

ASIAN PERSPECTIVE

Bibliography

Contents

【Vol. 1, No. 1, 1977】

- South Korea and Southeast Asia: A Reassessment / *Tae Dong Chung* • 3
- The New Era of Southeast Asia and Japan / *Toru Yano* • 3
- Internal Conflicts and External Crises—The Political Situation on Mainland China
As Viewed from Taiwan / *Chung-tung Chang* • 3
- Indonesia's Relations with Other S.E. Asian Countries / *J. Soedjati Djiwandono* • 3
- Australia and Southeast Asia in the Global Balance / *J. L. S. Girling* • 3
- Southeast Asia in the Global Political System / *Richard W Mansbach* • 3
- The Present and Future of United States Policy in Southeast Asia /
Melvin Gurtov • 3

【Vol. 1, No. 2, 1977】

Special Issue on Communist States & Southeast Asia

- The Soviet Union and Southeast Asia: Prospects for a Soviet Role /
Roger E. Kanet • 3
- The People's Republic of China and Southeast Asia / *Peter Van Ness* • 3
- China and Southeast Asia / *David Bonavia* • 4
- Southeast Asia in Pyongyang's Foreign Policy / *Byung Chul Koh* • 4
- Overrun Strategy Versus Subversion Tactics: A Macro-Comparative Study on
South and North Korean Unification Strategies / *Sang-woo Rhee* • 4
- China's Nuclear Weapons: Development and Policy / *Sungjoo Han* • 4

【Vol. 2, No. 1, 1978】

- The U.S. Involvement in the 1968–69 Korean Crises / *Robert R. Simmons* • 4
- The United States' Policy Toward Korea: “Proceed and Be Bold” or “More of the
Same” / *Joseph M. Ha* • 4
- Japan and the Law of the Sea: Prospect of the New Order / *Gene Gregory* • 4
- Japanese Nuclear Deterrent? / *Joobong Kim* • 4
- The Prospect for a Revitalization of ASPAC / *Chi Young Pak* • 4
- Technical Progress and the Small Country / *Peter Wiles* • 5
- Endogeneity of Administrative Form: Korea / *Ralph Braibanti* • 5

【Vol. 2, No. 2, 1978】

- The Korean-American Security Relations in the 1970s: Some Major Issues /
Bae-ho Hahn • 5
- The Changing Security Environment of Asian Nations: Challenges and
Opportunities / *Yung Wei* • 5
- The Military Balance between Superpowers in the Far East: A Study in
Constraints / *John M. Collins* • 5
- Soviet Policy Dilemmas in East Asia / *Donald S. Zagoria* • 5
- The Chinese Armed Forces and the Soviet Union / *Kenneth Hunt* • 5
- Soviet Naval Forces in Asia and the Pacific: A View from Seoul / *Jae Kyu Park* • 5
- Review Article
- Korean Security: In the National Interests? / *John R. Sano* • 5

【Vol. 3, No. 1, 1979】

- Canadian Nuclear Export Policy Toward Developing Countries / *Ross Campbell* • 6
- West Germany's Nuclear Export Policy and Non-Proliferation / *Erwin Hackel* • 6
- Japanese Reactions to the Carter Nuclear Policy / *Ryukichi Imai* • 6
- Israel and Nuclear Weapons / *Yair Evron* • 6
- The Nuclear Policies of the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea:
A Comparative Analysis / *Joseph A. Yager* • 6

【Vol. 3, No. 2, 1979】

- A Model of Global Agenda Change and the Vietnam Case /
Richard W. Mansbach and John A. Vasquez • 6
- Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Indochina Conflict / *J. L. S. Girling* • 6
- Proxy War in Indochina: Implementation of a New Communist Strategy /
Thomas J. Bellows • 6
- India and the Superpowers: Illusion & Reality of Regional Influentials /
Bhabani Sen Gupta • 7
- Chinese Politics of Balancing Development / *Young Hwan Jo* • 7
- The Modernization Program of the PRC and Its Impacts on Korea /
Ungsuh K. Park • 7
- Japanese Rearmament: Fukuda's Legacy, Ohira's Choice / *Joseph M. Ha* • 7

Book Reviews

The Soviet Union and Postwar Japan: Escalating Challenge and Response. By
Rodger Swearingen / *Jae Kyu Park* • 7

China, the United Nations, and World Order. By Samuel S. Kim. / *Jae Kyu Park* • 7

【Vol. 4, No. 1, 1980】

Great Powers Configuration in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Korean View /
Pyong-choon Hahm • 7

Great Powers Configuration in the Asia-Pacific Region: An Indonesian View /
Ali Moertopo • 7

Foreign Direct Investment in Indonesia: Opportunities for the Republic of Korea /
R. B. Suhartono • 7

Political Leadership in Contemporary America: A Theoretical Analysis /
Wilson C. McWilliams and Dennis Bathory • 8

The Soviet Union and the Middle East: The Egyptian-Israeli Treaty and Recent
Soviet Policy / *Roger E. Kanet and Usha Venkatesan* • 8

Japanese-North Korean Relations in the 1970's: From a Linkage Politics Perspective /
Jung Hyun Shin • 8

The Professional and Political Attitudes of Japanese Newsmen / *Jung Bock Lee* • 8

【Vol. 4, No. 2, 1980】

U.S. Policy Toward Asia: A Time for New Priorities / *Garrett N. Scalera* • 8

A New Role for the New Japan / *Richard B. Foster* • 8

Pre-Communist State-Building in Modern China: The Political Thought of Chiang
Kai-shek / *Robert E. Bedeski* • 8

Critique of Mao's Thought on "Class Struggle" within the Socialist Transition:
A Research Note / *Noriyuki Tokuda* • 8

Stages of Educational Development in the PRC / *In-Sook Nahm* • 9

The Economic Relationship Between ASEAN and Korea / *Ungsuh K. Park* • 9

General Douglas MacArthur: The Commander of the Far East, 1945–1950 /
To-woong Chung • 9

Appendix

The U.S.-Japanese Alliance: The Last 20 Years, The Next 20 Years /
Nobusuke Kishi and Gerald R. Ford • 9

【Vol. 5, No. 1, 1981】

The Pacific Community Idea: Much Ado About Nothing? / *Hadi Soesastro* • 9

The Role of Korea in Pacific Community / *Sungjoo Han* • 9

The PRC's Modernization Drive: Possible Implications for the ASEAN Region /
J. Panglaykim and Mari E. Pangestu • 9

China's New Economic Policy and Its Impact on the North-East Asian Economies /
Ungsuh K. Park • 9

Security Arrangements in Southeast Asia / *Jusuf Wanandi* • 10

Korea and the Security Arrangements of Northeast Asia / *Chang-Yoon Choi* • 10

Economic Relationship Between Northeast and Southeast Asia: A View from
Indonesia / *R.B. Suhartono* • 10

Mechanism for Promoting Closer Cooperation Between Indonesia and Korea /
William Soeryadjaya • 10

Growth & Contributions of Korean GTS's / *Sae Chang Song* • 10

【Vol. 5, No. 2, 1981】

North Korea: Isolation and the Cult of Personality under Communism /
Peter Wiles • 10

North Korean Policy Toward the United States / *Jae Kyu Park* • 10

China's Military Modernization, Policy, and Strategy / *Jonathan D. Pollack* • 10

ASEAN and Its Perceptions on Western Pacific Security / *Chee-Meow Seah* • 10

The Prospects for Peace in the Middle East: Two Years After Camp David /
Michael Curtis • 11

An Approach to the Development of International Jurisdiction to Deal with
Environmental Problems / *John M. Howell* • 11

Security in a New Perspective / *Estrella D. Solidum* • 11

【Vol. 6, No. 1, 1982】

The Influence of Social and Cultural Environment on Development Cooperation:
A Korean Perspective / *Pyong-choon Hahm* • 11

Dimensions of Energy Management in the Asia-Pacific Region and Their
Implications for Korea-Indonesia Cooperation / *Hadi Soesastro* • 11

Development Prospect of the Northeast Asian Economies / *Ungsuh K. Park* • 11

Soldiers in Politics: A Comparative Overview of the Military as a Social Force in
Developing Countries / *Tae Dong Chung* • 11

The Central Balance and Security in Northeast Asia / *Kenneth N. Waltz* • 11

Twentieth Century Allied Interoperability /
Benjamin Franklin Cooling and John A. Hixson / • 12

America's Allies in Vietnam: Problems of Recruitment and Command, 1965–1968 /
Richard A. Hunt • 12

Problems of International Status and International Recognition of New Nations
Resulting from Partition / *Ray E. E. Johnston* • 12

【Vol. 6, No. 2, 1982】

The Global Soviet Threat and U.S. Security Commitments to South Korea /
Robert S. Lockwood • 12

Soviet Far East High Command: A New Developmental Factor in the USSR
Military Strategy toward East Asia / *Michael Sadykiewicz* • 12

Soviet Perceptions of South Korea / *Basil Dmytryshyn* • 12

Soviet Perceptions of North Korea / *Joseph M. Ha* • 12

Soviet Approaches to Japan: Images Behind the Policies / *John J. Stephan* • 12

Siberia and East Asia: Economic and General Relations Between Siberia and Its
Far Eastern Neighbors / *Stuart Kirby* • 13

Siberian Development and Soviet Policy in East Asia / *Theodore Shabad* • 13

【Vol. 7, No. 1, 1983】

A Pacific Regional Economic Order / *Gavin Boyd* • 13

Realism, Globalism, and Global Humanism in U.S. Policy Toward the Third World /
Melvin Gurtov • 13

Reagan's Asian Policy: The Past is Prologue / *Stephen P. Gibert* • 13

What Policies Should the United States Adopt to Counter the Soviet Military
Threat to Northeast Asia? / *Thomas W. Robinson* • 13

The Second Shanghai: Need for An Adjustment in U.S.-China Relations /
John F. Copper • 13

The Geostrategic Role of Korea in the Soviet Military Doctrine /
Michael Sadykiewicz • 13

The Reform of the International Monetary Fund / *Yoon Shik Park* • 13

Problems of Korean Political Integration / *Tae-Hwan Kwak* • 14

【Vol. 7, No. 2, 1983】

The Korean-American Alliance: Its Evolution, Transition and Future Prospects /
Bae Ho Hahn • 14

“Germ Warfare” and Public Health in the Korean Conflict / *Albert E. Cowdrey* • 14

Building on Contradictions: The U.S.-P.R.C. Relationship /
Stephen Uhalley, Jr. • 14

International Conflict and Warsaw Pact Defense Expenditures /

Richard H. Flaskamp and Daniel N. Nelson • 14

Siberia and the Soviet Far East—The Specialists and Their Work /

Rodger Swearingen • 14

The Buildup of the Soviet Pacific Fleet: An Indication of Foreign Policy in

Northeast Asia / *Joseph M. Ha and Laura Heard* • 14

Appendix

Korean-American Relations in the Dynamically Changing Western Pacific /

Richard L. Walker • 14

【Vol. 8, No. 1, 1984】

Canada, Korea, and the Pacific Community /

Robert E. Bedeski and Christopher MacLean • 15

Korean Ocean Transportation and Sea Lanes of Communication /

Dalchoong Kim • 15

Trade Potential and Issues in East Asia / *C. S. Pyun* • 15

The Law of Unintended Consequences: Hong Kong 1997 and Beyond /

Yuen-fong Woon • 15

Recognizing Complexity in Eastern Europe: A Case for a Policy of

Differentiation Among Communist States / *Daniel N. Nelson* • 15

The Security Environment of the Korean Peninsula in the 1980s /

Joseph A. Yager • 15

U.S.-China Relations and the Security of Korea / *Jonathan D. Pollack* • 15

Probe for an Alternative Strategy of Conflict Resolution in the Korean Peninsula /

Jong-Chun Baek • 15

Book Review

Andropov: Policy Dilemmas and the Struggle for Power. By Ilya Zemtsov /

Jae Kyu Park • 16

【Vol. 8, No. 2, 1984】

The Korean Economy: Past Performance and Future Prospects / *SaKong Il* • 16

The Western Pacific in the Year 2000: Political and Security Trends and Their

Implications for Korea and Indonesia / *Daoed Joesoef* • 16

The Western Pacific in the Year 2000: Economic Trends and Their Implications

for Korea and Indonesia / *Hadi Soesastro* • 16

Asian Patterns of Socialist Development: The PRC and North Korea /

Han Shik Park • 16

- Elements of Soviet Economic and Technical Aid to Laos / *George Ginsburgs* • 16
Tokyo's Relations with Taipei and Peking Since 1972/ *David S. Chou* • 16
Private Philanthropy and Foreign Affairs: The Case of John D. Rockefeller 3rd
and Japan / *John Curtis Perry* • 16
R.O.K.-U.S. Relations and the Security of Northeast Asia / *Jung Hyun Shin* • 17

【Vol. 9, No. 1, 1985】

- Is North Korea Changing Course? / *Manwoo Lee* • 17
Strategies for Modernization in the PRC and North Korea / *Kyung Ae Park* • 17
Military Strategy and Operational Arts in North Korea / *Young Choi* • 17
Reflections on the Attitude of North Korea Toward the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS
III Treaty) / *Jung-Gun Kim* • 17
Equity in Burdensharing Between the U.S. and Its Allies with an Application to
Japan / *Robert Lockwood* • 17
Asian Vulnerabilities to Soviet Influence and Manipulation: A View from
Singapore / *Chee-Meow Seah* • 17
“Irrational” Factors in Coalition Formation: Structural Analysis of the Situation
in the Middle East in 1967 / *Miron Mushkat* • 17
Book Reviews
Armed Communist Movements in Southeast Asia. Edited by Joo-Jock Lim with
Vani S. / *Werner Levi* • 18
The 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea: Proceedings of the 17th Annual
Conference, Law of the Sea Institute, July 13–16, 1983. Edited by Albert W.
Koers and Bernard H. Oxman / *William T. Burke* • 18

【Vol. 9, No. 2, 1985】

- Sino-Japanese Economic Relations Since 1978 / *Hong N. Kim* • 18
U.S.-Japan-ROK Military Cooperation / *Edward A. Olsen* • 18
The Pacific Community in Search of a Form / *Estrella D. Solidum* • 18
Changing Patterns of Conflict in South Asia / *Bhabandi Sen Gupta* • 18
Assessment of Threats to Security, Development and Stability in East Asia /
Byung-joon Ahn • 18
Hong Kong After the Chinese-British Agreement / *William H. Overholt* • 18
Siberia: Heartland and Framework / *Stuart Kirby* • 18

Book Reviews

The Structure and Process of International Law: Essays in Legal Philosophy, Doctrine and Theory. Edited by R. St. J. Macdonald and Douglas M. Johnston / *Leslie C. Green* • 19

Policy, Power and Order: The Persistence of Economics Problems in Capitalist States. By Kerry Schott / *John O. Haley* • 19

【Vol. 10, No. 1, 1986】

Editor's Note / *Jae Kyu Park*

South Korea's Unification Policies: A Reassessment / *Han-Kyo Kim* • 19

North Korea's Unification Policy: An Assessment / *B. C. Koh* • 19

Domestic Factors Influencing the Korean Unification Process / *Manwoo Lee* • 19

Domestic Sources for North Korean Unification Policy / *Dae Sook Suh* • 19

Domestic Factors and Sources Influencing the Korean Unification Process / *Se Hyun Jeong* • 19

The Role of China in the Korean Unification Process / *Chae-Jin Lee* • 19

The Soviet Policy Toward East Asia: Its Perception on the Korean Unification / *Joseph M. Ha* • 19

The Role of the United States in the Korean Reunification Process / *C. I. Eugene Kim* • 20

The Japanese Role in the Korean Unification Process / *Kwan Ha Yim* • 20

【Vol. 10, No. 2, 1986】

Foreword / *Jae Kyu Park*

Editor's Note / *Hong Chul Yum*

The Strategic Defense Initiative and Korea / *Yong-Ok Park* • 20

The Reagan Initiative and the Pacific Allies: The View from Japan and Australia / *Alex Gliksman* • 20

The Impact of Strategic Defense on the U.S.-USSR-PRC Strategic Triangle: Strategic and Military Dimensions / *Kim R. Holmes* • 20

On Economic Reforms, Trade and Foreign Investment in China / *Weijian Shan* • 20

Comments on "On Economic Reforms, Trade and Foreign Investment in China" by Weijian Shan / *Byung-joon Ahn* • 20

Some Reflections on Soviet Influence in East Asia / *Manwoo Lee* • 20

Russia in the Gorbachev Era: Still Looking East / *Stuart Kirby* • 20

A Reflection on the Demise of the Authoritarian Park Regime / *Bae-ho Hahn* • 21

An Epilogue on Burma-American Relations: A Burmese Perspective /
Kanbawza Win • 21

Book Review

China's Reform Politics: Policies and Their Implications. Edited by Sang-Woo Rhee /
Chong Wook Chung • 21

【Vol. 11, No. 1, 1987】

Editor's Note / *Hong Chui Yum*

The Ideology of the Succession in North Korea / *James Cotton* • 21

Juche as a Foreign Policy Constraint in North Korea / *Han S. Park* • 21

North Korea's Economic Development and Capabilities / *Joseph S. Chung* • 21

Soviet-North Korean Relations and Security on the Korean Peninsula /
Suk Ryul Yu • 21

Sino-Soviet Rivalry over the Korean Peninsula and Its Regional Implications:
An American Perspective / *Daryl M. Plunk* • 21

Current Domestic Trends in Japan and Their Implications for Korea-Japan Relations /
Hee-Suk Shin • 22

Economic Development and City-Systems in East Asia, 1880–1980 /
Su-Hoon Lee • 22

Stages of Communist Rule: The Withering Away of Party Dictatorship /
Helmut Wagner • 22

Book Review

Partnership with China: Sino-Foreign Joint Ventures in Historical Perspective.
By David G. Brown / *Hyunwool Koh* • 22

【Vol. 11, No. 2, 1987】

Structure and Pattern in Northeast Asian International Politics /
Peter R. Moody, Jr • 22

Elections in China: A Comparative Overview / *Robert E. Bedeski* • 22

Progress, Problems, and Prospects of Sino-Japanese Economic Relations:
Bilateral Trade and Technological Cooperation / *Tai-fa Yu* • 22

East Asia's Rise to Economic Prominence: Aspects of the Political Economy of
Development / *Young Whan Kihl* • 22

An Analysis of Military Expansion in South Korea, 1945–1980 /
Su-Hoon Lee • 23

Korean Reunification Formulae: A Synthesis / *Byung Chul Koh* • 23

Contextual Effect of Dependency: A Cross-National Study on Economic Growth and Sectoral Inequality / *Seok-Choon Lew* • 23

Toward an Alternative Theoretical Framework Analyzing the Military Intervention in Politics in Third World Countries / *Mun Gu Kang* • 23

【Vol. 12, No. 1, 1988】

Gorbachev's Bold Asian Initiatives: Vladivostok and Beyond / *Joseph M. Ha* • 23

China: The Politics of the Opening / *Melvin Gurtov* • 23

The American Military Government in South Korea, 1945–1948: Its Formation, Policies, and Legacies / *Hak Joon Kim* • 23

Urbanization and Dependency Reversal in the Republic of Korea /
John B. Hall • 23

The Governmental Role in the Making of Chaebol in the Industrial Development of South Korea / *Minho Kuk* • 23

Dynamics of Labor Control and Labor Protest in the Process of Export-Oriented Industrialization in South Korea / *Jeong Taik Lee* • 24

Anti-Americanism and U.S.-ROK Relations: An Assessment of Korean Students' Views / *Douglas G. Bond* • 24

Book Review

The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism. Edited by Frederic C. Deyo / *John B. Hall* • 24

【Vol. 12, No. 2, 1988】

The Unwritten Rules of the Game in the National Assembly of the Fifth Republic /
Chong Lim Kim • 24

The Political Economy of Outward Liberalization: Chile and South Korea in Comparative Perspective / *Hyung Kook Kim and Guillermo Geisse* • 24

Kwangju and America in Perspective / *Samsung Lee* • 24

Revolutionary Armed Struggle and the Origins of the Korean War /
Byung-Moo Hwang • 24

Contemporary Civilian-Dominated and Military-Dominated Political Systems /
Anton Bebler • 24

China's Relations with Two Superpowers in the Context of Modernization Diplomacy / *Joseph Y. S. Cheng* • 25

Hong Kong's Political and Social Culture: Some Continuing Problems of Definition and Perception, and Their Repercussions in a Transitional Polity /
Ahmed Dalvean • 25

Book Review

Stephen S. Cohen and John Zysman, *Manufacturing Matters: The Myth of the Post-Industrial Economy* / *John B. Hall* • 25

【Vol. 13, No. 1, 1989】

Paths to Participation in 'Hi-Tech' Industry: A Comparative Analysis of Computers in Brazil and Korea / *Peter B. Evans and Paulo Bastos Tigre* • 25

The Post-INF Strategy for Peace and Security: A Korean View / *Jae Kyu Park* • 25

New Trends in Global Political Development and Their Implications For East Asia / *A. Hansan Habib* • 25

Ecological Dynamics and Third World National Security / *Min Yong Lee* • 25

Sino-Korean Relations: Some Implications for Taiwan / *Robert E. Bedeski* • 26

U.S.-Korea Trade Frictions: Content Analysis of Daily Newspapers in Korea and U.S. / *Yearn Hong Choi* • 26

Modeling Stalemate: The Case of North-South Korean Reunification Negotiations / *Mario F. Bognanno and Sung Chul Yang* • 26

The Rise of the Cold War and Labor Movements in South Korea, 1945–1948 / *Young- Tae Jung* • 26

Protest Outcomes in Postwar Japan: An Empirical Analysis / *David Kowalewski* • 26

Political Change and Search for New Paradigms: Assessing the State of Political Science in South Korea / *Mann-kyu Kim, Chung-in Moon and Yoon-Dho Ra* • 26

【Vol. 13, No. 2, 1989】

The Contribution of Patrimonial Theory in Explaining the Roots of and Guiding Asian Development in the Twenty-First Century: A Theoretical Introduction / *Norman Jacobs* • 26

Ten Years of Direct Foreign Investment in China / *Richard Pomfret* • 27

Modernization and Social Security Reforms in China / *Nelson W. S. Chow* • 27

The Political Economy of Export-Led Industrialization in Korea and Taiwan: A Statist Approach / *Suk Joon Kim* • 27

The State in Compromise: The U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines / *Pedro B. Bernaldez* • 27

The Social and Political Networks of the Korean Capitalist Class / *Jae Jean Suh* • 27

Seoul's Searching for Nordpolitik: Evolution and Perspective / *Ming Lee* • 27

【Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990】

- Big Business and the State: East Asia and Latin America Compared /
Gary Gereffi • 27
- Third World Sub-Fascism and Corporate Dominance: The Case of Singapore /
Michael Haas • 27
- Tiananmen: The View from Shanghai / *John H. Maier* • 27
- The Evolution of U.S.-China Security Relations and Its Implications for the
Korean Peninsula / *Byong-Moo Hwang* • 28
- State and Technological Innovation in China: A Historical Overview 1949–89 /
Dali Yang • 28
- Military Capabilities of South and North Korea: A Comparative Study /
Tae-Hwan Kwak • 28
- Japan's Governing Triad: Models of Development of Policymaking /
William Raymond Nester • 28
- U.S.-Japan: Beyond the Cold War / *Peter Polomka* • 28
- The Politics of Collective Action by Labour in Hard Times: A Theoretical
Discussion / *Jae-Hung Ahn* • 28
- Marxism versus Leninism: What Will Remain of Either, for the Third World? /
Peter Wiles • 28

【Vol. 14, No. 2, 1990】

- Imported Asian Labor in the USSR / *Geroge Ginsburgs* • 28
- Radicals, Reformers, and the Chinese Tradition / *Peter R. Moody, Jr.* • 28
- The Unification Dialogue between the Two Koreans in the 1990s /
Hong Chul Yum • 29
- Progressive Mayors, Interparty Competition, and Revenue Pattern Change in
Japanese Cities, 1971–1983 / *Robert C. Rickards* • 29
- China's Policy Toward South Asia / *G. W. Choudhury* • 29
- Japanese Reactions on President Carter's Korean Withdrawal Policy /
Tae Hwan Ok • 29
- The Politics of Antagonism: The Case of First Conference for Normalization of
Diplomatic Relationships between Japan and South Korea: 1951–1952 /
Sung-hwa Cheong • 29
- Bureaucratic-Mobilizational Regime: The Yushin System in South Korea,
1972–1979 / *Kang Ro Lee* • 29

Research Note

Chinese and Soviet Third World Media Coverage, Pre-Reform vs. Reform Periods:
A Research Note / *Byung O Min, Yang Zhong and Daniel N. Nelson* • 29

【Vol. 15, No. 1, 1991】

The 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident: Retrospective and Prospective Considerations /
Jacob Kovalio • 29

Conditions for Korean Political Integration: A Creative Adjustment /
Tae-Hwan Kwak • 30

Goals and Roles of U.S., U.S.S.R., PRC and Japan in the Next Ten-Fifteen Years /
Henry Trofimenko • 30

Transition Toward Democracy in Comparative Perspective / *Gary Zou* • 30

Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony in Gramsci / *Hyug Baeg Im* • 30

Is Indonesia Poised for an Economic Takeoff? / *Miron Mushkat* • 30

Political Revolution in a Cultural Continuum: Preliminary Observations on the
Korean Juche Ideology with Its Intrinsic Cult of Personality /
Geir Helgesen • 30

Political Economy of Land Reforms in Korea and Bolivia: State and Class in Rural
Structure / *Hochul Lee* • 30

Research Note

Korean Newspaper Editorialists' Perceptions of the United States and Americans /
Seong Hyonh Lee • 30

Book Review

Confucianism and Economic Development: An Oriental Alternative?
By Tai Hung-Chao / *Joel C. Magnuson* • 30

【Vol. 15, No. 2, 1991】

Social Change and Social Integration in Korea: Some Theoretical Reflections /
Kim Kyong-Dong • 31

Kwangju 1980 and Beijing 1989 / *Karen Eggleston* • 31

Cultural, Psychological and Structural Impediments to Free Trade with Japan /
Don R. McCreary and Chris J. Noll, Jr. • 31

International Quasi-Crisis: Theory and a Case of Japan-South Korean Bilateral
Friction / *Chung-in Moon* • 31

An Expected Utility Model of Regional Rivalry: A Case of North and South Korea /
Woosang Kim • 31

Korea's Nordpolitik: Achievements & Prospects / *Tae Dong Chung* • 31

Book Review

The Colonial Origins of Korean Enterprise, 1910–1945. By Dennis L. McNamara /
Christopher S. Johnson • 31

【Vol. 16, No. 1, 1992】

Electoral Advantage, Malapportionment, and One Party Dominance in Japan /
John C. Hickman and Chong Lim Kim • 32

The Evolution of Subcontracting in Japan / *Therese B. Lamb* • 32

Korean Perceptions of Koreans, Japanese, and Americans / *R. A. Brown* • 32

The Origin of Northeast Asian NICs in Retrospect: The Colonial Political
Economy, Japan in Korea and Taiwan / *Jei Guk Jeon* • 32

A Half-Step Forward: An Assessment of the April 1991 Soviet-Japanese Summit /
Allan Y. Song • 32

Free Trade in the New World Order: An Essay / *Joseph M. Ha* • 32

Book Review

The Economic Future of Hong Kong. By Miron Hushkat / *Zhongren Peng* • 32

【Vol. 16, No. 2, 1992】

Korea and the Changing International Scene / *Robert A. Scalapino* • 32

The Influence of the American Constitution on South Korean Constitutional
Development Since 1948 / *Hakjoon Kim* • 33

Global Systemic Change, Spatial Mediation, and Unification Dynamics in Korea
and Germany / *Roland Bleiker* • 33

Authoritarian Leadership and Hegemonic Party Building: A Comparative
Analysis of South Korea and Mexico / *Yong-Ho Kim* • 33

The New World Order and Korean Municipal Finance /
Robert C. Rickards and Yi Seung-Cheoul • 33

The Territorial Dispute Between Moscow and Tokyo: A Historical Perspective /
Euikon Kim • 33

A History of the Development of Federalism in Southeast Asia: The Malaysian
Case, 1985–1990 / *James F. Ongkili* • 33

The Origins of the Developmental State in South Korea / *Sang-In Jun* • 33

The International Order in Transition / *Jae Kyu Park* • 33

Korea and the New World Order / *Donald P. Gregg* • 33

The Situation in Asia and the Pacific, and Russia-Korea Relations Toward the 21st
Century / *Alexander N. Panov* • 34

【Vol. 17, No. 1, 1993】

Special Issue

The Political Economy of the New Order in Northeast Asia

The New Order in Northeast Asia: A Theoretical Overview / *Richard W. Mansbach* • 34

The Security Situation in Northeast Asia Under Transition: Current Trends and Future Agenda / *Hongchan Chun* • 34

The United States, Japan and Korea: The New International Political Economy / *Charles F. Doran* • 34

Prospects for Korea-U.S.-Japan Trilateral Security Relations / *Melvin Gurtov* • 34

The End of the Cold War: Russian-American Relations and Their Implications for Northeast Asia / *Georgi A. Arbatov* • 34

Divergent Organizational Paths of Industrialism in East Asia / *Hyuk-Rae Kim* • 34

‘Sudpolitik’ in the Wake of Political Liberalization: South Korea Pushes South / *David I. Steinberg* • 34

The Confucian Family Instead of the Welfare State? Reform and Peasant Welfare in Post-Mao China / *Kyung-Sup Chang* • 35

【Vol. 17, No. 2, 1993】

Partisan Conflict and Immobilism in the Korean National Assembly: Conditions, Processes, and Outcomes / *Chan Wook Park* • 35

The Democratic Breakout in South Korea: An Informal Game-Theoretic Account / *Larry L. Wade and Sung Jin Kang* • 35

Rational Choice Theory, Schema Theory, or What?: War Cues and Foreign Policy Act in South Korea / *Aran Kim and Kun Y. Park* • 35

German Unification: What the Koreans Stand to Learn / *John Hall* • 35

Political Recruitment in Unified Korea / *Jin Min Chung* • 35

Alliance and Security Strategies of Unified Korea / *Woosang Kim* • 35

U.S.-Japan High-Tech Military Cooperation: Implications of FSX Co-Development / *Peter Dauvergne* • 35

The Geoculture of Development, or the Transformation of Our Geoculture? / *Immanuel Wallerstein* • 36

Subjectivity and Modernization in Contemporary Societies: From Bureaucratic Patronage to Democratic Culture in Latin America / *Fernando Calderon G.* • 36

Economic Development, Technology and Culture: The Case of East Asia / *Kunio Yoshihara* • 36

Culture, Technology and Sustainable Development in Africa / *Kabiru Kinyanjui* • 36

【Vol. 18, No. 1, 1994】

- Multilateral Arms Control Regimes in Asia: Prospects and Options /
Edward A. Olsen and David Winterford • 36
- The State in the Asian NICs / *James Cotton* • 36
- Between State and Market: Development Dynamics in East Asian Capitalism /
Hyung Kook Kim • 36
- Changing Global Politics and Its Impacts on the Asian International System /
Golam W. Choudhury • 36
- The Future of China's Rise / *Melvin Gurtov* • 36
- Peace and Security in Northeast Asia: Reality and Vision / *Samsung Lee* • 37

【Vol. 18, No. 2, 1994】

- The Dialectics of China's North Korea Policy in a Changing Post-Cold War
World / *Samuel S. Kim* • 37
- North Korea's Strategy Toward South Korea / *Byung Chul Koh* • 37
- Reform Measures in North Korea and Mongolia: Writhing in the Agony of Pain /
Pan Suk Kim • 37
- Government-Business Relations in East Asia: The Changing Basis of State Capacity /
Linda Weiss • 37
- Geopolitical Determinants of Political Economy: The Cold War and South
Korean Political Economy / *Wookhee Shin* • 37
- Political Economy of Democratisation in East Asia / *Kanishka Jayasuriya* • 37
- Characteristic Features of Korean Democratization / *Sang Joon Kim* • 37
- Book Review
- Political Elites, Legitimacy and Performance in Korean Politics /
Young Whan Kihl • 37

【Vol. 19, No. 1, 1995】

Special Issue on Contemporary China

- Prospects for the State-Owned Enterprise in China's Socialist Market Economy /
Elliott Parker • 38
- China: Changes and Problems in Political and Economic Development /
Ma Jisen • 38
- Is It Safe to Fly in Rising China?: The Precarious Contest Between Aviation
Industry Expansion and Safety / *Stephen Uhalley, Jr.* • 38
- Weber, Mencius, and the History of Chinese Capitalism / *Timothy Brook* • 38

- The Re-emergence of Voluntary Associations in Canton, China / *Daniel M. Amos* • 38
- Reform at the Crossroads: An Analysis of Chinese Corruption /
Yufan Hao and Michael Johnston • 38
- The Expansion of Personal Freedom in China / *Liu Binyan* • 38
- Political Corruption in South Korea: Concentrating on the Dynamics of Party
Politics / *Byeong-Seong Park* • 38
- Building a New Party System: The Case of Korea / *HeeMin Kim* • 38
- Book Reviews
- Patrimonialism Reconsidered in the Indian Context / *Kyung Hak Kim* • 39
- Whither the Dragon? / *Christopher S. Johnson* • 39

【Vol. 19, No. 2, 1995】

Special Issue on Security and Cooperation in Northeast Asia

- The Middle Road: Security and Cooperation in Northeast Asia / *David Kang* • 39
- Economic Interdependence and the Implications for Security in Northeast Asia /
Chung-In Moon • 39
- The Tumen Project CBM: An American Strategic Critique / *Edward A. Olsen* • 39
- Tumen River Area Development Program and the Prospects for Northeast Asian
Economic Cooperation / *Icksoo Kim* • 39
- The Prospects for Environmental Cooperation in Northeast Asia / *Lyuba Zarsky* • 39
- Pyongyang and Washington: Dynamics of Changing Relations / *Manwoo Lee* • 39
- The North Korean Bomb and Nuclear Proliferation in Northeast Asia /
Kongdan Oh and Ralph C. Hassig • 39
- Russia and Korean Unification / *Alexander Zhebin* • 40
- The North Korean Nuclear Crisis and the Agreed Framework: How not to Negotiate
with the North Koreans / *James A. Bayer* • 40
- Japan's Multilateral Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific and Its Implications for the
Korean Peninsula / *Yoshihide Soeya* • 40
- The Evolution of Obedience Norms in the National Assembly: A Study of the
Repeated Carrot-and-the-Stick Game / *Chong Lim Kim and Yong-Gwan Kim* • 40
- New Managerial Strategy and the Changes of the Factory Regime in Korea:
Focusing on the Big Companies of Manufacturing Sectors / *Joon-Shik Park* • 40

【Vol. 20, No. 1, 1996】

- The Participation of Japanese Military Forces in United Nations Peacekeeping
Operations / *Milton Leitenberg* • 43

Japanese Peacekeeping Operations: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow /
Young-sun Song • 44

Rural Enterprise Development and Regional Policy in China /
Dali L. Yang and Houkai Wei • 44

Democracy or Minzhu: The Challenge of Western Versus East Asian Notions of
Good Government / *Geir Helgesen and Li Xing* • 45

Electoral Volatility in New Democracies and Democratic Consolidation /
Jin Min Chung • 45

The Politics of Nonpolitical Cooperation between South and North Korea /
Chong Son Yu • 45

How Trade Liberalization Affects the Political and Economic Performance of
Developing Countries: The Application of a Two-Stage Game Model /
Seok Woo Kim • 46

Book Reviews

Can Japan be Trusted? / *Kevin M. Doak* • 47

Realities of Pacific Asia / *Gil Latz* • 47

【Vol. 20, No. 2, 1996】

Special Issue on A Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula

Korean Unification: A Pandora's Box of Northeast Asia? / *C. S. Eliot Kang* • 47

Resolving North-South Korean Conflicts: A Structural Approach /
Chih-Cheng Lo • 48

Inter-Korean Confidence-Building / *Kang Choi* • 48

Building a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula: A Three-Step Concept for the
Peace Process / *Samsung Lee* • 48

De-Bureaucratization of Politics: Hong Kong as a Case Study /
Jermain T. M. Lam • 49

The Republic of Korea: Human Rights, Residual Wrongs, New Initiatives /
David I. Steinberg • 49

Going South: Global Restructuring and Garment Production in Three East Asian
Cases / *David A. Smith* • 49

Campaign Strategy of Interest Groups in Korea: The Case of the 14th
Presidential Election / *Chung-Hee Lee* • 50

Nesting the Sino-Russian Border and the Tumen Project in the Asia-Pacific:
Heilongjiang's Regional Relations / *Gaye Christoffersen* • 51

The Transition to Democracy in Thailand / *Clark D. Neher* • 51

Research Note

The Absence of Gender Research in Japanese International Studies / *Toshika Himeoka* • 52

Commentary

U.S.-Japan Security Relations and the Politics of Northeast Asia / *Hee-Suk Shin* • 52

Book Reviews

Women and Industrialization in Asia / *Vicky Lovell* • 52

The Korean Crossroad / *C. S. Eliot Kang* • 52

【Vol. 21, No. 1, 1997】

Special Issue on Economic and Security Cooperation in East Asia

Building Multilateral Security Cooperation in the South China Sea / *Craig A. Snyder* • 53

Shifting Patterns in Japan's Economic Cooperation in East Asia: A Growing Role for Local Actors? / *David Arase* • 54

Beyond Economics: Growth Triangles in Southeast Asia / *Brian Bridges* • 54

Rediscovering Security / *Lawrence T. Woods* • 54

Japan: Confronting an Uncertain Future / *Sam Jameson* • 55

Dimensions of ROK-U.S. Security Cooperation and Building Peace on the Korean Peninsula / *Thomas L. Wilborn* • 55

Power Transition and Strategic Stability in East Asia / *Woosang Kim* • 56

The Impact of State Development in Taiwan on Cross-Straits Relations / *Timothy Ka-ying Wong* • 56

Give and Take: Electoral Politics in Transitional Hong Kong / *Pang-kwong Li and David Newman* • 57

Economic Interdependence and International Conflicts in the Asia-Pacific / *Tae-hoi Huh* • 57

【Vol. 21, No. 2, 1997】

Special Issue on APEC

Building Research Networks in the Asia-Pacific Region as a Basis for Academic Cooperation / *T. G. McGee* • 58

Development Cooperation in the 21st Century: Implications for APEC / *Charles E. Morrison* • 58

Building a Sustainable Development Educational and Research Agenda / *Jacob Park and Fu-chen Lo* • 59

- Confucianism, Economic Growth and Democracy / *Kyong-Dong Kim* • 60
- U.S.-DPRK Nuclear Accord and KEDO / *Young Whan Kihl* • 60
- Business-Government Relations in Japan: The Influence of Business on Policy-Making Through Two Routes / *Hidetaka Yoshimatsu* • 61
- Economic Hardships, Political Opportunity Structure and Challenging Actions: A Time Series Analysis of South Korean Industrial Disputes, 1979–1991 / *MiKyoung Kim Park* • 61
- A Mandarin at the Gate: The Political Economy of China's Commercial Aircraft Industry / *Wei-chin Lee* • 61
- Independence and Decolonization in Central Asia / *Gregory Gleason* • 62

【Vol. 21, No. 3, 1997】

- Biological Weapons, International Sanctions and Proliferation / *Milton Leitenberg* • 62
- The Likelihood of Major War in East Asia and the Transition on the Korean Peninsula / *Young-Bae Hwang and Jacek Kugler* • 63
- Korean Unification: Zero-Sum Past and the Precarious Future / *Victor D. Cha* • 63
- Defense Spending and Export in South Korea: A Casual Analysis / *Uk Heo* • 63
- China: Can the Awakening Giant Feed a Wealthier Population? / *Xu Xiang and Wang Kai* • 64
- Labor Reform of State Enterprises in Post-Mao China (1978–1995) / *Jung-Hee Lee* • 64
- Democratization in South Korea: Social Movements and Their Political Opportunity Structures / *Seongyi Yun* • 64
- Korean Direct Investment in Indonesia in the 1990s: Dynamics and Contradictions / *You Il Lee* • 65

【Vol. 22, No. 1, 1998】

- Handle with Care: China's Policy for Multiculturalism and Minority Nationalities / *Alvin Magid* • 65
- The Politics of China's Population Growth / *Ma Jisen* • 66
- Russia's Foreign Policy in Transition: Prospects and Challenges in the Asia Pacific Region / *Oleg V. Davydov* • 67
- Sino-Russian Confidence-Building Measures: A Preliminary Analysis / *Jing-dong Yuan* • 67
- Delayed Decentralization and Incomplete Consolidation of Democracy: The Case of Korean Local Autonomy / *Kyoung Ryung Seong* • 67

Regionalism in Korean Elections and Democratization: An Empirical Analysis /
Kisuk Cho • 68

Engaging the Past: Australian Politics and the History of Australian-Asian
Relations / *Sean Brawley* • 68

Exploiting Nepal's Hydropower Potential: Some Prospects / *Gyan Pradhan* • 69

Social Science from an East Asian Perspective: With a Focus on Sociology /
Su-Hoon Lee • 69

Commentary

The Japan Illness and Asia / *Sam Jameson* • 70

【Vol. 22, No. 2, 1998】

Special Issue on APEC

The U.S. Initiative on Joint Implementation: An Asia-Pacific Perspective /
Robert K. Dixon • 70

Shadowing APEC: Nongovernmental Organizations Build Regional Alliances /
John Price • 70

Environmental Problems and the Energy Sector in the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea / *David F. Von Hippel and Peter Hayes* • 71

Asia's Environmental Crisis: Innovation, Sustainable Development, and the
Future of APEC / *John Merson* • 71

Promoting Sustainable Development of the Asia-Pacific Region Through the
APEC Approach: Challenges and Opportunities /
Chen Wenjing and Zhao Yumin • 72

APEC, Globalization and the "Sustainable Development" Agenda /
Lyuba Zarsky • 73

Tung Chee-Hwa and His Challenges: A Look at Hong Kong's Last Colonial
Days, December 1996–June 1997 / *Yik-yi Chu* • 73

The Chinese Anti-American Nationalism in the 1990s / *Guangqiu Xu* • 73

Agreement, Guidance and Preferences: The U.S.-Japan Semiconductor Dispute
Revisited / *Hidetaka Yoshimatsu* • 74

A Tumultuous Season: Globalization and the Korean Case /
Richard W. Mansbach and Dong Won Suh • 74

【Vol. 22, No. 3, 1998】

The ASEANization of Regional Order in East Asia: A Failed Endeavor? /
Jürgen Haacke • 75

Burma's Entry into ASEAN: Background and Implications / *Robert Cribb* • 75

Malaysia's Conceptions of Security: Self-Resilience, Sovereignty and Regional Dynamics / *Ho Khai Leong* • 76

Chinese Perspectives on Multilateral Security Cooperation / *Jianwei Wang* • 76

Restructuring the Party-State Polity: China's Political Structural Reform in the 1980s / *Wong Yiu-chung* • 77

Breaking Through a Stalemate? A Study Focusing on the Kuril Islands Issue in Russo-Japanese Relations / *Duckjoon Chang* • 77

Factors Affecting Democratic Installation in Developing Countries: An Empirical Analysis / *Hans Stockton, Uk Heo and Kwang H. Ro* • 78

Social and Political Dimensions of National Security in Korea, 1948–1999 / *Hyun-Chin Lim and Byungki Kim* • 79

Commentary

The Korean Peninsula and China's National Security: Past, Present, and Future / *Zhang Xiaoming* • 79

【Vol. 23, No. 1, 1999】

Russia and Energy Security in the Asia-Pacific Region / *Nodari A. Simonia* • 80

The Realist's Puzzle: Japan's Post-Cold War Defense Policy / *Renato Cruz De Castro* • 80

International Determinants of Japanese Trust Ratings of Foreign Nations / *Gon Namkung* • 80

Constructing Cooperation: Toward Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia / *Michael J. Finnegan* • 81

Globalization and China: China's Response to the Asian Economic Crisis / *Pang Zhongying* • 81

Preventing Refugee Crisis: A Challenge to Human Security / *Shin-wha Lee* • 82

Superpower Influence on the Arab-Israeli Dispute: An Expected Utility Analysis, 1948–1978 / *Woosang Kim and George Appling* • 82

'Overdeveloped' State and the Political Economy of Development in the 1950s: A Reinterpretation / *Chung-in Moon and Sang-young Rhyu* • 83

Book Reviews

Dealing with 'Rogue' States: Cooperation versus Coercion? / *Andrew Mack* • 83

Arms Control on the Korean Peninsula: International Penetrations, Regional Dynamics, and Domestic Structure / *Edward A. Olsen* • 83

【Vol. 23, No. 2, 1999】

Special Issue on the Dynamics of Northeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula

Spatial Imaginaries of Capitalism: Dynamics of the Northeast Asian Regional Order / *Ravi Arvind Palat* • 84

Crisis of the Developmental State in South Korea / *Eun Mee Kim* • 84

Japan's Troubled Economy: The Impact on East Asia / *Ryoichi Mohri* • 84

China Under the Shadow of Asian Financial Crisis: Retreat from Economic and Political Liberalization / *Alvin Y. So* • 85

Fragile Partnership: The United States and China / *Melvin Gurtov* • 85

U.S.-Japan Relations: A Global Partnership "In Preparation" / *Hyung-Kook Kim* • 86

The Future of the Korean Peninsula: Unification and Security Options for the 21st Century / *Tae-Hwan Kwak and Seung-Ho Joo* • 86

Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis / *Chih-Chia Hsu* • 87

Confucian Leninist State: The People's Republic of China / *Sung Bin Ko* • 87

State Legitimacy, State Policy, and the Development of the 1989 Beijing Student Movement / *Dingxin Zhao* • 88

The State's Authority in the Organizing of the World of Business: Corporatist Business Interest Representation in South Korea / *Euiyoung Kim* • 88

【Vol. 23, No. 3, 1999】

Capacity Building for Sustainable Development in Asia /
John E. Hay, Atsutoshi Oshima, and Gillian D. Lewis • 89

States, Markets, and Economic Security in Post-Crisis East Asia / *Mark Beeson* • 89

Asia's Environment After the 1997 Financial Meltdown: The Need of a Regional Response / *Peter Dauvergne* • 90

Unbundling National Identity: Global Migration and the Advent of Multicultural Societies in East Asia / *Mike Douglas* • 90

The Financial Crisis of 1997–1998 and Its Impact on Security Relations in East Asia / *Kun Young Park and Wang Hwi Lee* • 91

China Faces the New Industrial Revolution: Achievement and Uncertainty in the Search for Research and Innovation Strategies /
Richard P. Suttmeier and Cong Cao • 91

Reforming Korea INC.: The Politics of Structural Adjustment Under Kim Dae Jung /
Stephan Haggard, Daniel Pinkston, and Jungkun Seo • 92

Political Consequences of Economic Globalization under the WTO System /
Sae-Jung Kim • 92

Commentary

America's Dysfunctional Grand Strategy in Asia / *Alan Tonelson* • 92

【Vol. 23, No. 4, 1999】

Special Issue on Globalization in East Asia / Guest Editor: Samuel S. Kim

East Asia and Globalization: Challenges and Responses / *Samuel S. Kim* • 93

Globalization and the Asian Financial Crisis / *Lowell Dittmer* • 93

China and Globalization / *Thomas G. Moore* • 94

Globalization and Taiwan / *Lynn T. White III* • 94

Hong Kong and Globalization / *Hongying Wang* • 94

Japan and Globalization: From Opportunity to Constraint /
William W. Grimes • 95

South Korea and Globalization: The Rise to Globalism /
Barry K. Gills and Dong-Sook S. Gills • 95

Indonesia and Globalization / *Ann Marie Murphy* • 96

Malaysia and Globalization: Contradictory Currents / *Bridget Welsh* • 96

Thailand and Globalization / *Natasha Hamilton-Hart* • 97

Globalization and Security in East Asia / *Peter Van Ness* • 97

【Vol. 24, No. 1, 2000】

Changing Taiwan's Foreign Policy: From One China to Two States /
Timothy Ka-ying Wong • 97

Battle Without Gunfire: Taiwan and the PRC's Lobbying Competition in the
United States / *Zhiqun Zhu* • 98

Dynamics of China's South Korea Policy: Assertive Nationalism, Beijing's
Changing Strategic Evaluation of the United States, and the North Korea
Factor / *Xiaoxing Yi* • 98

Contemplating Survivalist North Korea / *Alvin Magid* • 99

A Comparative Analysis of Ideology and Power / *Seong-Chang Cheong* • 99

The Politics of Reform in South Korea: The First Year of the Kim Dae Jung
Government, 1998–1999 / *Sunhyuk Kim* • 100

Exploring Complex Security Realities: NGOs, Community, and State
Development Partnerships in Laos / *Melissa G. Curley* • 100

Commentary

Deadly Unknowns about Iraq's Biological Weapons Program / *Milton Leitenberg* • 100

【Vol. 24, No. 2, 2000】

- Globalization or the Age of Transition?: A Longterm View of the Trajectory of the World-System / *Immanuel Wallerstein* • 101
- A Tale of Two Tigers and a Giant: Comparing the Responses of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan to the Asian Financial Crisis / *Scott Walker* • 101
- The Association of Southeast Asian Nations as an Entente Cordiale / *Renato Cruz De Castro* • 101
- The Economic and Commercial Roles of the Vietnam People's Army / *Carlyle A. Thayer* • 102
- Dare to Say, Dare to Do: The Strongman in Business in 1990s Cambodia / *Caroline Hughes* • 102
- The Donor Versus the Recipient Approach: A Theoretical Exploration of Aid Distribution Patterns in Taipei and Beijing / *Teh-chang Lin* • 103
- The Failure of the United Front Policy: The Involvement of Business in the Drafting of Hong Kong's Basic Law, 1985–1990 / *Yik-yi Chu* • 103
- Neorealism, Neoliberalism, Constructivism & Peace on the Korean Peninsula / *Yongho Kim* • 104

【Vol. 24, No. 3, 2000】

- The Culture of Capitalist Development in East Asia / *Kyong-Dong Kim* • 104
- Asian Values in Capitalist Development Revisited / *Jonghoe Yang and Hyun-Chin Lim* • 104
- Beyond the “Japanese Style of Management”? Transformation of the Capitalist Spirit in Japan Today / *Pil-Dong Kim* • 105
- The Emerging Capitalist Spirit of Private Enterprises in China: Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics / *Seung-Wook Baek* • 105
- New Trend of Capitalist Culture in Korea: The Spirit of Entrepreneurs and Engineers / *Yi-Jong Suh* • 106
- Framing the National Interest in U.S.-China Relations: Building Consensus Around Rapprochement / *Jean A. Garrison* • 106
- Proclaiming Identity, Claiming the Past: National Identity and Modernity in North and South Korean Education / *Dennis Hart* • 106
- Commentary
- The Korean War Biological Weapon Allegations: Additional Information and Disclosures / *Milton Leitenberg* • 107

【Vol. 24, No. 4, 2000】

Special Issue on Dysfunctional Japan: At Home and In the World /
Guest Editor: Chalmers Johnson

- Dysfunctional Japan: The Perspective of the Japan Policy Research Institute /
Chalmers Johnson • 107
- Japan's Amoeba Politics / *Sam Jameson* • 107
- The Japan Lobby / *Robert Angel* • 107
- Why the Wicked Sleep: The Prosecution of Political Corruption in Postwar Japan /
David T. Johnson • 108
- The CIA and Japanese Politics /
Chalmers Johnson, Norbert A. Schlei and Michael Schaller • 108
- The Buddha Bites Back / *Murray Sayle* • 108
- Combatting Discrimination at a Japanese University / *Cynthia Worthington* • 109
- Exercising Citizenship: Koreans Living in Japan / *Erin Aeran Chung* • 109
- Ethno-economics in Japan / *Murray Sayle* • 109
- The Income Tax and The Tokyo Bank Tax / *Andrew DeWit* • 109
- The Business of Survival: Small and Medium-Sized High-Tech Enterprises in
Japan / *Kathryn C. Ibata-Arens* • 110
- Foreclosing a Japanese Hong Kong: Okinawa, 1967–1972
- The World Bank and Japan / *Edith Terry* • 110
- Can Japan Ever Take Leadership? The View From Indonesia /
Andrew MacIntyre • 110
- Japan's "Burma Lovers" and the Military Regime / *Donald M. Seekins* • 111

【Vol 25, No. 1, 2001】

Special Issue in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of Asian Perspective

- Missile Defense Sponsors: Shifting Political Support for Strategic Defense after
Reagan / *Erik K. Pratt* • 111
- Playing To Win: Chinese Army Building in the Era of Jiang Zemin /
Andrew Scobell • 111
- Policy Dimensions of West Asian Borders after the Shanghai Accord /
Gregory Gleason • 112
- Drifting on the Drying Water Pool: China's Water Scarcity and its Political
Foreboding / *Jih-Un Kim* • 112
- Rethinking Arms Races: Asymmetry and Volatility in the Taiwan Strait Case /
Michael D. Wallace, Brain L. Job, Jean Clermont, and André Laliberté • 112

Taiwan at a Crossroads / *Sheng Lijun* • 113

The State and Civil Society in South Korea, 1987–1999: Civil Movements and Democratic Consolidation / *Ho-Ki Kim* • 113

Commentary

Twelve Newly Released Soviet-Era “Documents” and Allegations of U.S. Germ Warfare During the Korean War / *Stephen Endicott and Edward Hagerman* • 114

【Vol. 25, No. 2, 2001】

Special Issue on Prospects for New Inter-Korean Relations

Economic and Political Dynamics of South-North Reconciliation /
Martin Hart-Landsberg • 114

South-North Reconciliation and Prospects for North Korea-Russia Relations /
Vasily Mikheev • 114

South-North Reconciliation and Prospects for North Korea-China Relations /
Alvin Y. So • 115

Democracy and Reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula / *Geir Helgesen* • 115

North Korea’s New Unification Strategy / *Wan-kyu Choi* • 115

North-South Korean Reconciliation and Security on the Korean Peninsula /
Taik-young Hamm • 116

The Current Framework of Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation and Its Prospects /
Seung-Yul Oh • 116

The Kim Dae Jung Government’s Peace Policy toward North Korea /
Chung-in Moon • 116

Secrets for Survival and the Role of the Non-state Sector in the North Korean Economy / *Keun Lee and Hong-Tack Chun* • 117

Book Review

Star Wars All Over Again / *Peter Van Ness* • 117

【Vol. 25, No. 3, 2001】

Power Transitions and Alliances in the 21st Century /
Jacek Kugler, Ronald L. Tammen, and Siddharth Swaminathan • 118

Cold War Relic: The 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Politics of Memory / *John Price* • 118

Chemical and Biological Warfare During the Korean War: Rhetoric and Reality /
Conrad C. Crane • 119

Renewable Energy and Sustainable Development: Lessons Learned from APEC for the Preparation of RIO+10 / *Duangjai I. Bloyd and Cary N. Bloyd* • 119

U.S. Import Restraints and the Asia-Pacific: Politics and the Lamb Tariff /
Yoichiro Sato and Stephen Hoadley • 119

Strait Paradoxes: The Conciliation-Confrontation Cycle and Possibilities for
Resolution of the China-Taiwan Conflict /
Hieyeon Keum and Joel R. Campbell • 120

From Ethnic to Civic Nationalism: The Formation and Changing Nature of
Taiwanese Identity / *Timothy Ka-ying Wong* • 120

Meeting Basic Needs, Embracing the World and Protecting the State: Balancing
Human and Traditional Security in the New Mongolia / *Wayne Nelles* • 120

Commentary

The PRC-DPRK Rapprochement and China's Dilemma in Korea /
Tom Hart • 121

【Vol. 25, No. 4, 2001】

Special Issue on Economic Reforms and Social Change in Contemporary China /
Guest Editor: Alvin Y. So

Introduction

The Chinese Developmental Miracle: Origins, Characteristics, and Challenges /
Alvin Y. So • 121

Economic Institutional Change in Post-Mao China: Reflections on the Triggering,
Orienting, and Sustaining Mechanisms / *Yi-min Lin* • 121

The Role of Property Rights in China's Rural Reforms and Development: A
Review of Facts and Issues / *James Kai-sing Kung* • 122

Regional Integration in South China: Processes and Consequences in a Local
Economy of the Pearl River Delta / *George C. S. Lin* • 122

Recent Migration in China: Patterns, Trends, and Policies / *Kam Wing Chan* • 123

Chinese Nationalism: The Precedence of Community and Identity over Individual
Rights / *Suzanne Ogden* • 123

Saints and the States: Religious Evolution and Problems of Governance in China /
Richard Madsen • 123

The Outsider Within and the Insiders Without: A Case Study of Chinese Women's
Political Participation / *Ping-Chun Hsiung* • 124

The Politics of Partial Marketization: State and Class Relations in Post-Mao China /
Kyung-Sup Chang • 124

【Vol. 26, No. 1, 2002】

Special Issue on the Energy Crisis and Renewable Energy Development in North Korea / Guest Editor: Timothy Savage

- Introduction to the Special Issue / *Timothy Savage* • 125
- Modernizing the US-DPRK Agreed Framework: The Energy Imperative / *Peter Hayes, David Von Hippel, and Nautilus Team* • 125
- Speeding Up the Implementation of the 1994 U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework / *Jungmin Kang* • 125
- KEDO: Which Way from Here? / *Mitchell B. Reiss* • 126
- Rural Re-Electrification in the DPRK / *Chris Greacen and Nautilus Team* • 126
- Case Study of a Rural Energy Survey in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: Methods, Results, and Implications / *David Von Hippel, James H. Williams, and Nautilus Team* • 127
- Fuel and Famine: Rural Energy Crisis in the DPRK / *James H. Williams and Nautilus Team* • 127
- The Management of Economic Development Assistance in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea / *Thomas F. McCarthy* • 128
- NGO Engagement with North Korea: Dilemmas and Lessons Learned / *Timothy Savage and Nautilus Team* • 128

【Vol. 26, No. 2, 2002】

- Majoritarian and Consensus Democracy, Electoral Systems, and Democratic Consolidation in Asia / *Aurel Croissant* • 129
- The Russian Far East and Northeast Asia: An Emerging Cooperative Relationship and Its Constraints / *Duckjoon Chang* • 129
- Environmental Security in East Asia: The Regional Environmental Security Complex Approach / *Geun Lee* • 130
- The Institutional Development of Blue House in the Park Chung Hee Presidency / *Sung Deuk Hahm* • 130
- Transition to Intra-party Democracy: The Korean Presidential Candidate Selection System / *Hyun-Chool Lee* • 131
- Partnership, Participation and Partition in Urban Development Politics in Kitakyushu, Japan / *Mi-Gyeong Yeum* • 131
- When Coalition Theories Meet Strange Cases: Two Coalition Governments in Japan, 1993–1994 / *Jung Kim* • 132
- Government-Nonprofit Organization Cooperation in Japanese Welfare Administration / *Sook-Jong Lee* • 132

The Political Economy of Carbon Dioxide Emissions in Three Asian Countries /
Heejun Chang • 133

【Vol. 26, No. 3, 2002】

Sunshine through Cloudy Skies: Peace and Security in Northeast Asia /
Wendy R. Sherman • 133

Assessment of the Sunshine Policy: A Korean Perspective / *Haksoon Paik* • 133

The Sunshine Policy and Security on the Korean Peninsula: A Critical
Assessment and Prospects / *Yong-Sup Han* • 134

Inter-Korean Economic Relations in a Regional Context /
Bradley O. Babson • 134

Prospects for Opening in North Korea and Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation /
Hyunwook Koh • 134

The Future of U.S.-China Relations and the Korean Peninsula /
Avery Goldstein • 135

China and Inter-Korean Relations / *Xiaoming Zhang* • 135

Military-First Politics of Kim Jong Il / *Dae-Sook Suh* • 136

A Comparative Study of Regionalism in East Asia and the Americas /
Young Jong Choi and Nae Young Lee • 136

The Cultural Context and Crisis of the Capitalist World-Economy /
Dae-Won Koh • 137

【Vol. 26, No. 4, 2002】

Special Issue on China-ASEAN Relations / Guest Editor: Melissa G. Curley

Introduction

China-ASEAN Relations in the 21st Century: Continuity and Change /
Melissa G. Curley • 137

Seeking Influence: China's Diplomacy Toward ASEAN After the Asian Crisis /
Jürgen Haacke • 137

The Politics of China-ASEAN Economic Relations: Assessing the Move
Toward a Free Trade Area / *Daojong Zha* • 138

Building an East Asian Community: Origins, Structure, and Limits /
Nick Thomas • 138

Perception, Pragmatism, and Political Will: Maritime Disputes and Balances of
Power in the Asia-Pacific / *Liselotte Odgaard* • 139

The Paracels: The "Other" South China Sea Dispute / *Stein Tønnesson* • 139

NGOs in China: The Role of International Organizations and South-South Cooperation / *Melissa G. Curley* • 140

The Implications for Labor of China's Direct Investment in Cambodia / *Stephen Frost, Sanjiv Pandita, and Kevin Hewison* • 140

Indonesia's Relations with China and Taiwan: From Politics to Economics / *Samuel C. Y. Ku* • 141

【Vol. 27, No. 1, 2003】

Nationalism and Authoritarianism: Student-Government Conflicts During the 1991 Beijing Student Protests / *Dingxin Zhao* • 142

China's Path to Great Power Status in the Globalization Era / *Samuel S. Kim* • 142

The Malaysian Capital Control Regime of 1998: Implementation, Effectiveness, and Lessons / *Shalendra D. Sharma* • 143

The Party-State Liaison in Korea: Searching for Evidence of the Cartelized System / *Jin Young Kwak* • 143

Special Relations and Alliance Politics in Philippine-U.S. Security Relations, 1990–2002 / *Renato Cruz De Castro* • 144

The Origins of Faulted Korean Statism / *Hun Joo Park* • 144

Dualism in the Bush Administration's North Korea Policy / *C. Kenneth Quinones* • 144

In Search of a Civil Nuclear Liability Regime for North Korea / *Patricia Goedde* • 145

Explaining the Emergence of New East Asian Regionalism: Beyond Power and Interest-Based Approaches / *Hyun-Seok Yu* • 146

【Vol. 27, No. 2, 2003】

Hegemony and the Variety of Democratic Institutions: Executive-Legislative Relations and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy Change / *Chansoo Cho* • 146

Triangle Research and Understanding Northeast Asian Politics / *Seongji Woo* • 147

The Idea of an "Asian Monetary Fund": The Problems of Financial Institutions in the Asia-Pacific / *Shaun Narine* • 147

State-Sanctioned Surfing, Limited Connectivity, and Varied Access to Cyberspace in Nondemocracies / *Geoffry L. Taubman* • 148

Technological Change, U.S. Pressure, and the Transformation of the Japanese Aircraft Industry / *Seungjoo Lee* • 148

Ending Naval Clashes on the Northern Limit Line and the Quest for a West Sea Peace Regime / *John Barry Kotch and Michael Abbey* • 149

Economic Reform and Path Dependence in China: A Comparative Study of
Reform and Development in Nanjing and Suzhou / *Hwan-woo Chung* • 149

Commentary

Risk Society Comes to China: SARS, Transparency, and Public Accountability /
Paul Thiers • 150

【Vol. 27, No. 3, 2003】

Special Issue on Japan / Guest Editor: Allan Bird

Threats to Peace, Challenges to Prosperity: Themes from the 4th Shibusawa
Seminar / *Allan Bird* • 150

The New Independent Voter and the Evolving Japanese Party System /
Aiji Tanaka and Sherry Martin • 150

Managing Another North Korean Crisis: South Korean, Japanese, and U.S.
Approaches / *Hosup Kim, Masayuki Tadokoro, and Brian Bridges* • 150

Women, Institutions, and Leadership in Japan /
Chikako Usui, Suzanna Rose, and Reiko Kageyama • 151

Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurial Processes: Historical and Theoretical
Perspectives on Entrepreneurship in the Japanese Contexts /
Allan Bird and Hitoshi Mitsuhashi • 151

A New Look at the U.S.-China-Japan Triangle: Toward Building a Stable
Framework / *Toshihide Soeya, Jianwei Wang, and David A. Welch* • 152

【Vol. 27, No. 4, 2003】

Special Issue on the Bush Doctrine and Asia / Guest Editor: Peter Van Ness

The Bush Doctrine in Asia: A Brief Introduction / *Peter Van Ness* • 152

The Bush Doctrine and the North Korean Nuclear Crisis /
Chung-in Moon and Jong-Yun Bae • 152

Letting the Genie Out of the Bottle: The Bush Nuclear Doctrine in Asia /
Timothy L. Savage • 153

Talking American, Acting Taiwanese Behind Taipei's Complete Compliance of
the Bush Doctrine / *Chih-yu Shih* • 153

The Bush Doctrine: Chinese Perspective and Responses / *Jing-Dong Yuan* • 154

The Bush Doctrine, Russia, and Korea / *Alexander Zhebin* • 154

The Bush Doctrine: The Dangers of American Exceptionalism in a
Revolutionary Age / *Nicholas J. Wheeler* • 155

The Bush Doctrine and Asian Regional Order: The Perils and Pitfalls of
Preemption / *Amitav Acharya* • 155

The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Four-Plus-Two—An Idea Whose Time Has Come / *Peter Van Ness* • 156

Commentary

Diversifying Canada's Dependence: Look East / *Daryl Copeland* • 156

【Vol. 28, No. 1, 2004】

Special Issue on Globalization and SARS in Chinese Societies /

Guest Editors: *Alvin Y. So and Ngai Pun*

Introduction: Globalization and Anti-Globalization of SARS in Chinese Societies / *Alvin Y. So and Ngai Pun* • 157

The Politics of SARS: Containing the Perils of Globalization by More Globalization / *Ho-fung Hung* • 157

The “SARS Diplomacy” of Beijing and Taipei: Competition Between the Chinese and the Non-Chinese Orbits / *Simon Shen* • 157

To Be Paranoid is the Standard? Panic Responses to SARS Outbreak in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region / *Cecilia Cheng* • 158

SARS and the Limits of the Hong Kong SAR Administrative State / *Ngok Ma* • 158

The Making and Unmaking of Civic Solidarity: Comparing the Coping Responses in Civil Societies in Hong Kong and Taiwan During the SARS Crises / *Agnes S. Ku and Horng-luen Wang* • 159

Supplemental

Lionheart or Paper Tiger? A First-Term Koizumi Retrospective / *Gregory E. Anderson* • 159

Ministerial System in Hong Kong: A Strengthening of the Executive Leadership / *Jermain T. M. Lam* • 160

【Vol. 28, No. 2, 2004】

Nissan Syndrome and Structural Reform in Japan: Will It Take a Gaigin? / *Kevin J. Cooney* • 160

Identity, Difference, and the Dilemmas of Inter-Korean Relations: Insights from Northern Defectors and the German Precedent / *Roland Bleiker* • 161

North Korean Defectors: Their Life and Well-Being After Defection / *Sung Ho Ko, Kiseon Chung, and Yoo-seok Oh* • 161

Cross-Border Migration as a New Element of International Relations in Northeast Asia: A Boon to Regionalism or a New Source of Friction? / *Tsuneo Akaha* • 162

Corporate Governance Regimes, Industrial Restructuring, and Community Responses: A Comparison Between Kitakyushu and Pittsburgh / *Mi-Gyeong Yeum* • 162

The Politics of Fiscal Standardization in China: Fiscal Contract Versus Tax Assignment / *Heung-Kyu Kim* • 163

The Theoretical Relevance of Western Welfare-State Models in Third World Nations: The Case of Korean Health and Pension Programs / *Shinyoung Kim* • 163

The Peace System in Critical Situations in Post-War and Current Japan: Conflict, Reparations, and the Constitution / *Setsuko Onoda* • 164

Commentary

The Middle Class in Asia-Pacific: Second-Phase Research and Future Trajectory / *Alvin Y. So* • 164

【Vol. 28, No. 3, 2004】

Is China's Growth Real and Sustainable? / *Justin Yifu Lin* • 164

The State of China's State Apparatus / *Yanzhong Huang* • 165

Political Reform Without Substantial Change: An Assessment of the Hu-Wen Leadership in China / *Young Nam Cho* • 165

American Hegemony and China's U.S. Policy / *Baohui Zhang* • 165

China's Perceptions of International Society in the Nineteenth Century: Learning More About Power Politics? / *Shogo Suzuki* • 166

Commentary

Between Enterprise and Compromise: Opportunities and Challenges for China's Diplomacy after the Iraq War / *Yiwei Wang* • 166

Revisioning Human Security in Southeast Asia / *Mely Caballero-Anthony* / • 166

North Korea's Cyberpath / *Yoo Hyang Kim* • 167

【Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004】

Special Issue on Transforming U.S.-Korean Relations / *Guest Editor: John Feffer*

Introduction / *John Feffer* • 167

U.S.-North Korean Relations / *Charles K. Armstrong* • 167

South Korea-U.S. Relations / *Katharine H. S. Moon* • 168

Assessing the Military Balance in Korea / *Jae-Jung Suh* • 168

The South Korean Economy and U.S. Policy / *Martin Hart-Landsberg* • 169

The Politics of Nationalism in U.S.-Korean Relations /
Gi-Wook Shin and Paul Y. Chang • 169

China's New Role in the Nuclear Confrontation / *Samuel S. Kim* • 170

North Korean on Capitol Hill / *Karin Lee and Adam Miles* • 170

【Vol. 29, No. 1, 2005】

Special Issue on Controversial Issues in Japanese Politics and Society /
Guest Editor: Gil Latz

Introduction: A Synopsis of the Shibusawa International Seminars on Japanese
Studies, 1999–2004 / *Gil Latz and Masato Kimura* • 171

The Politics of Postal Savings Reform in Japan /
Jennifer Amyz, Harukata Takenaka, and A. Maria Toyoda • 171

Who Are the DPJ?: Policy Positioning and Recruitment Strategy /
Mari Miura, Kap Yun Lee, and Robert Weiner • 171

Competing Modes of Election Campaigning in Urban Japan: The 2003 Saitama
Gubernatorial Election / *Lam Peng-Er* • 172

Japan and “The Other”: Reconceiving Japanese Citizenship in the Era of Globalization /
Catherine Lu, Toshihiro Menju, Melissa Williams • 172

Ethical Challenges Facing Japanese Businesses: Historical and Contemporary
Observations / *Masato Kimura* • 173

Japanese Government Approaches to Gender Equality Since the Mid-1990s /
Mari Osawa • 173

Balancing Work and Life: Whose Work? Whose Life? Whose Balance? /
Glenda S. Roberts • 174

Soldiers, Civilians, and Scholars: Making Sense of the Relationship Between
Civil-Military Relations and Foreign Policy /
Noboru Yamaguchi and David A. Welch • 174

Civilian Control and Civil-Military Gaps in the United States, Japan, and China /
Peter D. Feaver, Takako Hikotani, and Shaun Narine • 175

【Vol. 29, No. 2, 2005】

The Experience of European Integration and Potential for Northeast Asian Integration /
Sunhyuk Kim and Philipe C. Schmitter • 175

Economic Statecraft Across the Strait: Business Influence in Taiwan's Mainland
Policy / *Seanon S. Wong* • 176

Environmental Security in East Asia: The Case of Radioactive Waste Management /
Young-Ja Bae • 176

The Role of Foreign Investment in China's Land-Use Policy / *Minzi Su* • 176

Going Global: The Chinese Elite's Views of Security Strategy in the 1990s /
Mumin Chen • 177

The Changing Role of the IMF: Evidence from Korea's Crisis / *Il-Hyun
Yoon* • 177

Patronage Politics and Hybrid Democracy: Political Change in Cambodia,
1996–2003 / *Kheang Un* • 178

Commentary

Why the Six Party Talks Should Succeed / *Peter Van Ness* • 178

【Vol. 29, No. 3, 2005】

Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation for North Korean Development: Future
Challenges and Prospects / *Dae-Kyu Yoon and Moon-Soo Yang* • 178

Facilitating Reform in North Korea: The Role of Regional Actors and NGOs /
Peter M. Beck and Nicholas Reader • 179

The Role of International Aid Organizations in the Development of North Korea:
Experience and Prospects / *Edward P. Reed* • 179

Security Dilemmas and Signaling During the North Korean Nuclear Standoff /
Yongho Kim and Yurim Yi • 180

Democratization and Polarization in Korean Society / *Sook-Jong Lee* • 180

Alternative Visions of Japanese Security: The Role of Absolute and Relative
Gains in the Making of Japanese Security Policy / *Kevin Cooney* • 181

Explaining China's Changing Discourse on Human Rights, 1978–2004 /
Dingding Chen • 181

【Vol. 29, No. 4, 2005】

Special Issue on China: Interests, Institutions, and Contentions in China /
Guest Editor: Dali Yang

Food Safety and the Development of Regulatory Institutions in China /
Waikung Tam and Dali Yang • 181

Cornering the Market: State Strategies for Controlling China's Commercial Media /
Ashley Esarey • 182

Brewing Tensions While Maintaining Stabilities: The Dual Role of the Hukou
System in Contemporary China / *Fei-Ling Wang* • 182

Elections, Governance, and Accountability in Rural China /
Fubing Su and Dali Yang • 183

Resources and Strategies: Conflicts and Its Consequences in the Chinese Real
Estate Market / *Tianfu Wang and Bobai Li* • 183

Cashing Out: Survival Crises Faced by Shareholding Cooperatives in Shanghai / *Jin Zeng* • 184

Securing a Rural Land Market: Political-Economic Determinants of Institutional Change in China's Agriculture Sector / *Gregory T. Chin* • 184

【Vol. 30, No. 1, 2006】

China's Conflict-Management Approach to the Nuclear Standoff on the Korean Peninsula / *Samuel S. Kim* • 185

Moving toward a Co-Management Approach: China's Policy toward North Korea and Taiwan / *Quansheng Zhao* • 185

Conflict Prevention Across the Taiwan Strait and the Making of China's Anti-Secession Law / *Suisheng Zhao* • 186

The Politics of HIV/AIDS in China / *Yanzhong Huang* • 186

China, Japan, and the Clash of Nationalism / *Che-po Chan and Brian Bridges* • 187

In the Name of the People: Welfare and Societal Security in Modern Japan and Beyond / *Tomoko Akami* • 187

Strategic Implications of the 2004 U.S. North Korea Human Rights Act / *Brendan M. Howe* • 187

【Vol. 30, No. 2, 2006】

Returned Students and Political Change in China / *He Li* • 188

Exploring Capitalist Development in Greater China: A Synthesis / *Christopher A. McNally and Yin-Wah Chu* • 188

“Super Paradox” or “Leninist Integration”: The Politics of Legislating Article 23 of Hong Kong's Basic Law / *Wong Yiu-chung* • 189

China-ASEAN Cooperation Against Illicit Drugs from the Golden Triangle / *Sheng Lijun* • 189

The Link Between Domestic Political Institutions and Asian Financial Crises / *Jung-In Jo* • 189

Japan's Collaborative Role in the Institutionalization of ASEAN+3: Toward and East Asian Integration Regime / *Chang-Gun Park* • 190

Commentary

Stability and Complexity in Asia-Pacific Security Affairs / *Robert Ayson* • 190

【Vol. 30, No. 3, 2006】

The Political Economy of Sanctions Against North Korea / *Ruediger Frank* • 191

Possible World Bank Assistance to North Korea: Issues and Challenges /
Daniel Morrow • 191

SEZs and Foreign Investment in China: Experience and Lessons for North
Korean Development / *Hongyi Harry Lai* • 192

Strategic: “Triangularity” in Northeast Asia: The Sino-Japanese Security
Relationship and U.S. Policy / *Camilla T. N. Soerensen* • 192

The Rise of China and Community Building in East Asia / *Zhang Xiaoming* • 192
Commentary

China’s Role in a Northeast Asian Community / *Ruan Zongze* • 193

Beyond the “Never Again” / *Milton Leitenberg* • 193

【Vol. 30, No. 4, 2006】

Special Issue on “Rising China’s Foreign Relations” /
Guest Editor: Jean-Pierre Cabestan

China is Reaching Out to the New World: Introduction to the Special Issue /
Jean-Pierre Cabestan • 193

European Union-China Relations and the United States / *Jean-Pierre Cabestan* • 193

Competence and Incompetence: The Political Economy of China’s Relations
with the Middle East / *Yitzhak Shichor* • 194

China’s Africa Policy: Business Now, Politics Later / *Michal Meidan* • 194

Rising China’s “Offensive” in Latin America and the U.S. Reaction /
Gonzalo S. Paz • 194

China’s Changing Political Economy with Southeast Asia: Starting a New Page
of Accord / *Samuel C. Y. Ku* • 195

The Revival of Chinese Nationalism: Perspectives of Chinese Intellectuals /
Lee Jung Nam • 195

Commentary

Sino-Japanese Discord and Korea / *Jae Ho Chung* • 196

Korus FTA: A Mysterious Beginning and an Uncertain Future /
Wonhyuk Lim • 196

【Vol. 31, No. 1, 2007】

Special Issue on “Reconciliation between China and Japan” /
Guest Editor: Peter Van Ness

Introduction

Reconciliation Between China and Japan: The Key Link to Security Cooperation
in East Asia / *Peter Van Ness* • 196

New Dynamics of Sino-Japanese Relations / *Wenran Jiang* • 196

The Yomiuri Project and Its Results / *Takahiko Tennichi* • 197

Reconciling Colonial Memories in Korea and Japan /
David Hundt and Roland Bleiker • 197

Chinese and Japanese Public Opinion: Searching for Moral Security /
Mindy L. Kolter, Naotaka Sugawara, and Tetsuya Yamada • 198

The East China Sea Dispute: Context, Claims, Issues, and Possible Solutions /
Mark J. Valencia • 198

Concluding Remarks

Options for Reconciling China and Japan / *Melvin Gurtov* • 199

Review

Who is Responsible? The Yomiuri Project and the Legacy of the Asia-Pacific
War in Japan / *Tessa Morris-Suzuki* • 199

Document

From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor: Who Was Responsible? /
Yomiuri Shimbun War Responsibility Reexamination Committee • 199

Managing Security in China-ASEAN Relations: Liberal Peace of Hegemonic
Stability / *Jörn Dosch* • 199

【Vol. 31, No. 2, 2007】

Aliens Among Brothers? The Status and Perception of North Korean Refugees
in South Korea / *Jih-Un Kim and Dong-Jin Jang* • 200

Controversies over North Korean Human Right in South Korean Society /
Bo-hyuk Suh • 200

Failing to Protect: Food Shortages and Prison Camps in North Korea /
Debra Liang-Fenton • 200

Ten Years of Knowledge Partnership with North Korea /
Jin Park and Seung-Ho Jung • 201

Japan's ODA at the Crossroads: Disbursement Patterns of Japan's Development
Assistance to Southeast Asia / *Dennis D. Trinidad* • 201

The China Factor in the Hong Kong Public's Changing Perceptions of "One
Country, Two Systems" / *Timothy Ka-ying and Shirley Po-san Wan* • 201

China's Climate Change Policy: Domestic and International Developments /
Gorild Heggelund • 202

【Vol. 31, No. 3, 2007】

America at the Taiwan Strait: Five Scenarios / *Lynn T. White III* • 203

A Critique of the China Threat Theory: A Systematic Analysis /
Khalid R. Al-Rodhan • 203

China, Multinational Corporations, and Globalization: Beijing and Microsoft Battle over the Opening of China's Gates / *Jean-Marc F. Blanchard* • 203

Politics, Culture, and Scholarly Responsibility in China: Toward a Culturally Sensitive Analytical Approach / *Yongjin Zhang* • 204

Japan's Changing Security Norms and Perceptions Since the 1990s / *Sook-Jong Lee* • 204

Navigating a Turbulent Ocean: Indonesia's Worldview and Foreign Policy / *Paige Johnson Tan* • 205

Commentary

Japanese Assessments of China's Military Development / *Yasuhiro Matsuda* • 205

【Vol. 31, No. 4, 2007】

Special Issue on "The BRICs Countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) in the Global System" / *Guest Editor: Leslie Elliott Armijo*

The BRICs Countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as Analytical Category: Mirage or Insight? / *Leslie Elliott Armijo* • 205

Brazil: To Be or Not to Be a BRIC? / *Paulo Sotero and Leslie Elliott Armijo* • 206

Russia: Great Power Image Versus Economic Reality / *Kathleen J. Hancock* • 206

India and China: From Trade to Peace? / *Christopher J. Rusko and Karthika Sasikumar* • 207

China: Globalization and the Emergence of a New Status Quo Power? / *Wei Liang* • 207

Building Blocks or a BRIC Wall? Fitting U.S. Foreign Policy to the Shifting Distribution of Power / *Mark R. Brawley* • 207

Japan's Proactive Foreign Policy and the Rise of the BRICs / *Henry Laurence* • 208

Korean Foreign Policy and the Rise of the BRICs Countries / *Wang Hwi Lee, Sang Yoon Ma, and Kun Young Park* • 208

【Vol. 32, No. 1, 2008】

State, Self-Organization, and Identity in the Building of Sino-U.S. Cooperation in Science and Technology / *Richard P. Suttmeier* • 209

Explaining India's Nuclearization: Engaging Realism and Social Constructivism / *Runa Das* • 209

Gendering Legitimacy Through the Reproduction of Memories and Violent Discourses in Cambodia / *Mona Lilja* • 210

South Korean National Pride: Determinants, Changes, and Suggestions / *Kiseon Chung and Hyun Choe* • 210

Competing for Markets and Influence: Asian National Oil Companies in Eurasia /
Charles E. Ziegler • 211

Korea's FDI-Led Economic Liberalism: A Critical View /
Wan-Soon Kim and You-il Lee • 211

Theorizing East Asian International Relations in Korea / *Jong Kun Choi* • 212

【Vol. 32, No. 2, 2008】

Hand in Hand for Korea: A Peace Process and Denuclearization / *Leon V. Sigal* • 212

The United States and Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia /
Gregg Andrew Brazinsky • 213

No Justice, No Peace? National Reconciliation and Local Conflict Resolution in
Cambodia / *Mneesha Gellman* • 213

Learning to Cooperate Not to Cooperate: Bargaining for the 1965 Korea-Japan
Normalization / *Tae-Ryong Yoon* • 213

The Future of U.S.-ROK Relations: The U.S. Approach / *Scott Snyder* • 214

Films and Cultural Hegemony: American Hegemony “Outside” and “Inside” the
“007” Movie Series / *Byungju Shin and Gon Namkung* • 215

The Impact of Taiwan's 2008 Elections on Cross-Strait Relations: A Game-
Theoretical Analysis / *Vincent Wei-cheng Wang* • 215

Commentary

Korea's New Administration and Challenges for China's Relations with the
Korean Peninsula / *Ren Xiao* • 216

【Vol. 32, No. 3, 2008】

International Reconciliation in the Postwar Era, 1945–2005: A Comparative
Study of Japan-ROK and Franco-German Relations / *Yangmo Ku* • 216

The Politics of Historiography in China: Contextualizing the Koguryo Controversy /
Jungmin Seo • 216

South Korea and Japan's Frictions Over History: A Linguistic Constructivist
Reading / *Kiwoong Yang* • 217

Suryong's Direct Rule and the Political Regime in North Korea under Kim Jong Il /
Kap-sik Kim • 217

Labor and Politics in East Asia: The Case of Failure of the Encompassing
Labor Organization in North Korea /
Yeonho Lee, Sukkyu Chung, and Haehyun Jang • 218

A Path to Democracy: In Search of China's Democratization Model /
Kai He and Huiyun Feng • 218

Commentaries

Does China's Rise Threaten the United States? / *Jinghao Zhou* • 219

Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Moscow's Lonely Road
From Bishkek to Dushanbe / *Mark N. Katz* • 219

【Vol. 32, No. 4, 2008】

Special Issue on North Korea and Regional Security /
Guest Editor: Mark J. Valencia

Introduction to the Special Issue, North Korea and Regional Security /
Mark J. Valencia • 219

America's Failed North Korea Nuclear Policy: A New Approach /
Gregory J. Moore • 219

The Six Party Talks: A Chinese Perspective / *Chu Shulong and Lin Xinzhu* • 220

The Six Party Talks: A Russian Perspective / *Georgy Toloraya* • 220

Diplomacy of Defiance and Facilitation: The Six Party Talks and the Roh Moo
Hyun Government / *Chung-in Moon* • 220

Designing a Mechanism for Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia /
Peter Van Ness • 221

Searching for a Northeast Asian Peace and Security Mechanism /
Kim Sung-han • 221

A Maritime Security Regime for Northeast Asia / *Mark J. Valencia* • 222

Editorial

China and the United States: Responsible Stakeholder or Emerging Threat? /
Melvin Gurtov • 222

【Vol. 33, No. 1, 2009】

When Being "Native" Is not Enough: Citizens as Foreigners in Malaysia /
Kamal Sadiq • 222

Using Norms Strategically: Transnational Advocacy Networks' Operation for
North Korean Human Rights / *Sun-Young Kwak and Yong Wook Lee* • 223

Democratization and the Transformation Process in East Asian Developmental
States: Financial Reform in Korea and Taiwan / *Haeran Lim* • 223

What Is It that Best Explains the East Asian Peace Since 1979? A Call for a
Research Agenda / *Stein Tønnesson* • 224

Japan's ASEAN Policy: Reactive or Proactive in the Face of a Rising China in
East Asia? / *Sueo Sudo* • 224

Russia, China and a Multipolar World Order: The Danger in the Undefined /
Susan Turner • 225

【Vol. 33, No. 2, 2009】

- Developmental States in East Asia: A Comparison of the Japanese and Chinese Experiences / *Mark Beeson* • 225
- The Structure and Political Dynamics of Regulating “Yellow Sand” in Northeast Asia / *Whasun Jho and Hyunju Lee* • 226
- National Mobilization and Global Engagement: Understanding Japan’s Response to Global Climate Change Initiatives / *Carin Holroyd* • 226
- APEC at a Crossroads: Challenges and Opportunities / *Sung-Hoon Park and Jeong Yeon Lee* • 227
- Russian Policy in Central Asia: Supporting, Balancing, Coercing, or Imposing? / *Maria Raquel Freire* • 227
- Social Capital and Work Integration of Migrants: The Case of North Korean Defectors in South Korea / *Eric Bidet* • 227
- Analyzing the Gender Division of Labor: The Cases of the United States and South Korea / *Hee-Kang Kim* • 228

【Vol. 33, No. 3, 2009】

- China and Global Governance / *Hongying Wang and James N. Rosenau* • 229
- China and Globalization: Confronting Myriad Challenges and Opportunities / *Samuel S. Kim* • 229
- The Obama Administration and China: Positive but Fragile Equilibrium / *Robert Sutter* • 229
- Japan and the East Asian Maritime Security Order: Prospects for Trilateral and Multilateral Cooperation / *Gaye Christoffersen* • 230
- Asia’s Institutional Creation and Evolution / *Yasumasa Komori* • 230
- Preparing for a Peace Process in the Korean Peninsula / *Kun Young Park* • 231

【Vol. 33, No. 4, 2009】

- Special Issue on Arms Race in Northeast Asia / Guest Editor: John Feffer**
- Introduction: An Arms Race in Northeast Asia? / *John Feffer* • 231
- An Emerging Trend in East Asia: Military Budget Increases and Their Impact / *Zhu Feng* • 231
- China’s Military Spending: Soft Rise or Hard Threat? / *Sean Chen and John Feffer* • 232
- Military Spending and the Arms Race on the Korean Peninsula / *Chung-in Moon and Sangkeun Lee* • 232
- Allied to Race? The U.S.-Korea Alliance and Arms Race / *Jae-Jung Suh* • 233

Japan's Military Spending at a Crossroads / *Akira Kawasaki* • 233

Bucks for the Bang: North Korea's Nuclear Program and Northeast Asian Military Spending / *Wade L. Huntley* • 234

【Vol. 34, No. 1, 2010】

Special Issue on North Korea's Nuclear Politics /

Guest Editor: Donald C. Hellmann

Introduction to the Special Issue: Nuclear Politics, North Korea, and the Political Economy of Northeast Asia at the Dawn of the Asian Century / *Donald C. Hellmann* • 234

North Korean Strategies in the Asymmetric Nuclear Conflict with the United States / *Kyung-Ae Park* • 234

North Korea's Nuclear Strategy and the Interface Between International and Domestic Politics / *Samuel S. Kim* • 235

North Korea's Brinkmanship and the Task to Solve the "Nuclear Dilemma" / *Yong Chool Ha and Chaesung Chun* • 235

Inter-Korean Relations in Nuclear Politics / *Myoung-Kyu Park and Philo Kim* • 236

The Korea Nuclear Crisis and the Changing Sino-DPRK Relationship / *Jian Cai* • 236

Institutions of Interest Representation and the Welfare State in Post-Democratization Korea / *Yeong-Soon Kim* • 237

【Vol. 34, No. 2, 2010】

China's Reaction to the Color Revolutions: Adaptive Authoritarianism in Full Swing / *Titus C. Chen* • 237

Party Institutionalization in Hong Kong / *Jermain T. M. Lam* • 238

The East Asian Economic Integration Regime and Taiwan / *Chen-yuan Tung* • 238

The Clash of Soft Powers between China and Japan: Synergy and Dilemmas at the Six-Party Talks / *Geun Lee* • 239

Humanitarian Programming in the DPRK, 1996 to 2009: The U.S. Administration and Congress / *Karin J. Lee* • 239

The Evolution of Sino-North Korean Relations in the 1960s / *Cheng Xiaohu* • 240

Commentary

Three Failures of the Past, Three Structures of Peace / *J. J. Suh* • 240

【Vol. 34, No. 3, 2010】

- China's Climate-Change Policy from Kyoto to Copenhagen: Domestic Needs and International Aspirations / *Lichao He* • 240
- The South China Sea Conflict and Sino-ASEAN Relations: A Study in Conflict Prevention and Peace Building / *Mikael Weissmann* • 241
- The Mekong Region, Regional Integration, and Political Rivalry among ASEAN, China and Japan / *Hidetaka Yoshimatsu* • 241
- Politics of Regionalism in East Asia: The Case of the East Asia Summit / *Jae Cheol Kim* • 242
- Governance and Policy Performance in Korea / *Yeonho Lee and Yoojin Lim* • 242
- Collaborative Governance in South Korea: Citizen Participation in Policy Making and Welfare Service Provision / *Sunhyuk Kim* • 243
- Document
- Memoirs of a Korean Ambassador: From Engagement to Entanglement Under Clinton and Bush / *Sung Chul Yang* • 243
- Commentary
- The Time Has Come for a Treaty to Ban Weapons in Space / *Peter Van Ness* • 243

【Vol. 34, No. 4, 2010】

Special Issue on Seeking Political Reconciliation: Case Studies in Asia /
Guest Editor: Mumin Chen

- Seeking Political Reconciliation: Case Studies in Asia—Introduction / *Mumin Chen* • 243
- The Three Phases of Japan-China Joint-History Research: What Was the Challenge? / *Kawashima Shin* • 244
- Competing Narratives, Identity Politics, and Cross-Strait Reconciliation / *Yinan He* • 244
- Taiwanese Identity and the Memories of 2-28: A Case for Political Reconciliation / *Cheng-feng Shih and Mumin Chen* • 245
- Sunshine over a Barren Soil: The Domestic Politics of Engagement Identity Formation in South Korea / *Jong Kun Choi* • 245
- Building China-India Reconciliation / *Shen Dingli* • 246
- The India-Pakistan Dyad: A Challenge to the Rest or to Themselves? / *Raviprasad Narayanan* • 246
- Special Contribution
- Northeast Asia in the Multipolar World-System / *Immanuel Wallerstein* • 247

【Vol. 35, No. 1, 2011】

The US and East Asian Regional Security Architecture: Building a Regional Security Nexus on Hub-and-Spoke / *Kei Koga* • 247

US Approaches to the Trade-Security Nexus in East Asia: From Securitization to Resecuritization / *Min Gyo Koo* • 247

North Korean Migrants: A Human Security Perspective / *Woo-young Lee and Yuri Kim* • 248

The “State of the State” in Reform-Era China / *Qinghua Wang* • 248

The Role of Political Leadership in the Formation of Korea-Japan Relations in Post-Cold War Era / *Hosup Kim* • 249

New Media and Political Socialization of Teenagers: The Case of the 2008 Candlelight Protests in Korea / *Seongyi Yun and Woo Young Chang* • 249

【Vol. 35, No. 2, 2011】

East Asian Peacemaking: Exploring the Patterns of Conflict Management and Conflict Settlement in East Asia / *Isak Svensson* • 250

Mao Zedong’s Erroneous Decision During the Korean War: China’s Rejection of the UN Cease-Fire Resolution in Early 1951 / *Shen Zhihua and Yafeng Xia* • 250

The Change of Public Opinion on US-China Relations / *Qingshan Tan* • 251

US Policy Toward Rogue States: Comparing the Bush Administration’s Policy Toward Iraq and North Korea / *Jaechun Kim and David Hundt* • 251

Trade Regionalism in a Realist East Asia: Rival Visions and Competitive Bilateralism / *Gregory P. Corning* • 252

“Blatant Discrimination Disappears, But...”: The Politics of Everyday Exclusive Contemporary Japan / *Bumsoo Kim* • 252

【Vol. 35, No. 3, 2011】

Sixty Years After the San Francisco Treaty: Its Legacy on Territorial and Security Issues in East Asia / *Youngshik D. Bong* • 253

The San Francisco System: Contemporary Meaning and Challenges / *Leszek Buszynski* • 253

Development of Japan’s Historical Memory: The San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Murayama Statement in Future Perspective / *Kazuhiko Togo* • 254

Dokdo: The San Francisco Peace Treaty, International Law on Territorial Disputes, and Historical Criticism / *Seokwoo Lee* • 254

Explaining the Central Asian Energy Game: Complex Interdependence and How Small States Influence Their Big Neighbors / *Jean A. Garrison and Ahad Adburahmonov* • 255

Theorizing ASEAN Integration / *Min-hyung Kim* • 255

“Chindia” or Rivalry? Rising China, Rising India, and Contending Perspectives on India-China Relations / *Vincent Wei-cheng Wang* • 256

Toward a Multistakeholder Model of Foreign Policy Making in Korea? Big Business and Korea-US Relations / *Chi-Wook Kim* • 256

【Vol. 35, No. 4, 2011】

Special Issue

Avoiding an Arms Race in Space / Guest Editor: Peter Van Ness

Building Security in Space: A Brief Introduction / *Peter Van Ness* • 257

Security in Space: What Is at Stake and How Do We Move Forward? / *Laura Grego* • 257

A Collaborative China-US Approach to Space Security / *Dingli Shen* • 257

The Space Debris Problem / *Shenyan Chen* • 258

What Drives the Development of US Missile Defense and Space-Based Weapons? The Role of US Domestic Interest Groups / *Rex Wingerter* • 258

Global Missile Defense Cooperation and China / *Wu Riqiang* • 258

Chinese and US Kinetic Energy Space Weapons and Arms Control / *Mark A. Gubrud* • 259

An International Relations Perspective on the Science, Politics, and Potential of an Extraterrestrial Sino-US Arms Race / *Gregory J. Moore* • 259

【Vol. 36, No. 1, 2012】

China’s Macroeconomic Response to the Global Recession: Ideational Sources and Substantive Contents / *Albert S. Yee* • 260

Is the Poor Quality of Chinese Civic Awareness Preventing Democracy in China? A Case of Zeguo Township / *Zhenhua Su, Junjie Le, Yongjing Zhang, and Jun Ma* • 260

Private-Sector Networks, Democracy, and Interstate Relations: A Case Study of South Korea and Taiwan / *Uk Heo and Hayam Kim* • 261

Between Aid and Restriction: The Soviet Union’s Changing Policies on China’s Nuclear Weapons Program, 1954–1960 / *Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia* • 261

From the Secret “Korean Minute” to the Open “Korea Clause”: The United States and Japan and the Security of the Republic of Korea /
Dong-jun Lee • 262

Organizing International Security in Northeast Asia: Hegemony, Concert of Powers, and Collective Security / *Byeong Cheol Mun* • 262

【Vol. 36, No. 2, 2012】

Special Issue on South Korea-China Relations: Growing Interdependence, Rising Uncertainties / Guest Editor: Jae Ho Chung

Introduction: South Korea-China Relations/ *Jae Ho Chung* • 263

Embracing the Complexities in China-ROK Relations: A View from China /
Chen Zhimin • 263

Korean Views of Korea-China Relations: Evolving Perceptions and Upcoming Challenges / *Jae Ho Chung* • 263

Economic and Trade Relations as an Arena of Korea-China Contention /
Si Joong Kim • 264

History as an Arena of Sino-Korean Conflict and the Role of the United States /
Gilbert Rozman • 264

Jeodo as Metaphor? The Growing Importance of Sovereignty Disputes in South Korea-China Relations and the Role of the United States / *Scott W. Harold* • 265

The Korea-US Alliance from a Chinese Perspective / *Keyu Gong* • 265

The Korea-US Alliance as a Source of Creeping Tension: A Korean Perspective /
Hyon Joo Yoo • 265

【Vol. 36, No. 3, 2012】

Generation Effects? An Empirical Analysis of the Korean National Assembly and Presidential Elections / *Jimin Cho and Kihong Eom* • 266

The Chinese Government’s Responses to Use of the Internet / *Eunju Chi* • 266

China’s Korea Experts: A Network Analysis / *Sangkuk Lee* • 267

Ethnic Networking in the Transnational Engagement of Chinese American Scientists /
Xiao-e Sun and Yanjie Bian • 267

The Im/Possibility of Building Indigenous Theories in a Hegemonic Discipline: The Case of Japanese International Relations / *Ching-Chang Chen* • 267

Beijing’s Perspective on Expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: India, South Asia, and the Spectrum of Opportunities in China’s Open Approach / *Jagannath P. Panda* • 268

Marriage Migration Between South Korea and Vietnam: A Gender Perspective /
Hee-Kang Kim • 268

【Vol. 36, No. 4, 2012】

Special Issue on China and Soft Power /

Guest Editors: Jean-Marc F. Blanchard and Fujia Lu

Thinking Hard About Soft Power: A Review and Critique of the Literature on
China and Soft Power / *Jean-Marc F. Blanchard and Fujia Lu* • 269

How Soft Is “Soft Power”? Unstable Dichotomies at Expo 2010 / *Astrid Nordin* • 269

Has Beijing Started to Bare Its Teeth? China’s Tapping of Soft Power Revisited /
Wanfa Zhang • 270

Is Human Rights the Achilles’ Heel of Chinese Soft Power? A New Perspective on
Its Appeal / *Sheng Ding* • 270

China’s Soft Power in Africa: Is Economic Power Sufficient? / *Wei Liang* • 270

Ugandan Youths’ Perceptions of Relations with China /
Simon Shen and Ian Taylor • 271

Commentary

Possible Variables for Establishing a Military Confidence-Building Mechanism
Across the Taiwan Strait / *Sue-Chung and Chung-Yuan Yao* • 271

【Vol. 37, No. 1, 2013】

Contested Border: A Historical Investigation into the Sino-Korean Border Issue,
1950–1964 / *Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia* • 271

The Emergence and Transformation of International Order: International Law in
China, 1860–1949 / *Stefan Kroll* • 272

Fanning the Flames of Popular Nationalism: The Debate in China over the
Burning of the Old Summer Palace /
Robert D. Weatherly and Ariane Rosen • 272

Beyond Silence and Blaming: Revisiting South Korea’s Role in North Korean
Human Rights / *Bo-hyuk Suh* • 273

Continuity and Change: Evolution, Not Revolution, in Japan’s Foreign and
Security Policy Under the DPJ / *Brendan M. Howe and Joel R. Campbell* • 273

The Revival of Russia’s Role on the Korean Peninsula /
Chang Kyoo Park, Er-Win Tan, and Geetha Govindasamy • 273

【Vol. 37, No. 2, 2013】

The Disappointments of Disengagement: Assessing Obama’s North Korea Policy /
John Delury • 274

Reciprocity in South Korean Security Policy Vis-à-vis North Korean and the
United States / *Young-Geun Kim* • 274

The Cultural Political Economy of the Korean Wave in East Asia: Implications for Cultural Globalization Theories / *Siho Nam* • 275

Building a Peaceful East Asian Community: Origins of a Regional Concept and Visions for a Global Age / *Gwi-Ok Kim* • 275

A Typology of Political Elites and Its Transformation in China: From “Ideology-Oriented/Replacement” Elites to “Fragmented/Reproductive” Elites / *Jang-Hwan Joo* • 276

Mutual Perceptions in South Korea-China Relations: The Need for Creative Arguing / *Yeikyung Kim and Jongpil Chung* • 276

【Vol. 37, No. 3, 2013】

Microblogging and Social Change in China / *Jia Lu and Yunxi Qui* • 277

Perceptions of Democracy Among Chinese Intellectuals: Evidence from Political Scientists in Beijing and Shanghai / *Jung-Nam Lee* • 277

Is China Becoming More Aggressive? A Neoclassical Realist Analysis / *Camilla T. N. Sørensen* • 277

Does Culture Determine Democratic Leadership in East Asia? The Case of South Korea During the Roh Moo-hyun Presidency / *Bumsoo Kim and Sunhyuk Kim* • 278

Translating Foreign Aid Policy Locally: South Korea’s Modernization Process Revisited / *Taekyoon Kim* • 278

Building a Maritime “Great Wall” to Contain China? Explaining Japan’s Recalibration of Risk with the Militarization of Okinawa / *Son Key-young and Ra Mason* • 279

Review Essay

What to Do About—or with—China? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 279

【Vol. 37, No. 4, 2013】

Special Issue on After Fukushima: The Right to Know /
Guest Editor: Norifumi Namatame

After Fukushima: An Introduction / *Norifumi Namatame* • 279

After Fukushima: A Survey of Corruption in the Global Nuclear Power Industry / *Richard Tanter* • 279

Nuclear Power Politics in Japan, 2011–2013 / *Jeff Kingston* • 280

A Public Health Perspective on the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster / *Tilman A. Ruff* • 280

Investigating the Effects of Low-Dose Radiation from Chernobyl to Fukushima: History Repeats Itself / *Andre Pape Møller and Timothy A. Mousseau* • 281

“Life-World”: Beyond Fukushima and Minamata / *Shoko Yoneyama* • 281

Hopes and Traps on the Path to a Nuclear-Free Japan: The Fukushima Disaster and Civil Society / *Kawasaki Akira* • 281

Stories from Experience: Using the Phenomenological Psychological Method to Understand the Needs of Victims of the Fukushima Nuclear Accident / *Michael Edwards* • 282

【Vol. 38, No. 1, 2014】

Asian Alliances: Chinese and Japanese Experiences Compared / *Lowell Dittmer* • 282

Escaping the Vicious Cycle: Symbolic Politics and History Disputes Between South Korea and Japan / *Ji Young Kim* • 283

Lessons from German Reunification for Inter-Korean Relations: An Analysis of South Korean Public Spheres, 1990–2010 / *Jin-Wook Shin* • 283

Emerging Powers and Status: The Case of the First BRICs Summit / *Oliver Stuenkel* • 284

Chinese Climate-Change Policy, 1988–2013: Moving On Up / *Iselin Stensdal* • 284

Building Partners Through Academic Science / *Stuart Thorson and Hyunjin Seo* • 284

China’s Antisatellite Program: Blocking the Assassin’s Mace / *Larry R. Moore* • 285

【Vol. 38, No. 2, 2014】

Special Issue on The Sino-Japanese Disputes over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands: Dangers and Opportunities / Guest Editor: Gregory J. Moore

Introduction to the Special Issue / *Gregory J. Moore* • 285

The East China Sea Disputes: History, Status, and Ways Forward / *Mark J. Valencia* • 285

“In Your Face”: Domestic Politics, Nationalism, and “Face” in the Sino-Japanese Islands Dispute / *Gregory J. Moore* • 286

Japan-China-US Relations and the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Disputes: Perspectives from International Relations Theory / *Kazuhiko Togo* • 286

The Maritime Dispute in Sino-Japanese Relations: Domestic Dimensions / *Mutsumi Hirano* • 287

Conflict Transformation: The East China Sea Dispute and Lessons from the Ecuador-Peru Border Dispute / *Shunji Cui* • 287

US Economic Sanctions Against China: A Cultural Explanation of Sanction Effectiveness / *Yitan Lee* • 287

【Vol. 38, No. 3, 2014】

Special Issue on The East Asia Power Shift: A Critical Appraisal /

Guest Editors: Linus Hagström and Björn Jerdén

East Asia's Power Shift: The Flaws and Hazards of the Debate and How to Avoid Them / *Linus Hagström and Björn Jerdén* • 288

So What About a Power Shift? Caveat Emptor / *Steve Chan* • 288

Rethinking Chinese Power: A Conceptual Corrective to the "Power Shift" Narrative / *Chengxin Pan* • 288

Is China's Discursive Power Increasing? The "Power of the Past" in Sino-Japanese Relations / *Karl Gustafsson* • 289

Overestimating the "Power Shift": The US Role in the Failure of the Democratic Party of Japan's "Asia Pivot" / *Paul O'shea* • 289

Revisiting Japan's Cultural Diplomacy: A Critique of the Agent-Level Approach to Japan's Soft Power / *Alexander Bukh* • 290

Review Essay

North Korea in the World: Plus Ça Change? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 290

【Vol. 38, No. 4, 2014】

Special Issue on The Impact of Post-2014 Afghanistan on Asian Regional Security /

Guest Editors: Nadine Godehardt and Nicola Nymalm

Introduction to the Special Issue / *Nadine Godehardt and Nicola Nymalm* • 291

Post-2014 Afghanistan and Its Impact on Northeast Asia / *Nadine Godehardt and David Shim* • 291

What Can the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and China Bring to Post-2014 Afghanistan? / *Gao Fei and Xiao Yu* • 291

Afghanistan in the Foreign Policies of Middle Eastern Countries / *Henner Fürtig* • 292

Regional Powers and Security Governance: ISAF Withdrawal, Regional Competition, and Domestic Norms in India's Afghanistan Policy / *Sandra Destradi* • 292

Russia in Central Asia: The Dynamics of Great-Power Politics in a Volatile Region / *Charles E. Ziegler* • 292

【Vol. 39, No. 1, 2015】

China's Friendly Offensive Toward Japan in the 1950s: The Theory of Wedge Strategies and International Relations / *Hyon Joo Yoo* • 293

Inflated Hope, Unchanged Reality: China's Response to North Korea's Third Nuclear Test / *Jih-Un Kim* • 293

- China's Puzzling Energy Diplomacy Toward Iran / *Fuzuo Wu* • 294
- The Philippines Confronts China in the South China Sea: Power Politics vs. Liberalism-Legalism / *Rentao De Castro* • 294
- The Flexible Cost of Insulting China: Trade Politics and the "Dalai Lama Effects" / *Bjornar Sverdrup-Thygeson* • 294
- Economic Nationalism and Globalization in South Korea: A Critical Insight / *You-il Lee and Kyung Tae Lee* • 295
- Road Map to a Korean Peninsula Peace Regime: A Chinese Perspective / *Zheng Jiyang and Gao Yim* • 295

【Vol. 39, No. 2, 2015】

- Korea's Democracy After the Cheonan Incident: The Military, the State, and Civil Society Under the Division System / *Jae-Jung Suh* • 296
- The Cheonan Incident and the Declining Freedom of Expression in South Korea / *Jong-sung You* • 296
- Rallying Around the Flag or Crying Wolf? Contentions over the Cheonan Incident / *Taehyun Nam* • 297
- Transitory or Lingering Impact? The Legacies of the Cheonan Incident in Northeast Asia / *Yangmo Ku* • 297
- Money for Life: The Legal Debate in China About Criminal Reconciliation in Death Penalty Cases / *Robert Weatherley and Helen Pittam* • 298
- "Modernizing" Confucianism in China: A Repackaging of Institutionalization to Consolidate Party Leadership / *Shufang Wu* • 298
- Building Multilateralism on Bilateralism: Evidence from Networked Governance of FDI in Asia / *Chi-Wook Kim* • 298

【Vol. 39, No. 3, 2015】

Special Issue

- The Abe Effect in Regional International Order: Japan and Asia /**
Guest Editor: Yul Sohn
- The "Abe Effect" in Northeast Asia: The Interplay of Security, Economy, and Identity / *Yul Sohn* • 299
- Back to the Future? Japan's Search for a Meaningful New Role in the Emerging Regional Order / *T. J. Pempel* • 299
- The Abe Effect and Domestic Politics / *Takashi Terada* • 299
- Reorienting Japan? Security Transformation Under the Second Abe Cabinet / *Hiroshi Nakanishi* • 300

China's Perceptions of and Responses to Abe's Foreign Policy /
Xiaoming Zhang • 300

The Kishi Effect: A Political Genealogy of Japan-ROK Relations /
John Delury • 300

The Abe Effect on South Korea's Trade Policy / *Yul Sohn* • 301

Japan Addresses the Global HIV/AIDS Crisis: The Roles of Media and Civil
Society in Shaping Perceptions and Aid / *Young Soo Kim* • 301

Getting Japan Back on the Sustainable Growth Path: Lessons from the Koizumi
Era / *Jeong Yeon Lee* • 302

Commentary

Words Mightier Than Hacks: Narratives of Cyberwar in the United States and
China / *Cuihong Cai and Diego Dati* • 302

【Vol. 39, No. 4, 2015】

Special Issue

Nuclear Power in East Asia / Guest Editor: Tilman Ruff

Introduction to the Special Issue: Nuclear Power in East Asia / *Tilman Ruff* • 302

Sustainable Energy Options / *Andrew Blakers* • 302

Nuclear Energy Policy Issues in Japan After the Fukushima Nuclear Accident /
Tatsujiro Suzuki • 303

The China Syndrome? Nuclear Power Growth and Safety After Fukushima /
Amy King and M. V. Ramana • 303

To Regulate or Not to Regulate: The Conundrum of Taiwan's Nuclear Power /
Kuang-Jung Hsu • 304

The Slovakian “Inspirasi” for Indonesian Nuclear Power: The “Success” of a
Permanently Failing Organization / *Richard Tanter* • 304

The State of Nuclear Energy in ASEAN: Regional Norms and Challenges /
Mely Caballero-Anthony and Julius Cesar I. Trajano • 305

The Soviet Blueprint for the Postwar Korean Provisional Government: A Case
Study of the Politburo's Decisions / *Hyun-Soo Jeon* • 305

【Vol. 40, No. 1, 2016】

The Politics of Immigrant Incorporation Policies in Korea and Japan /
Jiyeoun Song • 306

Assessing China's Media Reform / *Guosong Shao, Jiayin Lu, and Ye Hao* • 306

Democratic Performance and Park Chung-hee Nostalgia in Korean Democracy /
Woo Jin Kang • 306

- Multihegemony, Sutured Regionness, and the US-China-Japan Triangle /
Key-young Son • 307
- China's New Silk Road: Where Does It Lead? / *Gan Junxian and Mao Yan* • 307
- Commentary
- A Chinese Admission of False Korean War Allegations of Biological Weapon Use
by the United States / *Milton Leitenberg* • 308
- Security Stability in East Asia / *William A. Douglas* • 308
- Book Review Essay
- The Next Great War: Cold Peace or Mutual Gain? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 308

【Vol. 40, No. 2, 2016】

- The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: A Case Study of Multifaceted
Containment / *Amitai Etzioni* • 308
- Alliance Commitment and the Maintenance of the Status Quo /
Charles Chong-Han Wu and John Fuh-Sheng Hsieh • 309
- North Korea's Siege Mentality: A Sociopolitical Analysis of the Kim Jong-un
Regime's Foreign Policies / *Bomi Kim* • 309
- Unexpected Results of a Political Pilgrimage: Yim Su-gyong's 1989 Trip to
North Korea and Changes in North Koreans' Worldview /
Seok-hyang Kim and Andrei Lankov • 309
- The Influence of South Korean NGOs on State Aid Policy /
Kyungyon Moon • 310
- Institutional Mismatch and Chinese Aid in the Philippines: Challenges and
Implications / *Dennis D. Trinidad* • 310
- Idea Change Matters: China's Practices and the East Asian Peace / *Ren Xiao* • 311
- Book Review Essay
- Unfitness as a Stepchild of Myopia / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 311

【Vol. 40, No. 3, 2016】

Special Issue

- The Tumen River Triangle as the Borderland of Northeast Asia /
Guest Editor: Hyun-Gwi Park
- Introduction to the Special Issue / *Hyun-Gwi Park* • 311
- One River and Three States: The Tumen River Triangle and the Legacy of the
Postsocialist Transition / *Hyun-Gwi Park* • 312
- Charisma in a Watery Frame: North Korean Narrative Topographies and the
Tumen River / *Robert Winstanley-Chesters* • 312

The Sino-North Korean Border Economy: Money and Power Relations in North Korea / *Christopher Green* • 312

The Modernization of Khasanskii Raion in the Russian Far East: Potential, Problems, and Perspectives /
Angela S. Vashuk and Anastasia P. Konyakhina • 313

From Earth to Ocean: Hunchun and China's Ambivalent Maritime Past /
Ed Pulford • 313

China's Major-Powers Discourse in the Xi Jinping Era: Tragedy of Great Power Politics Revisited? / *See-Won Byun* • 314

Loss Aversion and Risk Taking in North Korea's Militant Strategy, 1967–1968 /
Jein Do • 314

Book Review Essay

Dystopia / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 315

【Vol. 40, No. 4, 2016】

Special Issue

The Political Economy of China-Latin America Investment Relations /
Guest Editor: Jean-Marc F. Blanchard

Introduction to the Special Issue / *Jean-Marc F. Blanchard* • 315

Chinese Investment in Brazil: Can It Match the Relevance of Bilateral Trade? /
José Augusto Guilhon Albuquerque and Luís Afonso Fernandes Lima • 315

Not All Plain Sailing: Opportunities and Pitfalls for Chinese Investment in Peru /
Benjamin H. Creutzfeldt • 316

Chinese Investment in Mexico: The Contemporary Context and Challenges /
Enrique Dussel Peters • 316

The Chile-China Paradox: Burgeoning Trade, Little Investment /
Jorge Heine • 317

China's "Rule of Law" Policy and Communist Party Reform /
Young Nam Cho • 317

Resident Foreigners in South Korea and Japan: A Comparative Policy Analysis /
Jung-Mee Hwang • 318

In the Eye of the Typhoon: Taiwan and the Growing Dispute in the South China Sea / *Dennis Hickey* • 318

Book Review Essay

The Mind(s) of China: Don't Deeds Speak Louder Than Words? /
Walter C. Clemens, Jr. • 318

【Vol. 41, No. 1, 2017】

**Special Issue on South Korea's Rise in Comparative Perspective /
Guest Editors: Michael A. Morris and Xiaobo Hu**

South Korea's Rise in Comparative Perspective /
Xiaobo Hu And Michael A. Morris • 319

Comparative Analysis of Economic Development in South Korea and Taiwan:
Lessons for Other Developing Countries / *Hayam Kim and Uk Heo* • 319

Geopolitics and South Korea's Economic Success / *Jonathan Kriekhaus* • 319

The US Pivot to Asia and South Korea's Rise / *Balbina Y. Hwang* • 319

Economic Integration and Political Cooperation Between South Korea and China:
Implications for Korea-US Relations / *Wonjae Hwang and Junhan Lee* • 320

Peacekeeping and Counterpiracy: A Comparative Analysis of South Korea's
Contributions to International Peace and Stability / *Terence Roehrig* • 320

South Korea's Free Trade Strategy and East Asian Regionalism: A Multistage
Approach / *Min Ye* • 321

Book Review Essay

Can China Expand Without Limits? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 321

【Vol. 41, No. 2, 2017】

The Politics of State-Owned Enterprise Reform in South Korea, Laos, and
Vietnam / *Mark Turner, Michael O'Donnell, and Seung-Ho Kwon* • 321

Efficiency Versus Public Good: Electricity Privatization in South Korea /
Seung-Ho Kwon and Joseph Kim • 321

Reforming State-Owned Enterprises in Vietnam: The Contrasting Cases of
Vinashin and Viettel / *Nguyen Manh Hai and Michael O'Donnell* • 322

Trial and Error in State-Owned Enterprise Reform in Laos /
Latdavanh Songvilay, Sthabandith Insisienmay, and Mark Turner • 322

Colonialism and Contested Membership: Shifting Sense of Belonging and
Postcolonial Division in Korea / *Jin-Yeon Kang* • 323

The Discursive Origins of Anti-Americanism in the Two Koreas /
Kab Woo Koo • 323

Engagement with North Korea: Evaluating the Scope of People-to-People
Engagement in North Korea, 1995–2012 / *Andrew I. Yeo* • 324

Book Review Essay

Origins and Consequences of South Korea's Social Development /
Walter C. Clemens, Jr. • 324

【Vol. 41, No. 3, 2017】

- Popular Value Perceptions and Institutional Preference for Democracy in
“Confucian” East Asia /
Young-Hee Chang, Jack Junzhi Wu, and Mark Weatherall • 324
- Between Globalization and Nationalism: The Politics of Immigration in South
Korea / *Seo-Hyun Park* • 325
- The Enemy of My Ally Is Not My Enemy: The ROK-US Alliance and ROK-Iran
Relations, 1978–1983 / *Lyong Choi and Jong-dae Shin* • 325
- Political Transition in North Korea in the Kim Jong-un Era: Elite’s Policy Choices /
Seung-Yeol Lee • 326
- Domestic Motivation and the Case of the East China Sea ADIZ: Diversion or
Mobilization? / *Szu-chien Hsu and Hsiao-Chi Hsu* • 326
- An Asian Way to Safeguard Food Security: Transnational Farmland Investment /
Scott Y. Lin • 327
- Book Review Essay
Empires Old and New / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 327

【Vol. 41, No. 4, 2017】

- How Does Rising Internet Usage Affect Political Participation in East Asia?
Explaining Divergent Effects /
Min-Hua Huang, Ching-Hsuan Su, Ruixia Han, and Mark Weatherall • 328
- Defense-Industrial Globalization and the Northeast Asian Varieties of Fighter-
Jet Industry: Debating the Exogenous-Endogenous Factors in Determining
the Northeast Asian Varieties of F-35 JSF Acquisition Patterns /
Bee Yun Jo • 328
- A Strange but Familiar Foe: North Korea’s Media Image and Public Imagination /
Robin West • 329
- North Korea and Transitioning Myanmar in Comparative Perspective /
Andray Abrahamian • 329
- Same Money, Different Names: Analysis of South Korean Aid to North Korea /
Jaeyoung Hur, Jiyoum Park, and Youngwan Kim • 330
- Commentary
Trump on China / *Lowell Dittmer* • 330
- China-US Relations Under Trump: More Continuity Than Change /
Zha Daojiong • 330
- Book Review Essay
Is There a Thucydides Trap? If So, Can Washington and Beijing Avoid It? /
Walter C. Clemens, Jr. • 330

【Vol. 42, No. 1, 2018】

The Segmented Marketization of North Korea and Its Sociopolitical Implications / *Philo Kim* • 331

Historical Perspective on China's "Tipping Point" with North Korea / *Donggil Kim and Seong-Hyon Lee* • 331

Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on the Rise of China: Long Cycles, Power Transitions, and China's Ascent / *Ji Young Choi* • 332

International Norms and Japanese Foreign Aid / *Steven Lewis-Workman* • 332

Saudi-Indonesian Relations: Historical Dynamics and Contemporary Development / *Sumanto Al Qurtuby and Shafi Aldamer* • 333

Book Review Essay

Is Regime Change Possible in North Korea? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 333

【Vol. 42, No. 2, 2018】

Special Issue on New Development in Chinese Foreign Policy

New Developments in Chinese Foreign Policy / *Gregory J. Moore* • 333

Going Global 2.0: China's Growing Investment in the West and Its Impact / *Zhinqun Zhu* • 333

Fueling Threats: Securitization and the Challenges of Chinese Energy Policy / *Maria Julia Trombetta* • 334

Ideology and Relationality: Chinese Aid in Africa Revisited / *Pippa Morgan* • 334

China-US Climate Cooperation: Creating a New Model of Major-Country Relations? / *Shunji Cui* • 335

Bismarck or Wilhelm? China's Peaceful Rise vs. Its South China Sea Policy / *Gregory J. Moore* • 335

Book Review Essay

Can Nonviolent Action Shape Policy? People Power in East Asia and in the West / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 335

【Vol. 42, No. 3, 2018】

Special Issue on Russia in the Asia Pacific

Introduction to the Special Issue / *Gaye Christoffersen* • 336

Russia and the United States in the Asia Pacific: A Perspective of the English School / *Artyom Lukin* • 336

Strategic Partnership or Alliance? Sino-Russian Relations from a Constructivist Perspective / *Ying Liu* • 336

The Sino-Russian Partnership and the East Asian Order /
Elizabeth Wishnick • 337

Is There a Transnational Korean Identity in Northeast Asia? The Case of
Korean Diaspora in the Russian Far East / *Tamara Troyakova and Elena F.
Tracy* • 337

China-Russia Relations in Times of Crisis: A Neoclassical Realist Explanation /
Alexander Korolev and Vladimir Portyakov • 338

Sino-Russian Accommodation and Adaptation in Eurasian Regional Order Formation /
Gaye Christoffersen • 338

Commentary

Sovereignty: Building Block or Stumbling Block in Resolving Northeast Asian
Security Disputes? / *John Feffer* • 338

Book Review Essay

Sino-Soviet Romances / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 339

【Vol. 42, No. 4, 2018】

**Special Issue on China's Relations with Its Neighbors: Historical Perspectives
on Contemporary Issues / Guest Editor: Yafeng Xia**

Introduction to the Special Issue on China's Relations with Its Neighbors:
Historical Perspective on Contemporary Issues / *Yafeng Xia* • 339

Gratitude and Resentment in China-Japan Relations: Japan's Official
Development Assistance and China's Renunciation of War Repatriations /
Xianfen Xu • 339

Heading Toward Peaceful Coexistence: The Effects of the Improvement in
Sino-Burmese Relations from 1953 to 1955 / *Liang Zhi* • 340

The Mountain Is High, and the Emperor Is Far Away: States and Smuggling
Networks at the Sino-Vietnamese Border / *Qingfei Yin* • 340

Transgressing the Boundaries: The Migration of Uighurs into Soviet Central Asia
After World War II / *Alsu Tagirova* • 341

Blood Is Thicker Than Water: A History of the Diplomatic Discourse "China and
Thailand Are Brothers" /
Kornphanat Tungkeunkunt and Kanya Phuphakdi • 341

Policy Issues for Contributing ODA to Sustainable Development in Developing
Countries: An Analysis of Korea's ODA and Sri Lankan Practices /
Dayoung Lee, Hyeyun Park, and Sun Kyoung Park • 342

Commentary

China and Global Cyber Governance: Main Principles and Debates /
Cai Cuihong • 342

Book Review Essay

What Does It Take to Stem and Transform Conflict? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 342

【Vol. 43, No. 1, 2019】

Trump's America First Policy in Global and Historical Perspectives: Implications for US–East Asian Trade / *June Park and Troy Stangorone* • 343

Centralizing North Korean Policymaking under Kim Jong Un / *Patrick McEachern* • 343

Taking “Bottom-Up” Seriously in Governance: The Case of the Local Governance Network Supporting Settlements of North Korean Refugees in South Korea / *Jun-han Yon and Euiyoung Kim* • 344

Sanctions for Nuclear Inhibition: Comparing Sanction Conditions between Iran and North Korea / *Inwook Kim and Jung-Chul Lee* • 344

Flawed Assumption in Pro-Nuclear Arguments and South Korea's Strategic Choice / *Daekwon Son* • 345

What Makes US Citizens Trust Japan? Examining the Influence of National Image, Bilateral Compatibility, and Issue Awareness / *Taewoo Nam* • 345

Chinese Enterprises' Investment in Infrastructure Construction in Cambodia / *Fang Hu, Xiekui Zhang, Mingming Hu, and David Lee Cook* • 346

Book Review Essay

Violence and Nonviolence in South Asia / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 346

【Vol. 43, No. 2, 2019】

Special Issue on Power, Narratives, and the Role of Third Parties:

Understanding Power (Shift) in East Asia /

Guest Editors: Mikael Weissmann and Mingjiang Li

Introduction to the Special Issue / *Mikael Weissmann and Mingjiang Li* • 347

Understanding Power (Shift) in East Asia: The Sino-US Narrative Battle about Leadership in the South China Sea / *Mikael Weissmann* • 347

China's “Belt and Road” in Southeast Asia: Constructing the Strategic Narrative in Singapore / *Alice D. Ba* • 347

China's Economic Power in Asia: The Belt and Road Initiative and the Local Guangxi Government's Role / *Mingjian Li* • 348

Return to Geopolitics: The Changes in Japanese Strategic Narratives / *Hidekazu Sakai* • 348

The Relationship between Narratives and Security Practices: Pushing the Boundaries of Military Instruments in Japan / *Petter Y. Lindgren and Wrenn Yenne Lindgren* • 349

Contending Narratives of the International Order: US/Chinese Discursive Power and Its Effects on the UK / *Rex Li* • 349

International Politics: Is International Leadership Changing Hands or Disappearing? China and the USA in Comparative Perspective / *Mark Beeson and Nathan Watson* • 350

Book Review Essay

Three Facets of Woman Power in China, 1644 to 2019 / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 350

【Vol. 43, No. 3, 2019】

Special Section on China's Relations with Its Neighbors: Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Issues

Introduction to the Special Section on China's Relations with Its Neighbors: Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Issues / *Yafeng Xia* • 351

China's Strategy for Sino-Indian Boundary Disputes, 1950–1962 / *Chaowu Dai* • 351

Burma-China Early Approach and Implications for Contemporary Bilateral Relations / *Hongwei Fan and Yizheng Zou* • 351

China–Sri Lanka Relations in the Context of the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road: Motives, Challenges, and Prospects / *Zhen Wang and Feng Ye* • 352

The Diffusion of ISO 14001 in a Developmental State: The Case of Korea / *Kyungmin Baek and Jeong Rok Oh* • 352

Capitalism from Below with North Korean Characteristics: The State, Capitalist Class Formation, and Foreign Investment in Comparative Perspective / *Peter Ward, Andrei Lankov, and Kim Jiyoung* • 353

Why Do States Hedge in East Asia? An Empirical Study on Hedging / *Charles Chong-Han Wu* • 353

Book Review Essay

Cyber and Other Powers in Asia / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 354

【Vol. 43, No. 4, 2019】

The Rebalance, Entrapment Fear, and Collapsism: The Origins of Obama's North Korea Policy / *Van Jackson* • 354

Presidential Turnover and Discontinuity in the Philippines' China Policy / *Bich T. Tran* • 354

Singapore's Foreign Policy toward Regional and Inter-regional Institutions / *Anna Grzywacz* • 355

Ethnic Identification Matters / *Juhwa Park and Kap-sik Kim* • 355

The Making of the “Reader-People” in the 1950–1960s North Korean Socialist Literature / *Tae-Kyung Kim* • 356

Commentaries

Economic Engagement with North Korea: Moving Beyond Kaesong / *Benjamin Katzeff Silberstein* • 356

Comments on the “Open Letter to the President and Congress on China Policy” / *Mel Gurtov* • 356

Book Review Essay

China and World Order: Mutual Gain or Exploitation? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 356

【Vol. 44, No. 1, 2020】

Beyond Sham: The North Korean Constitution / *Patricia Goedde* • 357

The North Korean Workers in Russia: Problematizing the ‘Forced Labor’ Discourse / *Andrei Lankov, Peter Ward, and Jiyoung Kim* • 357

Peace of Cake? Comparative Analysis of Northern Irish and Korean Peace Processes / *Alexandre Haym, David Doherty, and Yongho Kim* • 358

Internet Usage and Rural Self-Employment in China / *Jianmei Zhao* • 358

Taming Neighbors: Exploring China’s Economic Statecraft to Change Neighboring Countries’ Policies and Their Effects / *Jaebeom Kwon* • 359

Commentary

Is China’s IR Academic Community Becoming More Anti-American? / *Meng Weizhan* • 359

Book Review Essay

Ars longa, vita brevis / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 359

【Vol. 44, No. 2, 2020】

Special Issue: The Cold War and Decolonization in East Asia / *Chih-yu Shih, Tze-ki Hon, Hok Yin Chan, guest editors*

Introduction: The Cold War and Decolonization in East Asia / *Chih-yu Shih, Tze-ki Hon, and Hok Yin Chan* • 359

Indigenizing the Cold War in Malaysia and Singapore: Interethnic Decolonization, Developmental Syntheses and the Quest for Sovereignty / *Alan Chong* • 359

To Build the World Anew: Decolonization and Cold War in Indonesia / *Shofwan Al Banna Choiruzzad* • 360

Decolonizing Japan–South Korea Relations: Hegemony, the Cold War, and the Subaltern State / *Boyu Chen* • 361

Subaltern South Korea's Anti-Communist Asian Cooperation in the Mid-1950s / *Joonseok Yang and Young Chul Cho* • 361

From "Asia's East" to "East Asia": Aborted Decolonization of Taiwan in the Cold-War Discourse / *Chih-yu Shih* • 362

A Look at Korean Historical Drama: Cultural Negotiation of Cold War Influence on Notions of Development in the Philippines / *Tina S. Clemente* • 362

Commentary

China's Expanding Engagement in Global Health / *Dennis Van Vranken Hickey* • 363

Book Review Essay

Will China Unite or Divide the World? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 363

【Vol. 44, No. 3, 2020】

Capturing Power Shift in East Asia: Toward an Analytical Framework for Understanding "Soft Power" / *Mikael Weissmann* • 363

The Human Security Implications of the Fourth Industrial Revolution in East Asia / *Changrok Soh and Daniel Connolly* • 364

Northeast Asian Regional Integration and the East Asian Community Making Process / *Serafettin Yilmaz (Shifan Yao) and Lyu Mengdi* • 364

The Minamata Convention and Mercury Policy in China: The Role of Science / *G. Kristin Rosendal, Steinar Andresen, Gørild M. Heggelund, and Eirik H. Steindal* • 365

The Political Dynamics of South Korea's Human Capital Development Strategy / *Jiyeoun Song* • 365

Traversing the Migrant Corridor: Singapore's First Ambassadors to Thailand, 1965–1990 / *Ying-kit Chan* • 366

North Korean "Independence" in Unification Policy and Sino-North Korean Relations, 1955–1966 / *Jein Do* • 367

Commentary

India's Economic Relevance in the Indo-Pacific / *Amita Batra* • 367

Book Review Essay

China: "What Kind of Government Is This?" / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 367

【Vol. 44, No. 4, 2020】

Domestic Political Drivers and Chinese Diplomacy: Xinjiang and Counter-Terrorism in South Asia / *Raj Verma* • 368

- China's Engagement with Latin America and Its Implications for Soft Balancing against the United States / *Hee-Yong Yang and Seungho Lee* • 368
- Asia's Democracy Puzzle: Five Uneasy Pieces / *Karl D. Jackson and Giovanna Maria Dora Dore* • 369
- The Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage in Disputed Maritime Areas: A Case Study of the South China Sea / *Hui Zhong* • 369
- The Great War Analogy and the Sino-American Security Dilemma: Foreboding or Fallacious? / *Friso M. S. Stevens* • 370
- Korean Unification and the False Promise of Strategic Bargains with China / *Leif-Eric Easley* • 370
- The State After Neoliberalism: A Neo-Gramscian Perspective on South Korea's Economic Reforms 1997–1998 / *Shinae Hong* • 371
- Commentary
- Ecocide on the Mekong: Downstream Impacts of Chinese Dams and the Growing Response from Citizen Science in the Lower Mekong Delta / *Nguyen Minh Quang and James Borton* • 371
- Book Review Essay
- Bad Memories and IR / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr* • 372

【Vol. 45, No. 1, 2021】

Special Issue on US-China Relations in Crisis

- Introduction to the Special Issue / *Mel Gurtov* • 372
- The COVID-19 Pandemic and the Estrangement of US-China Relations / *Dali L. Yang* • 372
- The Crisis in US-China Bilateral Security Relations / *Christopher Yung* • 372
- The Economic Security Dilemma in US-China Relations / *David J. Bulman* • 373
- Non-Traditional Security and China-US Relations / *Zha Daojiong* • 373
- US-China Relations and Human Rights: The Xinjiang Case / *Mel Gurtov* • 374
- US-China Relations and Remaking Global Governance: From Stalemate and Progress to Crisis to Resolutions / *Gregory T. Chin* • 374
- Homework for Beijing: Five Hurdles on China's Path to Becoming a "Responsible Great Power" / *Jae Ho Chung* • 374
- The Trump Administration's Policy Changes on China and Their Destructive Ramifications for US-China Relations / *Zhu Feng* • 375
- US-China Geoeconomic Tensions: Implications for the African Continental Free Trade Area / *Garth L. le Pere* • 375

The Twin Chessboards of US-China Rivalry: Impact on the Geostrategic Supply and Demand in Post-Pandemic Asia / *Cheng-Chwee Kuik* • 376

Divided but Not Poles Apart: Europe, the United States, and the Rise of China / *Shaun Breslin* • 376

The Risks to Latin America from the Breakdown of US-China Relations / *Claudia Trevisan* • 377

The Rise and Fall of the US-China Health Relationship / *Deborah Seligsohn* • 377

US-China Higher Education Links in Crisis: Behind the Curtain of Suspicion / *Madelyn Ross* • 378

Ethical Operational Codes and Dealing with China / *David M. Lampton* • 378

【Vol. 45, No. 2, 2021】

Special Issue: Southeast Asian Responses to China's Belt and Road Initiative / *Cheng-Chwee Kuik*, guest editor

Introduction to the Special Issue: Asymmetry and Authority: Theorizing Southeast Asian Responses to China's Belt and Road Initiative / *Cheng-Chwee Kuik* • 379

The Philippines' Shifting Engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative: The Politics of Duterte's Legitimation / *Aileen S. P. Baviera and Aries A. Arugay* • 379

Explaining Myanmar's Response to China's Belt and Road Initiative: From Disengagement to Embrace / *Lee Jones and Khin Ma Ma Myo* • 379

Explaining Indonesia's Constrained Engagement with the Belt and Road Initiative: Balancing Developmentalism against Nationalism and Islamism / *Ardhitya Eduard Yermia* • 380

Thailand's Engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative: Strong Will, Slow Implementation / *Pongkwan Sawasdipakdi* • 380

Cambodia's Embrace of China's Belt and Road Initiative: Managing Asymmetries, Maximizing Authority / *Vannarith Chheang* • 381

Brunei's Response to China's Belt and Road Initiative: Embracing Asymmetry, Enhancing Authority / *Ithrana Lawrence* • 381

Malaysia's Fluctuating Engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative: Leveraging Asymmetry, Legitimizing Authority / *Cheng-Chwee Kuik* • 382

Understanding Success and Failure in Establishing New Multilateral Development Banks: The SCO Development Bank, the NDB, and the AIIB / *Bas Hooijmaaijers* • 383

Book Review Essay

Will China Lead Humanity into an "Asian" Future? / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 383

【Vol. 45, No. 3, 2021】

Special Section on Strategic Communications and Regional Dynamics in the Asia-Pacific

Regional Communicative Dynamics and International Relations in the Asia-Pacific
/ *Chiuyuki Aoi and Yee-Kuang Heng* • 383

No Consensus Across the Strait: Chinese and Taiwanese Strategic Communications
in a Contested Regional Order / *Aurelio Insisa* • 384

Japan-China Strategic Communications Dynamics under the Belt and Road
Initiative: The Case of “Third Country Business Cooperation” / *Naoko Eto* • 384

Russian Strategic Communications toward Japan: A More Benign Model of
Influence? / *James D. J. Brown* • 385

Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand’s Layering of Strategic Communications
(2016–2020) / *Corey Wallace* • 386

An “East Asian” Public Diplomacy? Lessons from Japan, South Korea, and China
/ *Nissim Otmazgin* • 386

The Political Opportunity Structure of Chinese Villages: A Case Study of Rightful
Resistance in Northwest China /
Guo Pengpeng, René Trappel, and Han Guoming • 387

Book Review Essay

Grand Illusions and Delusions / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 387

【Vol. 45, No. 4, 2021】

Special Issue on Southeast Asian Responses to the BRI (Part II)

Vietnam’s Cautious Response to China’s Belt and Road Initiative: The Imperatives
of Domestic Legitimation / *Sy Thanh Pham and Alice D. Ba* • 388

Singapore’s Forward Engagement with China’s Belt and Road Initiative: Coping
with Asymmetry, Consolidating Authority / *Irene Chan* • 388

Laos’s Enthusiastic Embrace of China’s Belt and Road Initiative /
Cheng-Chwee Kuik • 389

Connecting Northeast Asia: Renewable Energy and Prospects for Cooperation /
Cesare M. Scartozzi, Roberto Orsi, Maximilian Ernst, and Henry Martin • 389

China’s Space Power Strategy in the New Era / *He Qisong* • 390

National Pride and Political Participation: The Case of South Korea /
Gidong Kim and Jae Mook Lee • 390

Norm Noncompliance and Norm Diffusion: Free Trade Norms among the United
States, European Union, and China / *Nie Wenjuan* • 390

Commentary

Problems and Benefits of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) for
Local People in Pakistan: A Critical Review /

Shakir Ullah, Usman Khan, Khalil Ur Rahman, and Aman Ullah • 391

Book Review Essay

Realism and Idealism in Ancient India and Today's World /

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. • 391

【Vol. 46, No. 1, 2022】

The Roundabout Outcomes of the Soviet-Afghan War / *Ofer Israeli* • 392

**Special Section on Competing Powers & Southeast Asian Energy Futures:
Infrastructure, Investment, and Development**

Talking Green, Building Brown: China-ASEAN Environmental and Energy
Cooperation in the BRI Era / *Jessica C. Liao* • 392

Liquidated: US/Japan-Chinese Rivalry, Financial Crises, and Explaining Shifts in
Hydropower Finance Regimes in the Mekong / *Pon Souvannaseng* • 393

A Persistent Fossil Fuel Agenda? Japan's Overseas Energy Development in
Southeast Asia / *Margaret M. Jackson* • 393

China-Japan Rivalry and Southeast Asian Renewable Energy Development: Who
Is Winning What in Indonesia? / *Guanie Lim* • 394

Is the Spillover Hypothesis of Neofunctionalism Functional in an Asian Context?
The China–Central Asia and China–Southeast Asia Pipelines in Comparative
Perspective / *Xiaoguang Wang* • 394

News Media Effects on Political Institutional and System Trust: The Moderating
Role of Political Values / *Xiaoxiao Meng and Shuhua Zhou* • 395

Commentary

Ten Years after the Meltdown: Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons /
Peter Van Ness • 395

Book Review Essay

Worst Cases and Reality / *Walter C. Clemens, Jr.* • 395

【Vol. 46, No. 2, 2022】

Measuring North Korean Marketization: An Index Approach / *Seungho Jung,
Moon-Soo Yang, and Byung-Yeon Kim* • 396

Famine and Regime Response in Post-Cold War Communist States: Political
Commitment, Food Distribution, and International Aid in Cuba and North
Korea / *Jisun Yi* • 396

- Strategic Responses to Chinese Election Interference in Taiwan's Presidential Elections / *Kimberly L. Wilson* • 397
- Implementing the Minamata Convention on Mercury: Will China Deliver? / *Gørild Heggelund, Kristin Rosendal, Steinar Andresen, Eirik Hovland Steindal, Lin Yan, Wang Shuxiao, and Zhang Haibin* • 397
- Democracy and South Korea's Lemon Presidency / *Seung-Whan Choi* • 398
- Envisioning Regional Order: Inter-Korean Relations and the Varieties of Regionalism in South Korea / *Il Hyun Cho* • 398
- The Role of Mongolia in Multilateral Security Cooperation in Twenty-First Century Northeast Asia: Relevance of the 'Ulaanbaatar Dialogue (UBD)' Initiative / *Jaehyuk Jang and Kisun Kim* • 399

Asian Perspective

1977 ~
1995

Vol. 1, No. 1, 1977

South Korea and Southeast Asia: A Reassessment

Tae Dong Chung (Associate Professor, Yonsei University)

The New Era of Southeast Asia and Japan

Toru Yano (Professor, Kyoto University)

Internal Conflicts and External Crises—The Political Situation on Mainland China As Viewed from Taiwan

Chung-tung Chang (Professor, National Taiwan University)

Indonesia's Relations with Other Southeast Asian Countries

J. Soedjati Djiwandono (Member of the Board of Directors, Centre for Strategic and International Studies)

Australia and Southeast Asia in the Global Balance

J. L. S. Girling (Fellow, Australian National University)

Southeast Asia in the Global Political System

Richard W. Mansbach (Associate Professor, Rutgers University)

The Present and Future of United States Policy in Southeast Asia

Melvin Gurtov (Professor, University of California)

Vol. 1, No. 2, 1977

The Soviet Union and Southeast Asia: Prospects for a Soviet Role

Roger E. Kanet (Associate Professor, University of Illinois)

The People's Republic of China and Southeast Asia

Peter Van Ness (Associate Professor, University of Denver)

China and Southeast Asia

David Bonavia (Special Correspondent for China and East Asia, Far Eastern Economic Review)

Southeast Asia in P'yongyang's Foreign Policy

Byung Chul Koh (Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago)

Overrun Strategy versus Subversion Tactics: A Macro-Comparative Study on South and North Korean Unification Strategies

Sang-woo Rhee (Associate Professor, Sogang University)

China's Nuclear Weapons: Development and Policy

Sung joo Han (Associate Professor, City University of New York)

Vol. 2, No. 1, 1978

The United States Involvement in the 1968–69 Korean Crises

Robert R. Simmons (Assistant Professor, University of Guelph)

The United States' Policy Toward Korea: "Proceed and be Bold" or "More of the Same"

Joseph M. Ha (Professor, Lewis and Clark College)

Japan and the Law of the Sea: Prospects of the New Order

Gene Gregory (Visiting Professor, Sophia University)

Japanese Nuclear Deterrent?

Joobong Kim (Associate Professor, Kyungnam University)

The Prospect for a Revitalization of ASPAC

Chi Young Pak (Research Fellow, Institute of Foreign and National Security Affairs)

Technical Progress and the Small Country

Peter Wiles (Professor, London School of Economics)

Endogeneity of Administrative Form: Korea

Ralph Braibanti (Professor, Duke University)

Vol. 2, No. 2, 1978

The Korean-American Security Relations in the 1970s: Some Major Issues

Bae-ho Hahn (Professor, Korea University)

The Changing Security Environment of Asian Nations: Challenges and Opportunities

Yung Wei (Professor, National Taiwan University)

The Military Balance Between Superpowers in the Far East: A Study in Constraints

John M. Collins (Senior Specialist, Library of Congress, U.S.A.)

Soviet Policy Dilemmas in East Asia

Donald S. Zagoria (Professor, City University of New York)

The Chinese Armed Forces and the Soviet Union

Kenneth Hunt (Director of the British Atlantic Committee, London)

Soviet Naval Forces in Asia and the Pacific: A View from Seoul

Jae Kyu Park (Director, Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University)

Review Article:

Korean Security: In the National Interests?

John R. Sano (Research Fellow, Yeungnam University)

Vol. 3, No. 1, 1979

Canadian Nuclear Export Policy Toward Developing Countries

Ross Campbell (Chairman of the Board, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited)

West Germany's Nuclear Export Policy and Non-Proliferation

Erwin Häckel (Fellow, Forschungsinstitut der Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik)

Japanese Reactions to the Carter Nuclear Policy

Ryukichi Imai (Managing Director, Japan Atomic Power Company)

Israel and Nuclear Weapons

Yair Evron (Professor, University of Tel Aviv)

**The Nuclear Policies of the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea:
A Comparative Analysis**

Joseph A. Yager (Senior Research Fellow, Brookings Institution)

Vol. 3, No. 2, 1979

A Model of Global Agenda Change and the Vietnam Case

Richard W. Mansbach (Professor, Rutgers University), John A. Vasquez (Professor, Rutgers University)

Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Indochina Conflict

J. L. S. Girling (Professor, Australian National University)

Proxy War in Indochina: Implementation of a New Communist Strategy

Thomas J. Bellows (Professor, University of Arkansas)

India and the Superpowers: Illusion & Reality of Regional Influentials

Bhabani Sen Gupta (Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Chinese Politics of Balancing Development

Young-hwan Jo (Director, Center for Asian Studies of Arizona State University)

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Ungsuh K. Park (Director of Research, Korea International Economic Institute)

Japanese Rearmament: Fukuda's Legacy, Ohira's Choice

Joseph M. Ha (Professor, Lewis and Clark College)

Book Reviews:

**The Soviet Union and Postwar Japan: Escalating Challenge and Response.
By Rodger Swearingen (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978)**

Jae Kyu Park (Director of the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University)

**China, the United Nations, and World Order. By Samuel S. Kim
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979)**

Jae Kyu Park (Director of the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University)

Vol. 4, No. 1, 1980

Great Powers Configuration in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Korean View

Pyong-choon Hahm (Former Special Assistant for Foreign Affairs, ROK)

Great Powers Configuration in the Asia-Pacific Region: An Indonesian View

Ali Moertopo (Minister of Information, Indonesia)

Foreign Direct Investment in Indonesia: Opportunities for the Republic of Korea

R. B. Suhartono (Director General, Agency for Industrial Research and Development, Indonesia)

Political Leadership in Contemporary America: A Theoretical Analysis

Wilson Carey McWilliams (Professor, Rutgers University), Dennis Bathory (Associate Professor, Rutgers University)

The Soviet Union and the Middle East: The Egyptian-Israeli Treaty and Recent Soviet Policy

Roger E. Kanet (Professor, University of Illinois), Usha Venkatesan (Graduate Student, University of Wisconsin at Madison)

Japanese-North Korean Relations in the 1970's: From a Linkage Politics Perspective

Jung Hyun Shin (Assistant Professor, Kyunghee University)

The Professional and Political Attitudes of Japanese Newsmen

Jung Bock Lee (Research Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security)

Vol. 4, No. 2, 1980

U.S. Policy Toward Asia: A Time for New Priorities

Garrett N. Scalera (Professor, Tokyo Institute of Policy Studies)

A New Role for the New Japan

Richard B. Foster (Director of the Strategic Studies Center, SRI International)

Pre-Communist State-Building in Modern China: The Political Thought of Chiang Kai-Shek

Robert E. Bedeski (Associate Professor, Carleton University)

Critique of Mao's Thought on "Class Struggle" within the Socialist Transition: A Research Note

Noriyuki Tokuda (Professor, University of Tsukuba)

Stages of Educational Development in the PRC

In-Sook Nahm

The Economic Relationship Between ASEAN and Korea

Ungsuh K. Park (Director of Research, Korea International Economic Institute)

General Douglas MacArthur: The Commander of the Far East, 1945-1950

To-woong Chung (Professor, Korea Military Academy)

Appendix:

The U.S.-Japanese Alliance: The Last 20 Years, The Next 20 Years

Nobusuke Kishi (Former Prime Minister of Japan)

The U.S.-Japanese Alliance: The Last 20 Years, The Next 20 Years

Gerald R. Ford (Former President of the U.S.A.)

Vol. 5, No. 1, 1981

The Pacific Community Idea: Much Ado About Nothing?

Hadi Soesastro (Director of Studies, CSIS)

The Role of Korea in Pacific Community

Sungjoo Han (Professor, Korea University)

The PRC's Modernization Drive: Possible Implications for the ASEAN Region

J. Panglaykim (Member of the Board of Directors, CSIS), Mari E. Pangestu (President Director, Sejahtera Bank Umum)

China's New Economic Policy and Its Impact on the North-East Asian Economies

Ungsuh K. Park (Director of Research, Korea International Economic Institute)

Security Arrangements in Southeast Asia

Jusuf Wanandi (Member of the Board of Directors, CSIS)

Korea and the Security Arrangements of Northeast Asia

Chang-Yoon Choi (Secretary to the President for Political Affairs, ROK)

Economic Relationship Between Northeast and Southeast Asia: A View from Indonesia

R. B. Suhartono (Head of Agency, Industrial Research and Development of the Department of Industry, Indonesia)

Mechanism for Promoting Closer Cooperation Between Indonesia and Korea

William Soeryadjaya (President Directors, PT Astra International Inc.)

Growth and Contributions of Korean GTS's

Sae Chang Song (President, Samsung Petro-chemical Co., Ltd.)

Vol. 5, No. 2, 1981

North Korea: Isolation and the Cult of Personality under Communism

Peter Wiles (Professor, London School of Economics)

North Korean Policy Toward the United States

Jae Kyu Park (Director of the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University)

China's Military Modernization, Policy, and Strategy

Jonathan D. Pollack (Research Fellow, RAND Corporation)

ASEAN and Its Perceptions on Western Pacific Security

Chee-Meow Seah (Senior Lecturer, National University of Singapore)

The Prospects for Peace in the Middle East: Two Years After Camp David

Michael Curtis (Professor, Rutgers University)

An Approach to the Development of International Jurisdiction to Deal with Environmental Problems

John M. Howell (Professor, East Carolina University)

Security in a New Perspective

Estrella D. Solidum (Professor, University of the Philippines)

Vol. 6, No. 1, 1982

The Influence of Social and Cultural Environment on Development Cooperation: A Korean Perspective

Pyong-choon Hahm (Professor, Yonsei University)

Dimensions of Energy Management in the Asia-Pacific Region and Their Implications for Korea-Indonesia Cooperation

Hadi Soesastro (Director of Studies, Centre for Strategic and International Studies)

Development Prospect of the Northeast Asian Economies

Ungsuh K. Park (Director of Research, The Korea Institute for Industrial Economics & Technology)

Soldiers in Politics: A Comparative Overview of the Military as a Social Force in Developing Countries

Tae Dong Chung (Professor, Political Science and Diplomacy)

The Central Balance and Security in Northeast Asia

Kenneth N. Waltz (Professor, University of California)

Twentieth Century Allied Interoperability

Benjamin Franklin Cooling (Assistant Director for Historical Services, US Army Military History Institute), John A. Hixson (Assistant Director for Historical Services, US Army Military History Institute)

America's Allies in Vietnam: Problems of Recruitment and Command, 1965–1968

Richard A. Hunt (Member of US Army Center of Military History)

Problems of International Status and International Recognition of New Nations Resulting from Partition

Ray E. E. Johnston (Professor, Wayne State University)

Vol. 6, No. 2, 1982

The Global Soviet Threat and U.S. Security Commitments to South Korea

Robert S. Lockwood (Professor, The National War College)

Soviet Far East High Command: A New Developmental Factor in the USSR Military Strategy toward East Asia

Michael Sadykiewicz (Freelance Researcher, RAND Corporation)

Soviet Perceptions of South Korea

Basil Dmytryshyn (Professor, Portland State University)

Soviet Perceptions of North Korea

Joseph M. Ha (Professor, Lewis and Clark College)

Soviet Approaches to Japan: Images Behind the Policies

John J. Stephan (Professor, University of Hawaii)

Siberia and East Asia: Economic and General Relations Between Siberia and Its Far Eastern Neighbors

Stuart Kirby (Professor Emeritus, University of Oxford)

Siberian Development and Soviet Policy in East Asia

Theodore Shabad (Editor, Soviet Geography)

Vol. 7, No. 1, 1983

A Pacific Regional Economic Order

Gavin Boyd (Professor, Saint Mary's University)

Realism, Globalism and Global Humanism in U.S. Policy Toward the Third World

Melvin Gurtov (Professor, University of California)

Reagan's Asian Policy: The Past is Prologue

Stephen P. Gibert (Director of National Security Studies Program, Georgetown University)

What Policies Should the United States Adopt to Counter the Soviet Military Threat to Northeast Asia?

Thomas W. Robinson (Professor, Georgetown University)

The Second Shanghai: Need for an Adjustment in U.S.-China Relations

John F. Copper (Associate Professor of International Studies, Southwestern College)

The Geostrategic Role of Korea in the Soviet Military Doctrine

Michael Sadykiewicz (Researcher, RAND Corporation)

The Reform of the International Monetary Fund

Yoon Shik Park (Associate Professor, George Washington University)

Problems of Korean Political Integration

Tae-Hwan Kwak (Professor, Eastern Kentucky University)

Vol. 7, No. 2, 1983

The Korean-American Alliance: Its Evolution, Transition and Future Prospects

Bae Ho Hahn (Professor, Korea University)

“Germ Warfare” and Public Health in the Korean Conflict

Albert E. Cowdrey (US Army Center of Military History)

Building on Contradictions: The U.S.-P.R.C. Relationship

Stephen Uhalley, Jr. (Professor, University of Hawaii)

International Conflict and Warsaw Pact Defense Expenditures

Richard H. Flaskamp (Professor, University of Kentucky), Daniel N. Nelson (Professor, University of Kentucky)

Siberia and the Soviet Far East—The Specialists and Their Work

Rodger Swearingen (Professor, University of Southern California)

The Buildup of the Soviet Pacific Fleet: An Indication of Foreign Policy in Northeast Asia

Joseph M. Ha (Professor, Lewis and Clark College), Laura Heard (Fellow, Lewis and Clark College)

Appendix:

Korean-American Relations in the Dynamically Changing Western Pacific

Richard L. Walker (United States Ambassador to the Republic of Korea)

Vol. 8, No. 1, 1984

Canada, Korea, and the Pacific Community

Robert E. Bedeski (Professor, Carleton University), Christopher MacLean (Professor, Carleton University)

Korean Ocean Transportation and Sea Lanes of Communication

Dalchoong Kim (Professor, Yonsei University)

Trade Potential and Issues in East Asia

C. S. Pyun (Professor of Finance, Memphis State University)

The Law of Unintended Consequences: Hong Kong 1997 and Beyond

Yuen-fong Woon (Assistant Professor, University of Victoria)

Recognizing Complexity in Eastern Europe: A Case for a Policy of Differentiation Among Communist States

Daniel N. Nelson (Professor, University of Kentucky)

The Security Environment of the Korean Peninsula in the 1980s

Joseph A. Yager (Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution)

U.S.-China Relations and the Security of Korea

Jonathan D. Pollack (Research Fellow, RAND Corporation)

Probe for an Alternative Strategy of Conflict Resolution in the Korean Peninsula

Jong Chun Baek (Chairman, Department of Social Sciences, Korea Military Academy)

Book Review:

Andropov: Policy Dilemmas and the Struggle for Power. By Ilya Zemtsov
(Jerusalem: IRICS Publishers, 1983)

Jae Kyu Park (Director of the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University)

Vol. 8, No. 2, 1984

The Korean Economy: Past Performance and Future Prospects

SaKong Il (Senior Secretary for Economic Affairs, Office of the President, ROK)

The Western Pacific in the Year 2000: Political and Security Trends and Their Implications for Korea and Indonesia

Daod Joesoef (Member of the Supreme Advisory Council, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta)

The Western Pacific in the Year 2000: Economic Trends and Their Implications for Korea and Indonesia

Hadi Soesastro (Director of Studies, Centre for Strategic and International Relations)

Asian Patterns of Socialist Development: The PRC and North Korea

Han S. Park (Professor, University of Georgia)

Elements of Soviet Economic and Technical Aid to Laos

George Ginsburgs (Distinguished Professor, Rutgers University)

Tokyo's Relations with Taipei and Peking Since 1972

David S. Chou (Deputy Director, National Chengchi University)

Private Philanthropy and Foreign Affairs: The Case of John D. Rockefeller 3rd and Japan

John Curtis Perry (Professor, Tufts University)

R.O.K.-U.S. Relations and the Security of Northeast Asia

Jung Hyun Shin (Professor, Kyung Hee University)

Vol. 9, No. 1, 1985

Is North Korea Changing Course?

Manwoo Lee (Professor, Millersville University of Pennsylvania)

Strategies for Modernization in the PRC and North Korea

Kyung Ae Park (Research Fellow, University of Georgia)

Military Strategy and Operational Arts in North Korea

Young Choi (Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security in Seoul)

**Reflections on the Attitude of North Korea Toward the Law of the Sea
(UNCLOS III Treaty)**

Jung-Gun Kim (Professor, Yonsei University)

**Equity in Burdensharing Between the U.S. and Its Allies with an
Application to Japan**

Robert Lockwood (Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council)

**Asian Vulnerabilities to Soviet Influence and Manipulation: A View from
Singapore**

Chee-Meow Seah (Acting Head, National University of Singapore)

**“Irrational” Factors in Coalition Formation: Structural Analysis of the
Situation in the Middle East in 1967**

Miron Mushkat (Professor, University of Hong Kong)

Book Reviews:

Armed Communist Movements in Southeast Asia. Edited by Joo-Jock Lim with Vani S. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984)

Werner Levi (Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii)

The 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea: Proceedings of the 17th Annual Conference, Law of the Sea Institute, July 13–16, 1983. Edited by Albert W. Koers and Bernard H. Oxman (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1984)

William T. Burke (Professor, University of Washington)

Vol. 9, No. 2, 1985

Sino-Japanese Economic Relations Since 1978

Hong N. Kim (Professor, West Virginia University)

U.S.-Japan-ROK Military Cooperation

Edward A. Olsen (Associate Professor, Naval Postgraduate School)

The Pacific Community in Search of a Form

Estrella D. Solidum (Professor, University of the Philippines)

Changing Patterns of Conflict in South Asia

Bhabani Sen Gupta (Research Professor, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi)

Assessment of Threats to Security, Development and Stability in East Asia

Byung-joon Ahn (Professor, Yonsei University)

Hong Kong After the Chinese-British Agreement

William H. Overholt (Vice President, Bankers Trust Co.)

Siberia: Heartland and Framework

Stuart Kirby (Professor, University of Oxford)

Book Reviews:

The Structure and Process of International Law: Essays in Legal Philosophy, Doctrine and Theory. Edited by R. St. J. Macdonald and Douglas M. Johnston (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983)

Leslie C. Green (Honorary Professor; University of Alberta)

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John O. Haley (Professor; University of Washington)

Vol. 10, No. 1, 1986

South Korea's Unification Policies: A Reassessment

Han-Kyo Kim (Professor; University of Cincinnati)

North Korea's Unification Policy: An Assessment

B. C. Koh (Professor; University of Illinois at Chicago)

Domestic Factors Influencing the Korean Unification Process

Manwoo Lee (Professor; Millersville University of Pennsylvania)

Domestic Sources for North Korean Unification Policy

Dae Sook Suh (Professor; University of Hawaii)

Domestic Factors and Sources Influencing the Korean Unification Process

Se Hyun Jeong (Research Director of North Korean Foreign and Military Affairs, National Unification Board)

The Role of China in the Korean Unification Process

Chae-Jin Lee (Professor; University of Kansas)

The Soviet Policy Toward East Asia: Its Perception on the Korean Unification

Joseph M. Ha (Professor; Clark College in Portland)

The Role of the United States in the Korean Reunification Process

C. I. Eugene Kim (Professor, Western Michigan University)

The Japanese Role in the Korean Unification Process

Kwan Ha Yim (Professor, Manhattanville College)

Vol. 10, No. 2, 1986

The Strategic Defense Initiative and Korea

Yong-Ok Park (Professor, National Defense College)

The Reagan Initiative and the Pacific Allies: The View from Japan and Australia

Alex Glikzman (Director of Strategic Defense Studies, United Nations Association of the United States)

The Impact of Strategic Defense on the U.S.-USSR-PRC Strategic Triangle: Strategic and Military Dimensions

Kim R. Holmes (Policy Analyst, The Heritage Foundation)

On Economic Reforms, Trade and Foreign Investment in China

Weijian Shan (Teaching Associate, University of California, Berkeley)

Comments on “On Economic Reforms, Trade and Foreign Investment in China” by Weijian Shan

Byung-joon Ahn (Professor, Yonsei University)

Some Reflections on Soviet Influence in East Asia

Manwoo Lee (Professor, Millersville University of Pennsylvania)

Russia in the Gorbachev Era: Still Looking East

Stuart Kirby (Professor, University of Oxford)

A Reflection on the Demise of the Authoritarian Park Regime

Bae-ho Hahn (Professor, Korea University)

An Epilogue on Burma-American Relations: A Burmese Perspective

Kanbawza Win (Former Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma)

Book Review:

China's Reform Politics: Policies and Their Implications. Edited by Sang-Woo Rhee (Seoul: Sogang University Press, 1986)

Chong Wook Chung (Professor, Seoul National University)

Vol. 11, No. 1, 1987

The Ideology of the Succession in North Korea

James Cotton (Professor, University of Newcastle)

Juche as Foreign Policy Constraint in North Korea

Han S. Park (Professor, University of Georgia)

North Korea's Economic Development and Capabilities

Joseph S. Chung

Soviet-North Korean Relations and Security on the Korean Peninsula

Suk Ryul Yu (Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, ROK)

Sino-Soviet Rivalry over the Korean Peninsula and Its Regional Implications: An American Perspective

Daryl M. Plunk (Senior Policy Analyst, The Heritage Foundation)

Current Domestic Trends in Japan and Their Implications for Korea-Japan Relations

Hee-Suk Shin (Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, ROK)

Economic Development and City-Systems in East Asia, 1880–1980

Su-Hoon Lee (Assistant Professor, Kyungnam University)

Stages of Communist Rule: The Withering Away of Party Dictatorship

Helmut Wagner (Professor, Freie Universität Berlin)

Book Review:

Partnership with China: Sino-Foreign Joint Ventures in Historical Perspective. By David G. Brown (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986)

Hyunwook Koh (Associate Professor, Kyungnam University)

Vol. 11, No. 2, 1987

Structure and Pattern in Northeast Asian International Politics

Peter R. Moody, Jr. (Professor, University of Notre Dame)

Elections in China: A Comparative Overview

Robert E. Bedeski (Professor, Carleton University)

Progress, Problems, and Prospects of Sino-Japanese Economic Relations: Bilateral Trade and Technological Cooperation

Tai-fa Yu (Ph.D. Candidate, University of South Carolina)

East Asia's Rise to Economic Prominence: Aspects of the Political Economy of Development

Young Whan Kihl (Professor, Iowa State University)

An Analysis of Military Expansion in South Korea, 1945–1980

Su-Hoon Lee (Assistant Professor, Kyungnam University)

Korean Reunification Formulae: A Synthesis

Byung Chul Koh (Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago)

Contextual Effect of Dependency: A Cross-National Study on Economic Growth and Sectoral Inequality

Seok-Choon Lew (Assistant Professor, Yonsei University)

Toward an Alternative Theoretical Framework for Analyzing Military Intervention in Politics in Third World Countries

Mun Gu Kang (Ph.D. Candidate, University of New Mexico)

Vol. 12, No. 1, 1988

Gorbachev's Bold Asian Initiatives: Vladivostok and Beyond

Joseph M. Ha (Professor, Lewis and Clark College)

China: The Politics of the Opening

Melvin Gurtov (Professor, Portland State University)

The American Military Government in South Korea, 1945–1948: Its Formation, Policies, and Legacies

Hak Joon Kim (Associate Professor, Seoul National University)

Urbanization and Dependency Reversal in the Republic of Korea

John B. Hall (Assistant Professor, Portland State University)

The Governmental Role in the Making of Chaebol in the Industrial Development of South Korea

Minho Kuk (Lecturer, Yonsei University)

Dynamics of Labor Control and Labor Protest in the Process of Export-Oriented Industrialization in South Korea

Jeong Taik Lee (Lecturer, Yonsei University)

Anti-Americanism and U.S.-ROK Relations: An Assessment of Korean Students' Views

Douglas G. Bond (Assistant Professor, Kyungnam University)

Book Review:

The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism. Edited by Frederic C. Deyo (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987)

John B. Hall (Assistant Professor, Portland State University)

Vol. 12, No. 2, 1988

The Unwritten Rules of the Game in the National Assembly of the Fifth Republic

Chong Lim Kim (Professor, University of Iowa)

The Political Economy of Outward Liberalization: Chile and South Korea in Comparative Perspective

Hyung Kook Kim (Lecturer, Inha University), Guillermo Geisse (Ph.D. Candidate, Duke University)

Kwangju and America in Perspective

Samsung Lee (Lecturer, Korea University)

Revolutionary Armed Struggle and the Origins of the Korean War

Byong-Moo Hwang (Professor, National Defense College)

Contemporary Civilian-Dominated and Military-Dominated Political Systems

Anton Bebler (Professor, University of Ljubljana)

China's Relations with the Two Superpowers in the Context of Modernization Diplomacy

Joseph Y. S. Cheng (Senior Lecturer, Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Hong Kong's Political and Social Culture: Some Continuing Problems of Definition and Perception, and Their Repercussions in a Transitional Polity

Ahmed Dalvean (Consultant, Monash University and Mannix College)

Book Review:

**Manufacturing Matters: The Myth of the Post-Industrial Economy.
By Stephen S. Cohen and John Zysman (New York: Basic Books, 1987)**

John B. Hall (Assistant Professor, Portland State University)

Vol. 13, No. 1, 1989

Paths to Participation in 'Hi-Tech' Industry: A Comparative Analysis of Computers in Brazil and Korea

Peter B. Evans (Professor, University of New Mexico), Paulo Bastos Tigre (Researcher, Instituto de Economia Industrial of Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro)

The Post-INF Strategy for Peace and Security: A Korean View

Jae Kyu Park (President, Kyungnam University)

New Trends in Global Political Development and Their Implications for East Asia

A. Hasnan Habib (Advisor to the Minister of Research and Technology, Indonesia)

Ecological Dynamics and Third World National Security

Min Yong Lee (Assistant Professor, Korea Military Academy)

Sino-Korean Relations: Some Implications for Taiwan

Robert E. Bedeski (Professor; Carleton University)

U.S.-Korea Trade Frictions: Content Analysis of Daily Newspapers in Korea and U.S.

Yearn Hong Choi (Professor; University of the District of Columbia)

Modeling Stalemate: The Case of North-South Korean Reunification Negotiations

Mario F. Bognanno (Professor; University of Minnesota), Sung Chul Yang (Professor; Kyunghee University)

The Rise of the Cold War and Labor Movements in South Korea, 1945–1948

Young-Tae Jung (Professor; Inha University)

Protest Outcomes in Postwar Japan: An Empirical Analysis

David Kowalewski (Associate Professor; Alfred University)

Political Change and Search for New Paradigms: Assessing the State of Political Science in South Korea

Mann-kyu Kim (Professor; Inha University), Chung-in Moon (Assistant Professor; University of Kentucky), Yoon-Dho Ra (Lecturer; Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Vol. 13, No. 2, 1989

The Contribution of Patrimonial Theory in Explaining the Roots of and Guiding Asian Development in the Twenty-First Century: A Theoretical Introduction

Norman Jacobs (Professor; University of Illinois)

Ten Years of Direct Foreign Investment in China

Richard Pomfret (Professor, Johns Hopkins University)

Modernization and Social Security Reforms in China

Nelson W. S. Chow (Senior Lecturer, University of Hong Kong)

The Political Economy of Export-Led Industrialization in Korea and Taiwan: A Statist Approach

Suk Joon Kim (Associate Professor, Duke University)

The State in Compromise: The U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines

Pedro B. Bernaldez (Former Dean, Aquinas University)

The Social and Political Networks of the Korean Capitalist Class

Jae Jean Suh (Lecturer, Yonsei University)

Seoul's Searching for Nordpolitik: Evolution and Perspective

Ming Lee (Adjunct Associate Professor, National Chengchi University)

Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990

Big Business and the State: East Asia and Latin America Compared

Gary Gereffi (Associate Professor, Duke University)

Third World Sub-Fascism and Corporate Dominance: The Case of Singapore

Michael Haas (Professor, University of Hawaii)

Tiananmen: The View from Shanghai

John H. Maier (Ph.D. Student, University of Toronto)

The Evolution of U.S.-China Security Relations and Its Implications for the Korean Peninsula

Byong-Moo Hwang (Professor, National Defense College at Seoul)

State and Technological Innovation in China: A Historical Overview, 1949–89

Dali Yang (Ph.D. Student, Princeton University)

Military Capabilities of South and North Korea: A Comparative Study

Tae-Hwan Kwak (Professor, Eastern Kentucky University)

Japan's Governing Triad: Models of Development and Policymaking

William Raymond Nester (Assistant Professor, St. John's University)

U.S.-Japan: Beyond the Cold War

Peter Polomka (Senior Research Fellow, Australian National University)

The Politics of Collective Action by Labour in Hard Times: A Theoretical Discussion

Jae-Hung Ahn (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Michigan)

Marxism Versus Leninism: What Will Remain of Either, for the Third World?

Peter Wiles (Retired Professor, London School of Economics)

Vol. 14, No. 2, 1990

Imported Asian Labor in the USSR

George Ginsburgs (Professor, Rutgers University)

Radicals, Reformers, and the Chinese Tradition

Peter R. Moody, Jr. (Professor, University of Notre Dame)

The Unification Dialogue Between the Two Koreans in the 1990s

Hong Chul Yum (Professor, Kyungnam University)

Progressive Mayors, Interparty Competition, and Revenue Pattern Change in Japanese Cities, 1971–1983

Robert C. Rickards (Assistant Professor, University of Texas)

China's Policy Toward South Asia

G. W. Choudhury (Adjunct Professor, Columbia University)

Japanese Reactions on President Carter's Korean Withdrawal Policy

Tae Hwan Ok (Lecturer, Maryland University)

The Politics of Antagonism: The Case of First Conference for Normalization of Diplomatic Relationships between Japan and South Korea, 1951–1952

Sung-hwa Cheong (Professor, Myong-Ji University)

Bureaucratic-Mobilizational Regime: The Yushin System in South Korea, 1972–1979

Kang Ro Lee (Lecturer, Korea University)

Research Note:

Chinese and Soviet Third World Media Coverage, Pre-Reform vs. Reform Periods: A Research Note

Byung O Min (M.A., University of Kentucky), Yang Zhong (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Kentucky), Daniel N. Nelson (Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment)

Vol. 15, No. 1, 1991

The 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident: Retrospective and Prospective Considerations

Jacob Kovalio (Associate Professor, Carleton University)

Conditions for Korean Political Integration: A Creative Adjustment

Tae-Hwan Kwak (Professor, Eastern Kentucky University)

Goals and Roles of U.S., U.S.S.R., PRC and Japan in the Next Ten-Fifteen Years

Henry Trofimenko (Visiting Professor, Columbia University)

Transition Towards Democracy in Comparative Perspective

Gary Zou (Research Associate, University of Southern California)

Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony in Gramsci

Hyug Baeg Im (Lecturer, Ewha Womans University)

Is Indonesia Poised for an Economic Takeoff?

Miron Mushkat (Honorary Lecturer, University of Hong Kong)

Political Revolution in a Cultural Continuum: Preliminary Observations on the Korean Juche Ideology with Its Intrinsic Cult of Personality

Geir Helgesen (Secretary, Nordic Association for Korean and Japanese Studies)

Political Economy of Land Reforms in Korea and Bolivia: State and Class in Rural Structure

Hochul Lee (Ph.D. Candidate, Rutgers University)

Research Note:

Korean Newspaper Editorialists' Perceptions of the United States and Americans

Seong Hyong Lee (Professor, Appalachian State University)

Book Review:

Confucianism and Economic Development: An Oriental Alternative?

By Tai Hung-Chao (Washington, D.C.: Washington Institute Press, 1989)

Joel C. Magnuson (Professor, Portland State University)

Vol. 15, No. 2, 1991

Social Change and Social Integration in Korea: Some Theoretical Reflections

Kim Kyong-Dong (Professor, Seoul National University)

Kwangju 1980 and Beijing 1989

Karen Eggleston (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Hawaii at Manoa)

Cultural, Psychological, and Structural Impediments to Free Trade with Japan

Don R. McCreary (Associate Professor, University of Georgia), Chris J. Noll, Jr. (Retired Director of Corporate Education, University of Georgia)

International Quasi-Crisis: Theory and a Case of Japan-South Korean Bilateral Friction

Chung-in Moon (Associate Professor, University of Kentucky)

An Expected Utility Model of Regional Rivalry: A Case of North and South Korea

Woosang Kim (Assistant Professor, Texas A&M University)

Korea's Nordpolitik: Achievements & Prospects

Tae Dong Chung (Senior Research Fellow, Kyungnam University)

Book Review:

Colonial Origins of Korean Enterprise, 1910–1945. By Dennis L. McNamara, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Christopher S. Johnson (Professor, Portland State University)

Vol. 16, No. 1, 1992

Electoral Advantage, Malapportionment, and One Party Dominance in Japan

John C. Hickman (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Iowa), Chong Lim Kim (Professor, University of Iowa)

The Evolution of Subcontracting in Japan

Therese B. Lamb (Lecturer, Portland State University)

Korean Perceptions of Koreans, Japanese, and Americans

R. A. Brown (Editorial Advisor, Korea Herald Business Communications Consulting Group)

The Origin of Northeast Asian NICs in Retrospect: The Colonial Political Economy, Japan in Korea and Taiwan

Jei Guk Jeon (Lecturer, Korea University)

A Half-Step Forward: An Assessment of the April 1991 Soviet-Japanese Summit

Allan Y. Song (Lecturer, Columbia University)

Free Trade in the New World Order: An Essay

Joseph M. Ha (Professor, Lewis and Clark College)

Book Review:

The Economic Future of Hong Kong. By Miron Hushkat (Boulder and London: Hong Kong University Press, 1990)

Zhongren Peng (Professor, Portland State University)

Vol. 16, No. 2, 1992

Korea and the Changing International Scene

Robert A. Scalapino (Robson Research Professor, University of California at Berkeley)

The Influence of the American Constitution on South Korean Constitutional Development Since 1948

Hakjoon Kim (Professor, Seoul National University)

Global Systemic Change, Spatial Mediation, and Unification Dynamics in Korea and Germany

Roland Bleiker (Research Fellow, Harvard University)

Authoritarian Leadership and Hegemonic Party Building: A Comparative Analysis of South Korea and Mexico

Yong-Ho Kim (Assistant Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Korea)

The New World Order and Korean Municipal Finance

Robert C. Rickards (Associate Professor, University of Maryland), Yi Seung-Cheoul (Associate Professor, Han Nam University)

The Territorial Dispute Between Moscow and Tokyo: A Historical Perspective

Euikon Kim (Assistant Professor, Inha University)

A History of the Development of Federalism in Southeast Asia: The Malaysian Case, 1985–1990

James F. Ongkili (Professor, University Kebangsaan Malaysia in Sabah)

The Origins of the Developmental State in South Korea

Sang-In Jun (Research Fellow, Research Institute for National Reunification)

The International Order in Transition

Jae Kyu Park (President, Kyungnam University)

Korea and the New World Order

Donald P. Gregg (United States Ambassador to the Republic of Korea)

The Situation in Asia and the Pacific, and Russia-Korea Relations Toward the 21st Century

Alexander N. Panov (Russian Ambassador to the Republic of Korea)

Vol. 17, No. 1, 1993

The New Order in Northeast Asia: A Theoretical Overview

Richard W. Mansbach (Professor, Iowa State University)

The Security Situation in Northeast Asia Under Transition: Current Trends and Future Agenda

Hongchan Chun (Assistant Professor, Pusan National University)

The United States, Japan, and Korea: The New International Political Economy

Charles F. Doran (Andrew W. Mellon Professor, Johns Hopkins University)

Prospects for Korea-U.S.-Japan Trilateral Security Relations

Melvin Gurtov (Director of the International Studies Program, Portland State University)

The End of the Cold War: Russian-American Relations and Their Implications for Northeast Asia

Georgi A. Arbatov (Director, Institute of US and Canada, Russian Academy of Sciences)

Divergent Organizational Paths of Industrialization in East Asia

Hyuk-Rae Kim (Lecturer, Yonsei University)

'Sudpolitik' in the Wake of Political Liberalization: South Korea Pushes South

David I. Steinberg (Professor, Georgetown University)

The Confucian Family Instead of the Welfare State? Reform and Peasant Welfare in Post-Mao China

Kyung-Sup Chang (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

Vol. 17, No. 2, 1993

Partisan Conflict and Immobilism in the Korean National Assembly: Conditions, Processes, and Outcomes

Chan Wook Park (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

The Democratic Breakout in South Korea: An Informal Game-Theoretic Account

Larry L. Wade (Professor, University of California), Sung Jin Kang (Graduate Student, Stanford University)

Rational Choice Theory, Schema Theory, or What?: War Cues and Foreign Policy Act in South Korea

Aran Kim (Consultant, Levesque Beaubien), Kun Y. Park (Lecturer, Sogang University)

German Unification: What the Koreans Stand to Learn

John Hall (Associate Professor, Portland State University)

Political Recruitment in Unified Korea

Jin Min Chung (Assistant Professor, Myong-Ji University)

Alliance and Security Strategies of Unified Korea

Woosang Kim (Assistant Professor, Texas A&M University)

U.S.-Japan High-Tech Military Cooperation: Implications of FSX Co-Development

Peter Dauvergne (Ph.D. Candidate, University of British Columbia)

The Geoculture of Development, or the Transformation of Our Geoculture?

Immanuel Wallerstein (Professor, SUNY Binghamton)

Subjectivity and Modernization in Contemporary Societies: From Bureaucratic Patronage to Democratic Culture in Latin America

Fernando Calderon G. (Regional Advisor, Economic Commission for Latin America)

Economic Development, Technology, and Culture: The Case of East Asia

Kunio Yoshihara (Professor, Kyoto University)

Culture, Technology and Sustainable Development in Africa

Kabiru Kinyanjui (Senior Program Officer, International Development Research Center, Eastern and Southern Africa)

Vol. 18, No. 1, 1994

Multilateral Arms Control Regimes in Asia: Prospects and Options

Edward A. Olsen (Professor, Naval Postgraduate School), David Winterford (Senior Research Fellow, Aequus Institute)

The State in the Asian NICs

James Cotton (Professor, University of Tasmania)

Between State and Market: Development Dynamics in East Asian Capitalism

Hyung Kook Kim (Associate Professor, Chung Ang University)

Changing Global Politics and Its Impacts on the Asian International System

Golam W. Choudhury (Adjunct Visiting Professor, Columbia University)

The Future of China's Rise

Melvin Gurtov (Professor, Portland State University)

Peace and Security in Northeast Asia: Reality and Vision

Samsung Lee (Assistant Professor, Hallym University)

Vol. 18, No. 2, 1994

The Dialectics of China's North Korea Policy in a Changing Post-Cold War World

Samuel S. Kim (Associate Director, Columbia University)

North Korea's Strategy Toward South Korea

Byung Chul Koh (Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago)

Reform Measures in North Korea and Mongolia: Writhing in the Agony of Pain

Pan Suk Kim (Assistant Professor, University of Incheon)

Government-Business Relations in East Asia: The Changing Basis of State Capacity

Linda Weiss (Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney)

Geopolitical Determinants of Political Economy: The Cold War and South Korean Political Economy

Wookhee Shin (Lecturer, Hanyang University and Ewha Womans University)

Political Economy of Democratisation in East Asia

Kanishka Jayasuriya (Lecturer, National University of Singapore)

Characteristic Features of Korean Democratization

Sang Joon Kim (Professor, Sogang University)

Book Review Essay:

Political Elites, Legitimacy and Performance in Korean Politics

Young Whan Kihl (Professor, Iowa State University)

Vol. 19, No. 1, 1995

Prospects for the State-Owned Enterprise in China's Socialist Market Economy

Elliott Parker (Assistant Professor; University of Nevada)

China: Changes and Problems in Political and Economic Development

Ma Jisen (Economist, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)

Is It Safe to Fly in Rising China?: The Precarious Contest Between Aviation Industry Expansion and Safety

Stephen Uhalley, Jr. (Professor, University of Hawaii at Manoa)

Weber, Mencius, and the History of Chinese Capitalism

Timothy Brook (Professor, University of Toronto)

The Re-emergence of Voluntary Associations in Canton, China

Daniel M. Amos (Fulbright Scholar; Wuhan University)

Reform at the Crossroads: An Analysis of Chinese Corruption

Yufan Hao (Assistant Professor, Colgate University), Michael Johnston (Professor, Colgate University)

The Expansion of Personal Freedom in China

Liu Binyan (Publisher, China Focus in the Princeton China Initiative)

Political Corruption in South Korea: Concentrating on the Dynamics of Party Politics

Byeong-Seog Park (Research Fellow; Kim Dae-Jung Peace Foundation)

Building a New Party System: The Case of Korea

HeeMin Kim (Assistant Professor, Florida State University)

Book Review Essays:

Patrimonialism Reconsidered in the Indian Context

Kyung Hak Kim (Full-time Lecturer, Chonnam National University)

Whither the Dragon?

Christopher S. Johnson (Assistant to the Editors of Asian Perspective)

Vol. 19, No. 2, 1995

The Middle Road: Security and Cooperation in Northeast Asia

David Kang (Assistant Professor, Dartmouth College)

Economic Interdependence and the Implications for Security in Northeast Asia

Chung-In Moon (Professor, Yonsei University)

The Tumen Project CBM: An American Strategic Critique

Edward A. Olsen (Professor, Naval Postgraduate School)

Tumen River Area Development Program and the Prospects for Northeast Asian Economic Cooperation

Icksoo Kim (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

The Prospects for Environmental Cooperation in Northeast Asia

Lyuba Zarsky (Director, Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development)

Pyeongyang and Washington: Dynamics of Changing Relations

Manwoo Lee (Professor, Millersville University of Pennsylvania)

The North Korean Bomb and Nuclear Proliferation in Northeast Asia

Kongdan Oh (Private Consultant, Pacific Rim Studies)

Russia and Korean Unification

Alexander Zhebin (Researcher, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences)

The North Korean Nuclear Crisis and the Agreed Framework: How not to Negotiate with the North Koreans

James A. Bayer (Associate Professor, University of Victoria)

Japan's Multilateral Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific and Its Implications for the Korean Peninsula

Yoshihide Soeya (Professor, Keio University)

The Evolution of Obedience Norms in the National Assembly: A Study of the Repeated Carrot-and-the-Stick Game

Chong Lim Kim (Professor, University of Iowa), Yong-Gwan Kim (Assistant Professor, University of Iowa)

New Managerial Strategy and the Changes of the Factory Regime in Korea: Focusing on the Big Companies of Manufacturing Sectors

Joon-Shik Park (Assistant Professor, Hallym University)

Asian Perspective

1996 ~
2022

Vol. 20, No. 1, 1996

The Participation of Japanese Military Forces in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

Milton Leitenberg (Senior Fellow, University of Maryland)

Since their establishment in 1954, the Self Defense Forces (SDF) of Japan have been a contentious issue in Japanese domestic politics. The legitimacy of their existence was opposed by the Japanese Socialist Party, which warned, in addition, of the dangers inherent in their existence or expansion. Nevertheless, as early as 1958 and again in 1961, there were requests from UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld to the Japanese government that Japan commit members of the SDF for service with United Nations peacekeeping missions. Such proposals were supported by the Japanese ambassador to the United Nations, by U.S. diplomats, and by a series of Japanese commissions established to examine the nation's national security issues.

These suggestions were rejected for decades by successive Japanese governments of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. Under the pressure of the 1990-1991 Gulf War, however, authorizing legislation was finally passed in June 1992. Additionally, a rapid and large increase in UN peacekeeping operations after the end of the cold war, and the complete reversal of the positions of the Japanese Socialist Party when Tomiichi Murayama became prime minister in June 1994 in a coalition government, have totally altered Japan's stance on international peacekeeping.

Members of Japan's SDF have now been successfully deployed with UN peacekeeping missions in Cambodia, Mozambique, Zaire, and most recently in the Golan Heights. Asian countries that had expressed qualms and reservations about Japan's participation beforehand now evidently accept it. All of these deployments have so far been under the provisions of Chapter 6 of the UN Charter, which excludes participation in combat. The 1992 legislation, however, permits eventual expansion of Japan's participation, if the Japanese parliament approves the extension.

This article reviews the history of these developments, and particularly the events that have taken place since 1990. It then assesses the desirability and potential benefits that may result from the participation of Japanese military forces in UN peacekeeping operations, as well as the fears that have been expressed to the effect that such expansion of the roles of the SDF could ultimately lead to a resurgence of Japanese "militarism." Finally, the article discusses in some detail the major source of reservation regarding the future conduct of Japanese governments once the threshold of SDF service beyond Japan's shores has been crossed.

Japanese Peacekeeping Operations: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

Young-sun Song (Defense and Security Analyst, Korea Institute for Defense Analysis)

The end of the cold war opened up new opportunities for the United Nations, through international peacekeeping, to exercise greater responsibility for the maintenance of international security. Thus, the UN has been increasing its demands on member-states to provide economic and humanitarian resources as well as dispatch troops for peacekeeping operations (PKO).

Japan's interest in PKO actually dates from its UN membership in 1956. This interest has evolved into an aspiration to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. The Gulf War provided Japan with an impetus and momentum to break out of its psychological cocoon and constitutional restraints, and dispatch its troops overseas for the first time since the Second World War. This decision was the result of a painful and time-consuming process because of the complications posed by policy divergencies, the constitutional barrier, and issues of public support. However, for Japan, the decision has now become the foundation of efforts to realize a cherished dream—to ascend to permanent membership on the Security Council.

This article begins by sketching the history of Japan's involvement in UN PKO. The constitutionality of the International Peace Cooperation Law (or "PKO Law") is analyzed. Domestic and external factors affecting Japan's participation in PKO are examined next. Finally, the article explores Japan's contributions to PKO in order to consider the nature and direction of its future involvement in international peacekeeping.

Rural Enterprise Development and Regional Policy in China

Dali L. Yang (Assistant Professor, University of Chicago), Houkai Wei (Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Industrial Economics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)

An issue of growing salience in Chinese politics is the widening income disparities between the more prosperous coastal region and the interior regions. This article provides a preliminary assessment of a government initiative to promote interior development through rural enterprises. It first discusses the factors that led central leaders to consider disparities in regional rural enterprise development as the crux of rising regional inequalities and thus the rationale for a regional policy centered on rural enterprises. Next, the key policy components, including credit availability, tax incentives, and an effort to induce interregional cooperation, are presented. Local government responses are described and analyzed, as is the East-West Rural Enterprise Cooperation Project. The conclusion is that while the rural enterprise initiative has been a worthwhile effort, it will probably have only limited impact on the reduction of regional disparities.

Democracy or Minzhu: The Challenge of Western Versus East Asian Notions of Good Government

Geir Helgesen (Research Staff, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies in Copenhagen), Li Xing (Ph.D. Research Fellow, Centre for International Studies)

In this era of globalization democracy has, as a concept, been universalized ahead of actual democratic experiences in non-Western countries. Democracy and good government is read as the two sides of the coin, and thus, to a large extent, politics has been removed from its societal context. In the authors views it is a fundamental problem that culture is a neglected dimension of development. In this article, where the development in South Korea and China serves as examples of a political modernization process, basic values and norms are seen as the context of political ideas and activities. The point of departure in any political system must be, that it is accepted in relation to the values and mores cherished by the people living in that particular country. What we are searching for is in other words a culturally acceptable mode of governance. Here we present a tentative outline, suggesting that social reciprocity before individual needs and interests is regarded basic in East Asia, but it could possibly as well be perceived of as a common ground in the global democratization process.

Electoral Volatility in New Democracies and Democratic Consolidation

Jin Min Chung (Associate Professor, Myong-Ji University)

Democratic consolidation is the most important task to be accomplished by countries newly democratized over the last two decades. However, most new democracies with only a few exceptions have difficulties to various degrees in consolidating democracy. The primary aim of this paper is to get a clearer idea of the difficulties which new democracies are now facing by examining patterns and contributing factors of electoral volatility in four new democracies, that is, three East European countries (Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland) and one East Asian country (South Korea). The level of electoral volatility in terms of vote and seat share in these countries is extremely high. Regarding future prospects for democratic consolidation, however, a more important conclusion is that each country has a quite different combination of factors contributing to electoral volatility, implying that prospects for democratic consolidation might also differ, depending on these characteristics.

The Politics of Nonpolitical Cooperation Between South and North Korea

Chong Son Yu (Assistant Professor, Ulsan University)

The article critically examines the possibilities and limitations of nonpolitical exchanges for the purpose of South North Korean reconciliation. Proponents

of “Korean unification through nonpolitical means” have always referred to functionalist theories of international integration for theoretical justification of their argument. The article discusses whether recent experiences of international integration can satisfactorily be explained in terms of functionalism, and what kinds of “non-functional” preconditions should be met for functionalism to work among nations. Then, the effectiveness of nonpolitical exchange between the two Koreas is reviewed and evaluated as a vehicle of Korean rapprochement. The argument here is that inter-Korean nonpolitical cooperation can never be separated from the politics of the rivalry. Korean reconciliation will require direct political discussions to settle “political issues, rather than functional and nonpolitical cooperation alone. In Korea as in Europe and elsewhere, it is politics among nations that determines the fate of international functional cooperation, and not the other way around.

How Trade Liberalization Affects the Political and Economic Performance of Developing Countries: The Application of a Two-Stage Game Model

Seok Kwoo Kim (Lecturer, Sungkyunkwan University)

The major purpose of this study is to investigate how a certain trade policy adopted by a country is related to the performance of its economic and political operations in a changing international environment. More specifically, the study tries to provide an answer to the question of why some developing countries perform much better economically and politically than other developing countries, and how trade politics at both domestic and international levels affects these.

The international political economy is rapidly moving toward “globalization.” If we confine the concept of “globalization” to trade issues, it calls for improved trade liberalization within which countries lower their trade barriers. Voluntarily or reluctantly, many developing countries have begun to move toward greater trade liberalization. However, this process is not uniformly applied to all developing countries. This study explains why some developing countries can follow the path of trade liberalization, while others have more difficulties in adopting this policy.

The adoption of a different development policy (export promotion or import-substitution) leads to different industrial structures, which in turn, result in different political balances between free traders and protectionists. Because of these differences, countries which adopted an export-promotion policy can adjust to new international environments more easily than those which adopted an import-substitution policy. Furthermore, the countries which adopted an export promotion policy can perform economically and politically better than those which adopted an import substitution policy. This study applies the two-stage game model in which one stage is domestic and the other is international, to explain the source, the process, and the outcomes of trade liberalization in

developing countries.

The implications of this study are that (1) economic performance and political performance may be substitutes in some developing countries, while they are compliments in others; (2) the application of the IMF conditionality policy to push developing countries toward trade liberalization needs to be implemented with greater caution; and (3) the presence of mechanisms to transfer income from the winner to the losers in trade politics may be helpful in moving toward trade liberalization.

Book Reviews:

Can Japan Be Trusted?

Kevin M. Doak (Assistant Professor; University of Illinois)

Realities of Pacific Asia

Gil Latz (Professor; Portland State University)

Vol. 20, No. 2, 1996

Korean Unification: A Pandora's Box of Northeast Asia?

C. S. Eliot Kang (Assistant Professor; Northern Illinois University)

In recent years, the concern about North Korea's nuclear weapons potential has dominated the discussion of peace and security in Northeast Asia. However, in the long run, the more interesting topic may be how the reunification of Korea will affect the stability of that region. Given the glacial pace of reforms in North Korea, the possibility of North Korean collapse and the subsequent reunification of the Korean peninsula under South Korean terms is very real. Such an outcome could trigger a wholesale restructuring of security relations among major powers that have vital interests in the region. Indeed, the reemergence of united Korea could prove disruptive and force a fundamental realignment of power throughout the Asia Pacific as reunified Korea pursues various options (including nuclear armed-neutrality) to ensure its survival. Though the continuing economic integration of the region and various cooperative security measures may mitigate conflict, Korean reunification can only complicate the management of emerging multipolarity in that part of the world.

Resolving North-South Korean Conflicts: A Structural Approach

Chih-Cheng Lo (Associate Professor, Fu-Jen Catholic University in Taipei)

This study seeks to search for the international environment conducive to the resolution of conflicts in the Korean peninsula. It will be demonstrated that North-South Korean interactions in the past five decades can be accounted for by the theory of structural balance. This theory advances not only our knowledge of inter-Korean interactions but also regional conflict resolution in general. The findings of this study suggest that a southern policy should proceed in parallel with the Northern policy in order to create a favorable security environment for rapprochement initiatives in the peninsula. The strategy calls for the efforts of Seoul and its allies, especially the United States, to encourage and help North Korea out of its international isolation through constructive and comprehensive engagement.

Inter-Korean Confidence Building

Kang Choi (Associate Research Fellow, KIDA)

Confidence-building in the Korean Peninsula must be directed to the achievement of the conditions for peaceful coexistence, crisis prevention/management, and reconciliation and cooperation. The first set of conditions is related to political confidence, the second set is related to military confidence, and the third set is related to the economic and social confidence. South Korea has taken various unilateral measures. These measure should be reciprocated by North Korea. Under the current situation, the most important confidence building measure is the resumption of inter-Korean dialogue and the implementation of the already agreed measures contained in the Basic Agreement and Protocols. On the other hand, South Korea should adopt “tit-for-tat” strategy in inter-Korean relations and should not beg dialogue for the sake of dialogue itself.

Building a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula: A Three-Step Concept for the Peace Process

Samsung Lee (Associate Professor, Hallym University)

The article begins with an assessment that the relative rigidity of South Korean perspective allowed the problem solving process on the Korean peninsula to be dominated by the two actors: North Korea and the United States. In many decisive moments, the South Koreans chose deadlock rather than diplomatic dealings with the North. When the United States was to make a political deal with the North, the South often chose to resist such developments. Had the South Koreans been more flexible than the U.S. or at least as flexible as the latter, they also could have played significant and creative role. As long as we

want to avoid potential disasters of chaos and even violence that may result from a sudden collapse of North Korea, we must be able to project a patient vision of a long but peaceful process toward the ultimate establishment of a unified Korea. Assuming that this is our premise, this article suggests that a three-step evolution of peace process—from a four-party talks to a six-party talks, and again, to a five-way interaction system—that may be the most probable itinerary of the progress for peace on the Korean peninsula.

De-Bureaucratization of Politics: Hong Kong as a Case Study

Jermain T. M. Lam (Associate Professor; City University of Hong Kong)

This article aims to examine the changing relationship between bureaucrats and politicians and to explore the implications of their relationship for the politics of transition in Hong Kong. The dynamic relationship between politics and administration is reversing from the “bureaucratization of politics” to the greater separation of politics and administration. Mutual distrust, tension, and an incongruence of values between the politicians and the bureaucrats characterize their relationship. This kind of incongruent relationship between bureaucrats and politicians would be detrimental to the maintenance of prosperity and the stability of Hong Kong during the political transition from a British colony to a Chinese Special Administrative Region.

The Republic of Korea: Human Rights, Residual Wrongs, New Initiatives

David I. Steinberg (Professor; Georgetown University)

This paper traces the profound changes that have taken place in human rights, in itself an evolving concept, in Korea since the political liberalization of 1987. It concludes that human rights issues between the U.S. and the Republic of Korea should be concentrated on demonstrating and articulating to each other, and to the external world actors, this dynamic process of positive change in which internal and external forces and dialogue, working together and even under considerable strain, produced positive changes. It proposes some mechanisms for collaboration in the Asian region with Korea playing a leading role. It traces the evolution of the process of the development of human rights in Korea, and notes the continuing problems that exist even in this period of liberalization.

Going South: Global Restructuring and Garment Production in Three East Asian Cases

David A. Smith (Associate Professor; University of California)

The textile and garment industries are extremely interesting cases of global economic restructuring. This paper illustrates the factors promoting the

shift of apparel production—and other light industries—away from core and semiperipheral regions in the world-economy, illuminates some of the complexities and nuances of that process, and discusses the implications of this for the regional division of labor in East Asia. The story begins in South Korea, where apparel manufacturing, which grew rapidly during the 1970s and 1980s, faces an uncertain future in the 1990s, due to escalating wages and severe labor shortages. This forces Korean garment makers to seek “offshore” production sites. Southeast Asia, along with Central America and the Caribbean, became attractive targets for Korean apparel investment. In the 1980s, Indonesia, with its cheap and abundant labor and a state eager to welcome foreign investment, was a powerful magnet for garment capital from Korean and the other Asian NICs. Despite some recent wage pressure and labor unrest, this country—along with China—seems well-positioned to continue as a major global “sourcing” area. More recently, Vietnam, with a nominally Communist regime pushing a policy of “market liberalization” and gradually improving relations with its old enemy the United States, appears poised to become a big player in world apparel production. Garment manufacturers from South Korea and elsewhere have begun to set up factories in Vietnam to take advantage of the country’s large, industrious, and extremely cheap labor force. Dealing with a rapidly changing global apparel production and marketing system presents special challenges to the states, local capital, and workers throughout this region.

Campaign Strategy of Interest Groups in Korea: The Case of the 14th Presidential Election

Chung-Hee Lee (Associate Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Through the process of democratization after the mid-1980s, the various interests which had not been expressed under the rule of authoritarian government are being expressed actively by interest groups. Active participation in the election process is one of their important methods to influence the political process for their interests.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how major Korean interest groups established and carried out their strategies to express their interests throughout the 14th presidential election, and to explore their effectiveness.

As expected, only a few limited interest groups established strategic ends and systematically worked to accomplish them during the 14th presidential election. Their election strategies remain at the infant stage compared with that of the interest groups in advanced countries. However, Korean interest groups have potential to play an active and systematic role in coming elections, considering the internal and external factors effecting interest group politics.

Interest groups in Korea should overcome their allergic attitudes toward political activities and recognize that the election is a good chance to express

interests. At the same time, other political actors should encompass the interest groups' normal activities including activities for the election. It is essential to establish permanent communication channels between the interest groups and other political actors.

Nesting the Sino-Russian Border and the Tumen Project in the Asia-Pacific: Heilongjiang's Regional Relations

Gaye Christoffersen (Visiting Professor, Eastern Mediterranean University)

Scholars studying China's relations with Asia-Pacific regimes, Northeast Asian regimes, and the Sino-Russian border have treated each regime as independent and separate from the others—as parallel institutions with incompatible rules and norms. This article argues that China's capacity to create parallel institutions is limited by the norms of the regional and subregional regimes that make up the East Asian international system and transnational linkages developed at the local level. An evolving Chinese definition of national interests in regional cooperation is the result of international learning, involving processes of bargaining domestically and internationally. The Sino-Russian border regime and the Northeast Asian regime forming around the Tumen River project are shaped by domestic center local bargaining and differences. Heilongjiang Province has sought to be the center of China's participation in regional economic cooperation in competition with and Jilin provinces, redefining China's international comparative advantage, changing the nature of Chinese participation in the Tumen project, and provoking a local Russian backlash in the Russian Far East.

The Transition to Democracy in Thailand

Clark D. Neher (Professor, Northern Illinois University)

The essay analyzes the process of democratization in Thailand during the contemporary period. The process has proceeded in fits and starts, and is characterized by difficulty reconciling Westernstyle democracy with Asian traditions. The article points out the differences and similarities between Western and Thai democracy, concluding that the term “semidemocracy” best describes the Thai system.

While Thailand has most of the structures characteristic of Western democracies, behaviorally, the kingdom does not meet the standard criteria. Personalistic patron-client networks, ruralurban economic gaps, pervasive corruption, voter and candidate buying, weak political parties, and the disproportionate influence character are examples of that undermine democracy's chances in Thailand. Nevertheless, Thailand's movement toward democracy has been inexorable. The article covers the period from the authoritarian regime of

General Sarit Thanarat in the 1960s to the present civilian leaders, showing the incremental changes that have moved Thailand closer to democratic standards. The prime ministership of Banharn Silapa-archa set back the clock with the reemergence of old-style money politicians, but in the larger context, his administration was a temporary blip rather than a reversal of the evolution toward democratic procedures.

The article concludes that Thailand is well placed to continue its semidemocracy. Increased communications, pragmatic governments, routinization of democratic processes, stable economic development, population control, and the absence of major internal and external threats bode well for the future of the nation and the future of semidemocracy.

Research Note: The Absence of Gender Research in Japanese International Studies

Toshiko Himeoka (Professor, Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto)

In Japan, hardly anybody approaches international studies from the viewpoint of gender. Recently, however, this situation is changing in areas such as development studies, international sociology, and peace studies. Nevertheless, in comparison to the United States, such changes merely scratch the surface. Having been involved in Japanese feminist and gender studies for a long time, I would like to consider why a gender perspective is absent from Japanese international studies.

Commentary:

U.S.- Japan Security Relations and the Politics of Northeast Asia

Hee-Suk Shin (Professor, Asia-Pacific Policy Research Institute in Seoul)

Book Reviews:

Women and Industrialization in Asia

Vicky Lovell (Ph.D. Student, Portland State University)

The Korean Crossroad

C. S. Eliot Kang (Assistant Professor, Northern Illinois University)

Vol. 21, No. 1, 1997

Building Multilateral Security Cooperation in the South China Sea*Craig A. Snyder (Lecturer, Deakin University)*

The dispute over the Spratly Islands is an important indicator for the management of future relations in the Asia Pacific region. The Spratlys are claimed in whole or in part by China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei. This is a particularly sensitive issue due to the strategic importance of the South China Sea, and the Spratly Islands in particular. The central argument of the article is that the development of multilateral regional cooperative security approaches to the territorial disputes in the South China Sea could assist in the maintenance of peace and stability in the sub-region. There are three primary questions that need to be addressed in order to effectively develop multilateral security cooperation in the South China Sea. The first is whether the claimants are willing to compromise their claims in order to attain a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Second, will the claimants be willing to adopt confidence-building measures that restrict their capability to respond to crises before a final resolution to the dispute has been achieved? Finally, can the claimants reach an agreement on the rules and norms for state behavior in the disputed territory.

It is argued that cooperative security approaches offer the most appropriate mechanisms for the eventual resolution of the Spratlys dispute. A high level of enmity still exists among the claimants but this is primarily focused against the People's Republic of China. China is seen as a threat to regional security because it has not renounced the use of force to resolve the dispute. The Chinese have also been reluctant to enter into multilateral dialogue over the issue as they feel they can gain more in bilateral meetings and fear being isolated on the issue in an international forum. The evolutionary nature of cooperative security approaches, however, offers the opportunity for others to convince the Chinese of the benefits of participating in multilateral institutions.

The Workshops on Managing Potential Conflict in the South China Sea is also put forward as the best forum to deal with the Spratlys issue. The workshops adopt a cooperative security approach of promoting dialogue on regional security issues while also encouraging low level confidence-building among the littoral states through the development of joint development and research projects in the disputed area. The question remains, however, whether an informal process can develop sufficient habits of cooperation among the claimants to effectively spill over into a formal dialogue on sovereignty?

Shifting Patterns in Japan's Economic Cooperation in East Asia: A Growing Role for Local Actors?

David Arase (Associate Professor, Pomona College in California)

This article draws attention to the nature of the political process promoting economic interdependence among the regions surrounding the Japan Sea. At least in the case of Japan, the process is being carried forward by local authorities (prefectural and municipal governments) and other local actors. To explain this local initiative in international economic cooperation, the article refers to international systemic factors, such as the end of the cold war and globalization, as well as to national factors, i.e., the inability of Tokyo to meet the development demands of localities in the Japan Sea prefectures. At any rate, local initiative, and the gradual progress being made in this economic cooperation process, are at variance with the normal facts associated with Japan's economic cooperation activity in the postwar period. Economic cooperation has been dominated by the agendas of the central government bureaucracies and big businesses based in Tokyo. The article raises the possibility that what we see in Japan Sea cooperation may be the leading edge of change: the emergence of a new level of cooperation activity where local governments and regional interests set cooperation agendas in dialog with their overseas counterparts. The article then explores some of the implications of such a development for current debates in international relations and comparative politics.

Beyond Economics: Growth Triangles in Southeast Asia

Brian Bridges (Associate Professor, Lingnan College)

Growth triangles, a form of transnational production bloc in which labor, technology, and capital can move freely, have been developing across the Asia-Pacific region. Cases taken from Southeast Asia—the South China Economic Zone, the Sijori Triangle, and the new wave of zones in maritime and mainland Southeast Asia—are examined to show that these phenomena cannot be seen in economic terms alone. There are significant political and social implications deriving from their emergence, and their future development will be affected by domestic politics within and the broader state of relations between the participating countries. The article also explores the question of whether growth triangles have been driven mainly by business or government initiative.

Rediscovering Security

Lawrence T. Woods (Associate Professor, University of Northern British Columbia)

The argument that we must redefine our conception of security in the late 20th century is challenged here by observing that we are actually rediscovering

security as understood amidst the Idealism of the post-World War I period. The contemporary relevance of the nongovernmental Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) is demonstrated, as is its connection to the recently established Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) and the intergovernmental ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). By examining IPR's origins, objectives, and structures, the multidimensional definition of security invoked in its track two or unofficial diplomatic activities are shown to be strikingly similar to the redefined versions of security now popular in the region and elsewhere. What institutional and theoretical innovations can we see or hope for in CSCAP, a body that could arguably be portrayed as the IPR reincarnated?

Japan: Confronting an Uncertain Future

Sam Jameson (Dean, American Journalists in Japan)

Can Japanese politics evolve into a system capable of producing regular changes in government? Can elections be focused on policy debate? Or will personalities and the pork barrel continue to prevail? All political parties are crying for reform, but how much significant change can be implemented? Has an economy that has been the envy of the world between 1960 and 1990 lost its vitality? Has Japan fallen into the lethargy of “economic maturity” in which living standards can no longer be improved?

Can Japan emerge from a half century of “one-nation pacifism,” caring only for its own welfare and treating foreign conflicts as “fires on the other side of a river?” Can the United States and Japan establish a partnership in defense with a more equitable sharing of the dangers and the dirty work of security? These are the three big questions facing Japan today.

Dimensions of ROK-U.S. Security Cooperation and Building Peace on the Korean Peninsula

Thomas L. Wilborn (Retired as Research Professor, National Security Affairs at the US Army War College)

For many, the preferred option for obtaining peace in Korea is establishing a peace regime rather than allowing the DPRK to implode. Insofar as the ROK-U.S. alliance can contribute to building peace, political and economic relationships will be most important. But ROK-U.S. security cooperation can also contribute by maintaining deterrence; reducing tensions through effective crisis management and implementing CBMs; and by fostering South-North military dialogue. This last function might be facilitated by replacing the UN Command with another agency less objectionable to the DPRK in which the U.S. and ROK were formally equal.

Power Transition and Strategic Stability in East Asia

Woosang Kim (Associate Professor, Sookmyung University)

Power transition theory explains and predicts major power conflict in the international system. It suggests that war among major powers is most likely when the power of the challenging state and its allies matches up with the power of the dominant state and its allies, and when the challenging powers are dissatisfied with the existing international order. In this paper, I have slightly revised the power transition theory by adding the structural variable, the existence of the sphere of influence in the region, in the theoretical framework and have applied the revised theory to the Northeast Asian regional system. Based on the revised power transition theory, I suggest that power transition between Japan and China during the Cold War period did not accompany war between them because the rigid bipolar Cold War structure suppressed the risk of conflict between them. I argue, however, that conflict in the region is very likely if power transition between Japan and China happens again during the post-Cold War period. I suggest that the Korea-United States and the United States-Japan alliance relationships should be the main framework for the maintenance of the Northeast Asian regional stability in the 21st century.

The Impact of State Development in Taiwan on Cross-Straits Relations

Timothy Ka-ying Wong (Research Officer, Chinese University of Hong Kong)

This paper analyzes how Taiwan's democratization in recent years has changed its state structure and how the formation of Taiwan's new state policy thus resulted has affected the Taiwan-mainland relations. Under democratization, Taiwan has established a libertarian-civic state driven by indigenous popular support, which is radically different from the past one under the KMT authoritarianism. The former emphasizes Taiwan's autonomy and independence, believing that Taiwan is no longer representative of the whole of China, and unification should hinge upon the evolution of the cross straits ties. The latter upholds the "one China" principle and sees unification as a necessity. Due to this radical change in state position, Taipei pushes forwards its new state policy to pursue equal recognition in cross-straits relations and pragmatic diplomacy in the international community. However, Beijing suspects that Taipei is attempting to eternalize the cross-straits split, and this suspicion eventually developed into the 1995 cross-straits confrontation in which Beijing resorted to military threats in reaction to Taipei's changed state policy. Despite this unprecedented cross-straits confrontation, there are several structural factors, including Beijing's threat of force, Taiwan's short electoral cycles, Taiwan's pluralized and localized social and political interests, Taiwan's heavy economic dependency upon the mainland, the return of Hong Kong to mainland China,

and the rising influence of Beijing in the international community, that serves to constrain Taipei from taking an even more radical state position and policy. These structural factors, however, can at most define the structural limits for Taiwan's state policy-making at the macro-level; they cannot actually resolve the cross straits conflicts. To resolve the conflicts, both sides across the Taiwan Straits should work together to form a mutually binding agreement that will give Taiwan an objective political status in return for its concrete commitment to unification.

Give and Take: Electoral Politics in Transitional Hong Kong

Pang-kwong Li (University Lecturer; Lingnan College), David Newman (University Lecturer; Lingnan College)

On September 17, 1995 the people of Hong Kong voted for the first fully elected legislature. The electoral system, introduced by the British over the prior eighteen months differed substantially from that used in the 1991 election. Both are likely to differ from that adopted by the Preparatory Committee charged with adopting the rules for electing the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's first elected legislature. The changes in the electoral system between 1991 and 1995 do not appear to have changed the overall results of the 1995 election. This paper examines the various electoral systems used in Hong Kong, the alignment of political forces, the results of the 1995 election in the context of the changes in the electoral system, and the likely effects of either a proportional representation system, the type of electoral system some have suggested for Hong Kong's future, on the legislative agenda in Hong Kong after 1997. The paper concludes that the likely changes to the electoral system after 1997 are likely to have a far greater impact on politics than the reforms implemented prior to the change of sovereignty.

Economic Interdependence and International Conflicts in the Asia-Pacific

Tae-hoi Huh (Lecturer; Konkuk University)

In an attempt to rigorously explore the international implications of deepening Asian-Pacific economic interdependence, this study examines and evaluates the relationships between trade interdependence and the patterns of international conflicts among some regional countries using theoretical and empirical evidence. First, the present study brings into account some relevant works and articulates a theoretical linkage between economic exchange and an international conflict pattern. Second, because the question of the causality between the economic and conflict variables continues to obscure analytical enlightenment, this study tests major hypotheses in monadic and dyadic terms by employing the Granger causality test, which is designed to explore and

verify various causal possibilities between time-series variables.

Based upon the main findings of this research, increasing Asian-Pacific economic ties turn out to have some propitious implications for regional relations, moving a few regional countries in such “complex interdependent” situations toward improved relations with other trading countries. Nonetheless, this study argues that the magnitude of economic interactions does not appear to be a necessary condition for the improvement of relations between trading states. Without much regard to the function of a dyadic interaction elasticity, or the intensity of gains from trade with other regional countries relative to the gains from global trade, the merely expanding regional trade may not realize such a positive influence on interstate cooperation among major regional traders. Thus, despite increased intra-regional trade which appears conducive to extending “sensitivity dependence” among regional countries, this study suggests that the structure of “vulnerability dependence” among regional countries be adjusted continuously or accommodated among major economic partners lest a regional interaction elasticity be marginalized by a few inordinate economies.

Vol. 21, No. 2, 1997

Building Research Networks in the Asia-Pacific Region as a Basis for Academic Cooperation

T. G. McGee (Professor, University of British Columbia)

The article argues that the new era of globalization provides a new setting in which electronic networks of research units in the countries of the Asia-Pacific provide the most logical research framework for investigating regional issues. Five major research areas that reflect globalization are outlined: the logic of the new regionalism; the interactive aspects of the new Asia-Pacific, such as communications; the tension between nation-states and the new forces of globalism; the new “network landscape” focused upon the main “gateway nodes” of the region; and the nexus of food, population, environment, and energy.

Development Cooperation in the 21st Century: Implications for APEC

Charles E. Morrison (Director, APEC Study Center, East-West Center)

The purpose of this article is to explore the relationship between the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and prospects for development cooperation in the 21st century. It argues that resource transfer as a dominant feature of North-

South relations is likely to decline as a major form of development cooperation among the APEC member economies and within the Asia-Pacific region more generally. However, the Asia-Pacific region of the future will require a significant economic and technical cooperation component within the APEC framework. Moreover, resource transfers from the increasingly rich economies in Asia-Pacific to much poorer regions will be needed, and APEC can be a vehicle for policy discussions and research related to such “out-of-region” transfers.

Building a Sustainable Development Educational and Research Agenda

Jacob Park (Researcher, Tokyo-based United Nations University's Institute of Advanced Studies), Fu-chen Lo (Deputy Director, United Nations University's Institute of Advanced Studies)

While building the necessary institutional and human resource capacity for sustainable development represents an important global issue, it remains one of if not the most critical issue in the Asia-Pacific region. The ecological consequences of rapid industrialization have become all too visible in recent years as the region's natural resources and biodiversity continue to deteriorate at an alarming rate.

At the same time, there has been an increasing call for universities and academic institutions, as the main training ground for the next generation of regional political and business leaders, to respond to this policy challenge in a proactive manner. The specific modality of the sustainable development research and educational agenda may vary between countries and universities, but as institutional symbols of new ideas and policy innovation, universities and research institutes will have to take more concrete steps toward environmentally sustainable development.

Using the experiences of Japan's Keio University at the Shonan Fujisawa campus, Thailand's Asian Institute of Technology, and United Nations University's Institute of Advanced Studies, this article discusses the role of universities and research institutes in promoting human resource and institutional capacity building, and designing an effective sustainable development research and educational agenda.

Three key issues will guide this institutional development. First, what role if any will APEC play in sustainable development research and education? Second, how will the concerns of the private sector and nongovernmental organizations be reflected in sustainable development research and education? Third, what is the future of regional academic cooperation in sustainable development research and education?

Confucianism, Economic Growth and Democracy

Kyong-Dong Kim (Professor, Seoul National University)

While abundant works have been produced to examine the role of Confucianism in economic development and the relationship of economic growth with democracy, in the discourses dealing with Confucianism and development are generally missing a systematic look at the intricate interrelationship between Confucianism, economic growth and the democratic transition and/or consolidation. This paper is an attempt to locate this missing link among the three phenomena on a theoretical plane, illustrating the points by the historical experience of East Asia, particularly Korea. Since many have misconstrued the nature of Confucianism in introducing it in the development discourse, it needs to be carefully redefined in the relevant historical context in order to understand its role in the economic and political development of East Asia. Historically, Confucianism has been a negative and at most a passive cultural element in either economic or political modernization. Some aspects of it are still an obstacle, especially to democracy. Confucian ways of thinking and behavior that have long been embodied in the culture and psyche of East Asian societies must have played a role in promoting economic growth and democratic change. Theoretical and historical studies should be able to carefully discern these elements.

U.S.-DPRK Nuclear Accord and KEDO

Young Whan Kihl (Professor, Iowa State University)

To understand the political significance of the U.S.-DPRK nuclear accord, the paper first addresses how the adversarial relations were turned into a cooperative endeavor between Washington and Pyongyang, followed by an analysis and evaluation of the terms of the Geneva agreed framework and KEDO. The agreed framework is a less-than-perfect solution, like most diplomatic settlements, that is based on a quid-pro quo proposition. Despite initial skepticism, the modus operandi of peace-building on the Korean peninsula represented by the Geneva accord is working out. KEDO was established as an instrument to implement the terms of the agreed framework. Its primary objectives are to provide for the financing and supply of (a) heavy oils to North Korea and (b) the construction of two light-water nuclear reactors by the year 2003. The paper discusses the workload and task expansion of KEDO, which represents an interesting institutional experiment in international diplomacy. KEDO has also become a central arm of the U.S. Clinton Administration's North Korea policy, in consultation and coordination with the ROK and Japan as KEDO's founding members.

Business-Government Relations in Japan: The Influence of Business on Policy-Making Through Two Routes

Hidetaka Yoshimatsu (Research Assistant Professor, International Centre for the Study of East Asian Development)

The Japanese business community organises *zaikai* and *gyokai*. Not only do the two institutions concern different policy issues but also have different counterparts of interactions in the bureaucracy and politicians. The analysis based on the distinction between *zaikai* and *gyokai* enables us to understand more accurately why particular business associations pursue specific policies and what political channels they use in order to attain their policy objectives. The study tests this argument through two case studies: activities of *Keidanren* concerning deregulation and those of textile associations regarding the introduction of the Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA).

Economic Hardships, Political Opportunity Structure and Challenging Actions: A Time Series Analysis of South Korean Industrial Disputes, 1979–1991

MiKyoung Kim Park (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Georgia)

This paper uses South Korean industrial disputes to test the relationship between collective actions, and workers' perceived economic hardships and macro-political opportunity structures. The findings of time series analyses suggest that none of the economic variables are relevant in explaining labor protests, while only a small number of the government's repressive tactics are statistically significant. On the other hand, most of the government's facilitative tactics are highly significant in explaining people's collective actions. This test results can be a manifestation of the "rising political expectation" on the part of populace in a non-western authoritarian political setting.

A Mandarin at the Gate: The Political Economy of China's Commercial Aircraft Industry

Wei Chin Lee (Assistant Professor, Wake Forest University)

Almost anyone, accidental tourist or frequent flyer, who boarded a Chinese commercial flight in the 1970s or early 1980s, had a story to tell. Passengers used to joke that the state-run Civil Aviation Administration of China's acronym, CAAC, stood for "Chinese Airlines Always Canceled," or even worse "Chinese Aircraft Always Crash." Even so, air travel is booming in China. This study focuses on China's emerging civil aircraft manufacturing industry and the political questions it raises. Why is China concentrating on civil aircraft manufacturing? How did the aircraft industry come about in China? What are

China's policy goals in this industry? Given tough competition in world and domestic markets, how will China attain its goals? What strategies have Western aircraft companies adopted? In the case of China's AE-100 project, how have international political and economic factors affected industrial policies? Finally, since Taiwan is developing its own aircraft industry, is it possible there will be cooperation across the turbulent strait, despite the political gulf?

Independence and Decolonization in Central Asia

Gregory Gleason (Associate Professor, University of New Mexico)

The disintegration of the USSR in the early 1990s created fifteen new nation-states. Among these were five former Soviet republics of Central Asia—Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. These entities existed for decades as administrative jurisdictions within the Soviet Union but never exercised the autonomy of true states. Prior to the Soviet period, none of them had existed as independent countries; furthermore, they shared the ties of tradition, history, language, culture, and a common administrative system. Yet the dynamics of independence has propelled them in different and sometimes conflicting directions. The politics and economics of decolonization are exerting a continuing influence on these countries, affecting the way in which they relate to one another and to the outside world. This article surveys the new Central Asian states, comparatively analyzes the circumstances of independence and decolonization, and draws conclusions regarding integration with greater Asia.

Vol. 21, No. 3, 1997

Biological Weapons, International Sanctions and Proliferation

Milton Leitenberg (Senior Fellow, University of Maryland)

This paper discusses three interrelated issues that would manifest the international community's interest and willingness to reverse biological-weapons proliferation. It urges serious international sanctions against: (1) any instance of the use of biological weapons, (2) violation of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, and (3) false allegations of biological-weapon use. At the end of 1997, not only is biological weapons proliferation a growing problem; the credibility of the United Nations Security Council to maintain and enforce its own sanctions in the face of clear and unquestioned violations is in doubt. Even in the case of the Security Council's sanctions against Iraq, for several years now three of the five permanent members have been unwilling to enforce the sanctions, and have even favored their being discontinued. At this point it is not clear if the greater of the two problems is maintaining the integrity and the credibility of the UN Security

Council, or seeing to it that Iraq does not reestablish all of its programs of weapons of mass destruction, in contravention of the UN's 1991 resolutions.

The Likelihood of Major War in East Asia and the Transition on the Korean Peninsula

Young-Bae Hwang (Assistant Professor, Honam University), Jacek Kugler (Professor, Claremont Graduate School)

This paper applies deductions from the power parity perspective to anticipate the likelihood of major conflict in East Asia. Our findings are surprising. The preconditions for major conflict exist only for the China-U.S. and the Japan-Russia dyads. The structural conditions for serious confrontations between Russia and China, Japan and China, Japan and the U.S. do not exist. Also absent are the preconditions for major conflict with a potentially politically coherent European Union. At a sub-regional level, the prospects for a major conflict on the Korean peninsula show that accommodation is more likely. Peace on the Korean Peninsula can be preserved only by a preponderance of power, not by a balance of power. Strategies that could delay or avoid conflict among the potentially conflictual dyads are explored.

Korean Unification: The Zero-Sum Past and the Precarious Future

Victor D. Cha (Assistant Professor, Georgetown University)

With the end of the Cold War and uncertainties about the continued viability of the North Korean regime, the distant goal of national unification may finally be on the horizon. As Korea progresses toward the end of this long and winding road, a sharper focus on the once abstract notion of unification is appropriate. This article offers three perspectives on the topic. First, it analyzes from a historical perspective why unification dialogue between the two Koreas has been largely unproductive. Second, it overviews some of the potential problems and policy priorities in the future process of unification. And third, it assesses the potential impact of a united Korea on the balance of power in East Asia.

Defense Spending and Export in South Korea: A Causal Analysis

Uk Heo (Assistant Professor, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

The economic effects of defense spending on growth in South Korea is not clear cut. Previous studies have reported mixed findings. Since export has been the main engine of South Korean economic development, I have systematically examined the indirect relationship between defense spending and economic growth via export, employing a Box-Jenkins ARIMA (Autoregressive Integrated Moving Average) causal model. The results of the analysis reveal

that an increase in defense expenditures has an immediate dampening effect on export. Thus, reductions in defense spending may lead to an increase in export, which in turn stimulates economic growth. In other words, South Korea may expect some “peace dividend.”

China: Can the Awakening Giant Feed a Wealthier Population?

Xu Xiang (Associate Professor, Nanjing Agricultural University), Wang Kai (Associate Professor, Nanjing Agricultural University)

China’s successful economic reforms have drawn attention to the question whether or not it can “feed itself.” To assess that question, this article examines trends in population growth, per capita income, diet pattern, and a variety of agricultural factors (such as arable land, grain area, and fertilizer input). Evidence and conclusions are presented that offer a picture of China’s food prospects different from those of the pessimists and optimists. The article finds that China can basically strike a balance between grain demand and supply in 2030, and thus feed itself, by fully utilizing the comparative advantage within China’s borders and importing a small amount of grain from the international market.

Labor Reform of State Enterprises in Post-Mao China (1978–1995)

Jung-Hee Lee (Research Fellow, Daewoo Economic Research Institute)

The paper will, first, describe post-Mao labor legislation and its outcomes. Second, it will seek to offer a causal interpretation of these outcomes through a state-centered perspective. The main hypothesis is that despite labor reforms of 1978 to 1995, due to the limited autonomy and capacity of the central government, the labor reforms themselves have not brought about a radical change to the employment system in state enterprises, in comparison to rural reforms. The autonomy of the central government is high as evidenced in the turn-around of policies. However, there exist some limits to the government autonomy. One important limit is the fear of negative reactions by workers. The limits to the capacity of the central government consist in the difficulty of creating an alternative system of social provision, independent of state enterprises, and the difficulty of limiting the potential new system to privileged workers without provoking negative reactions.

Democratization in South Korea: Social Movements and Their Political Opportunity Structures

Seongyi Yun (Researcher, Yonsei University)

This paper analyzes the efforts and roles of social movements during

democratization in South Korea from 1980 to 1987. The basic assumption of this study is that civil society's preparedness was more critical than any other factor in the success or failure of democratization in South Korea. This study refutes the basic assumption of elite-focused theories of democratization, which argue that no transition to democracy is possible without significant divisions within the authoritarian regime itself.

The preparedness of civil society for democracy is indicated by two factors: the resources of social movement organizations, and the alliances of diverse social sectors, including student, labor, dissident groups and the urban poor. The amount of resources and the relative success of alliances are influenced by four aspects of the political opportunity structure: repression of the state, elite fragmentation, external support and the overall power configuration in the political society.

Korean Direct Investment in Indonesia in the 1990s: Dynamics and Contradictions

You Il Lee (Research Fellow, Curtin University of Technology)

The case of Korean investment in Indonesia in the 1990s, particularly in the manufacturing industries, provides important insight into the current trend of intra-Asian capital flows. This article argues that the analysis of super-exploitation of cheap Indonesian labor by Korean manufacturing firms as a sole determinant of causing industrial relocation may serve to neglect more critical contributing elements. These include non-wage factors such as time coincidence, the active role of the state, socio-political and institutional conditions of the host country, and cultural similarities between the host and home countries. A critical analysis of Indonesia's institutional and political structures may provide important insight into the way in which Korean manufacturing firms are successful in the Indonesian market despite mounting labor disputes among Korean-owned manufacturing firms in recent years.

Vol. 22, No. 1, 1998

Handle with Care: China's Policy for Multiculturalism and Minority Nationalities

Alvin Magid (Professor, State University of New York at Albany)

The article adopts a revisionist perspective on China's policy for multiculturalism and its minority nationalities, calling for a more sympathetic and cautious approach than is usually encountered in the Western scholarly and policy literature

and the media. The importance of the Han factor in the Chinese population is underlined along with the reality of China's cultural diversity based on more than fifty minority nationality groupings. Attention is drawn to the efforts of China's communist regime to grapple generally with multiculturalism against the backdrop of its economic-reform program and Chinese history, and to the regime's problematic dealings especially with the Tibetans, Muslims and, to a lesser extent, Mongolians. Finally, the article examines key aspects of the Tibetan issue and warns against heavyhanded interference by other countries, particularly the United States.

The Politics of China's Population Growth

Ma Jisen (Former Senior Editor, Social Sciences in China)

This article reviews the significant changes taking place in the Chinese population, and the politics behind high and low population growth rates. Before 1949, both the birth rate and the mortality rate were high; the annual increase rate was 2.6 per thousand between 1840-1949. The situation changed after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power. War diminished and the living conditions of the people improved somewhat, which resulted in a transformation of the model of the population to one of high birth rate, low mortality rate, and high growth rate. The total population on the mainland increased from 540 million to 892 million from 1949 to 1973. This drastic increase resulted from a policy pursued by the Mao Zedong regime that relied on a large number of workers to achieve its political goals. Ma Yinchu, an economist who advised on family planning policy, was persecuted. In 1958, Mao launched the Great Leap Forward, trying to push production upward by highlighting political and class struggle. The campaign led to widespread famine with abnormal deaths in the tens of millions, followed by a sharp increase of births.

Not until the 1970s did China begin earnestly to implement a national policy of family planning. After carrying out the policy for more than 20 years, China has checked the drastic growth of the population and realized a population reproduction model of low birth rate, low mortality rate, and low growth rate. The policy has played an important role in the improvement of the living conditions of the Chinese people, ensuring much larger production per capita. Based on scientific investigations, China plans to keep its population within 1.6 billion by 2050 or even earlier. The population issue has been included in China's socioeconomic development project. The people are encouraged to "have fewer births for more rapid improvement of welfare." Now the Chinese government is striving for a sustainable development of both the population and the economy.

Russia's Foreign Policy in Transition: Prospects and Challenges in the Asia Pacific Region

Oleg V. Davydov (Counsellor, Russian MOFA)

The paper is an attempt to trace the changes in Russia's foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The aim is to obtain an idea of the difficulties which Russia is now facing and to examine the opportunities and limitations of the country's international strategy. No matter how complicated the situation is in Russia today, it will remain a world power with a voice and major stakes in global and regional affairs. Russia's active participation in international affairs meets not only its national interests but also the interests of the world community, taking into consideration Russia's position as a pillar, supporting the global equilibrium. The paper argues that Russia has yet to find a unique place in the international arena as Euroasian power serving as a bridge between East and West. In this context special attention is given to Russia's policy in the Asia Pacific Region and toward the Korean peninsula.

Sino-Russian Confidence-Building Measures: A Preliminary Analysis

Jing-dong Yuan (Killam Postdoctoral Fellow, University of British Columbia)

The recently concluded Sino-Russian agreements on resolving border disputes and on force reductions provide an interesting case study of how confidence-building measures (CBMs), both as a process and as outcomes of bilateral negotiations between former adversaries, can contribute to regional security and stability. Sino-Russian CBMs, while incorporating many of the features of the European model, are nevertheless unique in their development. Their integration into the security framework has been facilitated by an overall improving bilateral politico-economic relationship and the political commitments from the two countries' top leadership. The evolution of these CBMs has been marked by incrementalism, informality, and unilateral asymmetric disarmament on the part of the Soviet Union/Russia. The longer-term test of their tenacity will probably depend on future developments in the Sino-Russian political relationship—a relationship that, for the time being, remains one of convenience and is based on short-term interests.

Delayed Decentralization and Incomplete Consolidation of Democracy: The Case of Korean Local Autonomy

Kyoung Ryung Seong (Associate Professor, Hallym University)

This paper explores the processes and problems of decentralization in Korea since 1987, when democratic transition began. It also examines the basic institutional structures of Korean local autonomy, the dynamics of political

processes at the local level, and diverse inter-governmental conflicts.

In this paper, I argue that the current system of Korean local autonomy is inherently contradictory and restrictive because centralism continues to prevail over democracy especially at the local level. It is peculiar in that the chiefs of local government are popularly elected, whereas most important authorities and resources are controlled by the central government. Therefore, it is inevitable that tensions and conflicts arise between the central and local governments.

In this sense, decentralization has been delayed since the democratic opening in 1987; democratic consolidation is thus incomplete in Korea. In order to avoid such a troublesome situation and to be faithful to the spirit of democracy, I suggest that a drastic decentralization along the line of federalism is necessary.

Regionalism in Korean Elections and Democratization: An Empirical Analysis

Kisuk Cho (Assistant Professor, Ewha Womans University)

Many of the modernization school who use the culturalist approach have criticized the regional voting patterns in Korea as premodern and traditional. Employing rational choice theory, regional voting is regarded as issue voting with patterns and degrees that are expected to vary with the choices offered and the voters' experiences with regional discrimination. Empirical findings from the survey data are found to support this argument. The results raise some questions on the culturalist approach in explaining Korean democratization.

Engaging the Past: Australian Politics and the History of Australian-Asian Relations

Sean Brawley (Lecturer, University of New South Wales)

In the 1990s, history has emerged as an important area of public contest in Australian politics. Both the political right and the political left have expended considerable efforts and resources in attempts to legitimate their policies through reference to their past achievements or the mistakes of their opponents. One such site of this struggle is the history of Australia's relationship with the broad Asian region. Since its election in March 1996, the Howard Government has actively resisted the dominant historical interpretation that has portrayed conservative Australian governments of the past as ambivalent, if not positively hostile, to the Asian region. Much of this effort has focused on the lionization of a conservative foreign minister of the 1950s, Richard Casey, and the creation of a so-called "Casey Tradition" in Australian foreign policy. This article examines the means by which the Australian Government has defended the Asian foreign policy efforts of earlier conservative governments in an effort to legitimate

its own policies and capabilities, and challenges many of the assertions the government has made in this regard. It concludes that by actively asserting a lineage between the current government's policies and those of former conservative governments, an image of ambivalence regarding the sincerity of Australian engagement with the broad Asian region is perpetuated.

Exploiting Nepal's Hydropower Potential: Some Prospects

Gyan Pradhan (Assistant Professor; Westminster College)

This article examines the macroeconomic effects of hydropower projects in Nepal using an economy-wide, computable general equilibrium model. Hydropower projects can be expected to have important effects because of the considerable construction expenditures they involve and their electrical power generation. The finding here, as might be expected, is that hydropower projects will provide overall benefits, especially economic growth, although there may be an increase in the general level of prices and a decline in traditional exports in the short term. The benefits will be particularly significant if private foreign investment can be attracted to finance such projects. To the extent that the projects are financed domestically, the overall benefits are modest because funding for the projects will have to come from foregone investments. Given Nepal's abundant water resources and the enormous demand for electricity in neighboring India and China, exploitation of this resource represents an excellent opportunity to finance the process of broad national development of Nepal. However, complex geopolitical problems in the region present serious challenges, and considerable political conviction will be required to see these projects through. It is imperative that hydropower projects are seen as equitable and take environmental issues into account through the highest degree of transparency and participation.

Social Science from an East Asian Perspective: With a Focus on Sociology

Su-Hoon Lee (Professor; Kyungnam University)

Social science is a very historic and unique form of knowledge. It was institutionalized in nineteenth century Europe. By the time Europeans came to East Asia in the late nineteenth century, Western social science was already a dominant form of social knowledge, delegitimizing many other forms of social knowledge of the world. After European social science had been implanted in East Asia, issues such as relevancy and indigenization haunted East Asian scholars. Now the quest for "East Asian" social science is very strong in part because of the shifting world power relations and also due to the emergence of indigenization discourse. This paper is an attempt to discuss these issues from an East Asian perspective.

Commentary:
The Japan Illness and Asia

Sam Jameson (Dean, American Journalists in Japan)

Vol. 22, No. 2, 1998

The U.S. Initiative on Joint Implementation: An Asia-Pacific Perspective

Robert K. Dixon (Director, U.S. Department of Energy)

Economic, energy, and environmental security is a tripartite challenge to developing and developed countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) from the burning of fossil fuels are growing rapidly in Asia. Flexible economic instruments, such as joint implementation (JI) and emissions trading, offer a means concomitantly to facilitate economic, energy, and environmental security. The U.S. Initiative on Joint Implementation (IJI) was established as a pilot program to facilitate voluntary project investments by U.S. entities to reduce GHG emissions worldwide. U.S. IJI, working under guidelines established by the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC), has developed a set of operational criteria for evaluating project proposals. To date, U.S. IJI has received more than 150 project proposals, of which thirty-one have been accepted into the pilot program. These projects represent a diverse set of innovative technologies and practices in thirteen countries. Preliminary estimates suggest that cumulative net emission reductions as a result of these projects are expected to be more than 30 million Mt C (megatons of carbon). Descriptions and case studies of two U.S. IJI projects in Southeast Asia are considered: carbon sequestration in Indonesia through reduced impact logging, and a rural electrification project in Sri Lanka. Experiences from U.S. IJI provide a basis for considering ways to implement emissions reductions under the UNFCCC Kyoto Protocol.

Shadowing APEC: Nongovernmental Organizations Build Regional Alliances

John Price (Professor, University of Victoria)

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the Asia Pacific have become increasingly active and vocal in their criticism of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Its free trade agenda, its close ties with business in the region, and the high profile it has achieved since the beginning of leaders' meetings in 1993 caught the attention of NGOs. Since then, NGOs have organized counter-conferences parallel to the leaders meetings, conferences that are becoming larger and broader in scope every year. The 1997 People's

Summit on APEC, held in Vancouver, Canada, was effective in many ways, but it also revealed that NGOs in the Asia-Pacific face significant challenges. Sectoral and political divisions, and the difficulties of maintaining ongoing linkages will require renewed efforts on the part of NGOs if they are to continue to develop an alternative agenda for sustainable human development in the Asia-Pacific.

Environmental Problems and the Energy Sector in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

David F. Von Hippel (Associate, Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development), Peter Hayes (Co-Director, Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development)

The quality of human life depends intimately on the quality of the ecological system and environment in which we live. In many ways, the local and regional environment in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is currently at risk. These risks arise from human activities, often compounded by the effects of natural disasters such as the floods of 1995 and 1996. Although the environmental problems faced by the DPRK are hardly unique, the combination of the DPRK's political and economic isolation, the current weakness of its economy, its longstanding *juche* philosophy, and its dependence on coal as an energy source make the potential impacts of environmental problems on the quality of life for North Koreans quite serious. Environmental problems in the DPRK can be divided into global and regional problems.

This paper provides estimates of selected environmental impacts of energy sector activities based on conditions in 1990 and 1996, as well as estimates for the years 2000 and 2005, under two scenarios of energy and economic development in the DPRK. A discussion of potential environmental management strategies is also provided. There are many opportunities for regional cooperation to assist the DPRK in addressing its environmental problems and South Korea has a special role and interest in assisting the DPRK in these matters.

Asia's Environmental Crisis: Innovation, Sustainable Development, and the Future of APEC

John Merson (Senior Lecturer, University of New South Wales)

While a great deal of attention has been given to the financial crisis now confronting Asian economies, this narrow focus has tended to eclipse a looming resource and environmental crisis, to the extent that the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has provided an uncharacteristic warning to this effect in a recent publication. Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) has also recognized

the seriousness of these issues, and through its working groups has begun addressing regional environmental and resource questions. But can APEC make a real difference? One of the basic contentions of this article is that for APEC to fulfill its regional potential, especially in the light of the recent Asian recession, it has to take on a broader charter. It has been argued that this should include regional security. However, any consideration of regional and national security must also take into account human security, which means placing short- term growth objectives in the context of the longer term resource and environmental issues facing communities across the region. The article will review some of the longer- term environmental and resource issues facing the region and will discuss some potential mechanisms for addressing them within the APEC framework.

Promoting Sustainable Development of the Asia-Pacific Region Through the APEC Approach: Challenges and Opportunities

Chen Wenjing (Vice President, Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation), Zhao Yumin (Associate Researcher, Chinese Academy of International Trade Economic Cooperation)

Whether trade and investment liberalization contribute to sustainable development or sabotage the basis of sustainable development is a question yet to be answered sufficiently, since the countries in the Asia-Pacific region are inclined to rely on foreign trade and foreign direct investment for their economic success. APEC has made remarkable achievements in advancing its trade and investment liberalization agenda due to its flexible mechanism and unique cooperative approach. With the same approach it has much to contribute to sustainable development endeavors in the region.

With the rapid pace of integration into the world economy and liberalization of trade and investment, particularly in Asia-Pacific, developing countries and regions are facing tough choices as to how to achieve economic development on an environmentally sustainable basis.

This study reviews and analyzes the state of the region's economies and challenges for the developing economies; and we identify opportunities for regional cooperation through APEC to reduce, simultaneously, the impediments to promoting trade liberalization, environmental improvement, and economic development.

APEC, Globalization, and the “Sustainable Development” Agenda

Lyuba Zarsky (Co-Director, Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development)

APEC’s approach to the environment has focused on practical, voluntary initiatives. In the first six years, however, the substantive results have been meager, in part because trade and environmental diplomacies ran on parallel, rather than integrated, tracks. This article surveys and evaluates APEC’s work on the environment in the 1990s. The first section outlines pressing environmental problems in Asia-Pacific and develops a theoretical framework to show why regional economic integration requires the coordination of environmental policies. The second part describes APEC’s environmental initiatives between 1991 and 1998. The third section examines the politics of environmental diplomacy at APEC and the “soft law” character of APEC as an institution. The last section evaluates APEC’s overall environmental work and concludes that a more robust, politically-grounded approach is needed for a regional trade regime—whether or not under the aegis of APEC—to promote sustainable development. In the aftermath of the financial crisis, there could be political openings for such a new approach.

Tung Chee-Hwa and His Challenges: A Look at Hong Kong’s Last Colonial Days, December 1996–June 1997

Yik-yi Chu (Assistant Professor, Hong Kong Baptist University)

This article examines the course of events in Hong Kong from the election of the Chief Executive of the Special Administrative Region (SAR) in December 1996 to the handover on July 1, 1997. It attempts to understand the local perspective, to see how the Hong Kong people viewed their future and the newly elected Chief Executive. It argues that the Hong Kong people were confident of their future, but their trust in the Chief Executive wavered in accordance with different events. There was popular concern for the maintenance of the status quo, as an indicator of the viability of the concept of “one country, two systems.” Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa needed to pay more attention to the differences between the “two systems,” to preserve the status quo of Hong Kong, while counteracting public anxieties over the dominance by “one country.” Although the SAR administration began on July 1, 1997, Tung Chee-hwa had already become the territory’s shadow head in the months before the handover.

The Chinese Anti-American Nationalism in the 1990s

Guangqiu Xu (Assistant Professor, Northwest Arkansas Community College)

After 1989, nationalism was on the march while anti-Americanism was rising

in China. The Chinese nationalism with anti-U.S. sentiments came from three levels. First, Beijing was promoting patriotic education and anti-Americanism campaigns after the Tiananmen crisis and the end of the Cold War. They permeated Chinese society which was under the influence of powerful official propaganda. Secondly, after the Tiananmen incident, many Chinese intellectuals created a number of works of literature and arts expressing their national pride and anti-U.S. feelings because of their new studies on the Western culture, their frustrated personal experiences in the United States, and the anti-Beijing tendency of U.S. media. Finally, China's economic expansion, the Yinhe incident, the defeat of China's bid to host the Games, and Washington's Taiwan policy contributed to the rise of nationalism and anti-Americanism among the Chinese public.

Agreement, Guidance and Preferences: The U.S.-Japan Semiconductor Dispute Revisited

Hidetaka Yoshimatsu (Research Associate Professor, International Centre for the Study of East Asian Development in Kitakyushu)

The U.S.-Japan Semiconductor Arrangement is one of the most important trade accords concluded between the two countries and is regarded as both a positive and negative model of trade negotiations. Given that one facet of the positive view is that the arrangement attained the target for market share and successfully expanded access in Japan, we need to carefully examine why the agreement could achieve the target. This study argues that although the Semiconductor Arrangement provided serious incentives to encourage the Japanese government and electronics firms to promote market access for foreign semiconductors, this was not the absolute condition. The market expansion was achieved as a mixed result of the arrangement with evolved corporate preferences and the Japanese government's guidance.

A Tumultuous Season: Globalization and the Korean Case

Richard W. Mansbach (Senior Fulbright Professor, Chung Ang University), Dong Won Suh (M.A. Student, Chung Ang University)

During the autumn of 1997, the Republic of Korea experienced two important events with very different implications and meanings. On the one hand, Korea's young democracy took a major step forward with the election of Kim Dae-jung as the country's president. At virtually the same time, the country was traumatized by a financial crisis that threatened to bring about a collapse of the country's economy. Both those most responsible for the crisis, especially the chaebols, as well as those in a position to assist Koreans to overcome it, such as foreign banks and the IMF, are not accountable to the Korean electorate.

The crisis, then, as well as globalization more generally, poses a challenge to Korean democracy. If democracy weathers the challenge, it will be firmly institutionalized; whether it will do so remains in doubt at the present.

Vol. 22, No. 3, 1998

The ASEANization of Regional Order in East Asia: A Failed Endeavor?

Jürgen Haacke (Doctoral Candidate, London School of Economics)

This article explores the extent to which the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has succeeded in winning assent for its proposed principles and norms for inter-state conduct, and recognition as an equal pole in an emerging regional order. The basic argument is that notwithstanding substantial evidence of ASEAN's central role in key regional institutions and parallels between the ASEAN experience and those of other multilateral regional organizations, one cannot assume the ASEANization of East Asia's regional order to be entrenched or irreversible. To demonstrate this, the article examines the challenges to the ASEANization of regional order in the security realm as posed by the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States. Beijing has largely responded positively to ASEAN's policy of engagement as regards confidence-building measures, but has been ambiguous about the extent to which it adheres to ASEAN's normative framework in the pursuit of Chinese policy objectives in the South China Sea. By contrast, Washington squarely challenges the ASEAN framework. Concerning ASEAN's struggle for recognition, neither China nor the United States appears prepared to accept ASEAN's centrality or even equality in other than formal terms in the future regional security architecture, since such status runs counter to the two powers' own identity claims and security interests.

Burma's Entry into ASEAN: Background and Implications

Robert Cribb (Director, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies in Copenhagen)

The decision by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to admit Burma (Myanmar) as a member in mid-1997 seriously strained the association's relations with its dialogue partners in the West. Both European countries and the United States urged that Burma be excluded from ASEAN because of its record of suppressing democracy. ASEAN persisted with Burma's admission, however, for several reasons. The association, formed in 1967 to limit outside engagement in the Southeast Asia region, did not wish to be instructed on its membership policy by the West, and especially not on the grounds of internal political practice. Many ASEAN countries also feared that Burma might

fall into China's orbit if it were excluded. Some groups in ASEAN also saw Burma's resource-rich economy as a useful complement to the more developed economies further east. Although some authorities suggested that ASEAN might put pressure on Burma to improve its human-rights performance, the impact of Burma's membership seems most likely to be in the field of economic transparency and infrastructure development.

Malaysia's Conceptions of Security: Self-Resilience, Sovereignty and Regional Dynamics

Ho Khai Leong (Senior Lecturer, National University of Singapore)

The Malaysian conceptions of security are influenced by the country's political and social variables. Its conceptions of security have been dominated by political and policy elite who were mostly of the dominant United Malays National Organization (UMNO). The historical development and social configuration of the country have made Malay-dominance an inescapable theme in political life. While economic development and growth in the last decade, coupled with more liberal policies embodied in Prime Minister Mahathir's Vision 2020, have replaced the once all-prevailing focus of ethnic conflicts, the latter nevertheless has great influence over the ways competing groups view security matters. In general, Malaysia's conception of security combines the uniqueness of the country's physical configurations, its historical and colonial experiences, the ethnic and cultural make-up of its population, and its pragmatic policies dealing with contemporary changes in the regional and international environments. No doubt military and political security has been a constant concern and rightly so, but the interests of Malaysia cannot be defined exclusively in terms of military and political security. The contributions by the Malaysian political elite are their holistic, expansive and comprehensive views of what constitute contemporary security concerns. From the standpoint of Malaysian leaders, it is the preoccupation with and ultimately the reconstruction of self-resilience and regional economic linkages that will, for a long time to come, continue to direct the country's attitude towards security.

Chinese Perspectives on Multilateral Security Cooperation

Jianwei Wang (Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point)

The article examines China's evolving perceptions and consequent policy changes regarding multilateral security cooperation in the post-cold war period. At the global level, the article discusses China's changed attitude toward UN peacekeeping operations. Since the early 1980s, China has gradually endorsed their legitimacy and increased its contribution and participation. While China in general supports most Chapter VI operations, it is nevertheless more reluctant

to vote for Chapter VII operations. China's involvement in the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) is analyzed to illustrate its cognitive and policy limitations. At the regional level, the article explores Chinese policy on various initiatives of multilateral security consultation and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, including relations with ASEAN and the multilateral security talks on the Korean peninsula. Overall, China has been more cautious about security multilateralism than about economic multilateralism. Yet in the Chinese foreign policy establishment, "new thinking on security cooperation" has been taking shape. It emphasizes a low degree of institutionalization, non-military alliances, and economic security.

Restructuring the Party-State Polity: China's Political Structural Reform in the 1980s

Wong Yiu-chung (Assistant Professor, Lingnan College)

Contrary to the widely-held belief that the term "political structural reform" was introduced in the early 1980s, in fact, the term was coined by the Chinese leadership only in the mid-1980s. Before then, the senior Chinese party-state leaders used various terms to denote the reform process in the party state decision-making machinery and apparatus, such as superstructural reform, party-state leadership reform, and perfecting the socialist political system. Moreover, China's political structural reform in the 1980s embraced five dimensions, namely democratizing the party-state apparatus and process; arranging for a smooth leadership succession; streamlining and rationalizing the party-state bureaucracy; strengthening the National People's Congress; and liberalizing intellectual life. The sociopolitical consequences of the reform were tremendous, with the People's Republic of China (PRC) being transformed from a country of totalistic communist-party control into an authoritarian state with an embryonic civil society. Despite the sweeping reform, the "four cardinal principles" enunciated by Deng Xiaoping in 1979 served as an structural constraint on political structural reform.

Breaking Through a Stalemate?: A Study Focusing on the Kuril Islands Issue in Russo-Japanese Relations

Duckjoon Chang (Full-time Lecturer, Kookmin University)

This paper is designed to analyze Russia's foreign policy toward Japan in the post-war period, focusing on the Kuril islands issue. There may exist various factors which obstructed the development of a cooperative mood between the two countries. Among other things, the perpetual dispute over the Kuril islands has constituted a huge barrier to improvement in the relationship between Russia and Japan.

Since the mid-1990s, however, Moscow and Tokyo have made joint efforts to improve the bilateral relationship. For the purpose of boosting its economy, the Russians need to host foreign investment with the active participation of Japanese capital. Russia also intends to expand its role in the Asia-Pacific arena with the support of Tokyo. On the part of Japan, the separation of the economic assistance issue from the territorial issue and the creation of trust between the leaders of the two countries are regarded as a better option for the long-term prospects for resolving the territorial issue.

However, the real obstacle to the amelioration of the bilateral relationship has turned out to be Russian domestic instability. If the economic and financial crisis continues in Russia for a prolonged period of time, extremist political factions are likely to fan a chauvinistic, xenophobic, mood among the impoverished people, which may be a major impediment to the peaceful resolution of the territorial issues between Russia and Japan.

Factors Affecting Democratic Installation in Developing Countries: An Empirical Analysis

Hans Stockton (Senior Lecturer, National University of Singapore), Uk Heo, (Associate Professor, Texas A&M University), Kwang H. Ro (Assistant Professor, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

Recent democratization in Third World countries has prompted many students in social science to reinvestigate the determinants for successful democratization. Extant empirical studies have traditionally utilized the universe of countries to test the correlation between socio-economic development and democracy. In this study, however, we limit our sample universe to those countries which have experienced attempts at democratic transition. Democratic transition can only be the result of an active attempt by elites and/or masses to overthrow non-democratic regimes. The sampling technique utilized in this study differs from other studies by changing theoretical focus away from a simple dichotomy of "democratic" or "non-democratic" outcomes to a statistically unexamined question of the transition process. Does socio-economic development encourage the actual process of regime change and not simply successful outcomes? While also finding support for the proposition that economic prosperity and social factors, such as education, contribute to successful democratization, our main contribution to the literature is in the examination of the presence of an initial transition attempt and then the success or failure of that attempt. As well, we test the data with a threshold model that allows us to ascertain the particular point in development at which a transition attempt will occur. In order to determine what factors really help successful democratization, we employed success or failure of democratic transition as our dependent variable instead of the level of democracy. Results reveal that only per capita income has a

significant impact on influencing successful democratic installation.

Social and Political Dimensions of National Security in Korea, 1948–1999

Hyun-Chin Lim (Professor, Seoul National University), Byungki Kim (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

This paper emphasizes the need for change in Korea's national security strategy to meet the challenges of the era of globalization. Up to now, we have conceived national security in terms of our relationship with North Korea, resulting in military defense and politically centered concepts of security. It is argued that national security can be enhanced under democracy. This is because the state's accountability will be more developed as a result of transparency, mutual interaction with the public and the solidification of the collective responsibility for Korea's national security. Thus, we firmly believe that national security will become more secure when the ruling elite will have acquired greater legitimacy through political stabilization and social integration. In this context the current regime, which has peacefully inherited power horizontally, must focus its national security policy not only on military, but also social and political issues. The concept of national security is not nebulous and nor should it be taken as such. We also understand national security as an organic instrument for protecting, preserving and enhancing the national interest. In this respect, we emphasize the holistic nature of our national security problematique. As we enter the Twenty-first century, we must approach our national security from a bilateral, regional and global perspective, transcending our traditional sight anchored in the immediate affairs of the Korean peninsula. If we were to approach our national security as mentioned above—through the multi-dimensional prism of national defense, political stability, social integration, economic growth, cultural adaptation and environmental protection—Korea will be able to enhance its national interest in holistic terms.

Commentary:

The Korean Peninsula and China's National Security: Past, Present and Future

Zhang Xiaoming (Associate Professor, Peking University)

Vol. 23, No. 1, 1999

Russia and Energy Security in the Asia-Pacific Region

Nodari A. Simonia (Academician, Russian Academy of Sciences)

This article examines the role and importance of Russia in reconciling the growing shortage of energy in the Asia Pacific region. It is argued that Russia's role has been ignored in the existing literature on energy issues and on regional economic cooperation. The author criticizes other analysts for being too pessimistic about prospects for East Asian energy cooperation with Russia. In this context, special attention is given to recent positive trends and events that have seriously influenced regional energy cooperation, especially new agreements between Russia and China, Japan, and other countries. The article discusses these issues from a Russian perspective. It concludes that the advent of Eugani Primakov to the prime ministership might be a turning point in Russian cooperation on energy with Asia-Pacific countries.

The Realist's Puzzle: Japan's Post-Cold War Defense Policy

Renato Cruz De Castro (Doctoral Candidate, University of South Carolina)

The article examines the Realists' analysis of Japan's defense policy, which holds that it is geared to making Japan into a "normal state"—a state that sees military power as a necessary and central feature of its overall national capabilities, and views power politics as an accepted feature of inter-state relations. The following variables are assessed: the Japanese state's definition of the country's role in the post-cold war era; Japan's state policy with regard to the relationship of its economic status to its military capability; policy on Japanese defense institutions; and the government's policy with regard to security relations with its foremost military ally, the United States. After analyzing these four variables, the article asserts that Japan's approach to international security assumes a totally different form since it minimizes the military dimension and emphasizes what it calls the "soft power" element and, more importantly, its alliance with the United States. The article concludes that although Japan maintains a modern defense force, it is extremely reluctant to develop an independent defense policy vis-à-vis the United States and to play the game of middle-power geopolitics.

International Determinants of Japanese Trust Ratings of Foreign Nations

Gon Namkung (Lecturer, Seoul National University)

This study employs a multiregression model to test a hypothesis on international determinants of Japanese trust ratings of 32 foreign nations. I divide explanatory

determinants into the following three categories: first, national characteristics of the 32 nation-objects (regime type, economic standard of living, and national power), second, economic interdependence between Japan and the 32 nation-objects, and third, inherent cultural similarity to Japan of the 32 nation-objects. I found that both the “political democracy” and “economic interdependence” variables have substantial impacts on Japanese trust ratings of the 32 foreign nation objects. Based on these findings, it is basically argued that the promotion of democracy for each nation and multi-level economic interdependence among nations apparently leads to good interpersonal relationship among their peoples as seen in high levels of trust. However, national power and cultural similarity are not good indicators for measuring Japanese trust ratings of foreign nations. Even if national power for a nation is collinear with its economic achievement, I could not find any statistically significant association between national power of a foreign nation-object and Japanese trust rating of that nation. An analysis of a dummy variable (cultural similarity) does not prove that the Japanese give higher trust ratings to East Asian nations than culturally dissimilar and geographically distant nations.

Constructing Cooperation: Toward Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia

Michael J. Finnegan (Officer, United States Army)

With the ending of the Cold War, Northeast Asia, like many other areas of the globe, has undergone a significant shift in the mechanism by which states interact with each other. The purpose of this paper is to propose a theoretically informed, yet I believe pragmatic view of how the states of the region interact. From this, I will extrapolate conclusions about the future interactions of the great powers in the region and one possibility for a multilateral approach to security relations. I will generally dispute realist views that Northeast Asia is wholly a realpolitik region. While there are realpolitik forces at work, the attitudes and behaviors of the majority of states tend toward ideas more consonant with neo-liberal institutionalism or structural constructivism. Simply put, institutions and ideas do matter.

Globalization and China: China's Response to the Asian Economic Crisis

Pang Zhongying (Associate Research Professor, China Institute of International Studies in Beijing)

China's national modernization drive over the past two decades has taken place under the context of globalization. Globalization has provided both opportunities and challenges to China. So far, China's development and prosperity has depended upon its connections with the outside world. However, the Asian economic crisis was a timely warning for China to participate in globalization, providing the

country with an opportunity to draw financial and social lessons from its neighbors. China realizes that it needs more than capital inflows, technology transfer and management introduction to flourish. An appropriate economic structure, such as a healthy banking system, efficient corporate governance, a prevalent rule of law, a clean government, and a workable democracy are at the heart of China's success. As the largest emerging market in the world, China faces a serious test in balancing the benefits and costs of globalization. The incentive to overcome the current Asian and global economic crisis strengthens China's resolve to maintain the momentum of its reforms to meet the challenges of globalization and to fully join the global economy.

Preventing Refugee Crisis: A Challenge to Human Security

Shin-wha Lee (Research Assistant Professor, Korea University)

This article intends to address human security matters as a major research and policy agenda in South Korea by examining the problems of post-Cold War refugee crises in the Third World. While fully acknowledging the importance of continued works on traditional security issues in Korea, Korean researchers and policy-makers should now become actively involved in addressing human security and other unconventional dimensions of security. To begin with, the analysis of ethno-political conflicts within a sovereign state has to be done in order to specify conditions that cause forced migration. A better understanding of the underlying dynamics would enable us to prepare possible responses to prevent refugee-producing conflicts. Secondly, while environmental change often causes forced migration, only those who have left their countries for political reasons qualify for refugee status. As a result North Korean famine victims who fled to China are now trapped by political and legal constraints which were set for the sake of ensuring the security of sovereign states before people's security. Finally, voices should be raised for redefining security, and expanding the range of traditional state-focused security to include intra state security and the security of citizens within a state.

Superpower Influence on the Arab-Israeli Dispute: An Expected Utility Analysis, 1948–1978

Woosang Kim (Associate Professor, Sookmyung University), George Appling (Student, Texas A&M University)

We develop an expected utility model of the Middle Eastern conflict to examine the relationship between the conflict and cooperative behavior of the Middle Eastern countries and superpower influence on the region. Empirical findings in this study support the following hypotheses: one nation's conflictual behavior is reciprocated by its enemy; as the relationship between the two superpowers

improves, the stability in the Middle East deteriorates; and as the superpowers become more cooperative (conflictual) with the potential initiator's enemy, that potential initiator is less (more) likely to escalate conflict. One of the findings in this study thus suggests that the United States not send wrong messages to Israelis by becoming less cooperative with them on the issues related to the Middle East peace talks.

'Overdeveloped' State and the Political Economy of Development in the 1950s: A Reinterpretation

Chung-in Moon (Professor, Yonsei University), Sang-young Rhyu (Senior Research Fellow, Samsung Economic Research Institute)

This study is designed to explore the nature of historical continuity and the overdeveloped state thesis in a critical matter, to recast the dynamics of political society in the 1950s focusing on the Liberal Party. This article argues that the state in the 1950s was in no way overdeveloped. On the contrary, it was fragmented, underdeveloped, and powerless, being seized by political society. Power rested with political society that was culminated in the Liberal Party. And the First Republic presents a deviation or a detour from the colonial lineage of institutional development in South Korea, thus posing a major puzzle to the thesis of historical continuity. The political economy of the 1950s offers an important clue to the rise of the developmental state in the 1960s and afterward. Park Chung Hee crafted the model of developmental state not simply because of his Japanese ethos and emulation of the colonial administrative system, but because of learning from failures of overdeveloped political society, underdeveloped state, and subsequent political and economic failures.

Book Reviews:

Dealing With 'Rogue' States: Cooperation versus Coercion?

Andrew Mack (Director of Strategic Planning in the Executive Office of the Secretary-General, United Nations)

Arms Control on the Korean Peninsula: International Penetrations, Regional Dynamics, and Domestic Structure

Edward A. Olsen (Professor, Naval Postgraduate School)

Vol. 23, No. 2, 1999

Spatial Imaginaries of Capitalism: Dynamics of the Northeast Asian Regional Order

Ravi Arvind Palat (Senior Lecturer, University of Auckland)

When reigning conceptions of regional orders and their dynamics assume that space is merely an inert locus for social activity, this article argues that the historical processes of locating, structuring, and circumscribing physical space involves the continual restructuring of cultural traditions and social identities. Thus, Japanese conceptualization of *tōyōshi* was instrumental in Japanese efforts to renegotiate their entry into a European dominated world. After the Second World War, even though the ethnocentric imaginary of a “Far East” was replaced by “East Asia,” the dominance of the modernization paradigm did not admit Northeast Asia as having a distinct dynamics of its own. Finally, it is suggested that local elites revived the Confucian tradition as an anti-liberal ideology to replace anti-communism that had lost its utility with the end of America’s war with Vietnam and the shift to market reforms in China.

Crisis of the Developmental State in South Korea

Eun Mee Kim (Associate Dean and Professor, Ewha Womans University)

The South Korean government is currently undergoing what some claim to be the most extensive restructuring of its structure and functions. Unlike previous restructuring efforts, this series of reorganizations have an added urgency due to the watchful eyes of the International Monetary Fund after South Korea signed a Stand-by Agreement on December 3, 1997 to alleviate itself of the financial crisis.

This paper examined the extent to which the developmental state has successfully restructured itself compared to an ideal type of a government in a “freer” market economy. Results from a study of the two government-restructuring plans show a limited change in the developmental state. The findings imply that there have been shifts in the balance of power among the economic ministries, but not a fundamental restructuring of the developmental state.

Japan’s Troubled Economy: The Impact on East Asia

Ryoichi Mohri (Professor, Nihon Fukushi University)

This article reviews several aspects of Japanese economic troubles today: lingering stagnation, financial vulnerabilities, weak corporate governance, fiscal deficits, aging population, policy measures, and political leadership. Then

the paper looks back into three policy mistakes of the latter half of 1980s as a turning point. After a brief consideration of the Japanese Asian development model, the paper studies some transmission channels of Japanese troubles to neighboring economies and examines regional financial cooperation and development strategy.

China Under the Shadow of Asian Financial Crisis: Retreat from Economic and Political Liberalization

Alvin Y. So (Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

The article examines the following research questions: In what ways did the Asian crisis lead to an economic slowdown and political instability in China? How did the Chinese government respond to the Asian crisis? In particular, has the Asian crisis induced China to speed up the reform measures, or has it resulted in the slowing down of economic reforms and political liberalization in China? And what is the prospect for China's development? This article argues that the Asian crisis has revealed the urgency of economic reforms and given a strong push to implement reform measures. However, at the height of the crisis, the Chinese leaders compromised by slowing down economic reforms in order to avoid the political risks of a short term contraction. They also resorted to "soft authoritarianism" to suppress dissent and pacify labor unrest. China's leaders have the capacity to carry out the above policies because of their unified leadership, the country's strong external fundamentals, and a relatively insulated Chinese economy. Once the Asian crisis is over, Chinese leaders will probably be even more determined to promote economic reforms.

Fragile Partnership: The United States and China

Melvin Gurtov (Professor, Portland State University)

During most of the 1980s, the Soviet threat and commercial interests bound the United States and China in something of a strategic partnership. But in the 1990s, only commercial interests remain, and these have complicated as much as they have enhanced relations. Charges that China has diverted high-tech equipment to its military, and that it has acquired U.S. nuclear secrets through espionage, have created serious new tensions. Adherents of the "China threat" and "American hegemony" viewpoints now have additional ammunition. In recent years, two policy frameworks seem to be guiding decision makers on both sides: Globalism (neo-liberalism) and Realism. This article, after identifying the commonalities and differences of these frameworks, examines their impact in U.S. transfers of dual-use high-tech transfers to China. It is clear that Chinese corporations seek to acquire advanced technology any way they can. U.S. export-control and internal security policies are clearly lax,

but instances of technology divergences and espionage do not appear to be strategically consequential. They should not be used to undermine efforts to find common ground with China, notably on Taiwan and nonmilitary areas of security.

U.S.-Japan Relations: A Global Partnership “In Preparation”

Hyung-Kook Kim (Professor, American University)

There have been many misperceptions between the U.S. and Japan in their understanding and projection of their global partnership for the last decade. Based on a historical study of the global partnership between the two countries since 1990, this paper analyzes the most recent developments and the gap in perception between the two countries on the issue of a global partnership and the prospects for this bilateral relationship as well as for sharing global responsibilities. Without revisiting the discussion of ‘clash of civilization’ or ‘Asian destiny,’ this study will only try to examine the U.S.-Japan bilateral relationship from the perspective of each other’s expectations and frustrations. The first section will discuss the historical trends and problems of the global partnership between the U.S. and Japan since 1990. The following three sections will discuss current political, economic, and security issues within the framework of the global partnership.

The Future of the Korean Peninsula: Unification and Security Options for the 21st Century

Tae-Hwan Kwak (Professor, Kentucky University), Seung-Ho Joo (Assistant Professor, University of Minnesota)

The authors propose a number of possible scenarios for the Korean unification and recommend an alternative for Korea’s security policy in the early 21st century. The article is divided into three sections: (1) North Korea in crisis; (2) scenarios for the Korean unification process; and (3) Korean security policy alternatives for the early 21st century.

If the two Koreas manage to build mutual confidence and trust and, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence, agree on a mutually acceptable unification formula, Korean unification will be achieved without a war or economic bankruptcy.

In the post-unification era, Korea should develop a new security strategy. An attractive option for a security policy is a unified Korea is permanent neutrality status. Neutralization will save Korea from recurring intervention by major powers and will preserve its independence and territorial integrity. It also is a viable option because the four major powers will not object to the idea. The four-party Korean peace talks should pave the way for peaceful coexistence of

the two Koreas and for a lasting peace system in Korea. The next step would be to convene six-party talks, including the two Koreas, the U.S., China, Russia, Japan, to discuss Korea's peaceful unification based on the principle of a unified, neutral Korea. Enforcement of neutralization, however, will require Korea to maintain a high level of military preparedness and prove its worth as a valuable member of the international community, as well as the guarantors' willingness to fulfill their obligations.

Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis

Chih-Chia Hsu (Assistant Professor, Fu-Jen Catholic University)

This paper analyzes the decision-making patterns of China's foreign policy. There are three patterns in Deng's China: the leader in command, the collective leadership, and the bureaucratic organization. In general, the issues of national security and the guidelines of foreign policy were made by the leader in command pattern. The preeminent leader Deng Xiaoping, the vital elders, and the members of the Politburo Standing Committee played important roles in the process of decision-making. The secondary foreign policy directories and the most important practical issues were made by the collective leadership pattern. The members of the Politburo Standing Committee, the Central Secretariat from 1980–1987, and the Politburo after 1987 played important parts in the process of decision-making. The other less important practical issues were always made by the bureaucratic organization pattern.

Confucian Leninist State: The People's Republic of China

Sung Bin Ko (Lecturer, Cheju National University)

Despite the collapse of the imperial state, Confucian values still pervade Chinese society, and continue to play a role in China's political culture. In addition to Confucianism, Communist China has also inherited the tradition of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism in its Leninist form had a special appeal to the communist elite in China. Therefore, it is quite natural that political legitimacy in the PRC has its cultural and ideological roots deeply embedded in Confucian Leninist ideas. As a result, there remains something distinctive in the mixture that is "Confucianist Leninism," which shapes the specific nature of the contemporary Chinese political system. This article defines that system as the "Confucian Leninist State."

However, since Deng's economic reform and open-door policy and the resultant student uprising of Tiananmen Square in 1989, China has been undergoing a social transformation that is gradually leading to a blooming of liberal ideas. China has recently been put under sweeping pressure for further change particularly in respect of political reform. Could it therefore be that in the

near future these newly arising trends in Chinese society will be able to change and even replace the existing political system? This article posits a positive answer. For no ideas stay unchallenged and political systems follow ideas.

State Legitimacy, State Policy, and the Development of the 1989 Beijing Student Movement

Dingxin Zhao (Assistant Professor, University of Chicago)

During the 1989 Beijing Student Movement, the Chinese government changed its policies back and forth from concession to repression. The changes were commonly explained as outcomes of struggles between reformers and conservatives in the government. This paper argues that while the existence of power struggles among top state elites is a truism, the key factor underlying these state policy changes was the ineffectiveness of the previous state policy in dealing with the movement. The logic of my argument is that each state control measure needs a legitimacy base to be effective. During the 1980s, while the majority of top state elites still believed in the regime's ideological legitimacy, most students and Beijing residents evaluated the state mainly based on its economic and moral performance. During the movement, the students challenged the government morally and ideologically, and urban residents widely sympathized with the challenge. On the other hand, the government relied on either ideological or legal dimensions of the state authority to deal with the movement, which only antagonized people, or on a limited concession to contain an essentially "disloyal opposition," which could not satisfy the radicals. In the end, the only viable alternative appeared to be military repression, which the government could still rely on because most top state elites including military leaders had joined the Chinese Communist Party between 1920s and 1940s and still perceived the state power as ideologically legitimate.

The State's Authority in the Organizing of the World of Business: Corporatist Business Interest Representation in South Korea

Euiyoung Kim (Visiting Research Fellow, Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University)

This article examines the state's authority in the organization of the business interest representation system in South Korea. This paper sheds light on its double-sided nature by analyzing various dimensions of the system such as the origins and legal status of the BIAs in South Korea, their policy roles, and the state's control on the selection of their leaders. Apparently, the state-dominant arrangements of the business interest representation system coexist with the privatist aspect, guaranteeing the privileged position of the BIAs in the policy

process. In particular, the case of the Industry Development Law indicates the weakening of the South Korean developmental state and the increasing importance of BIAs and other private actors in the policy process.

Vol. 23, No. 3, 1999

Capacity Building for Sustainable Development in Asia

John E. Hay (Woodward-Clyde Professor, University of Auckland), Atsutoshi Oshima (Senior Consultant, International Division of Sanwa Research Institute Corporation), Gillian D. Lewis (Senior Lecturer, University of Auckland)

Within the Asia-Pacific region, human resources development has been recognized as being critical to arresting environmental degradation, achieving more sustainable rates of natural resources consumption, and improving the quality of life. For a region so large and diverse, national and bilateral initiatives must be complemented by regional and international networking. This article describes current and emerging trends in HRD, with particular emphasis on sustainable development, environmental management, resource and environmental economics, and industry and environmental engineering. Two case studies are used to demonstrate how regional strengthening and cooperation activities can help address the constraints placed on sustainable development by a lack of people who are appropriately informed and skilled. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation has established four networks and taken other initiatives in HRD to provide quality education within the context of sustainable development, including environmental protection. But the recent Asian financial crisis has increased the tension in APEC between the longer-term concerns of HRD and the typically shorter-term perspectives of labor market management. The Network for Environmental Training at Tertiary Level in Asia and the Pacific (NETTLAP), implemented by the United Nations Environment Programme, works on the premise that enhancing the environmental knowledge and skills of educators and trainers in tertiary institutions has a large multiplier effect through benefits to graduates, government, the private sector, and the community at large.

State, Markets, and Economic Security in Post-Crisis East Asia

Mark Beeson (Lecturer, Griffith University)

The crisis that has affected East Asia since the middle of 1997 has raised a number of important questions about the styles of economic and political organization that predominate in the region. Much attention has been paid to the apparent need for reform, particularly along market-centered lines as

advocated by APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Despite the difficult conditions confronting many Asian economies, there is a continuing resistance to such reforms on the part of a number of regional political elites. This article explores the sources of this resistance, and argues that it is best understood as flowing from an enduring desire for economic security that has been central to East Asian patterns of public policy.

Asia's Environment After the 1997 Financial Meltdown: The Need of a Regional Response

Peter Dauvergne (Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney)

This article analyzes the environmental implications of Asia's financial crisis from its start in mid-1997 until mid-1999 when it appeared largely over. The crisis contributed to widespread environmental changes, mostly (but not entirely) negative. It also altered the underlying processes driving environmental change and the ability and willingness of governments to enforce environmental regulations. For water and conservation, the crisis aggravated environmental problems in many areas, while for agriculture, plantations, fisheries, and mining, it left strong financial incentives to expand production quickly and export commodities to earn foreign exchange. Without preventive measures Asia may enter a second crisis soon, this time centered on regional environmental collapse. The need is urgent for a concerted regional response, with APEC the logical organization to lead it. So far, however, APEC's rhetoric of sustainable development contains little substance. Even more ominously, its broader agenda of financial and market liberalization has the potential to accelerate natural-resource degradation.

Unbundling National Identity: Global Migration and the Advent of Multicultural Societies in East Asia

Mike Douglass (Professor, University of Hawaii)

The bundling of race and ethnicity with nation is common in state ideology and popular perceptions in Pacific Asia. These beliefs in racial homogeneity, deeply held by the societies that make up the region, are now being challenged by the international migration of workers, most of whom are themselves from Asia or have ethnic Asian origins. The advent of multicultural societies has already begun and, given both the globalization of migration and demographic trends in the higher income economies, it will increasingly become an issue for public policy in the coming decades. While central governments tend to continue to reify the race nation ideology, local governments and citizen groups have in many instances become more positive in their responses to the issues of cultural diversity and

social justice for foreign workers working and living in their communities.

The Financial Crisis of 1997–1998 and Its Impact on Security Relations in East Asia

Kun Young Park (Associate Professor, London School of Economics), Wang Hwi Lee (Ph.D. Student, London School of Economics)

Based on an integrated analytical framework that takes account of the post-cold war balance of economic power and the increased fungibility of power resources, the article finds that the Asian financial crisis has changed security relations in East Asia. Military spending has gone down and domestic sociopolitical instability has increased; both factors will probably have significant, if mixed, security impacts. Most conspicuous is that China stands to gain influence in the region while the United States maintains and even expands its preeminent position of hegemony, at least in the short run. In the longer term, the predominant influence of the United States, based on its exaggerated economic power, will vanish as the financial crisis settles down and the structural vulnerability of financial systems in the crisis-hit countries is remedied. Resentment toward U.S.-led “casino capitalism” is another factor that is expected to work to the detriment of the U.S. policy of preserving its hegemonic presence in East Asia. Lastly, the ideological components of coalitions/alliances will become much less important, and regional security relations in East Asia are likely to take a multipolar form in which China and Japan, separately or together, will challenge U.S. dominance in managing regional security.

China Faces the New Industrial Revolution: Achievement and Uncertainty in the Search for Research and Innovation Strategies

Richard P. Suttmeier (Professor, University of Oregon), Cong Cao (Professor, University of Oregon)

Chinese leaders are devising ambitious new programs to strengthen China’s capacity for original scientific research and indigenous technological innovation for the twenty-first century. These build on, and respond to, the achievements and failures of the science and technology policies and system reforms of the Deng Xiaoping era. The financial, human, and organizational resources available for meeting the objectives of the post-Deng leaders are becoming more abundant, but remain relatively scarce given the nature of the problems faced. In addition, building a quality research tradition, and a culture of innovation, will require changes in professional norms and governance procedures that cannot be affected directly by policy action.

Reforming Korea INC.: The Politics of Structural Adjustment Under Kim Dae Jung

Stephan Haggard (Professor, UC San Diego), Daniel Pinkston (Ph.D., University California, San Diego), and Jungkun Seo (Ph.D. Student, UC San Diego)

Korea has recovered more rapidly from the Asian financial crisis than other countries in the region. The swift recovery can be attributed to decisive reform efforts by the Kim Dae Jung government. This article examines reform efforts in three areas—the financial sector, corporate restructuring, and labor markets—and traces them to a skillful use of presidential power, including the exploitation of a “honeymoon,” trilateral consultations with business and labor, and the creation of powerful administrative agencies. However, the adjustment strategy of the Korean government also has a number of “command and control” elements, particularly with respect to financial and corporate restructuring, and has involved increasing state ownership of banking and corporate assets. The result is that the government still faces the task of how to realign government-business relations in the future.

Political Consequences of Economic Globalization Under the WTO System

Sae-Jung Kim (Associate Professor, Yonsei University)

This study examines political consequences of the liberal trade order, whose institutionalization has been further promoted under the World Trade Organization (WTO). The article shows that the new liberal trade order will not necessarily bring about the positive political effects foreseen by some observers. On the contrary, it is likely to have a number of significant, negative political consequences at the national and international levels. In particular, serious social cleavages and political conflict may result from the asymmetric distribution of gains and costs among different classes and industrial sectors that tend to accompany economic globalization. To prevent such negative political consequences, Korea should take necessary measures in advance. Bringing various social forces into a form of corporatist arrangement can be considered as a viable alternative.

Commentary:

America's Dysfunctional Grand Strategy in Asia

Alan Tonelson (Research Fellow, U.S. Business and Industrial Council Educational Foundation)

For decades, the United States has been following a grand strategy in East Asia that violates many of the main maxims of genuinely strategic thinking. In consequence, the nation is being exposed to more and greater military

risks than it is reducing or eliminating, and is exacting large and unnecessary economic costs—especially on American workers. The major flaws in U.S. grand strategy for the region begin with the mistaken view that the United States is highly vulnerable to changes in the Asian balance of power and the resulting conclusion that the nation requires a highly activist policy of shaping military, political, economic, and social trends in the region to achieve acceptable levels of security and prosperity for itself. Because U.S. policymakers have fundamentally misread America’s geopolitical and geoeconomic position in Asia, they rely on policy tools incapable of achieving Washington’s stated objectives. Finally, U.S. security and economic objectives in the region are hopelessly at odds with each other. Rather than continue to face excessive risks and exhaust itself economically trying to micromanage this vast, turbulent, and unpredictable region, the United States should adopt a more passive strategy of withdrawing militarily from East Asia and the Western Pacific and using its economic leverage to create more favorable terms of trade and investment with the region.

Vol. 23, No. 4, 1999

East Asia and Globalization: Challenges and Responses

Samuel S. Kim (Adjunct Professor, Columbia University)

This article provides an overview of how East Asia is coping with the forces of globalization. The first of three sections critically appraises the key features of the theoretical debate over globalization in order to develop an alternative conceptual framework that will encourage a more synthetic assessment of the thinking and practices of globalization in East Asia, especially in eight countries that have been selected as representative of the region. The second section considers some major questions about how globalization is actually conceived of and addressed by key decision makers in East Asia. The final section looks at the impacts and implications of globalization for East Asia and the global community so as to broaden the empirical referents and base of study in coming years.

Globalization and the Asian Financial Crisis

Lowell Dittmer (Professor, University of California at Berkeley)

The Asian financial crisis is one of the most serious currency crises to affect international markets since World War II. It has serious implications for the Asian approach to economic and political modernization, and it illustrates some of the possible consequences of the process of “globalization.” The purpose of

this article is to analyze the reciprocal causal relationship between globalization and the Asian financial crisis. Thus we shall examine the crisis first as a dependent variable, or a possible effect, of globalization, among other possible causes; then we shall analyze the crisis as an independent variable, with an interest in understanding its impact on Asian political and economic affairs.

China and Globalization

Thomas G. Moore (Assistant Professor, University of Cincinnati)

Globalization has become one of the primary lenses through which Chinese domestic and foreign policy should be viewed today. For most Chinese observers, globalization is conceived as an increasingly competitive struggle among national economies over the means to create wealth within their territories. As such, China's leaders now explain a wide variety of issues, including the reform of state-owned enterprises and the desirability of World Trade Organization membership, in terms of the country's ability to meet the formidable challenge of globalization. Jiang Zemin's major speeches since 1997 cumulatively suggest that the forces that most define China's national economic identity at the turn of the millennium are those associated with globalization. The dominant image of China projected by Jiang is a country that must face the imperatives of global economic life forthrightly, especially as regards international economic competition. More broadly, I argue, Beijing is trying to foster the emergence of a "global nationalism" in China.

Globalization and Taiwan

Lynn T. White III (Professor, Princeton University)

The article treats Taiwan's links to the world under four headings: trade and investment, beliefs and styles, national identity, and military security. The island's traders profit from inexpensive labor elsewhere in Asia and large markets in democracies, its people increasingly adopt cosmopolitan global styles along with localist identities, and its diplomats and strategists fear that external threats from China may not be deterred by external help with defense. Taiwan's globalization has been fast in terms of both norms and situations, but its future is uncertain.

Hong Kong and Globalization

Hongying Wang (Assistant Professor, Syracuse University)

This article explores the impact of globalization, broadly defined, on Hong Kong along three dimensions-economic, social and political. The forces of globalization have led to structural, policy and distributional changes in all three areas to various degrees. So far Hong Kong has been remarkably

successful in responding to the challenges and opportunities of globalization. Important conditions for Hong Kong's success include its strategic location as the gateway between China and the world and its institutional strengths, such as its policy independence, adaptive flexibility and robust legal system.

Japan and Globalization: From Opportunity to Constraint

William W. Grimes (Assistant Professor, Boston University)

There is a vigorous debate in Japan over the benefits and dangers of globalization. Vulnerability is the chief concern, such as the dangers of corporate restructuring for Japanese workers, the possible destruction of long-term patterns of economic behavior, and the importation of volatility from global financial markets. Despite resistance to the idea of globalization, global forces have already had decisive effects, particularly in the area of finance. Recent years have seen the adoption of global standards and substantial foreign penetration of Tokyo financial markets. Even Japanese-owned financial institutions are transforming their behavior to resemble more closely those of the global industry leaders. Meanwhile, in addition to grudging acquiescence, attempts to insulate Japan from the negative effects of globalization have remained on the policy agenda. These include efforts to “internationalize” the yen, and to support more elaborate regional and global regulatory regimes. While Japan has not yet been able to realize major change in these areas, these efforts constitute a serious attempt to dampen the volatility that is associated with globalized finance.

South Korea and Globalization: The Rise to Globalism?

Barry K. Gills (Professor, Newcastle University), Dong-Sook S. Gills (Senior Lecturer, University of Sunderland)

This article examines South Korean interpretations and practices of globalization that have conditioned economic restructuring, industrial relations, and foreign policy formation in two administrations in the 1990s. Significant continuities are apparent in terms of the fundamental quest for economic liberalization. However, the article emphasizes crucial differences in their approach to corporate deconcentration, the interventionary role of the state, the inclusion of organized labor, and North Korea policy. It raises questions about the impact of globalization on the balance of forces in Korea's domestic political economy, specifically between the state, capital, and labor. The issue of corporate deconcentration is at the center of this contest. President Kim Dae Jung seized the opportunity of the financial crisis to redeploy state power toward the goals of corporate deconcentration, financial reform, and economic restructuring. However, while these policies have been fairly successful to date in economic terms, they are not fully supported by either big business or organized labor. National consensus

was short-lived during the height of the financial crisis and entrenched conflicts of interest between business, labor, and government soon reasserted themselves. The pursuit of neoliberal globalization may be in fundamental conflict with the simultaneous pursuit of democratic consolidation and social inclusion.

Indonesia and Globalization

Ann Marie Murphy (Adjunct Professor, Columbia University)

This article explores Indonesian attitudes and policy responses toward globalization. In Indonesia, globalization is perceived as an objective condition of international life that structures policy choices for state and societal actors. Opinion varies widely, however, over whether globalization is a positive or negative force. Given these differences, it is argued that the most fruitful way to understand globalization in Indonesia is to analyze the responses of state and societal actors toward the three values promoted in the current era of globalization: liberal capitalism; democracy; and respect for human rights. The responses of the Suharto, Habibie, and Wahid administrations to global pressures for economic liberalization, democracy, and human rights are reviewed to illustrate that Indonesian policy toward globalization has varied over time. The article concludes that the rise of an anti-Western nationalism combined with a more open political environment may make it more difficult for Indonesia to adopt liberal economic policies in the future.

Malaysia and Globalization: Contradictory Currents

Bridget Welsh (Lecturer, Hofstra University in New York)

This paper discusses the contradictory approaches to and consequences of globalization over the last fifteen years in Malaysia, with special attention to the events after the onset of the Asian financial crisis in 1997. The discussion shows that globalization in Malaysia is conceptualized as both a transformation process and ideological construct that views the nation state and markets as a critical determinants of change in an increasingly internationalized world. The attitudes toward globalization have changed over time, in contradictory ways. Policies tied to globalization, in turn, have also changed, mirroring the different attitudes of the government. In the last two years, the Malaysian government has attempted to redefine globalization as a threat and adopted policies that have tried to limit global forces. These have had mixed consequences at home and abroad. The events in Malaysia highlight some of the important challenges facing developing countries in an increasingly interconnected world.

Thailand and Globalization

Natasha Hamilton-Hart (Post-doctoral Fellow, Australian National University)

Thailand has been open to global political and economic forces for more than a century. This article investigates the implications of such openness for domestic politics and policy. It argues that while Thailand has often been responsive to external forces, globalization has not generated a predictable set of pressures. In the 19th century and in the wake of Thailand's currency crisis of 1997, the demands of integration in the world economy prompted attempts at rationalizing and strengthening state structures, as well as curtailing some types of government policy. In the decade prior to 1997, in contrast, Thai policymakers and commentators interpreted globalization as a force impelling more consistently deregulatory policies, particularly in the financial sector. This policy shift, was a critical factor behind Thailand's financial crisis. Each episode suggests that the role played by structural economic forces in bringing about change was minor. Capital mobility can raise the costs of some policies, particularly attempts at an independent monetary policy, but the direction of policy change is determined less by such objective constraints than by the preferences and agency of political actors.

Globalization and Security in East Asia

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Australian National University)

The objective here is to analyze the impact of globalization on security in East Asia during the 1990s. The article has five parts. It begins with a definition of the key terms: globalization and security. The next part describes security in the region, focusing on U.S. hegemony and economic interdependence. Part three analyzes security threats, old and new, and part four discusses security strategies. The final section, entitled "East Asian Security at a Crossroads," assesses the implications for the future, which depend on how the United States understands "China threat" and whether or not Washington decides to deploy ballistic missile defenses.

Vol. 24, No. 1, 2000

Changing Taiwan's Foreign Policy: From One China to Two States

Timothy Ka-ying Wong (Research Officer, Chinese University of Hong Kong)

This article analyzes the development of Taiwan's foreign policy since 1979 from a political economy perspective. Under the general circumstances of international diplomatic isolation, Taipei's foreign policy experienced several stages of change:

from an uncompromising adherence to the one-China policy, to a flexible “practical diplomacy” of enhanced participation in nongovernmental organizations, then to a “pragmatic diplomacy” of accepting dual diplomatic recognition of two Chinas, and finally to the “pragmatic diplomacy” of actively pursuing sovereign status under the principle of “divided nation.” In the process, the congruence of three structural factors—the emergence of a Taiwanese libertarian civic state, Taiwan’s fast growing economic strength, and the disintegration of the cold-war setup—constituted a comprehensive framework for Taipei to direct the development of its relations with the mainland and its foreign relations in a dialectical way that maximized its political autonomy.

Battle Without Gunfire: Taiwan and the PRC’s Lobbying Competition in the United States

Zhiqun Zhu (Ph.D. Candidate, University of South Carolina)

This article examines the lobbying activities of Taiwan and the PRC in the U.S. It analyzes why and how both Taiwan and the PRC have lobbied so hard in the U.S. in recent years to curry favor with the U.S. government and the American public. While Taiwan has traditionally focused its lobbying on the U.S. Congress and the PRC on the Executive branch, both parties have strengthened their efforts in all walks of American life in a fierce lobbying competition. While Taipei has been selling its democracy, Beijing has been selling its market. The two parties are likely to get more actively involved in American politics, especially during an election year. Both sides need to understand that the United States conducts its foreign policy according to its own national interests. The article concludes that the lobbying competition only worsens cross-strait relations, and that the United States, having long been entangled in the PRC-Taiwan dispute, will face a policy dilemma whenever a crisis emerges between the two Chinese parties.

Dynamics of China’s South Korea Policy: Assertive Nationalism, Beijing’s Changing Strategic Evaluation of the United States, and the North Korea Factor

Xiaoxiong Yi (Associate Professor, Marietta College)

Beijing’s Korea policy has traveled the route from being a Pyongyang-only “one-Korea policy,” to a de facto “two-Koreas policy,” and finally to a Seoul-centered “one-and-a-half Koreas” policy. The question for China’s Korea policy watchers today is: Will North Korea, in the eyes of an increasingly nationalistic Beijing leadership, be important enough to justify a return to a “two-Koreas” policy? Changes in Sino-American relations and China’s increasingly assertive foreign

policy have introduced a number of new factors that will test the resilience of the newly announced China-South Korea “cooperative partnership.” In the near future, China is likely to go back to a more-or-less equidistant “two-Koreas” policy. The emphasis of such a policy, however, will be on the South, especially in the areas of security consultation and cooperation. It would be prudent for Beijing and Seoul to consider how they might cooperate in such areas rather than wait until some sudden conflict occurs on the Korean peninsula.

Contemplating Survivalist North Korea

Alvin Magid (Professor, State University of New York)

Many observers perceive North Korea’s economic plight and its rigid adherence to *juche* socialism as prefiguring the regime’s eventual demise, ushering in unification of the Korean peninsula. This article examines the issue of North Korea’s survivability and concludes that its prospects are brighter than the doomsayers contend, principally because of four interrelated factors: the strong bond between state and society; the efficacy of ideology in legitimizing the system of *juche* socialism; a successful strategy of “minimalism-survivalism”; and the geostrategic configuration in the region. Finally, the article highlights both the problematical implications of South Korean President Kim Dae Jung’s “Sunshine Policy” for the issue of unification and the need to broaden the scope of public debate in the South over that policy.

Stalinism and Kimilsungism: A Comparative Analysis of Ideology and Power

Seong-Chang Cheong (Visiting Research Fellow, Kyungnam University)

Since the 1970s, North Korean leaders have denied and even tried to eradicate any traces of Stalinist influence in the North Korean political system. Thus, today it is difficult to bring to light the role Stalinism played in the formation of North Korean politics. However, in order to understand fully the present nature of the DPRK socialist system, its indispensable Stalinist roots cannot be ignored. This article examines the ties between Stalinism, defined as a “radical variant of Leninism,” and Kimilsungism, defined as the ideology and system of power instituted by Kim Il Sung. In doing so, the article analyzes the establishment of a monolithic ideological system; the rehabilitation of state and nation; the interrelations between Stalinism, Maoism, and the idea of *juche*; personal power; suppression of oligarchy; and the political culture of terror.

The Politics of Reform in South Korea: The First Year of the Kim Dae Jung Government, 1998–1999

Sunhyuk Kim (Assistant Professor, University of Southern California)

In dealing with the dual challenge of economic restructuring and democratic deepening, the principal strategy of the Kim Dae Jung government in South Korea has been that of parallelism—a simultaneous pursuit of economic and political reforms. This article critically evaluates the feasibility and practicality of this strategy. Despite the significant commonality between the two reforms in their ultimate goal—de-statization—the actual unfoldings of reform politics have been paradoxically self-defeating, augmenting the power and influence of the state they eventually seek to diminish. A remedy is to empower civil society to play an important role in checking and balancing the state.

Exploring Complex Security Realities: NGOs, Community, and State Development Partnerships in Laos

Melissa G. Curley (Research Officer, University of Hong Kong)

This article begins with the assumption that the dominance of state-centric security approaches in traditional studies of international relations has marginalized the security concerns of poor people in the Third World. The article presents a brief critique of recent trends in the security debate before presenting a case study of a nongovernmental organization-community state partnership through participatory development programs in the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Contrary to the assumption that individualist and state/international security theories are incommensurate, the case study illustrates that far more complex and interconnected security realities exist. In an attempt to explore these dimensions of security, I argue that poor people are present in and have a role in managing their micro-security environment, through strategic alliances with external agencies, and through development partnerships with the state. The conclusion suggests the need to develop security analyses and academic dialogue that recognize the complex security realities of communities within society.

Commentary:

Deadly Unknowns About Iraq's Biological Weapons Program

Milton Leitenberg (Senior Fellow, University of Maryland)

Editor's Note: In the fall 1997 issue of *Asian Perspective*, Milton Leitenberg addressed the weakening of international nonproliferation efforts with respect to biological weapons. He cited Iraq's production and deployment of biological weapons as one ongoing concern that the international community should address

with appropriately stern sanctions. In the following article, Mr. Leitenberg comments on the current controversy surrounding UN inspection of Iraq's biological weapons program.

Vol. 24, No. 2, 2000

Globalization or the Age of Transition?: A Longterm View of the Trajectory of the World-System

Immanuel Wallerstein (Professor, SUNY)

Globalization has produced an unwarranted defeatism, for the world-economy is actually now in a transitional phase that has many possibilities. When one examines the last fifty years of world history, with its numerous political and economic crises, it is clear that nothing is predestined. From the standpoint of Kondratieff cycles, the world is now in the stage of terminal crisis. This article examines those cycles in detail, relating them to three major structural crises of capitalism that center on accumulation rather than growth. How the next cycle works out will be the result of political struggle between those who have benefited from globalization and those who seek to create a new historical phase that is democratic and egalitarian.

A Tale of Two Tigers and a Giant: Comparing the Responses of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan to the Asian Financial Crisis

Scott Walker (Doctoral Candidate, University of North Texas)

Why did Japan, Korea, and Taiwan respond very differently to the recent financial crisis that swept through the region? This article attempts to answer this question by comparing the effects of five institutional variables used by Peter Gourevitch to explain the institutional responses of Western industrialized countries during "hard times": production profile, intermediate associations, state structure, economic ideology, and the international system. A close analysis reveals that these variables are reasonably successful in explaining the divergence in response to economic crisis by the three countries.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations as an *Entente Cordiale*

Renato Cruz De Castro (Doctoral Candidate, University of South Carolina)

This article critiques the idea that ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, is an economic association geared for regional integration. Rather, it argues that ASEAN is a political association that has assumed the

features of an entente cordiale. ASEAN has been characterized by the absence of any airtight and legal commitments for its members; the use of loose and ambiguous understanding as the means of maintaining organization interactions and cohesion; the use of consultations as the means of enhancing predictability among its members, and the application of the facade of economic cooperation to hide its political objectives. The article discusses four cases that have shown that ASEAN has acted as an entente cordiale. It concludes that while this regional arrangement proved effective in the past, recent developments seem to indicate that it is no longer viable in managing the changes in East Asia.

The Economic and Commercial Roles of the Vietnam People's Army

Carlyle A. Thayer (Professor, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies)

This article provides an overview of the growing economic and commercial roles of the Vietnam People's Army (VPA) since the adoption of economic reforms in the 1980s. It illustrates, with respect to civil-military relations, that economic activities are not viewed as being at the expense of military professionalism. The VPA has been continually engaged in economic activities since it was founded. A major expansion of its role in economic production and construction occurred after unification in 1975. It was in the 1980s, however, that the nature of the army's economic activities changed radically with the adoption of *doi moi* (renovation). VPA units engaged in commercial activities and were put on the same legal footing as state-owned enterprises. They were also granted the authority to seek foreign investment through joint-venture agreements with overseas partners. As a consequence, the VPA has emerged with distinct commercial interests. This has altered the nature of civil-military relations in Vietnam. The VPA has emerged as a distinct center of power within the political system, jealously guarding its vested commercial interests while at the same time expanding its domestic role from safeguarding the ruling regime to overseeing socio-economic development in rural areas.

Dare to Say, Dare to Do: The Strongman in Business in 1990s Cambodia

Caroline Hughes (Special Research Fellow, University of Nottingham)

The rise of international election monitoring and the strengthening of an international human rights regime in the 1990s have aimed at promoting peaceful democratization in post-conflict situations under international auspices. In Cambodia, the dual threats of electoral competition and international scrutiny have altered but not eradicated the practice of violence for political ends. The emergence of a free market has permitted the commodification of violence and its private sale beyond the spotlight of international attention in the decentralized and relatively depoliticized spheres of the economy, organized

crime, and intimate relations. Continuing fear of violence institutes a politics of protection that has elevated individual “strongmen” at the expense of the development both of the political party as a mobilizer of opinion, and of the political will to strengthen independent institutions of law and order.

The Donor Versus the Recipient Approach: A Theoretical Exploration of Aid Distribution Patterns in Taipei and Beijing

Teh-chang Lin (Associate Professor, National Chengchi University)

Taipei and Beijing have utilized foreign economic assistance as an instrument of foreign policy since the 1950s. Foreign aid has been useful to both in their diplomatic competition. Traditionally, the donor’s diplomatic motivation in giving aid reflects its calculated selection of specific recipients and thus is conducive to the formation of aid distribution patterns geographically. However, the fact that geographical aid distribution and concentration patterns are also partially determined by the recipients according to their own needs must be ignored. Indeed, the vastly different experiences of economic development in Taiwan and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) help to explain the disparities in their foreign aid programs. The distinctiveness of aid programs between Taipei and Beijing further indicates diverse aid distribution and concentration patterns geographically.

The Failure of the United Front Policy: The Involvement of Business in the Drafting of Hong Kong’s Basic Law, 1985–1990

Yik-yi Chu (Assistant Professor, Hong Kong Baptist University)

From 1985 to 1990 Hong Kong was involved in the drafting of the Basic Law, a mini-constitution, for the Special Administrative Region (SAR) after Hong Kong reverted to Chinese sovereignty. During this process, the people of Hong Kong engaged in fierce debates as different parties put forth their proposals for the most appropriate political institutions of the future SAR. While these five years were crucial to Hong Kong’s history, this period also witnessed the implementation of China’s united front policy toward the region. Characteristic of united-front tactics, Beijing took the initiative of securing its allies, winning over those that were neutral, and fighting its opponents. As the ultimate objective of the united front policy was to increase China’s supporters, this article argues that Beijing failed in its task.

Neorealism, Neoliberalism, Constructivism & Peace on the Korean Peninsula

Yongho Kim (Research Professor, Yonsei University)

This article is an examination of international relations theories as they apply to the Korean peninsula. Essentially, neorealism and neoliberalism compete to better explain current world politics while the constructivist approach criticizes both neorealism and neoliberalism. The dynamics of Korea's international environment today clearly suggest that countries in the region behave according to neorealist expectations. Therefore, a successful institutional model for building peace on the Korean peninsula would be neoliberal in form and neorealist in essence in other words, the institutionalization of U.S.-led bilateral ties. In this process, a constructivist approach would facilitate increased interaction and allow the countries in the region to share community-based characteristics.

Vol. 24, No. 3, 2000

The Culture of Capitalist Development in East Asia

Kyong-Dong Kim (Professor, Seoul National University)

This article explores the capitalist development of East Asia through a new interpretation of modernization that specifically emphasizes the validity and relevance of culture. Modernization, understood as a distinct historical process initiated in the West and dispersed worldwide since the turn of the 16th century, entails the dialectical dynamics of international acculturation and the adaptive changes of individual indigenous societies. Applying this general framework, including several principles of social change, I illustrate the cultural dynamics of capitalist development in Korea and briefly compare it with that of China and Japan. In closing, I suggest that this topic needs to be examined on a civilizational plane to understand the true significance of capitalist development in East Asia.

Asian Values in Capitalist Development Revisited

Jonghoe Yang (Professor, Sung Kyun Kwan University), Hyun-Chin Lim (Professor, Seoul National University)

The concept "Asian values" has been used in three different ways: as an ideological disguise of authoritarian regimes; as a manifestation of "Orientalism"; and as a major factor for East Asian development. In its last use, the term usually

denotes the Confucian value system that has supposedly contributed to the state-led, export-oriented economic growth in East Asia. However, this explanation has several drawbacks. First, East Asian development is not a uniform process, but is comprised of diverse patterns. Second, the once-successful developmental state model no longer seems to be effective in the new global economy. Third, Confucian values cannot be regarded as a major factor for initiating capitalist development in this region. Fourth, some elements of Confucianism can be regarded as both a contributing and a detrimental factor for economic development in East Asia. Fifth, a cultural approach to economic development usually involves a danger of reducing everything to cultural elements. Thus, as an alternative to this approach, a multi-factor historical model is suggested.

Beyond the “Japanese Style of Management”? Transformation of the Capitalist Spirit in Japan Today

Pil-Dong Kim (Professor, Chungnam National University)

This article discusses the transformation of the capitalist spirit of Japan by examining the current state of the “Japanese Style of Management” (JSM). Although criticism of JSM is prevalent and various reform bills have been presented in recent years, many questions have been raised as to whether or not reforms are really happening. Here we examine the changing state of the three components of JSM, using recent survey data. In-depth interviews provide another focus, on corporate reform, the changing values and attitudes of entrepreneurs, and their responses to “globalization.” The result of this research shows that even though JSM has been experiencing changes in tune with globalization processes, its culture bound core elements are changing very slowly. It seems unlikely that JSM will be replaced by a new model in the near future, though Japanese entrepreneurs are trying to adjust to the changing environment.

The Emerging Capitalist Spirit of Private Enterprises in China: Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics

Seung-Wook Baek (Assistant Professor, Hanshin University)

China’s private enterprises display three specific characteristics. First, new entrepreneurs come mainly from the public ownership system from government and party officials and former managers of state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Second, many private enterprises are operated by family members of the owners, while some venture enterprises use col leagues to complement technology with management skill. Third, private enterprises find ways to survive within bureaucratic capitalism, forming a grudging symbiosis. And finally, they show little concern to develop high technology on their own, depend instead on already developed technology. These characteristics

contribute to the development of “capitalism with Chinese characteristics.”

New Trend of Capitalist Culture in Korea: The Spirit of Entrepreneurs and Engineers

Yi-Jong Suh (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

This article uses Max Weber’s theories and methodologies to understand changes in the capitalist spirit in Korea after the economic crisis in 1997. Interviews and quantitative questionnaires were used to determine the changes in knowledge values of capital owners, top managers, and engineers. The spirit of capitalism exhibited by capital-owners and top-managers is assessed by analyzing three transitions—from stakeholder capitalism into shareholder capitalism with a reform of the chaebol system and an actualization of M&A; from quantitative management of mass products into qualitative management of knowledge and information assets to reform the social innovation system; and from export-oriented home-base management to global management. These changes were found in the spirit of engineers: an industrial effectiveness orientation, self-consciousness as a technical specialist with some management knowledge, and cooperative social consciousness.

Framing the National Interest in U.S.-China Relations: Building Consensus Around Rapprochement

Jean A. Garrison (Assistant Professor, Boston University)

This article explores the development of President Nixon’s China policy and the administration’s efforts to overcome potential opposition. The issue framing perspective put forth in this analysis argues that in the right circumstances advocates can manipulate the base of knowledge and people’s understanding of events in order to build support. The Nixon administration was aided in its efforts by the hierarchical advisory process, the use of back-channel contacts with the Chinese, an incremental approach to rapprochement that gradually shifted policy, and framing efforts that linked its policy to Nixon’s “structure for peace.” By using the case study method, this article traces the development of Nixon’s complex framing effort between 1969 and 1972.

Proclaiming Identity, Claiming the Past: National Identity and Modernity in North and South Korean Education

Dennis Hart (Assistant Professor, Kent State University)

This article is a comparative study of how the process of proclaiming modern identity requires the purposeful construction of particular historical narratives. As my case study, I have adopted a discourse analysis of the school history

lessons sanctioned by each Korean government. I analyze how each regime has constructed for its people a specific and distinctive reading of Korean history. For both governments, the motivating factor does not seem to have been the establishment of a national identity based primarily upon traditional and historical legacies. Rather, both the Northern and Southern states have promoted differing interpretations of the past by telling a national history that flows from and confirms the ideology and modern circumstances of the respective state.

Commentary:

The Korean War Biological Weapon Allegations: Additional Information and Disclosures

Milton Leitenberg (Senior Fellow, University of Maryland, College Park)

Vol. 24, No. 4, 2000

Dysfunctional Japan: The Perspective of the Japan Policy Research Institute

Chalmers Johnson (President, Japan Policy Research Institute)

Japan is stumbling with no relief in sight. It has no control over how and where the U.S. uses its troops based in Okinawa or in Japan itself. Domestically, Japan is still trying to come to grips with its “lost decade,” the long recession that followed the 1990 collapse of its high-speed economic growth. Japan remains today a powerhouse of manufacturing, but it faces numerous problems of economic management and loss of control over its foreign affairs.

Japan’s Amoeba Politics

Sam Jameson (Journalist, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Pacific Stars)

On the surface, changes of near revolutionary scale in politics and crises shaking the foundations of Japan’s economy have abounded for more than a decade. Yet at the core, politics today remains unchanged. The two biggest challengers to perennial Liberal Democratic Party rule—the Socialists and the followers of Ichiro Ozawa, an LDP rebel have been reduced to the brink of extinction.

The Japan Lobby

Robert Angel (Professor, University of South Carolina)

The members of the Japan Lobby can be divided into three general categories.

The first is composed of those who are directly paid for specific services. The second group is also directly paid, but the benefactor has foregone direct control over it. The third category is composed of apologists for Japan who are not paid or controlled directly by a Japanese organization. In this article they are referred to as Class A lobbyists (Controlled), Class B lobbyists (Supported), and Class C lobbyists (Recognized).

Why the Wicked Sleep: The Prosecution of Political Corruption in Postwar Japan

David T. Johnson (Assistant Professor, University of Hawaii at Manoa)

One of the main characteristics of Japan's political system is repeated outbreaks of corruption among the highest ranking politicians in the country. And yet corrupt politicians are rarely prosecuted. This is because Japan's prosecutors are barred from using the most important tools available in other democracies to prove official corruption—"sting" operations, wiretaps, and plea bargains.

The CIA and Japanese Politics

Chalmers Johnson (President, Japan Policy Research Institute), Norbert A. Schlei (Attorney, California), Michael Schaller (Professor, University of Arizona)

This article comes in three parts. The first lays out the public evidence that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency helped rig, finance, and manipulate the post-1952 Japanese political system. The second section is composed of a memorandum written by one of the United State's most distinguished attorneys on the history and uses of the so-called M Fund. The third section is devoted to the involvement of former prime minister Nobusuke Kishi with the CIA.

The Buddha Bites Back

Murray Sayle (Senior Freelance Journalist)

Chonaikai, village associations, offer many reminders of how Japan was governed up to 1945, and for quite some time afterwards. They are, at once, paternal, authoritarian, and personal; their purposes are mutual help and control. They work—so long as conformity can be taken for granted and enforced by community pressure. Chonaikai are based on Shinto. Authentic Buddhism, by contrast, is anti-establish-mentarian. The Aum Shinrikyo cult illustrates this largely forgotten point.

Combatting Discrimination at a Japanese University

Cynthia Worthington (Lawyer, New York State)

According to the Ministry of Education, over 80 percent of the foreign teachers in Japanese national universities have term limits to their employment, while the figure for regional public universities is 40 percent. In the past two years, the Ministry of Education has shifted away from internationalization (*kokusaika*) toward the buzzword *kyosei*, variously translated as coexistence or symbiosis. This signals a retreat from the pluralism implied in internationalization toward the separatism of coexistence.

Exercising Citizenship: Koreans Living in Japan

Erin Aeran Chung (Advanced Doctoral Student, Northwestern University)

Korean residents make up over forty percent of all resident aliens in Japan. Although naturalization procedures have become less restrictive for permanent residents, only about 30 percent of the total Korean population has been naturalized in the past forty years. Rather than attempting to become Japanese, which the Japanese government discourages, elements in the Korean community have experimented with new forms of “citizenship” based on membership and participation in civil society.

Ethno-economics in Japan

Murray Sayle (Senior Freelance Journalist)

Japan’s bureaucracy does not govern under law. Japan has laws, but the officials bound by them have wide discretionary powers, freedom from public scrutiny, and a code of covering up each other’s delinquencies. They, and not the politicians, negotiate deals between ministries, or in more basic terms, decide who gets what. Politicians who have tried to change the system have simply been ignored until they went away.

The Income Tax and The Tokyo Bank Tax

Andrew DeWit (Associate Professor, Shimonoseki City University)

Japanese conservatives and business leaders like to complain that their income taxes are too great a burden to bear, and that they have a deterrent effect on entrepreneurship. Comparison of Japanese tax rates, exemptions, and definitions of income suggest that the conservatives’ complaint is ill founded. Nonetheless, recent tax “reforms” have made the structure of the Japanese tax system more regressive than it was. A possible answer to these trends is the tax on banks imposed by the mayor of Tokyo, Shintaro Ishihara.

The Business of Survival: Small and Medium-Sized High-Tech Enterprises in Japan

Kathryn C. Ibata-Arens (Ph.D. Candidate, Northwestern University)

This article reports the results of surveys of forty-three small and medium-sized firms in three industrial areas: Tokyo's Ota ward, the southern technology corridor of Kyoto, and Higashi Osaka. They reveal that the main institutions of Japan's industrial policy inhibit innovation in small firms. But those firms that have avoided becoming enmeshed in the traditional keiretsu structure have flourished.

Foreclosing a Japanese Hong Kong: Okinawa, 1967–1972

Thomas R. Howell (Partner, Law Offices of Dewey Ballantine)

A massive inflow of foreign investment into Okinawa was imminent in the late 1960s, when U.S. multinationals were seeking to use the island's reversion to full Japanese sovereignty as a stepping stone for entering the Japanese market. The Japanese government systematically scuttled U.S. business initiatives, and the U.S. government acquiesced in these policies. A unique opportunity to create a better economic future for Okinawa, as well as to increase the openness of Japan's market, was lost.

The World Bank and Japan

Edith Terry (Former Tokyo Bureau Chief, The Globe and Mail)

Pressure from Japan led the World Bank to produce its 1993 policy study *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*. Japan's original intent was to preserve Japanese freedom of action as its government and businesses set out to create a better environment for industrial policy in Asia. But as a result of the Asian financial crisis that began in 1997 and Japan's aid to the stricken economies, Japan succeeded in fundamentally changing the global policy agenda based on neoclassical economics.

Can Japan Ever Take Leadership? The View from Indonesia

Andrew MacIntyre (Associate Professor, University of California, San Diego)

Japan has long been Indonesia's most important trading partner, being (prior to the economic crash) both its largest export market (principally, oil, gas, and timber) and its largest supplier of imports (principally manufactured goods). However, one does not encounter among Indonesian policymakers a sense that Tokyo is constraining or influencing the policy choices of the Indonesian government, or indeed, that Tokyo is even pursuing an effective or meaningful

regional leadership role.

Japan's "Burma Lovers" and the Military Regime

Donald M. Seekins (Professor, Meio University)

A theme that recurs often in the history of Burma is the overthrow of an unjust ruler by a minlaung, a claimant to the throne, who governs benevolently according to Buddhist precepts. Many Burmese see Aung San Suu Kyi as a minlaung not only because of her "royal" blood (being the daughter of Aung San) but because of her courage and spiritual strength. Japan's attempts to belittle Suu Kyi reveal its ignorance of Burmese revolutionary tradition.

Vol. 25, No. 1, 2001

Missile Defense Sponsors: Shifting Political Support for Strategic Defense after Reagan

Erik K. Pratt (Associate Professor, Carroll College)

Will Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative end up like previous initiatives in strategic defense? Will a very scaled-down version of the original design end up being deployed only to be abandoned a short while later? Or, will SDI break the cycle of floundering defenses against nuclear attack? Will the deployment of a limited national missile defense become the foundation of a more "robust" layered defense incorporating many basing modes? Through an analysis of the sponsors of missile defense and the contemporary political context this article asserts that the progeny of "Star Wars" is likely to break the pattern of deploy-and-abandon. Yet overt attempts to expand the scope of the current missile defense system will fracture the coalition of sponsors and be met with considerable opposition.

Playing To Win: Chinese Army Building in the Era of Jiang Zemin

Andrew Scobell (Associate Research Professor, U.S. Army War College)

This article analyzes China's defense establishment under the leadership of Jiang Zemin and assesses the political and economic determinants of Beijing's effort to modernize its armed forces. Four possible army-building strategies are outlined: "play the superpower game," "play to its strengths," "change the rules of the game," or 'don't play the game.' The factors that will determine the selection of a strategy are examined and the most likely army-building strategy is identified.

Policy Dimensions of West Asian Borders after the Shanghai Accord

Gregory Gleason (Associate Professor, University of New Mexico)

Over the past decade, China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have participated in discussions aimed at establishing the legitimacy of the west Asian borders. In April 1996 heads of state gathered in Shanghai to sign a series of documents to normalize their border relations. The resulting “Shanghai Accord” initiated a dialogue that has now moved beyond border arrangements to encompass a broad range of policy issues relating to trade and regional security. This article reviews that process, analyzes the policy dimensions of the west Asian borders, and explores implications for regional policy cooperation.

Drifting on the Drying Water Pool: China’s Water Scarcity and its Political Foreboding

Jih-Un Kim (Ph.D. Candidate, University of South Carolina)

Behind China’s recent accomplishments in economic development lies the barren picture of a drying and decaying water pool. China’s faltering water resources have created a scarcity that affects drinking, irrigation, and industrial production. This situation poses a threat to the Chinese people’s human security, the country’s agricultural production, its long-term economic program, and perhaps even the stability of the regime in the long run. Competition, antagonisms, and even violence around depleting water resources have already taken place. Regretfully, the PRC government has been lukewarm in its response to the water scarcity, and its capacity to heal the malaise is limited.

Rethinking Arms Races: Asymmetry and Volatility in the Taiwan Strait Case

Michael D. Wallace (Professor, University of British Columbia), Brian L. Job (Professor, University of British Columbia), Jean Clermont (Ph.D. Student, University of British Columbia), André Laliberté (Assistant Professor, University of Ottawa)

Post-cold war experience requires us to rethink our understandings about arms race phenomena. Existing scholarship is dominated by models that bear insufficient resemblance to contemporary circumstances to warrant their being applied as analytical tools to yield predictions or explanations of ongoing arms acquisition processes. These standard models assume bilateral competition under conditions of symmetry and have produced a body of findings based on analyses of aggregate defense expenditure time series. Contemporary international arms competitions such as the China-Taiwan conflict are quite different. They are characterized by significant asymmetries in actors’ strategic calculations and their geopolitical capabilities, by the direct or indirect

engagement of more than two actors, and by combinations of defensive and offensive weapons systems. In this paper we undertake a case study of the China-Taiwan arms competition using both quantitative and qualitative methods. We demonstrate that this competition is a true arms race, heavily weighted toward the types of weapons that have the potential to destabilize the existing military balance between the two states. The implications of this finding are an increased probability of violent conflict between China and Taiwan, and a greater likelihood that arms competitions between China and other military powers involved in the region will intensify.

Taiwan at a Crossroads

Sheng Lijun (Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asia Studies)

In his 2001 New Year speeches, Taiwan's new president Chen Shui-bian made further efforts to reduce tensions across the Taiwan Strait, though he was still ambiguous concerning the key issues. The future of cross-strait relations depends on "two consistencies." One is whether or not Chen will go on to elaborate and concretize his currently broad and abstract cross-strait framework so as to be consistent with his "good-intentioned" New Year speeches. The other is whether or not his party will adjust itself to be consistent with Chen's current policy line. If not, it may be viewed as a revoking of Chen's good intentions, and Beijing would then interpret this as a tactic to buy time and as a cover-up of his pursuit of Taiwan's independence. If so, a crisis across the strait would be inevitable.

The State and Civil Society in South Korea, 1987–1999: Civil Movements and Democratic Consolidation

Ho-Ki Kim (Associate Professor, Yonsei University)

This article aims to analyze the democratization process in South Korea and its close ties to changes in civil society and social movements. Civil society in South Korea has developed under particular historical conditions such as a historically state-centered tradition, Japanese colonialism, the global geopolitical context, social cleavages caused by regionalism, and a civil culture of familism and authoritarianism. The formation of multiple and diverse relationships between the state and civil society after the June Uprising of 1987 seems to have been very important in the process of South Korean democratization. The differentiation of civil society and social movements became the turning point in the process of the diffusion of democratic issues throughout civil society. The growth of civil movement organizations has contributed to democratic consolidation. However, their growth has depended not on grassroots democratic principles, but mainly on "discourse politics"

using mass media.

Commentary:

Twelve Newly Released Soviet-Era “Documents” and Allegations of U.S. Germ Warfare During the Korean War

Stephen Endicott (Professor, York University), Edward Hagerman (Professor, York University)

Vol. 25, No. 2, 2001

Economic and Political Dynamics of South-North Reconciliation

Martin Hart-Landsberg (Professor, Lewis and Clark College)

Real progress has been made over the last few years in South-North Korea relations. Unfortunately, economic developments in South Korea and political developments in the United States threaten to bring an end to this progress. South Korea's current economic policies are likely to worsen social conditions in the South, thereby undermining the will and/or ability of the government to sustain the reconciliation process. The growing reestablishment of U.S. military and intelligence community influence over policy toward North Korea is likely to harden the U.S. negotiating position and raise tensions with North Korea. Continued progress in South-North relations therefore requires that South Koreans and Americans successfully organize to challenge and transform these economic and political developments.

South-North Reconciliation and Prospects for North Korea-Russia Relations

Vasily Mikheev (Deputy Director, Russian Academy of Sciences)

The article analyzes the roots of changes in North Korea's international behavior and in Russian policy toward North Korea, and considers the prospects for Russia-North Korea relations in the era of globalization. Russia decided to re-think its Korea policy for two reasons: dissatisfaction with the low level of economic cooperation with South and irritation over exclusion from the Korean settlement process. In re-constructing relations with the North, Russia saw a chance to increase its role on the peninsula. Now, however, Russia needs another change in its approach to North Korea. Russia should seek to join a Seoul-Washington-Tokyo trilateral mechanism to coordinate North Korean policy. The best scenario for Russia-North Korea relations is, first, to help create a Northeast Asia economic community, and second, to push reforms in North Korea that would lead it to join that community when it is ready.

South-North Reconciliation and Prospects for North Korea-China Relations

Alvin Y. So (Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

This article contends that China is now playing a more active role in encouraging the independent, peaceful unification of the two Koreas. China helped to coordinate the June 2000 summit talks and encouraged North Korea to adopt economic reforms and opening policies. China could do that because it has developed strong political and economic ties with both North Korea and South Korea since the late 1990s. However, despite the partnership between China and the two Koreas, and despite the promising future of independent, peaceful unification, there may be turbulence ahead in the Korean peninsula in the near future because of the changing administration in the United States.

Democracy and Reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula

Geir Helgesen (Cultural Sociologist, Stockholm University)

From the standpoint of political culture, the development of liberal democracy in South Korea modeled after Western blueprints may not bring Korean unification closer. If the ideological stalemate ended with the end of the cold war, it might now be worth reconsidering the unification and governance project of Korea as two aspects of the same problem. According to three surveys conducted in South Korea over a ten-year period, it has been found that while political issues divide the respondents, basic social and moral values and norms are widely accepted, over time and across generations. The shared values include a paternalistic ideal of leadership and perceptions of society as a family writ large. The article suggests that aspects of the Korean culture that conflict with liberal democracy may be exactly those aspects that constitute the political culture on the peninsula, despite fifty years of opposing political regimes. In contrast with the “Asian values,” it is here suggested that those traits we have found to characterize Korean political culture can be found within several other cultures as well, indicating that it might be the liberal model that is problematic and not the cultural traits.

North Korea's New Unification Strategy

Wan-kyu Choi (Professor, Kyungnam University)

Dramatic changes in the international system have altered the Northeast Asian regional subsystem. The collapse of the socialist bloc that once supported North Korea has led to a system-threatening crisis, which in turn has led it to seek improved relations with South Korea and other developed economies. But in what ways have these changes influenced North Korea's unification strategy? This article analyzes the possibility of change as well as the nature of the North

Korean unification strategy under the leadership of Kim Jong Il. Although North Korea's formula for federation has changed from an "interim measure" for unification to its "ultimate goal," it is essential to ascertain whether North Korea's strategy envisions coexistence and system maintenance or unification by way of a South Korean people's revolution. The answer depends heavily on factors within South Korean society.

North-South Korean Reconciliation and Security on the Korean Peninsula

Taik-young Hamm (Professor, Kyungnam University)

The inter-Korean summit talks laid historic groundwork for a new era of peace on the Korean peninsula. But a more challenging task to institutionalize the peace process lies ahead. It includes a peace treaty, cross-recognition of the two Koreas by the four major powers, regional cooperation, and arms control and disarmament. The security policy of the two Koreas should be oriented toward arms control and disarmament, since an arms race beyond "reasonable sufficiency" is not desirable. Due to the asymmetric balance between ROK(-U.S.) superiority in war-fighting capabilities and the DPRK's deterrents, an arms buildup by South Korea will be matched by an asymmetric buildup by North Korea.

The Current Framework of Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation and Its Prospects

Seung-Yul Oh (Research Fellow, Korea Institute of National Unification)

This study examines the current framework of inter-Korean economic exchange, describes its prospects, and analyzes the efficiency of South Korean government measures with regard to the approval system of trade and investment, assistance to the private sector, and economic sanctions. The article suggests ways in which both Korean governments can enhance the efficiency of inter-Korean economic exchange. But it also argues that settlements of numerous policy issues are needed for smooth and sustained inter-Korean economic development, in particular, a clear and explicit division in the role and function of government and the private sector.

The Kim Dae Jung Government's Peace Policy toward North Korea

Chung-in Moon (Professor, Yonsei University)

The Korean summit in June 2000 entailed a major breakthrough in inter-Korean relations. The future terrain of inter-Korean cooperation and exchanges has been mapped out, and a newly forged inter-personal trust between the two leaders of Korea has significantly reduced military tension. Nevertheless, fear of insecurity has not disappeared; important pending issues such as inter-

Korean confidence building and arms control, and transformation of the armistice treaty into a North-South peace treaty, remain unresolved. The Kim Dae Jung government has undertaken a sweeping peace initiative composed of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building. While peacekeeping has been successful with a heightened security posture and sustained alliance with the United States, peacemaking and peace building have been less successful. Eroding domestic consensus and weak policy capacity in South Korea, realignment of American policy toward the North, and precarious policy behavior by the North have undermined such efforts. In order to realize peace and stability on the Korean peninsula, the Kim Dae Jung government needs to revamp domestic consensus, tame North Korea's behavior, and forge close policy coordination with the United States.

Secrets for Survival and the Role of the Non-state Sector in the North Korean Economy

Keun Lee (Associate Professor, Seoul National University), Hong-Tack Chun (Vice President, Korea Development Institute)

North Korea has survived both political and economic crises under the Kim Jong Il regime. The economic survival of the state is in large part due to the growth of the second economy or non-state sector, which should play an important role in the overall transition strategy of North Korea. Currently, North Korean reform focuses on an open-door policy without much import liberalization and on a partial domestic liberalization limited to the consumer sector—in sum, a variant of the so-called East Asian growth model. During the entire reform process, the non-state sector is vital to keep the economy growing and to maintain jobs and incomes for survival. Promotion of the non-state sector is crucial since it would be very costly to build a reliable social safety net in a short period of time, and would minimize the crowding-out effect of the non-state sector given the slack in the state sector.

Book Review: Star Wars All Over Again

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Contemporary China Centre)

Vol. 25, No. 3, 2001

Power Transitions and Alliances in the 21st Century

Jacek Kugler (Professor, Claremont Graduate University), Ronald L. Tammen (Director, Portland State University), Siddharth Swaminathan (Assistant Professor, La Sierra University)

This analysis predicts that challenges to U.S. dominance primarily will emerge from Asia in the 21st century. China and India are identified as the potential contenders because of their overwhelming population base and potential for economic growth. As economic performance in China and India converges and surpasses the levels achieved by developed Western nations, we can expect to see dramatic changes in power distributions in world politics. These power transitions can create the conditions either for a challenge or a reinforcement of the status quo, depending on satisfaction or dissatisfaction with it. Political leaders can affect the probability of conflict by reinforcing commitment to the status quo. This is accomplished by altering alliance structures in order to increase a challenger's level of satisfaction. Exploring the Taiwan and the India-China border situations provides insights to help manage forthcoming Asian power transitions.

Cold War Relic: The 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Politics of Memory

John Price (Professor, University of Victoria)

Fifty years have elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Japan on September 8, 1951 in San Francisco. The treaty remains in effect and signatories to the treaty, particularly the governments of the United States and Japan, continue to refer to it as a means of denying war claims of former victims of Japanese imperial atrocities in the Asia-Pacific war (1931-1945). This article examines the intense resistance to the treaty terms on the part of Asian countries, particularly in the year or two prior to the actual convening of the peace conference. It suggests that the U.S. government manipulated the treaty process and that the outcomes were extremely disadvantageous to the countries that were victimized by Japan. As part of the treaty negotiation process, the U.S. government signed major military treaties not only with Japan, but also with Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines. The treaty led not only to a severe disruption in normalizing postwar international relations, but also to the militarization of the region. In the past decade, a burgeoning democratic movement in Asian countries, often led by women, is challenging the premises of the treaty and revealing it as a cold-war relic.

Chemical and Biological Warfare During the Korean War: Rhetoric and Reality

Conrad C. Crane (Research Professor, U.S. Army War College)

Allegations have been made that the United States employed biological warfare against North Korea and China during the Korean War. This article looks at the communist propaganda campaign as well as at actual American programs and capabilities to employ non-nuclear weapons of mass destruction in Korea. The article finds that there were intensive U.S. efforts to develop and deploy biological and chemical weapons—efforts that were actually accelerated by fears the communist allegations were going to be a screen to justify their own germ warfare. Nevertheless, the conclusion here is that throughout the war U.S. forces had neither the capability nor the will to carry out such offensive operations.

Renewable Energy and Sustainable Development: Lessons Learned from APEC for the Preparation of RIO+10

*Duangjai I. Bloyd (Principal Consultant, Technology Development Partners, Inc.),
Cary N. Bloyd (Scientist, Argonne National Laboratory)*

Since the Earth Summit in 1992, significant progress has been made toward the goal of reconciling the impact of human activities on the environment. It is appropriate to ask what has been learned over the last ten years in our efforts to foster sustainable development. This article examines the lessons that can be learned from some APEC economies' views on the potential role of renewable energy systems in their energy future. It appears that major issues associated with the low adoption rate predicted for renewable energy technologies in a country are a combination of four kinds of factors—resource, technological, economic, and institutional. Together, these issues are more important than the need for further development of specific renewable energy technologies.

U.S. Import Restraints and the Asia-Pacific: Politics and the Lamb Tariff

Yoichiro Sato (Assistant Professor, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies), Stephen Hoadley (Associate Professor, University of Auckland)

Since the 1970s, Asia-Pacific traders in the U.S. market have been frustrated by four types of U.S. import barriers. A tally shows that the U.S. import authorities have not discriminated against Asian traders and have generally abided by GATT rules. But U.S. domestic politics can produce unpredictable decisions. The Section 201 injury tariff levied in 1999 against lamb from a staunch ally, Australia, and a long-time friend, New Zealand, can only be accounted for by producer lobbying, Congressional pressure, and bureaucratic maneuvering. President Clinton attempted to balance domestic interests and international

trade obligations when making his decision. The World Trade Organization found the United States in error. The United States is appealing.

Strait Paradoxes: The Conciliation-Confrontation Cycle and Possibilities for Resolution of the China-Taiwan Conflict

Hieyeon Keum (Professor, City University of Seoul), Joel R. Campbell (Assistant Professor, Kansai Gaidai University)

This article discusses the trajectory of Taiwan Strait relations in the postwar era and assesses differences in mainland and Taiwanese attitudes and policies. The first part of the article shows that both sides are stuck in a confrontational mode, even as bilateral economic and cultural ties have deepened. Rigid positions, a repeated conciliation-confrontation cycle, and failure to begin meaningful negotiations have shaped the relationship since 1949. America's awkward third-party position actually prevents the two Chinese entities from forthrightly dealing with each other: Taiwan relies on the United States as a protector, and China focuses its efforts on avoiding a military conflict with the United States. Finally, the article assesses the future direction of China-Taiwan relations and the possibilities for a negotiated settlement of Taiwan Strait issues.

From Ethnic to Civic Nationalism: The Formation and Changing Nature of Taiwanese Identity

Timothy Ka-ying Wong (Research Officer, Chinese University of Hong Kong)

In the context of the ongoing complex political interaction between Taiwan and mainland China, this paper offers an analysis of the historical-structural evolution of Taiwanese identity over the past one hundred years. It charts the birth and development of Taiwanese nationalism through five key historical periods, starting with the Japanese colonization of Taiwan and ending with Taiwan's democratization and the trend toward a civic nationalism since the mid-1990s. In moving through these historical periods, the article endeavors to trace the cultural and political origins, as well as the changing faces of, Taiwanese nationalist discourses in Taiwan in order to further scholarly understanding of both the cultural politics of Taiwan and the development of the nation-state in general.

Meeting Basic Needs, Embracing the World and Protecting the State: Balancing Human and Traditional Security in the New Mongolia

Wayne Nelles (Senior Associate, University of British Columbia)

Mongolia has been at the forefront of Asian nations that have systematically examined and adopted the idea of human security to complement notions of

national, regional, and international security. Mongolia faces unique development and security challenges as a geographically large but sparsely populated and weak developing country in transition from a Soviet-style system to a market economy and democratic society. Among the challenges are transboundary environmental problems, economic and cultural globalization, and limited military security. Mongolian territory is thus vulnerable to external threats from immigration, invasion, ecology, and regional instability. But the country has taken domestic and international initiatives to promote new human security policies and programs that respond to these concerns. This article assesses these developments.

Commentary:

The PRC-DPRK Rapprochement and China's Dilemma in Korea

Tom Hart (Senior Research Associate, Stockholm University)

Vol. 25, No. 4, 2001

The Chinese Developmental Miracle: Origins, Characteristics, and Challenges

Alvin Y. So (Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

Since the late 1970s, China has produced a developmental miracle of rapid economic development and political stability. The aim of this article is to examine three sets of questions: What is the origin of this Chinese developmental miracle? What are the characteristics of the Chinese pattern of development? What are the challenges facing the Chinese model? Drawing upon the findings in this special issue, the article argues that the legacy of the Leninist party-state, the fading of the cold war, East Asian industrial relocation, and other triggering events had helped to transform the revolutionary state under Mao to the developmental state in the reform era. However, different from other East Asian developmental states, Chinese state officials engaged in entrepreneurship, allowed more local initiatives, and paid more attention to egalitarianism. Whether the Chinese developmental miracle will continue depends on how the state handles the challenges of economic reforms, globalization, global recession, hegemonic rivalry, and democratization.

Economic Institutional Change in Post-Mao China: Reflections on the Triggering, Orienting, and Sustaining Mechanisms

Yi-min Lin (Associate Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

This article examines some prominent explanations about the driving forces of economic institutional change in post-Mao China. A survey of the literature

suggests that the triggering, orienting, and sustaining forces of institutional change are diverse and cannot be captured by any single model or theory. While there are different assessments and arguments about the same issue(s), many of them do not constitute competing theses. Rather, they offer essentially complementary clues to different aspects of a complex process of economic change. Where truly competing theses exist, their explanatory power may be enhanced by formulating testable hypotheses about the conditions under which one type of causal process or the other is likely to emerge. More revealing findings will likely result from integrative research.

The Role of Property Rights in China's Rural Reforms and Development: A Review of Facts and Issues

James Kai-sing Kung (Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

Property rights affect economic efficiency via their effect on incentives. As such they played a critical role in China's rural reforms in the early 1980s, when decollectivization occurred and production incentives were invigorated. While property rights reform remains incomplete, the issue of overriding importance today is whether farmers are able to obtain off-farm employment and income opportunities. Available evidence suggests that both the process of "surplus" rural labor transfer and farm investment behavior have not been severely hampered by the attenuation of transfer right. This suggests that the "deepening" of property rights reform, which may be socially divisive at this stage of the development process, can wait until greater proportions of the rural population have become less dependent on agriculture for livelihood.

Regional Integration in South China: Processes and Consequences in a Local Economy of the Pearl River Delta

George C. S. Lin (Associate Professor, University of Hong Kong)

This study examines the processes and consequences of regional integration in a local economy of the Pearl River Delta. The relocation of manufacturing activities from Hong Kong to Guangdong has not displayed a spatial tendency of concentration in large urban centers. The existence of personal kinship ties, an improved transport infrastructure, abundant supply of cheap labor and land space, and the lack of strict regulations on environmental pollution have combined to make the suburban areas between Hong Kong and Guangzhou a place no less attractive than a congested large city to Hong Kong manufacturers. The inflow of capital and manufacturing facilities has quickened the pace of Chinese rural industrialization and facilitated a distinct urbanization process whereby a great number of surplus rural laborers entered factories in the countryside without having to move into cities. The introduction of global

capitalism has also changed the culture, behavior, and lifestyle of the local Chinese people.

Recent Migration in China: Patterns, Trends, and Policies

Kam Wing Chan (Professor, University of Washington)

This article presents an overview of internal migration in the reform era in China. The important role of the household registration system and government policies in shaping migration patterns is highlighted. Based on differentiating hukou and non-hukou migrations, the article assesses labor mobility in China and trends at various geographic scales in the last two decades, as well as the socioeconomic characteristics and geography of the hukou and non-hukou migrants. A particular focus is rural migrant labor and rural-urban migration, which are explored in terms of their implications for China's development and policies in the years to come.

Chinese Nationalism: The Precedence of Community and Identity over Individual Rights

Suzanne Ogden (Professor, Northeastern University in Boston)

China's leaders are today confronting the problem of how to fill the void created by the collapse of communitarian values fostered by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The search for communitarian values to replace those of communism has led to official support for the values of nationalism, patriotism, and the re-invention of Chinese popular culture. China's nationalism has, above all, been directed toward shoring up China's national dignity, with a gain in dignity for the individual largely a mere spin off from an enhanced national dignity. It would be wrong to conclude, however, that nationalism has had to be whipped up by the Chinese government, for the Chinese people have embraced nationalism with a passion. This article asks whether China's opening up to the world of ideas outside of China is leading to a potentially fragmenting pluralism, whether China's participation in the international community is itself a threat to China's identity as a nation-state, and whether support for individual rights, in the form of liberalism, could also challenge the cohesiveness of the national community.

Saints and the State: Religious Evolution and Problems of Governance in China

Richard Madsen (Professor, University of California, San Diego)

The Vatican's canonization of 120 Chinese martyrs on October 1, 2000 provoked a bitter denunciation from the Chinese government. Analyzing the

context of this event, this article argues that the official Chinese reaction is a sign of government weakness and insecurity in the face of growing and evolving forms of unofficial religious life in particular and social life in general. The weakness is both structural and symbolic. Structurally, the state lacks sufficient resources to coerce most religious communities into compliance and it is unable to provide incentives that could coopt such communities. Symbolically, the state lacks the capacity to represent the richness of national identities in a changing, pluralist society. The government is failing to develop forms of soft power sufficient to bring order and stability to a rapidly evolving realm of unofficial social relations.

The Outsider Within and the Insider Without: A Case Study of Chinese Women's Political Participation

Ping-Chun Hsiung (Associate Professor, University of Toronto)

Women's political participation has been recognized internationally as an important measure of the status of women in any particular country. This article examines Chinese women's political participation as it is experienced and articulated by professional women. It draws upon the reflections and narratives of professional women to show how women professionals come to challenge the gender system in post-Mao China, and what forces have sustained these women in times of uncertainty and defeat. The analysis indicates that their lived experiences, together with the legacy of Chinese women's liberation, have laid the foundation for an oppositional, engendered identity.

The Politics of Partial Marketization: State and Class Relations in Post-Mao China

Kyung-Sup Chang (Professor, Seoul National University)

In China's market-oriented economic reform, state power has not been replaced by market principles but has been reinvigorated through strategic selection of the operational scope and direction of market principles. On the part of each social group, efforts are made to influence the intervention process of state power after reckoning whether adoption or exclusion of market principles is advantageous in its economic domain. In China, where a sort of "partial marketization" has occurred, class relations are centered on state-dependent adoption or exclusion of market principles. The social realities in post-Mao China invite a state-centered explanation of class relations that refuses to regard class relations as the competition and conflict among social classes separated from state power but instead emphasizes the "access to state power" of each social class as the crucial determinant of class order.

Vol. 26, No. 1, 2002

Introduction to the Special Issue

Timothy Savage (Senior Program Officer, Nautilus Institute)

Keywords: U.S.-DPRK Pilot Renewable Village Energy Project, windmill, NGO

Modernizing the US-DPRK Agreed Framework: The Energy Imperative

Peter Hayes (Executive Director, Nautilus Institute), David Von Hippel (Associate, Nautilus Institute), Nautilus Team

This article examines the problems with the implementation of the October 1994 U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework and suggests possible modifications. The Agreed Framework is a set of guidelines that help to regulate and render more predictable the behavior of the parties toward each other. There is nothing in the Framework to stop the two parties from reformulating and updating the agreement. The Bush administration and the DPRK will need to come to terms on a new, modernized agreement that serves their current needs while maintaining the diplomatic gains of the Framework to date. The nature of the DPRK's energy-sector problems means a multi-pronged approach on a number of fronts is required. In this article, we identify five priority areas where we see DPRK energy sector assistance as both necessary and in the best interests of all parties. A U.S.-backed, coordinated program of grassroots energy-sector assistance to the DPRK would yield huge dividends in terms of confidence building and regional security. At the same time, in order to retain credibility with the DPRK, the United States must abide by its commitments to date, including the Agreed Framework.

Keywords: Agreed Framework, coal-fired power plants, energy-sector assistance, Independent Power Producers, U.S.-DPRK relations

Speeding Up the Implementation of the 1994 U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework

Jungmin Kang (Research Fellow, KEPCO KEPRI)

This article argues that the continued delays in the light-water reactor construction project are endangering the ultimate success of the project on a number of levels. The longer that the construction of the reactors is delayed, the higher the costs to the members of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, and the less likely that the discrepancies in the DPRK's initial declaration to the International Atomic Energy Agency can be cleared up. A number of incentives are proposed to induce the various parties involved to fulfill their commitments under the Agreed Framework more quickly than

currently required. Among these are that South and North Korea can learn a great deal through the decommissioning and dismantling of the DPRK's old graphite-moderated reactor, which might have commercial viability in the future.

Keywords: Agreed Framework, IAEA, KEDO, light-water reactor, nuclear safeguards

KEDO: Which Way from Here?

Mitchell B. Reiss (Professor, College of William & Mary)

Contrary to the early skepticism, the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) has not only survived; in some ways it has actually flourished. KEDO and the DPRK (North Korea) have been able to forge a solid working relationship, which has been reflected in numerous agreements that interpret and implement the original commitments set forth in the 1994 Agreed Framework. More important is what KEDO has prevented—including the halting of its reprocessing of fissile material for atomic bombs. Inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have been allowed continuous access to monitor this “freeze.” To date, there have been no publicly confirmed reports of the North cheating on this arrangement. Yet If KEDO were judged on its ability to efficiently manage an international construction project, it would be fortunate to receive a “gentleman’s C.” But that may be the wrong way to assess its performance. Fundamentally, KEDO is a political endeavor, not a commercial project, and in that respect it has made a substantial contribution to peace building. Even without knowing the ultimate outcome of the KEDO project, its stabilizing presence has allowed the DPRK and the major powers in the region to begin a process of diplomatic and economic engagement.

Keywords: light-water reactors, KEDO, peace building, Turn-Key Contract, U.S.-DPRK relations

Rural Re-Electrification in the DPRK

Chris Greacen (Ph.D. Student, University of California, Berkeley), Nautilus Team

Any effective effort to address North Korea's famine crisis requires revamping rural energy infrastructure, which must include the substantial task of rural re-electrification—rebuilding or at least repairing the majority of the electrical distribution system, which is in a terrible state. This article uses the best available data to attempt to draw a picture, albeit an incomplete one, of the DPRK's rural electrification problems and possible solutions. Improving electricity services requires investments in a variety of levels: in end-use energy-efficient equipment, in improved distribution, dispatch, transmission,

and generation, and in human capital. Any investment in equipment must be predicated on a careful understanding of institutional arrangements, the structure of incentives that flow from these arrangements, and the plausible impacts of outside assistance on these arrangements and incentives. In all, the path to effectively addressing rural re-electrification in the DPRK is undoubtedly long and expensive. But the costs of failing to address rural electrification in the country are certainly higher, especially in terms of human suffering and lost productivity.

Keywords: end-use equipment, microhydro systems, rural re-electrification

Case Study of a Rural Energy Survey in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: Methods, Results, and Implications

David Von Hippel (Associate, Nautilus Institute), James H. Williams (Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley), Nautilus Team

This article discusses the result of the rural energy survey performed in the village of Unhari in North Korea by a joint team of U.S. and DPRK researchers. The survey is believed to be the first household energy survey ever conducted in North Korea according to international standards. The initial survey was carried out in September and October 1998; additional informal interviews with residents and village leaders were conducted in a subsequent visit two years later. This report presents the setting of, methods used in, and overall results of the Unhari rural energy survey, provides analysis of survey results, and discusses potential “next steps” in carrying out surveys of this type in the DPRK. The results of the survey provided a great deal of insight into the energy needs of rural communities in the DPRK, and showed the usefulness of conducting such surveys in other areas of the country where energy-efficiency and/or renewable energy measures might be implemented. Implementing energy efficiency measures on an ongoing basis in the DPRK requires re-thinking and creative adaptation of the methods used to encourage energy-efficiency and renewable energy in other countries.

Keywords: Nautilus/KANPC Wind Energy Project, renewable energy sources, Unhari rural energy survey

Fuel and Famine: Rural Energy Crisis in the DPRK

James H. Williams (Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley), David Von Hippel (Associate Nautilus Institute), Nautilus Team

This article examines the origins and impacts of the DPRK's rural energy crisis, and explores the technical and economic dimensions of international responses to the crisis. The rural energy crisis is actually multiple energy crises—distinct

and separate shortfalls of solid and liquid fuels and electricity, each of which affects productive activities and living conditions in different and cross-cutting ways. Rural society appears to be a stable element within the DPRK, and may even be considered a backbone of the regime. However, if supplies of commercial energy to the rural sector were to fall well below the current 20- to 40-percent levels, or are maintained at very low levels for a very long period, the combined effects on living conditions and the environment could destabilize rural society. Improving the DPRK's rural energy situation is feasible, desirable, and affordable from both humanitarian and geopolitical perspectives. To the extent that improved bilateral relations between the United States and the DPRK allow the process of rebuilding the DPRK's infrastructure to begin, rural energy is a particularly appropriate and beneficial area of initial focus for donors and investors.

Keywords: biomass, energy crisis, North Korean agriculture, rural energy rehabilitation

The Management of Economic Development Assistance in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Thomas F. McCarthy (Agricultural Development Consultant)

This article suggests how the Democratic People's Republic of Korea might manage its relationships with the International Monetary Fund and the major multilateral development banks. The DPRK can handle conceptual economic policy formulation and traditional investment planning work better than most outside observers think; but it will need to strengthen institutional competency. Though many observers expect that the DPRK's relationships with international financial institutions will be driven primarily by a process of Korean economic integration, the DPRK's political priorities may well be to use those institutions' resources to increase its range of options by building bridges to China, Russia, and the European Union. The international financial institutions will be better able to help the DPRK deal with the political and institutional dimensions of development if they recognize the potentially constructive role of China. The United States needs to relax its restrictions on the financial institutions' preparatory work in the DPRK if it wants an economic opening to get under way.

Keywords: development management, IFIs, NGO, United Nations Development Program

NGO Engagement with North Korea: Dilemmas and Lessons Learned

Timothy Savage (Senior Program Officer, Nautilus Institute), Nautilus Team

This article explores the dilemmas that nongovernmental organizations in particular face in dealing with North Korea, considering both the experience of

international aid workers in responding to other emergencies, and the peculiar aspects of working in the so-called “Hermit Kingdom.” Some of the dilemmas of working in North Korea are common to complex emergencies, while others are due to the unique characteristics of the Korean situation that challenge the prevailing assumptions and modes of operation of international aid workers. The relations between the problems of North Korea’s economic development and the international political situation surrounding the Korean peninsula are discussed, along with some lessons that can be learned from the Nautilus Institute’s experiences in working on renewable energy issues in the North. Engagement of North Korea, the article concludes, is a long-haul process that is necessary to promote reconciliation and build peace on the Korean peninsula.

Keywords: development projects, humanitarian aid, NGO, U.S.-DPRK relations

Vol. 26, No. 2, 2002

Majoritarian and Consensus Democracy, Electoral Systems, and Democratic Consolidation in Asia

Aurel Croissant (Assistant Professor, Ruprecht-Karls, University)

This article examines the role of the electoral system as an element of consensus and majoritarian democracy in seven Asian countries. More specifically, it inquires about the types of democracy in Asia, how the electoral system affects the majoritarian or consensus character of democracies, and the ways in which electoral systems have an impact on the consolidation of majoritarian or consensus democracies. To illuminate these three questions the paper compares six young democracies in Asia—Bangladesh, Nepal, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand—and contrasts them with Japan, an old and consolidated democracy.

Keywords: Consensus Democracy, Consolidation, Electoral System, Majoritarianism, Party System

The Russian Far East and Northeast Asia: An Emerging Cooperative Relationship and Its Constraints

Duckjoon Chang (Assistant Professor, Kookmin University)

This article analyzes the possibilities and constraints of the Russian Far East’s cooperation with Northeast Asian countries. Despite its geographical location and richness in natural resources, the RFE’s efforts to cooperate and integrate further with other Northeast Asian countries have not met with much success.

First, foreign investment and other cooperative measures between the RFE and its neighbors have never been satisfactory. Second, economic difficulties in the RFE have aggravated racist and xenophobic attitudes, which in turn have been exploited by local politicians, much to the chagrin of potential foreign investors. Third, the recent financial problems in Japan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries also have had a negative impact on the RFE's efforts to integrate further. From a long-term perspective, however, if Russia and the RFE abolish irrational business practices and excessive bureaucratic red tape that currently discourage foreign trade and investment, economic conditions in the RFE will improve and its integration with Northeast Asia can be worked out. Furthermore, if the RFE launches international cooperation projects centered on selected areas—such as a triangular type of economic cooperation between Russia and both South and North Korea—their prospects for success will increase.

Keywords: the Russian Federation, the Russian Far East, cooperation, integration, Northeast Asia

Environmental Security in East Asia: The Regional Environmental Security Complex Approach

Geun Lee (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

Considering the lack of analytical frameworks to assess the nexus between environment and security within a regional context, this article tries to develop an analytical framework by which to assess regional environmental security problems in East Asia. Following the regional security complex approach of traditional security studies, the article develops four different types of security complexes: latent regional environmental security complex, balance of interest system, regional regime, and regional inter-subjective community. If a region falls under the first type, environmental security is least served; if it falls under the fourth type, security is best served. As for East Asia, in most environmental security issue areas, the region falls under either the first or the second type.

Keywords: environmental security, regional environmental security complex, East Asia environment

The Institutional Development of Blue House in the Park Chung Hee Presidency

Sung Deuk Hahm (Associate Professor, Korea University)

The presidential staff system in Korea is now a well-developed and necessary resource for the occupant of the Office of the President, which has become known as Blue House, and it is difficult to imagine how presidents could have responded to the pressures and demands without such staff assistance. But it

is also true that the development of the presidential staff system has become problematic and the size of the staff is only one part of that problem. This article examines the structure of Blue House, focusing on its organizational changes. The modern presidential staff system in Korea evolved greatly during the Park Chung Hee presidency. His era marked the transformation of the presidency from a small, personalized office to a collection of specialized bureaucracies with hundreds of professional staffers.

Keywords: Blue House, presidency, presidential staff, institution, chief of staff

Transition to Intra-party Democracy: The Korean Presidential Candidate Selection System

Hyun-Chool Lee (Research Fellow, Osaka City University)

This article examines the process of democratization of the candidate election process in the New Korea Party during 1997, and the background that caused the system to become more democratic. Two aspects of that process are examined: decentralization of power and problems of securing autonomy from elite control. The analysis demonstrates that although democracy within the party was not achieved completely, significant progress was made. Such a change was the result of conflict among the elite group within the party, incentives of party members, the need to maximize votes in elections, and popular pressure.

Keywords: Intra-party democracy, candidate selection, Korean political parties, democratization, party organization

Partnership, Participation and Partition in Urban Development Politics in Kitakyushu, Japan

Mi-Gyeong Yeum (Research Professor, Chonnam National University)

This article examines the characteristics of the governing structure over two time periods in the Japanese industrial city of Kitakyushu through the use of urban regime theory. Kitakyushu is known as a corporate city or castle town for industries related to steel. Kitakyushu's growth management politics started to form with environmental issues in the early part of the 1960s. Public-private partnerships for environmental management were constructed, and environmental management was done by an alliance of the city government and business. In the late 1980's, in period of urban decline and restructuring, the existing form of exclusive partnership between local government and large companies began to extend to a new form that included various community levels and interest groups. But the incorporation of community interests into the urban decision-making process in Kitakyushu has limitations. It is more

concerned about the realization of company profits than community interests. Decision-making power thus is still concentrated in local government and large corporations within partnership structures.

Keywords: urban regimes, business power, Japanese urban growth politics, partnerships

When Coalition Theories Meet Strange Cases: Two Coalition Governments in Japan, 1993–1994

Jung Kim (Research Fellow, East Asia Institute)

For a long time mainstream proponents of coalition theories have neglected Japanese politics because of its “uncommon” one-party dominant regime. However, since 1993, party politics in Japan has entered into a new era of coalition politics. Unfortunately, only a few coalition theorists and experts on Japanese politics have tried to analyze this new reality. To bridge these theoretical as well as empirical gaps, this study examines two coalition governments in Japan that formed after the 1993 general election. After reviewing contending approaches and unified models of coalition government, some explanatory limits of coalition theories are addressed, and some modifications to them are proposed to accommodate the Japanese experience.

Keywords: Coalition Theory, Government Formation, Japanese Politics, Party Politics, Rational Choice Theory

Government-Nonprofit Organization Cooperation in Japanese Welfare Administration

Sook-Jong Lee (Research Fellow, Sejong Institute)

The post-1980s welfare reform that was oriented to privatization and decentralization and the concurrent development of the “third sector” in Japan have made relations between the government and nonprofit organizations (NPOs) increasingly cooperative. This article demonstrates that the legal status of NPOs is significant in forming NPO relationships with government in several different ways. Governmental support and organizational ties are more visible in incorporated NPOs, while the majority of grassroots NPOs remains detached. Whether government-NPO cooperation in Japan is a mere incorporation by the government or an equal partnership remains to be seen, though most NPOs in the public services sector seem to be the weaker partner vis-a-vis competent authorities.

Keywords: Japanese NPOs, civil society, government-NPO relations, welfare reform

The Political Economy of Carbon Dioxide Emissions in Three Asian Countries

Heejun Chang (Assistant Professor, Portland State University)

Carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions in three Asian countries were examined in relation to each country's political economy. The different paths of energy consumption and carbon intensity are closely associated with the stage of economic development, technological innovations, changes in lifestyle, and the types of fossil fuels used. Changes in economic growth and fuel prices also affected CO₂ emissions by modifying the level of energy consumption and the choice of fuels. Yet, projecting future CO₂ emissions in these countries is uncertain and depends on multiple factors, including a government's willingness to reduce CO₂ emissions. Different paths of CO₂ emissions in each country suggest the need for local studies to understand the driving forces of human dimensions of global climate change.

Keywords: greenhouse gas emissions, carbon dioxide, global climate change, human dimensions, political economy, East Asia

Vol. 26, No. 3, 2002

Sunshine through Cloudy Skies: Peace and Security in Northeast Asia

Wendy R. Sherman (Principal, Albright Group)

Assessment of the Sunshine Policy: A Korean Perspective

Haksoon Paik (Research Fellow, Sejong Institute)

This article assesses the Kim Dae Jung government's Sunshine policy for the two years following the June 2000 North-South Korean Summit, focusing mainly on the merits, accomplishments, and impact of the policy. The main subjects are the policy's objectives, the major features of the policymakers and their environments as structural constraints, and the policy's achievements. Some of the criticisms leveled at the policy itself are refuted. The conclusion deals with the remaining tasks the incumbent South Korean administration must address in order to remold the Sunshine policy into a more viable and sustainable policy option for the succeeding administration.

Keywords: Sunshine policy, Kim Dae Jung administration, inter-Korean relations, U.S.-DPRK relations, economic crisis in South Korea

The Sunshine Policy and Security on the Korean Peninsula: A Critical Assessment and Prospects

Yong-Sup Han (Professor, Korea National Defense University)

Has the Kim Dae Jung administration's "Sunshine policy" really improved security on the Korean peninsula? Could peace and security be better achieved by some other means? Before assessing the achievements of the Sunshine policy, several issues beg investigation. What did the Sunshine policy seek to achieve in terms of security, and what were the underlying assumptions on the interconnections between the policy and security? How did its security policy implementation process unfold over time? Finally, how can one assess the overall management and remaining tasks of the Sunshine policy? These issues are the focus of this examination.

Keywords: Sunshine policy, U.S. Korea policy, South Korea media, politics of national security in South Korea

Inter-Korean Economic Relations in a Regional Context

Bradley O. Babson (Consultant, World Bank and United Nations)

Deepening economic relations between the two Koreas is a central theme of inter-Korean reconciliation. An important challenge will be to build a stable process of reducing the enormous gap between the two economies and gradually integrating the two very different economic systems that together must accompany a long-term shared vision for eventual reunification. This article examines issues relating to regional influences on inter-Korean economic relations and their potential for the future. The initial inter-Korean economic agenda, as agreed upon during the June 2000 Summit, is examined, as are the realities facing the deepening of economic relations, the influence of countries neighboring the Korean peninsula, and regional economic cooperation trends and opportunities.

Keywords: inter-Korean economic relations, Tumen River Area Development Program, regional economic cooperation, energy cooperation, transport links

Prospects for Opening in North Korea and Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation

Hyunwook Koh (Professor, Kyungnam University)

North Korea's policy of opening can be viewed as a product of the trade-off between economic efficiency and systemic stability. Historically, the policy has aimed at securing foreign exchange earnings by opening specified areas without

allowing any significant challenges to the regime. To the disappointment of leaders in Pyongyang, much of these efforts have born little fruit. However, inter-Korean economic cooperation—one important element of the opening policy—has consistently expanded. With this, inter-Korean trade has increased, fostering greater mutual dependency. Yet from an economic standpoint, such cooperation appears less attractive for South Korea. And despite the few suggested benefits for engaging in inter-Korean economic cooperation projects, prospects for further opening in North Korea hold limited optimism, as the North is expected to continue to pursue a policy of “quarantined, belated opening without real reform.” This article aims to provide a review of North Korea’s past and present opening policies, emphasizing the situation where North Korea was unable to follow a line of gradual opening as seen in China or Vietnam. It is this special factor that has prevented North Korea from reaping greater gains from the opening process.

Keywords: opening policy, inter-Korean economic cooperation, special economic zones, processing-on-commissions trade

The Future of U.S.-China Relations and the Korean Peninsula

Avery Goldstein (Professor, University of Pennsylvania)

Korea remains one of the principal issues on the Asian agenda in which both the United States and China have a strong interest. This article explores some of the links between changing Sino-American relations and the future of Korea. It does so in three steps. First, it examines the international context within which China and the United States currently operate. Second, it examines key interests shaping their bilateral relations relevant to the future of the Korean peninsula, especially China’s security concerns as a rising power in an era of American preponderance. Beijing’s interest in increasing its international influence while also maintaining valuable economic ties to the United States (both essential to ensuring the Chinese Communist Party’s political legitimacy at home) presents China’s leaders with conflicting foreign policy imperatives manifest in their view of events in Korea. And third, the article examines four highly stylized scenarios depicting Korean futures and their significance for Sino-American relations.

Keywords: U.S. China policy, Sino-U.S. relations, China-Korea relations, China security interests

China and Inter-Korean Relations

Xiaoming Zhang (Deputy Director, Peking University)

This article elaborates on China’s policy toward the Korean peninsula, especially

Beijing's treatment of inter-Korean relations since the June 2000 summit. For the most part, the policy has been remarkably consistent in the post-cold war era as its driving force has been the maintenance of good-neighborly relations with both South and North Korea to ensure the peace, stability, and prosperity of the Korean peninsula. A stable, prosperous Korean peninsula can only help foster a favorable security environment in the Northeast Asian region, a condition most conducive to China's domestic modernization drive.

Keywords: China-Korea relations, inter-Korean relations, Jiang Zemin, Kim Dae Jung, Kim Jong Il, multilateral cooperation

Military-First Politics of Kim Jong Il

Dae-Sook Suh (Professor, University of Hawaii)

Political leaders play a dominant role in all aspects of North Korean life, and the change in the top leadership, even if it is a succession from father to son, is an important political change. Now that Kim Jong Il has been in power for nearly a decade, it is possible to identify some of the distinguishing characteristics of his governance. A prominent one is the rise of the military in politics. Kim Jong Il has replaced the party with the military to govern the country by instituting "military-first" politics. Signs of the rise of the military are everywhere, and the military presence can be felt in all aspects of political and social life. This article examines the characteristics, origins, supporters, and purpose of Kim Jong Il's "military-first" politics.

Keywords: Cho Myong-nok, Kim Jong Il, military-first politics, National Defense Commission, Workers' Party of Korea

A Comparative Study of Regionalism in East Asia and the Americas

Young Jong Choi (Assistant Research Professor, Korea University), Nae Young Lee (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

This article approaches East Asian regionalism from a comparative perspective to explore the causes of institutional underdevelopment and regionalism's future prospects. While pointing out the theoretical problems involved in a comparison of East Asia with Western Europe, the article compares East Asia with the American region. Four key conditions are identified as being responsible for the success of regional integration: functional demands, leadership, common exigencies, and common identity. Ensuing comparative analysis shows that these four factors can explain the varying degrees of institutional development in East Asia and the Americas. The conclusion predicts that the recent interest in bilateral free trade areas in East Asia will accelerate regional integration.

Keywords: regionalism, institutionalization, free trade areas, ASEAN+3

The Cultural Context and Crisis of the Capitalist World-Economy

Dae-Won Koh (Assistant Professor, Yonsei University)

World-system theory stresses that the political, economic, and cultural processes in the capitalist world-economy are intimately intertwined. In particular, Wallerstein gives a rare, articulate account of the formation, function, and crisis of the geoculture, that is, the cultural framework of the capitalist world-economy. However, his study poses a few problems that deserve further investigation. Using Sorokin's study of sociocultural change, this article draws some preliminary accounts of those problems. It shows that the rise and maturation of the "sensate" culture in Europe accounts for the cultural context of the advent of the capitalist world-economy in the mid-fifteenth century. It also proposes that the crisis of the capitalist world-economy could result not only from anti-systemic movements that are Wallerstein's subject, but also from the immanent socio-cultural changes suggested by Sorokin.

Keywords: cultural change, world-system theory, capitalist world economy, cultural crisis

Vol. 26, No. 4, 2002

Introduction

China-ASEAN Relations in the 21st Century: Continuity and Change

Melissa G. Curley (Research Officer, University of Hong Kong)

Seeking Influence: China's Diplomacy Toward ASEAN After the Asian Crisis

Jürgen Haacke (Lecturer, University of Birmingham)

This article analyzes the relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the wider context of international politics in Southeast Asia in the period following the 1997 Asian financial crisis. It describes developments in China-ASEAN relations after the Asian financial crisis, explores China's motivations for enhancing ties with ASEAN, and examines the limits to China's influence in the region. The argument here is that although China's ties with ASEAN have advanced considerably after the Asian crisis, China continues to lack conduct-shaping and context-shaping power in Southeast Asia. The role of the United States and Japan in Southeast Asia, and the significance that ASEAN attaches to relations with these powers, are key factors in understanding why China's influence vis-

a-vis ASEAN remains limited. Beijing's recent diplomatic offensive toward ASEAN remains relevant to Chinese leaders in view of Washington and Tokyo's recent attempts to strengthen or at least defend their respective regional influence. China is therefore likely to continue to seek greater influence in the ASEAN region in the foreseeable future.

Keywords: Sino-ASEAN relations, ASEAN-China Free Trade Area, political-security cooperation, multipolarity, China's political-strategic influence

The Politics of China-ASEAN Economic Relations: Assessing the Move Toward a Free Trade Area

Daojiong Zha (Assistant Professor, International University of Japan)

This article examines the strategic and diplomatic aspects of China's decision to form a Free Trade Area (FTA) with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in November 2001. An FTA represents one significant step forward in China's economic diplomacy toward ASEAN, considering China's involvement in other venues of regional economic affairs. An in-depth reading of the policy rationale contained in the Joint ASEAN-China Expert Study Group's report shows that the FTA decision resulted from a largely diplomatic-political imperative on the part of China. Nonetheless, movement toward an FTA came about after studious Chinese efforts over a decade to win over ASEAN's trust. In proposing the FTA, China pursues two strategic goals: development of its southwestern provinces, and competition with Japan in terms of demonstrating leadership in regional economic affairs.

Keywords: ASEAN, China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, regional leadership, Sino-Japanese competition, economic cooperation

Building an East Asian Community: Origins, Structure, and Limits

Nick Thomas (Research Officer, University of Hong Kong)

Is an East Asian Community possible? In November 2001 the leaders of the ASEAN countries were presented with the report of the East Asian Vision Group (EAVG). The report laid down a road map for future regional integration efforts across East Asia. Beginning with an overview of East Asian regionalization to date, this article adopts the three most developed areas of the EAVG report and examines their potential for deepening regional community-building endeavors. The article argues that there is an identifiable and sustainable trend within the region toward the development of an East Asian Community—based on the ASEAN norms of consensus and noninterference—but that these norms are changing to allow restrictions on member states.

The article concludes with a look at the limitations in creating an East Asian Community and an evaluation of the ability of the thirteen countries to transcend these limits.

Keywords: East Asian Community, regional integration, ASEAN, East Asian Vision Group

Perception, Pragmatism, and Political Will: Maritime Disputes and Balances of Power in the Asia-Pacific

Liselotte Odgaard (Assistant Professor, University of Aarhus)

This article argues that great-power balancing based on perceptions, pragmatism, and political will affect the prospects of settling maritime disputes in the Asia-Pacific. The United States and China recognize each other as opponents in a bipolar structure that must set aside political morality to avert violent confrontation. Stable Sino-U.S. balancing creates a window of opportunity for Southeast Asia to establish an order with China in the South China Sea founded in *raison de système*. China sees Japan as a power not entitled to regional political leadership. Japan sees China as a power with insufficient political capacities in a multipolar structure. *Raison d'état* dominates Sino-Japanese relations, making the Senkaku dispute a hot spot. Russia and Japan focus on the United States and China in a structure seen as multipolar. Their capacity for moderation is set off by their relative mutual indifference, creating a stalemate in the South Kuriles dispute. The article analyzes these three maritime disputes in the context of great-power balancing, arguing that prospects for future cooperation are best between China and Southeast Asia.

Keywords: Asia-Pacific, balance of power, maritime disputes, Senkaku Islands, Sino-Southeast Asian relations, Sino-U.S. relations, South Kuril Islands, Spratly Islands

The Paracels: The “Other” South China Sea Dispute

Stein Tønnesson (Director, International Peace Research Institute Oslo)

The Spratlys is not the only disputed group of reefs and islands in the South China Sea. The Paracel Islands, Scarborough Shoal, and Pratas Reef and Island are also disputed. This article reviews the contemporary history of the Paracels dispute, estimates of their economic and strategic importance, the role of the Paracels dispute in Sino-Vietnamese relations, and the relationship of the dispute to other sovereignty disputes and maritime delimitation in the South China Sea. The conclusion reviews the interconnected nature of the Spratly and Paracels maritime disputes in the context of China-ASEAN relations and poses scenarios for future conflict resolution strategies. The argument here is that a multilateral solution to the dispute over maritime delimitation in the

Spratlys area and the central part of the South China Sea will require a bilateral solution of the bilateral dispute over sovereignty concerning the Paracels. Sino-Vietnamese talks concerning the Paracels could play a constructive role in paving the way for a more comprehensive solution of sovereignty disputes, and thus play a major role in further improving overall relations between China and ASEAN.

Keywords: Paracel Islands, Sino-Vietnamese relations, China-ASEAN relations, maritime disputes

NGOs in China: The Role of International Organizations and South-South Cooperation

Melissa G. Curley (Research Officer, University of Hong Kong)

The article examines the emergence of the nonprofit sector in China in light of ongoing economic reforms. Coupled with the pressure of declining government revenues and the dismantling of former public insurance and social service systems, China's policy makers are looking to the so-called "third sector" to help fill the gaps. The article reviews the impact of recent funding and collaborative activities between two international organizations and Chinese nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and South-South cooperation programs between China and the Philippines, on the development of the nonprofit sector. The article argues that through such programs, opportunities, albeit narrow, are emerging for Chinese NGOs to influence the government's thinking on the nonprofit sector. Such influence is most likely to occur in areas that coincide with Chinese government concerns, such as environmental degradation and poverty alleviation. The article argues that some Chinese NGOs are finding ways to benefit from these programs to facilitate their own development and maximize the interests of their members. The conclusion discusses future opportunities and challenges for Chinese NGOs in the wake of China's accession to the World Trade Organization.

Keywords: Chinese nongovernmental organizations, nonprofit sector, international organizations, World Bank, Asian Development Bank

The Implications for Labor of China's Direct Investment in Cambodia

Stephen Frost (Research Fellow, University of Hong Kong), Sanjiv Pandita (Researcher, Asia Monitor Research Center), Kevin Hewison (Professor, City University of Hong Kong)

For over a decade most research linking foreign direct investment (FDI) to labor practices has centered on large and prominent companies—such as Nike and Reebok—headquartered in the United States and Europe. As a result,

scholars have overlooked the influence of FDI by small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), and also failed to notice the growth of direct investment from non-traditional sources. China's FDI outflows are well established; but little attention has been paid to its current position as one of the most important sources of investment in Cambodia, particularly in the garment sector. In the absence of any research exploring the impact of Chinese FDI on labor, this article draws from empirical research conducted by the Cambodian Labor Organization on factory conditions in the garment sector during 1999–2000. The article argues that over and above conventional analysis of FDI—such as firm motivation and inter-and intra-firm networks—assessments of the Chinese government's foreign and aid policies, the U.S.-Cambodia Textile Agreement, the Multi-Fiber Arrangement, aspects of cultural and linguistic affinity, and Cambodia's economic situation are prerequisites to understanding the relationship between Chinese FDI and Cambodian workers.

Keywords: Cambodia, China, foreign direct investment, International Labor Organization, small and medium-sized enterprises

Indonesia's Relations with China and Taiwan: From Politics to Economics

Samuel C. Y. Ku (Professor, National Sun Yat-sen University)

Indonesia gained full autonomy and sovereignty from the Dutch in December 1949, around the same time that the People's Republic of China was established in Beijing and the Republic of China government fled to Taiwan. Indonesia and the PRC immediately exchanged diplomatic recognition in early 1950, but later Indonesia suspended its relations with China due to an abortive coup in October 1965. Indonesia restored direct trade and full diplomatic relations with China in 1985 and 1990, respectively. Meanwhile, Indonesia upgraded Taiwan's representative office in Jakarta in 1988, allowing it to perform a variety of functions. This article argues that Indonesia's early relations with Taiwan and China were politically motivated; but the recent change in Indonesia's relations with the two Chinese governments has been determined by economics, and this will continue to determine the degree of closeness of Indonesia's relations with Taiwan and China in the near future.

Keywords: Indonesia-Taiwan relations, Indonesia-China relations, *bebas-aktif* principle, economic relations, President Suharto, *Pakto 88*

Vol. 27, No. 1, 2003

Nationalism and Authoritarianism: Student-Government Conflicts During the 1999 Beijing Student Protests

Dingxin Zhao (Associate Professor, University of Chicago)

The 1999 anti-U.S. student demonstrations that broke out in major Chinese cities following the U.S.-led NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade have been popularly regarded as a Chinese government-sponsored activity. This research shows that during the demonstrations many Beijing students were in fact very suspicious of the government's involvement and avoided joining demonstrations that they regarded as government controlled. Much of the government effort during the demonstrations went into bringing the protests under control, which led to frequent student-government conflicts. The study shows that, as long as the international environment is reasonably favorable to China, radical anti-U.S. student nationalism will flourish there only with difficulty, and the Chinese government is unlikely to be able to rely on nationalism for survival.

Keywords: Chinese nationalism, 1999 Beijing student protests, student-government conflict, anti-U.S. demonstrations

China's Path to Great Power Status in the Globalization Era

Samuel S. Kim (Professor, Columbia University)

Not since the debate in the mid-1960s over containment with or without isolation have the implications of rising Chinese power been so pervasive and controversial as in recent years. This article joins the debate by tracking and explaining China's path to great power status in the post-cold war era of globalization. Globalization has greatly influenced not only the dynamics of power on the world stage but also the very meaning of power. While external assessments of the significance of a rising China vary considerably depending on normative or theoretical perspective, China's own conceptualization and assessment have come to focus more on economic, scientific, and technological than military factors. As China is increasingly integrated into the world community, how it wields whatever power it holds determines in the end the character of its international influence.

Keywords: China, globalization, great-power status

The Malaysian Capital Control Regime of 1998: Implementation, Effectiveness, and Lessons

Shalendra D. Sharma (Associate Professor, University of San Francisco)

Hailed as a “development success story” among the second-tier newly industrializing economies of Southeast Asia, Malaysia’s remarkable economic performance has been attributed to a pro-market, outward-oriented development strategy. However, in the midst of the Asian financial crisis of 1997–1999, the Malaysian government, in a dramatic move, broke away from the prevailing policy consensus and adopted the use of capital controls to correct what it perceived to be financial market imperfections responsible for the crisis. Why did Malaysia opt for a strategy considered by many to be heretical? What kinds of capital controls did Malaysia institute and what was their overall effectiveness? Was Malaysia’s remarkable economic recovery due to its imposition of capital controls? And what broad lessons can be derived from Malaysia’s experience? This article addresses these questions.

Keywords: capital controls, Malaysia’s economy, Asian financial crisis, economic globalization

The Party-State Liaison in Korea: Searching for Evidence of the Cartelized System

Jin Young Kwak (Assistant Professor, Konkuk University)

Why has the Korean political party system remained undemocratic despite the introduction of democratic reforms in 1987? To answer this question, the party-state relationship in Korea demands investigation, since it forms the environment of party competition. This article reveals evidence that indicates the existence of “cartel parties” in Korean politics that stifle competition. The study examines three dimensions of party environment: electoral competition, financial linkage, and patronage in the allocation of government positions. First, Korean political parties compete in an environment where electoral competition is extremely capital-intensive and contained, and media access is unevenly distributed and monopolized by the major parties. Second, under the current system, only strong parties can really take advantage of state subvention. Third, patronage in the process of allocating government positions suggests that the party system is slowly petrifying. These findings suggest that the Korean party system is a closed system owing to the formation of cartels between the two strongest parties and the state.

Keywords: cartel parties, democratization, Korean political parties, party-state relationship

Special Relations and Alliance Politics in Philippine-U.S. Security Relations, 1990–2002

Renato Cruz De Castro (Associate Professor, De La Salle University)

This article argues that the special relations between the Philippines and the United States undermined their security ties in the early 1990s. It examines the impact of three events on Philippine-U.S. security relations: the end of the cold war, negotiations for a new bases treaty, and cooling off of the special relations between the two allies. The article also analyzes the developments that led to the revival and revitalization of the Philippine-U.S. alliance in the late 1990s and early years of the new millennium. The contention is that security ties based on historical or cultural affinity or special relations are detrimental to alliances because the intimacy of relations creates gross misperception and unwarranted expectations. Therefore, alliances must be viewed as mere power relations that will ensure the survival of states and enhancement of their values in an anarchic international system.

Keywords: alliance, Philippines, United States, alliance politics

The Origins of Faulted Korean Statism

Hun Joo Park (Assistant Professor, Korea Development Institute School of Public Policy and Management)

The financial collapse of 1997 provokes serious reflection upon Korea's development experience, a juncture as pivotal as that of Park Chung Hee's seizure of power in 1961. This article aims to provide a critique of the Korean model by examining the roots of its dirigisme—the system of state-led development—which is fraught with a contradictory procession of spectacular successes and cataclysmic crises. Korea's undemocratic, highly centralized and personalized dirigisme resulted in politicization and de-professionalization of bureaucracies and collusion among state power holders, bureaucrats, and the nation's chaebol. The analysis presented here reflects the situation in Korea, but it may be applicable to other Asian countries with dirigiste backgrounds.

Keywords: Park Chung Hee, development state, chaebol, faulted statism, Korea

Dualism in the Bush Administration's North Korea Policy

C. Kenneth Quinones (Program Director, American Research Center for Asia and the Pacific)

President George W. Bush and North Korean strongman Kim Jong Il are locked in a potentially deadly tango. Weapons of mass destruction, particularly North Korea's nuclear ambitions and ballistic missile capability, are the apparent

cause. But their dueling has much more fundamental ramifications, especially for North Korea. Bush seems determined to confront Kim with the ultimate dilemma of his regime: either disarm or face the consequences. This contest is being played out in the context of Bush's global foreign policy strategy that accents preventing the "axis of evil," which includes North Korea, from threatening or using weapons of mass destruction against the United States. The President's foreign-policy team agrees on what they must accomplish, but is divided into "regionalists" and "globalists" regarding strategy to achieve his goals. Bush has allowed their debate to continue, giving his foreign policy a duality that is a source of concern, and some confusion among allies, friends and the primary enemy, North Korea. Bush claims he seeks a "peaceful, diplomatic" outcome in his clash with Kim Jong Il, but has ruled out negotiations with his regime. Instead, Bush seems hopeful that Kim's regime will collapse. If it does not, an armed confrontation seems inevitable.

Keywords: U.S. North Korea policy, Bush administration, regionalists, globalists, weapons of mass destruction

In Search of a Civil Nuclear Liability Regime for North Korea

Patricia Goedde (Attorney, Washington State)

What civil nuclear liability regime would apply to North Korea should any nuclear reactors be in its future? To answer this question, this article first describes and assesses current conventions governing civil nuclear liability, provides a few examples of domestic legislation in countries that have not signed these conventions, and discusses what will happen if no adequate civil nuclear liability framework is in place for a country, using the example of Chernobyl. The role of codified general principles and customary international law in relation to state liability are discussed. North Korea's case is then considered, focusing primarily on the KEDO scenario. The argument here is that not only should North Korea enact domestic legislation reflecting international principles of civil nuclear liability, but that the international community, primarily KEDO and its member governments, needs to aid North Korea with a creative financial guarantee mechanism to ensure the implementation of its nuclear-liability legislation.

Keywords: North Korea, light water reactors, KEDO, civil nuclear liability regime, Agreed Framework

Explaining the Emergence of New East Asian Regionalism: Beyond Power and Interest-Based Approaches

Hyun-Seok Yu (Associate Professor, Chung-Ang University)

This article examines recent developments and major changes in Asian regionalism. APEC-centered Asia-Pacific regionalism is in a stalemate while a new kind of Asian regionalism is burgeoning. To understand this development, attention must be paid to conflict between Western liberal ideology and the various forms of Asian resistance. Both realist and liberal theories, which stress the importance of power and interest, do not adequately explain current trends of Asian regionalism. The roles of culture, identity, ideas, and perceptions are crucial. The 1997 Asian economic crisis was an important event that led to Asia's disillusionment with the existing U.S.-dominated regional cooperation scheme. In the wake of the crisis, various initiatives for East Asian regional cooperation emerged, all of which commonly exclude the United States. Thus, the future of new East Asian regionalism will be strongly influenced by APEC's ability to genuinely represent the interests of Asian countries.

Keywords: APEC, Asian economic crisis, Asian regionalism, Asian mercantilism, identity

Vol. 27, No. 2, 2003

Hegemony and the Variety of Democratic Institutions: Executive-Legislative Relations and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy Change

Chansoo Cho (Research Assistant Professor, Korea University)

This article examines how domestic institutional change within the United States affects changes in its foreign economic policy. The focus is on formal rather than informal institutions, specifically executive-legislative relations. The rise of the United States to hegemonic leadership coincided with a shift from a Congress-centered to an executive-centered structure. To explain the shift, the article examines the literature on the role of institutional factors in policy outcomes regarding the international political economy. A comparative analysis follows of the domestic sources of U.S. responses to global duties, along with a comparison of the British and American cases. The article concludes that in Britain the Westminster model of party politics played the role that executive politics played in the United States. This confirms the wisdom that two-party system and united government are more conducive to strong and independent government action than are multipartyism and divided government.

Keywords: U.S. hegemony, trade policy, domestic institutions, executive politics

Triangle Research and Understanding Northeast Asian Politics

Seongji Woo (Visiting Instructor, Catholic University of Korea)

Despite the importance and frequency of the triadic relationship in international relations, triangular phenomena remain poorly understood. The Northeast Asian region has spawned a fertile ground for generating a host of overlapping triangles. A proliferation of dyadic rivalries, bilateral alignments, and the overlap of great-power spheres of influence have all contributed to the creation of multiple triangles. The complex nature of the politics of the region by way of lateral linkage forces us to have a triadic view. This article surveys how international relations and area scholars explain triadic interstate exchanges, and illustrates how foreign policymakers take advantage of triangular dynamics, define security triangles, and analyze the basic characteristics of triangles as lateral linkages. The conclusion briefly reflects on security triangles of the Korean peninsula.

Keywords: security triangles, triadic interstate exchanges, foreign policy making, Northeast Asian politics, Korean peninsula

The Idea of an “Asian Monetary Fund”: The Problems of Financial Institutions in the Asia-Pacific

Shaun Narine (Assistant Professor, St. Thomas University)

Asian observers attribute the Asian economic crisis of 1997–1999 to the instability inherent in the global financial system. In response, Asians have discussed creating an Asian Monetary Fund (AMF) to manage future financial crises and have demanded the reform of the global financial architecture. However, the New International Financial Architecture (NIFA) developed since the crisis fails to address the fundamental sources of instability in the present global financial system. This system poses economic and ideological threats to the stability of East Asia. Therefore, regional states have powerful incentives to create an effective AMF. However, traditional security concerns, historical grievances, and political rivalries between the major Asia-Pacific powers limit the prospects of regional cooperation. Under these conditions, it is unlikely that East Asian states can create an effective regional financial institution. However, Asian states still need to protect themselves from global financial volatility. They will probably pursue this goal through bilateral and multilateral arrangements with the regional powers. The Asia-Pacific will maintain a distinctive East Asian political economy.

Keywords: Asian Monetary Fund, New International Financial Architecture, International Monetary Fund, sovereignty

State-Sanctioned Surfing, Limited Connectivity, and Varied Access to Cyberspace in Nondemocracies

Geoffry L. Taubman (Project Assistant, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs)

Nondemocratic regimes—whose rule depends upon the quashing of dissent and the control of information—are acutely concerned about unfettered societal access to the World Wide Web and e-mail. The Internet provides users with powerful means to come into contact with an expansive range of ideologies and data and to disseminate and discuss those findings. Almost without exception, nondemocratic rulers have initiated rigorous efforts to counteract the ideational consequences of this new medium, but they have not acted in a uniform fashion. Differences in their legitimation strategies—particularly whether they rely upon economic or ideological measures—account for variations in the willingness of nondemocratic rulers to allow the public to access cyberspace and utilize the Internet's considerable information-gathering and communication capabilities. To highlight the dissimilar Internet strategies employed by nondemocracies, the state-sanctioned surfing strategy employed in China is compared with the more restrictive limited connectivity that occurs in Cuba.

Keywords: nondemocracies, Internet policies, state-sanctioned surfing strategy, China, Cuba

Technological Change, U.S. Pressure, and the Transformation of the Japanese Aircraft Industry

Seungjoo Lee (Assistant Professor, Yonsei University)

During the early 1990s, the Japanese aircraft industry underwent a fundamental transformation, shifting away from autonomous development and toward international collaboration. What drove Japan to discard autonomous development in its aircraft industry, something Japan had sought for three decades? This article attempts to answer the question by examining how and why the coalition behind autonomous development began to shatter during the mid-1980s. I argue that the confluence of technological change and U.S. pressure brought about the shift toward international collaboration by prodding key players to reorder their policy priorities. The Japanese aircraft industry case suggests that technological change, if combined with U.S. pressure in a timely manner, can prompt even persistent opponents of change—conservative government ministries and other key agencies with vested interests in the existing policy—to seek other alternatives.

Keywords: aircraft industry, international collaboration, autonomous development, Japan, technological change

Ending Naval Clashes on the Northern Limit Line and the Quest for a West Sea Peace Regime

John Barry Kotch (Visiting Professor, Hanyang University), Michael Abbey (M.A. Candidate, University of Rhode Island)

Notwithstanding the June 2000 Pyongyang Summit Declaration, the June 2002 naval clash in the West Sea between North and South Korean naval forces once again demonstrated the precarious nature of the armistice regime and peace and security on the Korean peninsula. But the incident also provides an opportunity for confidence building with the benefit of existing “rules of the road” based on the Law of the Sea. This article probes the immediate cause of the clash—the lingering dispute over the status of the Northern Limit Line (NLL), unilaterally promulgated by the United Nations Command in August 1953—and the political interests of the parties today that stand in the way of a resolution. If the two Koreas are genuinely committed to reconciliation, these differences can be resolved through negotiation, thereby preventing future incidents. A line that was drawn more than a half-century ago for an entirely different purpose should no longer be allowed to fester as a source of conflict, thereby retarding the peace process.

Keywords: Northern Limit Line, Korean War Armistice Agreement, West Sea, inter-Korean reconciliation, UN Command

Economic Reform and Path Dependence in China: A Comparative Study of Reform and Development in Nanjing and Suzhou

Hwan-woo Chung (Researcher, Catholic University of Korea)

Via a comparison of two cities in China, Nanjing and Suzhou, this article finds that pre-reform economic structures have had a significant effect on economic performance. While stagnation and the strengthening of dependence on upper levels of government occurred in Nanjing, developmental dispersion and rapid duplication of growth processes took place in Suzhou. The article asserts that the economic role of local governments and government-enterprise relations are being superseded by a greater focus on existing relations between different levels of government. Still, such relations are developing under the influence of regional differences in China’s transitional economy.

Keywords: China’s economic development, path-dependence, local development, local governments, Nanjing, Suzhou

Commentary:

Risk Society Comes to China: SARS, Transparency and Public Accountability

Paul Thiers (Assistant Professor, Washington State University)

Vol. 27, No. 3, 2003

Threats to Peace, Challenges to Prosperity: Themes from the 4th Shibusawa Seminar

Allan Bird (Professor, University of Missouri)

The New Independent Voter and the Evolving Japanese Party System

Aiji Tanaka (Professor, Waseda University), Sherry Martin (Postdoctoral Associate, Cornell University)

Independent voters currently exceed fifty percent of the Japanese electorate and hold the potential to realign the party system. Yet, the Liberal Democratic Party continues to capture the largest share of votes. We find that the continued success of the LDP and the challenges that new conservative parties face can be attributed to the fact that the former continues to draw support from a firm base of organized supporters while the latter must harness the energies of unorganized independent voters. However, disorganization does not suggest that independent voters cannot be defined as a distinct group with shared social characteristics, attitudes, and policy orientations that make them susceptible to future mobilization attempts.

Keywords: Japanese electorate, Liberal Democratic Party, voter dynamics, new independents, parasite singles

Managing Another North Korean Crisis: South Korean, Japanese, and U.S. Approaches

Hosup Kim (Professor, Chung Ang University), Masayuki Tadokoro (Professor, Keio University), Brian Bridges (Professor, Lingnan University)

The renewed crisis over a suspected North Korean nuclear weapons program has raised significant challenges for the governments of the United States, South Korea, and Japan. While close coordination between these three states has been the avowed policy aim, the reality is that differences in approach, reflecting varying perceptions as well as different policy determinants and constraints, can be identified. This article demonstrates not only that, along the broad policy

spectrum from pressure to dialogue, the Bush administration takes a tougher line, the Roh administration a softer one, and the Koizumi administration an intermediate one, but also that subtle changes in those positions are occurring.

Keywords: North Korea, George W. Bush, Roh Moo-hyun, Junichiro Koizumi, policy differences, policymaking, weapons of mass destruction

Women, Institutions, and Leadership in Japan

Chikako Usui (Associate Professor, University of Missouri), Suzanna Rose (Professor, Florida International University), Reiko Kageyama (Professor, Kanto-Gakuin University)

This article presents an overview of women's representation in leadership positions in major institutional spheres in Japan. It explores the literature on recent changes and institutional and psychological barriers to women's mobility. Although women have acted as agents of change who challenge the relationship between family and workplace, women's representation in leadership positions remains low. Their tight embeddedness in the institutions of family and community that is built upon the traditional gender division of labor inhibits their aspirations in pursuing non-family careers and has the effect of limiting women's access to channels of leadership. In response to changing family needs and growing international pressures, the government has initiated policies for gender equality and women leadership. However, barriers to gender equality will persist unless certain organizational conditions and resources are promoted.

Keywords: gender equality, women's movement in Japan, leadership, gender tracking, Basic Law for a Gender-equal Society, gender stereotyping

Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurial Processes: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on Entrepreneurship in the Japanese Contexts

Allan Bird (Professor, University of Missouri), Hitoshi Mitsuhashi (Assistant Professor, University of Tsukuba)

Difficulties in the Japanese economy for more than a decade have raised questions about its vitality and about the current level of entrepreneurship in Japan. Some scholars question the presence of entrepreneurial spirit in Japan, while others question the supportiveness of the entrepreneurial environment. We review the historical development of entrepreneurship in Japan, its current state of affairs and propose a framework for a more systematic examination of factors and mechanisms influencing nascent Japanese entrepreneurs to act.

Keywords: entrepreneurship in Japan, micro-level characteristics of entrepreneurs, small and medium-sized enterprises, Japanese culture, risk-taking behavior

A New Look at the U.S.-China-Japan Triangle: Toward Building a Stable Framework

Yoshihide Soeya (Professor; Keio University), Jianwei Wang (Professor; University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point), David A. Welch (Associate Professor; University of Toronto)

Major trends and events, both in world politics and in domestic politics, have changed the context of U.S.-Chinese-Japanese relations and given all three countries powerful incentives to cooperate. As a result, triangular relations have improved dramatically, both in substance and in tone, and a window of opportunity has opened for all three countries to build a lasting foundation for concord. This task is complicated, however, by lingering misperceptions, incompatible calculations of long-term advantage, and conflicts with deep historical and ideational roots. Building a stable framework will require enlightened political leadership on all three sides—a commodity in unpredictable supply. But the longer the cooperative mood lasts, the greater will be its transformative potential.

Keywords: U.S.-China-Japan triangle, China's economic diplomacy, post-9/11 security dynamics, ideational conflicts, logic of interdependence, Missile Defense, Taiwan

Vol. 27, No. 4, 2003

The Bush Doctrine in Asia: A Brief Introduction

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Contemporary China Centre)

The Bush Doctrine and the North Korean Nuclear Crisis

Chung-in Moon (Professor, Yonsei University), Jong-Yun Bae (Research Professor, Yonsei University)

Ever since North Korea's admission in October 2002 of the existence of a highly-enriched uranium program, the North Korean nuclear problem has gone from bad to worse. Prospects for a peaceful resolution seem dim. North Korea has undertaken a series of brinkmanship measures in response to the staunch American attitude. Both actors are now locked in a dangerous game of chicken without a clear route to a compromise. Why this collision course? Most critical to the issue has been the advent of the Bush Doctrine, which signals a major paradigmatic change in American foreign and defense policy. Its moral

absolutism, hegemonic unilateralism, offensive realism, and focus on weapons of mass destruction and global terrorism have radically changed the terms of American engagement with North Korea. This article examines the impact of the Bush Doctrine on the North Korean nuclear problem by showing how it has affected the rise and evolution of the problem, delineates future scenarios of the crisis, and draws some implications for its peaceful resolution.

Keywords: Bush Doctrine, Kim Jong-il, North Korean nuclear crisis, Geneva Agreed Framework, Six-Party Talks

Letting the Genie Out of the Bottle: The Bush Nuclear Doctrine in Asia

Timothy L. Savage (Visiting Fellow, Kyungnam University)

The end of the cold war held out the hope that the nuclear genie could be put back into the bottle and disarmament achieved. Rather than seizing this historic opportunity, the George W. Bush administration has increased the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. defense policy. In an era when U.S. conventional military power is both unprecedented and unchallenged, U.S. military planners continue to invent new scenarios for possible nuclear-weapons use. Many of the envisioned nuclear contingencies focus on Asia, particularly China and North Korea. In utilizing nuclear weapons to maintain and extend its military dominance, however, the United States ends up encouraging nuclear proliferation in response while simultaneously undermining U.S. political interests in the region. Instead of looking to build newer, smaller nuclear weapons, the United States should seek to reinvigorate global nonproliferation norms by moving toward nuclear disarmament as required by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Keywords: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Pax Americana, Project for a New American Century, Nuclear Posture Review, North Korea, China

Talking American, Acting Taiwanese Behind Taipei's Complete Compliance of the Bush Doctrine

Chih-yu Shih (Professor, National Taiwan University)

The Bush Doctrine is about U.S. unilateral, preemptive action to be taken against a potential enemy. For pro-independence forces in Taiwan, China represents this potential enemy. To support the Bush Doctrine means to deter China from using military means to stop Taiwan independence. However, the Bush Doctrine's unilateralism and Taipei's total reliance on the United States taken together destroy the credit that a mediator would need. Taipei always has its own reasons, from defiant Chiang Kai-shek's reunification game in Quemoy, through Chiang Ching-kuo's two-handed policy to curb pro-

independence pressure, to Lee Teng-hui's use of Washington to promote the cause of independence, and finally to Chen Shui-bian's total reliance on the United States in order to preserve Washington's sympathy in Taiwan's pursuit of independence. Taipei has always tried to sneak its own reasons into its unqualified support for Washington, and Washington has been caught either by surprise or by ignorance each time. The support the Bush Doctrine enjoys in Taipei is no exception.

Keywords: Bush Doctrine, Taiwanese independence, Chen Shui-bian, Taiwan Straits issue, China Fever

The Bush Doctrine: Chinese Perspectives and Responses

Jing-dong Yuan (Director of Research, Monterey Institute of International Studies)

The Bush Doctrine has important implications for China. It challenges principles that Beijing holds dear with respect to state sovereignty, multipolarity, and the role of international organizations. Continued American primacy in international affairs marginalizes China's importance. In addition, key elements of the Bush Doctrine such as preemption, missile defenses, and a growing U.S. military presence as a result of the war against terrorism directly affect Chinese national security interests. However, while Beijing has a very negative view of the Bush Doctrine, its responses have been more measured and pragmatic. China recognizes its own limitation and the need to avoid direct confrontation with the United States. Its leaders also believe that the Bush Doctrine will have limited application to only a few exceptional cases simply because unilateralism cannot be sustained long in the face of domestic and international opposition. Instead, Beijing seized the opportunity provided by 9-11 and the changing focus of U.S. security policy to expand areas of common interest while minimizing the impact of differences. How the Bush Doctrine will affect China's interests in the future will depend on how well the two manage their increasingly complex relationship.

Keywords: Bush Doctrine, Sino-U.S. relations, post-cold war security strategy, Taiwan Straits issue, state sovereignty, North Korean nuclear crisis

The Bush Doctrine, Russia, and Korea

Alexander Zhebin (Senior Researcher, Institute of Far Eastern Studies)

The Bush Doctrine remained almost unnoticed in Russia until the U.S. attack on Iraq. After the war was unleashed, the concept became the object of rather heated discussions, proving the emergence of a new kind of political correctness in Russia motivated mainly by the drastic turn in President Putin's foreign policy toward the United States and the West after the 9-11 terrorist acts.

The Russian expert community and public opinion are divided on questions concerning the United States' true motives, as well as on how Russian should respond to a drastically changed international situation. There are also visible differences between the two countries' approaches to handling the North Korean nuclear crisis. Russia consistently supports preservation of the nonproliferation regime and the denuclearized status of the Korean peninsula. At the same time Moscow is strongly in favor of political and diplomatic methods, and considers any attempt to use force in Korea as an unacceptable challenge to Russia's national security.

Keywords: Bush Doctrine, Russia foreign policy, international law, North Korea nuclear crisis, Six-Party Talks, Russian-DPRK relations

The Bush Doctrine: The Dangers of American Exceptionalism in a Revolutionary Age

Nicholas J. Wheeler (Reader, University of Wales)

This article considers whether the Bush Doctrine seeks to establish a new rule for the preventive use of force against states and terrorist groups armed with weapons of mass destruction. Alternatively, does the Doctrine aim to carve out an exceptional right of intervention that is restricted to America alone? After emphasizing the dangers of changing the general rules on the use of force, I argue that the Bush Doctrine is not seeking such a modification. Instead, the new strategy should be viewed in the context of American exceptionalism. This has two sources: the long-standing belief of successive American governments that it is a carrier of universal values, which the United States has a historic responsibility to protect; and the administration's belief that the United States is uniquely threatened after 9/11, and thus is justified in exempting itself from the ordinary legal rules. The article highlights the dangers of this type of thinking. It also considers whether it is possible to ameliorate U.S. unilateralism by devising new collective approaches to the threat posed by the spread of weapons of mass destruction to terrorist groups.

Keywords: Bush Doctrine, international order, weapons of mass destruction, sovereignty, American exceptionalism

The Bush Doctrine and Asian Regional Order: The Perils and Pitfalls of Preemption

Amitav Acharya (Deputy Director, Nanyang Technological University)

This article offers a critical perspective on the Bush Doctrine's impact on the Asian, especially Southeast Asian, security order. It proceeds in four parts. The first examines the problematic nature of the Bush Doctrine, such as its

deliberate conflation of preemptive and preventive war and its expansive scope as a “grand strategy of transformation.” This is followed by an analysis of the responses of Southeast Asian states to the doctrine. The third part looks at the “imitation” effects of the Bush Doctrine in Asia-Pacific, where it may be reshaping national security strategies of some states such as Australia and Japan. The last part of the paper evaluates how the Bush Doctrine, with its underlying basis in U.S. power dominance in a unipolar global setting, affects the Asian security architecture, particularly the balance between bilateral and multilateral security approaches to regional order.

Keywords: Bush Doctrine, Asian security architecture, national security strategies, U.S. primacy, Southeast Asia

The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Four-Plus-Two—An Idea Whose Time Has Come

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Contemporary China Centre)

The confrontation between North Korea and the Bush administration over North Korea’s nuclear programs threatens to plunge Northeast Asia, one of the most strategically volatile regions in the world, into chaos and to ignite a nuclear arms race. This article argues that there is a way to achieve a peaceful resolution to this crisis that would be minimally acceptable to all parties, including both North Korea and the United States. It would be a four-plus-two security consortium, comprised of the four major powers in Northeast Asia (China, Japan, Russia, and the United States) plus the two Korean states. They would guarantee the security of the region and assure that the Koreas remained non-nuclear. This is a “cooperative security” design, the idea being to achieve security by working out mutually beneficial arrangements with or among likely adversaries, rather than constructing alliances against them.

Keywords: Bush Doctrine, North Korea nuclear crisis, Six-Party Talks, Four-plus-two security consortium

Commentary:

Diversifying Canada’s Dependence: Look East

Daryl Copeland (Foreign Service Officer, Canada)

Vol. 28, No. 1, 2004

Introduction: Globalization and Anti-Globalization of SARS in Chinese Societies

Alvin Y. So (Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology), Ngai Pun (Assistant Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

The Politics of SARS: Containing the Perils of Globalization by More Globalization

Ho-fung Hung (Assistant Professor, Chinese University of Hong Kong)

The global pandemic of SARS is an interesting case that can enhance our understanding of the risks of globalization and the plausible means to contain these risks. This article analyzes and evaluates different popular and governmental responses—classified here as globalist and anti-globalist—to the disease. While the globalist response is based on the premise that a global pandemic has to be dealt with through global cooperation and not at the expense of globalization, the anti-globalist response characterizes the disease as an “oriental plague” and attempts to contain it by curbing the transborder flow of travelers. The globalist response turns out to be widely successful in many regions, and the anti-globalist response is proven to be counter-productive. One important lesson that the global outbreak of SARS teaches us is that it is no use avoiding the perils of globalization through reversing the globalization process. The most effective way to contain these perils is to enhance global cooperation and to empower the global institutions that facilitate it.

Keywords: SARS, global pandemic, yellow perils, global cooperation, globalization

The “SARS Diplomacy” of Beijing and Taipei: Competition Between the Chinese and the Non-Chinese Orbits

Simon Shen (DPhil Candidate, University of Oxford)

The article tries to prove how SARS has exceeded mere health and humanitarian levels from the viewpoint of different political entities among the Chinese population. Examining the “SARS Diplomacy” between the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China/Taiwan—that is, how each side of the Strait spoke to one another during the epidemic crisis—may enable us to gauge the potential for the formation of the Chinese orbit in the era of globalization. The greatest threat posed to the Chinese people from SARS Diplomacy is the stirred up populist sentiments on both sides of the Strait, with the agenda to hold a “preventive referendum” against the mainland threat on one side, and the escalated nationalism

with an increasing level of distrust toward Taiwan on the other.

Keywords: SARS, China-Taiwan relations, Political Humanitarianism

To Be Paranoid is the Standard? Panic Responses to SARS Outbreak in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

Cecilia Cheng (Associate Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

Severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) was first reported in Guangdong, China in November 2002, followed by an outbreak in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) in early March 2003. Public anxiety has been widespread in both SARS-affected and SARS-unaffected regions. Population surveys have shown that about 70 percent of Hong Kong respondents expressed considerable fear about the SARS outbreak. The fear of SARS seems to be stronger and more widespread than the fear of any comparable life-threatening illness. The public reactions of Hong Kong people may be categorized into four distinct patterns: the individual-difference, the public-anxiety, the irrational-panic, and the-fear-of-infection periods. Each of these periods was marked by one or more critical events believed to create mass anxiety among Hong Kong people. The role of the government, mass media, and people in maintaining an “optimal” level of public anxiety—which alerts people to the danger of the disease while preventing irrational, paranoiac behaviors—is discussed.

Keywords: Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, SARS, psychological responses

SARS and the Limits of the Hong Kong SAR Administrative State

Ngok Ma (Assistant Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

This article reviews the crisis-management experience of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) administrative state in handling the SARS outbreak in the spring 2003. The slow and ineffective response of the SAR government was the result of a mixture of factors: lack of crisis mentality, overemphasis on technocratic rationality in decision making, fragmentation of the healthcare institutions, and an inability to mobilize social and health resources. The lack of political leadership also made it difficult for the administrative state to transcend institutional constraints to mete out an effective response in a time of crisis. Many of these problems were rooted in the nature of Hong Kong as an administrative state, which calls for more fundamental reforms on top of administrative reforms in health care institutions.

Keywords: SARS, Hong Kong administrative state, crisis management, health care reform

The Making and Unmaking of Civic Solidarity: Comparing the Coping Responses in Civil Societies in Hong Kong and Taiwan During the SARS Crises

*Agnes S. Ku (Assistant Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology),
Horng-luen Wang (Assistant Research Fellow, Academia Sinica)*

During the outbreaks of SARS in 2003, civil societies in Hong Kong and Taiwan came to their own self-rescue in different ways when the governments failed effectively to contain the crises in the early stages. Conventionally, civil society in Hong Kong has been characterized as “pacified” as compared to its more “contentious” counterpart in Taiwan. A similar comparison applied in the SARS crises: Hong Kong society demonstrated a high degree of medical professionalism, civic solidarity, and moral unity, whereas in Taiwan, both health workers and ordinary citizens were highly contentious and demoralized at the early stage of the crisis. Nevertheless, state-society relations also showed some changing patterns of tensions, conflicts, and collaboration as the crises unfolded. Comparing Hong Kong and Taiwan, we show how civil societies, in their interaction with the state, responded to the crises differently in the two places, and we explain how their different responses were mediated through differences in their civic cultures, state-society relations, extent of institutionalized trust, and public health systems.

Keywords: SARS, civil society, health, Hong Kong, Taiwan

Lionheart or Paper Tiger? A First-Term Koizumi Retrospective

Gregory E. Anderson (Finance Director, Charles Schwab)

Many commentators have opined as to the relative success or failure of Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro’s efforts to enact reform during his first term. This article analyzes the empirical evidence using a simple framework for assessment. The principal questions it asks are: What, if anything, has he accomplished thus far, and how will history remember his legacy? Following a summary of the circumstances that led to Koizumi’s ascendancy and the political and economic conditions under which he governs, the article analyzes the results achieved in the prime minister’s top three priority areas: banks, government spending, and regulatory reform. Despite the incremental progress achieved by Koizumi in the face of intense political opposition—most particularly from his own party—the article concludes that his current pace of reform is not likely to result in significant reform by the end of his second term as his party’s president.

Keywords: Koizumi Junichiro, Liberal Democratic Party, regulatory reform, banking reform, privatization, *amakudari*

Ministerial System in Hong Kong: A Strengthening of the Executive Leadership

Jermain T. M. Lam (Associate Professor, City University of Hong Kong)

The Chief executive of Hong Kong, Tung Chee-hwa, launched a new ministerial system in Hong Kong in July 2002. The new ministerial system in general, and the composition of the Executive Council in particular, transformed the decision-making processes in the government. On the one hand, the politically appointed ministers (secretaries with portfolios) are given new roles and powers in the governance process. On the other hand, the senior civil servants, once the main decision-makers in the government, are put into a more neutral position mainly responsible for routine administration. A politics-administration dichotomy seems to be established. The aim of the article is to analyze the implications of the new ministerial system for politics in Hong Kong. It is argued that the ministerial system only strengthens the power of the chief executive rather than increases the degree of political accountability, or democracy, in Hong Kong.

Keywords: Hong Kong, Tung Chee-hwa, ministerial leadership, politics

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Nissan Syndrome and Structural Reform in Japan: Will It Take a *Gaigin*?

Kevin J. Cooney (Assistant Professor, Union University)

Currently the leadership in Japan is fighting an uphill battle against cultural and political norms to implement structural reforms needed to bolster its sagging economy. A series of prime ministers, including the current one, have all promised structural change but have failed to muster the political capital needed to break down the existing structures. This article examines the recent trends in corporate Japan to hire foreigners to do the dirty work of breaking cultural norms in order to implement corporate restructuring (the “Nissan Syndrome”). The article then projects the influence of this trend to the Japanese government’s struggle to implement structural reform. The role of *gaiatsu* (foreign pressure) is examined as a potential solution to Japan’s political struggle to do what is needed to save itself.

Keywords: *gaiatsu*, Japan, structural reform, political reform

Identity, Difference, and the Dilemmas of Inter-Korean Relations: Insights from Northern Defectors and the German Precedent

Roland Bleiker (Reader, University of Queensland)

Questions of identity have become increasingly central to the study of foreign policy and security, particularly in constructivist debates. But very few of the resulting insights have been applied to the Korean situation, where discussions about security and inter-Korean relations remain dominated by strategic and geopolitical issues. The main task of this article is to address this shortcoming by examining the experience of North Korean defectors in South Korea and the precedent of German unification. Both of these domains of inquiry reveal that identity differences between North and South persist far beyond the ideological and political structures that created them in the first place. Born out of death, fear, and longing for revenge, these identity patterns lie at the heart of Korea's security dilemmas. Unless taken seriously by scholars and decision makers, the respective tensions between identity and difference will continue to cause major political problems.

Keywords: Inter-Korean relations, identity, security, North Korean defectors, German unification

North Korean Defectors: Their Life and Well-Being After Defection

Sung Ho Ko (Professor, Institute of Political Education for Unification, Korea), Kiseon Chung (Senior Researcher, Sungkyunkwan University), Yoo-seok Oh (Professor, Sungkonghoe University)

The major purpose of this research is to understand the process by which North Korean defectors settle in South Korea, with special attention to the situations they face in Northeast Asian countries, especially in China. To this end, twelve defectors who entered South Korea via China were interviewed. The analysis of the interviews suggests that North Korean defectors suffer from various economic and psychological problems. Most of them tend to start their life as a defector by begging for food and shelter. They may work, but with little respect, usually resulting in exploitation. Women in particular tend to be sold and resold into marriage or prostitution. North Korean defectors live in constant fear of being arrested and deported by the Chinese police and also suffer from prejudice and discrimination by local citizens. Moreover, defectors are anxious about their family members left behind in North Korea as they face possible humiliation, torture, and relocation to concentration camps.

Keywords: North Korea, China, Yanbian, defector, refugee, adaptation, hunger, deportation

Cross-Border Migration as a New Element of International Relations in Northeast Asia: A Boon to Regionalism or a New Source of Friction?

Tsuneo Akaha (Professor, Monterey Institute of International Studies)

This article explores the implications of the growing cross-border human flows in Northeast Asia for the region's international relations. Drawing on a series of studies conducted by an international research team on the major population trends and migration patterns in the region, Chinese and Korean migration to the Russian Far East, Chinese, Korean, and Russian migrant communities in Japan, and immigration and emigration policy problems facing South Korea and Mongolia, the article concludes that the ad-hoc management and politicization of migration issues in the region have given rise to some human-security concerns. The author adds that international migration issues have so far not threatened the national security interests of the countries concerned but cautions that the potentially huge outflow of refugees in the event of a regime collapse or outbreak of a violent conflict in North Korea could pose serious national-security problems for the countries of the region.

Keywords: Northeast Asia, cross-border migration trends, international relations, emigration policy, regionalism

Corporate Governance Regimes, Industrial Restructuring, and Community Responses: A Comparison Between Kitakyushu and Pittsburgh

Mi-Gyeong Yeum (Researcher, Educational Research Institute)

This article is a follow-up to "Partnership, Participation and Partition in Urban Development Politics in Kitakyushu, Japan" (*Asian Perspective*, 2002). It examines the experiences of two steel areas (Kitakyushu and Pittsburgh) that are suffering from the collapse of the steel industry. The article focuses on the restructuring strategies of each area's core company (Shinnippon Steel and U.S. Steel) and subsequent community responses. While Shinnippon Steel maintained the employment of regular workers by diversifying its business structure, U.S. Steel closed plants, which led to an immediate and massive dismissal of regular workers. Each strategy elicited different responses from the community and labor force. Shinnippon Steel's decision allowed it to play the key role in Kitakyushu's revitalization, and its partnership with the city government strengthened during the period of city restructuring. U.S. Steel did not reuse its idle land, nor did it participate in urban redevelopment projects. Nevertheless, both cases reveal that strong partnerships for initiating and coordinating urban social change require constant efforts to institutionalize conflicting interests and construct legitimacy for development policy and partnership itself.

Keywords: corporate governing regimes, corporate restructuring strategy, public-private partnerships, urban redevelopment, Kitakyushu, Pittsburgh

The Politics of Fiscal Standardization in China: Fiscal Contract Versus Tax Assignment

Heung-Kyu Kim (Researcher; Korean Association for Contemporary Chinese Studies)

This study seeks to understand the relationship between Chinese central and provincial governments by examining the struggle to promote fiscal standardization. During the 1980s and early 1990s, Chinese fiscal reforms fluctuated between the standardized tax-assignment system and discretionary fiscal contract systems. Chinese intergovernmental relations changed from discretionary and negotiation-based systems to more rule-based systems. The central government and its leaders demonstrated their ability to establish a standardized fiscal system by implementing the tax-assignment system in 1994. In the fiscal reforms, decision making was characterized by consensus-building politics, which helps explain why Chinese policy outcomes are often eclectic, gradual, and time-consuming. Local preference was a variable in policymaking that gained importance over time. Consensus at the central level, however, was the most crucial variable for introducing policy change in the fiscal sector.

Keywords: fiscal standardization, consensus-building politics, fiscal contract, tax assignment, intergovernmental relations, policymaking

The Theoretical Relevance of Western Welfare-State Models in Third World Nations: The Case of Korean Health and Pension Programs

Shinyoung Kim (Postdoctoral Fellow; Stanford University)

This study examines the theoretical relevance of major welfare-state theories to the Korean case. Two major welfare programs are investigated: health and pension insurance. The extended literature review and empirical evidence in the Korean case suggests two main problems in contemporary welfare-state literature: their Western bias and their one-dimensional nature. Thus, their applicability to developing and formerly authoritarian countries has been limited. Examination of the Korean case of welfare-state development reveals that what is needed is a more configurational approach, which takes into account diverse elements of a society in a given time and space. The contention here is that this approach will not necessarily compromise the generalizing efforts in social science because a case study such as this one has comparative utility.

Keywords: welfare state, Korea, configurational approach

The Peace System in Critical Situations in Post-War and Current Japan: Conflict, Reparations, and the Constitution

Setsuko Onoda (Associate Professor, University of Shimane)

Peace treaties and agreements are neither the end of conflict nor the beginning of confidence because they do not always by themselves provide a guarantee for efficient, successful implementation. They also mark the beginning of opening the way to the reconstruction of societies and value systems crippled by serious conflicts. Rebuilding of the peace system is the key to preventing hostilities and developing the systems for building mutual confidence among former adversaries. The Japanese constitution, as the institutionalized or built-in peace system, is the essential technical factor for the East Asian peace system.

Keywords: peace, Japanese Constitution, reparation, memories of conflicts, reconstruction

Commentary:

The Middle Class in Asia-Pacific: Second-Phase Research and Future Trajectory

Alvin Y. So (Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

Vol. 28, No. 3, 2004

Is China's Growth Real and Sustainable?

Justin Yifu Lin (Professor, Beijing University)

Since the reforms of 1978, China's overall economic performance has been remarkable. The average annual GDP growth rate reached 9.4 percent from 1978 to 2002. However, in the last few years, China's economic growth rate has been questioned. A deflation was evident at the end of 1997. In spite of the Chinese government's many efforts, the deflation has continued. A deflation in an economy in general is accompanied by stagnation or slow GDP growth. However, China's GDP growth rate reached 7.8 percent annually during the deflation period from 1998 to 2002, which was the fastest growth rate in the world. Moreover, energy consumption dropped in 1998 and 1999. The abnormality prompted some economists to question the reliability of China's statistics. In this article, the author will analyze how it was possible for China to maintain high growth with reduction of energy consumption during the deflation period and suggest how China can absorb excess capacity and avoid deflation. The prospects for China's long-term growth are also considered.

Keywords: Chinese economy, dynamic growth, deflation, monetary policy, fiscal policy

The State of China's State Apparatus

Yanzhong Huang (Director, Center for Global Health Studies)

Is China's state apparatus being revamped as a result of post-Mao state rebuilding? An examination of the quality and capability of China's bureaucracy reveals that, despite some positive developments, two decades of administrative reform have failed to significantly rationalize or revamp China's bureaucracy. For lack of change in some fundamental aspects of China's political institutions, China continues to be plagued by a combination of problems that are typical of a Third World country: widespread corruption and political patronage, low efficacy, and lack of responsiveness to the people. Worse, certain reform measures such as bureaucratic and fiscal decentralization have exacerbated the existing problems while creating new ones in China's state apparatus.

Keywords: China, state apparatus, reform, bureaucracy, corruption, political patronage

Political Reform Without Substantial Change: An Assessment of the Hu-Wen Leadership in China

Young Nam Cho (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

This article examines the new Chinese leadership's reform policies and consequences with an eye on future political evolution in China. In short, the Hu-Wen regime was very successful in solidifying its power base through several policies, such as the "going-to-the-people," "hollowing-out," "internal Party democracy," and "Party's firm initiative." However, these reform policies were not substantially different from those of the Jiang Zemin era. Furthermore, even though it has dug stronger roots into the Chinese political system, the new regime also is unlikely to implement more radical political reform in the foreseeable future.

Keywords: Hu Jintao, Wen Jiabao, new leadership, political succession, political reform

American Hegemony and China's U.S. Policy

Baohui Zhang (Associate Professor, Daemen College)

This article challenges the premature assumption that a power transition between the United States and China is inevitable due to China's rapid rise. It argues that the United States will remain the hegemonic power for the next half

century. Based on this projection, China must adopt a policy of cooperation with the U.S.-dominated international order. China also needs to actively participate in the various institutions of the global system and learn the art of leadership. This policy will allow China gradually to increase its global influence in ways that are more compatible with its rising power. As a result, China will not need to become a revisionist state and challenge the system from the outside. Recently, many signs indicate that China is indeed moving toward a more active role in regional and global affairs.

Keywords: hegemony, China, United States, balance of power, realism, cooperation strategy

China's Perceptions of International Society in the Nineteenth Century: Learning More About Power Politics?

Shogo Suzuki (Ph.D. Candidate, Australian National University)

This article investigates the socialization of China into international society in the late nineteenth century by adopting the theoretical framework of the International Society (English School) approach. Scholarship on China's recent behavior within international society has suggested that China is beginning to be "socialized" into the society. However, this is misleading in that it assumes that China was not socialized prior to embarking on its policy of reform and opening. China's socialization took place in the late nineteenth century in the wake of imperialism, and its encounter with international society has left a profound mark on China's outlook on the world. The article investigates how key Chinese intellectuals at this time perceived international society. It provides some implications for the International Society approach and China's place in this society today.

Keywords: People's Republic of China, socialization, International Society, realpolitik behavior, power politics

Commentary:

Between Enterprise and Compromise: Opportunities and Challenges for China's Diplomacy After the Iraq War

Yiwei Wang (Assistant Professor, Fudan University)

Revisioning Human Security in Southeast Asia

Mely Caballero-Anthony (Assistant Professor, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies)

The article aims to capture the dynamics of contesting security in Southeast Asia and examines how states and nonstate actors have responded to the

changing nature of the security environment. The argument here is that in spite of structural constraints and problems with conceptual clarity, human security is finding a place in the regional security discourses. Though found along the margins of subaltern security discourses, human security is the concept that embodies the security concerns of societies; its argument is from the standpoint of the most vulnerable, who can articulate their security in their own terms, without being excluded and alienated. Civil-society organizations have been pivotal in framing human security through their transnational linkages and work in human rights and development.

Keywords: human security, comprehensive security, civilsociety organizations, track-two networks, human rights, human development

North Korea's Cyberpath

Yoo Hyang Kim (Research Fellow, National Assembly Library)

The information technology (IT) sector in North Korea has not developed as much as many first expected. Fears held by the current leadership essentially have obstructed development of the country's IT industry. The absence of cyber openness for IT development is a result of the leadership's political consideration of the negative impacts such openness would have on regime stability. This article explores the extent to which the information technology sector in North Korea has developed and why its development has not been so successful. It argues that a variety of cyberpaths for developing North Korea's IT sector do exist. Comparing North Korea with other developing or socialist countries, including India and China, this article asserts that in order to develop an IT industry, North Korea should more closely consider the political dimensions alongside industrial development.

Keywords: North Korea, Kim Jong Il, information technology policy, Internet policy, cyber openness

Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004

Introduction

John Feffer (Pantech Fellow, Stanford University)

U.S.-North Korean Relations

Charles K. Armstrong (Associate Professor, Columbia University)

The current tensions between the United States and North Korea represent the

latest cycle in a relationship long driven by crisis and mutual hostility. The Bush administration has taken a more hawkish approach to North Korea than its predecessor. But with a military option to resolve the nuclear issue unfeasible and the near-term collapse of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) unlikely, the best way to end the cycle of crises is a negotiated settlement that addresses the security needs of both sides. Only within the context of a more normal U.S.-North Korean relationship can other major issues be resolved, including regional security in Northeast Asia and human rights in the DPRK.

Keywords: U.S.-North Korea relations, Northeast Asian security, Geneva Agreed Framework, Bush administration

South Korea-U.S. Relations

Katharine H. S. Moon (Associate Professor, Wellesley College)

This essay focuses on the politics around the U.S. military in Korea as a way to shed light on three challenges confronting the governments and foreign-policy elites in Seoul and Washington. The political consciousness and demands of local governments and residents in South Korea have become more salient in recent years. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have also taken on a more prominent role in forging and articulating national security and foreign policy issues. These interest groups have challenged and eroded the influence of the old political and bureaucratic establishment. As a result, the future of the alliance depends as much on these forces of democratization as on external threats.

Keywords: U.S.-ROK alliance, U.S. military, South Korean politics, democratization

Assessing the Military Balance in Korea

Jae-Jung Suh (Assistant Professor, Cornell University)

Conventional wisdom has it that North Korea, despite a bankrupt economy and a starving population, maintains one of the largest militaries in the world because its primary goal is "reunification by force." North Korea's military is big by many conventional measures. If the quality of fighting power is taken into consideration, however, this military does not look so menacing. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, the North is trailing behind the South in terms of military might, even without factoring in U.S. forces in South Korea and the vicinity. Pyongyang seems to have turned to missiles and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) as a last resort to provide for its survival under increasingly unfavorable international conditions. The current military balance on the peninsula can be described as a "balance of terror" in which each side maintains an asymmetric advantage over the other, resulting in a fragile condition of

mutual deterrence. Such a balance is inherently unstable and dangerous, and can be resolved only when the legitimate security concerns of both sides are addressed in a simultaneous, comprehensive, and binding manner.

Keywords: U.S.-North Korea relations, asymmetrical power, balance of terror, security dilemma

The South Korean Economy and U.S. Policy

Martin Hart-Landsberg (Professor, Lewis and Clark College)

The South Korean economy is undergoing an economic restructuring based on neoliberal, free-market principles. Mainstream economists claim that this process was a necessary and successful response to South Korea's devastating 1997-1998 crisis. This article challenges this claim. It critically exams the economic and social consequences of South Korea's current neoliberal restructuring; highlights the ways international capitalist dynamics and U.S. policy initially promoted and then undermined South Korea's growth; describes the role played by U.S. and International Monetary Fund policymakers in shaping South Korea's post-crisis restructuring; and considers the challenges facing South Korean workers in their struggle to advance a new economic strategy.

Keywords: South Korea, U.S.-South Korea relations, economic crisis, neoliberalism

The Politics of Nationalism in U.S.-Korean Relations

Gi-Wook Shin (Director of Korean Studies, Stanford University), Paul Y. Chang (Ph.D. Candidate, Stanford University)

Korean nationalism, having arisen historically as an ideology of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, has fostered ethnic unity among Koreans based on shared ancestry and blood. This article addresses how the anti-imperialist and the ethnic base of Korean nationalism have shaped inter-Korean relations and the relationship between both Koreas and the United States. First, the article discusses the historical process behind the formation of Korean nationalism and how nationalism has shaped North and South Korean society and politics after 1945. It looks at how nationalism has affected inter-Korean relations and might affect future unification processes. After reviewing how nationalism has shaped both Koreas' relations to the United States, the article ends with a discussion of the implications of the politics of nationalism for inter-Korean and U.S.-Korean relations.

Keywords: nationalism, U.S.-Korean relations, inter-Korean relations

China's New Role in the Nuclear Confrontation

Samuel S. Kim (Professor, Columbia University)

China's uncharacteristically proactive conflict-management role in the latest (second) nuclear standoff between the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) suggests major shifts in its strategic calculus. At least until the end of 2002, China maintained a risk-averse "who me?" posture, a strategy of calculated ambiguity and equidistance. Growing security concerns about possible U.S. recklessness in trying to resolve the North Korean nuclear challenge have led to a new hands-on preventive diplomacy in Beijing. In pursuing the origins and implications of the change, this article explains China's role shift, critically evaluates the possibilities and limitations of China's influence, especially in Pyongyang and Washington, and concludes by looking at the North Korean nuclear issue in the context of the asymmetrical U.S.-China-DPRK triangle. A set of policy recommendations are suggested for the peaceful resolution of the nuclear standoff on the Korean peninsula as well as the creation of a functionalist working peace system in Northeast Asia.

Keywords: China, North Korean nuclear issue, Six-Party Talks, common-security system

North Korea on Capitol Hill

Karin Lee (Senior Fellow, Friends Committee on National Legislation), Adam Miles (Legislative Assistant, Friends Committee on National Legislation)

North Korea provides a case study of the inherent tensions between the executive and legislative branches in the determination of U.S. foreign policy. Congress put various obstacles in the path of the Clinton administration's engagement strategy toward North Korea, anticipating some of the policy changes undertaken by the George W. Bush administration in its first term. Recent congressional efforts to inject the issue of human rights into the debate on U.S.-North Korean relations have the potential to backfire unless carefully implemented. Meanwhile, Congress has missed several opportunities to make a positive contribution to the ongoing nuclear crisis. This article will also look at the interest groups that have shaped congressional forays on North Korea and touch briefly on South Korean attempts to influence U.S. legislation on North Korea. Finally, it will discuss possible future struggles between the administration and Congress over North Korea and make recommendations for future policy initiatives.

Keywords: U.S.-North Korean relations, U.S. foreign policy, Congress, North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004

Vol. 29, No. 1, 2005

Introduction: A Synopsis of the Shibusawa International Seminars on Japanese Studies, 1999–2004

Gil Latz (Professor; Portland State University), Masato Kimura (Professor; Bunkyo University)

The Politics of Postal Savings Reform in Japan

Jennifer Amyx (Assistant Professor; University of Pennsylvania), Harukata Takenaka (Associate Professor; National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies), A. Maria Toyoda (Assistant Professor; Villanova University)

The article provides an overview of the politics of postal savings reform in Japan. Although reform of the system has been a subject of debate over the last twenty years, the ascension of Koizumi Jun'ichiro to the prime minister's post in 2001 raised the issue to the forefront of Japanese politics. However, in the course of the past two decades the terms of debate have radically shifted. The key consideration that we analyze is how the nature of political conflict over privatizing the postal savings system has changed over time. Forces opposing reform are at their weakest level in the postwar period while forces in favor of reform are clearly stronger. Yet, particular economic impediments to full-blown privatization are greater than ever. The path to reforming the system is mined with political and financial hazards.

Keywords: postal savings, privatization, LDP (Liberal Democratic Party), banking, Japan, economy

Who Are the DPJ?: Policy Positioning and Recruitment Strategy

Mari Miura (Associate Professor; Sophia University), Kap Yun Lee (Professor; Sogang University), Robert Weiner (Assistant Professor; Cornell University)

This article examines where the Democratic Party of Japan situates itself vis-à-vis the Liberal Democratic Party through a novel analysis of the two parties' election manifestos and legislative behavior. Personnel data show a gradual growth of conservative forces within the DPJ. We might expect a conservative turn in policy to have been the result, but we find that the DPJ consistently places itself in a more liberal position than the LDP, especially on social issues. Although the DPJ has become a more conservative organization, our data suggest that the need for product differentiation pushes the DPJ leftward. Still, the DPJ has not yet succeeded in establishing a clear and stable party label, and this may contribute to further party dealignment.

Keywords: Japanese politics, Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), party realignment, content analysis

Competing Modes of Election Campaigning in Urban Japan: The 2003 Saitama Gubernatorial Election

Lam Peng-Er (Senior Research Fellow, National University of Singapore)

The Saitama gubernatorial election is revealing as a case study of competing modes of election campaigning in urban Japan. It shows that election campaigning has extended beyond the organizational approach based on political parties, *koenkai* (personal candidate support organization), and interest groups to novel forms such as the manifesto movement and women-centric campaign. While political organizations remain indispensable, the manifesto movement and women-centric approach appear to be the new waves in Japanese local politics.

Keywords: Japan, Saitama gubernatorial elections, women-centric campaign, manifesto movement

Japan and “The Other”: Reconceiving Japanese Citizenship in the Era of Globalization

Catherine Lu (Assistant Professor, McGill University), Toshihiro Menju (Chief Program Officer, Japan Center for International Exchange), Melissa Williams (Associate Professor, University of Toronto)

The era of globalization has produced increasing social diversity within Japanese society, forcing a reexamination of mainstream assumptions about Japanese national identity and citizenship. Local government and civil-society responses to social diversity have led to the blossoming of internationalization and “sister city” movements. At the national level, however, clear leadership supporting reform of national immigration and citizenship policies has been lacking. Should Japan choose the path of accepting internal diversity as a permanent feature of its society, and doing so on terms that are consonant with ideals of democratic egalitarianism, it may benefit from examining the citizenship policy reforms fashioned by other democratic societies in response to social and cultural diversity, such as notions of “denizenship” and multicultural citizenship. Such reforms that confirm the equal dignity of social “others” would also support Japanese citizens more broadly to adopt heterogeneous rather than homogeneous notions of Japanese national identity.

Keywords: citizenship, ethnonationalism, immigration policy reform, Japan, Okinawa

Ethical Challenges Facing Japanese Businesses: Historical and Contemporary Observations

Masato Kimura (Professor, Bunkyo University)

Since the end of the cold war, globalization based on the IT revolution and the increasing amount of cross-border trade has fundamentally changed the operating conditions for world businesses. In Japan, such change has promoted innovation, but it has also stretched to the limit questions of proper ethical conduct in the pursuit of profit. This article will offer several examples of the ethical challenges facing Japanese business, and recommend a new ethical framework in light of the reforms proposed by and ethical values of Shibusawa Ei'ichi in establishing modern Japanese capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Keywords: business ethics, social responsibility, profit, globalization, corporate governance reform

Japanese Government Approaches to Gender Equality Since the Mid-1990s

Mari Osawa (Professor, University of Tokyo)

The mid-1990s saw some important developments in the Japanese government's approach to gender issues, as conservative politicians started to realize that greater gender equality could help to revive a moribund economy and a steadily falling birth rate. The Vision of Gender Equality, which the Council for Gender Equality (an advisory body to the prime minister) submitted to then-Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro in 1996, bore fruit in the 1999 Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society. But while the government has shown genuine concern over gender issues, there has always been a struggle against competing discourses of traditional values and fiscal rectitude. So far the new receptiveness to feminist arguments has yet to be matched by, on the one hand, funding for gender-equality promoting reforms in important areas like employment opportunity, nursing care, and child-rearing that are needed if women are to participate fully in society, and on the other hand, rectifying gender bias embedded in the social institutions and practices such as tax paying, social insurance, and pay systems in corporations. An additional fundamental need is to push back criticism from the right wing.

Keywords: gender, gender equality, Japanese government policies on gender-equal society, reforms in employment opportunities for women

Balancing Work and Life: Whose Work? Whose Life? Whose Balance?

Glenda S. Roberts (Professor, Waseda University)

As the developed countries increasingly see women's participation in the labor force rise, a common challenge has become how people can balance work responsibilities with the rest of their lives. The crux lies in putting into place and enforcing policy frameworks that acknowledge the legitimacy of finding balance, without sacrificing gender equality. This article discusses the parameters of this problem for Japan: a low birthrate, rapidly aging society with growing numbers of women who seek to maintain careers. Through a study of the working situations of employees at one U.S. multinational corporation in Tokyo, I investigate the ways in which career women approach and negotiate work/life balance. In recent years, while government and corporate policies have changed to foster both balance and gender equality, a cultural work environment that breeds long hours for core white-collar workers, embedded gender roles, an ongoing recession, and a lack of strict enforcement mechanisms for corporate work/life balance initiatives and their legal underpinnings seriously dilute the effectiveness of policy. Balance is precarious at best, and often elusive.

Keywords: women in the labor force, gender equality, low birthrate, aging society, work environment for women, enforcement of gender-equality policies

Soldiers, Civilians, and Scholars: Making Sense of the Relationship Between Civil-Military Relations and Foreign Policy

Noboru Yamaguchi (Major General, Japan Ground Self Defense Force), David A. Welch (Associate Professor, University of Toronto)

Scholars have long appreciated a variety of ways in which relations between civilian political leaders and military commanders, military forces, and military doctrines can affect foreign policy choices and behavior. Only recently, however, have scholars attempted to think about these in general theoretical terms, and for the most part they have focused their attention on civil-military relations in the United States, and primarily in the context of the cold war. The question arises whether insights from existing work on civil-military relations can help us understand international relations in the Asia-Pacific region in a post-cold war context in which the "war on terror," nation building, and problems of nonproliferation dominate states' foreign-policy agendas. This article and the one following seek to address these issues.

Keywords: civil-military relations, foreign policy, international relations in the Asia-Pacific, agency theory

Civilian Control and Civil-Military Gaps in the United States, Japan, and China

Peter D. Feaver (Professor; Duke University), Takako Hikotani (Assistant Professor; National Defense Academy), Shaun Narine (Professor; St. Thomas University)

Three questions loom large in the study of civil-military relations, and are fruitfully asked of the United States, Japan, and China. What accounts for the subordination of the military to political authority? To what extent is the military reflective of societal values? How do civilian and military leaders think about and manage the central function of the military, namely the use of force? We find that despite the very different record of civil-military relations across these three cases, models and conceptual tools originally developed to explain American civil-military relations do have analytical leverage over the Japanese and Chinese cases. These tools, however, must be modified to adjust to the cultural and historical context of each case, and lead to different conclusions about prevailing civil-military relations in each setting.

Keywords: (American, Japanese, and/or Chinese) civil-military relations, civilian control, use of force, civil-military gap, public opinion and the military

Vol. 29, No. 2, 2005

The Experience of European Integration and Potential for Northeast Asian Integration

Sunhyuk Kim (Associate Professor; Korea University), Philippe C. Schmitter (Professional Fellow; European University Institute)

This article reflects on the experience of European integration in light of the ongoing process of regional integration in the Northeast Asian region. Based on the existing theories, the article summarizes twelve lessons of European integration, highlighting, for example, the importance of identifying a functional area, the convergence of interests (not an identity), the existence of strong leadership and supranational institutions, the significance of “domestic democracy,” and the presence of hospitable external circumstances. The history and prominent current projects of regional cooperation in the Northeast Asian region are reviewed, followed by an investigation of the relevance and applicability of the lessons of European integration to Northeast Asia so as to derive a set of practical policy prescriptions for promoting regional integration in the region.

Keywords: regional integration, Europe, Northeast Asia

Economic Statecraft Across the Strait: Business Influence in Taiwan's Mainland Policy

Seanon S. Wong (Graduate Student, Hopkins-Nanjing Center)

The objective of this article is to understand how economic statecraft—broadly defined as the use of economic means by a government to influence the behavior of another government—has functioned across the Taiwan Strait. The dominant view in the literature is that economic interdependence increases Taiwan's vulnerability to Beijing's coercion. However, the argument here is that influence, rather than coercion, is the essence of China-Taiwan economic statecraft. As cross-Strait commerce has expanded, the Taiwanese business community has served as an intermediary through which Beijing influences Taiwan's mainland policy. The moderation of the Democratic Progressive Party's commitment to Taiwanese independence since the 1990s as a result of business lobbying attests to this thesis.

Keywords: China-Taiwan relations, economic statecraft, influence effect

Environmental Security in East Asia: The Case of Radioactive Waste Management

Young-Ja Bae (Assistant Professor, Konkuk University)

This article examines the issue of radioactive waste in Northeast Asia from a regional environmental security complex perspective. First, the study tries to determine if it is proper to examine the issue from a "regional" and "security" perspective. It then discusses the radioactive waste management systems of the countries in Northeast Asia, and assesses the status of the regional radioactive waste security complex based upon two cases of radioactive waste dumping, as well as the prospects for regional cooperation. The article concludes that the emergence of proposals on the safe management of radioactive wastes and efforts to promote cooperation on nuclear affairs implies that common interests do exist and that mutual gains can be realized among Northeast Asian countries from regional cooperation. However, numerous obstacles must be overcome before an effective regional institution can be established.

Keywords: radioactive waste, Northeast Asia, regional security complex, environment security

The Role of Foreign Investment in China's Land-Use Policy

Minzi Su (Doctoral Candidate, Portland State University)

Foreign direct investment (FDI) became the key element of China's strategy for improving China's productive forces and improving living standards for

its people. FDI provided an influx of badly needed cash and management and marketing expertise that would allow China to develop its market system. Among the consequences of China's FDI policies, land use developed into a pivotal issue and one that tested the ability of government to balance centralizing and decentralizing tendencies. Along the way, macromanagement and micromanagement became disjointed and produced distortions for local governments to handle. This article looks at land-use policy to illustrate how China's FDI strategy led to uprisings in the streets, arguments in the courts, and a continuing diminishment of arable lands, among other resources under stress.

Keywords: China, foreign direct investment strategy, land-use policy

Going Global: The Chinese Elite's Views of Security Strategy in the 1990s

Mumin Chen (Assistant Professor, National Changhua University of Education)

This article examines the relationship between security strategy and the policy of "opening up to the outside world" (the Open Policy). In contrast to most Chinese scholars and China watchers in the West who focus only on how China's security strategy is formulated to meet its strategic interest at the systemic level, the article asks what "security" means and whose "interest" it serves in order to understand what it means to be a supporter for or an opponent of the Open Policy in China. Through a review of Chinese strategic literature in the 1990s and interviews with Chinese strategists, the article attempts to identify the elites with power to discuss the issues concerning security policy. It then compares their interests derived from the Open Policy to their perceptions of the external security environment. The article then suggests three strategic choices, all of which have supporters from the elite groups identified in the research.

Keywords: security strategy, Open Policy, Chinese elites, China's security policy

The Changing Role of the IMF: Evidence from Korea's Crisis

Il-Hyun Yoon (Researcher, Korea University)

The past decades witnessed significant changes in the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since its inception in 1944, the IMF's aim has been to promote exchange stability and establish a system of payments in respect of current transactions between member countries. However, after several financial crises in recent years and conditionality in its financing programs, the IMF has shifted its focus to structural reforms rather than management of the payment system and provision of pecuniary assistance to countries in financial distress. This article examines the historical role of the IMF and how it has changed via an investigation of the economic reforms in Korea since the 1997

Asian financial crisis. In comparison with Japan, Korea's case provides telling evidence of the high conditionality of IMF-supported programs.

Keywords: International Monetary Fund, conditionality, financial crisis, financial reforms, IMF programs

Patronage Politics and Hybrid Democracy: Political Change in Cambodia, 1996–2003

Kheang Un (Visiting Assistant Professor, Northern Illinois University)

A “hybrid” democracy has evolved in Cambodia in which elections are regularly held and internationally endorsed. However, there are inherent defects beneath the facade of free and fair elections that result from the domination of the electoral arena by a single political party—the Cambodian People's Party (CPP). The intertwining of the CPP and the state initially offered the party a coercive mechanism that coopted and coerced voters and restricted opposition parties' activities in rural areas. Subsequently, as internal and external political legitimacy has increasingly been linked to democratic procedures, the CPP and Prime Minister Hun Sen have used their domination of the state machinery to cultivate patronage politics that not only links them to voters but also to government officials and business tycoons. Such a web breeds corruption.

Keywords: Cambodia, democracy, patronage politics, Cambodia People's Party

Commentary:

Why the Six Party Talks Should Succeed

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Contemporary China Centre)

Vol. 29, No. 3, 2005

Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation for North Korean Development: Future Challenges and Prospects

Dae-Kyu Yoon (Director, IFES, Kyungnam University), Moon-Soo Yang (Professor, University of North Korean Studies)

Though the North Korean nuclear issue has resurfaced—subsequently restraining inter-Korean cooperation—this impasse has not fettered the South Korean government in such a way that it cannot maneuver to improve the ROK-DPRK relationship. Seoul must take small steps to solve individual problems in the North-South relationship, and methodically prepare for systematic advances in inter-Korean relations once the nuclear impasse is settled. Furthermore,

Seoul must focus on both quantitative and qualitative improvements in the inter-Korean relationship, look more at economic cooperation that emphasizes mid- to long-term development of North Korea, and concentrate on developing a blueprint for the North's recovery that acknowledges greater involvement from regional actors. This article sets out to find that new direction in which South Korea must proceed.

Keywords: inter-Korean economic cooperation, North Korean development

Facilitating Reform in North Korea: The Role of Regional Actors and NGOs

Peter M. Beck (Northeast Asia Director, International Crisis Group), Nicholas Reader (Analyst, International Crisis Group)

Despite the continuing nuclear confrontation between North Korea and the world, the North is undergoing the most profound economic changes since the founding of the state. The international community can improve North Korea's chances of making a successful transition by first taking advantage of the new opportunities to train North Koreans in financial, technical, and market economic skills. Additionally, the international community can address infrastructural constraints, and undertake comprehensive needs assessments. North Korea will not and should not receive significant international development assistance until it gives up its nuclear weapons, but increasing knowledge about the economy will improve the prospect that any deal reached on the nuclear issue will lead to transformation of the economy.

Keywords: North Korea, economic reform, nongovernmental organizations, development assistance

The Role of International Aid Organizations in the Development of North Korea: Experience and Prospects

Edward P. Reed (Korea Representative, The Asia Foundation)

International organizations will have an important role to play in an accelerated program of development assistance in North Korea once the constraints on such a program are removed through a political settlement of the nuclear issue. The critical roles of the multilateral agencies will be coordinating the aid effort, supporting development planning, building development capacity, investing in infrastructure, and streamlining private investment. NGOs, building on experience already gained in North Korea, will also make crucial contributions, such as by focusing on community-level engagement, vertical and horizontal linkages, and innovation and risk-taking. These roles will be essential for coaxing North Korea along the path of economic reform and opening, gaining the trust of the North Korean people, and keeping the donor publics engaged.

Keywords: North Korea, international aid agencies, operational NGOs, development assistance

Security Dilemmas and Signaling During the North Korean Nuclear Standoff

Yongho Kim (Associate Professor, Yonsei Institute of Unification Studies), Yurim Yi (ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade)

North Korea's provocative foreign policy is the result of its security dilemma. While the first nuclear crisis in 1993 was the result of North Korea's security dilemma instigated by the post-cold war international environment, the current crisis involves two sets of conflicting security dilemmas (North Korean and U.S.). After delineating North Korea's foreign-policy behavior in terms of an offense-defense theory, we put North Korea's verbal statements and actual policy behavior into two graphs to describe how the international environment prompted Pyongyang's security dilemma that in turn generated its provocative behavior. We interpret North Korea's coercive foreign-policy behavior as a design to project a desired image of a rogue state that is prepared to engage in a high level of risk-taking if Washington and Seoul impose sanctions or refuse concessions. The study finds variations between North Korea's verbal statements and its actual policy behavior, signifying that Pyongyang's militant commentaries are not accompanied by actual provocation. In some cases, it even seems that such announcements signal a willingness to negotiate.

Keywords: North Korea, U.S.-DPRK relations, nuclear crisis, security dilemma, signal, offense-defense balance

Democratization and Polarization in Korean Society

Sook-Jong Lee (Professor, Sungkyunkwan University)

This article identifies and analyzes economic and political factors behind the polarization of Korean civil society. Both the growing economic disparity between the rich and the poor and the tightened job market for the younger generation since the 1997-1998 financial crisis have contributed to a sharp divergence in views on how best to approach reforms. More importantly, political flux and instability deriving from the current "transitional politics" have aggravated the political polarization. The three major actors in this transitional politics—power elites, civic movement organizations, and the media—play a divisive rather than unifying role. Given that political institutions are still weak and a political culture for compromise remains largely absent, polarization of Korean society is likely to continue until the intense passions of the politicized civil society are dampened by successful institutionalization of conflict resolving mechanisms.

Keywords: comparative democracy, civil society, Korean politics, political

polarization, generational politics

Alternative Visions of Japanese Security: The Role of Absolute and Relative Gains in the Making of Japanese Security Policy

Kevin Cooney (Associate Professor, Union University)

In the post-cold war world Japanese security policy has grasped at nationalistic elements within Japanese society in attempts to “securitize” itself by means of a foreign policy independent of the United States. The role of absolute and relative gains in the making of Japanese foreign and security policy will be examined in light of alternative security issues. Working from *International Security: A New Framework for Analysis* by Barry Buzan et al., this article will examine Japanese security policy in light of Japan’s attempts to securitize itself in non-traditional ways that impact traditional security.

Keywords: Japanese security policy, alternative security, U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, cultural security

Explaining China’s Changing Discourse on Human Rights, 1978–2004

Dingding Chen (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Chicago)

This article challenges the conventional view of China’s human-rights policy by carefully tracing the development of human rights discourse in China since 1978. While agreeing that external pressure does play an important role in shaping China’s human-rights discourse and policy, the article finds that the changes in Chinese discourse cannot adequately be explained by external factors such as Western criticisms, particularly since 1989. Instead, cognitive changes resulting from self-reflection by the Chinese government upon China’s past, especially concerning the Cultural Revolution, laid the foundation for China’s changing attitudes toward human rights in subsequent years. Moreover, China’s changed attitudes indicate that to a limited degree the leadership has already internalized some aspects of international human-rights norms.

Keywords: China, human rights, discourse analysis

Vol. 29, No. 4, 2005

Food Safety and the Development of Regulatory Institutions in China

Waikeung Tam (Doctoral Student, University of Chicago), Dali Yang (Professor, University of Chicago)

Consumer safety has become an increasingly salient issue for China’s rising

middle class and regulatory state. This article elucidates the challenges of regulatory development in China through a study of food safety regulation, paying special attention to a scandal involving the sale of fake and substandard milk powder. It highlights some of the deficiencies of the regulatory regime and addresses some salient issues concerning regulatory state building, including the regulatory chasm between urban and rural areas, the appropriate role of the state in socioeconomic regulation, the uncertainties created by government reforms, and the conflict between food safety and employment.

Keywords: China, economic development in East Asia

Cornering the Market: State Strategies for Controlling China's Commercial Media

Ashley Esarey (Assistant Professor, Middlebury College)

Decentralization of state power over media ownership led to new challenges for state control of media content in the 1980s. Following the Chinese Communist Party's legitimacy crisis after Tiananmen, party leaders in charge of China's public media permitted greater freedom for news content deemed politically "safe," while maintaining tight control over politically sensitive news content. In order to supplement coercive strategies, the state developed market incentives to encourage media to produce news that was politically acceptable and popular with consumers. To test the extent to which commercial media have complied with the state's content priorities, this article considers evidence from a case study on news coverage of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), an epidemic seen by the party as threatening to regime legitimacy. The SARS case study reveals that in the presence of tremendous market demand for information, state control of the news media was considerable but not absolute.

Keywords: China, communist parties, democracy in East Asia

Brewing Tensions While Maintaining Stabilities: The Dual Role of the Hukou System in Contemporary China

Fei-Ling Wang (Professor, Georgia Institute of Technology)

As a key institution in the PRC, the hukou (household registration) system defines and conditions Chinese politics, social life, and economic development. This article describes the current status of the hukou system and its significant changes, and outlines its complicated but crucial functions. The hukou system facilitates a rapid but uneven economic growth and creates significant social and regional disparities. It also helps greatly to stabilize the PRC sociopolitical order through an effective police control, while generating powerful tensions in the areas of human rights, equity of citizenship, and simple ethics. Further

reform of the system is needed to continue its role in the Chinese political economy; yet a withering or abolition of the hukou may seriously challenge China's sociopolitical stability and economic growth.

Keywords: China, economic development in Asia

Elections, Governance, and Accountability in Rural China

Fubing Su (Assistant Professor, Vassar College), Dali Yang (Professor, University of Chicago)

While competitive elections are a crucial aspect of village democracy, they are only one means to achieving good governance. In this article, we consider village elections in the broader context of improving governance in China. We argue that the promotion of village democracy should be complemented by simultaneous improvements in a number of other non-electoral areas that enhance the accountability of public officials. The Chinese central government has paid greater attention to these institutional aspects in recent years. The leadership is willing to encourage local experiments and tolerate some unorthodox practices. This interaction between local initiatives and central interventions will shape the future of village democracy in rural China. We analyze several of them in particular: tax-for-fee reform, new accounting practices, village affairs disclosure, and institutionalized participation in democratic decision making. This article reveals great diversity and discusses the politics of these institutional changes.

Keywords: democracy in East Asia, China

Resources and Strategies: Conflicts and Its Consequences in the Chinese Real Estate Market

Tianfu Wang (Assistant Professor, Tsinghua University), Bobai Li (Assistant Professor, Northwestern University)

Using the case of house-buying in Chinese cities, this article describes the conflicts between real estate developers and home buyers. During the transition period, social structure reshuffles and social groups reorganize. Developers and home buyers have emerged as two new groups after the commercialization of residential housing in urban China. With different aims and resources, they adopt tactical moves to pursue their interests in the real estate market. Conflicts between these two groups are common. Using it as a specific case, the article also contends that conflicts between these two groups originate in the structural change of the society. At the same time, these conflicts have feedback influence on the construction of a new social structure and on the establishment of new rules.

Keywords: China, economic development in Asia

Cashing Out: Survival Crises Faced by Shareholding Cooperatives in Shanghai

Jin Zeng (Ph.D. Candidate, Johns Hopkins University)

Shanghai, a city with a high concentration of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), had about 11,500 converted shareholding cooperatives by the end of 2003. In recent years, the urban layout of Shanghai has required factories to be relocated in the suburbs to make space for new city development. However, how to use the compensation money triggered severe confrontations between employee shareholders and the management of some urban shareholding cooperatives. This article argues that the shareholding cooperative system does not necessarily clarify individual property rights. Vague property rights and the flaws in institutional designs of shareholding cooperatives alter the incentive structure of shareholders and results in inefficiency and distributional conflicts among current employees, retired shareholders, and management. Local governments, instead of assuming a hands-off stance, need to pay due attention to the development of shareholding cooperatives, especially in regard to the legal environment, guidance for further reforms, and assistance in conflict resolution.

Keywords: economic development in Asia, China

Securing a Rural Land Market: Political-Economic Determinants of Institutional Change in China's Agriculture Sector

Gregory T. Chin (Senior Research Associate, University of Toronto)

The dimension of China's farm economy that has been least altered since the onset of the reforms in the early 1980s is the rural land system. However, in the face of mounting rural social tension and concerns over the impact of heightened trade liberalization on the domestic agricultural sector, Chinese authorities have recently undertaken a reform program to fundamentally alter the nature of agricultural land rights in the country. In the name of protecting farmers' rights and interests, new institutions are being established to certify rural land use rights and strengthen enforcement of these rights; facilitate the trade of these land use rights according to market principles; and settle disputes over tradable land use rights. These institutional reforms in the agricultural land management system are giving rise to a rural land market in China, based not on private land ownership but on a two-tiered rural land system that combines public ownership with the private leasing of user rights. These reform measures strengthen adherence to the rule of law in rural society and the market orientation of the rural economy, while at the same time reflect efforts to preserve China's state socialism.

Keywords: economic development in Asia, China

Vol. 30, No. 1, 2006

China's Conflict-Management Approach to the Nuclear Standoff on the Korean Peninsula*Samuel S. Kim (Professor; Columbia University)*

This article provides an analysis and assessment of China's uncharacteristically proactive conflict-management (CM) diplomacy in the U.S.-North Korea (DPRK) nuclear standoff on the Korean peninsula from 2002 to 2005. In the first of four sections, the focus is on the global context and conditions that gave rise to CM studies as a new field of international relations research in the West. The second section argues that three proximate and underlying causes—greater danger, greater stakes, and greater leverage—catapulted Beijing into the terra incognita of a CM leadership role. The third section examines the shift in China's role as well as the style and substance of this approach. The fourth section critically evaluates the possibilities and limitations of China's conflict-management diplomacy for the resolution of the U.S.-DPRK nuclear standoff. The conclusion is a brief assessment of future prospects for establishing a more peaceful and prosperous regional order in Northeast Asia either through the ongoing Six Party Talks or through some permanent Northeast Asian security regime coming out of the success or failure of the six-party process.

Keywords: Chinese foreign policy in Korea, East Asian security, nuclear weapons

Moving Toward a Co-Management Approach: China's Policy Toward North Korea and Taiwan*Quansheng Zhao (Professor; American University)*

This article analyzes Chinese foreign policy toward two flashpoints in East Asia: the Korean peninsula and the Taiwan Strait. It argues that there has been an evolution in terms of Beijing's approaches toward these two international crises over time. One can discern three different approaches. First, historical legacies have always played a critical role in the formulation of China's policy calculations and the Korea and Taiwan issues are no exception. I call this the "history-embedded" perspective. Second, with the recent rise of China's economic and political might, nationalism in China has correspondingly been on the rise. National interests have been further prioritized over ideological considerations. This approach can be called "national interest-driven" foreign policy. Third, Beijing has become increasingly confident not only about its strengths in the world arena but also about its ability to coordinate with related powers regarding their various interests. This approach can be called "co-management of international crises" with major powers. The article argues that

until recently China has emphasized the first two sets of considerations, but seems to be gradually moving toward a new approach, namely co-management with major powers.

Keywords: China, foreign policy, Taiwan, Korea, international crises

Conflict Prevention Across the Taiwan Strait and the Making of China's Anti-Secession Law

Suisheng Zhao (Professor, University of Denver)

China has developed a unique approach of conflict prevention characterized by *liangshou celue*—literally, a “two hands” or a two-pronged strategy. It is a stick-and-carrot approach, involving an oscillating pattern of military coercion and peaceful offensive. After the fourth generation of Chinese leadership under Hu Jintao came to office, an Anti-Secession Law was passed by China's National People's Congress on March 14, 2005. Prescribing the conditions for military action against Taiwan, this law was described by some people in the West and Taiwan as a war authorization law, mainly driven by Chinese nationalism, to set a benchmark against nationalist pressure and show Chinese leaders' willingness to risk war across the Taiwan Strait at all cost. It thus is said to signify not only greater irrationality in China's policy toward Taiwan but also a change in the two-pronged conflict-prevention approach. Is Chinese nationalism in fact a cause of international aggression, making China's policy toward Taiwan irrational and inflexible? Does the Anti-Secession Law signal that Beijing is on a path that reduces its scope for rational choices? This article will explore the making of the Anti-Secession Law to find answers to these questions.

Keywords: China's policy toward Taiwan, East Asian security, nationalism

The Politics of HIV/AIDS in China

Yanzhong Huang (Assistant Professor, Seton Hall University)

This article provides a political analysis of the sequence and substance of China's policy response toward HIV/AIDS. Using an analytical framework that integrates historical institutionalism with policy process, the article examines how political institutions interacted with three policy streams (problem identification, policy generation, and elite politics) to delay an effective Chinese government response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. It also demonstrates how the political, problem, and policy streams joined in the 2003 SARS crisis to prompt the government to take decisive action on HIV/AIDS.

Keywords: China, HIV/AIDS, SARS

China, Japan, and the Clash of Nationalisms

Che-po Chan (Assistant Professor, Lingnan University), Brian Bridges (Professor, Lingnan University, Hong Kong)

The anti-Japanese demonstrations in China in April 2005 and the Japanese reactions have been characterized as a “clash of nationalisms.” This article examines in detail the nature of contemporary nationalism in both China and Japan, taking a number of current issues in the bilateral relationship as case studies. It differentiates between state and popular nationalism and between assertive and reactive nationalism. Focusing primarily on popular nationalism, the authors contend that in both China and Japan, contrary to perceptions within each country that the other country is practicing assertive nationalism, in fact reactive nationalism better encapsulates the type of nationalism that is occurring.

Keywords: China-Japan relations, nationalism

In the Name of the People: Welfare and Societal Security in Modern Japan and Beyond

Tomoko Akami (Lecturer, Australian National University)

This article questions the notion of “traditional” security by examining security ideas held by policy elites in the Asia-Pacific, particularly in Japan, from the mid-19th century to 1945. It argues that the idea of security of the people was a significant and integral part of the discourse of security during that time. The Japanese case suggests that its implications were not always positive, however. What was problematic was not so much a narrow focus on an external military threat as the way “people” were defined collectively as the nation or national society. As a result, “security” was often used in the context of imperial aggression or wartime mobilization. The article sees the more recent notion of security—namely, societal security—as a revival of this historical notion of security, and reinforces the point that in order to avoid its negative implications, current debates need to go beyond the nation-state framework.

Keywords: Japan, human security, East Asian security

Strategic Implications of the 2004 U.S. North Korea Human Rights Act

Brendan M. Howe (Assistant Professor, Ewha University)

The North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004 was an attempt under U.S. domestic law to provide aid and humanitarian relief to and broadcast support for those perceived as suffering from the actions of the North Korean regime. It also aimed to transform the regime and contribute to the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula (in a process similar to that which had occurred as

a result of the Helsinki Accords with regard to Eastern Europe). However, contrary to serving its avowed objectives, the act contributes little to enhance human rights protection in North Korea and to instigate regime transformation. Rather, the act is more likely to endanger strategic relations in Northeast Asia.

Keywords: Human Rights in East Asia, North Korea-U.S. relations

Vol. 30, No. 2, 2006

Returned Students and Political Change in China

He Li (Professor, Merrimack College)

This article provides an overview of China's returned students and their impact on political change in China. The article analyzes how the returned students promote political reform and what changes they have brought to the political climate. The argument here is that quite a number of persons who have returned from studies abroad are in important positions and many of them serve as carriers of Western values. A large number of Chinese returnees endorse incremental political liberalization rather than radical democratic transformation. If China's political and economic conditions continue to improve, more students will return home. In the long run, they will play a more significant role in transforming China.

Keywords: China, returned students, economic reform, political reform

Exploring Capitalist Developments in Greater China: A Synthesis

Christopher A. McNally (Research Fellow, East-West Center), Yin-Wah Chu (Associate Professor, University of Hong Kong)

This article explores the dynamics of capitalist development in the three political economies of Greater China. We have two purposes in mind. First, we hope to produce a fresh understanding of Mainland China's economic rise, interpreting it as associated with the process of late capitalist development. Second, we use a comparison with Taiwan and Hong Kong to examine whether China has converged with or diverged from four salient aspects of late capitalist development: the character of state ruler incentives, or the "will to develop"; the nature and structure of state-society relations; the role of business enterprises and business networks in supporting initial capitalist accumulation; and the transition of state-business interactions over time from mutual distrust to engagement and cooperation. In so doing, we hope to use comparative analysis to integrate the crucial case of China into broader inquiries on the nature and logic of capitalist development.

Keywords: China, economic development in Asia

“Super Paradox” or “Leninist Integration”: The Politics of Legislating Article 23 of Hong Kong’s Basic Law

Wong Yiu-chung (Associate Professor; Lingnan University)

Liao Zhengzhi, the late director of the Office of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs, once said that on the resumption of Hong Kong’s sovereignty, Hong Kong needed only to change the flag and British governor. While the press was full of doomsday prophecies about Hong Kong’s future, there was a camp of “super-paradox” theorists who genuinely believed that Hong Kong’s status quo would not change after the handover. The authoritarian one party-dominated PRC, they asserted, could absorb a free-flowing Hong Kong without changing the nature of an open society. Contrary to doomsday prophets and “super-paradox” theorists, this article argues that while the doomsday prophecy was groundless, important institutional changes did take place even though they were barely noticed. It is argued, by using the example of the legislation of Article 23, that a gradual approach has been adopted by the Chinese Communist Party to change the fundamentals of Hong Kong’s polity, a strategy that I call “Leninist integration.”

Keywords: China, communist parties, human rights and democracy in East Asia

China-ASEAN Cooperation Against Illicit Drugs from the Golden Triangle

Sheng Lijun (Senior Fellow; Institute of Southeast Asian Studies)

This article studies the cooperation mechanisms between China and ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) to control drug trafficking in the Golden Triangle. Cooperation currently falls into three categories: under the framework of ASEAN+1 (China) and ASEAN+3 (China, Japan, and South Korea); under the framework of Greater Mekong Sub-Region (GMS) cooperation; and between the local governments of China and Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam. The article explores deficiencies in this cooperation and ways it can be improved.

Keywords: China-ASEAN relations, drug trafficking, East Asian security

The Link Between Domestic Political Institutions and Asian Financial Crises

Jung-In Jo (Assistant Professor; Lee University)

Political factors are rarely systematically studied as a condition triggering a

financial crisis. Although such factors have been hypothesized to influence states to implement structural adjustment policies, the systematic link between political conditions and economic crises is still poorly understood. This study claims that the causes of crises cannot be attributed solely to market forces; they may be the consequence of different political institutions. The findings demonstrate that regime types matter in the timing of financial crisis. As well, the low level of democracy in Asia does not facilitate the duration of economic stability. Rather, these countries are more prone to a financial crisis.

Keywords: Economic development in Asia, East Asian politics

Japan's Collaborative Role in the Institutionalization of ASEAN+3: Toward and East Asian Integration Regime

Chang-Gun Park (Lecturer, Kyungnam University)

This article examines the significance of Japan's collaborative role in promoting regional integration in post-cold war East Asia, focusing on the institutionalization of the ASEAN+3 (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations+ China, Japan, and South Korea) from 1999 to 2005. This empirical case is essential to explain the main framework for the diffusion of regional institutionalization, which draws attention to Japan's collaborative role in the development of an effective institutional arrangement in East Asia. The ASEAN+3 process is the dominant engine for the formation of an East Asian Integration Regime (EAIR). Since the Joint Statement on East Asian Cooperation in 1999, Japan has taken advantage of changing circumstances to carve out a collaborative role in promoting the institutionalization of ASEAN+3. Seen in this light, the discussion seeks to explain Japan's regional projects in accordance with the rules and decision-making procedures of that group.

Keywords: Japan, East Asia, ASEAN+3, East Asian Integration Regime (EAIR)

Commentary:

Stability and Complexity in Asia-Pacific Security Affairs

Robert Ayson (Senior Fellow, Australian National University's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre)

Vol. 30, No. 3, 2006

The Political Economy of Sanctions Against North Korea*Ruediger Frank (Professor, University of Vienna)*

This article explores sanctions as a policy tool to coerce North Korea's behavior, such as by discontinuing its nuclear weapons program. It discusses the characteristics of sanctions as well as the practical experience with these restrictions on North Korea. It becomes clear that the concrete goals of coercion through sanctions and the relative power of the sending country to a large extent determine the outcome. Nevertheless, the general limitations of sanctions also apply, including the detrimental effects of unilateral and prolonged restrictions. It appears that the imposition of sanctions against the DPRK is unlikely to succeed. As an alternative way of changing the operating environment for North Korea, assistance deserves consideration. Despite many weaknesses, this instrument is relatively low in cost and risk, and can be applied continuously and flexibly.

Keywords: North Korea, sanctions, U.S. foreign policy in East Asia

Possible World Bank Assistance to North Korea: Issues and Challenges*Daniel Morrow (Professorial Lecturer, George Washington University)*

Accepting the DPRK as a member of the World Bank would require the political support of most of the Bank's member governments, and this would become possible only if there is a successful resolution of the Six-Party Talks. The amount of financial assistance from the Bank would then depend on how seriously the DPRK pursues a transition to a more open and market-oriented economy, but in any case the Bank's financial assistance would be small compared to the DPRK's needs and to the potential assistance from bilateral sources. Nevertheless, the World Bank's policy advice and its potential role in coordinating and catalyzing other assistance could be important for North Korean economic development. The prospects for quickly launching a constructive relationship between the DPRK and the World Bank following a successful conclusion of the Six-Party Talks would be enhanced by advanced preparation on both sides. In particular, the DPRK should begin to articulate its own strategy for economic transition.

Keywords: North Korea, development assistance in East Asia, international financial institutions

SEZs and Foreign Investment in China: Experience and Lessons for North Korean Development

Hongyi Harry Lai (Research Fellow, National University of Singapore)

This article analyzes how China succeeded in creating special economic zones (SEZs) and “opening to the outside world.” Prudent choice over zone location and leadership, institutional arrangements, and local initiatives combined to produce the success of SEZs. China’s SEZs, especially the largest and earliest Shenzhen SEZ, have taken off because of their proximity to and easy connections with neighboring advanced economies, liberal initiatives by able local leadership, administrative and economic arrangements for reform, and a progressive national-opening strategy. In addition, economic freedom at home and peaceful external relations were also necessary for smooth marketization and opening. This lesson may be enlightening for North Korea should it promote SEZs and open up its economy.

Keywords: China, economic development in Asia, SEZ, North Korea

Strategic “Triangularity” in Northeast Asia: The Sino-Japanese Security Relationship and U.S. Policy

Camilla T. N. Soerensen (Research Fellow, Copenhagen University)

The Sino-Japanese security relationship is in jeopardy of deteriorating further in the years to come, a development that will have strong implications for Northeast Asian security. Identifying factors that can push the relationship in a positive direction toward reconciliation and cooperation is thus an urgent task. This article argues that the worsened Sino-Japanese security relationship is primarily caused by three developments: the end of the cold-war bipolarity, the dramatic development of the Chinese economy and military, and the neglect or failure of the United States to ensure a balance in its security relations with China and Japan. The United States in many ways holds the key to moving the Sino-Japanese security relationship in a positive direction. Perspectives regarding the development of a more constructive U.S. role are discussed.

Keywords: China-Japan relations, East Asian security, U.S. foreign policy

The Rise of China and Community Building in East Asia

Zhang Xiaoming (Professor, Peking University)

The rise of China is certain to have a great impact on the direction East Asian regionalism takes. In that rapidly evolving process, China will play a major role in integrating with the region. China’s rise is an opportunity for East Asian community building, because China has been a responsible participant in the

community-building process. On the other hand, China's growing power and influence in East Asia could also arouse fear and anxiety, especially in China's neighborhood, which could hamper the process of community building in East Asia.

Keywords: economic development in China, multilateral economic cooperation in East Asia, community building in East Asia

Commentaries:

China's Role in a Northeast Asian Community

Ruan Zongze (Vice President, China Institute of International Studies)

Beyond the "Never Again"

Milton Leitenberg (Senior Research Scholar, University of Maryland)

Vol. 30, No. 4, 2006

China is Reaching Out to the New World: Introduction to the Special Issue

Jean-Pierre Cabestan (Senior Researcher, French National Centre for Scientific Research)

European Union-China Relations and the United States

Jean-Pierre Cabestan (Senior Researcher, French National Centre for Scientific Research)

Spurred by a growing trade relationship as well as China's desire to build a more multipolar world and the EU's aspiration to play a more active and independent role in international affairs, the two sides have established a close economic and political partnership. However, the EU is a political body that is both complex and rather weak. The majority of EU member states continue to see the United States more as a close strategic partner than as a superpower that the EU should counterbalance. Moreover, the EU's relationship with China has become more difficult to handle due to a deepening trade deficit and lack of progress by China on human rights. Thus, the EU's China policy will remain based on the lowest common denominator of its member states' China policies, whereas its close military relations with the United States will probably continue to affect the strategic dimension of EU-China relations and negate the possibility of a genuine strategic triangle emerging.

Keywords: Sino-European relations, EU foreign and security policy, NATO, EU-

China trade, human rights

Competence and Incompetence: The Political Economy of China's Relations with the Middle East

Yitzhak Shichor (Professor, University of Haifa)

In Mao Zedong's years China's main interest in the Middle East had been to undermine the presence of foreign powers, considered a threat to its security. There had, however, been little that Beijing could have done as it lacked diplomatic relations, political influence, economic wealth and military capabilities. Since Mao's death China has gradually become more active economically with the Middle East, primarily as a labor and arms exporter and as an oil importer. Yet politically, Beijing still plays a marginal role in the Middle East, giving priority to stability, a precondition for economic growth, and implicitly, grudgingly, and perhaps temporarily accepting Washington's predominance in the region. Beijing's increasing economic power has not yet been translated into political effectiveness.

Keywords: China–Middle East relations, Chinese foreign policy in the Middle East, Iran

China's Africa Policy: Business Now, Politics Later

Michal Meidan (Research Associate, Asia Center)

For the last decade, and increasingly in the last three years, Chinese politicians and businessmen have been taking the African continent by storm. China's growing demand for raw materials has led it to closer involvement in the continent, balancing its growing trade deficit with exports of commodities and labor. But China has not neglected the ideological component of its African policy and is stressing South-South cooperation and promotion of a new world order; it is turning much of its investment aid to Africa, and unlike the West, investment aid from China comes with no political strings attached. The question that this article addresses is China's interest in and goals for its ties with Africa. Is China trying to consolidate a new world order, based on different moral values, conflicting with the current world order; or is China still a pragmatic actor, exploiting African resources in order to satisfy its growing demand for raw materials?

Keywords: Chinese foreign policy in Africa, foreign investment in Africa

Rising China's "Offensive" in Latin America and the U.S. Reaction

Gonzalo S. Paz (Lecturer, George Washington University)

The year 2004 will be remembered as one in which an increasingly confident

China jumped into Latin America, a geopolitical and geoeconomic space always considered by the United States as its “backyard.” In 2005 and 2006 that policy continued and was sustained. The central questions addressed in this article are: Why is China executing an economic and diplomatic offensive in Latin America? Is a rising China challenging U.S. hegemony over the Western Hemisphere? And, how has the United States responded to these actions? The main argument advanced here is that there is an economic rationale behind China’s new foreign policy toward Latin America, and that the theses about an ideological or a strategic rationale must be rejected. China’s goal is to secure the provision of agricultural products, minerals, and especially oil. China is not trying to challenge American hegemony in Latin America, but it is the first Asian country to push enough to concern American analysts. The article will provide empirical evidence of the new level and quality of China-Latin America relations.

Keywords: Chinese foreign policy in Latin America, economic development in China

China’s Changing Political Economy with Southeast Asia: Starting a New Page of Accord

Samuel C. Y. Ku (Professor, National Sun Yat-sen University)

China was hostile to Southeast Asia in the 1950s and 1960s, but China’s relations of political economy with its neighbors in the south have changed since the early 1980s, an evolution that has accelerated since the early 1990s. This article argues that the relationship is being pushed forward by three policy initiatives that started in the early 1980s: the open-door policy, the good-neighbor policy, and the go-global strategy. It uses four indicators to examine China’s changing relations with Southeast Asia: exchanges of visits among high-level officials, trade and investment, tourism, and China’s linkages with ASEAN. The argument here is that China has changed its political economy not only with individual countries in Southeast Asia but also with the entire region. The article concludes that China’s accord with Southeast Asia will continue if China sticks to its current policies toward this region.

Keywords: China, Southeast Asia, China–ASEAN relations

The Revival of Chinese Nationalism: Perspectives of Chinese Intellectuals

Lee Jung Nam (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

This article examines how Chinese intellectuals understand mass nationalism in China. Understanding their perspective is useful when analyzing the meaning and repercussions of nationalist trends throughout the 1990s, as well as its future

course. While playing a major role in its revival, Chinese intellectuals actually have a very pragmatic view of nationalism based on China's goal of building a prosperous and powerful nation. They also play a role in influencing public opinion and the government's policy-making process. In the short to midterm, the public expression of anti-U.S. or anti-Japanese sentiments through nationalism is not likely to become extreme, as this would run counter to China's current development strategies and goals.

Keywords: nationalism, China, Sino-Japanese relations

Commentaries:

Sino-Japanese Discord and Korea

Jae Ho Chung (Professor, Seoul National University)

KORUS FTA: A Mysterious Beginning and an Uncertain Future

Wonhyuk Lim (Nonresident Fellow, Brookings Institution)

Vol. 31, No. 1, 2007

Introduction: Reconciliation Between China and Japan: The Key Link to Security Cooperation in East Asia

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Australian National University)

New Dynamics of Sino-Japanese Relations

Wenran Jiang (Associate Professor, University of Alberta)

Sino-Japanese relations entered a new phase when Japan's new prime minister, Abe Shinzo decided to make his first foreign trip to China, thus breaking the ice on the bilateral summit that was suspended for five years under the leadership of Koizumi Junichiro. This article examines the domestic and international context of such a shift in Japan's China policy during Koizumi's final year in office and Abe's initial tenure from the fall of 2006 to the spring of 2007. It argues that Abe, although making a decisive shift from Koizumi's confrontational approach with China, has been pursuing a "double movement" strategy with China: positive engagement with Beijing for shared interests and active preparation for containing the rise of China. It offers three recommendations for strengthening the positive momentum and suppressing the negative elements in managing the Japan-China relationship.

Keywords: China-Japan relations, East Asian politics, territorial disputes

The Yomiuri Project and Its Results

Takahiko Tennichi (Senior Member, Yomiuri Shimbun War Responsibility Reexamination Committee)

In 2006 the Yomiuri Shimbun, the largest daily paper in Japan, completed a year-long campaign to clarify Japanese leaders' responsibility for World War II. Such an undertaking is rare in Japan. The campaign raised five questions: Why did Japan extend the lines of battle? Why did Japan go to war with the United States in spite of the extremely slim prospects for victory? What foolishness caused the Japanese military to employ suicide aircraft attacks? Were sufficient efforts made to bring the war to an end? And, what problems were there with the International Military Tribunal for the Far East? Our project team suggested answers to these questions and clarified who should be held responsible for the war. Throughout the project, we criticized Japan's brutal militarism. At the same time, we made clear our view that those leaders who initiated the war betrayed Japan's national interest. I believe that this project will be a cornerstone for future honest dialogue between Japan and its neighbors.

Keywords: Japan, World War II, history of East Asia

Reconciling Colonial Memories in Korea and Japan

David Hundt (Lecturer, Deakin University), Roland Bleiker (Reader, University of Queensland)

The Republic of Korea and Japan share a tumultuous history, but arguably no period has caused greater trauma in bilateral relations than the twentieth century. After Japan's four-decade long colonial occupation of Korea, the two countries took two decades just to establish diplomatic relations. Subsequent interactions have remained seriously compromised by the memory of colonialism. This article reviews the tensions behind the tempestuous bilateral relationship, focusing on the depiction of Japan's wartime past in school textbooks. We advance three suggestions for reconciliation: viewing reconciliation not as the restoration of a harmonious pre-conflict order, but as an ongoing, incomplete process; expanding promising bilateral dialogues; and accepting that there will always be differences between Korea and Japan, most notably with regard to representations of the past. Rather than being an inevitable source of conflict, these differences should contribute to an ongoing process of negotiation between the two neighbors.

Keywords: South Korea-Japan relations, history of East Asia

Chinese and Japanese Public Opinion: Searching for Moral Security

Mindy L. Kotler (Founder and Director, Asia Policy Point), Naotaka Sugawara (Senior Analyst, Asia Policy Point), Tetsuya Yamada (Research Associate, Asia Policy Point)

Japanese and Chinese hold strikingly similar opinions of each other—both are negative. Since the normalization of Japan's postwar relations with China in 1978, opinion surveys document a clear deterioration of goodwill after nearly two decades of relatively good relations. This trend has accelerated over the past ten years. Most noticeable is how much the decline of trust coincides with a rise of internal socio-economic anxieties in both countries. The central governments are faltering in their ability to provide social stability and cohesion—a sense of safety and material well-being—while establishing a sense of national identity. We argue that current Sino-Japanese tensions reflect more each country's domestic stresses than they do disagreements over history, any inherent geostrategic competition, or regional economic rivalry. Restoration, or the establishment of prosperity, social certainty, and “moral security” in both countries, is necessary before China and Japan can have any meaningful resolution of their historical and geopolitical issues.

Keywords: China-Japan relations, East Asian security

The East China Sea Dispute: Context, Claims, Issues, and Possible Solutions

Mark J. Valencia (Maritime Policy Analyst)

The East China Sea is one of the last unexplored high-potential resource areas located near large markets. But the development of oil and gas in much of the area has been prevented for decades by conflicting claims to boundaries and islets in the area by China, Taiwan, and Japan. Competition between China and Japan for gas resources in the East China Sea is intensifying and hampering improved relations. However, conflict is not inevitable. A compromise—joint development—is motivated by the realization that a positive China-Japan relationship is simply too important to be destroyed by these disputes. Although both agree in principle on joint development, the two sides have different interpretations of what joint development means or implies, and what area should be jointly developed. The article spells out three basic agreements in principle that are necessary before details of any solution can be negotiated. The alternative to a solution is continued mutual suspicion, unstable relations, unmanaged and undeveloped resources, and an increasing frequency and intensity of incidents, fueling nationalist sentiments and resultant political conflict.

Keywords: territorial disputes, China-Japan relations, East Asian security

**Concluding Remarks:
Options for Reconciling China and Japan**

Melvin Gurtov (Professor; Portland State University)

**Review:
Who is Responsible? The Yomiuri Project and the Legacy of the Asia-Pacific War in Japan**

Tessa Morris-Suzuki (Professor; Australian National University)

**Document:
From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor: Who Was Responsible?**

Yomiuri Shimbun War Responsibility Reexamination Committee

Managing Security in China-ASEAN Relation: Liberal Peace of Hegemonic Stability

Jörn Dosch (Professor; University of Leeds)

The management of security and ultimately order building in ASEAN-China relations are loosely embedded in a declaratory process of community formation. While this process has generated generally beneficial soft institutions in economic and other policy areas, the current state of relative regional peace is primarily attributable to China's emerging role as a hegemonic stabilizer. The PRC increasingly sets the rules and organizes a growing network of security-relevant relationships in both traditional and non-traditional security fields. Just as in the cases of Pax Britannica and Pax Americana, the up-and-coming Pax Sinica is characterized by the creation and enforcement of rules that are profitable to the dominant state at the center of the security order. At the same time the policies of China as a hegemonic power on the horizon also bring security benefits to the states in its zone of influence.

Keywords: China, ASEAN, East Asian security

Vol. 31, No. 2, 2007

Aliens Among Brothers? The Status and Perception of North Korean Refugees in South Korea

Jih-Un Kim (Assistant Professor, Webster University), Dong-Jin Jang (Professor, Yonsei University)

The recent dramatic increase of North Korean refugees in South Korea (called *saeteomin*, new settlers) has attracted the attention of scholars as well as practitioners not only because of their impact on South Korea and its citizens but, more significantly, because of their unique experiences there. They have encountered various hardships in South Korean society, including economic difficulties, maladjustment to schools, and emotional distance or isolation. This article attempts to illuminate and analyze the status of the North Korean refugees and their perceptions and emotions with respect to South Koreans.

Keywords: North Korean refugees, human rights, East Asia, Korean unification

Controversies over North Korean Human Rights in South Korean Society

Bo-hyuk Suh (Visiting Research Fellow, Kyungnam University)

This article examines, on the basis of international human rights norms, the controversies that exist in South Korean society with respect to North Korean human rights issues. The article looks at current human rights conditions in North Korea; the root causes of these human rights concerns; the conditions faced by “displaced persons”; the problems associated with planned defection; reactions to the 2004 North Korean Human Rights Act passed by the U.S. Congress; and the direction that should be taken to improve human rights conditions in the country. We can only expect a continuation of debate within South Korean society on these issues until a fundamental point of agreement is reached, one that can serve as a rational and practical basis for improving the human rights situation in North Korea.

Keywords: North Korea, human rights, East Asia, South Korea

Failing to Protect: Food Shortages and Prison Camps in North Korea

Debra Liang-Fenton (Executive Director, The U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea)

This article has three purposes: first, to lay out two of the areas of most serious human rights concern regarding North Korea, namely, the chronic food shortage crisis afflicting the country and the prison camp system; second, to characterize the main aspects of the problem; and third, to present recommendations on

what should be done. The information comes directly from three reports of the U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (USCHRNK).

Keywords: North Korea, human rights–East Asia

Ten Years of Knowledge Partnership with North Korea

Jin Park (Professor; KDI School of Public Policy and Management), Seung-Ho Jung (Researcher; The Korea Institute for International Economic Policy)

This article analyzes broadly defined economics-related knowledge partnership (KP) between North Korea and the international community. Knowledge partnership with North Korea was prominent during 2001–2004 but decreased drastically after 2005 due to the heightening of tension over the North Korean nuclear issue. Some organizations, however, have been very successful in continuing their KP programs. Based on an examination of ninety-one KP projects during 1997–2006, this article outlines the trends in knowledge partnership with North Korea, and suggests dos and don'ts in this important initiative.

Keywords: North Korea, NGO programs, economic development in East Asia

Japan's ODA at the Crossroads: Disbursement Patterns of Japan's Development Assistance to Southeast Asia

Dennis D. Trinidad (Associate Professor; De La Salle University)

The article examines the recent changes in Japan's official development assistance (ODA) to Southeast Asia in response to domestic and international challenges after the cold war. It argues that Japan is in a position where it has to choose between "spending" and "earning" strategies in the disbursement of aid. Influenced by external and internal developments, Japan has tilted toward a "spending" approach over the last decade. Due to a limited ODA budget, Japan has to optimize the use of aid and disburse it more strategically. Also significant is the noticeable across-the-board increase in the grant allocation to Southeast Asia and Vietnam's emergence as a major recipient.

Keywords: foreign aid in Asia, Japan, ASEAN

The China Factor in Hong Kong Public's Changing Perceptions of "One Country, Two Systems"

Timothy Ka-ying Wong (Research Associate Professor; Chinese University of Hong Kong), Shirley Po-san Wan (Research Officer; Chinese University of Hong Kong)

This article depicts changes in the public's perceptions in Hong Kong of

the implementation of the “one country, two systems” policy following the handover in 1997 and discusses the role of the China factor in shaping such perceptions. It finds that the Hong Kong people’s rating of “one country, two systems” was quite positive in the first two years after the handover, but the rating started to fall after April 1999 and reached its record low in April 2004. Although the rating has since risen somewhat, the Hong Kong public has not regained all the confidence it previously had in the policy. Beijing’s Hong Kong policy is the most powerful variable shaping the public’s perceptions of the “one country, two systems” policy, followed by trust in the Hong Kong government, the government’s performance in mainland-Hong Kong relations, and the government’s political performance. Since all four variables are largely politically related, it seems that the public’s perceptions of “one country, two systems” have largely been shaped by political affairs related to maintaining Hong Kong as a highly autonomous system in the “one country, two systems” plan.

Keywords: Hong Kong, China, East Asian politics

China’s Climate Change Policy: Domestic and International Developments

Gørild Heggehund (Director, Fridtjof Nansen Institute)

This article demonstrates that prospects for emission reduction are not realistic under the current policy environment, and China is unlikely to take on commitments in the near future. The major determinants of and actors involved in China’s climate change policy are discussed, relating these to China’s stance in global climate change negotiations. Energy is seen as the key to economic development and is one of the main causes for China’s unwillingness to take on emission reduction commitments. Vulnerability to climate change is an emerging issue in China, and could contribute to elevating the climate change issue on China’s domestic agenda in the future. Global climate change is still seen as a remote matter by the country’s policy makers, and remains a foreign-policy issue. International pressure has not been able to change Beijing’s stance of no commitments, although China is now an active participant in the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), which has become a way to apply an international mechanism on domestic problems and one of the channels that China itself prefers to use in its climate-change efforts.

Keywords: China, environmental cooperation, climate change

Vol. 31, No. 3, 2007

America at the Taiwan Strait: Five Scenarios*Lynn T. White III (Professor, Princeton University)*

Degrees of freedom for national U.S. policy in the Taiwan Strait can be parsed by estimating the future likelihoods and time order of uncertain events—such as Taiwan independence, Chinese liberalization, truce, a Chinese attack, and U.S. choices—and not just by applying the standard paradigms of international relations theory (e.g., realist, liberal, constructivist). Ordered time scenarios can explore all sizes of collectivity, and they can take account of actors' contexts as well as their self-identifications. This article finds evidence that American policy is less “ambiguous” than officials discreetly describe it. The United States is now defending Taiwanese liberalism as Chinese, and Beijing elites also might decide to liberalize if they avoid holding direct national elections before they do more to separate domestic powers. U.S. policy can prevent a later Sino-American war if it can influence the time order of specifiable contingencies.

Keywords: U.S. foreign policy in Asia, U.S.-China relations, Taiwan

A Critique of the China Threat Theory: A Systematic Analysis*Khalid R. Al-Rodhan (Graduate Student, University of Cambridge)*

Proponents of the “China threat” theory argue that it is inconceivable for China to have a peaceful rise; a superpower China will inevitably be a threat to the United States. This article analyzes the military and economic aspects of the “China threat” theory from theoretical, methodological, and strategic points of view. The theory's flaws are in its assumptions, which this article tackles by providing counter examples as well as by highlighting external and internal problems facing China that can complicate its rise to great-power status. In addition, the “China threat” theory is based on linear projection and imperfect historical analogies that are as misleading conceptually as they are strategically counterproductive to Sino-American strategic relations. This, of course, is not to argue that China poses no threat; it is, however, to suggest that the nature of any threat is far more nuanced than the “China threat” theorists claim it to be.

Keywords: East Asian Security, U.S.-China relations

China, Multinational Corporations, and Globalization: Beijing and Microsoft Battle Over the Opening of China's Gates*Jean-Marc F. Blanchard (Associate Professor, San Francisco State University)*

There are two perspectives on the relationship between states and multinational

corporations (MNCs). One, the “state in command” perspective, sees states as dominant, with globalization only worsening the situation. The other—the “MNCs in command” view—sees MNCs as all-powerful as a result of their assets. Globalization from that perspective is not necessarily bad and may actually empower states against multinational firms. China’s dealings with Microsoft Corporation from the early 1990s to the present show that neither perspective is accurate. China got some of what it wanted while Microsoft got some of what it wanted. In lieu of these approaches, a third model is offered here—a modified bargaining power perspective that focuses on the balance of needs, alliances, and the institutional environment as important factors shaping the bargaining dynamic between China and multinational enterprises. A case study of the China-Microsoft model demonstrates the usefulness of the model.

Keywords: China, globalization, economic development in Asia

Politics, Culture, and Scholarly Responsibility in China: Toward a Culturally Sensitive Analytical Approach

Yongjin Zhang (Professor, University of Auckland)

The relationship between knowledge and power has always been acutely problematic, particularly in the study of international relations. Inspired by an address by Ann Tickner, this article urges the need to develop culturally sensitive approaches to the question of scholarly responsibility in the realm of power in different historical, cultural, social, and intellectual contexts. Taking international relations scholarship in China as an example, I suggest that the expanding political space and the weakness of critical scholarship in China, combined with a historically induced intellectual predicament and inherited cultural legacies, constitute a useful analytical framework for making sense of Chinese understandings of scholarly responsibility. This framework also helps to understand the perpetual agony of Chinese intellectuals in coming to terms with the turbulent relations between knowledge and power in China today.

Keywords: China, sociopolitical development

Japan’s Changing Security Norms and Perceptions Since the 1990s

Sook-Jong Lee (Professor, Sungkyunkwan University)

Changes in Japanese security policy and institutions over the past decade and a half nullify cultural and institutionalist views of Japan’s postwar pacifism. The boundary of the Self-Defense Force (SDF)’s activity—which had been understood exclusively as defending Japan’s own territorial integrity—was expanded to UN peacekeeping activities in the early 1990s, and through a series of policy and institutional changes was expanded further to rear support for

U.S. troops in regional contingencies and antiterrorist actions. These changes have been accompanied by significant shifts in Japanese attitudes on defense and security issues. Despite the public's fear of entrapment in war through the alliance relationship with the United States, most Japanese believe that Japan needs to strengthen its defense capability through closer military ties with its alliance partner, and that it is better to revise the peace constitution in order to legitimize the SDF and provide it with military flexibility.

Keywords: Japan, East Asian security, U.S.-Japan relations

Navigating a Turbulent Ocean: Indonesia's Worldview and Foreign Policy

Paige Johnson Tan (Assistant Professor, University of North Carolina, Wilmington)

This article explores the definition, origins, and meaning of Indonesia's worldview for contemporary international relations. It finds that Indonesian perceptions of the country's world role and the realities of its capacities are in tension. Apparent sharp breaks in foreign policy from one regime to the next mask underlying continuities in the country's view of the world and Indonesia's place in it. By virtue of its size, location, history, principled behavior, and rich culture, Indonesia is entitled to a leadership role in the region and the world. For Soekarno, the father of the nation, this was political-revolutionary. For Soeharto, this was economic. For contemporary presidents, the inspiration to leadership still exists, even if the capacity to lead is not always present.

Keywords: Indonesia, foreign policy in East Asia, democracy–East Asia

Commentary:

Japanese Assessments of China's Military Development

Yasuhiro Matsuda (Senior Fellow, National Institute for Defense Studies)

Vol. 31, No. 4, 2007

The BRICS Countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as Analytical Category: Mirage or Insight?

Leslie Elliot Armijo (Visiting Scholar, Portland State University)

American hegemony has passed its peak. The twenty-first century will see a more multipolar international system. Yet Western European countries may not be the United States' main foils in upcoming decades. Four new poles of the international system are now known in the business and financial press as the "BRICs economies" (Brazil, Russia, India, and China). Does the concept of

“the BRICs” also have meaning within a rigorous political science framework? From the perspective of neoclassical economics, the category’s justification is surprisingly weak. In contrast, a political or economic realist’s framing instructs the United States to focus on states that are increasing their relative material capabilities, as each of the four is. Finally, within a liberal institutionalist’s model, the BRICs are a compelling set, yet one with a deep cleavage between two subgroups: large emerging powers likely to remain authoritarian or revert to that state, and states that are securely democratic.

Keywords: International political economy, Brazil, China, India, Russia, BRICs

Brazil: To Be or Not to Be a BRIC?

Paulo Sotero (Director, Woodrow Wilson International Center), Leslie Elliot Armijo (Visiting Scholar, Portland State University)

Brazil will gain a place as a significant player in the multipolar international system taking shape since the end of the cold war simply on the basis of its economic size and material capabilities. However, its potential to influence international outcomes is likely to be determined more by the capacity of the country’s elites to identify and harness qualitative assets associated with its stable and democratic governance than by any hard-power assets. Brazil is the quintessential soft-power BRIC. Among the four BRICs, Brazil is the only one positioned to become a potential environmental power in a world increasingly preoccupied with global warming.

Keywords: Brazil, BRICs, international relations, economic development

Russia: Great Power Image Versus Economic Reality

Kathleen J. Hancock (Assistant Professor, University of Texas, San Antonio)

Russia’s vision of itself has largely coalesced around that of a unique regional power, with the natural resources, glorious history, and will power to be a major player in a future multipolar world. As seen by most Russians, under the guidance of President Vladimir Putin, Russia has become an economically powerful actor with an important and independent voice on the international stage, including rebuilding historic economic alliances with states described as rogues by the United States and forming a strategic partnership with China. Some have seen the challenges to the West combined with Russia’s close relationship with China as a threat to the United States; but this threat should not be overblown. As China continues to assert itself and eventually challenges Russia’s declared dominance of Central Asian resources, the two states may well clash.

Keywords: Russia, BRIC, international political economy

India and China: From Trade to Peace?

Christopher J. Rusko (Research Assistant, Simon Fraser University), Karthika Sasikumar (Postdoctoral Fellow, University of British Columbia)

Since the late 1950s, relations between India and China have been fraught with tension and conflict. Yet the two countries have recently enjoyed a significant improvement in bilateral relations. In this article, we explore potential economic reasons for this rapprochement. We set out three possible mechanisms by which commercial interdependence could lead states toward peace, and then examine their operation in the India-China case. We conclude that the most likely explanation for the relational change is the concerted effort in both countries to be seen as responsible participants in the global economy. Thus, general economic prudence, rather than any specific bilateral factor, may be having a positive effect on the India-China relationship.

Keywords: China-India relations, economic development in Asia, BRICs

China: Globalization and the Emergence of a New Status Quo Power?

Wei Liang (Assistant Professor, Monterey Institute of International Studies)

The remarkable economic growth of China in the past two decades has generated both admiration and concern. As an “undemocratic capitalist” country, Beijing’s grand strategy and true intentions once it becomes stronger are under scrutiny by the rest of the world. This article examines how economic globalization has transformed China’s national policy preferences. It explores China’s foreign economic policy and recent activism in regional and multilateral settings, and within geographic regions that China had minimal contact with as recently as ten years ago. China’s resource endowments combined with its rapid and highly globalized growth have shaped its trade profile. The article suggests that, regardless of China’s grand strategy or future intentions, its policy options have been deeply constrained by its highly globalized economy.

Keywords: China, globalization, international relations, BRICs

Building Blocks or a BRIC Wall? Fitting U.S. Foreign Policy to the Shifting Distribution of Power

Mark R. Brawley (Professor, McGill University)

The U.S. confronts the difficult task of managing change peacefully as the BRICs’ economic rise redistributes power in the international system. I consider the insights from four approaches within international relations—Realism, Institutionalism, Constructivism and Liberalism—to draw out possible policy advice. While the first two offer useful thinking, their policies are in fact quite

risky and difficult to implement. Constructivism, too, offers insights, but theories from this approach do not articulate practical policy guidance. Liberals direct our attention to the domestic sources of state preferences, suggesting not only how to influence future systemic change, but also identifying ways to make Realist or Institutional policies towards the BRICs more applicable and effective.

Keywords: U.S. foreign policy, international relations, BRICs

Japan's Proactive Foreign Policy and the Rise of the BRICs

Henry Laurence (Associate Professor, Bowdoin College)

Within the past decade or so, Japan's foreign policy has become more proactive and assertive than it was during the cold war, placing greater emphasis on non-economic sources of power. Changing bilateral relations with all four BRICs are both causes and consequences of this newly assertive foreign policy stance. Japan's relationship with China is both the most important and the most complicated of the four. At the core of complexity is Japan's deep ambivalence about whether to treat China's economic rise as a threat or an opportunity. Japanese policy has consequently veered between engagement and confrontation, with the paradoxical result that while bilateral trade has exploded, diplomatic relations are the worst in memory. Japan's relations with Russia display a similar if less pronounced ambivalence. Largely as a consequence of heightened concerns about the threats from China and Russia, Japanese policy makers have begun to see the potential of both India and Brazil as useful counterweights, a view that coincides with the newly-articulated "values diplomacy" that stresses the importance of shared democratic values. However, India and Brazil remain relatively unimportant trading partners for Japan.

Keywords: Japan, foreign policy, international relations, BRICs

Korean Foreign Policy and the Rise of the BRICs Countries

Wang Hwi Lee (Assistant Professor, Ajou University), Sang Yoon Ma (Assistant Professor, Catholic University of Korea), Kun Young Park (Professor, Catholic University of Korea)

In 2003 two emerging markets' investment analysts predicted that four rapidly developing countries—Brazil, Russia, India, and China, collectively the "BRICs economies"—by 2050 would have eclipsed most of the currently richest countries in the world. This article examines the impact of their rise in relation to Korea's foreign policy. Strategically and economically, the apparent power shift seems to have led Korea to doubt the validity and viability of the

traditional U.S.-Korea relationship based largely on an asymmetrical military alliance. For example, it is China, not the United States, that has consistently played a crucial role in the Six-Party Talks established to denuclearize the Korean peninsula. China also has been Korea's largest trading partner since 2005, while Russia has abundant natural resources vital to Korea's energy security. Although the Korea-U.S. free trade agreement signed on April 2007 may help resuscitate bilateral relations, increasing interdependence between Korea and the BRICs, especially China, will make some type of realignment of the Korea-U.S. relationship necessary.

Keywords: Korea, foreign policy, international relations, BRICs

Vol. 32, No. 1, 2008

State, Self-Organization, and Identity in the Building of Sino-U.S. Cooperation in Science and Technology

Richard P. Suttmeier (Professor, University of Oregon)

Cooperation in science has become an important part of the relations between China and the United States, and is usefully seen in the context of the worldwide phenomenon of increasing international scientific cooperation. Attempts to explain this increase in international scientific cooperation have called attention to the importance of government-to-government agreements and to self-organizing tendencies within the international scientific community. In the China-U.S. case, however, co-ethnic identity, manifested in coauthoring patterns, seems to be an especially important factor in cooperation as well. This article explores these patterns with an eye toward understanding the complex relationships between transnationalism and our understanding of Chinese nationalism and multiple Chinese identities.

Keywords: U.S.-China relations, nationalism, science and technology, cooperation in East Asia

Explaining India's Nuclearization: Engaging Realism and Social Constructivism

Runa Das (Assistant Professor, University of Minnesota, Duluth)

This article presents an analytical hybrid of realism and critical social constructivism as its theoretical framework, and representations of (in)securities as an interpretation of politics, to explain India's nuclearization policies. Arguing that a linkage of political leaders' ideologies, articulation of statist identities, and

(in)securities defines a state's security practices, I compare how the ideological perceptions of the postcolonial Indian state's leaders have articulated divergent notions of nationalisms, nationalist identities, and (in)securities and corresponding nuclear-policy choices. In charting this comparison, I explore how the political, economic, and developmental insecurities perceived by the Indian state under the Congress Party have become communal/cultural under the Bharatiya Janata Party, thereby facilitating the BJP's justification of India's nuclear-weapon tests. The article thus hopes to add to our understanding about the security problematics of states and communities.

Keywords: India, East Asian security, nuclear weapons

Gendering Legitimacy Through the Reproduction of Memories and Violent Discourses in Cambodia

Mona Lilja (Assistant Professor, Göteborg University)

This article argues that the legitimacy of both male and female politicians in Cambodia is partly built on discourses of violence and reconstructed memories of the past. From this standpoint, this article looks at how women's and men's relation to violence—and memories of violence—creates and undermines their legitimacy as political leaders. Additionally, it relates how women use memories of violence in their strategies to increase their political authority. Based on interviews with fifty-two female and male politicians and nongovernmental workers in Cambodia, this article addresses how discourses on politics rely on notions of “then” and “now” of violence and the images of identity emerging from these.

Keywords: Cambodia, East Asian politics, Democracy – East Asia, Gender Studies

South Korean National Pride: Determinants, Changes, and Suggestions

*Kiseon Chung (Director, Gyeonggido Family and Women Development Institute),
Hyun Choe (Professor, Jeju National University)*

This study looks at how proud South Koreans are of their nation's achievements, how strongly South Koreans feel their country is superior to other countries, what factors are important to explain differences in national pride, and how important perceptions on social trust and current political and economic situations are in determining Koreans' level of national pride. The data for this study comes from the Korean General Social Survey (KGSS) of 2003. Age, education, family income, and evaluations of social trust and current political and economic situations are examined as major determinants of national pride. The study finds that South Koreans exhibit greater national pride in their achievement in sports, history, and science and technology than in politics and social welfare systems.

Moreover, South Koreans who are younger, better educated, or have higher family income tend to be less proud of their country and are less likely to have strong sentiments of national superiority or allegiance to the nation.

Keywords: Korea, national identity, nationalism

Competing for Markets and Influence: Asian National Oil Companies in Eurasia

Charles E. Ziegler (Professor, University of Louisville)

This article discusses the asset acquisitions of Asian national oil companies (NOCs) in the energy-rich states of Russia and Central Asia, and considers the implications for economic and geopolitical stability. Asian NOC investment in these countries is analyzed in terms of state-level political and economic relations, as well as the regional and local impact of NOC activity on the host country. Asian NOCs, and the governments that support them, face few political obstacles in dealing with Eurasia's authoritarian regimes. Asian companies operate in business cultures similar to those in Eurasia, and have fewer reservations about engaging in bribery or corruption than their Western counterparts. These advantages are offset by the entrenched position of Western and Russian oil companies, and a strong commitment of the host states to political and economic independence.

Keywords: economic development in Asia, foreign investment in East Asia, Russian Far East, Central Asia

Korea's FDI-Led Economic Liberalism: A Critical View

Wan-Soon Kim (Research Adviser, Institute for Global Economics), You-il Lee (Program Director, University of South Australia)

This article argues that Korea's prevailing strong belief in self-sufficiency and the legacy of the state-led and overly regulated external policies which dominated prior to the 1997 financial crisis had become an obstacle to Korea's seeming pursuit of economic liberalism based on inward foreign direct investment (FDI). Although the momentum of globalization ignited during the 1997 financial crisis has enabled Korea to undertake a speedier market opening and draconian structural reforms, there has been no fundamental turnaround yet in the mindset of the Korean government, bureaucrats, corporate sector, or the people in general—the ultimate measure of globalization. This article critically evaluates the impacts of the legacy of the state-led economic development (economic nationalism/mercantilism) model on Korea's newly adopted FDI-led globalization strategy.

Keywords: South Korea, economic development in Asia, foreign investment in East Asia, globalization

Theorizing East Asian International Relations in Korea

Jong Kun Choi (Associate Professor, University of North Korean Studies)

This article discusses the analytically unbalanced theorizing in International Relations (IR) when it comes to a region, or subsystem. The tension is between theoretical universalism and contextual exceptionalism, and it is present in the IR community in Korea. If the former group is loyal to the general principles of scientific inquiry of social research, the latter group emphasizes the unique historical experience of Korea and its theorizing efforts to reflect such uniqueness. The author argues that for the IR community in Korea to develop its own name brand, the “Korean School,” as an independent and influential force like the English School, it should collectively seek to bridge its perceptual representation concerning historical uniqueness with scientifically theorizing efforts while simultaneously incorporating the general theories of IR with unique regional independent variables.

Keywords: Korea, international relations theory, East Asia

Vol. 32, No. 2, 2008

Hand in Hand for Korea: A Peace Process and Denuclearization

Leon V. Sigal (Director, Social Science Research Council)

Pyongyang has a longstanding strategy of engaging with Seoul only when Washington is moving to reconcile. It has acted that way for two decades. Time and again, pressure has proved counterproductive; it has only led North Korea to dig in its heels. To Pyongyang, pressure was evidence of Washington’s “hostile policy,” and that “hostile policy” was its stated rationale for lack of progress in North-South reconciliation. That past is prologue as Six-Party Talks move to a new phase. The DPRK will not take irreversible steps to eliminate its nuclear facilities, let alone give up its fissile material, without abundant evidence of an end to enmity, which will take time. Whether it will do so even then is not certain, which is why significant bargaining leverage needs to be retained for that critical point in the denuclearization process. That does not mean holding up deeper economic engagement or steps toward peace on the Korean peninsula. Nor does it mean doing nothing to address regional security. The key to eliminating North Korea’s nuclear arsenal is to move ahead on three other fronts at the same time: a Korean peace process, a regional security

dialogue, and economic engagement.

Keywords: U.S. foreign policy in East Asia, U.S.-Korea relations, North Korea, Northeast Asia, nuclear weapons

The United States and Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia

Gregg Andrew Brazinsky (Professor, George Washington University)

Recently, multilateralism has become a major buzz word in Asian international relations. Nations in the region are hopeful that multilateral negotiations will serve as a basis for managing the region's problems. The argument here is that hopes that the United States will commit to such arrangements are misplaced. Given both America's history and current U.S. national interests, the United States is likely to make only a partial commitment to multilateralism.

Keywords: U.S. foreign policy in East Asia, Multilateral Security – East Asia, Northeast Asia

No Justice, No Peace? National Reconciliation and Local Conflict Resolution in Cambodia

Mneesha Gellman (Ph.D. Student, Northwestern University)

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal is expected by many in the international community to bring a sense of reconciliation to a nation still grappling with the aftermath of more than thirty years of civil war. Yet the gap between national and local reconciliation initiatives tests post-conflict reconstruction efforts to meet the needs of Cambodian citizens who feel unconnected to the tribunal. This article inquires into the interrelationship between national reconciliation processes and grassroots peacebuilding in the form of conflict resolution trainings. Noting that retributive justice processes cannot take the place of restorative justice, genuine reconciliation in Cambodia will need to incorporate culturally-based ritual derived from Buddhism in order to be relevant to local people. The Khmer Institute of Democracy (KID), a Cambodian NGO, serves as a case study for the successes and obstacles to local peacebuilding initiatives.

Keywords: conflict resolution, Cambodia, NGO programs, human rights – East Asia

Learning to Cooperate Not to Cooperate: Bargaining for the 1965 Korea-Japan Normalization

Tae-Ryong Yoon (Associate Research Fellow, Jeju National University)

With the conceptual tool of “Pareto optimum” (or “Pareto frontier”), this article

offers an explanation as to why the 1965 Korea-Japan normalization was achieved at that particular time. No existing single factor can sufficiently explain the outcome. The exclusive focus of the existing literature on favorable domestic and international conditions only after General Park Chung-hee's military coup in 1961 blinds us to the long-term learning process of the two states. We also need to ask a non-question: Why was normalization so delayed even under favorable conditions at the time? Based on counterfactual analysis, this article argues that without the coup, normalization would have been achieved much faster and in a way more conducive to the genuine Korea-Japan reconciliation. The complicated political situation caused by Park's military coup delayed rather than accelerated the normalization. Refocused analysis suggests that an America-centric approach turns our attention away from the simple but crucial fact that Korea and Japan themselves were most responsible for determining their own bilateral relations, and that the U.S. role in Korea-Japan relations was significant but not determining.

Keywords: Korea-Japan relations, East Asian politics, Parento frontier

The Future of U.S.-ROK Relations: The U.S. Approach

Scott Snyder (Senior Associate, The Asia Foundation)

This article argues that there is potential to establish a considerably more comprehensive relationship than has previously existed between the United States and South Korea. Compared to the trans-Atlantic relationship or even the U.S.-Japan alliance, cooperation between the United States and its allies in South Korea is under-institutionalized, does not benefit from the same broad array of cultural programs and policy interaction, and remains quite narrow in its vision and practical application to modern-day global challenges. The broadening of institutional cooperation on the basis of common values and interests is a critical task if meaningful standards are to be established for the future development of multilateral security institutions in Northeast Asia. There is an opportunity to transform the U.S.-ROK alliance relationship so as to fully realize its contributions to regional and global stability and prosperity while simultaneously bolstering the respective national interests of both countries in Asia and around the world. A policy agenda designed to achieve these objectives would promote the expansion of U.S.-ROK bilateral cooperation in global, regional, and nontraditional security and economic areas as well as address changes in the traditional core areas of the bilateral relationship.

Keywords: South Korea-U.S. relations, U.S. foreign policy in East Asia, East Asian security, Democracy – East Asia

Films and Cultural Hegemony: American Hegemony “Outside” and “Inside” the “007” Movie Series

Byungju Shin (Graduate Student, Ewha Womans University), Gon Namkung (Associate Professor, Ewha Womans University)

This article examines empirically how American cultural hegemony operates through the medium of film—in this case, via the James Bond “007” movie series. It is evident that American values are diffused worldwide via the motion picture industry. The 007 series is a masterpiece that successfully adjusted to the Hollywood system where American capital and structure prevails. The films are controlled by U.S. funding and reflect American perspectives vividly. Between the lines in the scripts, filmgoers are urged to link the United States with positive—hence legitimate—values and accept American’s dominant position. The authors of this study argue that the “007” movie series satisfies certain conditions to diffuse and reproduce American hegemony. Moreover, since the series reflects different aspects of the international environment, it is an appropriate case to speculate about hegemony in films.

Keywords: cultural hegemony, U.S. hegemony, Social Network Analysis

The Impact of Taiwan’s 2008 Elections on Cross-Strait Relations: A Game-Theoretical Analysis

Vincent Wei-cheng Wang (Associate Professor, University of Richmond)

As an “index case” of Third-Wave democracies facing existential threat, Taiwan’s elections entail important implications for study in comparative politics and international relations. In 2008, three important elections help define the course of Taiwan’s democratic development and its relationship with China: the January legislative election, the March presidential election, and a controversial referendum on Taiwan’s United Nations entry. This article employs game theory to analyze the impact of Taiwan’s 2008 elections on cross-strait relations. It develops an “election game” by examining each principal player’s preferences regarding each election. It analyzes Beijing’s possible reaction to the potential outcomes, and then examines the actual election outcomes against the model and offers observations on the prospect of cross-strait relations. Overall, the model predicts that cross-strait relations after the 2008 elections will present a historic opportunity, which can be seized or squandered, depending on political leadership.

Keywords: China-Taiwan relations, Democracy – East Asia, East Asian politics

Commentary:

Korea's New Administration and Challenges for China's Relations with the Korean Peninsula

Ren Xiao (Professor, Fudan University)

Vol. 32, No. 3, 2008

International Reconciliation in the Postwar Era, 1945–2005: A Comparative Study of Japan-ROK and Franco-German Relations

Yangmo Ku (Ph.D. Candidate, George Washington University)

Under what conditions do sets of two former adversary states with deeply rooted historical animosity try to reconcile with each other? When they seek bilateral reconciliation, why are the outcomes significantly different? France and Germany were historic antagonists that fought three catastrophic wars between 1870 and 1945. In the postwar era, however, their antagonism and hostility dramatically evolved into mutual partnership and cooperation. Unlike the Franco-German case, Japan-Republic of Korea relations still remain frigid due to mistrust and enmity, although sixty-three years have passed since Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule. This article argues that in both cases, the motives for reconciliation were mainly derived from realpolitik concerns such as security and economy. Structural conditions also affected the initiation of international reconciliation. Nonetheless, it was the dynamics of political leaders and nongovernmental organizations that played central roles in differentiating the reconciliation processes and outcomes in the two dyadic relationships.

Keywords: international reconciliation, Japan-ROK relations, Franco-German relations, East Asian politics

The Politics of Historiography in China: Contextualizing the Koguryo Controversy

Jungmin Seo (Assistant Professor, University of Hawaii at Manoa)

This article contextualizes the emergence of the Chinese claim over the historical ownership of Koguryo in the politics of historiography in China. Contemporary Chinese historiography from which the Chinese state and populace draw core identities has never been fully fixed or stabilized. Regardless of the temporal distance from the present, Chinese pasts are continuously constructed and re-memorized based on contemporary sociopolitical needs. Compared to the pre-

reform eras, broadened social spaces in China have made the Chinese Communist Party's monopoly over historiography untenable. In that sense, the future of East Asian regional order or Sino- Korean relations is highly unpredictable, if not unstable, due to the continuously changing Chinese national identity. With radical nationalization of China's imperial past, the next generation in China may favor actions to alter the status quo. National and state identities informed by "historical facts" are hardly negotiable or changeable.

Keywords: China, nationalism, Communist parties, East Asian politics

South Korea and Japan's Frictions Over History: A Linguistic Constructivist Reading

Kiwoong Yang (Professor, Hallym University)

This article looks at the characteristics of "frictions over history" in ROK-Japan relations since the 1990s, with a focus on Korea's responses. It addresses some hypotheses on the characteristics and trends shown in the political process of "blundering" through comparative analysis of sixty-one cases, and additionally presents an in-depth case study on Prime Minister Abe Shinzo's remarks of 2007 concerning the comfort women issue. This research shows that the responses to blunders and the political process were the products of interactions between the agent's speech acts and are a type of language game that is linguistically inter-constituted. Moreover, the 2007 comfort women case study shows that conflicts and the process of negotiations regarding blunders are a type of constructive language game in which the agents construct rules of engagement, modify mutual perceptions, and transform actors themselves through a series of speech acts.

Keywords: South Korea-Japan relations, East Asian politics

Suryong's Direct Rule and the Political Regime in North Korea Under Kim Jong Il

Kap-sik Kim (Research Professor, Kyungnam University)

The political system in North Korea has been characterized as a "Suryong Dominant Party-State System." Since the mid-1980s, however, its political system has displayed two interesting aspects. Formally, the broad "Suryong System" has been maintained; in practice, however, the Workers' Party of Korea, the Korean People's Army, and the government have come to acquire respectively different and considerably strengthened roles. Under this new regime, Kim Jong Il (Suryong) directly rules over the party, the government, and the military. Meanwhile, the political-ideological base, the military base, and the economic base are administered respectively by the party, the army, and

the government. Interestingly, while the power of the party still overwhelms that of the military and the government, the party's means of influence has changed from giving direct orders to providing provisions or encouraging policy outlines.

Keywords: North Korea, Communist parties, East Asian politics

Labor and Politics in East Asia: The Case of Failure of the Encompassing Labor Organization in Korea

Yeonho Lee (Associate Professor, Yonsei University), Sukkyu Chung (Doctoral Candidate, Yonsei University), Haehyun Jang (Post-Graduate Researcher, Yonsei University)

Olsonian theory supposes that when labor unions are organized in an encompassing manner at the industrial and national levels, they can better prevent collective action problems and bring about more stable industrial relations. This theory regards the encompassing labor organization as a positive institution. However, the Korean case shows weak theoretical and empirical relevance for the proposition, as institutionalized talks between government, business, and labor did not contribute to establishing stability in industrial relations. In some respects, the situation only worsened. The Korean case therefore suggests that the optimistic propositions of encompassing organizations of labor require a careful reassessment.

Keywords: South Korea, economic development in East Asia, industrial relations

A Path to Democracy: In Search of China's Democratization Model

Kai He (Assistant Professor, Georgia State University), Huiyun Feng (Assistant Professor, Utah State University)

China's transition is drawing worldwide attention. China started market economic reforms in 1978 and is rapidly closing its economic gap with the developed world. The Chinese public and Chinese leaders have started to debate and explore where China should go politically and how to get there. After examining the merits and weaknesses of four prevailing theories of democratization—modernization, social mobilization, cultural/social capital, and negotiation-pact transition theory—we conclude with an appropriate model for China's political future. We argue that (1) the conflict between the reform and conservative groups inside the communist regime will shape the process of China's democratization; (2) the hope of China's political future lies in continued economic development, a mature civil society, and the building of democratic political culture in society; and (3) the current intra-party democracy promoted by Hu and Wen signals a positive trend for China's future

democratization.

Keywords: China, Democracy – East Asia, East Asian politics

Commentaries:

Does China's Rise Threaten the United States?

Jinghao Zhou (Assistant Professor, Hobart and William Smith Colleges)

Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Moscow's Lonely Road From Bishkek to Dushanbe

Mark N. Katz (Professor, George Mason University)

Vol. 32, No. 4, 2008

Introduction to the Special Issue, North Korea and Regional Security

Mark J. Valencia (Maritime Policy Analyst)

America's Failed North Korea Nuclear Policy: A New Approach

Gregory J. Moore (Assistant Professor, Eckerd College)

America's North Korea nuclear policy has been a failure. Instead of achieving its goal of preventing North Korea from possessing and proliferating nuclear weapons, it has had the opposite effect. This failure was a result of the George W. Bush administration's blanket rejection of the previous administration's approach to North Korea, the tendency to ignore the advice of experts, neoconservative influence on foreign policy, and divisions within the administration resulting in an inconsistent approach. This article suggests a bold new approach in which the United States offers North Korea full diplomatic recognition and a formal end to the Korean War as first steps toward the goals established in the 2007 Six Party Talks on North Korea, i.e., that North Korea give up its nuclear weapons and nuclear-weapons programs, and cease its proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Taking these moves as a starting point rather than a reward for compliance will deepen North Korea's commitment to nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation by removing its gravest external security threat—the United States.

Keywords: U.S. foreign policy in East Asia, North Korea, nuclear weapons, multilateral security – East Asia

The Six Party Talks: A Chinese Perspective

Chu Shulong (Professor, Tsinghua University), Lin Xinzhu (Ph.D. Candidate, Tsinghua University)

The Six Party Talks on North Korean nuclear issues have been ongoing since August 2003. They have not prevented North Korea from having nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, the goal to denuclearize the Korean peninsula has been agreed upon by all six countries, including North Korea. Whether these talks will reach that goal is unclear and uncertain. However, the talks have brought the six countries, or at least the United States, China, the Republic of Korea, Japan, and Russia, closer in terms of regional security. All six have agreed to an official dialogue on a multilateral security cooperation mechanism in Northeast Asia. This dialogue is useful and encouraging.

Keywords: Chinese foreign policy in Korea, North Korea, nuclear weapons, multilateral security – East Asia

The Six Party Talks: A Russian Perspective

Georgy Toloraya (Director, Korean Programs at IMEMO)

Russia has had a consistent policy of promoting a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, opposing resolution of the nuclear issue through pressure or sanction, supporting a multilateral process and solution, promoting adherence to Non-Proliferation Treaty rules, and expanding mutually beneficial economic cooperation. Moscow first suggested initiating a six-party process regarding a solution to the divided Korean peninsula in 1994. North Korea is generally positive about Russia's suggestions. The United States has belatedly and reluctantly recognized Russia's positive role in the process. Russia hopes the Six Party Talks (6PT) will gradually evolve into a multiparty security and cooperation system including a peaceful DPRK. This will be facilitated by international economic assistance to the DPRK and institutionalization of the 6PT. Successful Russia-U.S. cooperation may have much wider implications.

Keywords: Russian foreign policy in Korea, North Korea, multilateral security – East Asia, nuclear weapons

Diplomacy of Defiance and Facilitation: The Six Party Talks and the Roh Moo Hyun Government

Chung-in Moon (Professor, Yonsei University)

The second North Korean nuclear crisis, which was triggered by controversy over its alleged highly enriched uranium (HEU) program in October 2002, continues. Despite its roller-coaster trajectory, the Six Party Talks (6PT) process

has paved the way for a peaceful diplomatic settlement of the nuclear standoff. Since the 6PT process has been primarily a negotiating arena for North Korea and the United States, through the mediation of China, room for South Korea's effective participation has been structurally limited. Nevertheless, the Roh Moo Hyun government played a significant role in suggesting innovative ideas, often defying the American stance to break impasses, and facilitating the overall process of negotiation through proactive diplomacy. This article unravels the Roh government's diplomatic role in the 6PT process by describing its initial perception of and reactions to U.S. positions on contentious issues such as the terms of engagement and exchange, and analyzing its role in linking the 6PT to a peace regime for Korea and a Northeast Asian regional security and peace mechanism.

Keywords: South Korea, multilateral security – East Asia, North Korea, nuclear weapons

Designing a Mechanism for Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Australian National University)

The current Six Party Talks on the North Korean nuclear programs provide an opportunity to build new and unprecedented multilateral arrangements to enhance strategic stability and security in Northeast Asia, historically one of the most volatile regions in the world. This article, inspired by working with colleagues on the linkage between historical reconciliation and cooperative security over the past several years,¹ tries to pull together ideas about the possible component parts for such a multilateral security institution in Northeast Asia.

Keywords: multilateral security – East Asia, Northeast Asia, North Korea

Searching for a Northeast Peace and Security Mechanism

Kim Sung-han (Professor, Korea University)

The process of exploring a Northeast Asian peace and security mechanism should be based on realism and historical institutionalism. One of the preconditions for formal institutions is great-power balance, thus the role of the United States as the balancer between China and Japan should be emphasized. In addition, the North Korean nuclear problem should enter the stage of nuclear dismantlement in which the Six Party Talks (6PT) and the Peace Forum may produce a synergistic effect to realize denuclearization and establish a permanent peace regime on the Korean peninsula. Finally, we should encourage U.S.-led bilateral alliances to develop into a comprehensive alliance that deals with traditional as well as non-traditional

security challenges that tend to be addressed multilaterally. If the bilateral alliances can alleviate the concerns of third parties, bilateralism and multilateralism may become more compatible, thereby contributing to the establishment of a Northeast Asian peace and security mechanism.

Keywords: Northeast Asia, multilateral security – East Asia, North Korea, nuclear weapons, U.S.-Korea relations

A Maritime Security Regime for Northeast Asia

Mark J. Valencia (Maritime Policy Analyst)

The Six Party Talks can be the crucible for forging a regional security mechanism in Northeast Asia. This mechanism should originally focus on maritime security. The rationale includes the region's geography, competing maritime and island claims, the resultant maritime military buildup and changing priorities, increasing frequency of dangerous incidents, and the existence of a foundation for conflict avoidance and resource sharing. The Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea could serve as a model for a similar Declaration for Northeast Asian Seas that may ultimately include guidelines for activities in others' Exclusive Economic Zones.

Keywords: Northeast Asia, multilateral security – East Asia, maritime security, territorial disputes

Editorial:

China and the United States: Responsible Stakeholder or Emerging Threat?

Melvin Gurtov (Professor, Portland State University)

Vol. 33, No. 1, 2009

When Being “Native” is not Enough: Citizens as Foreigners in Malaysia

Kamal Sadiq (Assistant Professor, University of California, Irvine)

Why do the natives of Sabah oppose the internal migration of natives from the rest of Malaysia? Why is being “native” not enough? The hostility is in direct contrast to what most scholars know about Malaysia: a multiethnic country with successful preferential policies for its natives—the “sons of the soil.” In a plural state like Malaysia, there are competing native claims on citizenship. Here, regional natives (Kadazandusun from Sabah) contest claims by federal natives (Malays). The conflicts over culture, economy, and political power

fracture a national citizenship into its regional and federal parts, pitting native against native. In particular, regional natives empower the notion of a regional citizenship by supporting restrictions on the internal migration of fellow citizens. As a consequence, Malaysia's goal of a "national" citizenry fashioned on native Malay norms is undermined. Malaysia offers important insight into the enduring dilemma of modern plural states: how to create a common national citizenship.

Keywords: Malaysia, nationalism, democracy – East Asia

Using Norms Strategically: Transnational Advocacy Networks' Operation for North Korean Human Rights

Sun-Young Kwak (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Southern California), Yong Wook Lee (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

In May 2002, China decided not to repatriate North Korean asylum seekers who fled to Shenyang. The decision was not only in contravention of the 1986 North Korea-China bilateral repatriation agreement, but also constituted China's repudiation of its policy denying refugee status to North Koreans in China. What explains China's change in policy in the Shenyang case? We argue that transnational advocacy networks (TANs) for North Korean human rights (NKHR) played a significant role in China's non-repatriation decision. Theoretically, the article develops a set of five propositions that specify an organizational mechanism through which TANs effectively work, and use social network analysis to test these propositions. Empirically, we employ both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis (the combination of discourse and content analysis) in order to capture the crucial role of TANs in China's policy change. Thematically, our case study of China's non-repatriation decision reveals the growing importance and relevance of TANs in world politics.

Keywords: North Korea, human rights, China, social network analysis, transnational advocacy network

Democratization and the Transformation Process in East Asian Developmental States: Financial Reform in Korea and Taiwan

Haeran Lim (Associate Professor, Seoul National University)

This study explores the impact of democratization on financial reform in Korea and Taiwan. In Korea, democratization decreased the autonomy and efficiency of bureaucrats and increased the power of business groups, which led to unregulated financial liberalization. Crisis contributed to the urgency of reform, coalitional support, and burden sharing among people. After the crisis, the re-strengthened bureaucracy and weakened veto power of business and labor

sectors resulted in “path-breaking” reform in Korea. In Taiwan, the historically conservative financial system remained stable, allowing Taiwan to escape the Asian crisis but later becoming obstacles to reform. Democratization decreased the autonomy of bureaucrats and increased money politics: Lack of consensus among parties, divided government, and opposition within vested interest groups led to “lagged and stalemated” financial reform in Taiwan.

Keywords: democracy, developmental states – East Asia, financial reform, Korea, Taiwan

What Is It that Best Explains the East Asian Peace Since 1979? A Call for a Research Agenda

Stein Tønnesson (Director, International Peace Research Institute Oslo)

This article discusses how historians and social scientists may go about seeking to explain the relative absence of war in East Asia since 1979, after a period of three decades when East Asia was the world’s most war-prone region. Many have discussed the European Peace, only few the East Asian one, which calls for both similar and quite different explanations. The article does not present findings from research already made, but rather calls for a research agenda, aiming to solicit sponsors and contributors around the world who would like to take part in its development. The purpose will not just be to understand the past, but also to discuss what it may take to protect, deepen, and sustain peace in East Asia at a time of economic upheaval and a likely continued, perhaps accelerated shift of economic as well as military power from North America and Europe to East Asia.

Keywords: peace and security – East Asia, International Relations theory, conflict resolution

Japan’s ASEAN Policy: Reactive or Proactive in the Face of a Rising China in East Asia?

Sueo Sudo (Professor, Nanzan University)

Since the announcement of the Hashimoto Doctrine in 1997, Japan’s proactive response to ever-changing Southeast Asia has been a main factor in advancing a new regionalism in East Asia. However, it is believed that China-ASEAN relations have outpaced Japan-ASEAN relations due to the uniformity of China-ASEAN’s regional policies and the inconsistency of Japan-ASEAN’s regional integration policies. Given these opposing views, this article examines the current state of Japan-ASEAN relations and especially focuses on the recent explicit efforts to strengthen a strategic partnership. Clarifying the changing nature of Japanese foreign policy toward ASEAN since the late 1990s, the

article contends that Japanese initiatives are neither exceptional nor sporadic in nature. Indeed, between 1997 and 2007 Japan was an ideational facilitator to promote multilateral order in the region through strategic networking.

Keywords: Japan-ASEAN relations, Japanese foreign policy, regionalism – East Asia, China

Russia, China and a Multipolar World Order: The Danger in the Undefined

Susan Turner (M.A. Candidate, George Mason University)

Since the late 1990s, the concept of multipolarity has gained prominence around the globe. Russia and China, in particular, have repeatedly agreed on this ill-defined term and subsequently have included it or alluded to it in nearly all of their joint declarations, statements, and treaties dating from the mid-1990s to the present. At a time when American hegemony is declining and speculation abounds as to which among the world's burgeoning nations will rise to power, it is important to examine the renewed Sino-Russian relationship and one of its foundational pillars—the promotion of multipolarity. This article deconstructs the definition of multipolarity as it applies uniquely to Russia and China in an effort to determine the depth of the two countries' agreement. Though the two may agree upon the same “solution” to the next world order, China and Russia employ very different strategies to achieve it.

Keywords: China, Russia, international security, multipolarity

Vol. 33, No. 2, 2009

Developmental States in East Asia: A Comparison of the Japanese and Chinese Experiences

Mark Beeson (Professor, University of Birmingham)

In the aftermath of the East Asian crisis and Japan's prolonged economic downturn, many observers considered that East Asia's distinctive model of state-led development had become redundant and irrelevant. And yet not only have aspects of this model persisted in Japan despite attempts to reform it, but China is actively embracing elements of neo-mercantilism and state interventionism that owe much to the Japanese exemplar. Even more strikingly, China's success and the influence of the “Beijing consensus” are encouraging other countries to follow suit. This article explores the trajectory of East Asian forms of developmentalism and suggests that reports of their death may prove premature.

Keywords: Economic development in Asia, East Asian politics, China, Japan

The Structure and Political Dynamics of Regulating “Yellow Sand” in Northeast Asia

Whasun Jho (Associate Professor, Yonsei University), Hyunju Lee (Graduate Student, Yonsei University)

This article examines the structure and political dynamics of the environmental cooperation network in Northeast Asia for the “yellow sand” problem as well as the interplay of ideas and interests among its participants in Korea, China, and Japan. Despite the existence of a complex and multi-layered network and discussion channel, regional environmental cooperation remains in a rudimentary stage due to the governments’ and NGOs’ different ideas about the issues and the priorities of economic resources. Cooperation in solving the Northeast Asia yellow sand problem is difficult because the most important functions are being carried out by intergovernmental national actors. The highly integrated transnational ecosystem is being managed by sovereign states with different interests and political dynamics. In order to solve a regional problem like that of yellow sand, transnational solidarity between civil societies must be promoted. In addition, a coordination organization and regional leadership that can manage cooperation networks and promote solidarity among Northeast Asian countries are required.

Keywords: environmental protection – East Asia, transnational networks, Korea, China, Japan

National Mobilization and Global Engagement: Understanding Japan’s Response to Global Climate Change Initiatives

Carin Holroyd (Assistant Professor, University of Waterloo)

As the host for the United Nations conference that resulted in the Kyoto Protocol, Japan has been intricately linked to the global climate change agenda. Once known for the high levels of industrial pollution in the country, Japan has opted in recent years to position itself as a world leader in environmental sustainability. The result has been an aggressive set of policies on recycling, environmental protection, new technologies, and on a concerted effort to combine environmental initiatives with the creation of new export industries aimed at delivering made-in-Japan solutions to the global marketplace.

Keywords: Japan, environmental protection – East Asia, sustainable development

APEC at a Crossroads: Challenges and Opportunities

Sung-Hoon Park (Professor, Korea University), Jeong Yeon Lee (Associate Professor, Yonsei University)

Under the weight of various challenges, growing frustration both inside and outside APEC clouds its prospects as a lead institution in promoting regional cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. To help consider the future of APEC, we develop four scenarios that describe alternative paths the organization may take. Of the four, the preservation of the status quo appears to be the most probable short-term scenario given sharp divisions within APEC. But this option is not sustainable in the long term. The idea presently under discussion in APEC involves creating an APEC-wide free trade area. Despite its large potential benefits, this scenario faces serious obstacles and may at best be described as a truly long-term scenario. We suggest two other possibilities, an “OECD model” and an “institution for security cooperation,” which may serve as the medium-term scenarios that would help APEC preserve its current status as a center of Asia-Pacific regional cooperation.

Keywords: APEC, East Asian economy, Asia trade, East Asian security

Russian Policy in Central Asia: Supporting, Balancing, Coercing, or Imposing?

Maria Raquel Freire (Professor, University of Coimbra)

This article looks at Russian foreign policy in Central Asia, with a focus on security issues. It identifies the elements of support, balance, coercion, and imposition that affect relations with that region. Russia plays a game that, despite many difficulties, it wants to be a positive-sum game according to its interests in the area. By pursuing this analytical focus, the article questions whether the establishment of an enlarged security community involving Russia and the Central Asian states, beyond the non-functional Commonwealth of Independent States, could be envisaged. Russia faces a complex interplay of differentiated states in the area along with the involvement of external actors competing for influence, all of which complicate achievement of its interests.

Keywords: Russia, Russian foreign policy in Central Asia, international security

Social Capital and Work Integration of Migrants: The Case of North Korean Defectors in South Korea

Eric Bidet (Associate Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

This article presents a general overview of the South Korean labor market and the main policies for work integration that have been installed recently, and

explains how the recent massive influx of North Korean defectors from low social classes has made their work integration in South Korea a worrisome issue. Available data on the work integration of North Korean defectors in South Korea is presented to illuminate the discrimination they face in the primary labor market and the different indicators of their poor work integration. The failure of their work integration is analyzed through a “social capital” framework, with two main approaches: one regarding social capital as a key factor to understand access to the job market, the other relating integration of immigrants, ethnicity, and social capital. North Korean defectors have an especially low social capital due to a weakness of their ties both to persons belonging to the same community and to persons belonging to different communities. The main argument is that there is a close relation between this low level of social capital and the poor achievement of North Korean defectors in terms of work integration. The situation of social exclusion experienced by most North Korean defectors is the result of a process of “disaffiliation” that makes them “social cases” in South Korean society.

Keywords: Korea, social capital, work integration, migrants

Analyzing the Gender Division of Labor: The Cases of the United States and South Korea

Hee-Kang Kim (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

The purpose of this article is to present women’s reality in the context of the gender division of labor in the family. For this purpose, I conduct practical as well as normative analyses of the gender division of labor. By examining women’s situations and their choices in the family and in the labor market in the United States and South Korea, the article shows why and how American and South Korean women similarly suffer from the major injustice caused by the gender division of labor. In both countries women and men tend to do (are expected to do, or are likely to choose to do) different kinds of work. Many women perform housework and childcare whether they work outside the home; many men perform market work and have less responsibility for housework and childcare than women do. This gender division of labor is one of the main causes of women’s oppression, especially in current society, where women’s work is less valued than men’s work. I examine the mechanisms by which the gender division of labor creates, maintains, and reproduces disadvantageous situations for women in different cultural and national circumstances.

Keywords: Korea, United States, women and gender studies, division of labor

Vol. 33, No. 3, 2009

China and Global Governance

Hongying Wang (Associate Professor, Syracuse University), James N. Rosenau (Professor, George Washington University)

China's development has enormous implications for how the world is governed. The sheer size of the country means the effect of its activities inevitably spills over its borders. Beyond that, there is evidence that the Chinese government has taken an active role in a number of policy areas to defend China's expanding national interest and to strengthen its status in the world. As China's economy and its political ambition continue to grow, so will its influence around the world. In this article, we examine Chinese views and practices with regard to global governance. We also discuss the major factors that will shape the future of China's involvement in global governance.

Keywords: China, global governance, global finance, Chinese foreign policy, international system

China and Globalization: Confronting Myriad Challenges and Opportunities

Samuel S. Kim (Senior Research Scholar, Columbia University)

China, with its rapid economic rise, holds one of the master keys to the future of globalization in the post-cold war world. This article explores how China is coping with the forces of globalization since that time, beginning with a brief description of the global discourse and politics on globalization. The article then tracks Chinese views on globalization, especially how its promises and perils are conceptualized and addressed by key pundits and decision makers. An examination follows of the complex and evolving interplay between globalization and China's policies in terms of globalizing economy, security, and soft power. The final section sketches out a series of major challenges confronting the Chinese leaders, each of which will involve a strategic decision and sequencing regarding how to cope with globalization challenges and how to redefine the role of the state as a competent, efficient, and adaptable actor.

Keywords: China, globalization, Chinese foreign policy, soft power

The Obama Administration and China: Positive but Fragile Equilibrium

Robert Sutter (Visiting Professor, Georgetown University)

The Obama administration's initially positive and constructive engagement with China comes amid continuing differences and mutual suspicions. The priorities and pragmatism of U.S. and Chinese leaders and enduring U.S. leadership in

Asia demonstrate that the positive equilibrium in relations between the two administrations is likely to continue, though it will remain fragile because of different interests and suspicions.

Keywords: U.S.-China relations, U.S. policy in Asia, Obama administration, engagement, mutual suspicions

Japan and the East Asian Maritime Security Order: Prospects for Trilateral and Multilateral Cooperation

Gaye Christoffersen (Associate Professor, Soka University of America)

Japan has pursued a grand strategy of creating an East Asian maritime order with a special emphasis on situating a U.S.-Japan-China trilateral arrangement, based on cooperative security, at the core of an East Asian maritime regime. The United States and China have slowly adopted some of this Japanese strategy. This article examines the lessons East Asia has learned from several maritime security initiatives—America's Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and its Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI), Japan's ReCAAP, and Southeast Asia's MALSINDO—that were applied to the anti-piracy operations off the Somali coast and the Gulf of Aden. Despite the influence of Japan's strategy for maritime security, paradoxically it has responded more slowly in its deployment to the Gulf of Aden, contributing to the traditional image of Japan as a reactive state. The institutional design of maritime regimes in the Gulf of Aden and in East Asia is thus incrementally unfolding; maritime cooperation is taking place in an ad hoc, bottom-up manner with very uncertain outcomes.

Keywords: Japan, maritime security, multilateral security – East Asia, piracy

Asia's Institutional Creation and Evolution

Yasumasa Komori (Assistant Professor, James Madison College)

This article explores the formation and evolution of regional institutions in the Asia-Pacific and East Asia. Employing a historical institutionalist framework, this article argues that both Asia-Pacific and East Asian regional institutions were created at critical junctures, precipitated by extra-regional developments that called the legitimacy of existing institutional mechanisms into serious question. Preexisting institutions greatly shaped the institutional design of the subsequent regional institutions, revealing a path-dependent nature of institutional evolution. The timing and sequence of regional institution building is an important factor for explaining institutional change. Specifically, the analysis demonstrates that although new regional institutions with different memberships have emerged at critical junctures, the centrality of ASEAN as a source of institutional *modus operandi* has persisted within these institutions,

notwithstanding changes in material circumstances and the recognition of inefficiencies and ineffectiveness.

Keywords: APEC, ASEAN+3, East Asia Summit, historical institutionalism, regionalism

Preparing for a Peace Process in the Korean Peninsula

Kun Young Park (Professor, Catholic University of Korea)

The rollback of North Korea's nuclear program is closely intertwined with the peace process in the Korean peninsula and resuscitation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). With the recent thaw in U.S.-North Korea relations, a new opportunity is emerging for the two Koreas and the United States. The international community and the concerned parties cannot afford another failure given the imminent danger of the current security situation on the peninsula and the resulting pressing need for peace building. It is time for them to make a serious effort to bring about a Korean peace that would, in turn, contribute to peace, prosperity, and democracy in the region and the rest of the world. This article looks at policy alternatives that will effectively bring solid and lasting peace to the Korean peninsula.

Keywords: armistice, peace treaty, U.S.-North Korea relations, economic community, arms control, multilateral security cooperation in Northeast Asia

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Introduction to the Special Issue: An Arms Race in Northeast Asia?

John Feffer (Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies)

An Emerging Trend in East Asia: Military Budget Increases and Their Impact

Zhu Feng (Professor, Peking University)

The recent military budget increases in East Asia are motivated by various factors—flash point-driven, hedging strategy-driven, or governance-driven—but they do necessarily trigger an arms race in the region. Domestic politics within Japan, South Korea, China, and the United States have had a complicated impact on regional security. Furthermore, the potential crisis points on the Korean peninsula and in the Taiwan Strait are also driving factors that test the stability of the region. Despite competing interests and challenges, the U.S.-led system seems to be enduring and a great-power rivalry stemming from the increases in military

spending between the United States and China appears unlikely.

Keywords: East Asian security, China, Japan, South Korea, United States, military spending, arms race

China's Military Spending: Soft Rise or Hard Threat?

Sean Chen (Trans-Pacific Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies), John Feffer (Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies)

Interpreting China's military expenditure has been a complicated issue with important regional implications. This article will first look at the various estimates of China's military budget and the discrepancies in the numbers as well as the geopolitical rationale driving Chinese military planning. Although China publishes its official defense budget and provides justifications for increases in its military spending, most observers remain skeptical of the accuracy of the official figures and wary of the military modernization efforts. This skepticism has shaped the responses of other Asia-Pacific nations toward China's military modernization. Ultimately, even if the Chinese leadership views the military buildup as a natural part of the country's ascension to great power status, the uncertainties surrounding its military expenditures actually undermine the contention that China's rise will be peaceful.

Keywords: East Asian security, China, military spending, arms race

Military Spending and the Arms Race on the Korean Peninsula

Chung-in Moon (Professor, Yonsei University), Sangkeun Lee (Ph.D. Candidate, Yonsei University)

The two Koreas have failed to produce any meaningful achievements in military confidence-building measures, arms control, and arms reduction. Moreover, South Korea's continued competitive edge over the North in conventional weapons capability has driven North Korea to mitigate its inferiority by pursuing the dangerous course of nuclear armament. This article attempts to understand the evolving nature of military spending and the arms race on the Korean peninsula. The first section analyzes and evaluates the dynamics of military spending and the arms race. The second section empirically compares patterns of military spending between the two Koreas, while the third compares their conventional defense capabilities. The article then traces how the arms race in conventional weapons has escalated into new dimensions of military confrontation involving North Korea's nuclearization and South Korea's countervailing measures. Finally, the determinants of military spending and the arms race on the Korean peninsula are examined and ways are suggested to manage them.

Keywords: East Asian security, South Korea, North Korea, military spending, arms race, nuclear weapons

Allied to Race? The U.S.-Korea Alliance and Arms Race

Jae-Jung Suh (Associate Professor, Johns Hopkins University)

The Republic of Korea has rapidly increased its defense budget in recent years. Last year's spending of 26.6 trillion won represents a twofold increase from ten years ago. Now the Ministry of National Defense projects an annual average increase of 7.6 percent to 53.3 trillion won by 2020, another doubling over the next decade. South Korea, notably, raised its defense spending at a higher rate than North Korea at a time when Seoul was taking a more conciliatory policy of engagement. While the Roh Moo-hyun administration increased defense spending ostensibly in response to its policy goal to build a more autonomous military, the U.S.-Korea alliance motivated and shaped South Korea's military transformation. This article examines the degree to which external threats, domestic interests, and the alliance have affected the South's military spending and transformation.

Keywords: East Asian security, South Korea, military spending, South Korea-U.S. relations, arms race

Japan's Military Spending at a Crossroads

Akira Kawasaki (Executive Committee Member, Peace Boat)

Japan's military budget has held steady at below one percent of its GDP. Japan spends heavily on personnel for its Self-Defense Forces, support of U.S. bases in Japan, and development of its ballistic missile defense and space development. Yet in recent times, the Japanese business community has also demanded an amendment to Article 9 of the constitution for the promotion of military-civil integrated space development and an end to the ban on arms exports. With the future of Japan's security policy still uncertain after the election of the new Hatoyama administration, innovative disarmament cooperation would better serve the stability of the region than Japan's development of high-tech, offensive military capabilities.

Keywords: East Asian security, Japan, military spending

Bucks for the Bang: North Korea's Nuclear Program and Northeast Asian Military Spending

Wade L. Huntley (Adjunct Professor, Naval Postgraduate School)

Delineating the impact of North Korea's nuclear program on overall military spending among the other principal states of Northeast Asia is challenging. This article presents a foundation to address that challenge. After summarizing key elements of North Korea's nuclear program, the article introduces frameworks to examine the security consequences of the program for the Northeast Asian region and assess North Korea's motivations to pursue nuclear capabilities. The reviews indicate how these frameworks can be used to deduce hypotheses of more specific linkages of North Korea's activities to other states' military spending decisions, some strategically motivated and others more influenced by symbolism and domestic politics. The article concludes with observations on contemporary developments derived from the analysis.

Keywords: North Korea, nuclear weapons, East Asian security, Northeast Asia, military spending

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Introduction to the Special Issue: Nuclear Politics, North Korea, and the Political Economy of Northeast Asia at the Dawn of the Asian Century

Donald C. Hellmann (Professor, University of Washington)

North Korean Strategies in the Asymmetric Nuclear Conflict with the United States

Kyung-Ae Park (Professor, University of British Columbia)

The traditional structural-power approach falls short of accounting for North Korea's nuclear strategies. Contrary to conventional wisdom, North Korea has been engaged in balancing acts against the United States, employing internal balancing, soft balancing, and omnibalancing strategies, while deviating from bandwagoning, the dominant strategy of small states. The present analysis of the North Korean case also demonstrates that a state's behavior is not merely a response to the international structure of power distribution, but also a reaction to a state's domestic situation. In addition to changes in the international power structure and perceived security threats, North Korea's flagging economy, guiding ideology, competition with the South, and regime legitimacy have all compensated for the asymmetry of power between North Korea and the United

States.

Keywords: North Korea-U.S. relations, nuclear weapons, East Asian security

North Korea's Nuclear Strategy and the Interface Between International and Domestic Politics

Samuel S. Kim (Senior Research Scholar; Columbia University)

Pyongyang's nuclear strategy has been significantly shaped by the perceived U.S. nuclear threat since the early 1950s, portending a quest for a self-reliant existential nuclear deterrent for the DPRK. This article tracks and explains how Washington's nuclear threat cast a long shadow that underpins the evolution of North Korea's nuclear thinking and strategy over the years. North Korea's nuclear strategy is being shaped as much if not more so in Washington than in Pyongyang. Just as importantly, the implementation process of major denuclearization agreements has seemed ready-made to be hijacked by war hawks in domestic politics in Washington. In pursuit of these lines of reasoning, the article proceeds in three sections. The first section appraises the interplay of Washington's nuclear threats and Pyongyang's *songun* ("military-first") politics in the evolution of North Korea's nuclear thinking and strategy over the years. The second section offers a critical analysis of the changing dynamics of domestic politics in the making and unmaking of key denuclearization accords in the course of the first and second U.S.-DPRK nuclear standoffs. The third section brings the common- security engagement back in charting an alternative pathway toward a working peace system in the Korean peninsula.

Keywords: North Korea, North Korea-U.S. relations, East Asian politics, East Asian security, nuclear weapons

North Korea's Brinkmanship and the Task to Solve the "Nuclear Dilemma"

Yong Chool Ha (Korea Foundation Professor; University of Washington), Chaesung Chun (Associate Professor; Seoul National University)

This article makes three points. First, the protracted negotiations of the Six Party Talks brought about unintended consequences of the nuclear dilemma: Technically, North Korea made advances in nuclear development as the talks progressed, and domestically the prolonged talks made it difficult if not impossible for the North Korean regime to move sequentially from the resolution of nuclear issues to domestic reforms for survival. Second, the Six Party Talks are not an effective format for resolving North Korean nuclear issues due to the contending positions of China and South Korea, on one hand, and the United States and Japan, on the other. Instead, a combination of bilateral and multilateral negotiations needs to be adopted. Third, the nuclear

talks should go beyond the resolution of nuclear issues to deal with “normalizing North Korea,” which includes a future regional order, system reforms in North Korea, and peaceful coexistence between North and South Korea.

Keywords: North Korea, East Asian security, Northeast Asia, nuclear weapons

Inter-Korean Relations in Nuclear Politics

Myoung-Kyu Park (Professor, Seoul National University), Philo Kim (Research Professor, Seoul National University)

This article aims at explaining the changes in inter-Korean relations since the inauguration of the new administration in South Korea in 2008. By focusing on leadership, regime, and social factors in the two Koreas, the article emphasizes the social dynamics that are shaping inter-Korean relations despite the nuclear dispute. In the political realm, a tough stance toward North Korea's nuclear ambition by the South's government has created a sense of frustration within the North Korean leadership, causing tension and conflict with the South. In the social realm, however, both Koreas have been pressured by political and economic hardship and a growing sense of crisis among their citizens. From that latter perspective, however, the prospects are that the two Koreas will move toward more cooperative behavior. The role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and the United States will be important in achieving that outcome.

Keywords: North-South Korea relations, Korean unification, East Asian politics

The Korea Nuclear Crisis and the Changing Sino-DPRK Relationship

Jian Cai (Associate Professor, Fudan University)

When the DPRK conducted its first nuclear test on October 9, 2006, the second Korea nuclear crisis reached a climax, but almost everybody still believed in that North Korea was just playing a political card. After it conducted a second nuclear test on May 25, 2009, most people changed their thoughts and concluded that the Six Party Talks which aimed to solve the crisis are a total failure. This article analyzes the reasons and purposes for the DPRK's nuclear tests, considers the origin and development of the Six Party Talks, and concludes that the talks, while frustrating to various parties, have not been a total failure since they were moving in the right direction. The article examines the changing Sino-DPRK relationship and concludes that China should develop a long-term strategy toward the Korean peninsula and change its diplomatic policy toward the DPRK.

Keywords: Sino-DPRK relations, nuclear weapons, Six-Party Talks, East Asian security

Institutions of Interest Representation and the Welfare State in Post-Democratization Korea

Yeong-Soon Kim (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University of Technology)

This article examines how the institutions of interest representation have affected the welfare state in post-democratization Korea. The characteristics of welfare politics in Korea since democratization are quite different from those of advanced welfare states. The argument here is that these characteristics are related to the flawed institutions of interest representation in Korea's newly created democratic system. The interest articulation and aggregation of welfare issues have been severely limited, since political parties do not represent socioeconomic interests in civil society appropriately and the social dialogue is paralyzed. These flawed institutions of representation have hindered the development of a comprehensive welfare state.

Keywords: South Korea, democracy, politics in East Asia, interest representation, welfare state

Vol. 34, No. 2, 2010

China's Reaction to the Color Revolutions: Adaptive Authoritarianism in Full Swing

Titus C. Chen (Assistant Research Fellow, National Chengchi University)

This article provides an interpretivist-structuralist account to analyze the Chinese party-state's perception of and policy adaptations to the Color Revolutions of 2005-2007. China's leaders and established intellectuals perceived the Color Revolutions as a series of contagious and illegitimate political changes in Eurasia, instigated by three major factors: raging domestic grievances, electoral politics exploited by the opposition, and Western powers' intervention for geo-strategic interests. This perception and interpretation of the Color Revolutions gave rise to a collective sense of external threat and prompted the Chinese regime to strengthen its coercive capacity. The result was the communist party's increased control over liberal and critical media, political activism, civil rights advocacy, and Sino-Western civil exchanges. The Chinese state's policy adaptations to the Color Revolutions attested to its long-term model of authoritarian developmentalism.

Keywords: East Asian politics, China, Communist parties, Color Revolutions

Party Institutionalization in Hong Kong

Jermain T. M. Lam (Associate Professor, City University of Hong Kong)

This article examines party institutionalization in Hong Kong in order to understand the development of political parties in a political system undergoing democratization. Party institutionalization is defined as the extent to which political parties develop a systematic set of mechanisms and structures that enable them to compete effectively for political power. By examining partisanship, autonomy, and the stability of political parties in Hong Kong, the author concludes that party institutionalization is still weak, although there are signs of progress. Constitutional constraints, structural factors, lack of public support, and the problem of adaptation pose serious obstacles in the party institutionalization process. Political parties, as one of the essential conditions for democratic consolidation, have brought a new page of democratic politics to Hong Kong. However, in terms of institutionalization, political parties in Hong Kong are far from mature, thereby limiting their impact on the democratization process.

Keywords: East Asian politics, Democracy – East Asia, Hong Kong, party institutionalization

The East Asian Economic Integration Regime and Taiwan

Chen-yuan Tung (Professor, National Chengchi University)

This article analyzes the impact of the East Asian economic integration regime on Taiwan's attractiveness as a destination for international investment as well as Taiwan's participation strategy. The results of the 1,019-sample questionnaire conducted for this study indicate that if Taiwan is excluded from East Asian economic integration agreements, 26 to 35 percent of the domestic and foreign enterprises included in the survey would reduce their investment in Taiwan. If Taiwan participates in an East Asian economic integration agreement, 23-37 percent of the enterprises would increase their investment in Taiwan. Thus, for the companies in the survey, the complete net investment effect of participation in the regime minus that of exclusion is between 49 and 72 percent. If Taiwan and China were to sign an economic integration agreement, 30-41 percent of the enterprises surveyed would increase their investment in Taiwan. Furthermore, the consensus among the enterprises in the survey is very clear and strong: Taiwan should give top priority to concluding economic integration agreements with China and the United States and any such agreements should preferably be comprehensive and multi-functional.

Keywords: Taiwan, East Asia, foreign investment in Asia, free trade agreement, economic integration

The Clash of Soft Powers Between China and Japan: Synergy and Dilemmas at the Six-Party Talks

Geun Lee (Associate Professor, Seoul National University)

This article argues that during the Six-Party Talks on North Korea, China adroitly used its diplomacy to produce “soft-power synergy” while Japan became stuck with a “soft-power dilemma.” Soft-power synergy refers to an outcome within which a success of an outward (foreign) soft-power strategy brings about simultaneous success of inward (domestic) soft-power strategy. On the other hand, soft-power dilemma denotes an outcome where a success of outward (or inward) soft-power strategy produces failure or negative influences in the inward (or outward) soft-power strategy. Borrowing from Robert Putnam’s two-level game metaphor, this article tries to reveal the two-level dynamics of soft power by developing a refined conceptual framework of soft power and also by explicating a case study of Chinese and Japanese diplomacy at the Six-Party Talks.

Keywords: East Asian security, China, Japan, soft power, Six-Party Talks

Humanitarian Programming in the DPRK, 1996 to 2009: The U.S. Administration and Congress

Karin J. Lee (Executive Director, National Committee on North Korea)

The United States government has contributed food aid to North Korea nearly every year since 1996. This article breaks down the assistance into three phases: the initial phase, when DPRK-U.S. tension began over the monitoring protocol; the second phase, with increasing congressional pressure to make further assistance contingent on improved monitoring; and the third phase, in which U.S. concerns over monitoring were partially addressed. The article explores various, possibly overlapping, explanations for U.S.-DPRK disagreement over monitoring protocols, such as different expectations and cultural learning curves. It concludes with recommendations for the U.S. government to explore food-security programming in the DPRK and to reconsider the laws and theories guiding U.S. aid to countries with which the United States does not have diplomatic relations. The article also draws from U.S. nongovernment organization programming in comparison with the U.S. government experience.

Keywords: Foreign aid in Asia, North Korea, North Korea-U.S. relations, NGO programs

The Evolution of Sino-North Korean Relations in the 1960s

Cheng Xiaohu (Assistant Professor, Renmin University)

The evolution of Sino-North Korean relations is an interesting historical phenomenon worth careful reexamination. The diplomatic documents recently declassified by the Chinese government shed new light on this old issue. Based on previous research and new information, the author finds that Sino-North Korean relations were closely related to Soviet-North Korean relations: The two sets of bilateral relations ran in opposite directions. Moreover, the rise and fall of North Korea's relations with China were determined by the political division on the Korean peninsula and Sino-Soviet polemics, and in the competition for influence between ideological and security concerns, the latter won out. Throughout, North Korea was not weak; it was in control of its relations with its two major allies.

Keywords: East Asian politics, North Korea-China relations, North Korea-Soviet Union relations

Commentary:

Three Failures of the Past, Three Structures of Peace

J. J. Suh (Associate Professor, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies)

Vol. 34, No. 3, 2010

China's Climate-Change Policy from Kyoto to Copenhagen: Domestic Needs and International Aspirations

Lichao He (Assistant Professor, Baylor University)

As global warming moves to the center stage of world politics, climate-change policies have evolved to become one of the key components of China's global strategy. In recent years, China has adopted a more proactive attitude toward climate-change mitigation, demonstrated by its domestic policies and role in international environmental negotiations, especially at the Copenhagen Conference. The cause of this policy change is the adjustments in China's grand national strategy. After three decades of rapid economic growth, the Chinese government wants to facilitate the transition of its development pattern at home and seeks more prestige and influence in the international arena. As a rising power, China sees the climate-change issue as a matter of global strategic importance and has adopted a double-pronged approach to maximize its national interests by balancing its domestic needs with its international aspirations. The negotiations about the post-Kyoto regimes present an

opportunity for China to exercise its power in creating rules and institutions on major global issues.

Keywords: China, East Asian politics, environmental protection – East Asia, climate change

The South China Sea Conflict and Sino-ASEAN Relations: A Study in Conflict Prevention and Peace Building

Mikael Weissmann (Research Fellow, Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

This article argues that the South China Sea (SCS) conflict has been a successful case of conflict prevention since the early 1990s, and in fact, that a transformation has occurred, from a fragile peace to a more stable peace. The article asks why there has been, and continues to be, relative peace in the SCS, despite the fact that many factors—as well as predictions by neo-realists and most U.S. policy analysts—point in the direction of military conflict. The findings show that the relative peace is the result of two interlinked categories of processes: elite interactions and regionalization. The former takes the form of Track 2 diplomacy and personal networks, while the latter is the outcome of the combined forces of Sino-ASEAN rapprochement and economic integration and interdependence. Here, China's acceptance of multilateralism and the ASEAN+3 process have been of foremost importance.

Keywords: China, ASEAN, East Asian security, territorial disputes, multilateralism

The Mekong Region, Regional Integration, and Political Rivalry among ASEAN, China and Japan

Hidetaka Yoshimatsu (Professor, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University)

Although the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, and Japan commonly recognize that development of the Mekong region is indispensable for achieving the smooth promotion of regional integration in East Asia, their approaches to this issue have been diverse and redundant. While ASEAN has exhibited interest in Mekong development since the mid-1990s, its members' commitments have showed significant disparity. The Chinese government has identified close links with the Mekong region as a key to advance political and economic linkages as well as to sustain the development of its underdeveloped southern areas. Japan's Mekong policy has shifted from developmental to geopolitical, combining formal institutions, financial resources, and normative ideas. Such a strategic orientation aims to balance China's growing influence by fostering direct political linkages with the Mekong countries. Weak coordination in approach to and interests in Mekong development has had negative impacts on institution building in East Asia.

ASEAN's limitation to coordinate development programs has undermined its credibility as the central body to advance institution building in the region. The different approaches of China and Japan have intensified rivalry on institution building in East Asia, disturbing the evolution of ASEAN+3 institutions in the development field.

Keywords: Southeast Asia, China, Japan, economic development, institution-building

Politics of Regionalism in East Asia: The Case of the East Asia Summit

Jae Cheol Kim (Professor, Catholic University of Korea)

The creation of the East Asia Summit (EAS) was once seen as a significant step forward in building a regional community in East Asia. Contrary to popular perception, however, the EAS has not contributed to forming the much-heralded regional community in the region. The EAS has not been able to reach its potential of becoming the key architecture for community building in East Asia due to disagreement and competition among regional countries that were triggered by China's withdrawal of support. This article explores the diplomatic dynamics that have shaped the evolution of the EAS, which has ended up simply coexisting and competing with the architecture it was originally planned to replace, the ASEAN Plus Three.

Keywords: East Asian politics, East Asia Summit, China, Japan, ASEAN

Governance and Policy Performance in Korea

Yeonho Lee (Associate Professor, Yonsei University), Yoojin Lim (Ph.D. Student, Yonsei University)

With the successful economic development of the East Asian tigers, it has been taken for granted that insulating the policy process from social influences results in better policy outcomes. However, empirical studies conducted since the 1990s on both developing and developed countries cast doubt on this assumption. Instead, good governance has emerged as an alternative to enhance the government's policy outcomes and engineer sustainable development, which is defined as the formal and informal institutions in which the state, market, and civil society form an egalitarian network to make and implement policies in a democratic and transparent manner. The three variables of the governance model—namely, social trust, local governance, and transparent and open policymaking—could enhance the policy process in the era of democratization. Using a case study of the Korean government's selection process for finding a radioactive waste repository site, the authors empirically show that the governance approach generates successful policy outcomes in the

era of democratization.

Keywords: Korea, developmental states, governance model, nuclear policy

Collaborative Governance in South Korea: Citizen Participation in Policy Making and Welfare Service Provision

Sunhyuk Kim (Professor, Korea University)

This article considers the theoretical significance of collaborative governance and analyzes its empirical examples in South Korea. In most industrialized democracies, collaborative governance is considered crucial to strengthening democracy and augmenting welfare. South Korean governments since 1987 have emphasized collaboration by implementing citizen participation in policy making and the provision of welfare services. As examples of citizen participation in policy making, the article examines direct democracy devices, participatory budgeting, the citizen jury system, and honorary auditors. As examples of collaborative welfare, the article reviews the Food Bank and Hope Start programs and the Local Councils on Social Welfare. The author concludes that the current government's relative inattention to collaborative governance should be rectified.

Keywords: South Korea, civil society, collaborative governance, welfare state

Document:

Memoirs of a Korean Ambassador: From Engagement to Entanglement Under Clinton and Bush

Sung Chul Yang (Chairman, Kim Dae Jung Peace Foundation)

Commentary:

The Time Has Come for a Treaty to Ban Weapons in Space

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Australian National University)

Vol. 34, No. 4, 2010

Seeking Political Reconciliation: Case Studies in Asia—Introduction

Mumin Chen (Associate Professor, National Chung Hsing University)

The Three Phases of Japan-China Joint-History Research: What Was the Challenge?

Kawashima Shin (Associate Professor, University of Tokyo)

In 2006 the Japanese and Chinese governments initiated a joint historical project to promote mutual understanding of World War II history. The primary purpose was to depoliticize the issue of historical recognition, and to promote mutual understanding in the spirit of “agree to disagree.” It can be said that both sides ultimately succeeded in this point. Yet the project remains incomplete, since the third stage of the research requires both sides to discuss and release research findings to the public. The Chinese government has consistently avoided doing so. As an outside contributor to this joint research, the author introduces how this intergovernmental history project was created and implemented at three levels—that of historians, then governments, and finally the media. New problems were created because of gaps in understanding between the Chinese and Japanese sides as well as communication problems at all three levels. One conclusion is that intergovernmental joint research may harden the shells of both sides’ national histories in the end, making it necessary to encourage private institutions to conduct research on historical recognition in the future.

Keywords: historical reconciliation, Japan-China relations, media and government, judicial court and reconciliation

Competing Narratives, Identity Politics, and Cross-Strait Reconciliation

Yinan He (Assistant Professor, Seton Hall University)

After nearly sixty years of political confrontation, hopes for cross-Taiwan Strait reconciliation have run high since the traditionally pro-unification Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang, KMT) returned to power in Taiwan in May 2008. However, obstacles to reconciliation remain daunting, due to a fundamental disjuncture between the ideological beliefs of the two sides, in particular because China and Taiwan still lack a shared memory of Taiwanese history that can serve as the foundation for their reconciliation. This article examines a wide variety of sources from Taiwan and China over recent decades. It illustrates their conspicuous memory gap over the history of the island. Cross-Strait reconciliation needs to begin with recognizing rather than ignoring or covering up the memory gap. Dialogue and joint studies should be carried out to better understand each other’s political perspective and emotional appeal associated with historical memory.

Keywords: cross-Taiwan Strait relations, historical memory, reconciliation, Chinese nationalism, Taiwanese nationalism

Taiwanese Identity and the Memories of 2-28: A Case for Political Reconciliation

Cheng-feng Shih (Professor, National Dong Hwa University), Mumin Chen (Associate Professor, National Chung Hsing University)

This article examines how the native Taiwanese identity has been formulated in the 20th century, and how this identity affects the relations between the native Taiwanese and Mainlander minorities. During the Kuomintang's (KMT) authoritarian rule on Taiwan, Mainlanders considered themselves distinct and enjoyed more privileges than the natives. The 2-28 Massacre of 1947 and the following oppressive policies toward the natives by the KMT regime reinforced the distrust and animosity between native Taiwanese and Mainlanders. This article finds that it is very difficult to achieve reconciliation and rebuild a common identity among all groups in Taiwan, as neither the KMT nor the following government of the Democratic Progressive Party was able to build a new Taiwanese identity on the basis of ethnic reconciliation. Yet efforts by both sides to uncover the truth and seek justice about the Massacre have made progress. Taiwan's attainment of "transitional justice" appears in the later part of the article.

Keywords: Taiwanese nationalism, national identity, 2-28 Massacre, transitional justice

Sunshine over a Barren Soil: The Domestic Politics of Engagement Identity Formation in South Korea

Jong Kun Choi (Assistant Professor, Yonsei University)

South Korea's "Sunshine" engagement policy during the Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun administrations (1998–2007) invited heated debates over the policy's ability to induce formidable changes within Pyongyang in terms of nuclear-weapons development and reconciliation on the Korean peninsula. Critics argued that Seoul's engagement policy would incubate Pyongyang's nuclear program, not hamper it. The policy also created coordination problems in the ROK-U.S. alliance and domestic political cleavages in South Korea. This article assesses the rationale behind South Korea's engagement policy, and argues that it initiated a politics of identity reformulation between Sunshine proponents and opponents. The two liberal administrations' Sunshine policy also contributed to changes in the South's role identity vis-a-vis North Korea by resetting the concept of national interest, the identity of North Korea, and alternative means to move away from a containment strategy. The article thus contends that the unit-level change in the state's role identity must go through a political struggle against the established security identity of a state.

Reconciliation through engagement in a protracted conflictual relationship has to successfully win out over the old idea of containment.

Keywords: inter-Korean relations, engagement/Sunshine policy, national identity formation, reconciliation, containment

Building China-India Reconciliation

Shen Dingli (Professor, Fudan University)

China and India have had largely peaceful relations over thousands of years. However, despite having long ago agreed to coexist on the basis of peaceful coexistence, border disputes have marred their relationship. More recently, the two countries have declared a strategic partnership and strengthened their economic interaction; but they suspect each other on a range of issues besides their border, such as the Dalai Lama, nuclear proliferation, and the policies of Pakistan and the United States. This article suggests ways to moderate Sino-Indian tensions by offering some non-realist approaches. It proposes peaceful coexistence as a higher priority than national sovereignty. It suggests how Beijing and New Delhi may forge a constructive partnership, a process they have already started.

Keywords: Sino-Indian relations, reconciliation, politics in East Asia, partnership

The India-Pakistan Dyad: A Challenge to the Rest or to Themselves?

Raviprasad Narayanan (Assistant Research Fellow, National Chengchi University)

No narrative on India and Pakistan relations, as post-colonial states, is complete without taking into account the ineptitude with which the colonial power (Britain) scuttled its responsibilities almost overnight and left in its wake two countries united only by their hatred for each other and divided by every other known variable. They continue to conduct their relations with each other through the narrow prisms of suspicion, hostility, hatred, and “otherness.” It could be argued that since their very coming into being was a violent event, their existence as independent entities would involve continued violence within “manageable” levels that does not succeed in breaking up the “other.” Apart from three and a half wars with each other, the India-Pakistan dyad is notorious for generating “near-war” scenarios repeatedly and for a vituperative relationship characterized by a perennial streak of crisis management. Adding a new dimension is the respective internal security problems faced by the dyad that threaten to undermine the legitimacy of both.

Keywords: India, Pakistan, nuclear weapons, terrorism, Kashmir, army, institution

Special Contribution:**Northeast Asia in the Multipolar World-System***Immanuel Wallerstein (Senior Research Scholar, Yale University)*

Vol. 35, No. 1, 2011

The US and East Asian Regional Security Architecture: Building a Regional Security Nexus on Hub-and-Spoke*Kei Koga (Ph.D. Candidate, Tufts University)*

The current East Asian strategic environment and US strategy toward the region reveal that the United States faces foreign policy problems that would diminish US influence in the long term. While establishing an East Asian regional security architecture would curtail such progression, its design needs to be considered due to political and military uncertainty caused by China's rise. In this context, the article compares the validity of five policy alternatives in terms of effectiveness, costs, risk, and uncertainty. The argument is that the United States, as the most pivotal player in East Asian security, needs to reconstruct its security strategy toward East Asia by establishing a "regional security nexus" that allows US allies to have more diplomatic autonomy in nurturing and building an open regional community while strengthening security ties with the United States.

Keywords: US East Asia policy, US-China relations, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, multilateral organizations

US Approaches to the Trade-Security Nexus in East Asia: From Securitization to Resecuritization*Min Gyo Koo (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)*

In this article I explore why US approaches to the trade-security nexus in postwar East Asia have unfolded in three critical stages: securitization, desecuritization, and resecuritization. During the Cold War, security considerations overshadowed America's economic interests in East Asia under the San Francisco alliance system. Yet two external shocks in the 1990s—the end of the Cold War and the outbreak of the Asian financial crisis—reversed the trend, placing economic considerations at the forefront of the trade-security nexus. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, trade was subordinated to security concerns. This analysis demystifies the realist illusion that the United States has always securitized its trade relations with East Asia. It also challenges the liberal

notion that closer economic interdependence has reduced the chances of military conflicts. The study concludes that the current resecuritization of America's trade relations with its East Asian allies stands on shaky ground and that the latest global economic slump is likely to further weaken the US effort to reconnect the ties between trade and security.

Keywords: East Asian security, US foreign policy in East Asia, September 11 terrorist attacks

North Korean Migrants: A Human Security Perspective

Woo-young Lee (Professor, University of North Korean Studies), Yuri Kim (Ph.D. Candidate, University of North Korean Studies)

The human security situation in North Korea is generally poor, with food security being a primary issue, resulting in a large number of migrants from the country. For those migrants who enter China, food security is somewhat improved, although at the cost of overall insecurity in one's everyday life. For those who enter South Korea, many problems are relieved, though new problems arise. Various agencies have implemented often-conflicting plans based around the central discourse of "human rights" to address the issue of North Korean migrants. However, the concept of human security seems equally appropriate. If the many stakeholders and agents involved share the responsibility for the larger purpose of building cooperative governance, placing importance on the North Korean migrants themselves for the ultimate goal of understanding the threat and suffering they have experienced, it will allow for a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of the issue, and improve North Korean migrants' human security in a more substantial and meaningful way.

Keywords: North Korea, human rights in East Asia, human security, nongovernmental programs

The "State of the State" in Reform-Era China

Qinghua Wang (Assistant Professor, Shanghai University of Finance & Economics)

Since the early 1990s, studies on the transformation of the post-Mao state have increasingly approached the issue from local perspectives and attacked national-level state studies. A counterbalance to this trend, this article draws on the broader social sciences literature about the state and contends that national-level state studies will remain a valuable part of the China field, despite acknowledging local state studies' critique of national-level studies for their failure to disaggregate the "state" concept. This article proposes an analytical template that regards the Chinese Communist Party's state transformation

efforts as proceeding along the two dimensions of “structure” and “modes of governance,” each of which are explored from several aspects. The article is intended to provide a broad-brush portrayal of state transformation in reform-era China, including the achievements, limitations, and implications of this transformation. It also assesses the current state of China studies.

Keywords: China, communist parties, political reform in China, local politics in China

Role of Political Leadership in the Formation of Korea-Japan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era

Hosup Kim (Professor; Chung-Ang University)

The variables defining Korean-Japanese relations can be categorized into those pertaining to structural elements and those related to leaders. Optimists and pessimists emphasize structural factors when addressing post-Cold War relations. Pessimists say that changes in structural elements such as the post-Cold War global system are the cause of Korea and Japan drifting apart. Optimists stress another structural factor: their shared political system. But the role of the political leadership, to which neither optimists nor pessimists directly refer, is crucial in the short term in turning historical issues into diplomatic conflicts. Issues in the past relations of the two neighbors have not always become thorny diplomatic controversies, nor have they always prevailed in the links between the two countries. Relations between Korea and Japan are highly likely to expand in an amicable way as long as their leaders manage topics surrounding the past in a manner that prevents them from triggering diplomatic disputes.

Keywords: South Korea-Japan relations, East Asian politics, political leadership

New Media and Political Socialization of Teenagers: The Case of the 2008 Candlelight Protests in Korea

Seongyi Yun (Professor; Kyunghee University), Woo Young Chang (Assistant Professor; Catholic University of Daegu)

In this study, we examine the political socialization of teenagers by focusing on the 2008 Candlelight Protests in Korea, with particular emphasis on the implication of technological variables of modern society—in this case, new media. In the 2008 protests, we find that the protests were triggered by online communities (known as cafés in Korea) for, in part, the purposes of entertainment and amusement. The leading actors were middle and high school students; participation at both personal and organizational levels supplemented each other to amplify the impact of the protests. Survey results

reveal the Internet as a primary tool that teenagers use to obtain political information, organize, and mobilize. As well, females were more aggressive in their participation, as found from the differences in Internet usage trends between teenage girls and boys. This case illuminates the potential of new media in bringing revolutionary change to the political socialization patterns of teenagers.

Keywords: East Asian politics, South Korea, political socialization, new media, political participation

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East Asian Peacemaking: Exploring the Patterns of Conflict Management and Conflict Settlement in East Asia

Isak Svensson (Associate Professor, Uppsala University)

There is an emerging academic debate on what has been called the “East Asian Peace”—the relative peacefulness of the East Asian region since 1979. In this study I develop a critical argument that aspires to clarify what the “peace” in East Asia is. Distinguishing conflict management from conflict settlement I argue that the East Asian Peace has played out quite differently in different types of conflicts. What has changed, I contend, is not the frequency of armed conflicts but rather how the armed conflict has been managed. Military interventions have substantially decreased, whereas internal armed conflicts have actually slightly increased since 1979. Peace agreements have become less common, while conflict termination through cease-fires and low activity has increased. Internal armed conflicts with low-level foreign involvement remain an acute security problem in East Asia. This article describes the empirical trends and discusses the implications for further research.

Keywords: East Asian security, armed conflict, conflict management, conflict settlement

Mao Zedong’s Erroneous Decision During the Korean War: China’s Rejection of the UN Cease-fire Resolution in Early 1951

Shen Zhihua (Professor, East China Normal University), Yafeng Xia (Associate Professor, Long Island University)

Previous studies of the Korean War have given much attention to the armistice negotiations that started in July 1951. Little has been written of the peacemaking efforts between the time of China’s entry into the war in October 1950 and the

creation of the United Nations cease-fire resolution in early January 1951. Relying on Chinese, Russian, and US archival sources, in particular Mao Zedong's recently published military papers and Chinese foreign ministry archives, this article examines China's views and policies toward the UN resolution. It argues that Mao made an erroneous decision not to accept the UN resolution in January 1951. Because of the mistake, China completely lost its advantage on the Korean battlefield and in the international arena.

Keywords: China, Korean War, Mao Zedong, Chinese foreign policy in Korea

The Change of Public Opinion on US-China Relations

Qingshan Tan (Professor, Cleveland State University)

US-China relations recently have gone through ups and downs. I examine changes in public opinion that underpin the constrained relationship. In fact, public perceptions and media both in China and in the United States are increasingly critical of the relationship. Why has such a shift of opinion on the bilateral relationship occurred? What are the implications for policymaking of the change in public opinion? I seek to answer these questions by examining the way the issue of rising China affects public views and the role of mass media in shaping public perceptions of US-China relations. My argument is that the change in public opinion presents a challenge to policymakers in both countries, since they need to promote further cooperation and accommodation not only at the intergovernmental level but also at the public level.

Keywords: US-China relations, public opinion, mass media

US Policy Toward Rogue States: Comparing the Bush Administration's Policy Toward Iraq and North Korea

Jaechun Kim (Professor, Sogang University), David Hundt (Senior Lecturer, Deakin University)

The George W. Bush administration resorted to war to respond to the threat of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, whereas it virtually ruled out the use of force to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue. By utilizing various strands of realist international relations theories, we trace motivations behind the administration's divergent foreign-policy choices toward rogue states. That the United States rushed to war against Iraq while procrastinating on North Korea presents a puzzle to conventional realism, which postulates that great powers observe changes in relative capabilities and respond accordingly. We argue that policy differences should be embedded in discussion of the administration's foreign-policy grand strategy, which sought to sustain the hegemonic status of the United States in the world. Iraq and North Korea had different implications for Bush's grand strategy,

thereby calling for different approaches. By tracing the strategic design of the Bush administration, we attempt to provide a more complete account of policy differences toward rogue states, as well as indicate the significant changes in US policy during the George W. Bush administration and since.

Keywords: US foreign policy, George W. Bush administration, North Korea, Iraq, rogue states

Trade Regionalism in a Realist East Asia: Rival Visions and Competitive Bilateralism

Gregory P. Corning (Associate Professor, Santa Clara University)

This article explores the ways in which trade bilateralism, the Sino-Japanese rivalry, and cross-regional free-trade agreements (FTAs) could push East Asia closer to an FTA among China, Japan, and South Korea. Bilateral FTAs may not advance regionalism in a coherent way, but as the stalemate continues between regional visions championed by China and Japan, they will shape the path along which any regional agreements might develop. Bilateral FTAs are a more important force in pushing Asia toward regionalism than negotiations for a China-Japan-Korea FTA or an FTA involving those countries and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Reflecting the strategic nature of FTA competition in Asia, the cross-regional FTAs that South Korea has negotiated with the European Union and the United States are two of the most important factors moving Northeast Asia in this direction.

Keywords: Asian trade, Northeast Asia, free-trade agreement, regionalism, bilateralism

“Blatant Discrimination Disappears, But...”: The Politics of Everyday Exclusion in Contemporary Japan

Bumsoo Kim (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

Focusing on the experience of the Korean minority in Japan (zainichi Koreans), this article demonstrates that exclusionary practices against ethnic minorities persist in everyday life in subtle and covert forms although blatant discrimination against them has significantly disappeared. The article examines the current situation of zainichi Koreans and traces how they have been treated in Japan. On the basis of interviews, it is apparent that exclusionary practices against zainichi Koreans persist in everyday interpersonal interactions. The forms of exclusion are very difficult to remedy by legal/institutional measures, leading to the conclusion that a more fundamental change is needed to solve the problem.

Keywords: Japan, Korean minority in Japan, everyday exclusion, discrimination, racism

Vol. 35, No. 3, 2011

Sixty Years After the San Francisco Treaty: Its Legacy on Territorial and Security Issues in East Asia

Youngshik D. Bong (Senior Researcher, Asan Institute for Policy Studies)

The three articles that follow use the insights of historical institutionalism to analyze the complex nature of the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty and examine its legacy for East Asian regional security. The perceived and actual imbalance between the capacity of regional security arrangements and the growing challenges of new threats has prompted calls for a new “San Francisco system.” Identifying the historical roots that have hampered the adaptive transformation of the San Francisco system is a sensible basis for research in search of alternatives, as the three articles on the subject richly and persuasively illustrate.

Keywords: San Francisco Peace Treaty, regional security in East Asia, historical institutionalism

The San Francisco System: Contemporary Meaning and Challenges

Leszek Buszynski (Visiting Fellow, Australian National University)

This article subjects the notion of the San Francisco system to critical scrutiny. It identifies the origins, evolution, and various meanings attributed to the term. In its original sense it meant the Northeast Asian security order that was based on the US-Japan alliance. The argument here is that its current meaning as a comprehensive system of security was a later accretion and cannot be supported by the facts. The article then analyzes the contemporary challenges to the system as understood in its original meaning, examining the consequences for the system of a rising China and arguing that since the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands clash between Japan and China in September 2010, the US-Japan alliance has been strengthened. China’s actions have made the alliance more important for Japan, and the system will continue.

Keywords: San Francisco system, US alliances, Northeast Asia, China, Japan, Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands

Development of Japan's Historical Memory: The San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Murayama Statement in Future Perspective

Kazuhiko Togo (Professor, Kyoto Sangyo University)

How a nation fights a war, and loses it, then forms an understanding of historical memory is a matter of great complexity. This article analyzes the postwar evolution of historical memory in Japan. The San Francisco Peace Treaty, and its acceptance of the judgment given by the Allies' tribunal, was a major event in shaping Japan's understanding and memory of World War II. But the Japanese had to go through their own process of self-recognition and understanding of the effect of their deeds in other countries. This culminated in the 1995 statement of Prime Minister Murayama. Although that statement played a key role in promoting government-to-government reconciliation, it resulted in a backlash in conservative politics. Japan is now at the third stage of identifying the next path in responding to its historical responsibility and at the same time contributing to the creation of a more integrated East Asian regional framework.

Keywords: San Francisco Peace Treaty, war crimes, Tokyo Trials, Japanese postwar politics

Dokdo: The San Francisco Peace Treaty, International Law on Territorial Disputes, and Historical Criticism

Seokwoo Lee (Professor, Inha University Law School)

The San Francisco Peace Treaty is constitutive, and some of its provisions have an effect *erga omnes* (rights or obligations toward all). But its territorial clause does not purport to define Korea's boundaries in any detail and does not mention Dokdo, a group of some ninety islets in the East Sea, or Sea of Japan, that are contested by Korea and Japan. In determining what course of action should be taken in light of this development, a study of the status and connotation of these words in modern international law must be rooted in an approach to the Korean territorial dispute in contrast to an approach based on a formalistic reading of the peace treaty. The term "historical criticism approach," which appeared in a recent judgment of the International Court of Justice, is an encouraging indicator. International lawyers should be inspired to employ this approach when dealing with territorial issues that involve Korea.

Keywords: San Francisco Peace Treaty, Dokdo (Tokdo/Takeshima) dispute, International Court of Justice, international law, East Asia territorial disputes

Explaining the Central Asian Energy Game: Complex Interdependence and How Small States Influence Their Big Neighbors

Jean A. Garrison (Professor, University of Wyoming), Ahad Abdurahmonov (Project Coordinator, University of Wyoming)

Dominant voices in the energy security debate describe the competition for energy resources as a zero-sum, realist game that will lead to future resource wars among prominent system-shaping states. However, the complex set of interlinked political, economic, and security issues that make up energy security involves “big” and “small” states. Complex interdependence provides a different lens to view power in situational and relational terms and thus a more comprehensive way to measure a state’s potential influence. This article examines the foreign-policy behavior of energy-rich “small” states in Central Asia, specifically Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, in the context of their “big” neighbors, particularly Russia and China. The goal is to begin to explain the energy dynamic within Central Asia and the bargaining process that is reshaping Central Asia’s interlinked political, economic, and security relationships.

Keywords: energy security, complex interdependence, Central Asia, China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan

Theorizing ASEAN Integration

Min-hyung Kim (Assistant Professor, Illinois Wesleyan University)

This article proposes a theory that the strategic preferences of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members should be a key variable in explaining the ASEAN integration process over the last four decades. ASEAN integration will not progress as rapidly and substantially as many of its leaders claim unless there are remarkable developments in factors that affect the underlying preferences of ASEAN states, such as a significant increase in intra-ASEAN trade and investment, a much stronger pressure from domestic businesses for deeper integration, or external shocks that threaten the region’s economic growth. While the progressive path of European integration illustrates that an independent and strong supranational institution is necessary to handle the complex processes of regional integration, the strategic-preference theory of ASEAN integration presented here predicts that this will not be the top policy priority of its leaders in the near future.

Keywords: ASEAN integration, domestic politics, economic interdependence, international relations theories, strategic preferences

“Chindia” or Rivalry? Rising China, Rising India, and Contending Perspectives on India-China Relations

Vincent Wei-cheng Wang (Professor, University of Richmond)

Whether and how India and China manage their futures as rising powers will critically shape international relations in the twenty-first century. These two countries demonstrate sharp contrasts in terms of their political systems, economic models, and social structures, despite their common aspirations for greater stature on the world stage. They have also maintained a very complex relationship that is weighed down by history but also offers promising opportunities in an era of globalization. While the implications for the rise of China have been widely debated, scant scholarly attention has been devoted to the rise of India or to how these two Asian great powers perceive each other's ascendancy. This article examines the key factors influencing India-China relations, including territorial disputes, mutual threat perception and alignment patterns, and economic partnership and competition. It categorizes Indian elites' perspectives on the rise of China in three paradigms: geopolitical, geoeconomic, and geocivilizational. It ends with a discussion of the possible scenarios of future India-China relations.

Keywords: India, China, Chindia, rise of China, rise of India, geopolitics, geoeconomics, geocivilizations, comprehensive national power

Toward a Multistakeholder Model of Foreign Policy Making in Korea? Big Business and Korea-US Relations

Chi-Wook Kim (Assistant Professor, University of Ulsan)

Taking the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA) as a case study, I examine the influence of Korean big business in shaping Korea-US relations. For more than a half century, the ROK-US alliance has played a safety-pin role in preserving peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. However, the KORUS FTA has been a catalyst for building a new version of the alliance. While many studies on Korean foreign policy have centered solely on the roles of state actors, the democratization and pluralization of the foreign policy making process has made a multistakeholder model more relevant in explaining Korea's decisions. From that perspective, the article investigates the influence of big business in Korea on promoting the KORUS FTA and transforming the bilateral alliance. Based upon various internal and external policy networks, the major Korean business associations played advocacy and educational roles in advancing the new economic and security alliance with the United States.

Keywords: Korea-US relations, free trade agreement (FTA), ROK-US alliance, foreign policy making, multistakeholder model, business networks

Vol. 35, No. 4, 2011

Building Security in Space: A Brief Introduction

Peter Van Ness (Visiting Fellow, Australian National University)

Security in Space: What Is at Stake and How Do We Move Forward?

Laura Grego (Scientist, Union of Concerned Scientists)

In recent decades, satellites have become increasingly important in the economic, civil, and military spheres. At the same time, space has become more crowded with satellites and the debris from their use, and many more states have become spacefaring. However, the legal and normative regime has not kept pace with these changes. Recent trends and events—including demonstrations of antisatellite (ASAT) capability, a collision between satellites, and a dramatic increase in dangerous space debris—make clear that the space environment needs more protection, that satellites face growing risks, and that space activities may be a potential source of mistrust and tension between countries. While voluntary confidence-building and transparency measures can help solve some of these issues, more substantive engagement is required to keep space safe and secure into the future.

Keywords: space security, antisatellite capability, space debris, international security

A Collaborative China-US Approach to Space Security

Dingli Shen (Professor, Fudan University)

China and the United States have developed a complex relationship. Facing common threats such as missile proliferation and regional instability, they tend to collaborate for mutual benefit. However, the two countries have hedged against each other for their respective national interests, often acting so as to reinforce each other's negative security perceptions. Their security dynamism in missile defense and antisatellite (ASAT) operations has furthered their mutual distrust. This article addresses their security dilemmas by suggesting that China and the United States take a more trusting view of each other's missile defense program, whether at the research and development stage or at deployment. They must develop such systems in an approach of mutual reassurance, allowing a degree of reciprocal vulnerability in order to avoid an arms race. An interim partial space security arrangement is also proposed here, namely, a limited ASAT ban for satellite security in outer space, to soothe respective security concerns and meet each country's present need.

Keywords: space security, China-US relations, missile defense, ASAT weapons

The Space Debris Problem

Shenyan Chen (Professor, Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics)

Near-Earth orbits are becoming congested as a result of an increase in the number of objects in space—operational satellites as well as orbital space debris. The risk of collisions between satellites and space debris is also growing. Controlling the production of debris is crucial to the sustainable use of space. This article presents background information on space debris, including number, size, spatial distribution, source, and the threat to satellites. It also discusses international efforts to control the debris population, including the development of debris mitigation measurements, active removal of space debris, and space traffic management.

Keywords: space debris, collision risk, debris mitigation

What Drives the Development of US Missile Defense and Space-Based Weapons? The Role of US Domestic Interest Groups

Rex Wingerter (Independent Scholar)

Whereas much attention is devoted to negotiating norms and formal agreements for the peaceful use of outer space, domestic factors that push for the development of space-based weapons receive minimal attention. Despite serious doubt about the effectiveness of missile defense and the technical feasibility of space-based weapons, the United States has spent well over \$130 billion on research and development of them, including at least \$10 billion currently. This article examines four domestic drivers that may explain why such investment persists: the defense perspective and ideology of the Republican Party; the belief that US satellites may require space-based protective weapons; the huge investment of the military contractor corporations, including their efforts to influence legislation and cultivate contacts; and the private advocacy groups that support US military domination of space. A number of countervailing drivers exist to mitigate against development of these weapons, with perhaps the most powerful factor restraining space-based weapons development being their wildly high costs.

Keywords: US politics, missile defense, space-based weapons

Global Missile Defense Cooperation and China

Wu Riqiang (Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, Stanford University)

US-Russia ballistic missile defense (BMD) cooperation can improve strategic stability between both countries, but this cooperation would pose a potential threat

to China's strategic security, especially if it is a closed and deep cooperation. The United States and Russia should make their bilateral cooperation an open regime, and let China and other countries join, so that improvement of US-Russia strategic stability is not based on the sacrifice of strategic stability with China and other countries. China and the United States may also cooperate on BMD in areas of early warning and mutual launch notification. The security costs of these cooperative measures are very low, and the benefits would improve stability, confidence, and mutual trust. Finally, BMD cooperation between the United States and its East Asian allies (Japan and Taiwan) is threatening Sino-US strategic stability. The United States could improve Chinese confidence by increasing transparency about and limiting the performance of BMD systems.

Keywords: ballistic missile defense, US-Russia relations, China, East Asian security

Chinese and US Kinetic Energy Space Weapons and Arms Control

Mark A. Gubrud (Adjunct Assistant Professor, University of North Carolina)

A number of gaps divide reality from perception concerning the kinetic energy ballistic missile defense and antisatellite (ASAT) weapons developed, tested, and possessed by the United States and China. This article explains the equivalence of these supposedly distinct classes of weaponry, and reviews the diplomatic history surrounding recent Chinese and US tests of them, particularly in the light of recent WikiLeaks revelations. The inadequacy of arms-control proposals that would address only the testing or use of these weapons as ASATs is discussed, and a more substantive proposal is offered that emerged in a recent meeting between Chinese and US arms-control analysts.

Keywords: antisatellite weapons, arms control, ballistic missile defense, Chinese military, WikiLeaks

An International Relations Perspective on the Science, Politics, and Potential of an Extraterrestrial Sino-US Arms Race

Gregory J. Moore (Associate Professor, Zhejiang University)

This article brings an international relations perspective to the discussion of the science and policy of avoiding a Sino-US arms race in space. A blind adherence to realist and space nationalist assumptions, without considering alternative approaches such as the policy options offered here, will likely doom China and the United States to a long, expensive, and potentially dangerous arms race in space for decades to come.

Keywords: US-China relations, arms control, space security, Chinese military, international relations, East Asian security

Vol. 36, No. 1, 2012

China's Macroeconomic Response to the Global Recession: Ideational Sources and Substantive Contents

Albert S. Yee (Professor, Colgate University)

Confronted with a looming global recession in 2008–2009, Chinese policymakers quickly concurred on a multipronged package of fiscal, monetary, household, and social remedies. No doubt, crisis exigencies and an authoritarian political system contributed to their prompt convergence on this policy response. However, to more fully and accurately explain the substantive content and macroeconomic logic of this quick policy concurrence, an alternative ideational explanation is needed. This article delineates one such explanation. Chinese policymakers quickly concurred on their package response because epistemologically receptive and knowledgeable technocrats, equipped with operational experience and institutional capacity, diagnosed their predicament and pursued logically appropriate remedies, in accordance with a policy paradigm of macroeconomic fundamentals.

Keywords: China, global recession, macroeconomics, economic ideas, policy paradigm, logic of appropriateness

Is the Poor Quality of Chinese Civic Awareness Preventing Democracy in China? A Case Study of Zeguo Township

Zhenhua Su (Associate Professor, Zhejiang University), Junjie Le (Associate Professor, Zhejiang University), Yongjing Zhang (Assistant Professor, Midwestern State University), Jun Ma (Assistant Professor, University of Alabama)

A prevailing view in China is that the country cannot democratize because of the poor quality of the populace with respect to “citizen quality,” or civic awareness. This viewpoint lacks empirical support in relevant case studies and databases. This article focuses on a case study conducted using the deliberative polling process in Zeguo Township, Zhejiang Province, to determine whether citizen quality influences the effectiveness of local democratic action. We find that during the group democratic deliberation, factors such as participants’ education, age, and career do not bear significantly on the success of democratic deliberation. Democratic deliberation can improve the civic knowledge of the public, public spiritedness, and civic participation, all of which facilitate the effectiveness of deliberation and the development of trust in the government.

Keywords: democracy in East Asia, China, deliberative polling, citizen quality

Private-Sector Networks, Democracy, and Interstate Relations: A Case Study of South Korea and Taiwan

Uk Heo (Professor, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee), Hayam Kim (Graduate Student, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee)

Since South Korea and Taiwan established diplomatic ties in August 1948, the relationship between Seoul and Taipei has gradually expanded through public channels and private-sector networks. However, South Korea's normalization of relations with China in 1992 led Taiwan to sever its formal ties with South Korea. Nevertheless, Seoul and Taipei expanded their economic and cultural private-sector exchanges. What made this possible? We argue that the private-sector networks developed through economic and cultural exchanges enhanced national interests, which explains why the two governments facilitated expansion of their informal ties. Although the importance of personal networks has been studied in the context of intergovernmental organization memberships, there is a void in the literature on how private-sector networks may affect foreign relations. Thus, this study sheds light on the effects of private-sector networks on interstate relationships.

Keywords: democracy in East Asia, private-sector networks, South Korea, Taiwan

Between Aid and Restriction: The Soviet Union's Changing Policies on China's Nuclear Weapons Program, 1954–1960

Zhihua Shen (Professor, East China Normal University), Yafeng Xia (Associate Professor, Long Island University)

Based on newly available Chinese and Russian archival documents and oral histories, this article examines the origins and evolution of Soviet policies concerning China's nuclear weapons program from 1954 to 1960. The article argues that Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev consented only to assist China in developing nuclear energy in 1954 only because he needed Mao's support in a domestic political struggle. But the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1958 unnerved the Russians, leading Khrushchev in June 1959 to rescind his promise to deliver a teaching model A-bomb to the Chinese. By August 1960 all Soviet specialists working on China's nuclear weapons program were recalled. Nonetheless, the Soviet aid laid the foundation for China's fledgling nuclear industry.

Keywords: China's nuclear program, Soviet aid, Sino-Soviet relations

From the Secret “Korean Minute” to the Open “Korea Clause”: The United States and Japan and the Security of the Republic of Korea

Dong-jun Lee (Humanities Korea Research Professor, Korea University)

Using a historical approach based on newly declassified materials, I attempt to explain the correlation or contradiction between the open “Korea Clause” of 1969 and the secret “Korean Minute” of 1960, both of which were issued by the US-Japan alliance regarding the security of the Republic of Korea (ROK). The existing literature has emphasized the Korea Clause in explaining the Japanese commitment to the security of the ROK and the Japan-ROK military connection. However, I argue that the Korea Clause was merely political rhetoric initiated by Japan to neutralize the written Korean Minute. One of the key aims of US military policy toward Northeast Asia was to secure a free hand in using US forces and bases in Japan. In this context, the Korean Minute backed by the authority of the United Nations legalized the right of US forces to carry out sorties without prior consultation with the Japanese government in case of a Korean crisis. While Japan attempted to terminate the Korean Minute by politicizing it, the United States adopted a stance of benign neglect against it, especially by maintaining the United Nations Command. The Korean Minute remains valid today, and the US- Japan-ROK triangle continues to function legally based on it.

Keywords: Korean Minute, Korea Clause, United Nations Command, US-Japan-ROK security relations

Organizing International Security in Northeast Asia: Hegemony, Concert of Powers, and Collective Security

Byeong Cheol Mun (Researcher, Seoul National University)

Compared with the first North Korean nuclear crisis in the mid-1990s, the second North Korean nuclear crisis of the early 2000s reveals very different features. The second crisis led to dialogues on how to manage a regional security issue. Moreover, the crisis underwent three diverse phases that can be used to test the assumptions behind three models of security studies: hegemony, concert of powers, and collective security. This analysis of the North Korean case demonstrates ways of organizing regional security in Northeast Asia in the post-Cold War era and thus examines whether certain historical phases of the second North Korean nuclear crisis can be categorized into and explained by these different security models.

Keywords: Six-Party Talks, North Korea, hegemony, concert of powers, collective security

Vol. 36, No. 2, 2012

Introduction: South Korea-China Relations*Jae Ho Chung (Professor; Seoul National University)***Embracing the Complexities in China-ROK Relations: A View from China***Chen Zhimin (Professor; Fudan University)*

China's relations with the Republic of Korea have undergone twenty years of remarkable development since the two countries established formal diplomatic relations in 1992. Since the political relationship was upgraded to a "strategic partnership" in 2008, with ever-deepening economic interdependence and intensive societal exchanges, the two countries have entered a new and more complicated stage. The ROK's closer economic relationship with China is now coupled with a closer security alliance with the United States, while intensified societal exchange is being accompanied by the decline of positive feelings in Sino-Korean mutual perceptions. While the two sides have been able to manage the fallout of the Cheonan and Yeonpyeong tragedies in 2010, greater efforts are needed to place the relationship on a solid basis in the context of China's rise and the ROK's desire to find a larger international role for itself.

Keywords: China's rise, South Korea's foreign policy, US-ROK alliance, China-Korea economic relations, North-South Korea relations

Korean Views of Korea-China Relations: Evolving Perceptions and Upcoming Challenges*Jae Ho Chung (Professor; Seoul National University)*

Twenty years after diplomatic normalization in 1992, Korea-China relations have become more interdependent, complex, and conflict-ridden. In spite of ever-growing economic interactions, South Korea now views China as a source of concern with respect to its economy and security. The China-South Korean history controversy and the disillusionment in the midst of the Cheonan sinking and the Yeon-pyeong Island shelling further contributed to the rise of such concern. As the interactions grow in the future, South Korea and China will face challenges in seven areas: trade/commercial frictions, historical disputes, clashes of values and norms, North Korea's nuclear weapons, the Korea-US alliance, territorial disputes, and Korean reunification.

Keywords: Korea-China relations, history controversy, Cheonan sinking, Yeonpyeong shelling, North Korea, Korea-US alliance, reunification

Economic and Trade Relations as an Arena of Korea-China Contention*Si Joong Kim (Professor, Sogang University)*

Korea and China have maintained cordial economic relations for the past twenty years based on remarkable expansion of trade and investment flows. However, some disputes in the economic and trade arena have occurred, a few of which escalated to a serious level. This article examines the overall picture of these bilateral disputes, focusing on their causes and effects. The discussion extends to predicting the future prospects of the disputes based on the changing nature of the bilateral economic relations. In particular, disputes regarding product safety, restructuring of bilateral trade and investment, technology transfer, and a China-Korea Free Trade Agreement are identified as potential areas of future conflict.

Keywords: Korea-China economic relations, economic/trade disputes, trade remedy, economic dependence

History as an Arena of Sino-Korean Conflict and the Role of the United States*Gilbert Rozman (Musgrave Professor, Princeton University)*

During 2009–2011, Chinese writings on South Korea and the history of the Korean nation grew more somber in tone. They widened the national identity gap at the same time the gap was being widened with the United States and Japan. Views of successive periods grew more negative. Chinese authors wrote that Koreans should take back with gratitude rather than resentment at having been China's neighbor in premodern times. They sided with North Korea and Roh Moo-hyun in their stress on insufficient South Korean vigilance in dealing with collaborators and the legacy of Japan's occupation. Mainstream Chinese coverage of the Korean War ignores who invaded and why in order to emphasize the US entry into the war as an imperialist aggressor and China's just involvement. The legacy of the anticommunism of the Cold War era is deemed to persist after both the democratization of South Korea and the normalization with China that followed. Thus, history pervades Chinese writings on South Korea. North Korea fares much better by comparison.

Keywords: Korea-China relations, Korean War, China-North Korea relations, historical memory

Ieodo as Metaphor? The Growing Importance of Sovereignty Disputes in South Korea-China Relations and the Role of the United States

Scott W. Harold (Associate Political Scientist, RAND Corporation)

Territorial sovereignty disputes are taking on increasing importance for South Korea-China relations over the past decade as concerns about regime stability in China and North Korea deepen, as Chinese foreign policy becomes more assertive, and as South Korea reacts to these developments. Analyzing such disputes is important for understanding how the bilateral relationship is evolving. Some of these disagreements also have implications for the US-Republic of Korea relationship.

Keywords: South Korea, China, North Korea, Koguryo, Gando Convention, refugees, border agreements, exclusive economic zones, Ieodo, fishing disputes, US-ROK alliance

The Korea-US Alliance from a Chinese Perspective

Keyu Gong (Associate Professor, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies)

The ROK-US alliance has warmed up since Lee Myung-bak came to power and has strengthened since the Cheonan and Yeonpyeong Island incidents. The ROK-US alliance has actually been updated to a multifaceted strategic alliance, since the alliance is becoming stronger, broader, more comprehensive, and strategic. While the ROK and the United States stress the potential benefits the alliance will bring for the peninsula, the region, and the world, the Chinese side only perceives the potential threats, damage, and challenges.

Keywords: ROK-US alliance, multifaceted strategic alliance, Korean peninsula, China

The Korea-US Alliance as a Source of Creeping Tension: A Korean Perspective

Hyon Joo Yoo (Assistant Professor, Trinity University)

South Korea's alliance strategies for the past several years have demonstrated that Seoul has a strong desire to maintain the US-South Korean alliance and to accommodate the US requests to transform the alliance. The Korean government accepted the flexible use of US forces in Korea and increased cooperation with the United States in developing antimissile shields. South Korea's strategic choices have derived from the precarious situation on the Korean peninsula and the North Korean threat. Although the convergence of security interests between China and South Korea works against the transformation of the US alliance. North Korea's provocations stimulate South Korea's desire to maintain the alliance and limit

the ability of South Korea to refuse the US requests.

Keywords: US-ROK alliance, ROK-North Korea relations, China's interests in Korea

Vol. 36, No. 3, 2012

Generation Effects? An Empirical Analysis of the Korean National Assembly and Presidential Elections

Jinman Cho (Full-time Lecturer, Duksung Women's University), Kihong Eom (Assistant Professor, Kyungpook National University)

Generation has played a role in Korean elections, especially since the democratization movement of 1987. In this article, we unify the concept of generation effects to produce two dimensions (the aging effect and the cohort effect), and examine whether these have been embodied in Korean elections. Analysis of survey data for two presidential elections and three National Assembly elections reveals that the importance of generation effects is somewhat exaggerated. For the 2002 and 2007 presidential elections we find that generation had a significant effect on the former but not on the latter. Neither aging effect nor cohort effect had a significant influence on voter choice in any of the National Assembly elections. Even in the 2002 presidential election, in which generation effects are statistically meaningful, their substantive importance is minor compared to that of ideology. We conclude that, with regard to Korean politics, debating the political implications of generation effects is premature.

Keywords: Korean politics, generation, aging effect, cohort effect, multinomial logit model

The Chinese Government's Responses to Use of the Internet

Eunju Chi (Research Professor, Korea University)

This article examines the effect of the Internet on politics in China. Specifically, it suggests that the relationship between the Internet and political change in China is conditioned by the government's strategic responses based on the national interest. Research regarding the effect of the Internet on politics in China needs to take into account the government's responses to diverse types of online issues, here categorized under politics, society, and nationalism. The article examines how the Chinese government's responses vary by issue type. The two existing theories—mobilization theory and reinforcement theory—do not offer sufficient explanation of the Chinese government's responses to specific issues.

Keywords: Internet in China, online participation, mobilization theory, reinforcement theory, nationalism in China

China's Korea Experts: A Network Analysis

Sangkuk Lee (Associate Research Fellow, Korea Institute for Defense Analyses)

China's intellectuals in the reform era have had significant impact on the country's foreign policy. The existing literature, however, shows a lack of interest in these experts' community, even though it is important in policy formation. This article investigates the foreign-policy community, particularly the one that focuses on the Korean peninsula, from the perspective of structure and agents. Specifically, it examines which experts play a role in producing China's discourses and to what extent, and how the experts' relationships have shaped the community. This study is conducted utilizing social-network analysis based on the experts' citations. The article points to the implications for interpreting the structure of China's policy discourses.

Keywords: China foreign policy, knowledge community, China-Korea relations, social-network analysis, citation network

Ethnic Networking in the Transnational Engagement of Chinese American Scientists

Xiao-e Sun (Postdoctoral Researcher, Xi'an Jiaotong University), Yanjie Bian (Professor, University of Minnesota)

This study, based on in-depth interviews, applies a social-network approach to examining the important role that ethnic networking has played in promoting the transnational engagement of Chinese American scientists in China's science sector and in higher education. The study finds that the transnational involvement of Chinese American scientists is facilitated by both their strong and weak ethnic ties: strong ties provide connection and rapport, while weak ties facilitate access to position and resources.

Keywords: transnational engagement, ethnic networking, Chinese science, engineering

The Im/Possibility of Building Indigenous Theories in a Hegemonic Discipline: The Case of Japanese International Relations

Ching-Chang Chen (Assistant Professor, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University)

A growing number of Asian scholars have been engaging in indigenous theory-building that seeks to gain wider recognition for their local experiences and intellectual traditions in an international relations discipline that is still

dominated by Western theories and methods. After examining recent attempts to develop a distinctive Japanese approach to world politics, I argue that such attempts should proceed with great caution, for their epistemological underpinnings remain Eurocentric. A close look at the Japanese conceptions of international society indicates that they reproduce, rather than challenge, a normative hierarchy embedded in the English school between the creators of Westphalian norms and those at the receiving end. To take seriously the agency role of non-Western ideas in gearing the discipline in a truly international, less hegemonic direction, Japanese IR should recognize the plural origins and constitutional structures of international society and learn from social science and humanities communities in Asia and beyond.

Keywords: Japanese international relations, international society, English school, Eurocentrism, non-Western international relations theory

Beijing's Perspective on Expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: India, South Asia, and the Spectrum of Opportunities in China's Open Approach

Jagannath P. Panda (Research Fellow, Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, India)

China has basked for some time in the achievement of having promoted the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), now in its eleventh year. Without a doubt, China sees the SCO as a useful foreign-policy instrument. But China cannot afford to rest on its diplomatic laurels. Open to opportunities to protect its stakes in Asia, China is very likely contemplating, albeit cautiously, an expanded role for the SCO that will include membership for India, its archrival. To Beijing, expanding the SCO beyond Central Asia is a political statement, exploring and helping to define a constituency to which it can appeal for diplomatic support in a range of regional projects that restrict US participation.

Keywords: China's policies in South Asia, Sino-Indian relations, Central Asia politics, Shanghai Cooperation Organization

Marriage Migration Between South Korea and Vietnam: A Gender Perspective

Hee-Kang Kim (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

Analyzing marriage migration in Asia from a gender perspective, the article aims to explore the causes and consequences of marriage migration in light of gender, examining and identifying the pattern and dynamics of marriage migration in the context of gendered structures of receiving and sending countries. The article focuses on marriage migration between South Korea and

Vietnam, in particular Vietnamese women's migration to marry Korean men. The analysis addresses the systemic aspect of marriage migration along with gender, and the aspect in which the interaction of the gendered demand of and supply for migration produces the migratory movement of Vietnamese women to South Korea, while rendering marriage migration the gendered relationship between South Korea and Vietnam.

Keywords: marriage migration, gendered structures, Vietnamese brides, Korean husbands, feminization of migration

Vol. 36, No. 4, 2012

Thinking Hard About Soft Power: A Review and Critique of the Literature on China and Soft Power

Jean-Marc F. Blanchard (Professor, Shanghai Jiao Tong University), Fujia Lu (Independent Researcher, Association of Chinese Political Studies)

This article critically reviews the literature on China and soft power. Among other themes, it tackles the conceptualization and operationalization of soft power, measurement of the effectiveness of Chinese soft power, and the analysis of variables that intervene between China's soft-power tools, realized images, and policy influence results.

Keywords: soft-power literature, foreign policy influence, measuring soft power

How Soft Is "Soft Power"? Unstable Dichotomies at Expo 2010

Astrid Nordin (Lecturer, Lancaster University)

Examining three key symbols and three key practices at Expo 2010, this article argues that if we read these symbols and practices with sensitivity to their plural messages, the traditional binaries of hard and soft power become unworkable. Expo's symbols contain possible messages of the harmony, benevolence, and legitimacy of China's rise, but one can simultaneously read them to express violent harmonization, coercion, and illegitimacy. There are implications here for policy makers and researchers.

Keywords: China, Expo 2010, soft power, symbols of attraction and coercion

Has Beijing Started to Bare Its Teeth? China's Tapping of Soft Power Revisited

Wanfa Zhang (Assistant Professor, Florida Institute of Technology)

This study addresses the issue of the effectiveness of China's soft power. Focusing on China's management of soft power over the past five years, the article distinguishes between the strategic and tactical levels to measure soft-power efficacy, with the strategic level judged to be more successful. Overall, China's policy has well served the interests of it and the world. As long as China perceives that the benefits of peaceful integration with the international system outweigh the risks and costs of revisionist behavior, it will hold on to its policy of tapping soft power and continue on the course of a peaceful rise.

Keywords: soft-power-tapping policy, developing-country foreign policy, peaceful rise

Is Human Rights the Achilles' Heel of Chinese Soft Power? A New Perspective on Its Appeal

Sheng Ding (Associate Professor, Bloomsburg University)

This article analyzes Chinese soft power through the lens of human rights. First, it discusses the conceptual connection between Chinese human rights and the attractiveness of Chinese soft power as well as some important methodological questions. Second, it takes a comprehensive look at China's record of defending and promoting human rights. Third, it analyzes China's role in the international human rights discourse.

Keywords: China, soft power, human rights, international human rights regime

China's Soft Power in Africa: Is Economic Power Sufficient?

Wei Liang (Associate Professor, Monterey Institute of International Studies)

China's economic initiative in Africa has been advanced by its image building efforts, though there are limits to the utility of China's soft power. Currently, mutually penetrating economic relations are at the core of China's soft power. However, the efficacy of Chinese soft power depends upon the broader applicability of its attractive elements, including culture, political values, and economic model. Fortunately for China, its attractive soft-power elements resonate in Africa.

Keywords: national image, China-Africa relations, China's foreign trade and investments

Ugandan Youths' Perceptions of Relations with China

Simon Shen (Associate Professor, Chinese University of Hong Kong), Ian Taylor (Professor, University of St. Andrews' School of International Relations)

Despite endeavoring to construct an image as a contributor to a “harmonious world,” China faces criticism for bringing neocolonialism back to Africa. This case study of Uganda offers a quantitative and qualitative basis for examining how young Ugandans understand and interpret “China” and “the Chinese.” It also suggests how these perceptions could be applied to Sino-African relations in general and the Beijing-Kampala relationship in particular.

Keywords: China-Africa relations, Uganda's foreign relations, sub-Saharan Africa

Commentary:

Possible Variables for Establishing a Military Confidence-Building Mechanism Across the Taiwan Strait

Sue-Chung Chang (Professor, Taipei Chengshih University of Science and Technology), Chung-Yuan Yao (Doctoral Candidate, National Taiwan University)

Vol. 37, No. 1, 2013

Contested Border: A Historical Investigation into the Sino-Korean Border Issue, 1950–1964

Zhihua Shen (Professor, East China Normal University), Yafeng Xia (Associate Professor, Long Island University)

The contested Sino-Korean border issue has received very little study. Making use of presently available sources in the several different archives in China and Taiwan, as well as documents made public in South Korea, we examine in this article the historical background of the Sino-Korean border issue and border relations from 1950 to 1964. North Korea was dissatisfied with the Jiandao Treaty of 1909, but was uneasy about raising that dissatisfaction with the Chinese in the 1950s. When China was caught in a number of woeful domestic and international predicaments in 1962, Pyongyang seized the opportunity and proposed to Beijing that the border issue be settled. It took the two sides only six months to negotiate and sign a new boundary treaty. As a result, North Korea emerged with a larger share of Tianchi and other disputed areas.

Keywords: China, North Korea, Sino-Korean border

The Emergence and Transformation of International Order: International Law in China, 1860–1949

Stefan Kroll (Postdoctoral Fellow, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity)

The interaction between global and local norms is the key issue of sociolegal research on globalization and world society. The global-local interaction of norms generally has two directions: world society theory, which discusses how global normative patterns shape the local legal systems they encompass, and how local actors and their interventions form and influence global legal developments. I argue in this article that both perspectives must be combined if we are to understand processes of global normative change. The global diffusion of normative models triggers local adaptations and reinterpretations that, in turn, have repercussions for the transformation of global normative models. The argument is developed by drawing on historical research on the introduction of European international law in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Keywords: world society, international law, China and international law

Fanning the Flames of Popular Nationalism: The Debate in China over the Burning of the Old Summer Palace

Robert D. Weatherley (Lawyer, Mills & Reeve), Ariane Rosen (Asia Society)

In this article, we examine the emergence of a growing debate in China over the legacy of Beijing's Old Summer Palace (Yuanmingyuan), burned to the ground by British and French troops in 1860 and looted of its valuable antiques. The debate has arisen in response to an increased official focus on this traumatic incident in China's history, initiated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as part of its ongoing quest for nationalist legitimacy. By reminding the public of the devastation inflicted by the British and French and by linking this directly to the so-called Century of Humiliation, the party has sought to present itself as the true savior of the Chinese nation. But some of China's online critics have responded negatively on the issue. Some reject the official narrative on the Yuanmingyuan incident as biased and fabricated. Others criticize the amounts of time and money that the CCP is expending in keeping the legacy alive, particularly in light of more pressing domestic issues. Most significantly, some people insist that China remains subordinate to foreign powers despite more than sixty years of CCP rule.

Keywords: China, legitimacy, nationalism, Internet, Yuanmingyuan

Beyond Silence and Blaming: Revisiting South Korea's Role in North Korean Human Rights

Bo-hyuk Suh (Humanities Korea Research Professor, Seoul National University)

Despite over a decade of collective efforts on the part of the international community, the North Korean human rights issue remains prevalent and pervasive. I propose “Korean human rights” as an alternative concept and approach for South Korea to constructively contribute to improving the human rights situation in North Korea. The notion of Korean human rights can be used as a method to overcome the limitations that both South Korea and the international community have faced in the past and a framework for effectively applying international human rights conventions at the regional level.

Keywords: Korean human rights, North Korean human rights, international human rights regime, inter-Korean relationship, Helsinki process

Continuity and Change: Evolution, Not Revolution, in Japan's Foreign and Security Policy Under the DPJ

Brendan M. Howe (Professor, Ewha Womans University), Joel R. Campbell (Associate Professor, Troy University)

In this article, we address four common, often contradictory misconceptions concerning Japanese foreign and security policy. First, Japan's strategic “normalization” is dangerous. Second, Japan is incapable of having a “normal” policy. Third, Japan is about to become “normal.” Fourth, foreign and security policy under the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) will differ radically from what it was for fifty years under the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). We contend that Japan is not a threat; that it has a security policy, but not one that fits well with Western models; and that Japan's security policy is changing, gradually not radically, and is not becoming just like the West's.

Keywords: East Asian politics, foreign and security policy, normalization, Democratic Party of Japan

The Revival of Russia's Role on the Korean Peninsula

Chang Kyoo Park (Visiting Professor, University of Malaya), Er-Win Tan (Visiting Senior Lecturer, University of Malaya), Geetha Govindasamy (Senior Lecturer, University of Malaya)

The death of North Korean leader Kim Jong-il in 2011 presents Russian president Vladimir Putin with an opportunity to regain influence on the Korean peninsula. Over the long term, Russia may reemerge as a great power in the Asia Pacific region in line with Russian geostrategic interests. Since the collapse

of the Soviet Union, Russia has been marginalized on major issues in Northeast Asia. The prospect of a consistent, long-term North Korea policy under Putin places Moscow in a strong position to sustain the process of engagement with North Korea. More significantly, it serves Moscow's demographic, economic, and security interests to be a positive influence in the region in order to regain a diplomatic role in any security initiatives concerning the Korean peninsula. In this article, we argue that if and when the Russian Far East is developed, Moscow would be in a position to offset the regional strategic and economic dominance of the United States and China.

Keywords: Russia, North Korea, Eurasianism, Russian Far East, counterbalance, China, United States

Vol. 37, No. 2, 2013

The Disappointments of Disengagement: Assessing Obama's North Korea Policy

John Delury (Assistant Professor, Yonsei University)

As a presidential candidate, Barack Obama boldly promised to enhance US engagement with North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea; DPRK). But in his first term as president, his administration was determined to significantly lower the foreign policy priority of North Korea and carried out a policy of concerted disengagement, an approach the administration called "strategic patience." The strategy of disengagement showed disappointing results by late 2010, and so the United States made a begrudging, tactical adjustment by starting tentative bilateral talks with the DPRK. When the preliminary result of those talks—the "Leap Day Deal"—fell apart in 2012 over the satellite launch controversy, the wrong lesson was learned: that neither sanctions nor engagement works with Pyongyang. The real lesson of Obama's North Korea policy is the failure of disengagement.

Keywords: Barack Obama foreign policy, engagement, North Korea, nuclear proliferation, US-DPRK relations

Reciprocity in South Korean Security Policy Vis-à-vis North Korea and the United States

Young-Geun Kim (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

I review the principle of reciprocity in South Korean security policy with regard to North Korea and the United States and analyze how the principle fits with

US security policy concerning South Korea. Diffuse reciprocity shaped Korean security policy starting with President Kim Dae-jung's Sunshine Policy. The Lee Myung-bak government's hard-line approach increased military tension and economic anxiety on the peninsula. The new South Korean government under Park Geun-hye should devise achievable policy measures rather than place excessive pressure or unrealistic demands on North Korea.

Keywords: specific/diffuse reciprocity, security policy, Sunshine Policy, North Korean nuclear program, engagement policy

The Cultural Political Economy of the Korean Wave in East Asia: Implications for Cultural Globalization Theories

Siho Nam (Associate Professor, University of North Florida)

In this article I examine the Korean Wave as an illustrative case of cultural globalization. I examine this new cultural phenomenon in light of the realignment of Korean media and cultural industries. The Korean Wave is a symptom of the discursive formation and practice of Korea's national cultural policy, which aims to advance Korea's global economic competitiveness by promoting innovation and expansion in the creative industries. I identify implications of the Korean Wave for critical theories of cultural globalization and for the Asian region in fostering or hindering regional cooperation and cultural diversity.

Keywords: Korean Wave, globalization, cultural and media imperialism, cultural political economy, post-Fordism

Building a Peaceful East Asian Community: Origins of a Regional Concept and Visions for a Global Age

Gwi-Ok Kim (Professor, Hansung University)

While the thought of a regional community in East Asia comparable to the European Union is premature, I consider the transforming international relationships among North Korea, South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Japan and examine the possibility of realizing such a community via sociocultural approaches. I trace the conceptual origins of East Asia and its historical place in international relations, investigate East Asia in the post-Cold War era through renewed cultural exchanges among the region's countries, and propose a vision of and tasks for an East Asian cultural community.

Keywords: East Asian Community, East Asia history, sociocultural exchange

A Typology of Political Elites and Its Transformation in China: From “Ideology-Oriented/Replacement” Elites to “Fragmented/Reproductive” Elites

Jang-Hwan Joo (Associate Professor, Hanshin University)

In this study I establish a universal typology of Chinese political elites and trace the elites' transformation by analyzing the demographic and sociopolitical composition of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee. The data set comprises the full and alternate membership of the Central Committees, from the First (1921) to the Seventeenth (2007). China's political elites started out as ideology oriented/replacement types with strong unity, low differentiation, and wide circulation through radical methods. However, they have evolved into fragmented/reproductive types with weak unity, high differentiation, and narrow circulation through moderate methods.

Keywords: China's political elites, elite typology, transformation of elite types

Mutual Perceptions in South Korea-China Relations: The Need for Creative Arguing

Yeikyyoung Kim (Research Professor, Kyung Hee University), Jongpil Chung (Assistant Professor, Kyung Hee University)

We attribute the negative perceptions between South Korea and China to the absence of real argumentative interaction. Argumentative interaction is a social process that seeks mutual understanding through persuasive and noncoercive action. The argumentative process helps state actors to minimize their negative perceptions and to reach mutual understanding—an evolutionary process that leads to perceptual change. In the case of South Korea and China, two conditions are known to instigate arguing: uncertainty and conscious efforts by both actors. The governments and elites of both states should take significant roles in seeking policy alternatives and in building a healthy cyberspace.

Keywords: South Korea-China relations, mutual perceptions, argumentative action, constructivism

Vol. 37, No. 3, 2013

Microblogging and Social Change in China

Jia Lu (Associate Professor, Tsinghua University), Yunxi Qiu (Doctoral Candidate, Tsinghua University)

In this article we examine the role of microblogging in the ongoing process of social change in China, focusing on its impacts on the formation of civil society and the public sphere. We identify several important features of Chinese microblogging, including an antiauthoritarian stance, opinion leaders, and organized campaigns. Theoretically, these features reflect two major social processes that are simultaneously taking place in China today: modernization and globalization. Through microblogging, these processes influence each other to achieve three possible consequences of social change: fragmentation, development of civil society and the public sphere, and networked violence. Our analysis indicates the failure of civil society and the public sphere to develop as well as the rise of networked violence.

Keywords: microblogging, China, social change, civil society, public sphere

Perceptions of Democracy Among Chinese Intellectuals: Evidence from Political Scientists in Beijing and Shanghai

Jung-Nam Lee (Associate Professor, Korea University)

In this article I analyze through in-depth interviews and surveys Chinese intellectuals' opinions on the necessity, direction, timing, and method of democratization. I examine how Chinese intellectuals in China's two main cities perceive democracy and what direction the development of democracy is taking in China.

Keywords: Chinese-style democracy, Chinese intellectuals, political reform, democratization, intraparty democratization

Is China Becoming More Aggressive? A Neoclassical Realist Analysis

Camilla T. N. Sørensen (Assistant Professor, University of Copenhagen)

In this article I seek to improve the dominant neorealist analysis of China's rise. I offer a neoclassical realist analytical framework in order to identify the influence of certain Chinese domestic developments and priorities on Chinese foreign and security policy behavior. Rather than reflecting a more self-confident and aggressive China, developments in Chinese foreign and security policy in recent years reveal an internally conflicted, inward-looking, and reactive China not yet ready for its new international role. Beijing is uncertain

how to manage the challenges and the inevitable tension, both domestically and internationally, arising from China's rapid development.

Keywords: Chinese foreign and security policy, Sino-US security relations, East Asian security, neorealism, neoclassical realism

Does Culture Determine Democratic Leadership in East Asia? The Case of South Korea During the Roh Moo-hyun Presidency

Bumsoo Kim (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University), Sunhyuk Kim (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

Scholars who believe that democratic leadership varies depending on culture often argue that because of the legacy of Confucian culture, East Asia favors directive leadership. However, based on our case study of South Korea during the Roh Moo-hyun presidency (2003–2008), we argue that democratic leadership varies depending on the political situation, regardless of the society's given cultural traditions. In a society, what we call "appropriate leadership" has more to do with political rather than cultural factors.

Keywords: leadership, culture, Asian values, Confucianism, South Korean politics

Translating Foreign Aid Policy Locally: South Korea's Modernization Process Revisited

Taekyoon Kim (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

In this article I consider the links between foreign aid and policy transformations in aid-receiving countries, with a particular reference to the South Korean modernization process. The main analytical points concern not only how to identify foreign aid policy affecting Korea's modernization projects in the period of state building but also how to interpret the role of local partners in dealing with international aid transfers. I assert that policy transfers in the aid industry cannot be successfully completed without the consideration of policy takers' reflective translation of foreign aid in the local contexts. The Korean experience presents a proactive pattern of policy translation (reflecting local autonomy in dealing with foreign aid), rather than policy transfer (reflecting the implantation of donor-driven aid projects), by situating international policies in the local context with strong ownership and commitment. Indeed, the substantive path of policy transfers is viewed as a social construct that reflects local partners' strategic interests and development planning.

Keywords: foreign aid, local partner, ownership, policy transfer, policy translation, the Korean aid economy

Building a Maritime “Great Wall” to Contain China? Explaining Japan’s Recalibration of Risk with the Militarization of Okinawa

Son Key-young (Humanities Korea Research Professor, Korea University), Ra Mason (Lecturer, University of Central Lancashire)

In this article we aim to illustrate both the progress and the stalemates of the US and Japanese strategies to fortify the Okinawan Islands as a bulwark against China. As a conceptual tool to analyze the accommodation and resistance of militarization, we use the notion of a complex interplay of state, market, and societal actors, which showcases the process of mediating and recalibrating risks perceived by policymakers in Tokyo in response to the rise of China. In this process, risk has been shifted to individual stakeholders within society. We argue that the full-scale fortification of the Okinawan Islands will be hard to achieve because of the resistance of local residents and anti-base activists, as well as China’s military and commercial strategies to circumvent any form of blockade.

Keywords: Okinawa, militarization, China’s rise, civil society in Japan

Review Essay:

What to Do About—or with—China?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 37, No. 4, 2013

After Fukushima: An Introduction

Norifumi Namatame (Associate Professor, Tohoku Fukushi University)

After Fukushima: A Survey of Corruption in the Global Nuclear Power Industry

Richard Tanter (Senior Research Associate, Nautilus Institute)

Investigations of the Fukushima nuclear power accident sequence revealed the man-made character of the catastrophe and its roots in regulatory capture effected by a network of corruption, collusion, and nepotism. A review of corruption incidents in the global nuclear industry during 2012-2013 reveals that the Japanese experience is not isolated. Gross corruption is evident in nuclear technology exporting countries such as Russia, China, and the United States, and in a number of nuclear technology importing countries. The survey

results make clear that national nuclear regulatory regimes are inadequate and that the global regime is virtually completely ineffective. Widespread corruption of the nuclear industry has profound social and political consequences resulting from the corrosion of public trust in companies, governments, and energy systems themselves.

Keywords: nuclear industry, corruption, regulatory capture, public trust

Nuclear Power Politics in Japan, 2011–2013

Jeff Kingston (Director, Asian Studies, Temple University, Japan Campus)

Large antinuclear demonstrations in 2012 and significant expansion of renewable energy have sparked a degree of euphoria about the prospects for phasing out nuclear energy in Japan. But Prime Minister Abe Shinzo is pronuclear and favors restarting Japan's idled reactors. His Liberal Democratic Party now controls both houses of the Diet and is a key pillar of Japan's nuclear village, comprising influential government, business, and political institutions that advocate nuclear energy. The nuclear village retains veto power over national energy policy, and citizens will not get to decide the outcome even if public opinion polls indicate that a vast majority favor phasing out nuclear energy. By ignoring many of the lessons of Fukushima and fast-tracking reactor restarts, the government and utilities continue to downplay risk, leaving Japan vulnerable to another nuclear accident.

Keywords: Japan, nuclear, politics, energy, Abe Shinzo, Fukushima, TEPCO, Nuclear Regulation Authority

A Public Health Perspective on the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster

Tilman A. Ruff (Associate Professor, University of Melbourne)

The Fukushima nuclear disaster is far from over and remains a global health concern. While evacuations, sheltering, reducing intake of contaminated food, and other measures reduced radiation exposures, both the immediate and longer-term public health responses to the disaster leave major room for improvement. Commercially and institutionally, vested interests have undermined public health and safety.

Keywords: Fukushima nuclear disaster, global public health, radiation risks, right to health

Investigating the Effects of Low-Dose Radiation from Chernobyl to Fukushima: History Repeats Itself

Anders Pape Møller (Director of Research in the Laboratoire d'Ecologie, Systématique et Evolution at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Timothy A. Mousseau (Professor; University of South Carolina)

The disasters at Chernobyl and Fukushima released large amounts of radioactive material, equivalent to many hundreds of nuclear bombs the size of those at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Currently, there is worldwide interest in the effects of so-called low-dose radiation on public health and on biological systems from molecules to ecosystems. Research efforts to quantify these effects constitute a curious mixture of Soviet science, research by independent scientists, and research supported by the nuclear industry. The article explains how navigating between these diverse efforts can be reconciled to synthesize available information to the benefit of the general public and the policymaking community.

Keywords: Fukushima nuclear disaster, Chernobyl nuclear disaster, nuclear industry, Soviet science

“Life-World”: Beyond Fukushima and Minamata

Shoko Yoneyama (Senior Lecturer; University of Adelaide)

The human and ecological disasters of Minamata and Fukushima highlight Japan's need to plan for a sustainable future. Ogata Masato, a Minamata fisherman, through his philosophy of “lifeworld” suggests that this quest for a sustainable future requires a change in the epistemology of social science. His philosophy offers a postmodern version of Japan's heritage of animism, where humans are connected with all living beings, including the souls of the living and the dead, as well as animate and inanimate entities in nature. His philosophy thus presents an alternative framework for a new modernity.

Keywords: Fukushima, Minamata, World Risk Society, nuclear disaster, environmental ethics, connectedness, lifeworld, Ulrich Beck, Ogata Masato

Hopes and Traps on the Path to a Nuclear-Free Japan: The Fukushima Disaster and Civil Society

Kawasaki Akira (Executive Committee Member; Peace Boat)

The Fukushima nuclear disaster, which caused complex societal damage, also led to a shift in Japanese public opinion supporting the move away from nuclear power. The nuclear phaseout movement has transcended the

traditional framework of Japanese social movements and has the potential to become a new force for reform. However, the Japanese nuclear phaseout is also complicated by the Liberal Democratic Party's style of rule, the link with nuclear weapons, and the relationship between Tokyo and the areas hosting the nuclear power plants. This article considers the future outlook for an energy shift and political reform in Japan with a focus on the roles of civil society and local leadership.

Keywords: nuclear power, civil society, nuclear weapons, Fukushima disaster

Stories from Experience: Using the Phenomenological Psychological Method to Understand the Needs of Victims of the Fukushima Nuclear Accident

Michael Edwards (Practicing Psychiatrist in Sydney, Australia)

In order to assist the victims of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster, we first need to understand people's lived experiences of the disaster in its social, cultural, and historical context. In this article I outline how phenomenological psychology, a qualitative research approach based upon in-depth interviewing, can be the source of such knowledge. Case vignettes highlight the unique psychological situation of seven individuals, with implications for helping victims of this disaster more generally.

Keywords: phenomenological psychology, nuclear accidents, disaster relief

Vol. 38, No. 1, 2014

Asian Alliances: Chinese and Japanese Experiences Compared

Lowell Dittmer (Professor, University of California, Berkeley)

In this article I view Asian alliances as a product of universal security needs and culturally constructed variables. While the alliance remains one of the fundamentals of contemporary international politics, I attempt to show through comparative analysis of the Sino-Soviet alliance and the Japan-US security alliance how subtle differences of national developmental experience can significantly affect political outcomes in East Asia.

Keywords: asymmetrical, alliance, unequal treaty, constructivism, realism, Westphalian system, bandwagoning, balancing, security

Escaping the Vicious Cycle: Symbolic Politics and History Disputes Between South Korea and Japan

Ji Young Kim (Postdoctoral Fellow, Tokyo University)

Despite highly favorable conditions for cooperation, South Korea and Japan have experienced almost constant diplomatic conflict since the end of the Cold War, in large part because of unresolved history disputes. Through the theoretical approach of symbolic politics, I examine the substance of these conflicts and the processes by which specific group identities affect policymaking in and the relationship between the two countries. Based on three case studies I suggest that diplomatic conflicts are the result of identity clashes between a group of Japanese conservative elites and the South Korean public, manifested through the elite-led process of symbolic politics in Japan and the mass-led process in South Korea. These findings help analysts understand the patterns that these conflicts exhibit and assess the prospects for future reconciliation between South Korea and Japan.

Keywords: South Korea-Japan relations, history dispute, symbolic politics, national identity

Lessons from German Reunification for Inter-Korean Relations: An Analysis of South Korean Public Spheres, 1990–2010

Jin-Wook Shin (Associate Professor, Chung-Ang University)

In this article I present competing patterns of discursive reconstruction of German reunification in South Korean public spheres and the methods of mobilizing them for domestic debates on inter-Korean relations. I analyze the editorials and opinion articles of two newspapers, Chosun Daily and Hankyoreh, which respectively represent the most influential conservative and progressive print media in South Korea. The articles not only discuss German reunification in contrasting ways but also integrate those interpretive schemes into policy advocacy on North Korea. The conservatives utilized the narratives about the breakdown of the East German regime and the subsequent unification to justify an aggressive policy toward North Korea, whereas progressives consistently judged the German case as “unification by absorption,” giving full support to reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.

Keywords: German reunification, Ostpolitik, Sunshine Policy, inter-Korean relations, discourse

Emerging Powers and Status: The Case of the First BRICs Summit

Oliver Stuenkel (Assistant Professor; Getúlio Vargas Foundation)

Why did the leaders of four very different countries—Brazil, Russia, India, and China—decide to hold a summit in 2009 in Yekaterinburg, thus transforming “the BRICs” from a financial category into a political grouping? I argue that the main driver for the first summit to take place and succeed was to strengthen each member country’s international status. The 2009 BRICs summit was successful in that it led to the birth of a political platform during highly unusual international economic and political circumstances. In a global economy in the midst of a recession and widespread uncertainty, the BRICs’ relative economic stability and capacity to respond to the crisis was decisive and lent credibility to their call for reform of the international system. The United States’ temporarily reduced legitimacy also provided a window of opportunity for emerging powers to act as aspiring guarantors of stability in tomorrow’s world. While measureable gains from cooperation and stronger rhetoric that delegitimized the global order did occur in the following years, they were not the primary drivers for the first summit to take place and succeed.

Keywords: BRICs, emerging powers, status, BRICS

Chinese Climate-Change Policy, 1988–2013: Moving On Up

Iselin Stensdal (Research Fellow; Fridtjof Nansen Institute)

China’s domestic climate-change policy has changed remarkably since 1988. In the late 1980s, the central government viewed climate change as a highly scientific, foreign affairs issue, and any policies were limited to scientific investigations. A mere decade later, climate change was seen as a developmental issue. By 2007 climate change had become a national priority. Since then, climate-change policies have expanded in measure and in scope. In this article I employ the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) to explain the policy changes. The ACF takes into account the overall sophistication of socioeconomic conditions in China as well as the climate-change advocacy coalition’s communications and active use of their amassed knowledge to influence policy.

Keywords: China, climate-change policy, domestic politics, Advocacy Coalition Framework

Building Partners Through Academic Science

Stuart Thorson (Professor, Syracuse University), Hyunjin Seo (Assistant Professor, University of Kansas)

Science can serve as an attractive mode for trust building and cooperative

engagement between countries where formal political or diplomatic relations have been strained or are nonexistent. In this article we discuss some conditions and constraints for bilateral academic science engagement and suggest how such engagement might help to build trust between the United States and North Korea. We analyze longitudinal data on North Korea's diplomatic ties and international academic collaboration as well as US public opinion data to provide context for US-North Korea science engagement. We argue that bilateral academic science engagement should be attractive to the United States and North Korea and suggest a set of policy measures that might facilitate such engagement.

Keywords: science engagement, US diplomacy, US-North Korea relations

China's Antisatellite Program: Blocking the Assassin's Mace

Larry R. Moore (Operations Superintendent of Detachment 4, Royal Air Force, UK)

I analyze the substance and goals of China's antisatellite program. Following China's 2007 antisatellite test that successfully destroyed one of its aging satellites, signs have emerged that China is continuing to research ways to exploit the heavy US reliance on space. This capability is most likely being developed as an "assassin's mace" to gain an advantage against a technologically superior enemy in the event of conflict. I propose a number of countermeasures to negate the threat to US space security.

Keywords: China, Chinese military, antisatellite weapons, US space security. East Asian security

Vol. 38, No. 2, 2014

Introduction to the Special Issue

Gregory J. Moore (Professor, Zhejiang University)

The East China Sea Disputes: History, Status, and Ways Forward

Mark J. Valencia (Adjunct Senior Scholar, National Institute for South China Sea Studies)

The dispute over ownership of islands, maritime boundaries, jurisdiction, perhaps as much as 100 billion barrels of oil equivalent, and other nonliving and living marine resources in the East China Sea continues to bedevil China-Japan relations. Historical and cultural factors, such as the legacy of World War II and burgeoning nationalism, are significant factors in the dispute. Indeed,

the dispute seems to have become a contest between national identities. The approach to the issue has been a political dance by the two countries: one step forward, two steps back. In this article I explain the East China Sea dispute, explore its effect on China-Japan relations, and suggest ways forward.

Keywords: China-Japan relations, territorial disputes, nationalism

“In Your Face”: Domestic Politics, Nationalism, and “Face” in the Sino-Japanese Islands Dispute

Gregory J. Moore (Associate Professor, Zhejiang University)

While China's rising power is certainly an important variable in Sino-Japanese relations, it cannot explain either why the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute broke out anew in the fall of 2012 or why the Chinese response was so strong. China read Japan's move to nationalize the islands as an in-your-face move designed to show disrespect for China and make Japan's sovereignty over the islands a fait accompli. In this article I borrow from Robert Putnam's notion of two-level games to argue that there are two levels of face politics going on in this case: one between domestic actors in Japan and in China, the other between the two countries. A solution to the territorial dispute can only be found when both sides' "face needs" are recognized and met at both levels of analysis.

Keywords: China-Japan relations, Diaoyu, Senkaku, dispute, face

Japan-China-US Relations and the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute: Perspectives from International Relations Theory

Kazuhiko Togo (Professor, Kyoto Sangyo University)

In this analysis of the Senkaku/Diaoyu, including the US role, I employ the framework of Western theories of international relations (IR). The analysis turns to the prisoner's dilemma to find a possible solution to the present impasse. The key task for negotiators and IR theorists is to find an equation that satisfies three factors simultaneously: China does not enter Japan's territorial waters; Japan continues the three nos of "not to land, not to investigate, and not to build"; and confidence-building measures are instituted to avoid direct military collisions. So far, the prisoner's dilemma has not succeeded in finding that equation, so perhaps more attention should be paid to the Eastern concept of face saving or giving face, which in addition to the other three factors might enable the two sides to reach a modus vivendi.

Keywords: Realism, liberalism, constructivism, prisoner's dilemma, China-Japan relations, territorial disputes

The Maritime Dispute in Sino-Japanese Relations: Domestic Dimensions

Mutsumi Hirano (Associate Professor, Zhejiang University)

My aim in this article is to shed light on some domestic dimensions of the maritime dispute between China and Japan in the East China Sea, in particular those of the Japanese side. The domestic dimensions are important because many actors are involved and the dispute is multidimensional. We may need to set longer time frames in order to find exit strategies and at least mitigate the influence of this seemingly intractable dispute. I suggest mid- to long-term alternative approaches to resolving it.

Keywords: Maritime disputes, East China Sea, Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, oil and gas fields, energy security, bilateral cooperation

Conflict Transformation: The East China Sea Dispute and Lessons from the Ecuador-Peru Border Dispute

Shunji Cui (Associate Professor, Zhejiang University)

Developments in the East China Sea disputes in recent years appear to have set back Northeast Asian regional integration. Are there ways of turning these negative developments into more positive ones? Taking the Ecuador-Peru territorial dispute as a model, I consider the possibility of conflict transformation for the East China Sea dispute. The Ecuador-Peru border dispute was the most protracted in the Western Hemisphere, yet a peace agreement was finally reached in 1998, suggesting that even the most deeply ingrained differences and most persistent disputes can be transformed and ultimately overcome.

Keywords: Conflict transformation, conflict resolution, East China Sea dispute, Ecuador-Peru border dispute

US Economic Sanctions Against China: A Cultural Explanation of Sanction Effectiveness

Yitan Li (Assistant Professor, Seattle University)

Recent patterns suggest that states are using economic sanctions more frequently. However, sanctions fail to achieve intended political or economic goals most of the time. To account for this anomaly, I introduce a culture-based explanation. The rationale is that sanction effectiveness cannot be solely judged by norms and standards of sender countries. Target countries' cultural norms play an important role in explaining sanction effectiveness. Using cases of US economic sanctions against China, I show that the norms and beliefs of target countries play an important role in defining sanction effectiveness. The

implication of the study is that senders of economic sanctions must take cultural responses and sensitivity of targets into serious consideration in order to deploy credible and successful economic sanctions as a foreign policy tool.

Keywords: Economic sanctions, US-China relations, political culture, foreign policy, constructivism, political economy, conflict and cooperation

Vol. 38, No. 3, 2014

East Asia's Power Shift: The Flaws and Hazards of the Debate and How to Avoid Them

*Linus Hagström (Associate Professor, Swedish Institute of International Affairs),
Björn Jerdén (Ph.D. Candidate, Stockholm University)*

The widespread debate on an East Asian power shift is generally based on the crude notion that power and capability are interchangeable. We critique this view and offer the alternative that power is the capacity of actors and discourses to produce effects—what we call relational and productive power, respectively. We also engage in a reflexive exercise by addressing the productive power of the power-shift debate itself, and emphasize the danger that this debate might enable the kind of *realpolitik* that it forebodes.

Keywords: Japan, power shift, productive power, relational power, rise of China

So What About a Power Shift? Caveat Emptor

Steve Chan (Professor of Distinction, University of Colorado)

In this article I consider the general idea of power shifts, with specific reference to the discourse on “China’s rise.” I raise theoretical and policy concerns about the nature, sources, and consequences of China’s reemergence as a regional power, and call attention to some analytic tendencies and implicit assumptions featured in this discourse.

Keywords: power shift, power transition, China’s rise

Rethinking Chinese Power: A Conceptual Corrective to the “Power Shift” Narrative

Chengxin Pan (Senior Lecturer, Deakin University)

A growing body of literature has focused on an alleged “power shift” from the United States to China (and from the West to the East more generally). For all its complexities and nuances, much of this power-shift literature continues

to unreflectively hold onto a conventional way of conceptualizing power as a type of quantitatively measurable and zero-sum property possessed by the state. Without critically engaging with the conceptual question of what power means, however, the power-shift debate is both inadequate and misleading. Drawing on some alternative ways of conceptualizing power, I aim to illustrate the contingent and socially constructed nature of “Chinese” economic power and, in doing so, problematize the widely held view of a US-China power shift. I contend that insofar as power is socially constructed, how it is conceptualized matters for international relations. The need to rethink power is at the core of building a new type of major power relationship.

Keywords: power shift, concepts of power, Chinese economic power, US-China relations

Is China’s Discursive Power Increasing? The “Power of the Past” in Sino-Japanese Relations

Karl Gustafsson (Research Fellow, Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

The idea that China’s rise, and more specifically its increased material capabilities, are about to produce a power shift in East Asia raises the question whether the Chinese government’s ability to produce effects through discursive power has also increased. The government’s use of discourses about China’s war against Japan is a conspicuous example of attempts to exercise discursive power. Has China’s ability to use the past for political purposes increased as its material capabilities have grown? To answer this question, I theorize on the use of discourses about the past on three levels—domestic, bilateral, and international. My analysis demonstrates that notwithstanding its increased material capabilities, the Chinese government’s discursive power has actually decreased.

Keywords: China, Japan, Sino-Japanese relations, power shift, discursive power, history issue

Overestimating the “Power Shift”: The US Role in the Failure of the Democratic Party of Japan’s “Asia Pivot”

Paul O’Shea (Assistant Professor, Aarhus University)

In 2009 the Democratic Party of Japan came to power promising a foreign policy shift, aiming for a more equal relationship with the United States and improved relations with Japan’s Asian neighbors. The policy shift was explicitly designed as a response to a perceived regional and global power shift from the United States to China. However, within nine months the new prime minister, Hatoyama Yukio, resigned, and his successors jettisoned the

foreign policy shift. Conventional explanations cite the weak leadership of Hatoyama, the inexperience of his party, and the lack of realism behind the proposed policy shift itself as key factors in the shift's failure. In this article I provide an alternative perspective. Drawing on the concept of discursive power, I demonstrate how Washington turned the Futenma base relocation and other issues into a major crisis in Japan-US relations in order to discredit Hatoyama and the policy shift. What was arguably a modest and pragmatic policy shift was narrated as a grave threat to the very cornerstone of postwar Japanese security. By focusing on the US exercise of discursive power over Japan, I suggest that talk of an East Asian power shift is premature.

Keywords: discursive power, US-Japan relations, foreign-policy analysis, Futenma base, Democratic Party of Japan, power shift

Revisiting Japan's Cultural Diplomacy: A Critique of the Agent-Level Approach to Japan's Soft Power

Alexander Bukh (Senior Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington)

In this article I join the debate on Japan's soft power and cultural diplomacy. Most of the current scholarship focuses on Japan's agency and implies that through a skillfully crafted policy that utilizes its cultural resources, Japan can enhance its soft power. I question the utility of this agent-based approach. I suggest that cultural diplomacy is not simply a matter of diplomatic craftsmanship; it reflects discursively constructed national identities that, to a large degree, are shaped by international ideational structures. Applying this framework to modern Japan's cultural diplomacy, I argue that postwar Japan's incorporation into the Western camp, and the subsequent identity transformations, have precluded the emergence of a strategic definition of Japan's culture and hence constrained Japan's cultural diplomacy.

Keywords: Japan's soft power, cultural diplomacy, national identity, agency, structure

Review Essay:

North Korea in the World: Plus Ça Change?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 38, No. 4, 2014

Introduction to the Special Issue

Nadine Godehardt (Research Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs), Nicola Nymalm (Research Fellow, Kiel University)

Post-2014 Afghanistan and Its Impact on Northeast Asia

Nadine Godehardt (Research Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs), David Shim (Assistant Professor, University of Groningen)

The economic, political, and social situation in post-2014 Afghanistan remains uncertain, particularly because the effects of the US drawback from Afghanistan on national and regional stability are rather difficult to foresee. In this article, we explore how the debates about post-2014 Afghanistan impact others' thinking. Afghanistan forces national governments and political leaders to reflect deeply on their policies toward Afghanistan and the wider region. Hence, the "Afghanistan problem" becomes a geopolitical imagery within other countries' discourse. Here we scrutinize the impact of post-2014 Afghanistan on South Korean and Chinese foreign policy practices, enabling us also to become familiar with Chinese and South Korean understanding of their political position in Asia.

Keywords: China, South Korea, post-2014 Afghanistan, geopolitical imagery

What Can the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and China Bring to Post-2014 Afghanistan?

Gao Fei (Professor, China Foreign Affairs University), Xiao Yu (Lecturer, Sichuan International Studies University)

Amid the reduction of US forces in Afghanistan, the search for solutions to the Afghanistan security conundrum calls for regional coordination. Despite limited achievements in the past, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) may be an important contributor to stability in Afghanistan. The SCO brings together powerful regional players (Russia and China) and important neighboring states whose strategic interests are intertwined in Afghanistan. All of them are potential stakeholders in providing regional solutions. In this article we suggest that the role of the SCO would lie in not only regionalizing Afghanistan policymaking but also promoting the country's integration into a regional framework of common interests.

Keywords: US withdrawal, Afghanistan, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Chinese diplomacy

Afghanistan in the Foreign Policies of Middle Eastern Countries

Henner Fürtig (Professor, University of Hamburg)

Although some Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey, have tried to influence developments in Afghanistan from time to time, Iran—due to a long common history, geographic proximity, and cultural similarities—is by far Afghanistan’s most important neighbor. In this article I seek to demonstrate that Iran, contrary to its image and often even more consistently than pro-Western countries such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey, has since 1979 acted in favor of an independent, centrally and moderately governed Afghanistan. Therefore, Iran will probably also be a stabilizing factor rather than a spoiler in every post-International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) scenario in Kabul.

Keywords: Iran, Central Asia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, ISAF withdrawal

Regional Powers and Security Governance: ISAF Withdrawal, Regional Competition, and Domestic Norms in India’s Afghanistan Policy

Sandra Destradi (Research Fellow, German Institute of Global and Area Studies)

Despite a tense security situation, the uncertainties related to withdrawal of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), and the increased activities of its competitors (Pakistan and China), India has not substantially stepped up its security governance engagement in Afghanistan. In this article, I explain India’s hesitant policy as a factor of domestic-level threat assessments, international pressures, and the risk-averse character of Indian foreign policy.

Keywords: India, Afghanistan, regional powers, International Security Assistance Force, Pakistan, regional security

Russia in Central Asia: The Dynamics of Great-Power Politics in a Volatile Region

Charles E. Ziegler (Professor, University of Louisville)

With US and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces poised for a major drawdown from Afghanistan in 2014, and Russia determined to strengthen its influence in the “near abroad,” new uncertainties face the volatile post-Soviet Central Asian states. Changing power alignments in the region will pose new challenges for the United States, Russia, China, and the European Union. This article assesses the evolving direction of great-power interaction and influence in Central Asia, focusing on Moscow’s growing assertiveness in the region. Using a neoclassical realist framework, I argue that geographic, historical, and cultural ties; a military presence; and developing

economic institutions favor Russia over the short term, although China is best poised to expand regional influence over the long run. US war weariness, budget constraints, and distance suggest that—barring new major terrorist threats emanating from the region—Washington’s presence and influence will gradually diminish.

Keywords: realism, Russian foreign policy, China and Central Asia, US foreign policy

Vol. 39, No. 1, 2015

China’s Friendly Offensive Toward Japan in the 1950s: The Theory of Wedge Strategies and International Relations

Hyon Joo Yoo (Assistant Professor, Trinity University)

This article explores why the People’s Republic of China employed a surprisingly soft and lenient policy toward Japan in the 1950s despite their historical and political animosities. Relying on a relatively new concept in the study of international relations, I argue that China’s conciliatory policy toward Japan represented a wedge strategy that was designed to detach Japan from the United States and weaken the US-Japan alliance. The logic of the theory also reveals that China’s policy was in line with its “united front” against the United States during the Cold War.

Keywords: China-Japan relations, China’s foreign policy in the 1950s, Cold War history, wedge strategy, US-Japan alliance

Inflated Hope, Unchanged Reality: China’s Response to North Korea’s Third Nuclear Test

Jih-Un Kim (Associate Professor, Chungnam National University)

When North Korea conducted its third nuclear weapons test in 2013, observers commented that China’s foreign policy toward North Korea was becoming tougher. That is an exaggeration. China’s harsh rhetoric and concrete actions directed at North Korea following the nuclear test were short-lived and outweighed by its positive attitude and approaches to the North. Chinese leaders accentuated the mutual comradeship between China and North Korea, the Chinese public remained favorable to the North, and bilateral transactions continued. China has not changed its basic policy toward North Korea and is unlikely to do so in the near future.

Keywords: China, North Korea, nuclear test, foreign policy

China's Puzzling Energy Diplomacy Toward Iran

Fuzuo Wu (Visiting Senior Research Fellow, National University of Singapore)

China, the world's largest energy consumer, has sought to build up its ties with all energy-rich countries. But China's energy diplomacy toward Iran, one of its largest oil suppliers, is puzzling. On the one hand, China has gone all out to strengthen its ties with Iran in spite of international efforts to isolate Iran because of its controversial nuclear program. On the other hand, China not only has voted against Iran at the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Security Council on the nuclear issue, but also has cut its oil imports from Iran. The main explanation for this apparent contradiction is US pressure. China has yielded to the pressure because the United States and its allies are much more important for China's economic development and energy security than is Iran.

Keywords: China's energy diplomacy, China-Iran relations, China at the UN

The Philippines Confronts China in the South China Sea: Power Politics vs. Liberalism-Legalism

Renato De Castro (Professor, De La Salle University)

Using the Scarborough Shoal standoff between China and the Philippines as a case study, in this article I examine two approaches to addressing territorial disputes—power politics and liberalism-legalism. China, a major power, uses realpolitik to press its expansive claim in the South China Sea. The Philippines, a small power, adopts the liberal-legal approach that seeks to balance against China. During the standoff, China drove the Philippines out of the shoal, though stopping short of an armed clash, and effected a de facto occupation of the contested area. As a countermeasure, the Philippines filed a statement of claim with the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. The confrontation was a test of Thucydides's age-old aphorism that “the strong do what they have the power to do, and the weak accept what they have to accept.”

Keywords: South China Sea dispute, realism and liberalism, China-Southeast Asia relations

The Flexible Cost of Insulting China: Trade Politics and the “Dalai Lama Effect”

Bjørnar Sverdrup-Thygeson (Researcher, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

In this article, I investigate trade relations between Norway and China after the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Liu Xiaobo, a leading Chinese

dissident. It is a case study of China's political use of economic levers in its international relations. Concluding that Sino-Norwegian trade relationship did not suffer the severe impact that many predicted, I argue that the threshold for China to enact punitive economic actions seems higher than is often acknowledged. China's sensitivity is to the costs and benefits of the relevant country's trade.

Keywords: China-Norway relations, political economy, politics of trade, Dalai Lama effect

Economic Nationalism and Globalization in South Korea: A Critical Insight

You-il Lee (Associate Professor, University of South Australia Management), Kyung Tae Lee (Associate Professor, Toyo University)

In this article we explore whether South Korea's long-standing tradition of economic nationalism remains an appropriate development strategy, or whether this approach has been rendered irrelevant by the current wave of neoliberal globalization led by multinational corporations. We examine the changed economic agendas of each Korean regime, with a particular focus on national identity and economic nationalism, mobilized and implemented by the state. We argue that, despite the rapid development of globalization and cosmopolitanism in South Korea, economic nationalism is still prevalent. Korea's adoption of neoliberal economic activities, such as lifting trade barriers to encourage the inflow of foreign direct investment, was necessary to assist certain areas of the economy. Furthermore, changing the direction of the growth trajectory remains subordinate to the goal of state building. Empirical analysis of results collected from survey data and one-on-one interviews conducted in 2010 help to validate our hypothesis.

Keywords: economic nationalism, economic globalization, Korean state, multinational corporations

Road Map to a Korean Peninsula Peace Regime: A Chinese Perspective

Zheng Jiyong (Associate Professor, Fudan University), Gao Yin (Ph.D. Candidate, China Foreign Affairs University)

Sustainable peace and stability need an institutional guarantee. Based on the unique logic of its Korean peninsula policy, China has sketched a Chinese-style Korean Peninsula Peace Regime that comprises logic positioning, strategic objectives and priorities, a mechanism, a timetable, and a road map. The basic logic of the peace regime, the aim of which is long-term peace and stability on the Korean peninsula, is that it should include security but also integrate

security with economy and culture.

Keywords: Korean Peninsula Peace Regime, sustainable peace, Sino-Korean relations

Vol. 39, No. 2, 2015

Korea's Democracy After the Cheonan Incident: The Military, the State, and Civil Society Under the Division System

Jae-Jung Suh (Senior Associate Professor, International Christian University)

In this article I assess the limits and potential of South Korea's democracy as revealed by a review of political developments related to the Cheonan incident. I argue that the incident's aftermath shows that South Korea's democratic principles and procedures remain vulnerable to pressures generated by national security concerns, although this vulnerability was covered to a limited degree by an open public sphere and active civil society. Korea's political functioning in terms of republican principles and procedural democracy was seriously tested as imperatives of national security created the "state of exception." But civil society appropriated new technologies as well as old tactics to generate "public spheres" of deliberation. I suggest that Korean democracy during the Cheonan crisis reflects the resiliency and vulnerability of the "division system" in which South Korea's politics is embedded.

Keywords: Cheonan incident, democracy, South Korean politics, inter-Korean relations, division system

The Cheonan Incident and the Declining Freedom of Expression in South Korea

Jong-sung You (Senior Lecturer, Australian National University)

The Lee Myung-bak government's response to the sinking of the South Korean warship Cheonan in March 2010 was a hard-line policy that met with widespread public doubt and criticism. His conservative government reacted to critics with suppression of free speech and use of state power to control the media. As a result, international ratings of press freedom and Internet freedom for South Korea were downgraded. The government relied on national security rhetoric; however, its primary legal tools were not the National Security Law but rather criminal defamation and broadcasting and Internet regulations. I discuss some factors that make South Korean democracy vulnerable to erosion of press freedom, including the enduring influence of the Cold War, fragility of liberalism, and the lack of

executive constraints.

Keywords: Cheonan incident, South Korea, freedom of expression, illiberal democracy

Rallying Around the Flag or Crying Wolf? Contentions over the Cheonan Incident

Taehyun Nam (Associate Professor, Salisbury University)

In this article, I examine the 2010 sinking of the South Korean naval ship Cheonan to assess the popular theory of “rally-round-the-flag,” focusing especially on its domestic mechanisms. What did the South Korean government do to sell its version of the incident to the public? How effective was it? What were its obstacles? In addition, I explore the possibility that the authorities may in fact have limited ability to engage in effective diversionary activity. I conclude that authorities’ efforts were partially successful because of their monopoly of information, control over the press, repression, and institutionalization of memories. Obstacles to their efforts included nongovernmental organizations, independent journalists, and the president’s low popularity.

Keywords: Cheonan incident, democracy, rally-round-the-flag effect, South Korean politics, inter-Korean relations

Transitory or Lingering Impact? The Legacies of the Cheonan Incident in Northeast Asia

Yangmo Ku (Assistant Professor, Norwich University)

What changes has the Cheonan incident brought about in the Northeast Asian region? How and to what extent have those changes shifted as time goes by? I find that the Cheonan sinking has played a key role in deepening the ideological chasm in South Korea between conservatives and progressives. It has also become a serious obstacle to the improvement of South Korea–North Korea relations, and has been the catalyst for the emergence of a Cold War–like rivalry between the US–South Korea–Japan and the China–North Korea–Russia blocs. However, relations among neighboring countries in Northeast Asia have shifted over time, including significant improvement in China–Republic of Korea relations and worsening of relations between China and North Korea and South Korea and Japan.

Keywords: Cheonan incident, ideological divide, South Korean politics, inter-Korean relations, Northeast Asian security relations

Money for Life: The Legal Debate in China About Criminal Reconciliation in Death Penalty Cases

Robert Weatherley (Lawyer; Mills & Reeve), Helen Pittam (Graduate Development Scheme, British Department of International Development)

In this article we examine the debate among legal experts in China over the recent practice of death penalty criminal reconciliation (DPCR), which is a program that seeks to reconcile an offender convicted of a capital offense with the victim by requiring the offender to meet with, apologize, and pay economic compensation to the victim in exchange for a death sentence commuted to life in prison. Proponents of DPCR believe it provides important financial and emotional benefits to victims, helps rehabilitate offenders, and alleviates the wider social tensions generated by the offense committed. Opponents argue that DPCR violates the basic principle of equality before the law because the decisions reached using this process are sometimes influenced by public opinion and often biased toward those who can afford to pay compensation. These critics suggest that DPCR should be replaced with a comprehensive system of state compensation for victims of capital offenses.

Keywords: China legal reform, death penalty, punishment, criminal reconciliation

“Modernizing” Confucianism in China: A Repackaging of Institutionalization to Consolidate Party Leadership

Shufang Wu

In this article, I examine the state-supported “modernization” (xiandaihua) of Confucianism in China and argue that behind this revival is an intention to institutionalize Confucianism in order to consolidate the leadership and ideological control of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). However, while the CCP-led government has pragmatically adopted Confucianism to maintain the current power structure, there is no evidence that Confucianism will become the theoretical heart of the party. Confucianism has not acquired, nor will it acquire, a political position equal to Marxism. Many Chinese intellectuals have confirmed this tendency.

Keywords: Chinese politics, Confucianism, modernization, ideology, institutionalization

Building Multilateralism on Bilateralism: Evidence from Networked Governance of FDI in Asia

Chi-Wook Kim (Associate Professor; University of Ulsan)

In this article, I develop the multilateralism-through-bilateralism thesis by analyzing Asian bilateral investment treaties (BITs)—the idea that dense

networks of bilateral agreements with similar contents provide the architecture for de facto multilateralism in regional economic governance. BIT networks are becoming increasingly dense and converging in content, and hence are analogous to a multilateral architecture for investment governance in the region. Key elements of this process are the degree of density and uniformity of BIT networks. Using the tool of social network analysis, Is how that Asian BIT networks have become much denser, and they converge rather than diverge in terms of key provisions such as investment protection and dispute settlement procedures. I suggest that bilateralism is not necessarily a substitute for, or a stumbling block to, multilateralism, but should rather be viewed as another useful path toward multilateral governance.

Keywords: multilateralism, bilateralism, foreign direct investment, bilateral investment treaty, regionalism

Vol. 39, No. 3, 2015

The “Abe Effect” in Northeast Asia: The Interplay of Security, Economy, and Identity

Yul Sohn (Professor, Yonsei University)

Back to the Future? Japan’s Search for a Meaningful New Role in the Emerging Regional Order

T. J. Pempel (Jack M. Forcey Professor, University of California, Berkeley)

“Is Japan back?” Economically, the evidence is mixed at best due largely to slowness in carrying out vital structural reforms. In electoral terms, the Liberal Democratic Party has regained much of its prior dominance under Abe Shinzo. Most problematic of all, Japan is not back at all in regaining a commanding position within East Asia, in part due to its slow economic transformation, but due also to the atavistic positions taken by Abe’s government on the historical interpretations of Japanese behavior in World War II.

Keywords: Abe, Abenomics, structural reform, Liberal Democratic Party, Asian regionalism

The Abe Effect and Domestic Politics

Takashi Terada (Professor, Doshisha University)

In this article, I show how Prime Minister Abe Shinzo has promoted two major national and international economic policies—Abenomics and

Japan's involvement in the Trans-Pacific Partnership—by focusing on his administration's domestic political struggles. Both agendas become significant in the face of China's regional engagement, demonstrating the inextricable ties between international affairs and domestic politics, a combination essential for grasping the “Abe effect” in foreign policy.

Keywords: Abenomics, TPP, decision making process, agricultural reform in Japan

Reorienting Japan? Security Transformation Under the Second Abe Cabinet

Hiroshi Nakanishi (Professor, Kyoto University)

In this article, I provide an overview of the major security and defense changes achieved by the second Abe Shinzo cabinet and analyze why Abe was reasonably successful. Based on analysis of the major Japanese strategic guidelines, the new National Security Council, and legal arguments on interpretations of the constitution, I argue that Abe's security and defense reforms are not unique to his ideology or political stance but follow the general trend Japan has pursued in the last two decades. What is unique about Abe is his drive and political tact to ram through these reforms. These reforms are also suited to shift Japan's geopolitical focus away from the Asian continent and toward the Eurasian littoral and maritime areas, where Japan sees more economic and political opportunities without the historical controversies it faces in East Asia.

Keywords: Abe Shinzo, Japan's constitution, collective self-defense, US-Japan defense relations

China's Perceptions of and Responses to Abe's Foreign Policy

Xiaoming Zhang (Professor, Peking University)

Over the past two years since Xi Jinping and Abe Shinzo came to power, the bilateral relationship between China and Japan has been deteriorating steadily. China's perception of Abe's foreign policy orientation has been very negative. At the same time, China's response to it has also been very tough and assertive. At least four factors may account for China's attitude and behavior: China's rise, domestic politics, historical memory, and leadership personality.

Keywords: China, Japan, Sino-Japanese relations, East Asia security

The Kishi Effect: A Political Genealogy of Japan-ROK Relations

John Delury (Associate Professor, Yonsei University)

The severe deterioration in South Korea-Japan relations under Abe Shinzo

and Park Geun-hye seems paradoxical given that Abe's grandfather, Kishi Nobusuke, and Park's father, Park Chung-hee, were "close friends" who helped forge Japan-South Korea normalization in 1965. However, Abe and Park are better understood as operating within the nationalist conservative logic that brought their families together but now drives their countries apart.

Keywords: Korea-Japan relations, Kishi Nobusuke, Abe Shinzo, Park Chung-hee, Park Geun-hye, Manchukuo, Korea-Japan normalization, conservative nationalism

The Abe Effect on South Korea's Trade Policy

Yul Sohn (Professor, Yonsei University)

Prime Minister Abe Shinzo's decision to enter talks on the Transpacific Partnership (TPP) has been a game changer in the competition over Asia Pacific free trade agreements (FTAs). His move helped to create a space for multilateral, mega-FTA competition before South Korea could fully prepare and implement its "global FTA hub strategy" predicated on bilateral deals. In this article, I provide an overview of South Korea's evolving strategies toward FTAs and explore how it has responded to the "Abe effect." My focus is on two challenges for South Korea in participating in the TPP: US geopolitical pressure once Japan entered negotiations, and the *de facto* FTA negotiations with Japan under the TPP. Dealing with Japan is an especially tall order given the troubled history of South Korea-Japan economic and political relations.

Keywords: Korea-Japan relations, TPP, Abe Shinzo, hub strategy, security-economy nexus

Japan Addresses the Global HIV/AIDS Crisis: The Roles of Media and Civil Society in Shaping Perceptions and Aid

Young Soo Kim (Assistant Professor, Loyola University)

Japan's response to the global HIV/AIDS crisis in the 1980s was lukewarm, due mainly to the absence of a domestic perception of AIDS as an immediate threat. The key determinants of that perception were rare cases of AIDS infections in Japan, a detrimental media role, and weak civil society. Japanese media contributed to shaping a flawed image of AIDS as a foreign disease or a disease of homosexuality and promiscuity. Moreover, civil society organizations were not strong enough to create momentum for reformulating the distorted perception or catalyzing specific policies. Not until the early 1990s did Japan's global AIDS funding increase. The policy shift was in tandem with the rising influence of newly emerged civil activist groups.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS, Japan's foreign aid policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

media, civil society

Getting Japan Back on the Sustainable Growth Path: Lessons from the Koizumi Era

Jeong Yeon Lee (Professor, Yonsei University)

I examine the Koizumi Junichiro era in Japan to derive lessons for the current Abe Shinzo administration that vows to get Japan back on the path of sustainable growth. Standard growth theory identifies total factor productivity (TFP) as the key to sustainable growth. The existing empirical evidence clearly indicates that economic recovery during Koizumi's tenure was accompanied by robust growth of TFP. To account for this improvement in TFP performance, I focus on three developments during Koizumi's term: promotion of competition by introducing market discipline to various sectors of the economy, effectiveness of market entry and exit, and use of foreign competitive pressure to enhance domestic efficiency.

Keywords: Japanese economy, Koizumi Junichiro, Abenomics, total factor productivity

Commentary:

Words Mightier Than Hacks: Narratives of Cyberwar in the United States and China

Cuihong Cai (Associate Professor, Fudan University), Diego Dati (MA, Fudan University)

Vol. 39, No. 4, 2015

Introduction to the Special Issue: Nuclear Power in East Asia

Tilman Ruff (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Sustainable Energy Options

Andrew Blakers (Professor, Australian National University)

Solar energy is special: It is vast, ubiquitous, and indefinitely sustainable. The solar resource is much larger than all other available energy resources combined. Solar energy utilizes very common materials; has minimal security and military risks; is available nearly everywhere in vast quantities; and has minimal environmental impact over unlimited time scales. The recent (and continuing) rapid price reduction in photovoltaics and wind energy was not

generally foreseen, and is likely to lead to widespread market disruption. New wind and solar photovoltaic (PV) systems are both being deployed around the world in similar scale to new coal, gas, and hydro systems. Renewable energy now constitutes the majority of new generation capacity installed each year. Electricity from wind and PV systems is now cost-competitive with newly built coal, gas, oil, and nuclear generators in many parts of the world. Roof-mounted PV systems successfully compete with conventional gas and electricity for the supply of heat and electricity in cities. Transport and chemical synthesis powered by PV and wind electricity is likely to be competitive in the future.

Keywords: solar energy, photovoltaics, wind energy, pumped hydro energy storage, sustainable energy

Nuclear Energy Policy Issues in Japan After the Fukushima Nuclear Accident

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Professor, Nagasaki University)

The 2011 Fukushima nuclear accident has become a turning point for Japan, creating loss of public trust not only in nuclear safety but in overall energy policy. More than 80 percent of the public wants to phase out nuclear power eventually. On April 11, 2014, the Japanese government adopted a new National Energy Strategy that declares its intention to reduce dependence on nuclear energy while considering it one of the important base-load electricity sources. Regardless of the future of nuclear energy, Japan needs to face five key policy issues: spent fuel management, plutonium stockpile management, radioactive waste disposal, human resources management, and restoration of public trust. I discuss these critical issues and possible policy alternatives that Japan should pursue.

Keywords: nuclear energy, spent fuel, waste disposal, plutonium stockpile, public trust

The China Syndrome? Nuclear Power Growth and Safety After Fukushima

Amy King (Lecturer, Australian National University), M. V. Ramana (Associate Research Scholar, Princeton University)

Since the Fukushima disaster in Japan, the Chinese government has undertaken a number of measures to improve the safety of its nuclear facilities while simultaneously committing to a rapid expansion of nuclear power capacity. We explore the tension between these twin commitments, examining China's record of implementation of nuclear safety measures since Fukushima. We investigate how nuclear safety interacts with other priorities in shaping decisions about inland nuclear power stations and nuclear reactor design choice. We find that various safety measures have been implemented since 2011, but where their

implementation competes with other priorities—such as the economic interests of local governments and nuclear corporations, and central government energy and development targets—safety is not always the primary concern.

Keywords: China, Fukushima, nuclear power, safety, fragmented authoritarianism

To Regulate or Not to Regulate: The Conundrum of Taiwan's Nuclear Power

Kuang-Jung Hsu (Professor, National Taiwan University)

As more and more information indicates that nuclear power is not economical, energy diversification and greenhouse gas reduction may become the arguments used to justify nuclear energy development. But some countries may wish to gain weapon capabilities through civil programs, as Taiwan (the Republic of China, ROC) did many years ago. Even though Taiwan has no military uses presently in mind, the past still casts a long shadow on those in the field of nuclear energy and is likely to threaten operational safety and risks, placing waste management in disarray. The paradox of promoting versus regulating nuclear power has not been resolved. Over the years, a number of nuclear-related incidents have occurred in Taiwan, demonstrating the importance of having a system of checks and balances, strictly enforced through transparency, domestically and internationally.

Keywords: Taiwan nuclear program, nuclear energy regulation, nuclear proliferation

The Slovakian “Inspirasi” for Indonesian Nuclear Power: The “Success” of a Permanently Failing Organization

Richard Tanter (Senior Research Associate, Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability)

The Indonesian national nuclear power agency (BATAN) is a classic example of a permanently failing organization that survives due to external support and frequent announcements of imminent construction of a nuclear power plant (NPP). Between 2009 and 2013 BATAN claimed the Slovakian nuclear power industry as its mentoring partner and inspiration in building an NPP in Bangka-Belitung. BATAN failed to mention the scandal-ridden state of the now foreign-owned Slovakian nuclear industry, its catastrophic past, and its nonexistent construction capacity. The Slovakia/Bangka campaign, baseless though it was in reality, functioned as a kind of informational fog of fantasy that deflected attention from domestic critics of an Indonesian nuclear program.

Keywords: Indonesian nuclear power industry, Slovakian nuclear power industry

The State of Nuclear Energy in ASEAN: Regional Norms and Challenges

*Mely Caballero-Anthony (Associate Professor, Nanyang Technological University),
Julius Cesar I. Trajano (Senior Analyst, Nanyang Technological University)*

The Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011 did not dampen plans by Southeast Asian countries to develop nuclear power plants, despite safety concerns. The strong interest in nuclear power development is being driven by strategic considerations as states view nuclear power as an alternative energy source that can help address the dual objectives of energy, security, and mitigation of climate change effects. Our article examines the prospects for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to build a stronger regional normative framework to promote nuclear safety and security and prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons. In light of ASEAN's vision to establish a political and security community in 2015, we argue that member states that plan to use nuclear energy need to address critical issues such as legislative and regulatory frameworks, human resource development, radioactive waste management, nuclear safety, emergency planning, and security and physical protection.

Keywords: nuclear safety, security and safeguards, ASEAN political and security community, ASEAN norms, energy security, ASEANTOM

The Soviet Blueprint for the Postwar Korean Provisional Government: A Case Study of the Politburo's Decisions

Hyun-Soo Jeon (Professor, Kyungpook National University)

By analyzing the Soviet Politburo's decrees, I seek to reconstruct the blueprint that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) devised for organizing the post-World War II Korean provisional government. The CPSU obstructed the antitrusteeship forces' participation in the US-USSR Joint Commission, aiming to establish a government dominated by the left. Under the Soviet Union's suggested arrangement, the provisional government could exercise legislative and administrative authority only under the Commission's control. Despite believing that rule under a trusteeship would best secure Korea's autonomy, the Soviets did not specify a process for Korea's transition to complete independence.

Keywords: US-USSR Joint Commission, decrees of CPSU Politburo, Korean provisional government, Moscow Conference, antitrusteeship movement

Vol. 40, No. 1, 2016

The Politics of Immigrant Incorporation Policies in Korea and Japan

Jiyeoun Song (Assistant Professor, Seoul National University)

Over the past two decades Korea and Japan have experienced a rapid inflow of foreign population into their homogeneous societies. Despite their many similarities in immigration control policies, Korea and Japan have differed in their politics of immigrant incorporation. Korea's central government has instituted policies that favor female marriage migrants and children of international marriages, while Japan's local governments have initiated policies for a wide range of foreign residents in their communities. I argue that the different boundaries of citizenship for specific groups of the foreign population, created and reinforced by the state, explain variations in the politics of immigrant incorporation policies in the two countries.

Keywords: immigrant incorporation, multiculturalism, citizenship, migrant workers, marriage migrants

Assessing China's Media Reform

Guosong Shao (Professor, Shanghai Jiao Tong University), Jiayin Lu (Associate Professor, China Youth University for Political Sciences), Ye Hao (Lecturer, Shanghai Jiao Tong University)

Since China adopted the policy of reform and opening up in 1978, the Chinese media system has undergone a transformation. I will survey and evaluate the media reforms. After summarizing the changes in media management, structure, and function, we discuss the challenges that China's media industries are confronting today. These include the inherent contradictions of media attributes, the administrative segmentation of the media market, and the lack of adequate protection of free speech. We conclude with recommendations for the further reform of China's media system.

Keywords: China's media industries, media reform, media management, media structure, media function, media attributes, media market, free speech

Democratic Performance and Park Chung-hee Nostalgia in Korean Democracy

Woo Jin Kang (Assistant Professor, Kyungpook National University)

Why, a quarter century after democratization, are Korean citizens so nostalgic about the former authoritarian Park Chung-hee government? What are the implications of this support for Korea's democratic deepening? To answer these questions, I offer empirical analyses of selected data from the Korea Democracy

Barometer 2010 survey that confirm the relevance of two dimensions of political support to authoritarian nostalgia in Korea: the life biography model and the economic performance model at the system level. The results suggest a double-sided phenomenon: on the one hand, nostalgia based on a retrospective collective memory; on the other, citizens' critical view of the performance deficits of post-Park democratic governments in dealing with inequality in Korean society. As the findings elucidate, in spite of the challenges they face, emergent democratic governments must perform more effectively if they are to win citizens' support.

Keywords: democratic performance, Park Chung-hee nostalgia, Korean democracy, inequality, democratic consolidation

Multihegemony, Sutured Regionness, and the US-China-Japan Triangle

Key-young Son (Humanities Korea Professor, Korea University)

The rise of nationalism, unresolved territorial disputes, an intricate system of alliances, and the perceived breakdown of the balance of power have been identified as the main causes behind the outbreak of World War I. They also are strikingly similar to the challenges East Asia faces today. Will history repeat itself and see East Asia sleepwalking into another hegemonic war? China's future relations with the United States and Japan will be crucial for East Asia's regional order, but its dispute with Japan over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands might lead to a regional war. I argue, however, that a major war is unlikely because pre-World War I Europe and today's Northeast Asia are qualitatively different in terms of what I call multihegemony and sutured regionness.

Keywords: hegemony, multihegemony, sutured regionness, World War I, US-China-Japan triangle, Northeast Asia

China's New Silk Road: Where Does It Lead?

Gan Junxian (Assistant Professor, Zhejiang University), Mao Yan (Assistant Professor, Zhejiang Shuren University)

We analyze the driving forces behind China's New Silk Road (NSR) initiative and find that they include not only short-term factors, such as the US "rebalance" of forces in Asia and China's economic slowdown since 2012 but also long-term factors such as China's ambition to recover its past glory and integrate itself still further into the global economy. We then look at the external challenges facing China's initiative, such as geopolitical competition, fear of overdependence, and political instabilities along the old silk routes. We highlight China's policy dilemmas and discuss the sustainability of China's NSR initiative and its implications for the world. Our conclusion is that China's

initiative could be in for a rocky road, but if it strikes a good balance between its diplomatic objectives and means and its values and actions, the NSR could speed up regional integration.

Keywords: China, the New Silk Road, geopolitical conflicts, regional integration

Commentaries:

A Chinese Admission of False Korean War Allegations of Biological Weapon Use by the United States

Milton Leitenberg (Senior Research Scholar, University of Maryland)

Security Stability in East Asia

William A. Douglas (Professorial Lecturer, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies)

Book Review Essay:

The Next Great War: Cold Peace or Mutual Gain?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 40, No. 2, 2016

The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: A Case Study of Multifaceted Containment

Amitai Etzioni (Professor, George Washington University)

Although some analysts have emphasized the importance of China's becoming a "responsible stakeholder" in the international order, the United States has in effect blocked China's full participation in a range of existing international institutions and attempted to undermine China's efforts to create and lead new international institutions. In this article I examine those US efforts, particularly with regard to the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, where the United States attempted to block other states from becoming members. I explore the difference between multifaceted and aggression-limiting containment and propose that the United States apply the latter to help stabilize Sino-US relations.

Keywords: international finance, containment, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, international institutions, China, engagement

Alliance Commitment and the Maintenance of the Status Quo

Charles Chong-Han Wu (Assistant Professor, Hong Kong Baptist University-United International College), John Fuh-Sheng Hsieh (Professor, University of South Carolina)

Our study shows that alliance commitment is the key to the maintenance of the status quo between a weak challenger and a major-power attacker. In order to verify our theory, we employ data from Benson's typology of compelling military alliances and conduct empirical tests for our theoretical hypothesis. The statistical results comply with the theory, indicating that a trustful and strong military commitment creates negative effects on the status quo. We examine the cases of the Korean War and US-China-Taiwan relations to buttress our arguments. The latter case also shows the need to modify our original model under certain conditions.

Keywords: alliance, status quo, China, security, Korean War

North Korea's Siege Mentality: A Sociopolitical Analysis of the Kim Jong-un Regime's Foreign Policies

Bomi Kim (Lecturer, Chung-Ang University)

North Korea's siege mentality is deeply rooted in negative experiences with out-groups in history. This worldview dominates its society and is the foundation of its mistrust toward the outside world. It has also become a crucial instrument for stable governance, social cohesion, and the regime's allocation of resources. However, in foreign affairs, negative or aggressive attitudes toward other nations are not beneficial for international cooperation and are more likely to intensify North Korea's isolation. Since a siege mentality is no tan unchangeable disposition, its maintenance depends on deliberate reproduction by political, cultural, and educational mechanisms. The international community should assist North Korea to establish new ideas on threats, convey accurate information about out-groups, and reinterpret its views of the outside world.

Keywords: North Korea, siege mentality, foreign policy, self-reliance, Songun politics

Unexpected Results of a Political Pilgrimage: Yim Su-gyong's 1989 Trip to North Korea and Changes in North Koreans' Worldview

Seok-hyang Kim (Professor, Ewha Womans University), Andrei Lankov (Professor, Kookmin University)

This article deals with the impact on the North Korean domestic situation produced by the 1989 visit to Pyongyang by Yim Su-gyong, a young student

activist from South Korea. Going there in defiance of South Korea's official policy, she was enthusiastically welcomed by the North Korean authorities, who strove to present her as an embodiment of the alleged revolutionary spirit of South Korean youngsters. However, in the long run Yim's trip produced totally different results. The North Korean audience, fascinated with Yim Sugyong and quite attentive to her behavior, was able to read hints that indicated the official picture of South Korean life as presented by the North Korean media was wrong. Contrary to the authorities' initial expectations, the trip made North Koreans more skeptical of the officially approved worldview.

Keywords: North Korea, Yim Sugyong, political tourism

The Influence of South Korean NGOs on State Aid Policy

Kyungyon Moon (Assistant Professor, Chonbuk National University)

I examine the experiences of South Korean nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that provide aid to North Korea in order to assess the success and limitations of the NGO movement. With reference to the political role of NGOs in constructivist theory, I identify three factors that have hindered the formation of a sustainable partnership between the South Korean government and NGOs since the inter-Korean summit of 2000. First, South Korean NGOs have lacked consistent efforts toward transparency and accountability in operations and organizational management. Second, the great increase in inter-Korean cooperation and exchange after 2000 weakened the research, education, and advocacy function of NGOs. Third, aid NGOs failed to establish independent, diversified, and stable funding mechanisms, decreasing their capacity to act as cooperative partners of the government. **Keywords:** South Korea, nongovernmental organizations, aid policy, government-NGO relations, aid to North Korea, inter-Korean exchange and cooperation.

Keywords: South Korea, nongovernmental organizations, aid policy, government-NGO relations, aid to North Korea, inter-Korean exchange and cooperation

Institutional Mismatch and Chinese Aid in the Philippines: Challenges and Implications

Dennis D. Trinidad (Associate Professor, De La Salle University)

Why is Chinese aid attractive to some recipient countries and controversial in others? This study advances the idea that Chinese aid is more attractive in countries that lack or have weak Development Assistance Committee-based aid institutions. When there is a mismatch between a non-DAC donor and a recipient country's aid regimes, legal and political problems may arise, as the

case of Chinese aid to the Philippines in the 2000s demonstrates. As a recipient country, the Philippines is more accustomed to DAC-based rules and practices governing development aid processes, while as a donor country, China's aid institutions evolved outside the DAC club. The controversies that subsequently arose from institutional mismatch created a public perception that Chinese aid was illegal and prone to corruption, undermining China's aid objectives.

Keywords: Chinese aid, Philippines, aid institutions

Idea Change Matters: China's Practices and the East Asian Peace

Ren Xiao (Professor, Fudan University)

In this article I examine the changes in China's foreign policy thinking and how they have influenced China's international behavior. I reveal how the leadership's beliefs guided and drove the Chinese state's behavior. When leaders believed that the world was in a "war and revolution" age, China was inclined to overlook the actual international order and institutions and backed revolutionary movements or armed struggles in other countries. The cognitive shift to "peace and development" in the 1980s, which was consolidated in the 1990s through two major debates, was fundamental in terms of strategically reshaping China's behavior, turning it from a revolutionary state into a quasi-status quo state. Besides embracing international institutions, China has also joined neighboring countries in creating new regional institutions and norms in East Asia. I argue that ideas, and not only perceptions, guide China's policymaking and international behavior.

Keywords: China's foreign policy, Chinese strategy, East Asia peace

Book Review Essay:

Unfitness as a Stepchild of Myopia

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 40, No. 3, 2016

Introduction to the Special Issue

Hyun-Gwi Park (Research Fellow, Cambridge University)

One River and Three States: The Tumen River Triangle and the Legacy of the Postsocialist Transition

Hyun-Gwi Park (Research Fellow, Cambridge University)

In this article, I address the contradictions and paradoxes inherent in the development of the Tumen River triangle area. After briefly examining the history and background of the international development project, I explore how it has been implemented and the problems it has faced in the Russian Far East and North Korea, in contrast with its relatively successful development in China. My argument is that the core concept in Tumen River development became closely interlinked with the local variants of postsocialist transition. The difficulties created by Russia and North Korea derive from the dismantling of their state economies, which paradoxically has led to a preoccupation with sovereignty rather than the pursuit of a market economy.

Keywords: Tumen River, postsocialist transition, border, center-periphery relations, Russian Far East, northeast China, North Korea, Northeast Asia

Charisma in a Watery Frame: North Korean Narrative Topographies and the Tumen River

Robert Winstanley-Chesters (Research Fellow, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific)

In this article, I address North Korea both in its latent stage and the reframing of its early political narratives to support the function and authority of its current government. These narratives of nationalistic and political struggle expand across geographic boundaries and are also bound by them—hence my focus on the Tumen River. Secondarily, I consider the reframing of riverine spaces within the terrain of Pyongyang's contemporary politics, and recent examples of reenactment for commemorative purposes of historically and politically important crossings of North Korea's northern rivers. Together, these analytic elements suggest the key position of rivers in both the bounding and unbounding of North Korean history, politics, ideology, and nationhood.

Keywords: political landscape, North Korea, Tumen River, narrative topography

The Sino-North Korean Border Economy: Money and Power Relations in North Korea

Christopher Green (Ph.D. Candidate, Leiden University)

In my article, I examine the use of foreign currency in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) border economy since the 1980s. I focus not on the US dollar so beloved of elites in Pyongyang but on the steady uptake of Chinese renminbi by nonelites, a phenomenon that emerged first from the economy of

the border region that the DPRK shares with China. Relying on testimony from structured interviews conducted in 2014 with former DPRK citizens now based in the Republic of Korea, I position the expansion of foreign currency usage within the history of contemporary DPRK marketization, specifically linking that expansion to economic shocks felt in 1992, 2002, and 2009. I conclude by discussing the threats and opportunities presented by the rising tide of foreign currency possession and use.

Keywords: border economy, Sino-North Korea border, monetary policy in command economy, foreign currency in DPRK, DPRK marketization, yuanization

The Modernization of Khasanskii Raion in the Russian Far East: Potential, Problems, and Perspectives

Angelina S. Vaschuk (Professor, Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), Anastasia P. Konyakhina (Research Associate, Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

In our article, we discuss development issues in a strategically important Russian territory—Khasanskii Raion (district). We focus on the implementation of infrastructure projects within the framework of establishing the International Transportation Corridor Primor’e-2, and on subjective assessments of modernization in terms of the common good. We conclude that an assessment of the rhetoric and practice of proposed projects reveals a close relationship with other experiences of post-Soviet transformation, showing that modernization itself is largely selective, nonsystemic, and controversial in its social consequences.

Keywords: international transportation corridors, Russia, border area, modernization, public opinion, local community, common good

From Earth to Ocean: Hunchun and China’s Ambivalent Maritime Past

Ed Pulford (Doctoral Candidate, University of Cambridge)

The Chinese town of Hunchun has been at the heart of Northeast Asian cooperation and development plans since the early 1990s, but in a region where maritime connections are essential, Hunchun lacks direct sea access. I explore how the sea has remained a powerful animating force behind Chinese visions for Hunchun’s future. After providing an ethnographic account of the contemporary place of the sea in local discourses of Hunchun’s identity, I draw on archival material to analyze the politico-linguistic history of maritime affairs in this part of China and beyond. I examine how the notion *yang* (ocean/foreign) transformed from being a label of foreign interventions in China to serving as a metaphor for domestic economic progress. The sea is both a distant

dream and a source of concrete developmental potential for Hunchun today. It is also an optic through which to observe the town's future.

Keywords: Hunchun, Yanbian, China, sea, development, nationalism, reform

China's Major-Powers Discourse in the Xi Jinping Era: Tragedy of Great Power Politics Revisited?

See-Won Byun (Ph.D. Candidate, George Washington University)

Xi Jinping took office in 2013 with a vision for a “new type of major-power relations” between China and the United States. What does this concept mean and why is it important now? An examination of the current Chinese discourse on major-power relations, as reflected in official and scholarly writings, reveals more continuity than change in China's external orientation. China's major-powers model reinforces (1) peaceful intentions rather than hegemonic aspirations, (2) the primacy of advancing China's domestic development rather than its international position, and (3) tensions between China's dual identities as a rising power and developing economy. The most distinct feature of this model is that it remains a Chinese proposition, posing a question as to the extent to which the United States and China are aligned in perceptions of their future relationship and the international order more broadly.

Keywords: major-power relations, US-China relations, China's rise

Loss Aversion and Risk Taking in North Korea's Militant Strategy, 1967–1968

Jein Do (Postdoctoral Fellow, Sogang University)

Studies of North Korean foreign policy are increasingly turning to the thesis advanced by prospect theory of loss aversion and reference dependence to explain its risk taking. Most of these studies focus on the post-1990s as the genesis of North Korea's risk-prone behavior. I show that Pyongyang has operated from a frame of losses since the late 1960s, due to the parallel decline of ideological unity in Soviet-North Korean and Sino-North Korean relations. In particular, from 1967 to 1968, North Korea perceived both allies to be more focused on countering each other than on jointly opposing the United States. Consequently, Pyongyang for the first time saw both Moscow and Beijing as doubtful assets in its bid for hegemonic unification. North Korea therefore stressed the role of small countries in the revolutionary struggle and launched the most violent phase of its militant strategy, emphasizing the US threat as the common enemy. The strategy was therefore in part a function of fear rather than a desire for expansion.

Keywords: prospect theory, Kim Il-sung, Sino-Soviet split, Pueblo incident, China-North Korea relations, USSR-North Korea relations

Book Review Essay:

Dystopia

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 40, No. 4, 2016

Introduction to the Special Issue

Jean-Marc F. Blanchard (Distinguished Professor, East China Normal University)

There is a relative dearth of research on China-Latin America political economic relations, especially where Chinese outward foreign direct investment (COFDI) is concerned. In my introductory article, I aim to enrich our knowledge about how external and internal political and economic factors interact to shape Sino-Latin American links. I offer background information on Chinese investment in Latin America, identify several analytical questions that have arisen in conjunction with COFDI in Latin America, and specify some of the key findings of the other articles in this special issue. The contributors indicate that COFDI and other Sino-Latin American economic ties may not be dramatically reshaping host country foreign policies toward China, that positive political relations are not sufficient to ensure smooth economic relations or growing COFDI, and that the activities of Chinese firms in Latin America may be shaped by the host country's institutional environment and their own operational interests rather than by any dictates from Beijing.

Keywords: China-Latin America relations, Chinese outward FDI, political economy of national security, economic influence

Chinese Investment in Brazil: Can It Match the Relevance of Bilateral Trade?

José Augusto Guilhon Albuquerque (Professor, University of São Paulo), Luís Afonso Fernandes Lima (CEO, Brazilian Society for the Study of Transnational Corporations and Economic Globalization)

In this article we explore the political economy of Chinese outward foreign direct investment (COFDI) in Brazil, and the impact of investment and other economic links on Brazilian foreign policy toward China. The warming of

Brazil's relations with China after 2003 had much to do with the perceptions of then president Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, who was particularly impressed by the astounding growth of bilateral trade and believed the two countries shared a similar level of socioeconomic development. Lula's domestic political challenges, the country's prioritization of South-South relations, and some institutional changes further reshaped Brazil's stance toward China. Unlike bilateral trade, Chinese investments did not exert a powerful influence on Brazilian policy toward China, though expectations of greater COFDI did have some impact.

Keywords: China-Brazil, foreign policy, foreign direct investment, trade, China foreign investment

Not All Plain Sailing: Opportunities and Pitfalls for Chinese Investment in Peru

Benjamin H. Creutzfeldt (Resident Postdoctoral Fellow, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies)

China has become a leading investor in Peru's extractive sector over the past decade. In this article I discuss the impact of that investment on Peruvian foreign policy and build on interviews with senior executives of Chinese-owned corporations in Peru. As a sample case for Latin America, it recognizes the repercussions of China's investments in national and regional development but argues that neither the firms nor Beijing imposes any significant political agenda on policymakers or legislators. I suggest, therefore, that government and local interest groups have a chance to harness China's involvement for the benefit of social and environmental agendas, should they choose to do so.

Keywords: China's foreign policy, China's foreign economic relations, state-owned enterprises, Peru, China outward foreign direct investment

Chinese Investment in Mexico: The Contemporary Context and Challenges

Enrique Dussel Peters (Professor, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Public, private, and academic institutions, in Mexico and bilaterally with China, ordinarily can facilitate long-range planning, rectify information gaps, and correct misunderstandings. But a dearth of such institutions has hindered the growth of Chinese outward foreign direct investment (COFDI) in Mexico and spurred negative reactions against it, further dampening Chinese investments. Structural trade imbalances, coupled with Mexican fears about the Chinese economic challenge, poison the political atmosphere in Mexico and between Mexico and China, also impeding COFDI. Besides exploring these problems, I provide background information on the bilateral political relationship, the

features of COFDI generally and details of several Chinese investment projects in Mexico, and the two countries' trade links. I offer some proposals designed to create a better foundation for the growth of COFDI in Mexico, a priority of both countries.

Keywords: China, Mexico, China outward foreign direct investment, China-Latin America trade

The Chile-China Paradox: Burgeoning Trade, Little Investment

Jorge Heine (Ambassador of Chile to the People's Republic of China)

Chile, a country that has been at the forefront of Latin America's growing links with China, embodies a paradox in terms of Chinese outward foreign direct investment (COFDI). On the one hand, bilateral trade has thrived, increasing fourfold since the signing of a free trade agreement in 2005, turning Chile into China's third largest trading partner in the region. On the other hand, Chinese direct investment in Chile has been low, much lower than in neighboring countries. In this article I explore the roots of this upsurge in bilateral trade while also explaining the reasons for the dearth of Chinese investment in a country traditionally considered to be attractive to foreign investors. Chile might be a victim of its own success as its economic accomplishments allow it to persist with investment policies that are currently daunting to Chinese investors.

Keywords: Chile, China, international trade, foreign direct investment, Asia Pacific

China's "Rule of Law" Policy and Communist Party Reform

Young Nam Cho (Professor, Seoul National University)

In this article I analyze the "rule of law" policy, which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) adopted as a principle of government at the 15th Party Congress in 1997. I investigate the emergence of rule of law policy and the context in which the CCP introduced it, then examine the concrete measures and actual implementation of the policy. I argue that the rule of law policy is the CCP's attempt to institutionalize its legal and performance legitimacy. The policy comprises several parts, including intraparty regulations, comprehensive law education for leading cadres, and the readjustment of party-legislative relations. However, the policy has serious problems and consequently has achieved limited results.

Keywords: China's political reform, rule of law policy, Communist Party reform

Resident Foreigners in South Korea and Japan: A Comparative Policy Analysis

Jung-Mee Hwang (Senior Researcher, Kangwon National University)

Although South Korea and Japan tend to maintain their identity as nonimmigration countries, a policy agenda for foreign residents has incrementally emerged, especially since the 1990s. In this comparative analysis, I examine the status of permanent and long-term residents and relevant policy changes that enhance their social and political rights regardless of naturalization. Permanent residents in Japan can access social welfare benefits such as the national pension, public assistance, and child allowances, but they are excluded from local suffrage. In contrast, permanent residents of South Korea have political rights in local elections while welfare coverage for them is restricted to public insurance, with no public aid entitlement. This difference represents a policy gap, caused by inconsistencies in the process of policy revisions and different priorities in policymaking.

Keywords: resident foreigners, policy gap, immigrant incorporation, comparative policy analysis, citizenship, social rights, political rights

In the Eye of the Typhoon: Taiwan and the Growing Dispute in the South China Sea

Dennis Hickey (Distinguished Professor, Missouri State University)

In this study I analyze Taiwan's policy toward the South China Sea dispute. I also examine two options that Taipei may wish to consider to address the growing instability in the area. I suggest that while some minor adjustments in policy might be warranted, it appears likely that Taiwan will resist significant changes to its present policy.

Keywords: Taiwan's foreign policy, South China Sea dispute, territorial disputes

Book Review Essay:

The Mind(s) of China: Don't Deeds Speak Louder Than Words?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 41, No. 1, 2017

South Korea's Rise in Comparative Perspective

Xiaobo Hu (Professor, Clemson University), Michael A. Morris (Professor Emeritus, Clemson University)

Comparative Analysis of Economic Development in South Korea and Taiwan: Lessons for Other Developing Countries

Hayam Kim (Senior Researcher, Yonsei University), Uk Heo (Distinguished Professor, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee)

Economic development in South Korea and Taiwan has received considerable scholarly attention, as they are two of the most successful cases since the 1960s. For all their similarities, differences also exist. Thus, we revisited economic development in South Korea and Taiwan to draw lessons for other developing countries. Our analysis indicates that no single development model will work in every country. Countries may learn from the successful cases but need to adjust the development model according to their political and economic conditions.

Keywords: economic development, South Korea, Taiwan, developing countries, development model

Geopolitics and South Korea's Economic Success

Jonathan Kriekhaus (Associate Professor, University of Missouri)

This article deepens our understanding of the South Korean economic miracle in three ways. First, using the most recent economic data, I demonstrate that the South Korean economy continues to impress when evaluated in comparative perspective. Second, I argue that geopolitics, such as the country's unique relationships with the United States and China, heavily shaped South Korean economic success during the Cold War years. Third, geopolitics and economic growth continue to intersect in South Korea's current strategy regarding free trade agreements.

Keywords: South Korea economic miracle, geopolitics, free trade agreement, South Korea-US relations, South Korea-China relations

The US Pivot to Asia and South Korea's Rise

Balbina Y. Hwang (Visiting Professor, Georgetown University)

The East Asian region is in flux with the rapidly increasing rise of Chinese power and the perception of a relative decline of US influence. For US treaty

allies in the region, the challenges to its regional dominance by a rising China have posed dilemmas but also opportunities. No country better exemplifies this contrast than South Korea, which as a middle power finds itself in a precarious position in the regional hierarchy. In recent years. South Korea has responded with new approaches to foreign and security strategies, which are the product of several factors: the challenges wrought by China's growth, US attempts to meet this challenge with a rebalance toward the region, and South Korea's evolving perceptions of national security. My discussion concludes that while external factors have shaped South Korea's security transformation, internal factors have been just as important drivers of South Korea's foreign policy.

Keywords: Asia pivot, South Korea, North Korea, China, Japan, US strategy, middle power, Asian hegemony, South Korean strategic culture, Asian regional threats

Economic Integration and Political Cooperation Between South Korea and China: Implications for Korea-US Relations

Wonjae Hwang (Associate Professor, University of Tennessee), Junhan Lee (Associate Professor, University of Incheon)

South Korea has traditionally maintained close ties with the United States, especially for external security, while more recently it has become closer to China, mainly for economic reasons. In this article we examine whether growing economic ties between South Korea and China promote their cooperation and common policy preferences and simultaneously weaken Korea-US relations. We examine the voting congruence of South Korea and China in the United Nations General Assembly between 1991 and 2012 and find no clear evidence that economic integration promotes congruence. Rather, South Korea's policy preferences are usually determined by independent consideration of issues.

Keywords: South Korea-China relations, South Korea-US relations, economic integration, vote congruence, UN General Assembly

Peacekeeping and Counterpiracy: A Comparative Analysis of South Korea's Contributions to International Peace and Stability

Terence Roehrig (Professor, US Naval War College)

As the international security environment grows increasingly complex, the need for multilateral solutions grows. Two such efforts are United Nations peacekeeping and counterpiracy operations off the coast of Somalia. Over the years many states have contributed police, observers, military personnel, ships, and other assets to support these multinational efforts. Since 2009 Seoul has sent a destroyer and a team of Navy SEALs to the counterpiracy operations

near Somalia. In this study I contrast South Korea's contributions to UN peacekeeping and maritime security with those of Australia, China, and Japan.

Keywords: South Korea, peacekeeping, South Korean navy, counterpiracy operations, maritime security

South Korea's Free Trade Strategy and East Asian Regionalism: A Multistage Approach

Min Ye (Associate Professor; Coastal Carolina University)

South Korea is probably the most active state in the surging wave of East Asian regionalism. It has aggressively pursued free trade agreements (FTAs) with partners across the world in the past decade. My study focuses on the particular procedure of South Korea's FTA formation. I develop a multistage approach to examine how South Korea proposes, negotiates, signs, and ratifies FTAs with other countries. Using South Korea's data on trade with 122 trading partners from 1995 to 2012, the study offers a systematic examination of various South Korean FTA strategies at these stages. The findings demonstrate both similarities and differences between South Korea and its East Asian counterparts.

Keywords: South Korea, free trade agreement, East Asia regionalism, multistage approach

Book Review Essay:

Can China Expand Without Limits?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 41, No. 2, 2017

The Politics of State-Owned Enterprise Reform in South Korea, Laos, and Vietnam

Mark Turner (Honorary Professor; UNSW Canberra), Michael O'Donnell (Professor; UNSW Canberra), Seung-Ho Kwon (Executive Director; Korea Research Institute, UNSW Canberra)

Efficiency Versus Public Good: Electricity Privatization in South Korea

Seung-Ho Kwon (Executive Director; Korea Research Institute, UNSW Canberra), Joseph Kim (Lecturer; RMIT University)

In this article we examine the politics of state-owned enterprise (SOE) reform in South Korea, specifically the privatization of Korea Electric Power Corporation. We focus on the policymaking process among government agencies and actors involved in SOE reform. The policy actors are identified, as are their preferences—efficiency versus the public good—and the strategies adopted to pursue them. The case illustrates how a particular SOE reform policy can take a long time to work through as each stakeholder attempts to pursue its preferences using various political ideologies and strategies in ever changing social, economic, and political environments. We present the lessons of the case for SOE reform.

Keywords: state-owned enterprises (SOEs), privatization, restructuring, public sector reform, Korea

Reforming State-Owned Enterprises in Vietnam: The Contrasting Cases of Vinashin and Viettel

Nguyen Manh Hai (Senior Researcher, Central Institute for Economic Management, Vietnam), Michael O'Donnell (Professor, UNSW Canberra)

State-owned enterprise (SOE) reform was introduced into Vietnam as a component of the Doi Moi economic reforms that began in 1986 and aimed to replace central planning with a more market-oriented economy. SOEs had performed poorly and were a drain on government resources. In this article we use a political economy framework to trace SOE reform through the various stages of policymaking and implementation. While the number of SOEs has been reduced, privatization (“equitization” in Vietnam) of large enterprises has proved more difficult as it has threatened the interests of powerful stakeholders. We use two case studies of large Vietnamese SOEs to demonstrate and explain both success and failure in SOE reform.

Keywords: state-owned enterprise reform, privatization, Vietnam, equitization, the state and economic development

Trial and Error in State-Owned Enterprise Reform in Laos

Latdavanh Songvilay (Researcher, National Economic Research Institute, Laos), Sithabandith Insisienmay (Senior Researcher, National Economic Research Institute, Laos), Mark Turner (Honorary Professor, UNSW Canberra)

In this article we trace the history of state-owned enterprise (SOE) reform in Laos. Commencing in 1986, SOE reform was a component of the New Economic Mechanism (NEM), a program of changes that moved the economy toward one based on market principles. SOE reform is located within the broader reforms associated with the NEM and is divided into three distinct

phases. We present and analyze a case study of the reform of the national electricity company (Électricité du Laos) in terms of a stages model of power sector reform. The overall findings show the importance of context in influencing the specific nature of SOE reform.

Keywords: Lao People's Democratic Republic, privatization, state-owned enterprises, transition economies, economic development

Colonialism and Contested Membership: Shifting Sense of Belonging and Postcolonial Division in Korea

Jin-Yeon Kang (Assistant Professor, Chonnam National University)

In this article I address explanations of postcolonial state formation in Korea. Focusing on the impact of Japanese colonial legacies on Korea in the early period of US occupation, I examine how the historical experience of colonial rule reformulated people's perception of collective membership in the national community, thereby conditioning and shaping Korea's postcolonial division. I pay particular attention to the historically shifting nature of collective identity and sense of belonging. My argument is that the significance of colonialism lies not merely in its institutional reproduction but especially in relational changes of the indigenous people and in reconstructing the meaning of nation and political community.

Keywords: collective membership, sense of belonging, postcolonial division, Korea, Japanese colonialism, US occupation

The Discursive Origins of Anti-Americanism in the Two Koreas

Kab Woo Koo (Professor, University of North Korean Studies)

In this article I explore the discursive origins of anti-Americanism or anti-American sentiments in the two Koreas, where the status of postcolonial states was pursued in different ways. I compare two early examples of stories that embodied anti-Americanism, based on discourse analysis in literary criticism: *Jackals*, written by the North Korean novelist Han Sorya, and *Land of Excrement*, written by the South Korean novelist Nam Jung-hyun. I emphasize the differences between the two anti-Americanisms in terms of their respective discursive origins. *Land of Excrement* was reprinted in a North Korean Communist Party bulletin without the author's permission, and he was arrested in 1965. The incident symbolizes the antagonistic relations of the two Koreas as well as the implicit and unofficial linkage between South Korean civil society and the North Korean state.

Keywords: North Korea, South Korea, postcolonialism, anti-Americanism, civil society

Engagement with North Korea: Evaluating the Scope of People-to-People Engagement in North Korea, 1995–2012

Andrew I. Yeo (Associate Professor, Catholic University of America)

Although North Korea remains one of the most isolated countries in the world, hundreds of foreign actors continue to work quietly inside the country. What is the size and scope of foreign engagement inside the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)? What types of activities do nongovernmental organizations, businesses, and other private actors conduct? What has been the experience and impact of those working inside the DPRK? Relying on an original data set and interviews with sixteen organizational field representatives and staff members with experience working inside the DPRK, I uncover basic trends related to people-to-people engagement in areas such as humanitarian relief, development assistance, educational assistance, professional training, and business interaction. Although impressive growth has taken place in foreign engagement in the DPRK, its potential impact remains unclear due to ongoing internal and external constraints.

Keywords: North Korea, engagement, humanitarian assistance, development, people-to-people exchange

Book Review Essay:

Origins and Consequences of South Korea's Social Development

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 41, No. 3, 2017

Popular Value Perceptions and Institutional Preference for Democracy in “Confucian” East Asia

Young-Hee Chang (Ph.D. Candidate, National Taiwan University), Jack Junzhi Wu (Associate Research Fellow, National Taiwan University), Mark Weatherall (Postdoctoral Fellow, National Taiwan University)

A democratic recession coupled with China's rise has reopened the Asian values debate between modernizers in favor of Western liberal democracy and traditional adherents to Confucianism. Using data from the third wave of the Asian Barometer Survey (2010–2012), we reexamine this debate by considering the implications of Confucian values for democratic orientations in seven societies: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, mainland China, and Vietnam. Our findings support the argument that, although traditionally

Confucian societies have developed a belief system and culture different from the West, such a system does not preclude the emergence and divergence of democracy. Indeed, East Asians tend to define democracy in terms of social equity and good governance (performance-distributive democracy) rather than liberty and democratic procedures (liberty-procedural democracy).

Keywords: Confucian values, institutional preference, conception of democracy, liberty-procedural democracy, performance-distributive democracy

Between Globalization and Nationalism: The Politics of Immigration in South Korea

Seo-Hyun Park (Associate Professor, Lafayette College)

Why, in recent years, has the South Korean government introduced various changes in its immigration policy, diverging from a long history of relative closure toward foreign workers in the East Asian region? While existing studies on labor migration utilize pluralistic models of interest aggregation and competition, examining the preferences of different domestic groups such as firms, native labor, and foreign-born immigrants, immigration has long remained underpoliticized in South Korea. Indeed, until the 2000s, the central government maintained strict policies banning the import of foreign labor, overruling other important economic or environmental factors such as sector-specific needs or a shrinking domestic workforce due to an aging population. In this article, I argue that a new political framing of immigration, made possible through a shifting domestic political context in which global human rights norms became more salient, led to important policy changes in the past decade. The South Korean case suggests that globalization has led to greater acceptance of foreign workers, less as a result of economic pressures but rather the pull of global standards, based on the Korean yearning for *seggyehwa* (to become global) and becoming an “advanced” nation.

Keywords: immigration policy, globalization, nationalism, developmental states, South Korea

The Enemy of My Ally Is Not My Enemy: The ROK-US Alliance and ROK-Iran Relations, 1978–1983

Lyoung Choi (Lecturer, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies), Jong-dae Shin (Professor, University of North Korean Studies)

In this article we examine the exceptional case of South Korea’s establishment of cooperative relations with Iran, despite the latter’s confrontation with the United States, South Korea’s closest ally, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. We discuss the conventional idea of the imbalanced relationship—the enemy of my ally is not

my enemy—to explain South Korea’s approach toward Iran, evaluate its past and current relations, and offer policy suggestions for the future relationship between the two countries. Using newly discovered archival resources and political records from South Korea, we provide a more exact picture of the international relations among South Korea, Iran, and the United States in the early 1980s.

Keywords: South Korea, Iran, Iranian Revolution, Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Iran-Iraq War, South Korean foreign policy, US foreign policy, Cold War

Political Transition in North Korea in the Kim Jong-un Era: Elites’ Policy Choices

Seung-Yeol Lee (Senior Researcher, National Assembly Research Service)

North Korea has already begun the process of transition, the patterns of which will be determined by the elites’ choice. System transition in North Korea may unfold in one of two ways: gradual transition, with the maintenance of the Suryong (supreme leader) system of communist power and acceptance of the market economy for the well-being of the people; or radical transition accompanied by sudden political change, which may lead to conflict between competitive elite groups before Kim Jong-un has time to solidify his hold on leadership. Which path will North Korea follow? In the era of Kim Jong-un, everything depends on the competition between the party elite and military elite.

Keywords: North Korea, elite policy choice, pattern of transition, party elite, military elite

Domestic Motivation and the Case of the East China Sea ADIZ: Diversion or Mobilization?

Szu-chien Hsu (Associate Research Fellow, Academia Sinica), Hsiao-Chi Hsu (Assistant Professor, National Taiwan Normal University)

China’s declaration of an air defense identification zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea shocked the international community, and many explanations have been offered about the motivation behind it. We argue that domestic politics played a key role in the ADIZ policy. However, existing studies have not paid sufficient attention to decisionmakers’ political motivation. To fill this gap, we explore two distinct models: the diversionary foreign policy model and the mobilization model. Both models focus on the linkage between the state leader’s domestic political consideration and foreign policy behavior, but each has different theoretical and empirical implications. Our findings suggest that the mobilization model offers a better explanation of the motivation for China’s

move.

Keywords: Sino-Japanese relations, Diaoyul Senkaku Islands, East China Sea, air defense identification zone, mobilization, diversion

An Asian Way to Safeguard Food Security: Transnational Farmland Investment

Scott Y. Lin (Assistant Professor, National Chengchi University)

During the twenty-first century's wave of transnational farmland investment, Asian countries contributed to about half of the investment. I therefore address the following major questions: What is the food security situation across Asian countries? What are the factors that drive Asian countries to join the transnational farmland investment movement? I argue that the following four factors give rise to the security problems in the food supply chain of Asian countries: (1) the developmental state model that leads Asian countries to sacrifice agriculture in their home countries; (2) the increases in food demand resulting from accelerated urbanization; (3) an unstable food supply chain causing Asian countries to seek reliable bases of food supply; and (4) food safety concerns that drive Asia to look for better quality farmlands. Today, as transnational farmland investment has become one of the models to maintain Asian countries' food security, this Asian model is also challenging contemporary global food security governance dominated by Western countries. The changes that it will effect over the course of this arduous process will also inform and shape future research within academia.

Keywords: transnational farmland investment, food security, food safety, developmental state, Asia

Book Review Essay: Empires Old and New

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 41, No. 4, 2017

How Does Rising Internet Usage Affect Political Participation in East Asia? Explaining Divergent Effects

Min-Hua Huang (Professor, National Taiwan University), Ching-Hsuan Su (Ph.D. Candidate, National Taiwan University), Ruixia Han (Assistant Professor, Shanghai Jiao Tong University), Mark Weatherall (Postdoctoral Fellow, National Taiwan University)

The advance of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has fundamentally changed the way people communicate and interact with each other, and the rise of the Internet profoundly affects political participation. In applying the latest Asian Barometer surveys, we discovered Internet-driven divergent effects on political participation, suggesting rising Internet usage is simultaneously associated with decreasing electoral and increasing activist participation. Further analysis revealed that the divergent effects can be explained by severe frustration with the political system and economic conditions. When considering state polity characteristics, we found that the Internet-driven divergent effects in a democratic context refer to a coincidence of two Internet-related effects that decrease electoral and increase activist participation; in an authoritarian context, they indicate a correlation between greater Internet usage and a preference for activist over electoral participation.

Keywords: Internet usage, electoral participation, activist participation, divergent effects, ICTs

Defense-Industrial Globalization and the Northeast Asian Varieties of Fighter-Jet Industry: Debating the Exogenous-Endogenous Factors in Determining the Northeast Asian Varieties of F-35 JSF Acquisition Patterns

Bee Yun Jo (Ph.D. Candidate, Seoul National University)

In observation of the first US multilateral collaborative program in advanced fighter-jet production, the F-35 JSF, I analyze the implications of the so-called defense-industrial globalization phenomenon for the Northeast Asian region by examining the fighter-jet acquisition patterns of South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. I explore the applicability of the Varieties of Defense-Industrial Capitalism (VoDC) model, put forth by Marc R. Devore, which places emphasis on endogenous-institutionalist factors in projecting the adaptation patterns of states to defense-industrial globalization. By revealing theoretical and empirical limitations of the VoDC model when applied to Northeast Asia's fighter-

jet industry, I argue that the Northeast Asian varieties of paths are a complex outcome of not only their endogenous settings but also US exogenous influence on the region. I also show that Devore's institutionalist and liberalist thesis on defense-industrial globalization does not hold for the cutting-edge fighter-jet industry where the first-tier states continue to be restrictive in their technology transfers, influencing the fighter-jet acquisition patterns of the three Northeast Asian states.

Keywords: defense-industrial globalization, varieties of defense-industrial capitalism (VoDC), defense industry, F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, arms acquisition, Northeast Asia

A Strange but Familiar Foe: North Korea's Media Image and Public Imagination

Robin West (Lecturer, University of Essex)

In this article, I explore media representations in a UK-owned online news outlet of the North Korean situation, drawing on the work of Michel Foucault and Stuart Hall as a means of analyzing the discursive formations through which representations of state criminality, associated victimization, and normative transgressions are presented to the audience. I argue that the strategy of encoding the discourse leads to the emptying out of cultural and historical contexts. In many cases, reports “refill” this void with appeals to lifeworld interpretations that resonate more with audiences' historical consciousness than depict the reality of North Korea. I conclude by suggesting that “emptied” reports may serve the function of creating a sense of ontological security that conditions audiences' decoding of the media texts.

Keywords: North Korea, representation, discursive formation, encoding/decoding, Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall

North Korea and Transitioning Myanmar in Comparative Perspective

Andray Abrahamian (Honorary Fellow, Macquarie University)

North Korea and Myanmar both experienced core existential challenges early in their postcolonial history: the former via a challenger state in South Korea and its superpower ally the United States, the latter via multiple internal insurgencies. Both young states responded to these threats in an intensely militarized, authoritarian fashion. Their responses also eventually earned them pariah status, sanctioned respectively for their weapons programs and suppression of democracy. Myanmar, unlike North Korea, has been able to alleviate its security concerns with various battlefield victories and peace treaties in the 1990s and 2000s, and then turned to address the reasons for its

pariah status. North Korea has been unable to find such a victory and thus is unlikely to escape its position as a sanctioned, isolated state.

Keywords: Myanmar, Burma, North Korea, pariah state, nuclear program, transition

Same Money, Different Names: Analysis of South Korean Aid to North Korea

Jaeyoung Hur (Assistant Professor, Yonsei University), Jiyoung Park (Research Fellow, Export-Import Bank of Korea), Youngwan Kim (Associate Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

In this study we suggest new approaches to conceptualizing South Korean aid to North Korea as equivalent to official development assistance (ODA) by looking at its historical background and present situation, as well as related laws. We review the characteristics and development of South Korean aid to North Korea, compare it to ODA, and suggest an innovative way of conceptualizing it as ODA. In particular, we assert that if South Korean aid to North Korea were considered ODA, South Korea would be able to effectively assist North Korea and become a more influential and responsible donor in international society.

Keywords: international development cooperation, ODA, South Korea, North Korea, foreign aid

Commentaries: Trump on China

Lowell Dittmer (Professor, University of California, Berkeley)

China-US Relations Under Trump: More Continuity Than Change

Zha Daojiong (Professor, Peking University)

Book Review Essay:

Is There a Thucydides Trap? If So, Can Washington and Beijing Avoid It?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 42, No. 1, 2018

The Segmented Marketization of North Korea and Its Sociopolitical Implications

Philo Kim (Associate Professor, Seoul National University)

In this article I reassess North Korean marketization using the concept of segmentation. Marketization is the core mechanism by which the socialist system is transformed, yet it has occurred at the city/county level in a segmented fashion, thus inhibiting its wider influence. In North Korea, the system of economic regional self-sufficiency was introduced in the 1960s as a strategy to be implemented in case of war, and it ultimately began operating when North Korea faced a national emergency in the 1990s. This accelerated the development of a segmented market system, and marketization has been localized, meaning that interregional markets and integrated market exchange have remained largely unrealized. The segmented nature of marketization has meant that the sociopolitical effects of markets have not been as large as expected.

Keywords: North Korea, marketization, segmented marketization, Regional Self-Reliance System, integrated marketization

Historical Perspective on China's "Tipping Point" with North Korea

Donggil Kim (Associate Professor, Peking University), Seong-hyon Lee (Research Fellow, Sejong Institute)

The view that China would not "abandon" North Korea, despite repeated provocations by North Korea, has been strengthened in the context of the US pivot to Asia, which is generally regarded by Chinese strategists as Washington's ploy to contain China. As the rivalry and competition between Washington and Beijing deepen, North Korea's strategic value to China increases. However, history shows that Beijing regarded Pyongyang as "expendable" even during the Korean War. Based on Sino-North Korean historical relations, in this article we argue that China's policy toward North Korea is not fixed but fluid, and that Washington and Seoul could inspire changes within China's policy toward North Korea.

Keywords: Sino-North Korean relations, pivot to Asia, denuclearization, THAAD

Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on the Rise of China: Long Cycles, Power Transitions, and China's Ascent

Ji Young Choi (Associate Professor, Ohio Wesleyan University)

In this article I borrow insights into repeated patterns of global political change from long cycle and power transition theories and apply them to the rise of China. China is on a trajectory to become the largest economy in terms of total economic size, but viewed through the prism of those insights, it has considerable weaknesses or barriers to overcome in order to become a global hegemonic power. Nonetheless, the rise of China could produce significant instability in the interstate system as it develops into a revisionist power. It is too early to conclude that China is a revisionist power, but some signs suggest China has revisionist aims in the Asia Pacific and could become one in the future. In this context, restraining the growth of Beijing's dissatisfaction with the current international order by accommodating it through appropriate roles and status must be considered more seriously by Washington. Another option is for Washington to enhance and upgrade its military capabilities in the Asia Pacific, but its ability to do so successfully hinges on its ability to reinvigorate the US economy.

Keywords: long cycles, power transition, hegemony, rise of China

International Norms and Japanese Foreign Aid

Steven Lewis-Workman (Senior Transport Economist, Asian Development Bank)

Do norms influence Japan's foreign aid? Japan's aid policy statements have increasingly emphasized humanitarian and democratic values, but few studies demonstrate a shift in Japan's aid policy that reflects this changing discourse. In this study, I seek to determine if Japan's foreign aid commitments increasingly reflect normative factors or continue to be allocated based on commercial or security considerations. The results indicate that humanitarian and democratic values had very little influence on Japan's foreign aid commitments over the entire analysis period. Contrary to conventional wisdom, commercial benefits had little importance before 1992 and are a significant factor only during the 1992–2001 period. Security considerations are strong predictors during the Cold War period and are even more significant after 2001 when Japan's foreign aid became increasingly aligned with US security policies. Further, Japan has not substantially increased the share of its aid to "soft" sectors or disaster response, but it has adopted the international norm of debt relief for highly indebted poor countries and shifted a substantial amount of foreign aid from infrastructure lending to debt forgiveness.

Keywords: Japan, foreign aid, official development assistance (ODA), norms, values

Saudi-Indonesian Relations: Historical Dynamics and Contemporary Development

Sumanto Al Qurtuby (Assistant Professor, King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals), Shafi Aldamer (Chairman, Department of General Studies at King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals)

In this article, we focus on the bilateral relationship between Saudi Arabia and Indonesia, placing the contemporary development of the mutual relationships and cooperation between these two Muslim-majority nations into historical context. Moreover, we describe not only formal political economic relationships but also informal cultural, educational, religious relations between the two states. We argue that although socioreligious and people-to-people interactions are vital in the relations, these are not the only factors in the inherently pragmatic contemporary relationship between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Indonesia, which is built increasingly on the basis of national interests.

Keywords: Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, political relations, diplomatic relations, migration, Islam, Muslim society

Book Review Essay:

Is Regime Change Possible in North Korea?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 42, No. 2, 2018

New Developments in Chinese Foreign Policy

Gregory J. Moore (Associate Professor, University of Nottingham, Ningbo, China)

Going Global 2.0: China's Growing Investment in the West and Its Impact

Zhiqun Zhu (Professor, Bucknell University)

From 1978 to roughly 1990, China focused on “bringing in” foreign direct investment. After 1990 it began “going out” in earnest as part of its new diplomacy. Between 1990 and 2005, China’s outbound investment was concentrated in the developing world. Since 2005, China has expanded its overseas investment to the developed world, and in recent years such activities have accelerated. This qualitative transformation of China’s global business expansion is taking place as China is poised to overtake the United States to

become the world's largest economy. What explains China's new wave of global investment? How will it affect international political economy? What challenges do China's businesses face in the West? Through empirical analysis, this study examines the rationale, strategies, and impact of China's growing investment in the West.

Keywords: going global, outward direct investment (ODI), China's relations with the West, new diplomacy, international political economy, international order

Fueling Threats: Securitization and the Challenges of Chinese Energy Policy

Maria Julia Trombetta (Assistant Professor, University of Nottingham, Ningbo, China)

Since the early 2000s, energy security has appeared frequently in Chinese policy statements. The focus is on security of supply, even if the discourse is becoming more attentive to other dimensions, such as environmental sustainability. Securitization theory can shed light on this specific threat construction and its implications for China and Chinese foreign policy. Applying securitization theory and reviewing existing debates, I show how the construction of an external threat and a focus on securing access to oil downplay other vulnerabilities and contribute to the perception among China's neighbors and others of a Chinese threat, despite new Chinese security discourses to the contrary. I argue that two factors contribute to this threat construction and its resilience: the role of national oil companies and the limited mobilizing power of environmental and climate security discourses.

Keywords: securitization, energy security, oil, China, climate security, environmental security

Ideology and Relationality: Chinese Aid in Africa Revisited

Pippa Morgan (Ph.D. Candidate, Fudan University)

Conventional studies of Chinese aid to Africa typically neglect China's six decades of donor experience, and de-emphasize the distinct historical relationships that China holds with African countries and the ideological and geopolitical contexts in which these relations were built. Applying the framework of relationality that highlights the role of social relationships in defining rational actions, I provide an alternative perspective on Chinese aid by analyzing the ideological and Cold War dynamics that shaped China's early Mao era aid allocation and the impact of these initial ties on contemporary Chinese policymakers' choices about where to direct Chinese aid.

Keywords: foreign aid, China, Africa, history, relationality, ideology, Cold War

China-US Climate Cooperation: Creating a New Model of Major-Country Relations?

Shunji Cui (Associate Professor, Zhejiang University)

Building “a new model of major-country relations,” particularly with the United States, has become one of China’s major foreign policy objectives. Yet, outside of China, the concept is often seen as an empty slogan with no practical utility. By examining both the concept of the new model of major-country relations (NMMCR) and China’s climate cooperation with the United States, I argue that the concept and initiative of NMMCR—with its emphasis on a common fate and shared futures, viewed as a means of achieving cooperation rather than conflict to achieve common goals—reflects well the changing environment of the twenty-first century and is thus a positive new development in China’s foreign policy.

Keywords: new model of major-country relations, China-US relations, nontraditional security, climate cooperation, normative structural change

Bismarck or Wilhelm? China’s Peaceful Rise vs. Its South China Sea Policy

Gregory J. Moore (Associate Professor, University of Nottingham, Ningbo, China)

The choice facing China today is whether it will follow the precedent set by Otto von Bismarck—which appears to be its stated goal—or whether it will (intentionally or unintentionally) follow the path of another German leader, Kaiser Wilhelm, and pursue a policy of military growth, territorial and/or maritime expansionism, and a relative disregard for the concerns of its neighbors. The South China Sea will be an important test case, an arena where China’s choices will impact its relations with its neighbors and other great powers like the United States.

Keywords: China, United States, South China Sea, peaceful rise, great powers

Book Review Essay:

Can Nonviolent Action Shape Policy? People Power in East Asia and in the West

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 42, No. 3, 2018

Introduction to the Special Issue

Gaye Christoffersen (Resident Professor, SALS-Nanjing Center, Nanjing University)

Russia and the United States in the Asia Pacific: A Perspective of the English School

Artyom Lukin (Associate Professor, Far Eastern Federal University)

In this article, I examine Russia-US relations, focusing on their Asia Pacific dimension. I argue that the United States and Russia hold widely divergent visions of international order. Washington remains committed to the idea of US-led hegemony based on Western liberal values whereas Moscow champions a multipolar great power order founded upon the balance of power, Westphalian sovereignty, and the diversity of values. I find strong affinity between Moscow's foreign policy discourse and Hedley Bull's version of the English School in international relations theory. Viewed from the English School perspective, the layer of fundamental norms and institutions linking Moscow and Washington together as citizens of one international society has become dangerously thin. This inevitably affects Russia-US interaction in the Asia Pacific and makes their cooperation on pressing security issues, such as North Korea, difficult.

Keywords: Russia-US relations, Russian foreign policy, English School, Asia Pacific, Northeast Asia

Strategic Partnership or Alliance? Sino-Russian Relations from a Constructivist Perspective

Ying Liu (Associate Professor, China Foreign Affairs University)

In this article I analyze the China-Russia strategic partnership of cooperation from a constructivist perspective. By employing Wendt's concepts and structures of identity to understand relations between China and Russia, and their relations with other countries, I seek to elucidate the drivers of the current China-Russia partnership and shed light on the reasons why, despite burgeoning ties, the two countries have not established a formal alliance. I argue that both China and Russia are in the process of reconstructing their national identities while also integrating into the international community. There exists an ideational foundation for the China-Russia strategic partnership, but divergent concepts of harmony and honor make China and Russia act differently when interacting with a third party in the international community. I argue that China and Russia are still on the way to forming a shared concept of strategic partnership. Beijing and Moscow are not likely to set an alliance arrangement

against a third party in the foreseeable future.

Keywords: China-Russia relations, strategic partnership, national identity, constructivism

The Sino-Russian Partnership and the East Asian Order

Elizabeth Wishnick (Professor, Montclair State University)

After dismissing the Sino-Russian partnership for the past decade, scholars now scramble to assess its significance, particularly with US foreign policy in disarray under the Trump administration. I examine how China and Russia manage their relations in East Asia and the impact of their approach to great power management on the creation of an East Asian order. According to English School theorist Hedley Bull, great power management is one of the ways that order is created. Sino-Russian great power management involves rule making, a distinctive approach to crisis management, and overlapping policy approaches toward countries such as Burma and the Philippines. I conclude with a comparison between Sino-Russian great power management and the US alliance system, note a few distinctive features of the Trump era, and draw some conclusions for East Asia.

Keywords: China, Russia, East Asia, great power, order

Is There a Transnational Korean Identity in Northeast Asia? The Case of Korean Diaspora in the Russian Far East

Tamara Troyakova (Associate Professor, Far Eastern Federal University), Elena F. Tracy (Research Fellow, Rachel Carson Centre for the Environment and Society)

We examine the influence of the Korean diaspora residing in the Russian Far East (Primorskiy province) in promoting a pan-Korean identity in Northeast Asia. In doing so, we utilize the insights offered by the constructivist school of international relations on the role of evolving identities and transnational communities for cooperation. We investigate the trajectory of the development of the Korean Russian diaspora in the context of the current troubled relationship between South and North Korea. We offer policy-related recommendations for people-to-people diplomacy and cooperation in the Northeast Pacific region.

Keywords: transnationalism, diaspora, Korean Russian, Northeast Asia, Korean peninsula, Primorskiy province

China-Russia Relations in Times of Crisis: A Neoclassical Realist Explanation

Alexander Koroley (Lecturer, University of New South Wales), Vladimir Portyakov (Professor, Russian Academy of Sciences)

Although not formal allies, China and Russia have steadily increased their strategic cooperation. However, crises and tensions in each other's areas of strategic interest continue to complicate each country's relations with the other and the rest of the international community. In this article we explore China's reaction toward major crises in the post-Soviet space (the Caucasus crisis of 2008 and the Ukraine crisis of 2014) and Russia's responses to the South China Sea dispute and show that they share many similarities. To explain the reaction patterns and better understand the nature of contemporary China-Russia relations, we apply a neoclassical realist framework, which helps assess the impact of both system-level and unit-level factors on great powers' behavior. The assessment demonstrates that the observed behavior pattern is an outcome of causal forces of different levels simultaneously pushing in different directions.

Keywords: China-Russia relations, neoclassical realism, Caucasus crisis, Ukraine crisis, South China Sea dispute

Sino-Russian Accommodation and Adaptation in Eurasian Regional Order Formation

Gaye Christoffersen (Resident Professor, SAIS-Nanjing Center, Nanjing University)

Chinese and Russian officials and scholars discursively construct and reconstruct repeatedly the nature and boundaries of Eurasian regional integration in an ongoing process of regional order construction guided by diverging concepts that involve the Eurasian Economic Union, the Silk Road Economic Belt, and the Greater Eurasian Partnership. There is a process of accommodation and adaptation that has led to a slow unfolding of a Eurasian regional order. I draw on the English School to examine Sino-Russian efforts to maintain a Eurasian regional order rather than to slip into an unbridled rivalry for spheres of influence.

Keywords: Silk Road Economic Belt, Eurasian Economic Union, Greater Eurasian Partnership

Commentary:

Sovereignty: Building Block or Stumbling Block in Resolving Northeast Asian Security Disputes?

John Feffer (Director of Foreign Policy in Focus, Institute for Policy Studies)

Donald Trump's America First philosophy stresses the importance of sovereignty in international relations, bringing US policy at least rhetorically in line with that

of North Korea. Rising nationalism in China and Japan has also sharpened an already existing debate on sovereignty in the region involving territorial issues and history questions. The issue has come to a head around North Korea's claim to a sovereign right to a nuclear weapons program. The current status quo, in which North Korea remains an unofficial member of the nuclear club and the international community continues to pressure it into rolling back its nuclear program, could persist. But the change in the underlying philosophy in US policy suggests that this status quo has become increasingly unstable. War could disrupt the status quo, most likely as a result of miscalculation or misinterpretation. There are three potential nonmilitary exits from this status quo. One possible solution would be the normalization of the sovereign status of all the countries in the region. A second scenario involves a modest "smudging" of sovereignty, for example, the "freeze for a freeze" proposal supported by both China and Russia. In the third scenario, the countries of the region address the multilateralism gap by forging cooperation on a common threat—climate change—that reframes sovereignty and initiates a "virtuous circle of engagement."

Book Review Essay:
Sino-Soviet Romances

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 42, No. 4, 2018

**Introduction to the Special Issue on China's Relations with Its Neighbors:
Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Issues**

Yafeng Xia (Senior Research Fellow, East China Normal University)

**Gratitude and Resentment in China-Japan Relations: Japan's Official
Development Assistance and China's Renunciation of War Reparations**

Xianfen Xu (Professor, East China Normal University)

In this article I explore the connection between historically based emotional issues and economic interests in China-Japan relations by analyzing the linkage between China's renunciation of war reparations and Japan's official development assistance (ODA) to China. I argue that there is no legal linkage between the two, and previous scholarship about the linkage between the ODA and reparations involves emotional arguments or entanglements surrounding "assistance" and "history." I conclude that, in explaining China-Japan relations,

there exists a “dual gratitude theory,” related to history and assistance, as well as a “dual obligation and enmity theory.” In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the chain reaction of mutual recrimination between the two countries became increasingly unmanageable, apparently continuing to the present day.

Keywords: China’s renunciation of war reparations, Japan’s ODA to China, dual gratitude theory, dual obligation and enmity theory

Heading Toward Peaceful Coexistence: The Effects of the Improvement in Sino-Burmese Relations from 1953 to 1955

Liang Zhi (Professor, East China Normal University)

Since coming to power in Myanmar, the National League for Democracy (NLD) has unambiguously indicated that it will carry out Burma’s foreign policy as it was established during the country’s foundation (i.e., an “independent, active and non-aligned foreign policy”). Retrospectively, we can trace the historical precedents of the NLD’s foreign policy to Burma’s foreign policy in the period of the Korean War in 1953. Using Burmese, Chinese, Indian, and US official documentation, and following an international history approach, I explore the background, process, and effects of Sino-Burmese relations in the period of 1953 to 1955 as an entirety. Thus, in this article I offer important historical insights to contemporary Burmese foreign relations.

Keywords: China, Burma, peaceful coexistence, U Nu, Zhou Enlai, 1953–1955

The Mountain Is High, and the Emperor Is Far Away: States and Smuggling Networks at the Sino-Vietnamese Border

Qingfei Yin (Assistant Professor, Virginia Military Institute)

The intense and volatile relations between China and Vietnam in the dyadic world of the Cold War have drawn scholarly attention to the strategic concerns of Beijing and Hanoi. In this article I move the level of analysis down to the border space where the peoples of the two countries meet on a daily basis. I examine the tug-of-war between the states and smuggling networks on the Sino-Vietnamese border during the second half of the twentieth century and its implications for the present-day bilateral relationship. I highlight that the existence of the historically nonstate space was a security concern for modernizing states in Asia during and after the Cold War, which is an understudied aspect of China’s relations with Vietnam and with its Asian neighbors more broadly. The border issue between China and its Asian neighbors concerned not only territorial disputes and demarcation but also the establishment of state authority in marginal societies.

Keywords: smuggler, antismuggling, border, Sino-Vietnamese relations, tax

Transgressing the Boundaries: The Migration of Uighurs into Soviet Central Asia After World War II

Alsu Tagirova (Assistant Research Fellow, East China Normal University)

After World War II, suffering from a severe workforce shortage and unprecedented economic devastation, the Soviet Union encouraged the immigration of Chinese citizens from Xinjiang into Soviet Central Asia. Despite the arbitrary behavior of local authorities, the immigrants were successfully integrated into Soviet society. But after 1963, many of the Chinese “defectors” began to be considered a threat to national security, and the KGB (Committee of State Security) arrested a good number of them. I argue that the Sino-Soviet split affected the mentality and immigration policies of the Soviet Union, much like current relations between China and the Central Asian states shape the attitude of the latter toward new arrivals from China. This article is based on research in the Kyrgyz and Kazakh archives.

Keywords: Uighurs, migration, Central Asia, Xinjiang, Sino-Soviet relations

Blood Is Thicker Than Water: A History of the Diplomatic Discourse “China and Thailand Are Brothers”

Kornphanat Tungkeunkunt (Assistant Professor, Thammasat University), Kanya Phuphakdi (Research Assistant, Thammasat University)

In this article we examine how the phrase “China and Thailand are brothers” became the diplomatic discourse that both countries commonly use to articulate their cordial relations. First, we trace the historical contexts in which the discourse was constructed and how this discourse played a crucial role in encouraging overseas Chinese to integrate into Thai society in the early twentieth century. Second, we explain how the discourse provided insights for Thai and Chinese political elites relevant to the transformation of their nations’ foreign policies toward Sino-Thai normalization during the Cold War. We further demonstrate how the discourse has reinforced a certain perception of Sino-Thai relations since diplomatic normalization between the two countries. Finally, we suggest a rethinking of the implications of diplomatic discourse with Chinese characteristics to better understand China’s relationship with foreign countries in general and with Thailand in particular.

Keywords: China, Thailand, Sino-Thai relations, foreign policy, discourse, diplomacy

Policy Issues for Contributing ODA to Sustainable Development in Developing Countries: An Analysis of Korea's ODA and Sri Lankan Practices

Dayoung Lee (Research Fellow, Korea Environment Corporation), Hyeyun Park (Water Engineer, Suwon University), Sun Kyoung Park (Assistant Professor, Pyeongtaek University)

In this study we analyze Korea's official development assistance (ODA) projects in Sri Lanka to derive policy issues for sustainable development of developing countries. In a two-step process, we first propose improvements based on the results of ODA projects in Sri Lanka, and second derive policy issues for improvements proposed in the first step through a Delphi analysis of expert surveys. Improvements are summarized in four categories: enhancing environmental policies in developing countries through specialized ODA projects, enhancing public awareness of environmental issues through ODA projects that directly benefit citizens, increasing communication and cooperation between recipient and donor countries through jointly planned ODA projects, and implementing follow-up management of ODA projects. The results of the study not only can contribute to the effective implementation of future ODA projects but also can be used as basic data to examine when establishing national policies.

Keywords: official development assistance (ODA), Sri Lanka, sustainable development, Delphi method

Commentary:

China and Global Cyber Governance: Main Principles and Debates

Cai Cuihong (Professor, Fudan University)

Book Review Essay:

What Does It Take to Stem and Transform Conflict?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 43, No. 1, 2019

Trump's America First Policy in Global and Historical Perspectives: Implications for US-East Asian Trade

June Park (Adjunct Professor, George Mason University Korea), Troy Stangarone (Senior Director, Korea Economic Institute)

Since the end of World War II, the United States has played a leading role in shaping the global economic system. While US influence has waned with the reconstruction of Europe and the rise of China, it has remained the leading power in the international system. The election of Donald Trump, however, represents a significant shift in US trade policy. In its first days the Trump administration withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership and has since taken specific steps to renegotiate trade agreements and protect US industries. Politicizing the importance to reduce bilateral US trade deficits and to bring manufacturing jobs back home, the Trump administration has also utilized trade remedies in addition to the seldom-used safeguards to advance its “America First” economic agenda. Although trade remedy actions—the imposition of antidumping and countervailing duty based on the US Trade Act of 1974—have been critical instruments for US trade, prioritizing trade deficit reduction in US trade policy has the potential to erode the underlying international system and exacerbate rather than resolve the tensions that have spurred nationalistic economic movements. Against this backdrop, in this article we explore the implications of an abrogation of US global economic leadership for the international trading system and US influence more broadly. We also consider the implications for East Asia and the global economy as a whole as China, the European Union, and Japan take on larger leadership roles within the global trading system.

Keywords: America First, trade protectionism, East Asia, global economy, political system

Centralizing North Korean Policymaking under Kim Jong Un

Patrick McEachern (Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars)

Following the death of North Korean leader Kim Jong Il in December 2011, Kim Jong Un assumed power and gradually transformed the policymaking environment in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea). While some analysts expected the young and inexperienced leader to face greater hardship than his father in managing the country, in this article I argue that Kim Jong Un faced an easier transition. Kim Jong Un inherited an economy, inter-Korean relationship, and strategic landscape in foreign affairs

in a relatively favorable position relative to his father's formal succession. From this position of strength, Kim Jong Un has centralized governance in the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) and his personal leadership. Drawing on internal documents and media, I show that inter-institutional debate previously observable between the party, military, and government has largely vanished under Kim Jong Un and the political roles of the military and government have receded from a comprehensive set of national policy questions.

Keywords: North Korea, politics, authoritarianism, Kim Jong Un

Taking “Bottom-Up” Seriously in Governance: The Case of the Local Governance Network Supporting Settlements of North Korean Refugees in South Korea

Jun-han Yon (Ph.D. Student, McGill University), Euiyoung Kim (Professor, Seoul National University)

In this article we analyze the impacts of a hierarchical administrative tradition on new governance in contemporary South Korea, focusing on ground-level practices of the local network governance in supporting settlements of North Korean refugees. By employing an interpretive approach that seeks to decenter governance in terms of diverse and contingent actions of policy actors against the background of distinct traditions, the study attempts to explain ways in which network governance unfolds in everyday life. Despite the institutional transition from “government to (new) governance,” a deeply rooted hierarchical tradition is entangled with relatively new democratic tradition, causing unintended policy outcomes at the ground level in generating confusion and resistance among frontline policy actors. As a result, new governance can be an empty rallying cry unless policymakers and practitioners take the meaning of bottom-up seriously.

Keywords: North Korean refugee, new governance, interpretive theory, tradition, belief, situated agency

Sanctions for Nuclear Inhibition: Comparing Sanction Conditions between Iran and North Korea

Inwook Kim (Assistant Professor, Singapore Management University), Jung-Chul Lee (Associate Professor, Soongsil University)

When do sanctions succeed in nuclear inhibition? Is there a generalizable framework to estimate sanction effectiveness against nuclear aspirants? Instead of relying on partial equilibrium analysis, we conceptualize sanctions as three sequential phases—imposition of economic pain, conversation to political pressure, and creation (or failure thereof) of zone of possible agreement (ZOPA). The effectiveness of each phase is subject to phase-specific contextual variables,

an aggregation of which helps measure individual sanction's effectiveness, conduct cross-case comparison, and estimate one's replicability in other cases. To illustrate its analytical utility, we analyze the divergent sanction outcomes between Iran in 2012–2015 and North Korea in 2013–2017. Iran was economically more vulnerable and politically less resilient, and its bargaining position was closer to a ZOPA than North Korea was. Our analysis questions the utility of economic sanctions against North Korea and helps expand the discussion away from the policy obsession with the role of China. Theoretically, it rectifies an imbalance against qualitative and holistic approach in the sanction literature and contributes to discussions about nuclear inhibition strategies.

Keywords: economic sanction, nuclear proliferation, North Korea, Iran, US foreign policy

Flawed Assumption in Pro-Nuclear Arguments and South Korea's Strategic Choice

Daekwon Son (Ph.D. Candidate, Peking University)

In this article I explore assumptions behind the aspiration for nuclear armament in South Korea. An increasing number of South Koreans advocate nuclear armament of their country, either by redeploying US tactical nuclear weapons or by developing an indigenous nuclear capability. Support for “going nuclear” reflects three beliefs: nuclear weapons can serve as a shield from external bullying, the balance of power between Seoul and Pyongyang has shifted due to Pyongyang's growing nuclear capability, and possessing nuclear weapons is the sole way to protect ROK national interests given growing skepticism over the credibility of the US nuclear umbrella. I revisit deterrence theory to demonstrate that these perceptions are based on the flawed assumption that nuclear weapons can only be deterred by other nuclear weapons. This assumption—an extrapolation from the Cold War experience—does not consider technological breakthroughs made since then. In fact, modern, technologically advanced conventional weapons can also deter nuclear weapons, especially those using relatively underdeveloped technologies. By continuously modernizing its conventional weapons and strengthening the ROK-US alliance, South Korea can deter Pyongyang from contemplating a nuclear assault on South Korea.

Keywords: South Korea, nuclear weapons, ROK-US alliance, North Korea

What Makes US Citizens Trust Japan? Examining the Influence of National Image, Bilateral Compatibility, and Issue Awareness

Taewoo Nam (Associate Professor, Sungkyunkwan University)

This study aims to identify the determinants of trust in other countries, focusing on

US citizens' trust in Japan. The analysis of the data of the national Pew Research Center survey conducted in 2015 examines the determining influence of theoretical correlates, which draw from extant studies of international trust, including national images, goal compatibility, issue awareness, and historical memories. Images of the Japanese people as honest, inventive, and hardworking increase trust in Japan. US perceptions of historically inimical events in US-Japan relations do not influence current trust, and the comprehensive regression of trust in Japan on diverse correlates does not demonstrate a predicted cross-generational difference due to experiential distance from such events. A higher level of trust in Japan is observed among US citizens who think that Japan, despite its declining economy, should play a more active military role in the Asia-Pacific region. These US citizens tend to see Japan as a trustworthy partner, given the economic and military rise of China and the resulting goal compatibility (due to dealing with a common threat) between the United States and Japan.

Keywords: international trust, national image, international relations, trust in Japan, goal compatibility, issue awareness

Chinese Enterprises' Investment in Infrastructure Construction in Cambodia

Fang Hu (Assistant Professor, Guangxi University), Xiekui Zhang (Professor, Guangxi University), Mingming Hu (Assistant Professor, Guangxi University), David Lee Cook (Project Manager, ABC Roofing Co. Ltd.)

One of the important means of promoting connectivity and cooperation between China and Cambodia is Chinese enterprises' investment in Cambodian infrastructure construction. The Belt and Road Initiative proposed by China brings both opportunities and challenges for Cambodia's economic development. Through an analysis of detailed case studies, in this article we review the background on Chinese infrastructure investment in Cambodia and identify factors in the approach to investment by Chinese enterprises in the Cambodian context that appear to underlie these challenges and suggest opportunities for improvements.

Keywords: transnational investment, infrastructure, Chinese enterprises, Cambodia

Book Review Essay:

Violence and Nonviolence in South Asia

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 43, No. 2, 2019

Introduction to the Special Issue

Mikael Weissmann (Associate Professor; Swedish Defence University), Mingjiang Li (Associate Professor; Nanyang Technological University)

Understanding Power (Shift) in East Asia: The Sino-US Narrative Battle about Leadership in the South China Sea

Mikael Weissmann (Associate Professor; Swedish Defence University)

In this article I study the competing US and Chinese narratives about the South China Sea. Arguing that the practice of calculating power shifts in terms of the changing distribution of material capabilities is inadequate, I complement existing literature by taking ideational and normative dimensions of power into account. I ask what the alternative Chinese narrative of power and leadership in the South China Sea looks like and how it is perceived by others in comparison with the dominant US narrative. While a “hard” power transition is ongoing, China’s preferred narrative has yet to become widely accepted and the US narrative will remain dominant for now. Nevertheless, China has been making progress in shifting the narrative of what the future could look like with China’s vision for a post-US regional and global order now seen as a possible alternative.

Keywords: China, South China Sea, United States, power (political), power (military), power shift, power transition, soft power, narratives

China’s “Belt and Road” in Southeast Asia: Constructing the Strategic Narrative in Singapore

Alice D. Ba (Professor; University of Delaware)

China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is viewed by most as symbolic of a new era of Chinese initiative and ambition. But while much attention has focused on how the BRI fits into China’s—and specifically Xi Jinping’s—grand narrative of national rejuvenation, less has been said about regional narratives—that is, the narratives of China’s target audiences. Toward addressing this oversight, I consider the case of Singapore in relation to BRI. Specifically, I give attention to strategic narratives that offer analytic windows into the complex relationships being negotiated between China and Southeast Asian states. Strategic narratives, as instruments of policy, also play roles in constructing the strategic space in which BRI enters, with implications for the opportunities and constraints faced by China in Southeast Asia.

Keywords: China, Southeast Asia, BRI, Singapore, strategic, narratives

China's Economic Power in Asia: The Belt and Road Initiative and the Local Guangxi Government's Role

Mingjiang Li (Associate Professor, Nanyang Technological University)

China's growing economic power has been identified as a major factor in generating profound transformations in the strategic landscape in Asia. Beijing's interest in using its economic power for the pursuit of geopolitical objectives remains strong. Many analysts believe that the ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) represents the continuation and even intensification of that interest. I unpack the role of China's economic power in its external relations by focusing on how Guangxi, a subnational government in China, has facilitated the emergence of the BRI. My study suggests that in-depth knowledge about local governments' activism in socioeconomic engagements with neighboring countries contributes significantly to a more nuanced understanding of China's power, particularly its economic power in Asia.

Keywords: China, Southeast Asia, BRI, Chinese economic power, Guangxi

Return to Geopolitics: The Changes in Japanese Strategic Narratives

Hidekazu Sakai (Professor, Kansai Gaidai University)

Narrative changes on security discourses in Japan can provide clues to understand Japan's security geopolitical behavior in recent years. In this article I shed light on the narratives of Okazaki Hisahiko, who was Shinzō Abe's strategic mentor and a heretic in Japanese security discourse. Okazaki, a "military realist," fought against the mainstream political realism represented by Nagai Yōnosuke, who became a defender of the Yoshida Doctrine in the 1980s. Military realists emphasize the importance of geopolitics with the "eternal factor" of geography along with military development. After the Cold War, with the nuclear threat of North Korea and the rise of China, the military realists' narratives have buttressed the credibility of assertive Japanese leaders, including Abe. In this article I explain why Japan's security policy has been dominated by geopolitics by examining narrative changes in the post-Cold War period, and reveal how military realists have defeated other narratives, among them those of political realists, unarmed neutralists (later the civilian power school), and Japanese Gaullists.

Keywords: geopolitics, military, narrative, security, strategy, Japan Self-Defense Force (JSDF)

The Relationship between Narratives and Security Practices: Pushing the Boundaries of Military Instruments in Japan

Petter Y. Lindgren (Principal Economist and Political Scientist, Oslo Group of East Asian Research), Wrenn Yennie Lindgren (Research Fellow, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

Japanese security policy has undergone significant changes lately. Japanese policymakers have recently argued over advancing Japan's Self-Defense Forces with new weapon systems. In particular, the Abe government has decided to purchase long-range cruise missiles for its new F-35A jetfighters, and to reconstruct a newly-built helicopter carrier into an aircraft carrier. While specific policy proposals continued dividing policymakers and other stakeholders, the underlying story specifying Japan's place in East Asia, the rise of China, the threat of North Korea's missile and nuclear programs, the tight security relationship with the United States and the vulnerability of the Japanese archipelago has faced little core criticism. The lack of alternative national security narratives suggests the emergence of a Japanese security consensus in the mid-2010s. The strength of the narrative in deterring policymakers to refrain from critique, through the significant costs incurred by opposition, could also suggest a hegemonic narrative (but not necessarily a consensus). We find that the dominant narrative provided a necessary foundation for unorthodox policy proposals, which arguably enabled the Abe government to push through military instrument expansions in the Self-Defense Forces, moves far from politically sustainable only a decade earlier.

Keywords: security, narratives, military instruments, foreign policy, Japan, U.S.-Japan alliance

Contending Narratives of the International Order: US/Chinese Discursive Power and Its Effects on the UK

Rex Li (Project Director, Liverpool John Moores University)

The multifaceted competition between the United States and China has attracted much scholarly attention. Existing studies tend to focus on the material dimensions of the US-China rivalry. In this article I analyze the master/counternarratives produced by the two great powers that are intended to exercise their discursive power in shaping the geopolitical environment and legitimizing their global roles. Specifically, I examine the competing US and Chinese narratives on the international order and assess the impact of these narratives on shaping the values and interests of the United Kingdom. My research demonstrates that China's world order narratives have limited influence on the United Kingdom due to the fundamental differences in their political values, ideologies, and systems. Nevertheless, British leaders and

policy elites are becoming more receptive to Chinese narratives, given China's growing economic power and "disciplinary power" to coerce other countries to accept its preferred narratives, as well as the uncertainty faced by the United Kingdom in the post-Brexit international economic environment.

Keywords: US, China, UK, discursive power, narratives, liberal international order, world order

International Politics: Is International Leadership Changing Hands or Disappearing? China and the USA in Comparative Perspective

Mark Beeson (Professor, University of Western Australia), Nathan Watson (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Western Australia)

In recent years much attention has been given to the ongoing rise of China and its potential consequences for the extant international order. Less attention, however, has been given to the possibility of a US withdrawal from its role at the center of the order it helped to create. Since the election of Donald Trump, however, the prospect of a "leadership vacuum," caused by American policies that seek to dismantle, weaken, or ignore various international institutions, has become an increasingly important issue. In this article we explore the historical nature of US hegemony and the factors that may be encouraging the Trump administration to abandon America's leadership role. We also consider the factors that may inhibit China from offering an alternative. Consequently, we argue that international order in the near future may be defined by a lack of leadership rather than a hegemonic transition.

Keywords: leadership, China, United States, hegemony, Donald Trump

Book Review Essay:

Three Facets of Woman Power in China, 1644 to 2019

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies)

Vol. 43, No. 3, 2019

Introduction to the Special Section on China's Relations with Its Neighbors: Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Issues

Yafeng Xia (Dongshi Chair Professor, Northeast Normal University)

China's Strategy for Sino-Indian Boundary Disputes, 1950–1962

Chaowu Dai (Distinguished Professor, Yunnan University)

Between the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the outbreak of the Sino-Indian Border War in 1962, there were three distinct stages in Beijing's approaches to border issues with India. A "temporary maintenance of the status quo" marks the first stage, from 1951 to 1954. In the second stage, from 1955 to April 1960, China prepared for a negotiated settlement and proposed an East-West swap solution, with China's recognition of the McMahon Line as a prerequisite. In the third stage, from May 1960 to October 1962, judging that India was unwilling to negotiate a solution, China made preparations for deployment of its military and adopted a policy of "never yield while striving to avoid bloodshed, create interlocking positions for longterm armed coexistence" on the border issue, ultimately proceeding to the border conflict. This research analyzes the roles that domestic politics, Chinese leaders' perspectives, and dynamics related to the Cold War have played in China's strategies toward its border tensions with India. More importantly, based upon research in declassified archives, this article identifies the major issues of the Sino-Indian border dispute and hence attempts to provide a framework for China and India to build a mutually acceptable approach to future discussions as well as for formulating a resolution to the boundary issue.

Keywords: China, India, border dispute, Jawaharlal Nehru, Zhou Enlai.

Burma-China Early Approach and Implications for Contemporary Bilateral Relations

Hongwei Fan (Professor, Xiamen University)

During the Cold War Burma followed a foreign policy of neutralism that was shaped between 1948 and 1954. In 1954, Burma began to move closer to China in order to balance the Western influence in the country. The diplomatic balancing skills of Burmese leaders were reflected in Burma's early postcolonial diplomacy and constitute a substantial core dimension of the Burmese foreign policy tradition. Between 1998 and 2010 Burma was heavily reliant on China in the face of Western sanctions and its relative isolation; China's influence thus increased sharply in that country. The pattern of China-Burma-

US triangular relations that was restructured in the early 1950s reappeared in the twenty-first century. Beginning in 2011, Nay Pyi Taw's policy reflected a determination to weaken China's growing influence and rebalance Burmese relations with Washington and Beijing. However, this Burmese rebalancing was overinterpreted by the media as Nay Pyi Taw's shift into the American orbit. Both Thein Sein and Aung San Suu Kyi have attempted to steer Burma's foreign policy back to its traditional neutralist and nonaligned track.

Keywords: Burma, China, neutralism, balanced diplomacy.

China–Sri Lanka Relations in the Context of the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road: Motives, Challenges, and Prospects

Zhen Wang (Professor, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences)

Since Sri Lanka and the People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations in the 1950s, China has become an important partner of Sri Lanka in the latter's cause of maintaining national independence and development. Meanwhile, Sri Lanka has been an important political and diplomatic partner for China in the Third World. Since Chinese president Xi Jinping proposed the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013, Sri Lanka has become a new investment hot spot due to its location as a hub of the proposed 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road. This article provides views identifying the opportunities and potential challenges for Sino–Sri Lankan relations under the framework of China's 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road initiative.

Keywords: China–Sri Lanka relations, Belt and Road Initiative, 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road, bilateral cooperation.

The Diffusion of ISO 14001 in a Developmental State: The Case of Korea

Kyungmin Baek (Assistant Professor, Soongsil University), Jeong Rok Oh (Assistant Professor, Korea University)

ISO 14001, the most common voluntary environmental program in the world, has in recent years been diffused worldwide. However, the level of this diffusion varies across geographical regions. This article analyzes the case of Korea to illustrate how national institutional environments in the East Asia and Pacific region led to the rapid diffusion of ISO 14001. We hypothesize that developmental states have a highly favorable national institutional arrangement for the deployment of ISO 14001. This study finds that developmental states where governments implement strong initiatives for national development and economic growth, exemplified by Korea, are active in implementing neoliberal practices such as ISO 14001.

Keywords: ISO 14001, institutional theory, developmental states, Korea.

Capitalism from Below with North Korean Characteristics: The State, Capitalist Class Formation, and Foreign Investment in Comparative Perspective

Peter Ward (PhD Candidate, University of Vienna), Andrei Lankov (Professor, Kookmin University), Jiyoung Kim (Professor, Soongsil University)

Post-socialist transformation has been studied extensively in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and other states in Asia. This article will examine the North Korean experience and suggests how North Korea's post-socialist experience can be positioned within the broader picture of post-socialism. In this article we focus on the following three areas: the state sector, capitalist class formation and capital accumulation, and the role of foreign investment. We rely on a reading of North Korean laws and North Korean official publications, previous survey work involving firms dealing with North Korea in the past and present, as well as official North Korean census data to offer as full a picture as is possible.

Keywords: post-socialism, North Korea, capitalism from below, post-socialist transition, foreign direct investment (FDI), privatization, class formation.

Why Do States Hedge in East Asia? An Empirical Study on Hedging

Charles Chong-Han Wu (Assistant Professor, Hong Kong Baptist University)

This article investigates whether countries in East Asia are acting anomalously from traditional balancing and bandwagoning assumptions in the face of China's reemergence as a significant regional power. In East Asia, hedging takes the form of sending ambiguous alignment signals toward the United States in return for more autonomy by states that have no official alliance with Beijing. Incorporating Lim and Cooper's redefinition of hedging, this study focuses on the conditions under which China's neighbors adopt hedging behaviors. This article aims to show that coercive capability indicators, including national capability and a US military presence, are major factors in decisions by countries in East Asia to adopt hedging strategies. The findings suggest that when countries in this region seek to maximize economic benefits with Beijing, they also seek certain security assurances from Washington as a hedge against Beijing's influence over their national affairs.

Keywords: hedging, alliances, East Asia, balance of power, China.

**Book Review Essay:
Cyber and Other Powers in Asia**

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 43, No. 4, 2019

**The Rebalance, Entrapment Fear, and Collapsism: The Origins of
Obama's North Korea Policy**

Van Jackson (Senior Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington)

Following the collapse of diplomatic negotiations with North Korea in 2012, the Obama administration settled on a policy approach dubbed “strategic patience.” That policy involved the gradually escalating application of nonviolent means of coercion as the North Korean nuclear problem that it purported to arrest grew more acute over time. But what led the Obama administration to adopt this confrontational yet timid approach to North Korea? Using a configurational analysis, this article proposes that the Obama-era policy of “strategic patience” had little to do with North Korea per se, and instead derived primarily from the intersection of three different factors: the prioritizations necessary as part of the US “rebalance to Asia” strategy; fear that South Korean aggression would pull the United States into an unwanted war in Korea; and a prevailing belief among many policymakers that the North Korean regime would eventually collapse under the pressures of its own contradictions. This combination of priorities and beliefs led the Obama administration to treat the North Korean nuclear issue seriously but not urgently, resorting to actions incommensurate with the nature of the problem.

Keywords: US foreign policy, US–North Korea relations, Obama administration, North Korea.

Presidential Turnover and Discontinuity in the Philippines' China Policy

Bich T. Tran (PhD Candidate, University of Antwerp)

Philippines-China relations have experienced dramatic turns, from a “golden age” to “Asia’s most toxic bilateral relationship,” followed by a new “spring time,” as described by the media. Why does the Philippines’ China policy oscillate so much? This article looks at the role of the president in the Philippines’ foreign policymaking by examining the country’s China policy under the leadership of three Philippines’ presidents: Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Benigno Aquino III, and Rodrigo Duterte. The findings show that although individual presidents have opportunities to promote their own preferences in dealing with China, they are not free from constraints. Despite showing great oscillations in rhetoric, the actual

policies undertaken by each administration have never completely shifted to one or another extreme of the Sino-American spectrum: balancing against China using the alliance with the United States, or bandwagoning with China at the cost of losing the alliance with the United States.

Keywords: Philippines-China relations, South China Sea, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Benigno Aquino III, Rodrigo Duterte.

Singapore's Foreign Policy toward Regional and Inter-regional Institutions

Anna Grzywacz (Lecturer, Vistula University)

Singapore is an active and significant actor in the Asia Pacific region. Most of the analysis of Singapore's foreign policy falls on the theoretical spectrum between (neo)realism and (neo)liberalism—theories focusing on its economic and security interests and power politics. In this article I draw upon the theoretical framework of political adaptation to provide a fresh analytical perspective on Singapore's regional activity. I show how further refining the political adaptation framework beyond its existing dimensions to include active, passive, and reactive adaptation sheds light on how Singapore adapts its foreign policy to maximize its role in regional and inter-regional institutions. The article examines three empirical case studies at different levels of Singapore's external engagement: (1) ASEAN at the closest regional level, (2) APEC at the wider regional level, and (3) ASEM at the inter-regional level.

Keywords: Singapore, foreign policy, ASEAN, APEC, ASEM.

Ethnic Identification Matters

*Juhwa Park (Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification),
Kap-sik Kim (Director, Unification Policy Studies Division, KINU)*

We aim to verify how identifications (South Korean identification and ethnic identification) directly and indirectly influence the attitude toward Korean unification through the perception of North Korea (hostile vs. cooperative). Based on national wide survey data ($N = 1,000$), we investigated the structural relationships among the variables using a structural equation model. The research results reveal that (1) ethnic identification and South Korean identification and cooperative perception and confrontational perception toward North Korea are distinguishable concepts respectively; (2) ethnic identification has a direct effect on positive attitude toward unification and also has an indirect effect on one's attitude through cooperative North Korea perception; and (3) South Korean identification has a direct but negative influence on positive attitude toward unification but does not have a significant influence on perception toward North Korea. The implications of the research are discussed.

Keywords: South Korea, identity, identification, attitude toward unification, perception toward North Korea.

The Making of the “Reader-People” in the 1950–1960s North Korean Socialist Literature

Tae-Kyung Kim (Research Professor, University of North Korean Studies)

This article focuses on the making of the “reader-people” in the post-Korean War North Korean literature, which constitutes the “trinity” of socialist literature: party censorship, party-directed “red” writers, and the people as readers. During the 1950–1960s, the reader-people was defined and organized as a prerequisite of new socialist literature, which emerged through the adaptation process of the Soviet socialist realism to the North Korean context. The making of the reader-people can be understood as the adaptation of the Soviet category of “people-mindedness” (*narodnost'*), which accompanied both discourses and practices concerning the readers or people. First, the discourses on the concept of readers as well as on the “talents” for the literary productions show how the category of people-mindedness was received. Second, the practices such as promoting people’s cultural activities and cultivating popular art forms contributed to the organization of the reader-people as the agency of socialist literature. By the illustration of the making of the reader-people in both theoretical and organizational aspects, this study explains that the indigenization efforts of socialist realism in North Korea were found not only in the ideological framework on literary productions, but also in the organization of the literary community.

Keywords: reader-people, people-mindedness (*narodnost'*), Soviet socialist realism, North Korean socialist literature, post-Korean War socialist system building.

Commentary:

Economic Engagement with North Korea: Moving Beyond Kaesong

Benjamin Katzeff Silberstein (Templeton Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute)

Comments on the “Open Letter to the President and Congress on China Policy”

Mel Gurtov (Senior Editor, Asian Perspective)

Book Review Essay:

China and World Order: Mutual Gain or Exploitation?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 44, No. 1, 2020

Beyond Sham: The North Korean Constitution

Patricia Goedde (Associate Professor, Sungkyunkwan University)

The Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is often dismissed as a valid legal instrument within the larger framework of the North Korean legal system. This is an unsurprising outcome given the portrayal of North Korea as a totalitarian dictatorship, documented human rights abuses, and the lack of access to the country's lawmaking processes. It is also a foreseeable result if comparisons are made to liberal democratic constitutions where rights guarantees and judicial review are defining elements. However, the North Korean Constitution deserves more nuanced scrutiny in light of evolving research on socialist and authoritarian constitutionalism in Asia. This article argues that the DPRK Constitution should be included more substantively within the analytical frameworks of Asian, socialist, and authoritarian constitutionalism by virtue of how it functions to nation-build, legitimate institutional leadership, signal ideological shifts, regulate society on collectivist, duty-based principles, and guide economic reforms for development and modernization.

Keywords: DPRK, North Korea, constitution, Asian, socialist, authoritarian, leadership, ideology, rights, economic development.

The North Korean Workers in Russia: Problematising the “Forced Labor” Discourse

Andrei Lankov (Professor, Kookmin University), Peter Ward (PhD Candidate, University of Vienna), and Jiyoung Kim (Professor, Songsil University)

In recent years, North Korean workers overseas have begun to attract increasing attention of the international media, human rights activists, and academics. They are often depicted as being “modern-day slaves,” but the present article challenges this approach. It relies on a number of sources, including interviews with former workers (currently residing outside North Korea) and their Russian employers. In many regards, overseas North Korean workers face problematic circumstances. Nonetheless, workers compete for the opportunity to go overseas, since the overseas work, in spite of all hardships, is much preferable to all jobs they can realistically have at home. Rather than seeing themselves as victims, more or less all our interviewees perceive themselves as active and entrepreneurial individuals who succeeded in securing work that, in spite of hard conditions, opens avenues for upward social mobility. They faced constraints and difficulties, of which they are all too aware, but also had agency

to act within these constraints. We offer a critical examination of the “forced labor” claim and the applicability of the International Labour Organization’s Forced Labour Convention to the issue.

Keywords: migrant workers, North Korea, embedded agency, forced labor, migration, Russia.

Peace of Cake? Comparative Analysis of Northern Irish and Korean Peace Processes

Alexandre Haym (Yonsei University), David Doherty (Yonsei University), and Yongho Kim (Professor, Yonsei University)

This article investigates and defines the essential variables in the historical peace processes in Northern Ireland and Korea and sets essential preconditions for future peace negotiations on the Korean Peninsula. To do so, we conduct a rigorous examination of all Northern Irish agreements to indicate why past Korean peace processes have failed and to offer alternative policy suggestions. Crucial ingredients for a successful peace process are the structure of each negotiation framework, the inclusion of and concessions by key actors in each negotiation, the respect of core interests of each party, and tangible reduction of tensions.

Keywords: peace process, Northern Ireland, South Korea, North Korea, perceptual approach, consociationalism.

Internet Usage and Rural Self-Employment in China

Jianmei Zhao (Associate Professor, Central University of Finance and Economics)

With the rapid development of information technology, the internet has penetrated rural China. In this article I examine the impact of internet usage on rural self-employment and investigate its major channels. Employing a semiparametric bivariate probit model, the research finds that internet usage significantly increases the probability of rural self-employment by 5 to 7 percentage points. Further evidence points to the significant impact of internet usage on male, older, and better educated rural laborers, whereas such an effect on female, younger, and less educated laborers is not remarkable. Channel investigation reveals that internet usage encourages rural self-employment by weakening financial constraints, lessening social capital restrictions, and reducing transaction costs.

Keywords: internet usage, self-employment, channels, China.

Taming Neighbors: Exploring China's Economic Statecraft to Change Neighboring Countries' Policies and Their Effects

Jaebeom Kwon (Visiting Researcher, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Since 2010 China, with its increasing economic power and influence, has adopted significantly aggressive policies toward its neighboring countries that adopt policies that could infringe upon China's national interests. This study aims primarily to answer the following question: What have been the impacts on itself of China's use of economic retaliation? In other words, what effects have China's economic sanctions had on its overall ability to influence other countries? After examining three remarkable cases of China's imposition of economic pressures on its neighbors since 2010—Japan in 2010 and 2012 and South Korea since 2016—the author finds that China's use of economic coercion can have significantly negative impacts on China itself and can also be very costly in political and strategic terms.

Keywords: economic statecraft, Sino-Japan relations, Sino-South Korea relations, international relations in East Asia.

Commentary:

Is China's IR Academic Community Becoming More Anti-American?

Meng Weizhan (Assistant Research Professor, Fudan University)

Book Review Essay:

Ars longa, vita brevis

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 44, No. 2, 2020

Introduction: The Cold War and Decolonization in East Asia

Chih-yu Shih (Professor, National Taiwan University), Tze-ki Hon (Professor, City University of Hong Kong), Hok Yin Chan (Associate Professor, City University of Hong Kong)

Indigenizing the Cold War in Malaysia and Singapore: Interethnic Decolonization, Developmental Syntheses and the Quest for Sovereignty

Alan Chong (Associate Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies)

While local Marxist and neo-Marxist parties attempted to synchronize their revolutionary struggles with the centers of world communism during the period 1945–1991, political currents on the ground in Malaysia and Singapore were pushing for the establishment of postcolonial authority, social peace, and economic prosperity. The Cold War struggle between ‘communism’ and ‘democratic capitalism’ was highly refracted, even distorted, on the ground in these two Southeast Asian countries. This refraction was largely manifested in the struggles by nationalists of all ideological stripes to achieve a multiracial society through interethnic decolonization under the banner of waging ‘class warfare’ against colonial authority. For many anti-colonial political parties, siding with or joining leftist movements was a facade for revolutionary agendas that were not necessarily Marxist-Leninist in orientation. Secondly, the biographies and civil society narratives of contending political figures of the time suggest that they were less inclined to define their thinking about development along Cold War ideological orthodoxy than to defy the latter to make things work for prosperity. Finally, the successor elites who took the place of the colonial rulers were consistently obsessed with burnishing sovereignty in spite of the international Cold War. This can be seen in their slippery practice of nonalignment in foreign policy. The Malaysian and Singaporean cases strongly present the thesis of indigenization of the Cold War for local purposes.

Keywords: ethnicity, interethnic decolonization, communism, human rights, development, Malaysia, Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, Mahathir Mohamad.

To Build the World Anew: Decolonization and Cold War in Indonesia

Shofwan Al Banna Choiruzzad (Assistant Professor, Universitas Indonesia)

This article investigates the connection between the process of decolonization in Indonesia and the Cold War by proposing two main arguments. First, that the complex process of postcolonial nation-and-state building in Indonesia led to the establishment of “bebas-aktif” (“independent and active”) foreign policy despite the efforts of the Great Powers to take Indonesia into their sphere of influence. This position came from the need to maintain the unity of the newly established state in the context of fierce competition between ideological groups in Indonesia. These included secular nationalists, Islamic nationalists, and communists, which began with the rise of nationalist movements in the Dutch East Indies and continued after independence in 1945. The second main argument of this article is that the Cold War shaped the trajectory of Indonesia’s nation-and-state building process enormously. The Cold War calculation helped Indonesia to gain international recognition despite the Dutch ambition to keep its colonial possession. The narrative of Indonesia as a leader of Asian

and African countries amidst the menacing domination of the great powers also lent credibility to the new state in the eyes of its people, as well as setting the normative limits of ideological competition inside the country. The Cold War also created disturbances in the nation-and state building project, which manifested in several incidents that threatened the unity and even the very existence of the new nation. This culminated in the exclusion of communist groups from the national compromise required for nation and state building.

Keywords: Cold War, decolonization, Indonesia, fragmentation, foreign policy.

Decolonizing Japan–South Korea Relations: Hegemony, the Cold War, and the Subaltern State

Boyu Chen (Associate Professor, University of Niigata Prefecture)

This study uses a postcolonial approach to focus on the relations between the dominator/colonizer and the subordinated/colonized to reveal how the imperial legacy continues to influence the current relations between Japan and South Korea. The sources of current tensions between Japan and South Korea are threefold: First, the continuity of Japan's worldview inherited from the imperial era still influences Japan's interpretation of historical disputes with its former colonies. Second, decolonization has not been achieved between Japan and South Korea due to the Cold War and pressure from the United States to shelve historical disputes amid the normalizing of relations between Japan and South Korea. Third, as a subaltern state, South Korea was caught between pursuing complete independence and autonomy and collaboration with its past colonizer in the state-building process. This approach sheds new light on the multiplicity of the disputes between the two countries and explains why negative colonial legacies still haunt Japan and its relations with South Korea.

Keywords: decolonization, Japan–South Korea relations, the Cold War, subaltern state.

Subaltern South Korea's Anti-Communist Asian Cooperation in the Mid-1950s

Joonseok Yang (Research Professor, Seoul Theological University), Young Chul Cho (Associate Professor, Jeonbuk National University)

This article considers the 1950s postcolonial period in Korea after Japanese colonialism and the international context of the Cold War from the standpoint of the ROK and examines how the subaltern South Korean state (re)appropriated and (re)formulated the Cold War discourse of anti-communism in Asia. During that period, South Korea, along with other East Asian states, formed an international association called the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). During the 1950s, the subaltern ROK thus joined a new, nuanced,

Western-centric (if not colonial) structure—the Cold War—and proactively and strategically appropriated anti-communism to ensure its national survival. Carving out a place at the bottom of the Western-centric Cold War hierarchy became part of state building for non-Western South Korea. Moreover, the Cold War was a context in which ideology (anti-communism) mixed with blood (war and violence) on a daily basis. Subaltern South Korea was constitutive of the Cold War in Asia and beyond. Indeed, this article illustrates that the Cold War itself was a co-construction between the hegemonic powers and subalterns.

Keywords: Cold War, subaltern state, Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), the ROK (South Korea), the ROC (Taiwan).

From “Asia’s East” to “East Asia”: Aborted Decolonization of Taiwan in the Cold-War Discourse

Chih-yu Shih (Professor, National Taiwan University)

The disappearance of references to “Yadong,” Asia’s East or Asiatic East, as opposed to East Asia, in Taiwan’s post-World War II (WWII) political history presaged the impracticality of decolonization in Taiwan. The Cold War, pertaining especially to the American intellectual intervention in the conceptualization of the world through the fault line of its containment policy, contributed greatly to the substitution of East Asia for Yadong. I argue that Yadong is a geocultural lens, while East Asia connotes strategic purposes of various kinds. The latter concept echoed the discourse of the “Great East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere,” which colonial Japan relied on before and during WWII to justify colonialism as well as expansion. The familiar discourse of decolonization embedded in “strategic essentialism,” i.e. deliberate use of some fundamentalism for the occasion of resistance, reproduces the colonizing/colonized binary. I re-theorize decolonization as a relational project. Empirically the intellectual demise of Yadong as a relational discourse accompanied the evolution of the Cold War. Yadong’s disappearance indirectly testifies to the fate of decolonization in Taiwan.

Keywords: East Asia, Cold War, Taiwan, decolonization, Yadong, Japan, China.

A Look at Korean Historical Drama: Cultural Negotiation of Cold War Influence on Notions of Development in the Philippines

Tina S. Clemente (Associate Professor, University of the Philippines)

The article considers how Korean historical drama can enrich the discourse of development and change. The study interrogates Cold War legacies in development thinking in the Philippines entrenched by US education and pop culture and contextualizes Korean drama, a representation of counter-

dominant cultural flows, within cultural flows in Asia, the reception of the dramas in Asia, and patronage and influence in the Philippines. Focusing on the historical genre of Korean drama in particular, a cultural negotiation of Cold War influenced-development perspectives in the Philippines is problematized. Unpacking the complex content in Korean historical drama through intertextual analysis provokes a critical elucidation of notions of development and change and underscores interdiscursive utility for the development discourse in the Philippines.

Keywords: Philippines, development perspectives, pop culture, Korean drama, sageuk.

Commentary:

China's Expanding Engagement in Global Health

Dennis Van Vranken Hickey (James F. Morris Endowed Professor, Missouri State University)

Book Review Essay:

Will China Unite or Divide the World?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 44, No. 3, 2020

Capturing Power Shift in East Asia: Toward an Analytical Framework for Understanding “Soft Power”

Mikael Weissmann (Associate Professor, Swedish Defence University)

Mainstream International Relations (IR) theory has problems fully accounting for the regional dynamics of East Asia. This article explores whether the pursuit of soft power—a concept that has been given a prominent position in research on East Asian IR—can provide one piece of the puzzle for understanding East Asia's regional dynamics. This article proposes an analytical framework for analyzing soft power that problematizes the rigid soft power/hard power binary. The framework proposes a way to understand soft power and the hard-soft spectrum of behavior that allows for the inclusion of economic power while still drawing a line between hard and soft power, where not all economic power is soft, but nor is it all hard. It is argued that to keep the concept of soft power relevant in the East Asian context economic power needs to be included. The line is drawn between economic coercion and economic inducement, arguing that when induced there is still a certain level of freedom as one can choose

whether the payments or bribes offered are good enough for it to be worthwhile to change one's preference and behavior. Coercion, in contrast, utilizes a different dynamic where the point is to force someone to do something they are unwilling to do.

Keywords: soft power, power, China, East Asia, diplomacy.

The Human Security Implications of the Fourth Industrial Revolution in East Asia

Changrok Soh (Professor, Korea University), Daniel Connolly (Assistant Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

This article looks at emerging threats to human security in East Asia posed by the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), defined here as emerging business models and techniques that leverage automation, AI (artificial intelligence), and the accelerating fusion of bodies with digital and material technologies. Although this phenomenon is celebrated for creating new sources of value and innovation, it also constitutes a serious threat because its key processes generate new forms of inequality and potentially undermine human dignity and agency. Human security is an important concept for preemptively analyzing these emerging socioeconomic changes and considering countermeasures. The article concludes by briefly proposing a new mode of bottom-up human security advocacy focused on the participatory design and implementation of technological systems to help build resilience across the region.

Keywords: Fourth Industrial Revolution, human rights, human security, East Asia.

Northeast Asian Regional Integration and the East Asian Community Making Process

Serafettin Yilmaz (Associate Professor, Shandong University), Lyu Mengdi (PhD Candidate, Shandong University)

This study offers a geopolitical case analysis on regional integration in Northeast Asia (NEA) within the context of the larger community-making process in East Asia. It argues that overcoming reluctant regionalism in East Asia is contingent on the formation of a viable region in NEA to complement the ongoing ASEAN-led regional dialogue. It observes that the frustrating region-making experience in East Asia is, in part, an outcome of the reluctance on part of the three core states of China, Japan, and South Korea toward forming a sub-region in NEA, due mostly, to extraneous factors that have resulted in political inaction and lack of sustainable institutionalization. This article, in this respect, identifies a number of contemporary geopolitical developments which may weaken the externally imposed impediments on regional integration and encourage deeper reconciliation

among the three Northeast Asian states, thereby helping overcome reluctant regionalism in East Asia.

Keywords: reluctant regionalism, Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asian regional integration, geopolitics.

The Minamata Convention and Mercury Policy in China: The Role of Science

G. Kristin Rosendal (Research Director, Fridtjof Nansen Institute), Steinar Andresen (Research Professor, Fridtjof Nansen Institute), Gørild Heggelund (Senior Research Fellow, Fridtjof Nansen Institute), Eirik H. Steindal (Research Scientist, Norwegian Institute for Water Research)

What role has science played in China's decision to support and ratify the Minamata Convention, and in its domestic policies on mercury? Since 2000 there has been a strong increase in internationally produced knowledge on mercury and China has increasingly taken part in this process, also developing a stronger domestic knowledge base for handling the mercury problem. We analyse three aspects of science that are assumed to enhance trust: credibility, legitimacy, and relevance. These are explored in the study of science-policy relations in China as we examine changes in domestic mercury policies and related institutions. Also discussing the effects of other explanatory factors, we find that domestically produced scientific information may be central for understanding China's ratification of the Minamata Convention and subsequent domestic mercury policies. The study bridges the gap between capacity building in emerging economies and how domestically produced scientific information may strengthen national environmental policy making.

Keywords: China, science-policy relations, mercury pollution, environmental policy, international environmental agreements, Minamata Convention.

The Political Dynamics of South Korea's Human Capital Development Strategy

Jiyeoun Song (Associate Professor, Seoul National University)

This article examines the political dynamics of South Korea's human capital development strategy from the early 1960s until today, focusing on the central role of the state. South Korea's state has played a critical role in developing the education and skills training system not only during the period of industrialization but also under the pressures of democratization and globalization, given the lack of strong interests and political capacities of social partners (e.g., business associations and labor unions) in formulating

a human capital development strategy. It has advanced a series of education and skills training system reforms to adjust the country to the transformation of the economic structure and the production system, although an available range of policy options have changed over time. Regardless of the type of political regime (e.g., authoritarianism vs. democracy), South Korea has always prioritized the education and skills training system as the driving force of the country's growth and economic competitiveness in the international market.

Keywords: South Korea, human capital development strategy, role of the state, higher education, vocational education and training (VET), skills.

Traversing the Migrant Corridor: Singapore's First Ambassadors to Thailand, 1965–1990

Ying-kit Chan (Postdoctoral Fellow, Leiden University)

Singapore and Thailand have maintained strong diplomatic relations since 1965, when Singapore declared its independence. During the premiership of Lee Kuan Yew, respected Chinese business migrants-turned-citizens, who at some point in their lives had viewed China as home, were selected to serve as Singapore's first ambassadors to Thailand. The Singaporean ambassadors' autobiographies, biographies, and recollections, as products of their new government's cultural discourse, featured Chineseness in multicultural Singapore. This article examines the hitherto neglected role of these ambassadors (the "official" Singaporean sojourners in Thailand), who enjoyed the support of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, in forging cordial relations between Singapore and Thailand before a fully operational diplomatic service could be developed in Singapore. By deploying and modifying China historian Philip A. Kuhn's concept of the "migrant's corridor," the article explores how Sino-Singaporean businessmen maintained cultural and commercial ties to both their ancestral homeland and other members of the diaspora in locales such as Thailand. These connections would be mobilized to facilitate interstate diplomacy during the decolonization of Southeast Asia and the Vietnam War. By traversing the migrant's corridor, the article suggests, Singapore's first ambassadors to Thailand sought to reclaim roots in China and position themselves within Singaporean society. They believed in an imagined and fluid set of Chinese "values" which, based on their positivist and retrospective understanding, enabled them to create favorable outcomes in both business and diplomacy.

Keywords: Singapore-Thailand relations, interstate diplomacy, ambassadors, migrant's corridor.

North Korean “Independence” in Unification Policy and Sino-North Korean Relations, 1955–1966

Jein Do (Assistant Professor, Konkuk University)

In this article, I examine the impact of Sino-North Korean relations on Pyongyang’s articulation of “independence (chaju)” as an indispensable ideological weapon to oppose Seoul’s claim to unification. From 1955–1966, Beijing figured predominantly in North Korea’s vocabulary and discourse of “independence” while the two allies confronted complex outstanding issues such as the August 1956 Plenum Incident, withdrawal of the Chinese People’s Volunteer Army (CPVA), the Sino-Soviet split, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Instead of analyzing the evolution of Sino-North Korean bilateral relations per se, I explore the historical process by which “independence” as the self-proclaimed source of Pyongyang’s superior nationalism and popular appeal vis-à-vis the southern masses resulted from the best and worst of Sino-North Korean relations. Against the backdrop of dramatic reversals in the bilateral relationship, Pyongyang sought to maximize its influence on unification discussions in South Korea and undermine Seoul’s regime consolidation by progressively (1) selling, (2) arming, and (3) declaring “independence” as the unchanging premise of both its peaceful and militant unification policy. Pyongyang navigated the ups and downs of Sino-North Korean relations from 1955–1966 to formulate “independence” as the most correct anti-American/anti-imperialist ideological position that sealed Kim Il Sung’s exclusive right to command nationwide leadership.

Keywords: Sino-North Korean relations, independence, chaju, unification, Kim Il Sung, Park Chung Hee.

Commentary:**India’s Economic Relevance in the Indo-Pacific**

Amita Batra (Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Book Review Essay:**China: “What Kind of Government Is This?”**

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 44, No. 4, 2020

Domestic Political Drivers and Chinese Diplomacy: Xinjiang and Counter-Terrorism in South Asia

Raj Verma (Associate Professor, Huaqiao University)

This article seeks to provide an answer to the question: in the new millennium, why did China continue to block India's (and other countries') attempts to designate Pakistani citizens as terrorists under UNSC 1267 committee rules? According to the extant literature, China's actions are explained by India-China rivalry and India-Pakistan rivalry resulting in an "all-weather" strategic partnership between China and Pakistan against their mutual enemy India. However, the article argues that China's actions are also explained by its concerns regarding terrorism/extremism/splittism in Xinjiang and the role of the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM)/ Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP) which threatens its national unity and territorial integrity. China is wary that the listing of Pakistani citizens as terrorists under the UNSC 1267 rules will lead to instability in Pakistan (and Afghanistan), which will provide a breeding ground for terrorists of all forms and colors including the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS/IS/ Daesh). Daesh is a bane for China because it has links with ETIM/TIP and in recent years Uyghurs have also joined Daesh.

Keywords: India, China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, terrorism, Xinjiang, ISIS/IS/ Daesh, ETIM/TIP.

China's Engagement with Latin America and Its Implications for Soft Balancing against the United States

Hee-Yong Yang (Associate Professor, Korea Military Academy), Seungho Lee (PhD Candidate, Seoul National University)

Over a relatively short period of time, China has established a remarkable presence in Latin America, a region widely considered to be under the preponderant influence of the United States. While Beijing's increasing role in Latin America is understood by many analysts to be driven primarily by economic motives, this study argues that the theory of soft balancing offers a different conceptual lens, connecting seemingly distant issues and events and locating them in the context of US-China rivalry. Arguably, China does not yet intend to directly confront the United States, but its engagement in the region has recently spilled over into strategic and geopolitical realms, challenging America's hegemonic dominance. While Chinese soft balancing against the United States can employ different strategies, this study points to its lending behavior and robust institution-building efforts as the principal means of

drawing Latin American countries into its orbit and undermining America's influence in the region. Given its unique geographical significance, Latin America, along with East Asia, is likely to be a geopolitical hotspot for US-China strategic competition.

Keywords: China, Latin America, United States, soft balancing strategy.

Asia's Democracy Puzzle: Five Uneasy Pieces

*Karl D. Jackson (C.V. Starr Distinguished Professor, Johns Hopkins University),
Giovanna Maria Dora Dore (Lecturer, Johns Hopkins University)*

Enduring democracy depends on an ensemble of elements: 1) genuinely democratic leaders; 2) trust among elites and a modicum of satisfaction among the general public; 3) legal protections for individual rights; 4) moderate levels of both voter turnout and non-electoral participation; and 5) the predominance of civil society organizations over patron-client relations. Democracy is difficult to attain or maintain if one (or more) of the required conditions remains absent. At any given time in most countries in Asia, one or more of the five uneasy pieces is weak or missing. The difficulty of simultaneously maintaining all five elements explains why democracy has proven to be so challenging, country specific, and historically contingent as it has been in Asia.

Keywords: democracy, Asia, elections, elites, trust, civil society.

The Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage in Disputed Maritime Areas: A Case Study of the South China Sea

Hui Zhong (Research Fellow, Xiamen University)

The South China Sea (SCS) has a wealth of underwater cultural heritage (UCH). However, due to contested maritime delimitation, coastal states cannot refer to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea or the Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage to prevent unauthorized interference with UCH and implement the principle of in situ protection. UCH located in the SCS is thus vulnerable to being destroyed or salvaged. This article focuses on the issue of UCH protection and management in the disputed SCS, which has far-reaching implications for other disputed maritime areas where littoral states are in dispute concerning how their overlapping maritime entitlements are to be determined.

Keywords: underwater cultural heritage, disputed maritime areas, jurisdictional predicament, regional cooperation, protection and management, South China Sea.

The Great War Analogy and the Sino-American Security Dilemma: Foreboding or Fallacious?

Friso M. S. Stevens (PhD Candidate, Leiden University; Lecturer, Vrije University)

Drawing on the analogical lessons of the Great War, this article uses applied history to analyze how the four parallels discerned can help us make sense of contemporary Sino-American rivalry. The first section seeks to explain how deliberate reciprocal moves forged the interconnected causal chain that steered Europe into the abyss, and how that translates into the strategic complex in East Asia today. Contrasting the fallacious notion of inevitability, the following section explores what the diverging understanding of and aspirations toward regional order mean for the Sino-American security dilemma. The third section involves an important factor in crisis decision-making and escalation: offensive defense planning and the joint effect of modern weapons technology. In the final section, I unpack Xi Jinping's nationalist "China Dream" propaganda vehicle, how it ties into the great uncertainties present in contemporary Chinese society, and how leaders can be backed into a corner by abstract notions such as prestige and audience cost. Working in conjunction, these four parallel variables of the Industrial Age are likely to shape the outcome of Sino-American rivalry in the present Information Age.

Keywords: First World War analogy, China-US rivalry, East Asian order, security dilemma, modern weapons technology, nationalism

Korean Unification and the False Promise of Strategic Bargains with China

Leif-Eric Easley (Associate Professor, Ewha Womans University)

China's rising regional influence, North Korea's intractable challenges to peace and stability, and a US president fond of 'big deals' and skeptical of overseas deployments in allied countries—these factors and others have intensified speculation about a strategic bargain regarding Korean unification. Washington would withdraw troops from South Korea, Beijing would end its support of the North Korean regime, and Seoul and Pyongyang would proceed with integration. This article finds that such strategic bargain proposals tend to suffer three major flaws: mistaken historical analogies with Cold War Europe, disregard for domestic political variables, and sacrifice of international norms while accommodating China. Washington pursuing a grand bargain with Beijing regarding Korea would deepen misperceptions in Asia, damage US alliances, and deny Seoul productive agency for transforming the security, economy, and diplomacy of the Korean peninsula.

Keywords: Asia regional security, denuclearization, domestic politics, foreign policy strategy, historical analogies, international norms, US alliances.

The State After Neoliberalism: A Neo-Gramscian Perspective on South Korea's Economic Reforms 1997–1998

Shinae Hong (Senior Researcher, Sungkyunkwan University)

For the Republic of Korea the 1997 Asian financial crisis was more than an economic crisis, as it challenged the country to its core. The Korean government accepted the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) mandated economic reforms as a part of its financial bailout package. Korea was compelled to launch massive financial deregulation, dismantling the state-governed economic structure in favor of market governance. This process had grave repercussions for Korean society and was a turning point that transformed Korea from a regulatory regime to a neoliberal state. This article reviews Korea's restructuring process to reevaluate how the IMF produces a shaking state, triggering reconstruction of the institution for market governance by reforming national economies and thereby redirecting the course of a nation to cope with the internationalization of capital through its policies.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, Neo-Gramscian theory, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Asian financial crisis, Korea.

Commentary:

Ecocide on the Mekong: Downstream Impacts of Chinese Dams and the Growing Response from Citizen Science in the Lower Mekong Delta

*Nguyen Minh Quang (PhD Researcher, International Institute of Social Studies),
James Borton (Independent Writer and Researcher)*

In this commentary we discuss the geopolitics over China's Mekong dams to provide an understanding of the challenging downstream impacts of its hydropower dams. When it comes to downstream countries struggling to secure their national water security while sustaining economic and diplomatic ties with Beijing, Beijing's actions reflect a huge mismatch between words and deeds. The relationship between Mekong riparian countries and their giant upstream neighbor is a complicated push-and-pull dynamic in which local voices and biodiversity conservation are often excluded. The growing citizen science-led collective grassroots initiatives in the Lower Mekong provide an opportunity for the downstream governments to broaden their response strategies. By analyzing the impacts of public participation in local environmental decision making and policy arenas, the article provides insights into the role of citizen science in networking science and grassroots movements to oppose ill-conceived projects

in constructive and peaceful manners. It concludes with a discussion on how citizen science–led grassroots environmental movements can be translated into participatory diplomacy.

Keywords: Mekong hydropower dams, hydropolitics, citizen science, participatory diplomacy, transboundary water management.

**Book Review Essay:
Bad Memories and IR**

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 45, No. 1, 2021

Introduction to the Special Issue

Mel Gurtov (Senior Editor, Asian Perspective; Professor Emeritus, Portland State University)

The COVID-19 Pandemic and the Estrangement of US-China Relations

Dali L. Yang (William Claude Reavis Professor, University of Chicago)

This article assesses US-China relations during the COVID-19 pandemic. Prior to the pandemic, the US-China trade war created an atmosphere of bitterness and mistrust in bilateral relations and also prompted the Chinese leadership to seek to enhance its “discourse power” through “wolf warrior” diplomacy. This atmosphere hampered US-China communication and cooperation during the initial phase of the pandemic. The unleashing of “wolf warrior” diplomacy as the pandemic spread round the world, especially in the United States, has exacerbated US-China relations and served to accelerate the transition of US policy toward China from constructive engagement to strategic competition.

Keywords: COVID-19, wolf warrior diplomacy, US-China trade war, US-China relations, pandemic psychology.

The Crisis in US-China Bilateral Security Relations

Christopher Yung (Dean, US Marine Corps War College)

Although the US and Chinese security relationship has been tense for over three decades, the last three years has seen it slide into acute crisis. The two countries are in a full-blown security dilemma, going after each other’s “core interests,” using their alliances and partnerships to attempt to weaken or restrain the other, and pushing aside confidence-building measures designed to help manage the

competitive relationship. Before deriving new policy measures that can foster habits of cooperation between the two countries, the United States and China must create a new strategic consensus around which the bilateral security relationship can be defined.

Keywords: US-China relations, military relations, bilateral security, dialogues, confidence building measures, core interests, strategic consensus, crisis, tension, mistrust.

The Economic Security Dilemma in US-China Relations

David J. Bulman (Assistant Professor, Johns Hopkins University)

China and the United States are caught in an economic security dilemma. In response to perceived economic aggression, both countries now feel impelled to bolster domestic economic security through protectionist and retaliatory measures that the other side perceives as threatening. In game theoretic terms, a mutually beneficial “Stag Hunt” coordination game devolved into an uncooperative “Prisoner’s Dilemma” after the global financial crisis. In the economic security dilemma that emerged under Trump and Xi, both sides unsuccessfully attempted to coerce opponent behavior, further harming both economies. Using a game framework—as opposed to a structural or leadership-based account—helps demonstrate that China’s recent reform reversal and revisionist approaches to the international economic order were not unavoidable parts of a long-term strategy, but rather developed partially as a response to perceived US aggressions.

Keywords: US-China relations, security dilemma, trade war, prisoner’s dilemma.

Non-Traditional Security and China-US Relations

Zha Daojiong (Professor, Peking University)

This essay discusses setbacks to societal level of interactions between the United States and China resulting from the Trump administration’s turn to comprehensive confrontation. Bilateral cooperation in areas like public health, technology trade and development, law enforcement, and trade in food and energy has been severely curtailed. Future efforts to repair damage to bilateral relations will have to begin with these and related areas that indisputably have a direct impact on individual welfare in the two societies.

Keywords: US-China relations, public health, COVID-19 telecommunications, food security, energy security.

US-China Relations and Human Rights: The Xinjiang Case

Mel Gurtov (Professor Emeritus, Portland State University)

Human rights has been a contentious issue in US-China relations from their very beginning. In the early years the issue was one-way, with Washington constantly criticizing political, legal, and social inequities in Mao's China. China has fought back, pointing to deficiencies in the US system while proceeding in recent years to implement a large-scale program of detention and incarceration targeting Muslim minorities in Xinjiang. Neither the United States nor any other country or international organization can compel adherence to human rights norms in China. But setting an example of such adherence does get noticed, and if a president Biden aligns with Black Lives Matter, respects the rule of law, refuses to endorse dictators, and urges the US Senate to approve and ratify all the UN conventions on human rights, he might be more persuasive in urging Beijing to change its direction on human rights. But this is only conceivable if pursued in the context of a new US policy of competitive coexistence with China, and not strategic confrontation.

Keywords: human rights, Xinjiang, Tibet, Hong Kong, rule of law, UN conventions, Black Lives Matter.

US-China Relations and Remaking Global Governance: From Stalemate and Progress to Crisis to Resolutions

Gregory T. Chin (Associate Professor, York University)

In this article I examine the emerging crisis in major institutions of global governance, and the ways that US-China relations play crucially in the crisis and its potential resolution. The mix of competition and cooperation in the US-China relationship during the Obama presidency resulted in progress as well as stalemate in global governance, while the subsequent degeneration of relations during the Trump presidency has brought about crisis situations in major international organizations, a critical change-point in global governance. But the change is ambiguous; it can result either in organizational collapse or the pursuit of a fundamentally transformative outcome.

Keywords: US-China relations, global governance, Donald Trump, Xi Jinping, Barack Obama, crisis.

Homework for Beijing: Five Hurdles on China's Path to Becoming a "Responsible Great Power"

Jae Ho Chung (Professor, Seoul National University)

This analysis observes that in 2020 China is a global power with global ambitions

and a near-global presence. Terms such as “G2,” “global stakeholder,” “strategic competitor,” and “hegemonic candidate” no longer ring hollow as they did ten years ago. However, it is unclear whether China’s challenge to the United States will be sustainable in the medium to long run. The essay considers five hurdles in Beijing’s path to a “responsible great power”—assuming that China does hope to be one. Certainly, the world does not wish to see the emergence of an irresponsible China.

Keywords: US-China, responsible great power, power transition, Thucydides trap, Kindleberger dilemma, Nye paradox, democracy.

The Trump Administration’s Policy Changes on China and Their Destructive Ramifications for US-China Relations

Zhu Feng (Executive Director, Nanjing University)

This article analyzes the change in policy discourse of the Trump administration and its destructive effects on US-China relations. It begins with a retrospective look at the China policies of two prior US administrations, those of President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama, in order to show just how significant the shift is. Following the review are analyses of the new policy discourse on China and how China has responded to it, especially in the context of the coronavirus pandemic. The last section of this article discusses a popular theme in recent academic circles: Is a new Cold War inevitable?

Keywords: US-China, Xi Jinping, Donald Trump, rivalry, downward spiral, policy discourse, victimhood complex, high-tech competition.

US-China Geoeconomic Tensions: Implications for the African Continental Free Trade Area

Garth L. le Pere (Visiting Professor, University of Pretoria)

Passage of the African Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) occurs at a time of rising tensions between the United States and China. Africa’s growth and development prospects depend on a functioning and stable multilateral trading system, but recourse to economic nationalism and protectionism is increasingly undermining the open global economy and, indeed, the liberal international order on which free and fair trade depends. This article examines the implications of US-China tensions for the CFTA while assessing the opportunity for closer engagement between African countries and an axis of emerging powers led by China in an enhanced Global South strategy.

Keywords: FTA, geoeconomics, regional trade agreements, Belt and Road Initiative, South-South trade.

The Twin Chessboards of US-China Rivalry: Impact on the Geostrategic Supply and Demand in Post-Pandemic Asia

Cheng-Chwee Kuik (Associate Professor, National University of Malaysia)

This essay offers a small state perspective on US-China rivalry in the post-COVID-19 era. After tracing the emergence of the “twin chessboards” of big power rivalry, namely, high and low politics competitions, the essay assesses the impact of these competitions on the post-pandemic Asian order, with a focus on Southeast Asia. I argue that while US-China competition has been rising rapidly in high politics (that is, in the military field), the increasing importance of low politics—infrastructure and connectivity development, technology, trade, finance, public health, and other functional areas—is shaping the prospects, pace, and patterns of the onset of Cold War 2.0. The intensified US-China animosity across the twin chessboards is widening the scope of the competition, increasing the number of players, and mounting pressure on all smaller states. Arguably, however, it is also providing these smaller states with more maneuvering space. These developments reshape geostrategic supply and demand in Southeast Asia. Accordingly, the smaller states are developing additional layers of partnerships with actors near and far, thereby broadening their hedging options in an increasingly uncertain and high-stake environment.

Keywords: big power politics, US-China relations, Southeast Asia, smaller states, high politics, low politics, geostrategic supply and demand, hedging.

Divided but Not Poles Apart: Europe, the United States, and the Rise of China

Shaun Breslin (Professor, University of Warwick)

While differences remain, the gap between US and European debates over the likely impact of China’s rise on the global order has narrowed in recent years. At the same time, China’s leaders have been more confident in establishing dichotomized distinctions between their view of how the world should be ordered and how China will act as a great power on one hand, and what they depict as the West’s preferences and the typical *modus operandi* of Western powers on the other. Despite evidence of ever clearer dividing lines between different visions of China’s impact on the future of the global order, this is not the same as a return to bipolarity. The problems of disentangling transnational economic relations, different levels of followership for potential leaders, and pragmatic considerations of governance efficacy in diverse issue areas all suggest something other than fixed bloc-type alliances on either side of a bipolar divide.

Keywords: US-China relations, Europe-China relations, bipolarity, global order, COVID-19 pandemic.

The Risks to Latin America from the Breakdown of US-China Relations

Claudia Trevisan (Journalist)

China has become an important dimension of US relations with Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). In the last twenty years, China has increased its trade, investments, financial, and political ties with the region, an area of US influence for most of the twentieth century. As has been the case globally, the Trump administration has increased its pressure against China in LAC. The Brazilian experience shows that countries in the region are being pressured to make policy choices that effectively require them to renounce their own interests in response to Washington's demands. Both the United States and China are crucial partners to LAC and the possibility of being forced to choose between them is among the main strategic risks the region faces.

Keywords: Latin America, United States, Brazil, national interests, Jair Bolsonaro, Donald Trump.

The Rise and Fall of the US-China Health Relationship

Deborah Seligsohn (Assistant Professor, Villanova University)

US-China health cooperation reaches back to the signing of the bilateral Science and Technology Umbrella Agreement, their first agreement after normalization of diplomatic relations in 1979. Bilateral cooperation has shaped the China Center for Disease Control and Prevention (China CDC) and produced some of the world's finest epidemiological research over the last thirty years. US-China research and technical cooperation has covered the full range of health-related topics, with no area given more attention than research and technical cooperation on emerging infectious diseases. In the wake of the outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), the United States ramped up the staff presence of its Center for Disease Control (CDC) in China. Although this changed in the Obama years, as China's epidemiological capacity developed rapidly, the dramatic shift occurred with the Trump administration, whose cuts, just as COVID-19 arose as the largest epidemiological threat to the world in a century, left only a skeleton staff in place, and the US government without eyes and ears on the ground. Nonetheless, there is a reservoir of mutual respect and willingness to cooperate among the health professionals in both countries. If there is political will, this could become the foundation for a next-phase bilateral health relationship.

Keywords: COVID-19, China, public health, US-China relations, international relations, health diplomacy, CDC, WHO.

US-China Higher Education Links in Crisis: Behind the Curtain of Suspicion

Madelyn Ross (Executive Director, SAIS China)

Has America's complex academic relationship with China been a largely positive experience, or has it eroded our national security by enabling Chinese Communist academic espionage and influence operations to take root at US colleges and universities? For almost forty years beginning in 1978, US-China education links were widely considered a clear benefit to both countries. Today, academic relationships have become a focal point of the current crisis in US-China relations. A web of suspicion has come down over Chinese students and scholars in the United States, as well as Chinese scientists and entrepreneurs. Some members of the Trump administration have even talked about cancelling all Chinese student visas. This article focuses on Chinese students and scholars in the United States. It examines the flashpoints of academic espionage and China's influence operations on American campuses, looks at how American institutions are responding, and closes with recommendations and reflections.

Keywords: higher education, academic exchanges, students and scholars, US-China relations.

Ethical Operational Codes and Dealing with China

David M. Lampton (Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University)

This contribution argues that, without an ethical operational code, scholars', policymakers', businesspersons', and citizens' policy positions simply become expedient reactions to perceived problems, opportunities, and interests. Without ethical footing, policies as a whole will lack coherence, staying power, and persuasive force. Key elements of an ethical operational code include: philosophical grounding and core values, concepts of social and historical development, and rules of thumb derived from an individual's experience. Providing several examples of China-related policy issues which would benefit from the ethical operational code approach, this essay then discusses the analytic elements of an operational code. It concludes by arguing that, in the context of US-China relations, individuals should develop ethical constructs characterized by patience, more carrots than sticks, and more open doors than high walls. In what is emerging as an increasingly ideologically polarized domestic and foreign policy circumstance in the United States and in U.S.-China relations, the starting point for an individual needs to be self-reflection concerning what they believe and why.

Keywords: China policy, COVID-19, ethics, ethical operational code, Google, US-China relations, mass media, Taiwan, Tibet, utilitarianism, Xinjiang.

Vol. 45, No. 2, 2021

Introduction to the Special Issue: Asymmetry and Authority: Theorizing Southeast Asian Responses to China's Belt and Road Initiative

Cheng-Chwee Kuik (Associate Professor, National University of Malaysia)

The Philippines' Shifting Engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative: The Politics of Duterte's Legitimation

Aileen S. P. Baviera† (Professor, University of the Philippines), Aries A. Arugay (Professor, University of the Philippines)

The Philippines' engagement with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a case of within-country variation as it shifted from passivity to warm reception from 2016 to the present day. Under the Duterte administration, the BRI became one of the focal points of cordial relations with China, despite ongoing territorial disputes with China in the South China Sea, low public opinion of China, and the Philippines' security partnerships with the major powers defending the current international order. This article examines how the Aquino and Duterte administrations perceived the Philippines' power asymmetry with China in its engagement with BRI. While this power asymmetry has been maintained, if not increased over the years, Duterte's positive stance can be explained by how the BRI projects can possibly help consolidate the authority and legitimacy of the populist leader. The essay assesses the benefits and risks of the Philippines' engagement with the BRI, considering Duterte's massive infrastructure program, the structural limitations of the Philippine government and its foreign policy positions with respect to China and the other powers in the region. In conclusion, the article analyzes the future prospects of BRI projects in the Philippines, given the COVID-19 pandemic and changes in big-power relations.

Keywords: Philippines, China, Belt and Road Initiative, power asymmetry, legitimization, Duterte.

Explaining Myanmar's Response to China's Belt and Road Initiative: From Disengagement to Embrace

Lee Jones (Reader, Queen Mary University of London)

Myanmar's response to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has changed from cool disengagement under the Thein Sein government (2011–2016) to an increasingly warm embrace under the National League for Democracy (2016–). This article explains this development with reference to the changing nature of domestic authority relations, which conditions how Myanmar's governments

manage their asymmetric relations with China (as outlined in the special issue's introduction). Thein Sein's attempt to cultivate democratic authority in the wake of military rule entailed significant concessions to opponents of Chinese megaprojects in an effort to distinguish himself from previous military rulers. Aung San Suu Kyi's unparalleled popularity and democratic legitimation required no such concessions and engendered greater confidence that the risks of Chinese megaprojects could be mitigated through stricter regulation and the renegotiation of contracts to secure greater local benefit.

Keywords: Myanmar, China, Belt and Road Initiative, authority, asymmetry.

Explaining Indonesia's Constrained Engagement with the Belt and Road Initiative: Balancing Developmentalism against Nationalism and Islamism

Ardhitya Eduard Yerima (Lecturer, Universitas Indonesia)

Although Indonesia has agreed to collaborate with China on various infrastructure development projects related to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), President Jokowi's government has refrained from fully engaging with the initiative primarily because his regime needs to strike a balance between competing pathways to domestic authority. Democratic legitimacy aside, Jokowi's authority is based on side payments to powerful oligarchs and political elites, development-based performance justification, welfare interventions, and nationalist ideology. His authority is mainly challenged by Islamist hardliners and populist nationalists whipping up anti-Chinese sentiment. On one hand, Jokowi's developmental agenda pushes Indonesia toward engaging China and BRI. On the other, nationalism and rising anti-Chinese mobilization constrain this engagement, requiring the government to maintain its distance from Beijing to avoid undermining the regime's overall domestic authority.

Keywords: Indonesia, China, Belt and Road Initiative, asymmetry, authority, legitimation, infrastructure, Jokowi.

Thailand's Engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative: Strong Will, Slow Implementation

Pongkwan Sawasdipakdi (PhD Candidate, University of Southern California)

The Thai ruling elites ostensibly desire to embrace China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI), but why has this not resulted in more extensive engagement with the BRI? Why has BRI project implementation in Thailand been extremely slow despite the elites' public pledges? This article addresses this puzzle by arguing that the gap between the pledges and slow project implementation stems from the deep contestation for authority and legitimacy between two sociopolitical coalitions: a conservative faction clustered around the palace, the military, the

Democrat Party, and the yellow shirts and a faction centered on former leader Thaksin Shinawatra. Both sides generally favor engaging China for pragmatic purposes. There is little disagreement over whether or not to build a high-speed railway. Rather, the issues are how best to pursue and implement this project, how China should be involved, and which parties the project should benefit. The two camps have repeatedly modified the railway's construction plan to appeal to their different support bases. In addition to political opposition, such long-standing contestation has encouraged bureaucratic foot-dragging, which undermines the progress of the project, especially when the government suffers from a deficit in democratic legitimacy.

Keywords: Thailand, China, BRI, small state, power asymmetry, authority, legitimation.

Cambodia's Embrace of China's Belt and Road Initiative: Managing Asymmetries, Maximizing Authority

Vannarith Chheang (Visiting Fellow, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute)

Cambodia has warmly embraced China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which provides Cambodian ruling elites with massive opportunities to extend their domestic authority while posing very little challenge. Although there is power asymmetry in Cambodia's relationship with China, this does not mean that Cambodia is without agency. Cambodian elites have endeavored to manage the power asymmetry externally, while maximizing their authority internally through legitimization, co-option, and coercion. Cambodia has pursued a hedging approach to strengthen its bargaining power as well as to reduce the risks from overreliance on China. The BRI provides extensive material resources for the Cambodian elites to consolidate their power, as well as to stimulate economic growth and bolster the regime's performance legitimacy, which is further complemented and augmented by nationalist legitimization vis-à-vis the West, Vietnam, and Thailand, challenges for which Beijing offers a politico-security umbrella.

Keywords: Cambodia, China, Belt and Road Initiative, asymmetry, authority, small-state agency, legitimation, infrastructure, hedging.

Brunei's Response to China's Belt and Road Initiative: Embracing Asymmetry, Enhancing Authority

Ithrana Lawrence (Researcher, Research for Social Advancement [REFSA])

This article examines Brunei's response to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Brunei has welcomed investments from China since well before the launch of the BRI in 2013 and has become even more receptive as the

investments have grown. Brunei's low-profile but enthusiastic receptivity to the BRI is motivated primarily by its ruling elite's legitimation-driven pragmatism to maintain its authority by diversifying Brunei's energy-based economy. The convergence between the sultan's Brunei Vision 2035 (Wawasan Brunei 2035) and Xi Jinping's BRI has increased the political importance of Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) to Brunei. Thus, embracing the BRI is key to the elite's development-based performance legitimation, which is augmented by an ideology-based pathway of particularistic justification, in the form of a Malay Islamic Monarchy. Since this ideology is not nationalistic, there is little political risk to Brunei downplaying China's territorial claims over the South China Sea while simultaneously engaging China to maximize economic benefits and forge functional cooperation. These complementary pathways are central to maintaining the Brunei regime's domestic authority.

Keywords: Brunei, China, Belt and Road Initiative, asymmetry, authority, political legitimacy, infrastructure, hedging.

Malaysia's Fluctuating Engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative: Leveraging Asymmetry, Legitimizing Authority

Cheng-Chwee Kuik (Associate Professor, National University of Malaysia)

Using an asymmetry-authority framework, this article analyzes Malaysia's engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and, more broadly, Malaysia's relations with China. Relations between the two countries were initially hostile, but changing external and internal conditions induced Malaysia to leverage power asymmetry to enhance and legitimize its ruling elites' political authority. Thus, despite ongoing claims in the South China Sea and domestic discontent about China's growing economic presence, successive Malaysian leaders have embraced China-backed infrastructure connectivity projects. Mahathir's renegotiation of selected controversial projects in 2018–2019 and another change in federal government in March 2020 did not change this approach. I argue that this persistent (albeit fluctuating) embrace is a result of converging pathways of elite legitimation in Malaysia—that is, both development-based and identity-based legitimation, alongside patronage politics—that requires the Malay-dominated ruling elites to pragmatically embrace such foreign-backed infrastructure partnerships as China's BRI. While democracy-based legitimation following the May 2018 elections necessitated Mahathir's Pakatan Harapan (PH) government to suspend some projects and recalibrate Malaysia's BRI receptivity, these changes were adjustments, not a departure from Malaysia's pragmatic embrace.

Keywords: Malaysia, China, Belt and Road Initiative, asymmetry, authority, legitimation, infrastructure, Mahathir.

Understanding Success and Failure in Establishing New Multilateral Development Banks: The SCO Development Bank, the NDB, and the AIIB

Bas Hooijmaaijers (Associate Research Professor, East China Normal University)

During the 2010s, a number of new multilateral development banks (MDBs) were established, including the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) New Development Bank (NDB) and the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). In 2010, China had proposed establishing a Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) development bank. However, progress made toward establishing an SCO development bank has been minimal. This article identifies key factors influencing whether efforts to establish a new MDB are successes or failures by studying the failed attempt to establish an SCO development bank and contrasting it with the successful foundations of the NDB and the AIIB. It thus contributes to a better understanding of the drivers, the difficulties, and the challenges of these new MDB initiatives.

Keywords: Shanghai Cooperation Organization, multilateral development banks, New Development Bank, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, political economy.

Book Review Essay:

Will China Lead Humanity into an “Asian” Future?

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 45, No. 3, 2021

Introduction to the Special Section

Regional Communicative Dynamics and International Relations in the Asia-Pacific

Chiyuki Aoi (Professor, University of Tokyo), Yee-Kuang Heng (Professor, University of Tokyo)

Asian states are increasingly finding strategic communications to be an important tool of foreign and defense policy. Strategic communications involve coordinated messaging to achieve political objectives, utilizing words, actions, images, and various forms of signaling or symbols with the intention of influencing or persuading the target audiences. Such purposeful, coordinated, and targeted communications necessarily give rise to action-reaction dynamics

that may have a tangible impact on interstate relations and the balance of power. How, then, do states in Asia employ such messaging activities in order to achieve influence? What dynamics are created by the employment of strategic communications by states in the region, and how do these affect intense great-power rivalries and competition for leadership of international norms and in institutions in the region? The contributors to this special section address a series of common questions as the analytical framework for investigating how states conceptualize and utilize strategic communications to further national interests vis-a-vis their target states and domestic populace. The articles explore the communicative dynamics of strategic communications and how they impact perceptions of threat and the cost-benefit calculus associated with certain actions, such as escalation or de-escalation of tensions. This special section demonstrates the ways in which strategic communications are an integral element of an ongoing power transition in Asia and thus shape international relations in the region in critical ways.

Keywords: Asia-Pacific, Indo-Pacific, strategic communications, diplomacy, Russia, China.

No Consensus Across the Strait: Chinese and Taiwanese Strategic Communications in a Contested Regional Order

Aurelio Insisa (Lecturer, University of Hong Kong)

After the 2016 elections, cross-Strait relations have fallen to their lowest point since the Third Strait Crisis. A proliferation of state-driven strategic narratives by both sides has since emerged. Against Beijing's narratives of "national rejuvenation," peaceful reunification, and "1992 Consensus," the Tsai administration has contraposed an image of Taiwan as a "beacon" of freedom and democracy in the Indo-Pacific. By tracing the tenets and the operationalization of Beijing and Taipei's strategic communications from the late 2000s to 2020, this article shows how Chinese and Taiwanese actors' reactions to the systemic pressure of a shifting East Asian regional order have progressively shaped cross-Strait communicative dynamics, severely constraining the range of options that could overcome the current impasse.

Keywords: China, Taiwan, cross-Strait relations, 1992 Consensus, strategic communications, strategic narratives.

Japan-China Strategic Communications Dynamics under the Belt and Road Initiative: The Case of "Third Country Business Cooperation"

Naoko Eto (Professor, Gakushuin University)

Since the 2000s, the power of international narratives has attracted much attention

in China. Under the Xi Jinping administration, the enhancement of “international discourse power” became an explicit policy and a diplomatic goal, closely linked to its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). BRI, further, overlaps with China’s efforts to develop a new concept of “institutional discourse power” as a mechanism to convert the economic gravity of China into political power by enhancing their agenda-setting capability, particularly in emerging rule-making process of the new economy. Such ambition has also shaped the new economic integrative framework between China and developed countries including Japan. Japan, on the other hand, relied on an increasingly inclusive notion of free and open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) to define and promote its relations with both “like-minded countries” and China for the purpose of making the BRI relative. Although Japan and China have agreed on economic cooperation in third countries as a new collaborative scheme in 2018, there remains a gap in their political objectives and strategic communications. This poses a major challenge for China, which hitherto has relied on China-centric narratives, as it can only enhance its identity as a global leading power by accommodating and accepting partially narratives of other major countries, including Indo-Pacific countries.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), free and open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), discourse power, third country business cooperation (TCBC), global governance, corona pandemic.

Russian Strategic Communications toward Japan: A More Benign Model of Influence?

James D. J. Brown (Associate Professor, Temple University, Japan Campus)

Russia has been accused of weaponizing information to exert influence over the political systems and publics of countries in Europe and North America. However, is Moscow engaged in comparable activities in Japan? Given Japan’s status as the United States’ main ally in East Asia and the history of Soviet influence operations in the country, Japan is a logic target. Yet, to date, no detailed study has been conducted into Russia’s use of information tools toward Japan. To fill this gap, in this article I examine Russia’s contemporary strategic communications toward Japan in five areas: public diplomacy, Japanese mainstream media, Japanese social media, Russian state media in the Japanese language, and Russia’s use of Japanese agents of influence. I also assess the extent to which these activities pose a threat to Japanese security by comparing Russia’s activities via both a benign and malign model of strategic communications. This also facilitates comparisons with Russia’s actions in other countries. Having identified contrasts in the approach taken by Russia toward Japan and Western states, the article concludes by discussing explanations for these differences.

Keywords: Russia, Japan, strategic communications, fake news, influence operations, media.

Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand's Layering of Strategic Communications (2016–2020)

Corey Wallace (Assistant Professor, Kanagawa University)

Around 2016, the Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand governments began to disassemble the coherent and optimistic imagery that had hitherto signaled their strategic commitment to accommodating China within an interdependent, prosperous, and strategically stable Asia-Pacific. While Canberra and Wellington remain committed to constructive “bedrock” bilateral relations and still avoid explicitly positioning China as a direct threat in their strategic messaging, both governments have increasingly communicated (1) concerns about their strategic vulnerability and military insecurity that requires enhanced military potency; (2) pessimism that great power competition could disrupt Asia-Pacific stability, requiring strategic diversification and cross-bracing with “Indo-Pacific” partners; and (3) stronger official criticism on narrower, strategically circumscribed issue sets as the two nations attempt to set acceptable terms for anticipated relations of greater future complexity with China. The targets of this “layered” approach to strategic communications are not only Beijing and Washington, DC, but increasingly other important regional partners and domestic stakeholder audiences with diverse interests.

Keywords: Australia, New Zealand, Pacific Islands, communication, diversification.

An “East Asian” Public Diplomacy? Lessons from Japan, South Korea, and China

Nissim Otmazgin (Professor, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Developed in American and European contexts, public diplomacy theory has found its most receptive audiences in East Asia, expressed in heavy governmental investment in educational and cultural programs meant to foster acceptance and influence within the global community. Examining the state of public diplomacy in Japan, Korea, and China, countries with a strong developmental legacy, globalizing economies, and growing media presence, I analyze the integration of public diplomacy in each country’s diplomatic efforts, the image they want to project to the world, and the institutional change this move has instigated. While public diplomacy has been taking a central position in this region, the East Asian model of public diplomacy features a mixture of state-led initiatives, an increasing investment of resources, and substantial government intervention.

Keywords: public diplomacy, East Asia, soft power, Japan, South Korea, China.

The Political Opportunity Structure of Chinese Villages: A Case Study of Rightful Resistance in Northwest China

Guo Pengpeng (Doctoral Student, Lanzhou University)

How does “rightful resistance” take place in contemporary rural China? The continuously evolving village election system, the abolishment of the agricultural tax, and a new insistence on fighting corruption seemingly have created more space for the rural population in China to defend its rights. However, the central state’s emphasis on solving the so-called three rural issues (*sannong wenti* 三农问题)—raising incomes and welfare for the rural population, modernizing the countryside, and developing industrialized and modern agriculture—in a top-down manner and the continued use of “project-based management” have also greatly decreased the ability of the rural population to influence the agenda of the state and have thereby increased the potential for friction between the local state and its rural citizens. This article is a case study of a dispute between villagers and local cadres about the implementation of a reforestation project. While the case shows that villagers have several avenues for protest, it also hints at the low effectiveness of their protest and the continued existence of important structural obstacles dealing with different levels of the administration, including the atomization of villagers, the volatile nature of their interest coalition, and a profound lack of allies in society.

Keywords: China, political opportunity structure, rightful resistance, peasants, public protest, project-based management, village committee elections, reforestation, corruption, returning farmland to forest (*tuigeng huanlin* 退耕还林).

Book Review Essay:

Grand Illusions and Delusions

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 45, No. 4, 2021

Vietnam's Cautious Response to China's Belt and Road Initiative: The Imperatives of Domestic Legitimation

Sy Thanh Pham (PhD Candidate, Nankai University), Alice D. Ba (Professor, University of Delaware)

China's Belt and Road may be China's "Project of the Century," but for Vietnam it encapsulates an age-old predicament, namely, how best to respond to the mix of opportunity and challenge represented by its very large neighbor next door. This article finds in Vietnam's response a mix of caution and engagement reflective of Vietnam's distinctive positionality on the asymmetry-authority framework outlined in the introductory essay. It gives special attention to how ongoing maritime disputes intensify the challenge on both asymmetry and especially, domestic authority dimensions, but also how Vietnam's response to BRI illustrates elites' dynamic adjustments between four key sources of domestic legitimacy—welfare, anticorruption, nationalism, and autonomy. While the domestic nationalist challenge posed by China largely explains Vietnam's caution and ambivalence about BRI, these tensions also make BRI's diplomatic and political functions and thus, Vietnam's engagement more important beyond the economic opportunities it may offer.

Keywords: Vietnam, China, Belt and Road Initiative, legitimacy, power asymmetry, conflict management.

Singapore's Forward Engagement with China's Belt and Road Initiative: Coping with Asymmetry, Consolidating Authority

Irene Chan (Associate Research Fellow, Nanyang Technological University)

Surrounded by countries that have embarked on infrastructure projects related to China's Belt-and-Road Initiative (BRI), Singapore stands out as an anomaly—the tiny island state does not host any major BRI-related infrastructure projects. Singapore's BRI involvement is one of "forward" engagement: participating in infrastructure and connectivity projects that are based in China, as exemplified by the Singapore-China Chongqing Connectivity Initiative and Singapore's provision of infrastructure project prospecting and investor matching services for BRI projects worldwide. This pattern of BRI engagement reflects Singapore's pragmatism to explore and maximize economic interests based on its comparative strengths, even and especially when it is increasingly affected by big power rivalries amid growing uncertainties worldwide. Using the asymmetry-authority (AA) framework, this article analyzes how the structural effects of Singapore's asymmetrical relations with China have been filtered

by the ruling People's Action Party's (PAP) legitimization efforts for authority consolidation, and why these have resulted in Singapore's proactive and forward embrace of the BRI.

Keywords: Singapore, China, Belt and Road Initiative, asymmetry, authority, legitimacy.

Laos's Enthusiastic Embrace of China's Belt and Road Initiative

Cheng-Chwee Kuik (Associate Professor, National University of Malaysia)

Laos is among the Southeast Asian countries that had engaged China on infrastructure cooperation well before the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was launched in 2013. Subsequently, Laos has embraced the BRI openly and receptively. Laos's most expensive and controversial project, the Vientiane–Boten railway, is China's signature BRI venture in Laos. The country's BRI engagement also includes special economic zones and unequal partnerships in hydropower, mining, and agricultural projects. To elucidate why Laos embraces the BRI despite the controversies and concerns surrounding the Beijing-backed projects, this essay uses an asymmetry–authority framework to argue that, while power asymmetry entails apprehensions, the Lao ruling elites' political needs to preserve and advance their authority led them to downplay anxieties and instead highlight the benefits of the China-financed projects. The rail venture, in particular, aims to transform Laos from a landlocked country to a “land-linked” one, which will extend connectivity, increase trade, and attract investment, thus enhancing and legitimizing the elites' rule.

Keywords: Laos, China, Belt and Road Initiative, asymmetry, authority, legitimization, infrastructure, railroad.

Connecting Northeast Asia: Renewable Energy and Prospects for Cooperation

Cesare M. Scartozzi (PhD Candidate, University of Tokyo), Roberto Orsi (Project Associate Professor, University of Tokyo), Maximilian Ernst (PhD Candidate and Researcher, Free University of Brussels), Henry Martin (PhD Student, ETH Zürich and the Institute for Advanced Research in Artificial Intelligence)

This article assesses the significance of renewable energy technologies in the integration of the Northeast Asian energy sector. First, it provides a country-level analysis of renewable energy trends in China, Korea, and Japan. Then, it analyzes how domestic trends are linked from a regional perspective, highlighting opportunities and challenges posed by renewable energy technologies. Finally, it assesses the current state of affairs in energy cooperation and provides an appraisal of future developments, with particular

attention to the issue of grid connectivity.

Keywords: renewable energy, energy security, grid connectivity, China, Republic of Korea, Japan.

China's Space Power Strategy in the New Era

He Qisong (Professor, East China University of Political Science and Law)

This article begins with a brief introduction of the development of China's space industry and China's goal of becoming a space power. The author then analyzes the role that China's space power strategy aims to play in space governance; that is, for China to become a leader in shaping space rules and in providing international public goods. The final section of the article describes China's activities in space and discusses their effects on space instability.

Keywords: China, space strategy, space power, identity.

National Pride and Political Participation: The Case of South Korea

Gidong Kim (PhD Candidate, University of Missouri), Jae Mook Lee (Associate Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

In this article, we examine the relationship between national pride and political participation in South Korea by considering its unique political and historical backgrounds. Analyzing the Korean General Social Survey (2003–2016), we find that though people with high national pride are more likely to participate than those without high national pride, the effect of national pride is not homogeneous: age and education weaken the relationship, whereas ideological conservatism strengthens it. This suggests that while the conditional effect of age is similar to that in Western countries, education and ideology in South Korea moderate the effect of national pride in a direction different from the West. Therefore, this study implies that though the relationship between national pride and political participation might appear like Western democracies, it reflects idiosyncratic patterns based on the politically unique context of South Korea.

Keywords: political participation, national pride, national identity, nationalism, South Korea.

Norm Noncompliance and Norm Diffusion: Free Trade Norms among the United States, European Union, and China

Nie Wenjuan (Associate Professor, China Foreign Affairs University)

Would existing norms be vulnerable to degeneration due to the noncompliance behavior of some members, especially that of norm entrepreneurs? Standard accounts of norm studies focus on the negative influences of norm noncompliance

on norm diffusion. This article starts with a critical thinking about norm noncompliance and argues that norm noncompliance, as well as norm compliance, constitutes a normal and necessary part of our social system. It develops hypotheses on why and how norm noncompliance leads to norm diffusion. To illustrate this argument, it takes free trade norms as a case to explore the different attitudes held by the United States, European Union (EU), and China. China has been motivated by US noncompliance behaviors to take the lead in diffusing free trade norms, while the EU tries to prevent China from taking the championship, which combined have promoted the diffusion of free trade norms.

Keywords: norm noncompliance, norm diffusion, free trade, identity, China.

Commentary:

Problems and Benefits of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) for Local People in Pakistan: A Critical Review

Shakir Ullah (Research Fellow, North Minzu University), Usman Khan (Research Fellow, North Minzu University), Khalil Ur Rahman (Assistant Professor, Hazara University), Aman Ullah (Head of the Sociology/Psychology Department, the University of Swabi)

This study provides a critical literature review of the benefits and problems associated with one of the largest Chinese-funded development projects, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), with particular focus on the implications of this project for local people in Pakistan. CPEC is one of the most significant development projects in Pakistan, covering infrastructure, agriculture, and energy cooperation. Although some studies have examined challenges and problems brought about by CPEC, the majority of them fail to examine specific localities and the Pakistani communities that have been impacted by the project. Hence, most of the investigations have reported general development impacts rather than indicating whether and how CPEC has brought either benefits or problems to local people. In examining previously published studies on CPEC, this essay highlights gaps in research, especially from anthropological and sociological perspectives, with the goal of encouraging further studies from the vantage point of the local communities regarding development projects in Pakistan.

Keywords: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), development, benefits, problems, Pakistan, China.

Book Review Essay:

Realism and Idealism in Ancient India and Today's World

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 46, No. 1, 2022

The Roundabout Outcomes of the Soviet-Afghan War

Ofir Israeli (Lecturer, Reichman University)

This paper demonstrates that when a superpower within a bipolar system fights against a small rival either that is located beyond its sphere of influence or that has geostrategic importance to the other acting superpower, other forces matter more than the distribution of capabilities between the belligerents. Within the study I review two primary explanations for the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Despite the strong resistance of local forces to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, mainly by the Afghan Mujahedeen, Moscow failed to predict the political outcomes of the war. It was in fact a series of negative feedbacks that caused Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan after a decade-long intervention that did not achieve any political goals. One such example was the direct strike against the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, launched and coordinated by the United States as the other acting superpower under the bipolar system of that time.

Keywords: Soviet-Afghan War, bipolarity, Cold War, superpower rivalry.

Talking Green, Building Brown: China-ASEAN Environmental and Energy Cooperation in the BRI Era

Jessica C. Liao (Assistant Professor, North Carolina State University)

This article examines the evolution of China-ASEAN environmental and energy cooperation since the 2010s with a focus on changes following the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). It shows that over the past decade China and ASEAN have actively expanded cooperative frameworks and mechanisms in the domain of environmental protection as part of their comprehensive approach to sustainable development, particularly regarding energy projects. Nonetheless, the implementation record in their energy cooperation, that is, the lion's share of BRI projects in Southeast Asia, remains unsustainable and contradicts with their shared "green" policy discourse. The article examines factors from both sides of China and ASEAN that contribute to this disconnect and explains why China's own accomplishments in renewable energy development fail to spill over to Southeast Asia. These findings have implications for China's impact on global governance and its leadership role in the Global South.

Keywords: China-ASEAN relations, BRI, sustainable development, climate change, coal-fired power.

Liquidated: US/Japan-Chinese Rivalry, Financial Crises, and Explaining Shifts in Hydropower Finance Regimes in the Mekong

Pon Souvannaseng (Assistant Professor, Bentley University)

The contemporary US/Japan-Chinese rivalry and tension around dam building in the Mekong region is often mistakenly seen as the US and Japan's reactive response to recently growing Chinese diplomatic and economic influence in the region. In fact, the United States and Japan have been critical architects of institutional and financial engineering for hydropower development in the Mekong region, which predates involvement by the People's Republic of China (PRC). The factors and dynamics involved in significant lending regime shifts away from a liberal hydropower finance regime to an export credit driven model premised on Asian economic statecraft is an understudied topic. This article fills part of this gap through a case study of evolving hydro-financing regimes in Lao PDR from the 1970s to the present. The study draws on extensive ethnographic work in Laos, Japan, Thailand, and the United States with local and external political elites, hydro-financing technocrats, and business actors and gains additional insights from analysis of primary firm, institutional, and government documents. The article finds that the role of economic crises and their impact on the relative economic power of hydropower financing regimes as well as their ideational impact on borrower regimes are significant in explaining shifting patterns in lending regime dominance.

Keywords: hydropower, dams, infrastructure finance, multilateral development banks, United States, Japan, China, Mekong.

A Persistent Fossil Fuel Agenda? Japan's Overseas Energy Development in Southeast Asia

Margaret M. Jackson (Council on Foreign Relations-Hitachi International Affairs Fellow, Institute of Energy Economics)

Despite growing concerns about the impacts of climate change, Japanese public financial institutions continued to build on long-standing partnerships in Southeast Asia through the expansion of thermal power generation. Recent Japanese investments include coal-fired power plants in Indonesia and Vietnam and natural gas supply chains in Indonesia and Bangladesh. Japan was one of the last developed countries globally to champion coal development that, even if highly efficient, comes at a cost to the environment. Overseas energy investment is at the nexus of two significant challenges of this century: the threat of climate change and great power competition. Japan, regionally proximate to China and burdened with a shrinking economy and limited energy supplies, shapes its regional foreign policy to enhance energy security, expand overseas market share, and uphold

a rules-based international order. This paper discusses these primary drivers of Japan's policy approach and highlights examples of Japan's overseas energy investment strategies starting to shift to maintain a competitive edge as public opinion and market forces react to the increased risk perception of climate change.

Keywords: Japan energy policy, Japan-Southeast Asia relations, coal finance, clean energy transition.

China-Japan Rivalry and Southeast Asian Renewable Energy Development: Who Is Winning What in Indonesia?

Guanie Lim (Assistant Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies)

In recent years, China and Japan have increasingly competed against each other over infrastructure provision in Southeast Asia, their near abroad. Through an analysis of energy infrastructure provision in Indonesia, this article argues that Indonesia has benefited from Chinese and Japanese financial resources in providing energy to otherwise remote and isolated communities. However, Indonesia's domestic interest groups and its political economic structure have promoted nonrenewable energy adoption at the expense of renewable sources. Indeed, Indonesia's demand for nonrenewable energy has opened up opportunities for both Chinese and Japanese firms. While Chinese firms have definitively grown their market share in nonrenewable energy infrastructure, especially coal-fired power plants, so too have their Japanese counterparts. The emphasis on coal-fired power has not only hindered renewable energy expansion, but also led to ecological damage. Furthermore, several Indonesian private firms with long-standing interests in coal mining and processing have forged collaborative ties with the Chinese and Japanese firms to enter the business of operating coal-fired power plants, while securing a captive market for their coal supplies. These findings illustrate that China-Japan competition is more complex than commonly portrayed, in addition to raising questions about Chinese and Japanese claims of a "green" Belt and Road Initiative and Partnership for Quality Infrastructure, respectively.

Keywords: development finance, environmental sustainability, renewable energy, Indonesia, Japan, China.

Is the Spillover Hypothesis of Neofunctionalism Functional in an Asian Context? The China–Central Asia and China–Southeast Asia Pipelines in Comparative Perspective

Xiaoguang Wang (Senior Research Fellow, CNOOC Energy Economics Institute)

To secure an oil and gas supply, China has built several types of energy

infrastructure near its borders and developed energy cooperation with regional partners based on this infrastructure. However, not all energy cooperation projects develop at an equal pace or are equally successful. This study employs the neofunctionalist spillover hypothesis—one of several key discourses applied to explaining European integration—to account for the difference in regional cooperation between two China-driven energy megaprojects in Asia: the China–Central Asia Pipelines and the China–Southeast Asia Pipelines. After investigation into the so-called spillover hypothesis, including “functional spillover,” “political spillover,” and “cultivated spillover,” the more successful of the two projects was also found to be more significant in terms of its spillover effect. Thus, this article finds that regional cooperation in the Chinese context also supports the spillover hypothesis, which has conventionally been regarded as a Europe-based discourse.

Keywords: China, oil and gas, neofunctionalism, Central Asia, Myanmar.

News Media Effects on Political Institutional and System Trust: The Moderating Role of Political Values

Xiaoxiao Meng (PhD Candidate, Shanghai Jiao Tong University), Shuhua Zhou (Professor, University of Missouri)

This article explores the correlation between media effects and political trust, as well as the moderating factor in the equation. Specifically, the authors measured political trust within two categories: institutional trust and system trust. Analyses were based on two waves of surveys conducted among Internet users (2014: N = 2,970; 2017: N = 2,379) in China. Results indicated that (1) exposure to official media was positively correlated with political trust, whereas exposure to individual media and overseas media were negatively correlated with political trust, and exposure to commercial media was a nonsignificant factor; (2) correlation was higher for institutional trust than system trust; and (3) political values were a significant moderating factor. Implications are discussed.

Keywords: news media effects, political trust, political values, moderating factor, China.

Commentary:

Ten Years after the Meltdown: Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons

*Peter Van Ness (Co-editor of *Learning from Fukushima: Nuclear Power in East Asia*)*

Book Review Essay:

Worst Cases and Reality

Walter C. Clemens, Jr. (Professor Emeritus, Boston University)

Vol. 46, No. 2, 2022

Measuring North Korean Marketization: An Index Approach

Seungho Jung (Assistant Professor, Incheon National University), Moon-Soo Yang (Professor, University of North Korean Studies), Byung-Yeon Kim (Professor, Seoul National University)

Since the traditional central planning system virtually collapsed in the 1990s, growth of marketization has become the most prominent feature of the North Korean economy. In this article, we evaluate the development of *de facto* and *de jure* marketization of the 2000s in three dimensions of price liberalization, privatization, and financial system development. Accordingly, we construct a marketization index using the survey results of North Korean refugees and expert evaluations of the North Korean economy. The marketization level generally increased over the years despite the unfavorable foreign and domestic environments such as international sanctions and the anti-market policies of the mid-2000s. Among the three evaluation categories, price liberalization has advanced the most, whereas financial system development has developed the least. In particular, *de facto* privatization has rapidly expanded since Kim Jong Un came into power. However, from the economic reform perspective, the overall institutionalization level of the informal economy in North Korea still remains low compared to those of former socialist economies.

Keywords: marketization, index, economic reform, North Korea.

Famine and Regime Response in Post-Cold War Communist States: Political Commitment, Food Distribution, and International Aid in Cuba and North Korea

Jisun Yi (Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy)

This article examines governments' responses to food crises and famines in the nondemocratic world. After the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union, many of the remaining communist countries encountered an unprecedented level of food shortage and economic hardship, which, in turn, expedited or led to regime collapse. However, Cuba and North Korea are striking cases that have managed to survive the extreme situations from the 1990s onward. In this comparative-historical research, I argue that although the two countries implemented different coping strategies in light of domestic food distribution and international aid inducement, similar outcomes are observed in terms of regime survival. Despite the varied strategies, the state-mandated food politics were commonly mobilized through public rationing in these countries during the Cold War. This pre-crisis statecraft effectively disempowered the people,

leaving them with a strong dependency on the state food systems and a weak voice of complaint against their governments.

Keywords: food politics, famine, rationing, Cuba, North Korea.

Strategic Responses to Chinese Election Interference in Taiwan's Presidential Elections

Kimberly L. Wilson (Assistant Professor, East Tennessee State University)

Scholars have found that election interference by a foreign power can increase political partisanship in a targeted state and can be an effective tool for throwing weight behind a candidate. We know less about how domestic political actors respond to election interference and how this affects the intervener's strategies over time. Since Taiwan held its first direct presidential election in 1996, China has used numerous tactics to influence Taiwan's elections. Taiwan's political parties have adapted to China's interference, with targeted candidates campaigning on election interference, and non-targeted candidates seeking to play a mediating role with Beijing. In response, China's tactics have shifted: the broad threats of earlier elections have been replaced with narrowly targeted efforts to mobilize Beijing-friendly segments of Taiwan's population.

Keywords: China, Taiwan, elections, election interference, campaign strategies, cross-Strait relations.

Implementing the Minamata Convention on Mercury: Will China Deliver?

Gørild Heggelund (Research Professor, Fridtjof Nansen Institute), Kristin Rosendal (Research Professor, Fridtjof Nansen Institute), Steinar Andresen (Research Professor, Fridtjof Nansen Institute), Eirik Hovland Steindal (Senior Research Scientist, Norwegian Institute for Water Research), Yan Lin (Senior Research, Norwegian Institute for Water Research), Shuxiao Wang (Full Professor, Tsinghua University), Haibin Zhang (Professor, Peking University)

China has undertaken a major shift in its position on mercury as an environmental problem over the last decade and a half. It ratified the Minamata Convention (MC) in 2016 and by doing so has committed to implement the treaty objectives. This article asks: How do we explain China's will and ability to implement its MC obligations? There is little systematic knowledge about the main factors underlying implementation of international mercury objectives in China, hence this article contributes new research on this important topic. We examine the implementation process, focusing on the coal sector and differentiate between indirect effects from other policies and direct efforts to

implement obligations. We find that China has moved toward stricter regulation of mercury emissions and direct implementation of the Minamata Convention in the coal sector. However, our study shows that local implementation capacity needs improvement.

Keywords: China, mercury, Minamata Convention, environmental policies, policy implementation.

Democracy and South Korea's Lemon Presidency

Seung-Whan Choi (Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago)

Although South Korea has elected every president under the same democratic constitution since 1987, it has an ongoing puzzle: why do some presidents personalize their regimes (or at least made an effort to do so) while others remain democratic? To explain this puzzle, this study introduces a novel concept, a "lemon presidency." This is where a democratically elected president engenders a personalized regime that is backed by prejudiced judicial authorities such as courts and prosecutors' offices. South Korea experienced two lemon presidencies under Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye. South Koreans viewed Lee and Park as true representatives of democracy during the 2007 and 2012 presidential elections; however, they turned out to possess an unrealistic sense of superiority and became semi-democratic rulers. They personalized political powers by exploiting their appointment and removal powers. Based on case studies and survey results, this study provides evidence for Lee's and Park's lemon presidencies. The overall analysis of this study envisions another lemon presidency in South Korea's future if voters choose to vote for a grandiose leader.

Keywords: democracy, lemon presidency, South Korea, grandiosity, politics of personalization.

Envisioning Regional Order: Inter-Korean Relations and Varieties of Regionalism in South Korea

Il Hyun Cho (Associate Professor, Lafayette College)

With its nuclear provocations and missile launches, North Korea has been viewed as a major impediment to building a cooperative security order in East Asia. What is puzzling, however, is that it is North Korea that has sparked a range of regional initiatives from South Korean governments. What is the role of North Korea in South Korea's search for a new regional order in East Asia? Does the nature of inter-Korean relations affect the types of regionalism sought by South Korean governments? To address these questions, I examine the scope and priorities of the regional initiatives led by the four South Korean presidents

in the past two decades. I argue that the nature of inter-Korean relations and the foreign policy orientation of South Korean leaders in power explain the different types of regionalism pursued by South Korean governments.

Keywords: regionalism, East Asia, South Korea, North Korea, regional security environment, foreign policy orientation.

The Role of Mongolia in Multilateral Security Cooperation in Twenty-First Century Northeast Asia: Relevance of the ‘Ulaanbaatar Dialogue (UBD)’ Initiative

*Jaehyuk Jang (Research Professor; Hankuk University of Foreign Studies),
Kisun Kim (Professor; Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)*

Factors for geopolitical conflict and power balance still exist potently in intra-regional politics in Northeast Asia. The role of a third country that could increase the possibility of creating an international regime as an institution is important. In the past, Mongolia did not receive a lot of attention in intra-regional or regional political affairs, as its military and economy were weak compared to other countries in the region. However, despite being a landlocked country surrounded by both China and Russia, Mongolia has used its geographical position strategically as a neutral state that can contribute positively to regional cooperation in Northeast Asia and proactively has proposed a constructive role and function for itself. As Mongolia aligns itself to the national interests of its regional neighbors and creates possibilities for regional cooperation, it is seeking a new role in Northeast Asia.

Keywords: Northeast Asia, multilateral security cooperation, Mongolia, Korean Peninsula, Ulaanbaatar Dialogue (UBD).

