# Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

The Forest for the Trees: Trade, Investment and the China-in-Africa Discourse

Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong

Trade and investment are topics central to the China-in-Africa discourse that has strongly emerged from the West in the last few years. Western opinion leaders, along with several African opposition parties, often characterize China’s role in Africa as “colonialist,” “neo-imperialist” or “predatory.” Placing China’s trade and investment in the continent in comparative perspective, the paper assesses the empirical validity of such charges, by examining those issues that receive disproportionate attention in the discourse: China’s importation of oil from Africa, her exports of textiles and clothing to Africa and to the world in competition with Africa, as well as her ownership of a Zambian copper mine. It is concluded that China, as part of the world capitalist economy, injures African interests in many of the same ways as the principal Western states. The racialized China-in-Africa discourse, however, is largely inaccurate, reflective of Western elite perceptions of China as a strategic competitor, and acts as an obstacle to an effective critique of exploitative links between Africa and the more developed states.

Jathika Hela Urumaya and Ethno-Religious Politics in Sri Lanka

Neil DeVotta and Jason Stone

Sri Lanka’s April 2004 parliamentary elections were a watershed because for the first time a political party comprised solely of Buddhist monks contested the polls. Despite being created just two months before the elections and generating passionate debate over the appropriateness of Buddhist monks participating directly in politics, the Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU), or National Heritage Party, fielded over 260 candidates and won nine seats. The party claimed it wanted to institute a righteous society; yet its goals and policies were similar to those advocated by other Buddhist nationalist groups and seemed set to complicate further the attempt to end the island’s civil war. Nearly four years later the JHU’s politicking has tarnished its members’ reputations and the Buddhist clergy’s image. Indeed, it appears the JHU may be an epiphenomenon and its rise the apogee of political Buddhism, which has dominated Sri Lankan politics for the past fifty years. The Buddhist clergy has, for better or worse, been involved in Sri Lanka’s affairs for a long period of time. From that standpoint, the JHU is not necessary for Sri Lankan Buddhist nationalism; its weakened status and even demise are unlikely to especially affect the island’s war and peace trajectories.
North Korean Market Vendors: The Rise of Grassroots Capitalists in a Post-Stalinist Society

Andrei Lankov and Kim Seok-hyang

The article deals with the social changes that have taken place in North Korea since the mid-1990s, when the collapse of the centrally planned economy led to the growth of private commercial activity. This activity remains technically illegal, but the relevant bans and restrictions have been rarely enforced due to endemic corruption and disorganization of the state bureaucracy. The article is largely based on in-depth interviews with North Korean black market operators. It traces their origins, the type and scale of their businesses, and changes in their mode of operations.

The article demonstrates that the “second economy” came to dominate North Korean economic life by the late 1990s, since authorities’ attempts to limit its scale were largely ineffective. The growth of the “second economy” produced new grassroots capitalists who sometimes came from underprivileged social groups, but more typically represented people with good official connections. It is also remarkable that foreign connections (usually with China) played a major role: to a large extent, merchandise sold at the North Korean markets either came from overseas or was to be exported overseas eventually, and in many cases the merchants’ initial capital was also provided by relatives residing overseas.

Narcotics Trafficking in China: Size, Scale, Dynamics and Future Consequences

Ryan Clarke

This article examines narcotics trafficking in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and in its special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macau. A general overview is provided regarding types of narcotics trafficked, most common sources, and the key actors involved. Problem areas, or “hot spots,” are identified and analyzed. Regions that are addressed include south China/Southeast Asia, Xinjiang/Central Asia, and the northeast China/North Korea border region. Responses by the PRC to the problem are also discussed. This article puts forth the argument that much attention has been paid to China’s rapidly growing economy and defence capabilities, but there has been less focus on its drug trafficking markets, which have grown in size and scale on pace with China’s legitimate economy. Because of its huge population, large geographical mass, and long land and maritime borders, the PRC is an ideal transit and consumption point for narcotics from East, South and Southeast Asia. Further, Xinjiang is of particular concern, given recent geopolitical developments in the region and the construction of the Gwadar port in Pakistan, which aims to provide Xinjiang with a road link through Pakistan and possibly Afghanistan. As such, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) should use its heavy security presence in the province more efficiently and increase its role in counternarcotics efforts. Although the problem is manageable at present, if these issues are not adequately addressed China may descend into an environment where organized crime is rampant, foreign investors are reluctant, and the ability of officials to tackle everyday issues is highly limited.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

BARRY SAUTMAN is a political scientist and lawyer in the Division of Social Science, Hong Kong University of Science & Technology. His recent publications have focused on China/Africa links, the Tibet Question and Chinese nationalism.

YAN HAIRONG is an anthropologist in the Department of Applied Social Sciences of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Her forthcoming book is titled \textit{New Masters, New Servants: Migration, Development and Women Workers in China} (Durham: Duke University, 2008) and she recently co-edited a special issue of the journal \textit{positions}, on the topic “What’s Left of Asia?”


JASON STONE graduated from Hartwick College in May 2007, having specialized in Political Science and Religious Studies. His research interests include ethnicity and nationalism and religious politics in South Asia.

ANDREI LANKOV was born in Leningrad in 1963. He has taught Korean history at the Australian National University, and now teaches at Kookmin University, South Korea. He has published a number of books on North Korean history, the most recent being \textit{Crisis in North Korea: The Failure of De-Stalinization, 1956} (Hawaii University Press, 2005) and \textit{North of the DMZ: Essays on Daily Life in North Korea} (McFarland & Company, 2007).

SEOK-HYANG KIM was born in South Korea in 1959. She has worked at the Ministry of Unification, and now teaches at Ewha Womans University, South Korea. She has published a number of articles on North Korean issues, including “The North Korean Economy: Current Situation, Crisis, and Possible Scenarios,” \textit{International Studies Review}, vol. 7, no. 1 (2006), pp. 29-46.

RYAN CLARKE is a PhD candidate in the Centre of International Studies at the University of Cambridge and a visiting analyst at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. His research interests include stability issues in Asia, transnational organized crime and militancy, and China’s strategic thought and practice.
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Pacific Affairs celebrates

Bill Holland’s 100th Birthday

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Dr. William L. Holland has given a life time of service to public affairs in the Asia Pacific. He worked for years at the Institute of Pacific Relations, leading it through the difficult years of the Cold War. He brought its journal, Pacific Affairs, to the University of British Columbia in 1960, when he took up the post as the founding Head of the Department of Asian Studies. Pacific Affairs has been published continuously since 1927 and Dr. Holland put his stamp on the journal as editor for over 20 years. In keeping with Dr. Holland’s individual spirit we have remained an independent journal that publishes first rate papers which are occasionally provocative and always informative.

We take this opportunity to congratulate Bill on his 100th Birthday.
It is with great sorrow we inform the friends of *Pacific Affairs* that Ms. Jacqueline Garnett, long time Managing Editor, died on Monday 10 March 2008. She fought a long and astonishingly cheerful battle with cancer for many years. To the end Jackie was with her friends, concerned about our natural world and local wild life, and full of good cheer. Jackie Garnett was inducted into the University of BC 25 Year Club in spring 2007. In truth, Jackie had been at UBC a bit longer, having first come to work here in 1974. Born in Canada, she was raised in the East End of London. Years of travel in the USA, Yukon, and Indonesia did not weaken Jackie’s distinctive accent. Her work with Canadian development agencies in Indonesia spurred her interest in Asia and development, and she finished up her UBC BA on just these topics in 1984. She started with *Pacific Affairs* in 1988 and became Managing Editor in 1997. As current Editor of the journal, I have long said, “If not for Jackie, we would not have *Pacific Affairs* at the Institute of Asian Research today, and perhaps at all. She kept us going through difficult transitions and got our electronic publication going.” Jackie said of *Pacific Affairs*, “I find the journal combines my interest in Asia and the English Language, and the industry has been so dynamic in this period it has never been boring.”

Timothy Cheek, Editor of *Pacific Affairs*
— SPECIAL ISSUE —
MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
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Time-space Punctuation:
Hong Kong’s Border Regime and Limits on Mobility

Alan Smart and Josephine Smart

One of the most powerful metaphors for globalization is David Harvey’s “time-space compression.” The speeding up of economic and social processes has experientially shrunk the globe. As with all metaphors, it both offers important insights and is potentially misleading. The world is not shrinking in a uniform manner. Compression is uneven for different kinds of actors, objects and ideas, and discontinuous across space. We supplement the imagery of time-space compression with that of time-space punctuation. Punctuation identifies symbols that break up the flow of speech. The space of flows that make up a globalized world is also punctuated by a variety of barriers. Securitization since 9/11 and increased surveillance of emerging infectious diseases also heighten the importance of borders. These issues are explored through a case study of how Hong Kong’s border is managed and transformed. A crucial “punctuation” function of this border continues despite the resumption of Chinese sovereignty. Increasingly, the border has become a complicated system of punctuation in a region that has become intensely integrated. Hong Kong residents can move more freely across the border than can residents of the rest of China, but movement into Hong Kong is differentiated in relation to family status, economic desirability, capacity to spend as a tourist, and the possession of valued human capital. These barriers to mobility have important impacts on restructuring both Hong Kong and the neighbouring region of China.

The Limits of Brain Circulation:
Chinese Returnees and Technological Development in Beijing

Yun-Chung Chen

The Saxenian theory of brain circulation analyzes the two-way flow of transnational technical communities instead of the one-way flow portrayed in the brain drain theory. The brain-circulation theory is based on the experience of highly skilled labourers who travel frequently between the Silicon Valley and Hsinchu (Taiwan), leading to industrial upgrading in both locations. This article argues that the brain circulation theory cannot be applied to Zhongguancun (ZGC), a new high-tech region in Beijing, because ZGC is not compatible with the often neglected hypotheses in the brain-circulation theory, i.e., (i) a decentralized industrial structure with specialized producer networks; (ii) a trust-based inter-firm network that induces learning; (iii) a critical financial infrastructure for high-tech startups; and (iv) the role of the state in facilitating technology transfer. Then, what roles do the transnational technical community (Chinese returnees) play in ZGC? My findings suggest that unlike the Silicon Valley and Hsinchu cases, the knowledge assets (e.g., venture capital and research) in ZGC are mostly institutionalized and remain in the hands of the Chinese state. Thus, brain circulation can only apply to a limited number of experienced Chinese returnees who have the political skills to tap into institutionalized assets in ZGC. Nonetheless, the majority of the Chinese returnees continue to have a positive impact on the technological development of ZGC (different from the Hsinchu experience) by creating informal and indirect links between firms and public research institutions.
Immigration from China to Canada in the Age of Globalization: Issues of Brain Gain and Brain Loss

Peter S. Li

The age of globalization has changed the labour demand of immigrant-receiving countries. As Canada intensifies the admission of skilled immigrants in recent years, China has emerged as the top sending country to Canada in terms of the number of immigrants and the volume of human capital transferred. Between 1991 and 2000, 53,480 university-educated immigrants from China came to Canada, bringing with them a saving in educational cost of 1.8 billion dollars for Canada. However, only about 59 percent of these highly educated immigrants participated in Canada’s labour market in 2001, and of those who did, they earned less than Canada-born university-educated men and women. When the aggregate value of brain loss is taken into account, Canada only managed to retain about 723 to 851 million dollars, or 39 to 46 percent of the original value, in educational savings. In the long run, issues of brain loss are likely to hamper Canada’s capacity to continue to sustain its brain gain from the worldwide market of skilled workers.

Learning to be Australian: Adaptation and Identity Formation of Young Taiwanese Immigrants in Melbourne, Australia

Lan-Hung Nora Chiang and Chih-Hsiang Sean Yang

This research focuses on the adaptation and self-identity of young Taiwanese immigrants to Australia. The study is based on in-depth interviews and observation of young Taiwan-born immigrants in Melbourne, Australia. Participants were initially exposed to Chinese values as part of their education in Taiwan, both in schools and in their families. On moving to a multicultural country with many ethnic groups, immigrants had to learn to communicate with people in English and encountered many problems in their schooling and interpersonal relationships due to language deficiencies. Responses to these difficulties ranged from studying the English language harder to retreating to the use of Chinese to make friends, mainly within the Taiwanese community. However, families of young immigrants may have influenced their choice of friends and therefore also their identity. Families also influenced the young immigrants’ choice of a university major. In turn this influenced their careers after graduation. Family influences lessened over the years, and young immigrants eventually adapted to the Australian career environment. However, due to their dual or multicultural backgrounds, those young immigrants became competitive not only in Australia, but also in Taiwan, Mainland China, Asia, and elsewhere in the world.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

DON J. DeVoretz was the Co-Director of RIIM, Vancouver’s Centre of Excellence on Immigration Studies (1996-2007) and is currently a Professor of Economics at Simon Fraser University. *The Economics of Citizenship* will be published in 2008 (Malmö University: Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare).

DAVID Zweig is the Chair Professor, Division of Social Science, and the Director, Center on China’s Transnational Relations, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. In 2006, he and Don DeVoretz co-edited a Special Issue on Chinese Migration for the *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. His most recent book is *Internationalizing China: Domestic Interests and Global Linkages* (Cornell University Press, 2002).

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

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

YUN-CHUNG CHEN is an Assistant Professor in the Division of Social Science at Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. His latest publication is entitled “Why Do Multinational Corporations Locate Their Advanced R&D Centres in Beijing?” in the *Journal of Development Studies*, vol 44, no. 5 (2008), pp. 622-644.

PETER S. Li is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan. His research areas are race and ethnicity, Chinese Canadians and immigration. He has published over 70 academic papers and 11 books, including *The Chinese in Canada, The Making of Post-War Canada* and *Destination Canada*.

LAN-HUNG NORA CHIANG is a Professor of Geography at National Taiwan University, and an associate dean at the College of Science. Her research expertise includes rural-urban migration, environmental perception, tourism, women’s roles in development and the Taiwanese diaspora in the last two decades, focusing on Australia and Canada. She recently published *Challenges of Globalization: Cultures in Transition in the Pacific-Asia Region* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2004).

CHIH-HSIANG SEAN YANG received his Master’s Degree in Geography at the National Taiwan University. His research interests include international migration and the teaching of geography. He is now teaching at the Taipei Municipal Zhung-Lung Senior High School.
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William Holland 1907-2008

William Lancelot Holland, former Secretary-General of the Institute of Pacific Relations and professor emeritus of the Department of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia, died after a brief illness on May 8, 2008, in Amherst, Massachusetts, USA, at age 100. We are greatly saddened by the passing of one of the pioneers in the study of Asia and the one of the primary architects of *Pacific Affairs*.

A native of New Zealand, Holland worked with the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1928 until 1960. The Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) was established in 1925 as a private non-partisan forum for the promotion of mutual understanding among nations of Asia and the Pacific Rim through discussion, research, and education. The IPR’s programs of conferences, research projects, publications, and its quarterly journal *Pacific Affairs* contributed to the expansion of the field of Asian Studies. The Institute conducted its affairs through autonomous national councils. The International Secretariat was based in Hawai’i until it moved to New York City in 1933.

Dr. Holland held positions as Research Secretary; American IPR Executive Secretary and editor of its periodical, *Far Eastern Survey*; IPR Secretary-General and editor of its journal, *Pacific Affairs*. In the early 1950s the United States Senate Judiciary Committee’s Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws (the McCarran Subcommittee) alleged that the IPR was open to communist influences. In addition, former *Pacific Affairs* editor Owen Lattimore was indicted for perjury in an appearance before the subcommittee. Although neither of the charges was substantiated, the surrounding negative publicity seriously impaired the operation of the Institute.

The IPR also lost its tax-exempt status as an educational body and waged
a five-year battle to have it restored. The final judgment in 1959 affirmed that, contrary to the allegation of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in 1955, the Institute had not engaged in the dissemination of controversial and partisan propaganda, and had not attempted to influence the policies or opinions of any government or government officials. Nonetheless, the legal battle plus the loss of much foundation funding left the Institute depleted of funds, and it dissolved in 1960.

Holland accepted the offer of the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, to become the head of the newly created Department of Asian Studies, and to bring *Pacific Affairs* with him. He joined the faculty in 1961 and through his leadership and discernment, helped build UBC into a leading center for research on Asia. He became professor emeritus in 1972, continuing to edit *Pacific Affairs* until 1978. In 1989 the University awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws.

In 1934, he took a Masters degree at King’s College, Cambridge University, in economics, studying with John Maynard Keynes among others. In 1944, he became an American citizen, so that he could become acting director of the Office of War Information in Chungking, China.

In 1990, following his wife’s death, he moved to Amherst, Massachusetts, to live with his only child, Patricia G. Holland, and her husband, Robert F. Winne. He continued to travel widely. He grew fond of the North Amherst Library, and in 1993 funded the building’s renovation.

His recollections were published in 1995 in Tokyo as *Remembering the Institute of Pacific Relations: The Memoirs of William L. Holland*. They were edited and introduced by Professor Paul F. Hooper of the University of Hawai‘i. Holland’s papers, including those of the IPR, are at Columbia University, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Hawai‘i. In 2003 he established the William L. Holland Prize for the best article published each year in *Pacific Affairs*.

He is survived by his daughter and her husband, his granddaughter, Lucy Barber of Washington, D.C., his grandson and wife, Jonathan and Kristin Lieber of Portland, Ore., and many relatives in New Zealand and Australia.

His qualities of integrity, breadth, balance, consideration, and generosity assure William Lancelot Holland an affectionate place in the memories of us all – colleagues, friends, and all those who have been the fortunate beneficiaries of his ethical, intellectual and administrative legacies.

*Hyung Gu Lynn, Acting Editor*

Additional articles on and by William Holland can be found under “history” on the Pacific Affairs webpage <www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca>
Pacific Affairs
is pleased to announce the awarding of the sixth
William L. Holland Prize
for the best article published
in Volume 80 (2007-08) of Pacific Affairs
has been awarded to:

Hy V. Luong
(University of Toronto, Canada)
for his article

The Restructuring of Vietnamese Nationalism, 1954-2006

published in Volume 80 No.3, Fall 2007, pp. 439-453

Luong’s study addresses a question of significance across Asia and the Pacific — how national identities are constructed, how they change, and what factors drive such processes. Countering views that focus solely on the impact of globalization on Vietnamese national identity, the article provides a cogent analysis of how changing relations between the state and local societies have been instrumental in broadening the range of state practice deployed in maintaining national identity. His rich empirical research and judicious argument helps highlight a shift in emphasis from developmental nationalism to cultural nationalism that has been occurring not just in Vietnam, but in other countries as well.

Hy V. Luong, is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. He has published extensively on discourse, political economy, gender and society in Vietnam, and has regularly conducted fieldwork in both northern and southern Vietnam since 1987. Email: <vanluong@chass.utoronto.ca>

This prize is awarded annually for an outstanding paper that, in the opinion of the Editorial Board, best reflects the ideals of Bill Holland in promoting international understanding of the regions and peoples of Asia and the Pacific and also to serve and honour the memory of Bill Holland’s dedication to open and accessible scholarship.

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

Declining Risk, Market Liberalization and State-Multinational Bargaining: Japanese Automobile Investments in India, Indonesia and Malaysia

Ali M. Nizamuddin

This study examines the bargaining interaction between host countries and multinational corporations over the life cycle of an investment project. During the early phase of an investment in an underdeveloped sector, market risks are high. Most foreign firms are reluctant to enter such an environment without guarantees. In the cases examined here, state protection was extended to automobile joint ventures so as to maximize returns. In this early phase, foreign firms were able to negotiate more favourable terms. However, once production developed, market risks began to decline. Consequently, host economies became attractive to other prospective investors and liberalization led to the influx of new foreign investment activity. The increase in new projects reduced state dependence and enabled host countries to play one MNC against another in order to increase their bargaining power.

Borrowing the Hong Kong Identity for Chinese Diplomacy: Implications of Margaret Chan’s World Health Organization Campaign

Simon Shen

This article studies the campaign of Margaret Chan, the Chinese candidate who became the director-general of the World Health Organization in 2006, by analyzing the advantage of her Hong Kong identity to Chinese diplomacy. The following questions are addressed in detail: What was the benefit of using Chan’s Hong Kong identity for Beijing and what precisely is this identity? How did Chan’s fellow citizens view the campaign? Will Hong Kong’s “one country, two systems” approach be enhanced, or hampered, by the campaign? The tactic of emphasizing Chan’s Hong Kong identity for the purposes of Chinese diplomacy is likely to benefit Beijing, within the liberal-realist framework, in the short term. However, an inevitable result seems to be the eventual diminishing of Hong Kong’s unique identity developed from the colonial era if, and when, other regions of China could develop the same attributes that could groom a Margaret Chan one day.

Ethnographic Studies of Voting among the Austronesian Paiwan — The Role of Paiwan Chiefs in Contemporary State System of Taiwan

Kun-hui Ku

This paper analyzes the encounter of the indigenous peoples of Paiwan with the state-introduced electoral mechanism within a democratic representation and multi-party system in Taiwan, and examines the position of Paiwan chiefly tradition within the state polity. Some models of “identity” voting treat electoral identities as more-or-less fixed. This paper shows that electoral identities are more contextually mutable than can be accommodated in such models. The analysis is based on ethnographic investigations of Paiwan elections in southern Taiwan. The finding indicates that each election sets the framework for people to align and de-align themselves. It shows how the constituency of each candidate may change according to the type of election, the territory defined by the election, and the social positions of a candidate’s
opponents. Moreover, it examines the ways in which the rhetoric of “tradition” is deployed differently in various types of elections, with a special focus on the ways in which candidates and voters alike strategically manipulate cultural idioms/house histories, and the affiliations they entail. It argues that traditional idioms and the symbolic capital of chiefly titles are still deployed by individuals at a regional level to engage with state electoral mechanisms, yet the persistence of chiefly titles also serves as a symbol of opposition to the encompassing Taiwanese state. Compared with other indigenous peoples encapsulated by the nation-state in the Pacific Rim region, this case study also shows the uniqueness of Taiwan in terms of political representation of indigenous populations.

Employment Problems with Irregular Workers in Korea: A Critical Approach to Government Policy
Joonmo Cho, GiSeung Kim, Taehee Kwon

This study offers an in-depth analysis of the social security system with the externalization of employment relations. We particularly focus on the enticement for employers to engage in social security law-dodging measures, through management’s strategic use of irregular employment. The empirical results allow us to deduce why the Korean government tolerates law-dodging practices with irregular workers, which fosters their exclusion from the social security system. The results infer that the Korean social security system may cater to the interests of insiders in large companies, labour unions and the government, and thereby contributes to the exclusion of irregular workers from the social security system.

The empirical evidence confirms that one reason employers take on irregular workers is the possibility of avoiding social security obligations. Of course, such illegal practices are overlooked in part because of government policies that take measures to exclude small businesses from social security-related regulations and because of weak law enforcement. The Korean government may prefer to focus enforcement in the formal sector only until the enforcement capacity increases or the majority of the informal-sector members seek to cooperate with the government in obeying the regulations. There must be complementary social policy measures to guarantee access to universal social security. This paper suggests several policy measures from which a government such as that of South Korea could choose.

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ABSTRACTS

Democratization and Decentralization in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Understanding Transition Dynamics
Paul J. Carnegie

There is ready agreement that countries do not emerge in straightforward transitions from authoritarian rule to multi-party democracy. Yet, less consensus can be found in how we understand transition dynamics in particular settings. Scholarly interpretations of the Indonesian transformation certainly reflect this dichotomy. Drawing on the democratization literature, this article highlights the complex role both political action and institutions play in post-authoritarian settlements. It argues that, despite extensive reorganization within the new democratic framework, Indonesian oligarchs no longer exert the political grip they once did.

Understanding Social Trajectories: Structure and Actor in the Democratisation Debate
Vedi R. Hadiz

This article offers a structuralist approach to understanding social trajectories following the demise of authoritarian regimes. It does so by analyzing the case of Indonesia in the context of debates about democratization more broadly, whether in Southeast Asia or elsewhere. The paper presents the argument that although Indonesia today is clearly a democracy, it is important to comprehend the kind of democracy that has been entrenched, and why this has been possible. Prevalent actor-based approaches, such as that found within “transitology,” as well as “good-governance” perspectives, tend to emphasize institutional change based on either elite pacts or technocratic crafting. More important, however, is to understand the power relations that underlie institutions and thereby determine the way they actually operate—often in ways that are different from design or intention. This requires analyses of the nature of specific constellations of social power and interest, and the sorts of coalitions that actually preside over institutions of governance—a hallmark of structuralist approaches.

Right Angles: Examining Accounts of Japanese Neo-Nationalism
Bryce Wakefield and Matthew Penney

This article addresses recent claims of right-wing nationalism in Japan made in journalistic and academic commentary. It re-examines a broad range of evidence used to depict rising Japanese neo-nationalism and concludes that despite popular notions about a re-emergence of militarist attitudes, such currents are not as entrenched in Japanese public discourse as some commentators suggest. After a brief theoretical discussion of nationalism, we examine (1) opinion in Japan regarding constitutional change, (2) statements by elite policy makers which are often the focus of media and academic attention, (3) the debate surrounding the notorious New History Textbook and (4) war memory in popular culture—more specifically, manga. A detailed reading of these examples suggests that right-wing discourse is less prevalent in Japan than is often assumed.
Were Chinese Liberals Liberal?
Reflections on the Understanding of Liberalism in Modern China

Edmund S.K. Fung

This article scrutinizes the view in recent mainland Chinese scholarship that the intellectuals of modern China misunderstood liberalism, and even distorted it, because they failed to recognize classical liberalism, especially the link between liberalism and a free market economy. Consequently, great harm had been done to the cause of liberalism in the pre-communist period. This neo-liberal view raises the question: Were Chinese liberals liberal? To answer, it is necessary first to examine the factors that contributed to their understanding of liberalism and their specific concerns. The article proposes that a vital key to understanding how modern Chinese have understood liberalism is an acknowledgment of different strands of liberal thought and a historicist approach that takes account of the historical contingencies and conjunctures of modern China. From this perspective, modern Chinese liberal thought is interpreted as growing out of a confluence of cultural, political and specific historical factors. The article argues that the Chinese understanding of liberalism was nuanced and that Chinese liberalism had its peculiar aspects on one hand and universal aspects on the other. While Chinese liberalism took a particular form, it also followed the liberal trend in Western Europe, which was less than classical during the first half of the twentieth century. The article further argues that Chinese liberals, for all their peculiarities, could still be regarded as liberal: they were statist with democratic socialist leanings. They present a contrast with the new generation of liberals which has emerged in contemporary China since the mid-1990s.

Looking North:
Taiwan’s Relations with Japan under Chen Shui-bian

Brian Bridges and Che-po Chan

Under President Chen Shui-bian, Taiwan has been active in courting Japan, an approach which has been quietly reciprocated by Japan. Set against the background of deep historical and economic links, this strengthening relationship has been both encouraged and constrained by the two powers’ complex relationships with China and the United States. While Japan has not been willing to openly embrace Chen’s “quasi-alliance” ideas, it has been interested in developing a stronger sense of “alignment” with Taiwan through constructing a wider and deeper relationship, including security-related interactions.
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PAUL J. CARNEGIE teaches political thought and completed his doctorate on Indonesian democratization at the University of Queensland. His research focuses on normative, epistemological and methodological issues in the field of democratization. He is currently writing a book entitled *Democratization and Ambiguity: Lessons from Indonesia*.

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**STATE OF SUFFERING**

*Political Violence and Community Survival in Fiji*

Susanna Trnka

“An unflinching portrayal of politically engendered suffering, this vital book should open eyes across the Pacific and around the world to the real consequences of Fiji’s ethnic division and the Fiji coups. This is an insightful and courageous ethnography, brushing history against the grain, essential reading for anyone who ever imagined Fiji as a paradise.”

—John Kelly, University of Chicago

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