the People First Party (PFP). It was the first time the DPP received the support of over 50 percent of the electorate, a victory once thought impossible. This set of essays, based on a roundtable held at the Canadian Asian Studies Association annual meetings in Calgary in October 2004, is an interdisciplinary look at the implications of this historical event for Taiwanese society, politics, and relations with China.

Scott Simon examines how the historical experiences of different groups during the transition from Japanese to KMT rule led to the construction of ethnic identities that influence national identities, nationalist ideologies and voting behaviour. Wang Fu-chang further analyzes these ethnic dynamics, attributing increased support for the DPP to both the skillful campaigning of former president Lee Teng-hui and President Chen's ability to serve Hakka communities during his first term in office. Joseph Wong discusses the difficulties faced by the KMT as it becomes an opposition party. André Laliberté looks at the pressing need to revise Taiwan's constitution as part of democratic consolidation. Robert Henderson then concludes with implications of the election on cross-straits relations as the Taiwanese state asserts itself more strongly in the world but China continues to claim sovereignty over the island.

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