

Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

**Is a Free Trade Zone Emerging in Northeast Asia
in the Wake of the Asian Financial Crisis?**

Kevin Cai

Largely due to the existing political constraints, the autonomous and market-driven process of regional economic integration in Northeast Asia since the mid-1980s is short of a formal regional grouping. However, the recent Asian financial crisis has provided a catalyst for the initial moves toward a possible free trade zone in Northeast Asia. After tracing this recent development, the article then provides a preliminary assessment of the prospect for a free trade zone in the region and speculates on the possible implications of this development for the political economy of Northeast Asia and beyond. It is the author's argument that, while the regional political conditions remain basically unchanged, regional leaders seem to be adopting a more pragmatic approach to the issue of forming a formal regional economic grouping in the context of the Asian crisis. The formation of such an economic grouping in Northeast Asia would, in turn, inevitably bring significant implications for both economics and politics in the region and even beyond.

ASEM and the 'Cinderella Complex' of EU – East Asia Economic Relations

Christopher M. Dent

Within the family of Triad power-regions (North America, Europe, East Asia), the Eurasian economic axis persists as the poor third relation in comparison to its transatlantic and transpacific counterparts. This study examines the nature of the "Cinderella complex" that besets EU–East Asia economic relations and the structural constraints within the Triadic political economy that impede its resolution. It more specifically considers what role can be played by the Asia–Europe Meetings (ASEM) inter-regional framework in fortifying the Eurasian economic relationship. Moreover, the capacity of ASEM to develop its geo-strategic and multilateral utility is a core theme of this article. It is proposed that at the millennial eve, ASEM has missed various opportunities both to enhance its salience and to take bolder initiatives in the Eurasian co-management of the post-hegemonic world order. Such passivity was most clearly revealed in ASEM's handling of the 1997-98 East Asian financial crisis. Thus, as it currently stands, ASEM possesses a limited capacity to significantly redress the structural imbalances in the Triadic political economy: a far more substantive ASEM agenda is required to fulfil its potential geo-strategic and multilateral utility. This study notes that proposals carried in the first report of the recently established ASEM Vision Group would make a significant initial contribution towards this end.

**The Evolution of Shareholding Enterprise Reform in Rural China:
A MANAGER EMPOWERMENT THESIS**

Ray Yep

The paper aims to explain the evolution of shareholding reform in rural China in terms of the changing balance of power over economic management at grassroots level. It highlights the importance of distributional consequences in shaping the

pattern of ownership reform. The major argument forwarded here is that two different worlds of enterprise managers emerge amidst the process of rural industrialization, and the bargaining position of those running key enterprises vis-à-vis the local government has been dramatically enhanced. Managers' ability to deliver a stable revenue, economic benefits to the local community and the growing incapability of local governments in monitoring enterprise operation have provided these managers with leverage to bring pressure on local government. During the early stages of rural enterprise development, a half-way house reform was acceptable for both parties, but the balance was upset with further growth of enterprises. The renegotiation of respective rights over enterprises was necessary to accommodate the empowered managers and this was the catalyst for the further dilution of local government's control over rural enterprises in the late 1990s.

Three Years on a Path to Nowhere:

THE HASHIMOTO INITIATIVE IN RUSSIAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Alexei V. Zagorsky

The Hashimoto doctrine for Northeast Asia proclaimed by the Japanese Prime Minister in June 1997 promised a rapid improvement in Japanese-Russian relations. Intensification of the bilateral dialogue culminating at the informal summit at Krasnoyarsk in November 1997 increased high expectations after Russian President Boris Yeltsin pledged to "do his best" to sign the peace treaty by the year 2000; nevertheless, negotiations have been at a stalemate since the subsequent meeting in April 1998.

The article examines the reasons for the failure of the initiative initially assessed as a major breakthrough. The author concludes that the major cause is in the fact that both nations have fallen short of providing a broad ground for mutual cooperation. Both expected the other side to drop the claim for the islands under dispute for the sake of benefits in other fields, but failed to present an appealing vision. The territorial dispute finally emerged as the core of the talks, preventing any possible compromise.

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ABSTRACTS

American Northeast Asian Strategy

Frank Langdon

This essay examines American military strategy as it has been successfully applied to the Northeast Asian region after the Cold War. The Clinton Administration was challenged by the two chief regional sources of tension: the contending regimes in Korea and China. Barely preventing renewal of the Korean War in 1994, the Clinton administration adopted a more conciliatory policy toward North Korea and strengthened alliances with South Korea and Japan as well as halting further withdrawals of forward deployed US forces. American missile defense plans, both under Clinton and the younger Bush, have added new tension with China, the only major power likely to be disadvantaged by it. Under the new Bush administration the first Republican control of both presidency and Congress since 1953 should reduce the traditional conflict between the two branches of government over China policy, especially over Taiwan, but it may increase tension with China. The present decrease in tension in Korea and the much longer time it will take than expected to complete development and deployment of present missile defense plans should provide an opening for negotiating a more stable nuclear balance with China and for negotiating a peaceful relationship with North Korea.

APEC's Mid-Life Crisis?

The Rise and Fall of Early Voluntary Sectoral Liberalization

Michael Wesley

This article examines the progress of the Early Voluntary Sectoral Liberalization (EVSL) initiative within APEC, tracing serious tensions that have emerged within the regional regime. First, EVSL developed as a possible answer to the uncertainty in APEC over whether it exists as an end in itself or as a means to other ends. Second, EVSL demonstrated clearly the problems that can occur in APEC's deductive "pledge-then-deliver" approach to negotiating new initiatives. Third, the process of packaging fifteen EVSL sectors for liberalization became in part a challenge to the principle of consensus, at the core of the regime. Finally, the divisions caused by EVSL can be seen as suggesting the rise of rival blocs within APEC. While the demise of EVSL has mitigated some of these tensions, some of its ramifications could yet appear.

Nationalism and Trade Liberalization in Quebec and Taiwan

Glenn Drover and K. K. Leung

Globalization and trade liberalization are modifying the organizational and political context in which nationalism enhances regional and sub-regional identities. In Quebec, nationalists have exploited the liberalization of free trade in North America to strengthen the case for independence. In Taiwan, the opening of trade with the mainland and Southeast Asia has challenged nationalists to search for an acceptable political discourse that recognizes and accommodates regional autonomy while respecting constitutional guarantees. In both territories, therefore, political, business and intellectual elites have used trade liberalization to shape nationalist agendas and enhance autonomy. At the same time, trade liberalization also has served to

weaken the case for nationalism because it strengthens economic ties between the two territories and the respective nation states of which they are a part. Hence, the relationship between nationalism and trade liberalization is a double-edged sword. It gives scope to nationalist aspirations while moderating the outcome. As a consequence, while trade liberalization seems to provide a platform for Quebec to transcend the status quo, it is more likely in the case of Taiwan to maintain it.

**Japanese Policy Towards China:
Politics of the Imperial Visit to China in 1992**

Young C. Kim

The paper presents an analysis of the major factors that shaped the process of Japan's policymaking for the period of November 1991 to October 1992 with regard to the issue of imperial visit. Emperor Hirohito paid an official visit to China in October 1992. By early January 1992 the political decision to proceed with the visit had been made by Foreign Minister Watanabe with the concurrence of Prime Minister Miyazawa. The decision was consistent with the dominant policy position of the foreign ministry bureaucracy. It required seven months for Japan to translate the preliminary decision into an official decision of the Japanese government. Japan's "foreign" policymaking in this instance was in essence the domestic political process, as the decision was shaped fundamentally and decisively by "domestic" political factors. The stable structure of power sustained by the coalition of factions of the Liberal Democratic Party made it possible for the style of decision making observed in this case. The right-wing groups within the ruling party were most vocal and active in opposing the imperial visit, and their activities exerted a substantial influence on the process of policymaking. The analysis is based primarily on a series of interviews the author conducted with most of the principal actors who participated in the policymaking process.

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ABSTRACTS

**China's Two-Korea Policy at Trial:
The Hwang Chang Yop Crisis**

Chae-jin Lee and Stephanie Hsieh

The defection of high-profile North Korean leader Hwang Chang Yop, commonly referred to as the architect of *chuche* ideology, in Beijing in February 1997, created a tense diplomatic situation that challenged China's two-Korea policy. This article discusses who Hwang was, why he defected, why his case was important, how China negotiated with both Koreas, and how the case affected China's approaches toward the Korean Peninsula. While North Korea claimed that Hwang was kidnapped by South Korean intelligence agents and that China should repatriate him to Pyongyang, South Korea insisted that since Hwang defected of his own free will, China should allow his safe and direct passage to Seoul. The Chinese rejected both demands, conducted patient and even-handed negotiations with Seoul and Pyongyang, refused to recognize Hwang's legal status as a political refugee or an asylum seeker, and decided to "expel" him to a third country to save face for North Korea. This decision enabled Hwang to stay in the Philippines for a month before traveling to South Korea. As a result, China minimized the damage to North Korea, respected Hwang's free will, met South Korea's ultimate expectations, preserved peace on the Korean Peninsula, and maintained its two-Korea policy intact.

**So What if It's Not a Gamble?:
Post-Westphalian Politics in Macau**

Susan J. Henders

The emergence of the Macau Special Administrative Region in China as a significant cross-border player challenges the Western, federal and democratic focus of the literature about non-central governments as international actors. Focused mainly on economic affairs, Macau's external role is circumscribed by the authoritarian unitary character of China; however, regime type alone cannot explain why Macau is permitted extensive external autonomy extending to membership in the World Trade Organization. Rather, the growing cross-border activities of the Macau government reflect its location in a complex web of interests that is simultaneously public and private; local, state, and international; and firm and state. These activities reflect both traditional state-centred understandings of the international system and an emergent post-Westphalian politics in which sovereignty has been transformed by new non-central government players and transnational actors and forces. Macau's external affairs autonomy simultaneously deepens its integration into the neoliberal economic order, while defending the more traditional "sovereign" interests of Macau's Chinese and former Portuguese administrations. The "hybrid actorness" of both non-central and central governments helps explain this apparent paradox.

**50 years from San Francisco:
Re-examining the Peace Treaty and Japan's Territorial Problems**

Kimie Hara

The 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan left various problems unresolved. Japan's territorial problems are no exception. The treaty did not specify to which country Japan renounced its former territories, nor did it define the precise limits of these territories. This article concerns the origin of the disputes between Japan and its neighbors about the "Northern Territories," Takeshima and Senkaku. Close examination of post-war territorial disposition of Japan suggests that these problems were seeded under strong influence of the regional cold war in the Asia-Pacific. Lying on the U.S. cold war defense line of the Western Pacific, the so-called "Acheson Line," these territorial problems were "wedges" to defend Japan from communist expansion. The time shift to the "post-cold war" era does not negate the significance of the cold war origins of these problems. It seems reasonable to remember their common origin and consider the possibility of achieving their solutions in a multilateral context.

E.H. Norman, Canada and Japan's Postwar Constitution

John Price

E.H. Norman, a historian and Canadian diplomat posted to Japan during most of the Occupation, was intimately involved with the crafting of Japan's postwar constitution. His views on the constitution and the monarchy first developed as part of his responsibilities as an analyst with Canadian intelligence during the war. They further evolved after he was seconded to MacArthur's staff in the fall of 1945 and during his subsequent tenure as Canada's main representative to the Far Eastern Commission. There he played a leading role in the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee. This article examines Norman's views on the constitution and the Emperor as they evolved in the 1943-1950 period. It suggests that Norman's views on the constitutional process differed radically from those of General MacArthur but that in the end, the Canadian government declined to challenge U.S. hegemony over Occupation policy. Thus Norman no longer pursued the agenda he had laid out and instead accepted the reformed monarchy and the constitution as the lesser of evils. The origins of Japan's postwar constitution have come under scrutiny as constitutional research commissions in both the upper and lower houses of Japan's Diet investigate the postwar constitution with an eye to revising it within the next five years.

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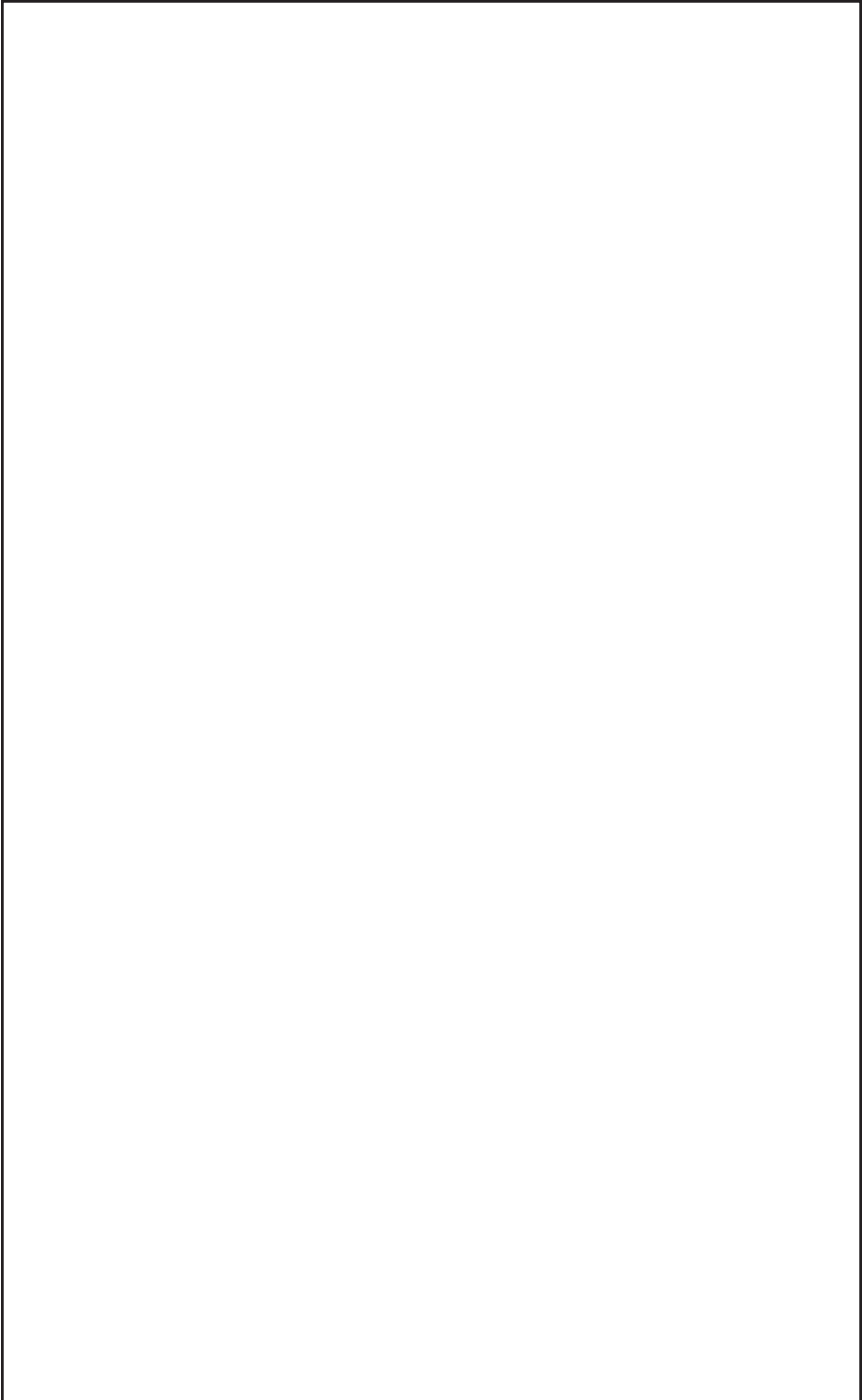
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ABSTRACTS

**Parochial Universalism, Democracy *Jihad*
and the Orientalist Image of Burma: The New Evangelism**

Michael Aung-Thwin

Throughout history the strong have rationalized their hegemony through universalist ideals, so the parochial universalism of today's Pax Americana is not unique but predictable. Although the current rationalization is secular rather than religious, and the goals are this-world oriented rather than the next; nevertheless, the zeal, the righteousness, the imagery and the vocabulary with which this universalism is proclaimed are uncannily evocative of earlier religious evangelisms.

The mechanism to effect this hegemony is what I call "democracy *jihad*," a secular crusade to implement a western conceptual system amongst the "political heathen," measured by their alleged human rights records. Although reminiscent of the zeal and piousness found in the literature of nineteenth-century imperialism, the "superior" religious and racial ideology (Christianity and the white man) has been replaced with equally "superior" secular political and social ideology (democracy and human rights). The message may have changed but not the righteous assumptions held by the messenger. Nor is it exclusively the domain of the state, but rather, a "consolidated vision" shared by the public, academia and the media.

Perhaps the most destructive aspect of democratization is that it invariably means decentralization, which, in most non-western contexts today, encourages social and political anarchy. In countries such as Burma, *anarchy is feared far more than tyranny*, so that if there exists a genuine desire to promote freedom from that fear, issues important to Burmese society should be addressed, not assumptions concerning the universalism of western values.

**"Already Sovereign as a People":
A Foundational Moment in West Papuan Nationalism**

David Webster

A nationalist movement in West Papua (Irian Jaya, Indonesia) has recently returned to prominence. The roots of this movement, and of West Papuan identity, can be found in the history of the transfer of West Papua from Dutch to Indonesian rule in the 1960s and international political developments which affected West Papua. An elite political identity formed in this period filtered through to the mass of the population over the course of forty years of Indonesian rule and then asserted itself in cultural forms that were shaped by a new cultural Melanesianism that attempted to both embrace local identities and give them wider expression as part of a national identity. This paper explores the origins and historical development of West Papuan nationalism and its expression in symbol and ceremonial re-enactment and concludes that West Papuan nationalism has passed a point of no return. Even if they do not (or not yet) have a nation-state, West Papuans already think of themselves as a separate people, as part of their own "Notion-State."

**Ethnic Group Recruitment in the Indian Army:
The Contrasting Cases of Sikhs, Muslims, Gurkhas and Others**

Omar Khalidi

Recent scholarship has brought forth several works on the ethnic/religious composition of the Indian army during the colonial period, but no systematic account of its composition in post-independence era exists. What is the current recruitment policy? Does the composition of the military personnel mirror the religious and ethnic diversity of the Indian national population? Does the military attempt to inculcate national values and perspectives in recruit training and professional education? Does common military experience serve to reduce ethno-religious identification by building cross-ethnic pressures? Is there trans-community deployment of military personnel? Are promotions based on perceived competence rather than ethno-religious affiliation? What is the impact of the polarization of the Indian society along religious divide between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs since 1947? Answers to these questions are based on interviews with former military officers, published accounts of military and defense officials, and the writings of informed journalists and academics. The role of the armed forces has been exceptionally positive in remaining neutral peacemakers during Hindu-Muslim violence, although it is changing due to the rise of Hindu extremism.

**Towards A More Federalized Parliamentary System In India:
Explaining Functional Change**

Mahendra P. Singh

A federal society and culture historically, India gradually moved towards an administrative federalist response during the British Raj and a “quasi-federal” (K.C. Wheare) or “parliamentary federal” (R.L. Watts) polity under the 1950 Constitution. The predominantly parliamentary tenor of politics in India has, in the 1990s, become considerably more federalized than in the past. The federal features of the political system are manifested in the sharp rise of state autonomy movements in the 1980s and the signing of a number of ethnic accords with them by the Centre, as well as a new behavioural pattern in central and federally relevant institutions of government from the 1990s onwards.

The impact of social and political mobilization on the Indian federal system has been intermediated by a transformed party system – from one-party dominance to a multipartisan configuration since 1989 – and an activist judiciary that extended its power of judicial review to areas where parliamentary/executive supremacy was the norm, e.g., central takeover of a state government under the emergency provisions of the Constitution. This transformed institutional scenario has activated a series of points of autonomy of federal relevance envisaged by the first Constitutional Commission on Centre-State Relations, appointed in 1983. Even without the formal implementation of most of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission Report (1987-88), it has become self-implementing. The federalization process has also brought about some changes in tune with neo-liberal economic reforms in the patterns of fiscal federal relations.

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