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CONTENTS

Beyond Product Cycles and Flying Geese: Regionalization, Hierarchy, and the Industrialization of East Asia	<i>Mitchell Bernard and John Ravenhill</i>	171
State Power, Institutional Change, and the Politics of Privatization in Russia	<i>Michael McFaul</i>	210
Social Rights Advocacy and State Building: T. H. Marshall in the Hands of Social Reformers	<i>Jytte Klausen</i>	244
REVIEW ARTICLES		
Processes of Dyadic Choice for War and Peace	<i>Bruce Russett</i>	268
Much Ado about Ideas: The Cognitive Factor in Economic Policy	<i>John Kurt Jacobsen</i>	283
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii

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ABSTRACTS

BEYOND PRODUCT CYCLES AND FLYING GEESE

REGIONALIZATION, HIERARCHY, AND THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF EAST ASIA

By MITCHELL BERNARD AND JOHN RAVENHILL

Product cycle theory as expressed in the analogy of flying geese has become a widely accepted way of conceptualizing industrial diffusion across East Asia. As the product cycle is repeated for increasingly sophisticated products, so, it is argued, the development trajectory of Japan will be replicated in a succession of sectors and countries. This approach fails, however, to capture the complexities of the contemporary regionalization of industrial production. East Asian industrial production should not be seen as a tightly coupled process in which the rise of national economies parallels successive product cycles. Rather than Japan's development trajectory being replicated in country after country, industrial diffusion has been characterized by shifting hierarchical networks of production and partial diffusion into diverse politicoeconomic contexts at differing historical junctures. It has also resulted in a triangulation of the region's trade patterns that has generated large imbalances in trade both within the region and between the region and the United States.

STATE POWER, INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, AND THE POLITICS OF PRIVATIZATION IN RUSSIA

By MICHAEL MCFAUL

This article reviews recent events in Russia and demonstrates that future progress in developing private property rights will require not only sound economic policies but also more robust state institutions capable of carrying out economic transformation. In January 1992 Russia's first postcommunist government launched a comprehensive economic program to transform the Soviet command system into a market economy. Privatization constituted one of the key components of this program. Two years later, however, privatization in Russia had failed to create real private property rights. By the summer of 1993 insiders had acquired majority shares in two-thirds of Russia's privatized and privatizing firms, state subsidies accounted for 22 percent of Russia's GNP, little if any restructuring had taken place within enterprises, and few market institutions had been created. Progress toward creating private property rights in Russia was impeded by the particular constellation of political institutions in place after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The set of political institutions comprising the first postcommunist Russian state was not capable of either dismantling Soviet institutions governing property rights or creating or supporting new market-based economic institutions regarding private property.

SOCIAL RIGHTS ADVOCACY AND STATE BUILDING

T. H. MARSHALL IN THE HANDS OF SOCIAL REFORMERS

By JYTTE KLAUSEN

This article argues that it is a fallacy to regard "social citizenship" as granting social rights equivalent to civil rights and suffrage. The argument is based partly upon a textual analysis showing that in formulating his influential "trinity" of citizenship, T. H. Marshall obfuscated differences between the distributional logic of redistributive policy and political and civil rights. The second part of the argument is based upon an empirical discussion of how social citizenship arguments have been applied to create comprehensive social reform.

The Scandinavian welfare states play a central role in the discussion as examples of the inclusionary benefits of social citizenship. Three instances of welfare state expansion are discussed: the passage of legislation establishing flat-rate retirement benefits, the institution of supplementary earnings-related retirement benefits, and feminist mobilization in the 1980s for a "woman-friendly" welfare state. It is shown that claims to social citizenship are used by outgroups to demand inclusion in electoral coalitions aiming at welfare state expansion.

The article concludes that social citizenship is inextricably linked to redistributive political conflict between in-groups and out-groups and depends upon state capacity to raise revenues and to police entitlement. A key difference between social rights and political and civil rights is that consumption of the former hinges on both the consent of the community and the willingness of others to pay for such consumption, while consumption of the latter does not impose direct costs upon others.

PROCESSES OF DYADIC CHOICE FOR WAR AND PEACE

By BRUCE RUSSETT

This essay reviews three recent books on foreign policy decision making. Collectively, they sharply modify conventional realist analysis by emphasizing the possibility of choice, the necessity of analyzing relationships at the level of a dyad of states rather than at the level of either individual states or the entire international system, and the cognitive processes by which choices are made. But their substantial challenge to realism falls short of the next step necessary, namely, more fully developing a theory of how domestic political processes affect the choice of whether to use military force.

MUCH ADO ABOUT IDEAS

THE COGNITIVE FACTOR IN ECONOMIC POLICY

By JOHN KURT JACOBSEN

This article examines recent works that investigate how ideas acquire influence over economic policy choice. The revival of interest in the "material power of ideas" stems from discontent with the inability of rational interest-based models to explain particular policy outcomes, except by resorting to auxiliary assumptions. The works under review primarily apply "ideas approaches" as supplementary analytical devices to clarify the dynamics of policy choices. These studies succeed in illuminating the interpenetration of interests and ideas in order to plumb the problematic variability of interest formation and the degree of public influence over economic policy parameters. The bolder thesis that ideas have a force of their own (independent of all interests) is, however, misconceived and unproved.