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ABSTRACTS

**Institutional Change in North Korean Economic Development Since 1984:
The Competition Between
Hegemonic and Non-hegemonic Rules and Norms**

Jae-Cheon Lim

This paper examines North Korean economic and policy changes since 1984 from an institutional perspective by focusing on the following four critical junctures: the Law of the Management of Joint Ventures in 1984; the policy of special economic zones in 1991; the mass starvation from 1995 to 1998; and the Economic Improvement Measures in 2002. How did broad situational change play a role in the North Korean government's policy changes and how did the policy changes contribute to institutional change in the North? Were there any policy conflicts among the North Korean elite? How did power struggles among the elite influence policy outcomes? The paper argues that a specific institutional area's arrangement is broadly divided into two categories of rules and norms: one set of *hegemonic* and several sets of *non-hegemonic* rules and norms. The hegemonic rules and norms define the main features of an institutional order. Each set of non-hegemonic rules and norms compete with the hegemonic for the dominant status in institutional settings. This competition between hegemonic and non-hegemonic rules and norms functions as the medium of institutional development. Since 1984, the contention between hegemonic socialist and non-hegemonic capitalist rules and norms has defined economic institutional change in North Korea.

Unused powers: contestation over autonomy legislation in the PRC

Yash Ghai and Sophia Woodman

The most important power granted to autonomous areas in China's system of Nationalities Regional Autonomy should allow them to modify higher-level laws and policies through autonomy legislation. This is one of the two principal methods for the exercise of autonomy, with the other being the holding of key government posts by minority members. Yet efforts by the five autonomous regions to exercise their powers to enact autonomy legislation have been repeatedly blocked. The granting of autonomy powers in the PRC has been half-hearted, and few powers commonly associated with autonomy systems are available to autonomous areas. Even so, in China as elsewhere, giving autonomy legal expression, however vague, has made the law a field for contention over its proper meaning and scope.

Based primarily on Chinese documentary sources, this article focuses on contestation over the meaning of autonomy in the terrain of law. In their explorations of the modification power and the relative status of autonomy legislation, legal scholars and minority activists articulate a vision of autonomy under a future constitutionally governed state. Such an "extensive" autonomy, defined by its historical roots to allow for different "systems," *could* potentially provide some space for real self-government. In contrast, some powerful central government institutions block development of this field of law, implicitly supporting the view that autonomy is history and economic development holds the key to the future. Even given the necessary political will, in the absence of the key components of autonomy systems, divisions within the Chinese state could create barriers to the realization of "genuine autonomy."

**Big Trouble in Little Chinatown:
Australia, Taiwan and the April 2006 Post-Election Riot in the Solomon Islands**

Joel Atkinson

Taiwan's effort to carry on diplomatic relations in the face of hostility from China has collided with Australia's reform agenda for the Pacific Islands. This issue is particularly acute in Solomon Islands, which has longstanding ties with Taiwan and a close association with Australia. In the lead-up to the April 2006 elections in Solomon Islands, a local politician accused Taiwan of funding candidates. The same politician later stated that popular anger towards Taiwan sparked the post-election riot that devastated Honiara's Chinatown. Although neither of these accusations was supported with evidence, they prompted Australia to publicly criticize Taiwan's involvement in Solomon Islands. This article argues Australia's reaction was due to existing Australia-Taiwan tension over the South Pacific, and because Australian policymakers found Taiwan a more palatable focus than acknowledging the ambitious reach of Australia's reform efforts. Australia's rhetoric drew a negative reaction from Taiwan, which believed Canberra was seeking a scapegoat to deflect from its inability to anticipate or control the riot. The incident also contributed to the Taiwan government's perception of Australia as increasingly pro-China. Despite subsequent efforts from Taiwan and Solomon Islands to improve accountability for Taiwan's aid, the differing interests of Australia and Taiwan continued to be an issue as funding from Taiwan became more important to Solomon Islands Prime Minister Sogavare during his dispute with Australia. This article examines the interaction between Australia and Taiwan over Solomon Islands, and considers its significance to wider Australia-Taiwan involvement in the South Pacific.

China's Leadership in the World ICT Industry: A Successful Story of Its "Attracting-in" and "Walking-out" Strategy for the Development of High Tech Industries?

Lutao Ning

This paper questions whether China's "attracting-in" (selective introduction of inward foreign direct investment, foreign technologies and import) and "walking-out" (export and outward investment expansion) strategies have enabled it to achieve a leadership position in the world information and communication technology (ICT) industry. In 2004, China overtook the US to become the world's largest ICT exporter. The author argues that "attracting-in" has successfully created favourable conditions for the industry to grow out of China's transitional economic and political system, but has been unable to facilitate "walking-out" to enable Chinese enterprises to substantially achieve a real leadership position. This is because there is great uncertainty in how to adjust the industrial strategy of the East Asian "catching-up" era to meet the challenges raised by the dynamism of global competition today. Rather than provoking head-to-head competition, China's rise in the world ICT industry has complemented the increasing specialization of multinational corporations.

**Beyond the Myth: Reassessing the Security Crisis
on the Korean Peninsula During the Mid-1960s**

Tae-Gyun Park

In contemporary news coverage and in the academic historiography, the Republic of Korea (ROK) is often described as the victim in most clashes between the ROK and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). However, through a detailed review of the tensions in the late 1960s, this article argues that the ROK was never entirely innocent in various security crises on the Korean Peninsula, and that a contextual analysis in historical and contemporary settings is far more useful in understanding the nature of the ROK-DPRK tensions than the clichéd denouncements of an “evil” regime.

The number of clashes between the ROK and the DPRK in 1967 shot up tenfold compared to the year before. These security dilemmas created an unfavourable situation for the US government, in that they prevented the ROK from dispatching further combat troops to Vietnam. The combination of pre-emptive incursions and aggressive acts of retaliation launched by the ROK troops against the DPRK further aggravated the situation, resulting in an ever-greater divide between the perspectives of the North and the South. On the one hand, the ROK government believed that the security problem would invite more assistance from the US; on the other, for the US officials, the ROK's attacks meant that the ROK government was actually the source of trouble.

Ultimately, the evidence examined in this article suggests that the crisis of 1968 can be understood as an inevitable extension of the clashes in 1967. The current paper argues that the role played by the ROK government in igniting the crisis was anything but passive and that the strategy taken by the ROK government during this brief period led to a significant deterioration of the US-ROK relationship throughout the 1970s and onward.

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ABSTRACTS

Does the President's Popularity Matter in Korea's Local Elections?

Byung Kwon Song

It is widely accepted that local elections in Korea are dominated by national issues, such as punishing the president's party. However, the degree to which local issues matter in Korea's local elections has thus far not been subjected to empirical scrutiny. To fill this void and explain the failures of the president's party more fully, this paper tested two sets of hypotheses. First, it estimated the relative importance of national and local issues—the president's popularity and the governor's or mayor's popularity—in local elections. Second, it tested whether the failures of the president's party in local elections relate to voters' tendency to vote negatively. Although the results do not support the negative voting hypotheses, both national and local issues are shown to impact voters' choices. Furthermore, the extent to which a mayor's or governor's popularity influences voters' choices depends on the salience of national issues. In turn, the salience of national issues is affected by the timing of the local election. Combined, these results can shed some light on how the institutional context determines the fortunes of the president's party in low-turnout elections.

**The Attitudes of Urban Chinese Towards Globalization:
A Survey Study of Media Influences**

Francis L.F. Lee, Zhou He, Chin-chuan Lee, Wan-Ying Lin and Mike Yao

Throughout the past decade, the Chinese government's general policy towards "globalization" has been one of active engagement. Opening the country to global capital is seen by Chinese national leaders as a way to further China's market reform and economic development. This official view towards "globalization" has been articulated in the national leaders' rhetoric and communicated through the national media. Given the context, this article examines urban Chinese residents' attitudes towards globalization and the effects of national media consumption on such attitudes. We argue that media effects are likely to exist because of the existence of the conditions of monopoly and canalization. Analysis of a representative survey conducted in four major cities largely supports our arguments. The findings show that Chinese citizens generally believe in the benefits to China of engaging with globalization. Positive views are more strongly held among more educated people, people with stronger nationalistic sentiments, and heavy consumers of the national media. The implications of these findings, as well as the similarities and differences between China and other Asian countries, are discussed.

Mongolia: Transmogrification of a Communist Party

Morris Rossabi

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), founded in 1924, ruled Mongolia as a one-party communist state until 1990. Following the model of the Soviet Union, it imposed a dictatorial government which engaged in a purge leading to the deaths of about 25,000 people, undermined Buddhism, and collectivized the herds. On the other hand, it fostered industrialization and urbanization, introduced modern educational and medical systems, and provided a social safety net for the

population. Yet it kept Mongolia isolated from the rest of the world. The fall of communism transformed the MPRP. To hold power, it aligned itself with international financial organizations, which required acquiescence to a shock therapy of rapid privatization, liberalization of trade, elimination of price subsidies, a balanced budget and minimalist government, resulting in increased corruption, unemployment, and greater income inequality. Poverty soared, health and education suffered, and the social safety net was frayed. Market solutions, which both the international financial organizations and the MPRP championed, did not resolve these problems. To be sure, democracy and civil liberties have made great strides, and elections until the summer of 2008 were fair and free of violence. However, parlous economic conditions do not augur well for the future. The MPRP has deviated from its social message of economic democracy and equality of economic opportunity, and the 2008-2009 world-wide financial crisis has exacerbated its problems.

**The Communist Party and Financial Institutions:
Institutional Design of China's Post Reform Rural Credit Cooperatives**

Lynette Ong

Although the rural credit cooperatives are the only formal credit providers to millions of households in rural China, empirical evidence suggests that they do not serve the interests of member households very effectively. This study examines how far the recent institutional reforms have addressed the problems of insider control and collective action in corporate governance and reduced local political influence on their operations.

It contributes to the currently scant literature on the reasons for the persistence in China of local political interference in loan allocations. This study's findings suggest the need for a re-evaluation of the conventional wisdom that the role of local states in China's development is a positive one.

**India in the Indian Ocean:
Growing Mismatch Between Ambitions and Capabilities**

Harsh V. Pant

Given the rise of major economic powers in the Asia-Pacific that rely on energy imports to sustain their economic growth, the Indian Ocean region has assumed a new importance. Various powers are once again vying for the control of the waves in this part of the world. This article examines the emerging Indian approach towards the Indian Ocean in the context of India's rise as a major regional and global actor. It argues that though India has historically viewed the Indian Ocean region as one in which it would like to establish its own predominance, its limited material capabilities have constrained its options. With the expansion, however, of India's economic and military capabilities, the country's ambitions vis-à-vis this region are soaring once again. India is also trying its best to respond to the challenge that growing Chinese capabilities in the Indian Ocean are posing to the region and beyond. Yet, preponderance in the Indian Ocean region, though much desired by the Indian strategic elites, remains an unrealistic aspiration for India given the significant stakes that other major powers have in the region.

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Pacific Affairs
is pleased to announce the seventh
William L. Holland Prize



for the best article published
in Volume 81 (2008-09)
has been awarded to:

Alan Smart
and
Josephine Smart,
(University of Calgary, Canada)



for their article published in Summer 2008 Vol. 81. No. 2

**Time-space Punctuation:
Hong Kong's Border Regime and Limits on Mobility**

Combining thorough empirical analysis with critical engagement with a range of globalization theories, Smart and Smart not only deepen our understanding of the empirical specificities of the limits of mobility along the Hong Kong border, but also contribute to the theoretical discussions on cross-border mobility and globalization through their concept of “time-space punctuation.” The article provides an excellent example of the insights that are possible via the intersection of area studies and theoretical analysis.

Alan Smart is a Professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Calgary. His publications include *Petty Capitalists and Globalization*, (co-edited with Josephine Smart, SUNY Press, 2005) and *The Shek Kip Mei Myth: Squatters, fires and colonial rule in Hong Kong, 1950-1963* (Hong Kong University Press, 2006).

Josephine Smart is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Calgary. Recent publications include *Petty Capitalists and Globalization* (co-edited with Alan Smart, SUNY Press 2005) and *Plural Globalities in Multiple Localities* (co-edited with Martha Rees, U America Press 2001). Her current research is on the social and economic impact of prion diseases.

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

The article may be viewed at our website: www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca

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ABSTRACTS

**Co-Prosperity Sphere Again? United States Foreign Policy
and Japan's "First" Regionalism in the 1950s**

Hiroyuki Hoshino

Why are there no legally constituted institutions in the Asia-Pacific? Some analysts have argued that this situation is a result of US foreign policy, which promoted bilateralism in Asia in order to ensure its dominance in the aftermath of World War II. Focusing on Japan's first regionalism during the 1950s, this article aims to show that this line of argument should be modified. A close analysis of US foreign policy in the region during this period reveals that, rather than attempting to contain Asian regionalism, influential US policy makers repeatedly pursued it. This pursuit gave impetus to Japan's attempts to revive its regional agenda, which during the war had taken form as the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" and which now seemed possible in a different form, most notably in gaining financial support from the United States, Japan's former wartime enemy. However, at this particular juncture in history, the diversity of South and Southeast Asian countries and their nation-building priorities inhibited regional economic cooperation. A "pan-Asian-feeling" did not exist. Rather, mutual suspicion of each other's motives and ambitions, and various political rivalries and antagonisms, collectively prevented cooperation between countries in the region. Such different political regimes made it difficult, if not impossible, to establish a multilateral institution. These obstacles led the US to abandon multilateralism in favour of bilateralism as its preferred strategy in the Asia-Pacific until the end of the 1980s.

South Korea's De Facto Abolition of the Death Penalty

Sangmin Bae

While Asia remains an exception to the global trend towards the abolition of capital punishment, South Korea has suspended executions for the past ten years. The purpose of this article is to explain the change in South Korea's death penalty practice, which is largely associated with democratic development and the observance of international human rights standards. Who are the leading figures in constructing and advancing abolitionist discourse and efforts in South Korean society? What are the major rationales for their advocacy? What significance does the possibility of South Korea's formal abolition have in terms of Asia's ongoing practice of the death penalty? This article seeks answers to these questions, highlighting South Korea's recent abolitionist movement.

**Transnational Linkages and Development Initiatives in
Ethnic Korean Yanbian, Northeast China: "Sweet and Sour" Capital Transfers**

Outi Luova

The success of coastal China in mobilizing resources from the overseas Chinese community has been well documented, and is deemed to have played an important role in the expansion of the Chinese economy. This article adopts a new approach by looking at the issue from the point of view of an ethnic minority border region. It

explores the mobilization of the Korean minority's transnational ties in the service of local economic development in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, located in Jilin Province at the North Korean border. These pursuits are conceptualized as "transnationalism from above," whereby the local government focused on mobilizing, institutionalizing, steering and controlling transnational activities in support of its own specific goals. How were these linkages built up and how did the government balance between the positive and negative, or the "sweet and sour" aspects of transnational ethnic capital transfers? The study points to a new mechanism for economic development that is emerging along China's borders.

The Development of Civility in Taiwan

David C. Schak

Since the 1990s Taiwan has seen rapid and profound changes in public sphere deportment, labelled below as civility. Prior to that time, despite a government campaign beginning in the 1960s to improve public morality and behaviour, there was little if any change until democratization and the growth of civil society were underway. Aside from better treatment of strangers and caring for public spaces and facilities, the changes include identity shifts from subject to citizen and from belonging to a closed, primordial community to membership in the Taiwan polity, movements which empower minority political interests and benevolent government interactions with the populace. These changes indicate a democratization in Taiwan that has taken root not only at the government level but also at the grass roots.

Reassessing Energy Security and the Trans-ASEAN Natural Gas Pipeline Network in Southeast Asia

Benjamin K. Sovacool

Regulators within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have heavily promoted investment in natural gas infrastructure to meet burgeoning demand for energy. By 2030, some analysts expect Southeast Asia to become "the Persian Gulf of Gas" and responsible for one-quarter of the world's gas production and use. Perhaps no single project is more emblematic of the region's view of energy security and policy than the Trans-ASEAN natural gas pipeline (TAGP) system, a proposed network of natural gas pipelines to connect the gas reserves in the Gulf of Thailand, Indonesia, Myanmar and the Philippines to the rest of the region. Advocates of the TAGP expect it to promote economic development, earn foreign exchange, mitigate the risks of climate change, and enhance regional energy security. Drawing from field research and research interviews, however, this article takes a critical look at the region's drive towards the TAGP and ASEAN's approach to energy security as a whole. The article argues that plans for the TAGP rest on too simple a notion of energy security: secure access to fuel. This conception of energy security ignores important additional dimensions related to availability, affordability, efficiency and environmental and social stewardship. In contrast, the paper concludes that the TAGP is insufficient, expensive, inefficient, and environmentally and socially destructive.

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ABSTRACTS

**The Limits of International Engagement in Human Rights Situations:
The Case of Sri Lanka**

Bruce Matthews

The final three years of Sri Lanka's civil war precipitated much concern about human rights violations. Late in 2006, a Presidential Commission of Inquiry (the Justice Udalgama COI) was charged with re-examining 16 problematic cases where initial investigatory procedures had failed or were inconclusive. An unusual invitation was extended to a small body of foreign observers whose task was to confirm whether the COI was meeting accepted international standards. With this initiative, the government of Sri Lanka could also show the world community that human rights issues were being taken seriously. This essay analyzes various challenges that arose from that experience. It argues that there are critical cultural and technical limitations to international external engagement in situations where human rights are in question.

Thin Rule of Law or Un-Rule of Law in Myanmar?

Nick Cheesman

The rhetorical force of the rule of law is acknowledged through official discourse in Myanmar just as it is in other countries across Asia and around the world. Given that Myanmar manifestly does not conform to substantive models of the rule of law, which are associated with democratic government and individual liberties, might it conform to a minimalist one? Is there in Myanmar a thin rule of law to which the military government can lay claim, one compatible even with grave abuses of human rights? Or is there only "un-rule of law"? Beginning with some theoretical concerns, this article passes briefly through a review of law and rule-of-law rhetoric in the country's modern history before arriving at the present day. It recounts a court case arising from a recent historic event, the September 2007 antigovernment protests, to query whether or not a thin rule of law can, in Myanmar at least, be said to coexist with authoritarian rule. It concludes that it cannot. But if the army in Myanmar has succeeded in overwhelming the courts at cost of the rule of law, ironically in doing this it may also have averted a worse scenario, one in which the denial of fundamental rights for which it is well known could be even greater than at present.

**Overtime Activists Take On Corporate Titans:
Toyota, McDonald's, and Japan's Work Hour Controversy**

Charles Weathers and Scott North

This paper describes how small union and social movement support for plaintiffs in recent court cases has helped shape public discourse regarding excess work hours in Japan. Analysis of lawsuits involving two prominent Japanese corporations, Toyota and McDonald's Japan, brings to light seven common strategies Japanese firms use to extract uncompensated "service" overtime and links them with violations of labour laws and damage to worker health. These cases reveal the alignment and relative strength of forces in Japan's work-hour controversy, highlighting the role of civil society groups such as community unions and labour rights groups in supporting plaintiffs, and in keeping issues and their broader social consequences before the

public. However, the cases also show the limits of activist pressure. Judges issued clear decisions favouring the plaintiffs, and the cases garnered considerable public sympathy. But even as the outcomes became front-page news, employers countered by attempting to re-legitimize the very overtime practices that had caused worker injury. Without the support and resources of major unions, political parties or government, campaigners for shorter work hours appear destined to struggle to transform overwork from a private problem into a public issue.

**“Relocating Politics at the Gateway:
Everyday Life in Singapore’s Global Schoolhouse”**

Jean Michel Montsion

Over the past 20 years, Singaporean state authorities have increasingly presented the city-state as a gateway between East and West. In the education sector, the Global Schoolhouse project represents a state platform for the gateway concept. It functions as a strategic business project that allows for state authorities to not only profit from the international education business but to meet national objectives, notably in terms of recruiting foreign talent to fuel local industries. As part of Singapore’s move towards biculturalism, the Global Schoolhouse platform tends, however, to limit state understanding of Chinese culture in Singapore, which is becoming gradually more China-centric and homogenous. In light of Michel de Certeau’s work, it is my contention that new light can be shed on Singapore’s Global Schoolhouse based on how people in their everyday lives appropriate and contest this state construction of a gateway. By sharing the stories of two individuals involved in Singapore’s Global Schoolhouse, it will be stressed that the significance of gateway initiatives in international matters can be better framed through the particular trajectories of people living at the gateway. In their everyday lives, people connect state initiatives to various transnational and local social processes no matter what the state objectives may be. They give particular meaning to initiatives like the Global Schoolhouse and show us how they relate to other dimensions of their lives, notably by incorporating them into transnationalized household strategies of survival.

“East Asia Responds to the Rise of China: Patterns and Variations”

Jae Ho Chung

How is East Asia responding to the rising China? Pertinent literature suggests that explicit balancing or containment has been rare and engagement, if not appeasement, appears to be East Asia’s *modus operandi*. Yet, this study argues that certain, though subtle, variations are nevertheless discernible among the regional states in their responses to China’s ascent. Focusing on 15 East Asian states for the period of 2004–2007, the article first presents a bird’s-eye view of East Asia’s responses to the rise of China. More specifically, inter-state variations are empirically demonstrated and four principal patterns—bandwagoning, hesitant hedging, active hedging and balancing—are distilled from the key responses of these 15 nations. The article then examines the sources of these inter-state variations, and argues that they are conditioned largely by three factors: alliances with the United States, regime characteristics and territorial disputes with China. The article concludes with some observations as to East Asia’s complex responses to the rise of China and their security implications for the region as a whole.

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