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SUMMARY OF CONTENTS**

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**Ideas, Interests and Institutions in the Analysis of  
Welfare State Realignment: Towards a  
Political Analysis of Institutional Change**

Masatoshi KATO\*

**【Abstract】**

In this paper, I propose the comparative frameworks to analyze the welfare state realignment in terms of Constitutive-Strategic Approach. So, I propose the new theory of institutional change. This approach pays attention to the interaction of structure and agency through idea. So, It focuses on not only the economic-social base of the welfare state, but also the political base.

First, I review the discussion about the theory of welfare state (especially Power Resource Theory, Cross-Class Alliance Theory, Varieties of Capitalism Theory, New Politics of Welfare State Theory, and Ideational Approach) . I argue that these theories have some theoretical problems which are concerned with the model of institutional change. So, we need new theoretical model to analyze the political dynamism of institutional change.

Second, I review the discussion about the new institutionalism in political science. In particularly, I consider the theoretical innovation of Historical Institutionalism and Rational Choice Institutionalism and the rise of the fourth

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\* Associate Professor of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University

new institutionalism which focuses on ideational factor. I argue that these have some limitations to analyze the political dynamism of institutional change.

Finally, I propose the new theory of institutional change which focuses on the role of ideas in political science. This model assumes that there are two stages on the process of institutional change [i.e. ① ideas make actor's interests and ② political actors use some ideas to attain their goal]. So, it can consider the political dynamism of institutional change. I consider the implications of new theory of institutional change for the analysis of welfare state realignment.

## **A Study on the Changes of the Production Organizations and the Distribution System in the North Korean Economic System**

PARK Jong-Seok\*

This article aims at analyzing the changes of the production organizations and the distribution system in the North Korean economic system. The main arguments of the article are as follows.

In the first stage, this article argued as follows about the methodology of the North Korean Economic system.

1) In order to analyze an economic system, we need to confirm the “object” of the analysis. They might be the “three dimensions” of the economic system, that is to say, the “whole” economic system, a certain “part” of the system or a certain “phenomenon” of the system.

2) When the object is the whole economic system, we need to set up some marks which indicate the status and changes of the system, and evaluate them. Those marks might be the problem of the “private economic activity”, the problem of the “openness” of the system and the “economic growth” of the system. When the object is a certain part of the system, we need to utilize a proper “division method” of the system. One method might be to divide the system “horizontally”, and in that case, the result might be “the state, ideology and policies, and the real economy”. Another method might be to divide the system “vertically”. For example, we might divide the system according to regions or industries. When the object is a certain phenomenon of the system, we need to set up some marks and evaluate them.

3) If we grasp what kind of strategies of running the system the North

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\* Hokkaido University, Faculty of Law, Special Researcher.

Korean leadership had, it will be quite useful to understand the changes of the system. The North Korean leadership set up as its goals to maintain the independency and the self-reliance of the country, to abolish the political oppression, to abolish the economic exploitation and to attain the economic growth. And the leadership set up as its means to establish a self-reliant national economy and to establish the ideal socialist system in which any private economic activity is abolished.

In the second stage, this article argued as follows about the changes of the production systems of the North Korean economic system.

4) We could understand the changes of the production organizations by dividing them into two phases. The first phase is the process of socializing the production organizations and the second stage is the one to modify the established socialist production organizations.

5) The process of socializing the production organizations had been basically completed by the quite short period of slightly over ten years (1945.8-1958.8).

6) After that, in the structural aspect of the system, there have not been great changes. But after the socialist bloc crumbled, some changes began to appear. For example, land renting system was introduced which had been prohibited, the private production activity and the self-reliant scope are widening little by little in the sphere of the agriculture and the service sector, and the self-reliant activity in the state-run enterprises is encouraged little by little. Even though these changes are feeble, we could recognize them as the reformative movement which partly activates the private economic activity.

In the third stage, this article argued as follows about the changes of the distribution system.

7) The North Korean leadership set up a goal of abolishing the private network in the distribution system and tried to implement various policies in order to achieve the goal little by little. Nevertheless, during the economic crisis of 1980s, the private network gets vitalized little by little. And after the collapse of the socialist bloc around 1991, the network gets more vitalized under the condition of more serious economic crisis. And after the 7·1

Measures of 2002, that is, Adjusting Measures of Income and General Prices, this tendency gets more evident.

As a complementing argument, this article analyzed the mechanism of the 2009 Currency Reform.

8) The Currency Reform is basically issuing new currencies and forcing people to exchange old currencies with new ones. Its economic and political intention is to almost nullify the riches accumulated by some successful people during the course of expansion of the private economic activity.

In the fourth and last stage, this article envisaged the possible changes of the production organizations and the distribution system of North Korea in the foreseeable future.

9) It seems that the North Korean leadership still has quite the strong ideological orientation of abolishing the private economic activity. It acts as a factor to restrict the private economic activity. But the leadership should know that the economic growth of the North Korean economy has been hindered by the ideological orientation. So it seems that the leadership feels the need to at least partly activate the private economic activity, though not desirable. It acts as a factor to activate the private economic activity. These two factors mainly determine the possible changes of the production organizations and the distribution system. That is to say, sometimes in those fields, the private economic activity will be restricted and other times will be encouraged. If during the course it is recognized that they need to activate the private economic activity stably, the real reform process might begin.