

# Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

**Killing Five Birds with One Stone:  
Inward Foreign Direct Investment in Post-Crisis Korea**

*Judith Cherry*

This paper analyzes Korean attitudes towards inward foreign direct investment (IFDI) before and after the 1997 financial crisis, within the context of the debate on the costs and benefits of IFDI and intensifying global competition to attract inward investment. The Korean experience sheds light on the forces driving the liberalization and deregulation of inward investment by countries that had previously restricted and controlled IFDI and on the problems inherent in implementing these policy changes. For more than three decades, the South Korean government maintained a negative or passive attitude towards inward investment, which, despite its potential economic benefits, was seen as a less desirable option than using foreign loans to finance economic development. However, the 1997 crisis brought about a fundamental change in the Korean government's attitude, and led to sweeping policy changes that resulted in an investment boom in the immediate post-crisis period. After this initial success, the subsequent decline in FDI inflows prompted further measures to attract high-quality foreign investment. As the Korean government has discovered, while legal frameworks, promotional systems and structures can be reformed with relative ease, the issue of changing investors' perceptions of Korea and the Koreans' views of the role and value of inward investment is more problematic. Failure to resolve these problems and to develop strong locational advantages will put Korea at risk of losing crucial investments to regional competitors and will undermine efforts to enhance the global competitiveness of Korean firms and to promote sustainable economic growth and development in the years ahead.

**The Political Economy of Japanese Foreign Aid:  
The Role of Yen Loans in China's Economic Growth and Openness**

*Tsukasa Takamine*

Over the past quarter of a century, China's economic growth, its transition from a socialist to a market-based economy and the integration of the Chinese economy into the global economic system have all progressed significantly. On the other hand, during the same period Japan has been the single largest source of foreign aid to China of all donor nations and international aid organizations, by providing more than half of China's total bilateral aid receipt. This article looks at the role of Japanese foreign aid in China's economic growth and increasing openness, and explains Japan's grand strategy in implementing its aid policy to China. My analysis suggests that there is a positive, albeit indirect, link between Japanese development fund, which is widely known as *yen loans*, and the growth and increasing openness of the Chinese economy. The evidence also indicates that the link between Japan's provision of yen loans to China and Japan's immediate corporate gains is surprisingly weak. Indeed, Japan has benefited indirectly because yen loans have contributed to the economic growth and openness of China, which in turn make it a better economic partner and more responsible regional neighbour for Japan. In the end, China's economic development, the incorporation of the Chinese economy into the global economic framework and China's transition to a market economy are in Japan's national economic as well as political interests.

## **Health Care Regime Change in Urban China**

*Edward Gu and Jianjun Zhang*

In urban China, health care is no longer free. The workplace-based free health care system has been replaced by a compulsory health insurance system. The new system, however, has not achieved universal coverage of all employees, leaving nearly half of the urban population without health insurance. Although they are mostly public organizations, health care providers have been rapidly commercialized and health care costs have soared. The marketization of the health care sector has become a target of public criticism. The Chinese government has responded with an attempt to launch a new round of health reforms, but there is no consensus on how the reforms should be carried out.

## **Responses to Rapid Social Change: Populist Religion in the Philippines**

*Christl Kessler and Jürgen Rüländ*

Within the last few decades in the Philippines, there has been outstanding growth among Catholic Charismatic and Pentecostal groups and churches, part of a worldwide proliferation of these strands of Christianity. The article is based on qualitative interviews and nationwide survey data gathered in a research project on religious change in the Philippines, and explores the scope and the character of Charismatic and Pentecostal Christianity in the Philippines. It explains the success of this strand of Christianity by its ability to transfer core concepts and techniques of political populism into the religious sphere. The paper identifies the populist themes within the cognitive framework of Charismatic and Pentecostal religion in the Philippines, as well as the populist techniques applied to mobilize followers. The analysis of Charismatic and Pentecostal religion in the Philippines as populist religion, however, does not imply that such groups and churches can be characterized as populist actors in the political sphere. After outlining the core topics and techniques of populist religion, the paper concludes with a discussion of the political impact of these groups in the still crisis-ridden democracy of the Philippines. These potentials are depicted as potentially ambivalent, due to the ambivalent character of populism itself.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

JUDITH CHERRY is a lecturer in the School of East Asian Studies at the University of Sheffield. Her research interests include Korean outward and inward foreign direct investment, state-business relations and post-crisis corporate reform. Her book *Korean Multinationals in Europe* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon) was published in 2001. Email: <judithkbs@aol.com>

TSUKASA TAKAMINE is Assistant Professor of Politics in the Department of Integrated Arts and Science at Okinawa National College of Technology, Japan and Research Associate of the Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University, Australia. He is the author of *Japan's Development Aid to China: The long-running Foreign Policy of Engagement* (Routledge 2006). Email: <takamine@okinawa-ct.ac.jp>

EDWARD GU (Gu Xin) is a Professor at the Institute of Social Development and Public Policy, Beijing Normal University. After obtaining a Ph.D. degree from Leiden University, the Netherlands, in 1997, he assumed postdoctoral fellowships at Harvard University and the University of California at Berkeley. He served as a Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, for three years before joining Beijing Normal University. He has published in many international journals, such as *Economy and Society*, *Development and Change*, *The Journal of Asian Studies* and *The China Quarterly*. Email: <guxin@bnu.edu.cn>.

JIANJUN ZHANG is an Assistant Professor at the Guanghua School of Management, Peking University. He received his Ph.D. from the Department of Sociology, University of California at Berkeley, in 2003. His main research interests include organization theory, development and modernization, globalization, political sociology and institutionalism. Email: <jjzhang@gsm.pku.edu.cn>.

CHRISTL KESSLER is currently Senior Research Fellow at the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute for socio-cultural research, Freiburg. Her research interests include the political relevance of religion, democratization, migration, gender and sustainable development. Recent publications are *Is there a woman behind every tree? Soziale Organisation von Gemeindewald in Nordthailand. Eine Dorfstudie* (Frankfurt: IKO, 2002). She has also co-authored *Inclusions and exclusions: Democratization in Thailand in the Context of Environmental and Resource Conflicts*, in *Geojournal* 52:1 (2000); and *Thailand's Community Forestry Bill: U-Turn or Roundabout in Forest Policy?*, SEFUT working paper no. 3 (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 1999). Email: <Christl.kessler@politik.uni-freiburg.de>.

JÜRGEN RÜLAND is Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Freiburg and Director of the Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institute Freiburg, Germany. Between 1995 and 2003, he served as the chairman of the Advisory Board on Southeast Asia of the German Society of Asian Studies, of which he is a member since 1986. He is also a member of the editorial committee of the *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, *WeltTrends*, *Internationales Asienforum* and *Südostasien aktuell*. He is a co-author of *Parliaments and Political Change in Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, and a co-editor of *Interregionalism and International Relations*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2006, *U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Third World. A Post-Cold War Assessment*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006 and *Asian Security Reassessed. Contemporary Policies and New Challenges*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (forthcoming 2006). Email: <juergen.rueland@politik.uni-freiburg.de>

ALFRED L. CHAN is Associate Professor of Political Science at Huron University College, University of Western Ontario, Canada. He can be reached at <achan@uwo.ca>

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*Pacific Affairs*

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

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

\*

**The William L. Holland Prize**  
for the best article published  
in Volume 78 (2005-2006) of *Pacific Affairs*  
has been awarded to

**Paul Waley**

for his article  
published in Volume 78 No.2, Summer 2005, pp. 195-215

**Ruining and Restoring Rivers:  
The State and Civil Society in Japan**

Dr. Waley's study uses a range of groups concerned with rivers as a prism to provide a fresh perspective on the nature of civil society in Japan and usefully takes issue with conventional interpretations that see civil society as being locked into a close (but sometimes antagonistic relationship) with the state.

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

The article may be viewed at our website:  
[www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca](http://www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca)

*Winner of the fourth William L. Holland Prize*



**Paul Waley**

Paul Waley is a Senior Lecturer in Human Geography at the University of Leeds and is one of a small number of geographers in Britain specializing in Japan.

Among recent publications is

*Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo,*

edited by N. Fiévé and P. Waley  
(London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002).

Email: [P.T.Waley@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:P.T.Waley@leeds.ac.uk).

ABSTRACTS

**Public Intellectuals and Citizen Movements in China in the Hu-Wen Era**

*David Kelly*

Citizenship implies a termination of subject status, a “right to hold rights” recognized and safeguarded by the state. The emergence of citizen movements in China today and the relationship between citizen movements and public intellectuals are the focus of this paper. Citizen rights movements of different orders—rural migrant workers (*mingong*), urban homeowners (*yezhu*), and investors in company shares (*gumin*)—help us gauge the role of specific rights, in particular property rights, in shaping the content of citizenship contention. Lawyers and journalists have moved into the role of “public intellectuals” able to contest these rights. Finally, both citizenship and intellectual politics in China are heavily coloured by dilemmas of political identity. While Chinese politics is destined to remain Chinese, this does not preclude it from being a hybrid featuring a Chinese citizenship.

**China Turns West: Beijing’s Contemporary Strategy towards Central Asia**

*Kevin Sheives*

China’s involvement in Central Asia occupies an under-researched and emerging area of Chinese foreign policy, one which primarily revolves around its attempts to maintain regional stability in and around its periphery, strengthen its energy security in the region and maintain stable relations with the United States. Through its codominance with Russia of the nascent Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), it has and will likely continue to find cooperation with SCO member states over the former two issues, but will encounter some difficulty in finding cooperation regarding the latter. The PRC’s relations with Central Asia hold important short- and long-term implications for understanding the role of Xinjiang in China’s foreign relations, China’s energy security and its relations with the US. Furthermore, Sino-Central Asian relations function as a proving ground for testing the viability of China’s grand strategy, effectively articulated by Avery Goldstein, in a specific foreign policy setting. Beijing’s Central Asian policies reflect its larger geopolitical strategy, meant to ensure its peaceful rise to regional prominence, assuage fears of a China threat and focus on domestic development. This study concludes that China’s relations with Central Asia meet vital national interests in regional stability, energy security and stable US-China relations, while achieving secondary benefits crucial to its grand strategy of a peaceful rise.

**State, Society and Democratic Consolidations: The Case of Cambodia**

*Kheang Un*

This article argues that certain conditions are crucial to democratic consolidation, and that an imbalance in the power configuration between state and society impedes democratic consolidation. After democracy was introduced, Cambodian elites continued to employ patronage and corruption to advance their interests and strengthen their positions through the provision of benefits to members of their patronage networks. These networks extended throughout and crosscut formal po-

litical institutions. The embeddedness of these elements in Cambodian politics prevents democracy from consolidating, because consolidation requires both the establishment and strengthening of vertical and horizontal accountability institutions. Following the introduction of democracy in 1993, there have been new elements of civil society, including most importantly non-governmental organizations, attempting to transform the imbalanced relationship between state and society. However, their efforts have been an uphill struggle, given the unequal power configuration between state and society. The state appears to be strong in that it can silence and oppress government opponents; however, the state apparatus is apparently weak in providing services and ensuring the rule of law. In the meantime, civil society has not acquired sufficient strength to pressure the state to adopt meaningful reform due to its exogenous and endogenous weaknesses. This paper concludes that the sober reality is that civil society cannot really contribute substantially to democratic consolidation until Cambodia has a larger urban, educated population, a larger middle class, and more experience with the idea of non-political “secondary associations,” which can build up “social trust” and generate “norms of reciprocity” that deviate from standard patronage networks.

### **Political Leadership and Civilian Supremacy in Third Wave Democracies: Comparing South Korea and Indonesia**

*Yong Cheol Kim, R. William Liddle and Salim Said*

With Third Wave democratization, civilian supremacy has been firmly established in Korea but not in Indonesia. What accounts for this disparity? Structural factors are important, but must be turned into political resources by the human actors who shape policies and institutions in particular contexts. In Korea, four successive presidents made strategic and tactical decisions that smoothed the transition and produced a consensual and definitive outcome. In Indonesia, President B.J. Habibie and Armed Forces Commander Wiranto laid a foundation for civilian supremacy, but progress stalled under Presidents Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Sukarnoputri. External pressure from political opposition and civil society forces was important in both countries. Indonesia and other new democracies with fragile civilian supremacy can learn much from the Korean experience.

### **Foreigners and Civil Society in Japan**

*Apichai W. Shipper*

Scholars have consistently characterized political life in modern Japan as consisting of a strong central government in a homogenous society, in which defining membership rules and state responsibilities has been a monopoly of the state. In recent years, Japanese citizens have responded to an influx of foreigners and a lack of government programmes to assist unskilled Asian workers by organizing support groups to help unprotected foreigners, groups that are pushing local governments to accept responsibility for caring for all their residents. In addition, the 1998 NPO law, which granted incorporation authority to local governments, has deepened partnerships between certain support groups and local governments. The larger role that small foreigner support groups play in redefining membership rules and state responsibilities in Japanese society demonstrates the increased political strength and independence of civil society organizations.

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DAVID KELLY is a Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. He lived in Beijing between 1999 and 2004, working in the NGO sector. His areas of interest are ideology and governmentality, identity politics and modern intellectual history. As guest editor, he published a set of critical translations of writings by Qin Hui, a major public intellectual in *The Chinese Economy* (2005). Email: <daikaili@gmail.com>

KEVIN SHEIVES recently finished an M.A. in International Relations at Baylor University, Falls Church, U.S.A. He can be contacted at: <kevin\_sheives@yahoo.com>

KHEANG UN is Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and Assistant Director, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, U.S.A. His essays on contemporary Cambodian politics have appeared in the *Journal of Human Rights*, *Asian Survey*, and *Asian Perspective*. He can be reached at <TIOKXU1@wpo.csu.niu.edu>

YONG CHEOL KIM, Professor of Political Science at Chonnam National University, South Korea, is currently conducting research on online social movements and on Korean labor politics. Email: <kimyc@chonnam.ac.kr>

R. WILLIAM LIDDLE, Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University, is currently conducting research on Indonesian voting behaviour and on the role of individual agency in political and social change. Email: <liddle.2@polisci.osu.edu>

SALIM SAID is a Professor of Political Science at the Muhammadiyah University, Malang, and at the Police Science College, Jakarta, Indonesia. He is author of *Legitimizing Military Rule: The Rise and Fall of the Dual Function Doctrine in Indonesia, 1958-2000* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, forthcoming). Contact at <bungsalim@hotmail.com>

APICHAJ W. SHIPPER is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science and the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. He is currently working on a book manuscript on Foreigners and Democracy in Contemporary Japan. Email: <shipper@usc.edu>

# Pacific Affairs

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—SPECIAL ISSUE—

## The Other Binary: Why Japan-North Korea Relations Matter

Guest Editors: Linus Hagström and Marie Söderberg

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ABSTRACTS

**The Dogma of Japanese Insignificance:  
The Academic Discourse on North Korea Policy Coordination**

*Linus Hagström*

The message of Japanese insignificance in international affairs can be found in many different literatures, including that on the formation of policy towards North Korea in the 1990s and 2000s, in particular in regard to the recurring nuclear crisis. Books and articles on the topic either exclude Japanese foreign policy altogether or tend to emphasize the predominant role, or power, of the United States. Japanese foreign policy, it is implied, is under US control. The aim of this article is to question that dominant view, (1) by demonstrating that there is an undercurrent of statements in the same literature which could well be interpreted as implying Tokyo's exercising of political, economic and perhaps even military power over Washington; (2) by clarifying the conceptual bias upon which the predominant view rests; and (3) by suggesting how another understanding of power is more coherent with the first two points, but at the same time renders the whole question of power in North Korea policy coordination practically a quagmire. By doing so, this article deconstructs the more uniform understanding of power in that discourse and reveals a patchwork of inconsistencies, differences and questions.

**Tokyo's Quandary, Beijing's Moment in the Six-Party Talks:  
A Regional Multilateral Approach to Resolve the DPRK's Nuclear Problem**

*Kuniko Ashizawa*

The record of Japan's diplomacy in the Six-Party Talks (SPT), the key multilateral mechanism to address North Korea's unflagging nuclear ambitions, is unpronounced. Tokyo's position in the SPT process has been often viewed as a secondary one, as if it was functioning as Washington's henchman, and at times as unproductive, thanks to its attempts to address the abductions issue in this multilateral setting. This represents an interesting contrast to China's SPT diplomacy, which has seen Beijing play an indispensable role, projecting itself as an honest broker. Further, the contrast between the two countries is intriguing when their general policies toward regional multilateral institutions over the past decade are taken into account. Both countries made a conspicuous shift in their attitudes toward regional multilateral institution-building, from negative and skeptical to positive and active. In the case of the SPT, a new multilateral institution in Asia, Tokyo's activism appeared to be muted, while Beijing positioned itself in a most visible manner. With this backdrop, the article examines Japanese policy making toward the SPT through a specific comparison with the country's general attitude toward regional institution building and with China's SPT diplomacy. It argues that three aspects of the decision-making context—the nature of foreign policy questions, the composition of actors, and the type of available diplomatic tools—unique to Japan's dealings with the SPT essentially shaped its diplomacy and thus brought about a conspicuous contrast with its general attitude toward regional institution-building and with Beijing's growing regional activism.

## **Can Japanese Foreign Aid to North Korea Create Peace and Stability?**

*Marie Söderberg*

Peace building and peace preservation are new key concepts in Japanese foreign aid policy. According to the revised ODA Charter of 2003, "Japan aspires for world peace. Actively promoting the aforementioned effort with ODA," which Japan will carry out "even more strategically" in the future. Asia, and especially East Asia, is singled out as a priority region. North Korea, with which Japan has not yet normalized relations, would therefore seem like an important starting point. How come development aid is not extended to that country?

The answer is that aid is a very complex issue, and not giving is often regarded as being as effective as giving when it comes to eliciting concessions and bringing about changes in the recipients' policy behaviour. For Japan, the question of North Korea policy is made much more complicated by the nuclear issue and the abductions of Japanese citizens by North Korea. Various domestic opinions and interest groups have to be taken into consideration as well as security interests and foreign pressure. This article uses I. William Zartman's "ripe moment" theory and addresses the question of whether Japanese ODA can be an effective tool for the normalization of relations between Japan and North Korea as well as for helping to generate peace and stability in the Northeast Asia region.

## **The Political Economy of Japanese Sanctions Towards North Korea: Domestic Coalitions and International Systemic Pressures**

*Christopher W. Hughes*

Japan has often been dismissed by mainstream international relations and policy discourse as a bit-part actor in Korean Peninsula security affairs. If ascribed any role at all, it is seen as a secondary and submissive actor, generally bending to US strategy and international systemic pressures. This paper argues, however, that Japanese policy towards North Korea is now challenging these international systemic pressures, and threatening divergence with US policy. This is due to the fact that Japan's policy is increasingly driven by domestic political considerations that are rivalling or even superseding international influences in importance. In order to highlight these domestic dynamics, the paper utilizes domestic sanctions theory and a detailed empirical analysis of the Japanese policy-making process with regard to the imposition of sanctions on North Korea. It demonstrates that a "threshold coalition" has now emerged in Japan which is tipping government policy towards sanctions, irrespective of, or even in opposition to, international systemic pressures to desist from such actions. The paper highlights the changing disposition of a pluralistic range of domestic actors away from default engagement to default containment. The consequence of these aggregate domestic pressures is that the Japanese government is finding it progressively harder to converge with US and international strategy towards North Korea. Japan is thus set to augment its influence in Korean Peninsula security affairs by becoming a more obstructive partner in attempts to find an international resolution to the nuclear crisis.

**Vicarious Traumas:  
Television and Public Opinion in Japan's North Korea Policy**

*Hyung Gu Lynn*

Critiques of American mainstream and conservative media for their often dubious cheerleading of the US war against Iraq have become familiar elements of recent public discourse. However, such analyses have not generated equivalent intellectual engagement with media representations of North Korea. Considering how difficult it has been to obtain accurate information on North Korea, this relative paucity is surprising. I address this lacuna by analyzing the role of the Japanese media, particularly television, in generating public perceptions of North Korea.

Why did Japanese television coverage of North Korea reach saturation points following the 9/17 summit? Why were audiences so receptive? How did television shape public opinion? And how did domestic public opinion influence or constrict Japan's North Korea policy? In answering these questions, rather than simply observe that the abductions themselves have been the most important issue in Japan, or note that there have been temporary increases or decreases in Japanese media coverage of North Korea, I argue that television (and other forms of mass media) herded the public into a relatively constricted range of views through narrow, biased saturation coverage of the issue *du jour*. An intersection of structural concentration, content isomorphism, malleable audiences and domestic policy conflicts allowed the media not only to set agendas, but to prime the audience and frame the presentation of information. Public opinion, maintained by conservative political lobbies, viewer ratings responses and broadcasting strategies, ultimately constricted the government policy agenda, range and choice in dealing with North Korea, generating very predictable behaviours.

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LINUS HAGSTRÖM is a Research Fellow at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs.

He is the author of *Japan's China Policy: A Relational Power Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); and co-editor with Marie Söderberg of *North Korea policy: Japan and the Great Powers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006). He can be reached at <hagstrom@ui.se>

MARIE SÖDERBERG is an Associate Professor at the European Institute of Japanese Studies at Stockholm School of Economics. She is a contributing editor to *The Business of Japanese Foreign Aid* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); *Chinese-Japanese Relations in the Twenty-first Century: Complimentarity and Conflict* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); and co-editor with Linus Hagström of *North Korea policy: Japan and the Great Powers* (London and New York: Routledge 2006). She can be reached at <marie.soderberg@hhs.se>.

KUNIKO ASHIZAWA is a Lecturer in International Relations at Oxford Brookes University, UK. She recently contributed a chapter to T.J. Pempel and Ellis S. Krauss, eds, *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004). She can be reached by e-mail at <kashizawa@brookes.ac.uk>

CHRISTOPHER W. HUGHES is a Reader/Associate Professor at the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick. He is author of *Japan's Economic Power and Security: Japan and North Korea* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999); *Japan's Security Agenda: Military, Economic and Environmental Dimensions* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner, 2004); and *Japan's Reemergence as a 'Normal' Military Power* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Contact at <c.w.hughes@warwick.ac.uk>

HYUNG GU LYNN is an Assistant Professor and the AECL/KEPCO Chair in Korean Research in the Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia. He is the author of *Bipolar Orders: The Two Koreas Since 1989* (London: Zed Books, forthcoming 2007). He can be reached by e-mail at <hlynn@interchange.ubc.ca>

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ABSTRACTS

**Australia, America and Asia**

*Mohan Malik*

This article examines the changing nature of Australian-American relations in the aftermath of the Iraq imbroglio and China's rise. While many observers see differences in Australian and US approaches toward China as a reflection of different interests, it is the contention of this paper that these different Australian-US perspectives on China are, in fact, premised more on some highly skewed assumptions and fallacious beliefs, misconceptions and myths that have lately come to underlie Australia's China policy than on divergent Australian-US interests. This article looks at the proposition that China's rise has the potential to divide Australia and America but concludes that Beijing is unlikely to succeed in driving a wedge between Washington and Canberra. The shared values and shared strategic interests ensure broad support for the Australia-US alliance in Australia which has now expanded into a global partnership encompassing the transnational security issues as well as the traditional geopolitical issues of managing the rise of new powers.

**Australia, the US and East Asia:  
Are Close Ties with the Bush Administration Beneficial?**

*Mark Beeson*

Australian policymakers have traditionally made cultivating close strategic ties with the dominant power of the era the centerpiece of foreign policy. As Australia's prominent role in the "coalition of the willing" in Iraq demonstrates, this strategy is alive and well. It is, however, no longer clear whether this strategy is in either Australia's national interest or that of the international community more generally. I argue that, in reality, close ties with the current Bush administration have been costly and may further complicate Australia's relations with an East Asian region in which China is becoming an increasingly important actor.

***In Medias Res: The Development of  
the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as a Security Community***

*Marc Lanteigne*

As the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation observed its fifth anniversary in June 2006, the question of where the regime fits within the expanding area of international strategic institutions in Asia and elsewhere assumes an even greater importance. The SCO has begun to establish itself as a more formal actor in the complex area of Eurasian security, and has evolved from a largely consultative grouping into a security community. As well, the SCO has become the cornerstone of China's Central Asian diplomacy and its promotion of "non-alliance" forms of strategic cooperation. However, despite the SCO's endeavours to portray itself as a forum for information-sharing and confidence-building, as well as political and economic cooperation, hard power considerations remain an important part of the organisation's policymaking. Although the SCO was seen as marginalized when Western forces entered Central Asia after September 2001, the organisation plays key roles and should

not be dismissed as a strategic actor and source of regional cooperation. Moreover, with American forces remaining in Central Asia for the foreseeable future and Central Asian governments becoming increasingly concerned about the potential aftershocks of the recent “colour revolutions” in the former USSR, there is the greater possibility that a more mature SCO may engage in overt power-balancing behaviour vis-à-vis the West, resulting in rivalries rather than cooperation. To prevent this scenario, it is argued that the international community should take the opportunity to better engage the SCO in the name of promoting peace and stability in Eurasia.

**Dilemmas of Social Entrepreneurship:  
Care Homes for Elderly People in Chinese Cities**

*Linda Wong and Jun Tang*

In socialist China, rapid aging, severe shortage of public provisions for frail elders, and the state’s admitted failure to meet vast unmet needs have led the state to promote the use of non-profits as a key peg of welfare policy for the elderly. To this end, the Chinese government passed the Provisional Regulation on the Registration and Management of Civilian-run Non-enterprise Units in 1998 to set out the legal framework. Using tax exemption and preferential utility charges as baits, the 1998 decree encourages the birth of nonprofits to meet the shortfall in social services. The sharp rise in nonprofit organizations (NPOs) after 1998 suggests the policy is achieving its intended effect. However, the insistence on self-sufficiency and ban on profit taking means that such agencies have to operate as social enterprises, combining their social mission with an entrepreneurial mode of management as they rely on fee charges as the primary income source. The paper begins by examining the policy and demographic contexts for old age care and the concepts NPOs, social enterprises and social entrepreneurship. It then presents research findings on the agency profiles and operational experiences of 137 non-state care homes in three Chinese cities. This is followed by an analysis of the motives for social entrepreneurship, namely family circumstances, personal attributes, social commitment, and entrepreneurial drive. The final part discusses the link between the nonprofit policy, NPO attributes and social entrepreneurship. It is argued that it is the peculiarity of the existing policy that attracted a very special group of social investors into the old age care business.

**Minorities and Protest in Japan:  
The Politics of the Fingerprinting Refusal Movement**

*Michael Strausz*

In 1985, 10,000 foreign residents of Japan refused to be finger printed by the Japanese state. Why did this protest take place when it did, and why have we not seen a movement of similar size and intensity since the end of the finger printing refusal movement? This article argues that the finger printing refusal movement occurred because a convergence of factors—including demographic change, Japan’s ratification of human rights treaties, ideational changes within the Japanese state and the Korean community in Japan, and local political developments - opened a window of political opportunity for activism. Moreover, the reforms that Japan made in the 1970s and 1980s closed that window because they satisfied many of the demands of foreign activists, and activists subsequently had a difficult time finding an issue on which to focus community outrage.

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## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MOHAN MALIK is a professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. Dr. Malik is the editor of *Dragon on Terrorism* (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2004) and *Australia's Security in the 21st Century* (St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1999). He can be reached at <malikm@apcss.org>

MARK BEESON is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics at the University of York, U.K. His most recent books are *Regionalism, Globalization and East Asia: Politics, Security and Economic Development* (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave, 2007), and the edited volume, *Bush and Asia: America's Evolving Relations with East Asia*, (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2006). Email: <mb556@york.ac.uk>

MARC LANTEIGNE is a Lecturer at the University of St. Andrews, School of International Relations, in Scotland. His research interests centre upon the area of China's emerging strategy towards regional and global regimes. He is the author of *China and International Institutions: Alternate Paths to Global Power* (Milton Park, UK: Routledge, 2005). Contact at <marc.lanteigne@st-andrews.ac.uk>

LINDA WONG is a Professor in the Department of Public and Social Administration at City University of Hong Kong. Her recent books include *Marginalization and Social Welfare in China* (London: Routledge, 2001), *The Market in Chinese Social Policy* (with Norman Flynn, New York: Palgrave, 2001), and *Social Policy Reform in Hong Kong and Shanghai* (with Gui Shixun and Lynn White, Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004). Email: <saliwo@cityu.edu.hk>

TANG JUN is a Research Fellow and Professor of the Institute of Sociology, China Academy of Social Sciences. His recent books include *A Research on Poverty Line of Urban Citizens in China* (Shanghai: Social Science Press, 1998), *Report on Urban Poverty and Anti-Poverty in China* with Sarah Cook and Ren Zhenxin, (Beijing: Huaxia Publishing House, 2003), and *Problems and Barriers: Reflections on Social Policy towards Comprehensive Well-off Society in China* (2003). Email: <thjp@vip.sina.com>

MICHAEL STRAUZ is a Ph.D. Candidate in political science at the University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A. He can be contacted at <strauszm@u.washington.edu>