Is a Free Trade Zone Emerging in Northeast Asia in the Wake of the Asian Financial Crisis?  
Kevin Cai  
7

ASEM and the ‘Cinderella Complex’ of EU–East Asia Economic Relations  
Christopher M. Dent  
25

Ray Yep  
53

Three Years on a Path to Nowhere: The Hashimoto Initiative in Russian-Japanese Relations  
Alexei V. Zagorsky  
75

Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 3-5)  
95
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.

Books Reviewed in This Issue

Asia General

Environmental Philosophy and Ethics in Buddhism. Foreword by Alastair S. Gunn
Bruce Matthews 95

Globalisation and the Asia-Pacific: Contested Territories. Edited by Kris Olds, Peter Dicken, Philip F. Kelly, Lily Kong and Henry Wai-chung Yeung
Clare Mochrie 96

China and Inner Asia

China and the Middle East: The Quest for Influence. Edited by P.R. Kumaraswamy
Lillian Craig Harris 98

Explaining Chinese Democratization. By Shaohua Hu
Baogang He 101

China, the United Nations, and Human Rights: The Limits of Compliance. By Ann Kent
Maurice Copithorne 103

9
THE JEWS OF CHINA: Volume Two,  
A Sourcebook and Research Guide.  
Edited and with an introduction by Jonathan Goldstein  
with Bibliography by Frank Joseph Shulman

WOMEN IN THE CHINESE ENLIGHTENMENT:  
Oral and Textual Histories. By Wang Zheng

NOTABLE WOMEN OF CHINA: Shang Dynasty to the Early Twentieth Century. Edited by Barbara Bennett Peterson et al.

DANGEROUS WOMEN: Warriors, Grannies and Geishas of the Ming. By Victoria Cass

IMPERFECT CONCEPTIONS: Medical Knowledge, Birth Defects, and Eugenics in China. By Frank Dikotter

ACROSS THE TAIWAN STRAIT: Mainland China, Taiwan, and the 1995-1996 Crisis. Edited by Suisheng Zhao

Northeast Asia

COLLECTIVE ACTION IN EAST ASIA: How Ruling Parties Shape Industrial Policy. By Gregory W. Noble


CONTEMPORARY JAPAN.  
By Duncan McCargo

REMEMBERING AIZU: The Testament of Shiba Goro.  
Edited by Ishimitsu Mahito

LIVES IN MOTION: Composing Circles of Self and Community in Japan. Edited by Susan Orpett Long

PROPHETS OF PEACE: Pacifism and Cultural Identity in Japan’s New Religions. By Robert Kisala

JAPAN’S ECONOMIC POWER AND SECURITY: Japan and North Korea.  
By Christopher W. Hughes

South Asia

INDIA BRIEFING: A Transformative Fifty Years.  
Edited by Marshall Bouton and Phillip Oldenburg

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of the National Electorate. 
By Subrata K. Mitra and V. B. Singh

WOMEN, DEMOCRACY AND THE MEDIA: Cultural and Political Representation in the Indian Press. 
By Sonia Bathla

By Robin Jeffrey

HOME AND HEGEMONY: Domestic Service and Identity Politics in South and Southeast Asia. 
Edited by Kathleen M. Adams and Sara Dickey
**Southeast Asia**

**The Legend of the Golden Boat**: Regulation, Trade and Traders in the Borderlands of Laos, Thailand, China and Burma. By Andrew Walker  
*Huub de Jonge* 128

*Douglas Pike* 130

**Mother’s Beloved**: Stories from Laos. By Outhine Bounyavong. Edited by Bounheng Inversin and Daniel Duffy, with an introduction by Peter Koret  
*Gerald W. Fry* 132

**Fueling the War**: Revealing an Oil Company’s Role in Vietnam. By Louis Wesseling  
*Robert K. Brigham* 133

**Socioeconomic Renovation in Vietnam**: The Origin, Evolution, and Impact of *Doi Moi*. Edited by Peter Boothroyd and Pham Xuan Nam.  
*Robert L. Curry, Jr.* 134

**Indonesia and China**: The Politics of a Troubled Relationship. By Rizal Sukma  
*Stewart Sutley* 135

**Succession Politics in Indonesia**: The 1998 Presidential Elections and the Fall of Suharto. By Bilveer Singh  
*Damien Kingsbury* 137

**East Timor**: The Price of Freedom. By John G. Taylor  
*David Webster* 138

**Australasia and the Pacific Region**

**Obliged to Be Difficult**: Nugget Coombs’ Legacy in Indigenous Affairs. By Tim Rowse  
*Laurent Dousset* 139

**Gender and Institutions**: Welfare, Work and Citizenship. Edited by Moira Gatens and Alison MacKinnon  
*Nancy J. Pollock* 141

**The German Empire and Britain’s Pacific Dominions, 1871-1919**: Essays on the role of Australia and New Zealand in World Politics in the Age of Imperialism. Edited by John A. Moses and Christopher Pugsley  
*John S. Conway* 142

*Patricia K. Townsend* 144

**Pacific Empires**: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams. Edited by Alan Frost and Jane Samson  
*Sheree Ronaasen* 145

**Weavers of Song**: Polynesian Music and Dance. By Mervyn McLean  
*Janet Dixon Keller* 147

**American Anthropology in Micronesia**: An Assessment. Edited by Robert C. Kiste and Mac Marshall  
*Karla Saari Kitalong* 148

**What Did the Internment of Japanese Americans Mean?** Selected and Introduced by Alice Yang Murray  
*Inagi Hiraishi* 150

**Forbidden Workers**: Illegal Chinese Immigrants and American Labor. By Peter Kwong  
*Wing Chung Ng* 151

**The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80**: The Pursuit of Identity and Power. By Wing Chung Ng  
*Wang Guangwu* 152

**A Stubble-Jumper in Striped Pants**: Memoirs of a Prairie Diplomat. By Earl G. Drake  
*Lawrence T. Woods* 154
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

KEVIN G. CAI teaches in the Department of Political Science at the University of Calgary, Canada.

CHRISTOPHER DENT is a Lecturer in the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at the University of Hull, United Kingdom. His recent publications include “The European Union and East Asia: An Economic Relationship (London: Routledge, 1999 and The Foreign Economic Policies of Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan (London: Routledge, forthcoming 2002).

RAY YEP received his Ph.D. in politics from Oxford University and is currently a Lecturer at the City University of Hong Kong.

ALEXEI V. ZAGORSKY is Professor of international relations at Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan. He was previously a researcher at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow from 1987 to 2000. Recent publications include “Russian-Japanese Relations: Back to the Deadlock” in Guennady Chufrin, ed., Russia and Asia: The Emerging Security Agenda (London: Oxford University Press, 1999), and “Reconciliation in the Fifties: The Logic of Soviet Decision Making” in Gilbert Rozman, ed., Japan and Russia: The Tortuous Path to Normalization, 1949-1999 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).
American Northeast Asian Strategy
Frank Langdon 167

APEC’s Mid-Life Crisis? The Rise and Fall of Early Voluntary Sectoral Liberalization
Michael Wesley 185

Nationalism and Trade Liberalization in Quebec and Taiwan
Glen Drover K.K. Leung 205

Young C. Kim 225

Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 163-165) 243
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.


*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 processes, 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.

**Books Reviewed in This Issue**

**Asia General**

**Asian Regionalism.**

By Peter Katzenstein, Natasha Hamilton-Hart, Kozo Kato and Ming Yue.  
*Paul M. Evans*  243

**Globalism, Regionalism & Nationalism:**

*Asia in Search of its Role in the 21st Century.*

By Yoshinobu Yamamoto.  
*Paul M. Evans*  243

**Politics and Economics in Northeast Asia:**

*Nationalism and Regionalism in Contention.*

Edited by Tsuneo Akaha.  
*Paul M. Evans*  243

**Asia’s Security Challenges.**

By Wilfred A. Herrmann.  
*James Boutilier*  246

**Asia in the Undergraduate Curriculum:**

*A Case for Asian Studies in Liberal Arts Education.*

Edited by Suzanne Wilson Barnett and Van Jay Symons.  
*Brian Pendleton*  247

**The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages.**

Edited by Norman Cantor.  
*David C. Wright*  249
China and Inner Asia

SAME BED, DIFFERENT DREAMS: 
By David M. Lampton. 
David E. Reuther 250

By Katherine Palmer Kulp. 
Diana Lary 252

By Chris Bramall. 
Samuel P.S. Ho 254

QIAOXIANG TIES: Interdisciplinary Approaches 
to “Cultural Capitalism” in South China. 
Edited by Leo Douw, Cen Huang and Michael R. Godley. 
Glen Peterson 256

INVENTING NANJING ROAD: 
Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945. 
Edited by Sherman Cochran. 
Millie Creighton 259

UNDER THE SOVIET SHADOW: THE YINING INCIDENT: 
Ethnic Conflicts and international Rivalry in Xinjiang, 1944-1949. 
By D. Wang. 
Victor Zatsepine 261

THE MANCHURIAN MYTH: Nationalism, Resistance, 
and Collaboration in Modern China. 
By Rana Mitter. 
Norman Smith 262

NATION, GOVERNANCE, AND MODERNITY IN CHINA: 
Canton, 1900-1927. By Michael Tsin. 
Glen Peterson 264

TALES OF TRANSLATION: 
Composing the New Woman in China, 1898-1918. 
By Hu Ying. 
Paul Bailey 266

Northeast Asia

JAPAN AND RUSSIA: The Tortuous Path to Normalization, 
Leszek Buszynski 268

THE LOGIC OF JAPANESE POLITICS: 
Leaders, Institutions, and the Limits of Change. 
By Gerald L. Curtis. 
Andrew DeWit 269

ORIGINS OF THE PACIFIC WAR AND THE IMPORTANCE 
of “MAGIC”. By Keiichiro Komatsu. 
Bill Sewell 270

ROBERT GITLER AND THE JAPAN LIBRARY SCHOOL: 
An Autobiographical Narrative. By Robert L. Gitler 
and Edited by Michael Buckland. 
Tsuneharu Gonnami 272

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF OSAKA AND KYOTO. 
By Ian Martin Röpke. 
Bill Sewell 275

KOREAN CRISIS: Unraveling the Miracle in the IMF Era 
By Donald Kirk. 
Paul Kuznets 276

South Asia

INSTITUTIONS, INCENTIVES AND ECONOMIC REFORMS IN INDIA. 
Edited by Satu Kähkönen and Anthony Lanyi. 
Stephen D. McDowell 278

VOLUNTARY ACTION IN HEALTH AND POPULATION: 
The Dynamics of Social Transition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>India After Independence.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee.</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Britain and Indian Nationalism:</strong></td>
<td>By D. A. Low.</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southeast Asia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road to ASEAN-10. Japanese Perspectives on Economic Integration.</td>
<td>Edited by Sekiguchi Sueo and Noda Makoto.</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vietnamese Foreign Policy in Transition.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Carlyle A. Thayer and Ramses Amer.</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landscapes of Globalisation: Human Geographies of Economic Change in the Philippines.</strong></td>
<td>By Philip F. Kelly.</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Historical Atlas of Indonesia.</strong></td>
<td>By Robert Cribb.</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Australasia and the Pacific Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Howard’s Agenda.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Marian Simms and John Warhurst.</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Rise and Fall of One Nation.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Michael Leach, Geoffrey Stokes and Ian Ward.</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Maori and the Crown:</strong></td>
<td>An Indigenous People’s Struggle for Self-Determination By Dora Alves.</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Papua New Guinea: Employment, Wages, and Economic Development.</strong></td>
<td>By Theodore Levantis.</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea:</strong></td>
<td>The Telling of Difference. By Deborah B. Gewertz and Frederick K. Errington.</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature.</strong></td>
<td>By Carl N. McDaniel and John M. Gowdy.</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unity of Heart: Culture and Change in a Polynesian Atoll Society, By Keith Chambers and Anne Chambers.</strong></td>
<td>Eugene Ogan</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fiji Before the Storm: Elections and the Politics of Development.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Brij V. Lal.</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Confronting Fiji Futures.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Haroon Akram-Lodhi.</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contemporary Aboriginal Art:</strong></td>
<td>A Guide to the Rebirth of an Ancient Culture. By Susan McCulloch.</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Contributors to this Issue**

Frank Langdon is emeritus professor of political science at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. Recent publications include “Cooperative Security in

**MICHAEL WESLEY** is a Lecturer in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. His recent publications include *Casualties of the New World Order: The Causes of Failure of UN Missions to Civil Wars* (Macmillan, 1997). He is currently completing work on an edited volume, *Institutional Change in Asia Pacific Regional Organisations*.


**GLENN DROVER** is Professor at the School of Social Work, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada. During four of the past six years, he has also been chair and visiting professor of the Department of Applied Social Studies at the City University of Hong Kong. He recently co-edited a book on *Regionalism and Subregionalism in East Asia: The Dynamics of China*, with Graham Johnson and Julia Tao, (Huntington, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers, 2001).

**PROFESSOR YOUNG C. KIM** is Senior Counselor, The Sigur Center for Asian Studies, Washington University, currently serving as Visiting Professor, The Center for Area Studies, Keio University, Tokyo, Japan. His recent publications include *The Southeast Asian Economic Miracle* (editor), (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1995) and *US-North Korean Relations and Japanese Diplomacy*, (Iwanami, Tokyo: Sekai, 1999).
China’s Two-Korea Policy at Trial: The Hwang Chang Yop Crisis  
Chae-Jin Lee and Stephanie Hsieh 321

So What if It’s Not a Gamble?: Post-Westphalian Politics in Macau  
Susan J. Henders 342

50 Years from San Francisco: Re-examining the Peace Treaty and Japan’s Territorial Problems  
Kimie Hara 361

E.H. Norman, Canada and Japan’s Postwar Constitution  
John Price 383

Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 316-319) 407
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.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

STATES AND SOVEREIGNTY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.
Edited by David A. Smith, Dorothy J. Solinger and Steven C. Topik. Pitman B. Potter 407

THE ARMED FORCES OF RUSSIA IN ASIA.
By Greg Austin and Alexey D. Muraviev. Victor Zatsepine 409

EAST ASIAN STRATEGIC REVIEW 2000.
Edited by Shigekatsu Kondo. Robert E. Bedeski 410

INFORMAL POLITICS IN EAST ASIA.
Edited by Lowell Dittmer, Haruhiro Fukui and Peter N.S. Lee. Joseph Yu-Shek Cheng 412

NEW FRONTIERS:
Imperialism’s New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953.
Edited by Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot. Bill Sewell 413

BEYOND BINARY HISTORIES:
Re-Imagining Eurasia to c. 1830.
Edited by Victor Lieberman. Adam McKeown 415

China and Inner Asia

DETERRENCE AND SECURITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY:
China, Britain, France, and the Enduring Legacy of the Nuclear Revolution.
By Avery Goldstein. Brenda Huang 417

WHERE CHINA MEETS SOUTHEAST ASIA:
Social and Cultural Change in the Border Region.
Edited by Grant Evans, Christopher Hutton and Kuah Khun Eng. Ann Maxwell Hill 418

RURAL LABOUR FLOWS IN CHINA.
Edited by Loraine A. West and Yaohui Zhao. Feng Zhang 420

WOMEN AND PROPERTY IN CHINA, 960-1949.
By Kathryn Bernhardt. Thomas Buoye 422

CHINESE COLLABORATION WITH JAPAN, 1932-1945:
The Limits of Accomodation.
Edited by David P. Barrett and Larry N. Shyu. Norman Smith 423

CHINA AND CHRISTIANITY:
Burdened Past, Hopeful Future.
Edited by Stephen Uhalley, Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu. Douglas R. Reynolds 425

CANTONESE SOCIETY IN A TIME OF CHANGE.
By Goran Aijmer and Virgil K.Y. Ho. Yuen-Fong Woon 426

WEATHERING THE STORM:
Taiwan, its Neighbors, and the Asian Financial Crisis.
Edited by Peter C.Y. Chow and Bates Gill. Kevin G. Cai 428
### Northeast Asia

**Japan and the European Union:**
A Partnership for the Twenty-First Century?
By Julie Gilson.  
**Andrea Boltho**  429

**Power Shuffles and Policy Processes:***
Coalition Government in Japan in the 1990s.
Edited by Hideo Otake.  
**Richard Leitch**  430

**Work and Pay in Japan.***
By Robert A. Hart and Seiichi Kawasaki.  
**Sue Horton**  432

**Comfort Women Speak:***
Testimony by Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military.
Edited by Sangmie Choi Schellstede.  
**Vipan Chandra**  433

**Jews in the Japanese Mind:***
The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype.
By David G. Goodman and Masanori Miyazawa.  
**Rene Goldman**  436

**Adult Manga:**
By Sharon Kinsella.  
**Monika Dix**  438

**Bodies of Memory:**
By Yoshikuni Igarashi.  
**Hiroshi Aoyagi**  440

**Japan’s Past, Japan’s Future:***
One Historian’s Odyssey.
By Ienaga Saburō, Translated and Introduced by Richard H. Minear.  
**David C. Moreton**  441

**Army, Empire and Politics in Meiji Japan:**
The Three Careers of General Katsura Taro.
By Stewart Lone.  
**James L. Huffman**  442

**Abe Kobo:**
An Exploration of His Prose, Drama, and Theatre.
By Timothy Iles.  
**Mark L. Wisniewski**  444

**The Rousing Drum:**
Ritual Practice in a Japanese Community.
By Scott Schnell.  
**Eyal Ben-Ari**  445

### South Asia

**Pakistan 2000.***
By Charles H. Kennedy and Craig Baxter.  
**Haider K. Nizamani**  446

**India’s Maritime Security.***
By Rahul Roy-Chaudhury.  
**James A. Boutilier**  448

**Cérémonies Funéraires et Postfunéraires en Inde:***
La Tradition Derrière les Rites.
By Marcelle Saindon.  
**Gilles Tarabout**  449

### Southeast Asia

**Endangered Peoples of South East & East Asia:***
Struggles to Survive and Thrive.
Edited by Leslie E. Sponsel.  
**E. Paul Durrenberger**  451

**Ho Chi Minh.***
By Pierre Brocheux.  
**Alexander Woodside**  452
THE COMMERCIALIZED CRAFTS OF THAILAND:
Hill Tribes and Lowland Villages.
By Erik Cohen.               Michael C. Howard 453

THE MOST OFFENDING SOUL ALIVE:
Tom Harrisson and His Remarkable Life.
By Judith M. Heinmann.     Terry McGee 456

VOICES OF THE CROCKER RANGE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES SABAH:
Social Narratives of Transition in Tambunan and its Neighbours.
By Wan Zawawi Ibrahim.    Terry McGee 456

CENTRAL-LOCAL RELATIONS IN ASIA-PACIFIC:
Convergence or Divergence?
Edited by Mark Turner.    Teresa Sobieszczyk 458

CIVIL ISLAM:
Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia.
By Robert W. Hefner.     Stewart Sutley 459

THE NAGA AWAKENS:
Growth and Change in Southeast Asia.
Edited by Victor R. Savage, Lily Kong and Warwick Neville.    Terry McGee 460

AUSTRALASIA AND THE PACIFIC REGION

AUSTRALIA IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY:
Continuity and Change.
By David Meredith and Barrie Dyster.    Mark Beeson 461

THE CENTENARY COMPANION TO AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.
Edited by Helen Irving.    Warwick Eather 462

MAINTAINING THE STRATEGIC EDGE:
The Defence of Australia in 2015.
Edited by Desmond Ball.    Dora Alves 464

BELONGING:
Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership.
By Peter Read.    David H. Turner 465

EMPLACED MYTH:
Space, Narrative, and Knowledge in Aboriginal Australia and Papua New Guinea.
Edited by Alan Rumsey and James F. Weiner.    Roger Ivar Lohmann 466

GOVERNANCE IN SAMOA.
Edited by Elise Huffer and Asofou So’o.    Penelope Schoeffel 468

THE TYPHOON OF WAR:
Micronesian Experiences in the Pacific War.
By Lynn Poyer, Suzanne Falgout and Laurence Marshall Carucci.    Karla Saari Kitalong 469

EXILE TO PARADISE:
Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790-1900.
By Alice Bullard.    Miriam Kahn 471

LEPER PRIEST OF MOLOKA’I:
The Father Damien Story.
By Richard Stewart.    Earl Neller 472

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS IN AUSTRALIA:
Which Way Out?
Edited by Stephen Bell.    Philip Courtenay 473
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Chae-Jin Lee is Bank America Professor of Pacific Basin Studies and Director of the Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, California. He has edited or co-edited North Korea After Kim Il Sung (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998), Patterns of Inter-Korean Relations (Seoul: Sejong Institute, 1999), and The Changing Asian-Pacific Region (Claremont, CA: The Keck Center, 2001).

Stephanie Hsieh served as a research assistant at the Keck Center, (1999–2000); she now studies at the Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, California.

Susan J. Henders is Assistant Professor, Political Science at York University, Toronto, Canada.

Kimie Hara is an Associate Professor at the University of Calgary, and is the author of Japanese-Soviet/Russian Relations Since 1945: A Difficult Peace (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

John Price teaches Japanese and Asian history at the University of Victoria, Canada. He is the author of Japan Works: Power and Paradox in Postwar Industrial Relations (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1997). His current research focuses on Canada, Japan and the Cold War in Asia.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parochial Universalism, Democracy <em>jihad</em>, and the Orientalist Image of Burma: The New Evangelism</td>
<td>Michael Aung-Thwin</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Already Sovereign as a People”; A Foundational Moment in West Papuan Nationalism</td>
<td>David Webster</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Group Recruitment in the Indian Army: The Contrasting Cases of Sikhs, Muslims, Gurkhas and Others</td>
<td>Omar Khalidi</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towards a More Federalized Parliamentary System in India: Explaining Functional Change</td>
<td>Mahendra P. Singh</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir Conflict: Secessionist Movement, Mobilization and Political Institutions</td>
<td>Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 480)</td>
<td></td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index to Volume 74 (2001)</td>
<td></td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

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.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

THE ASIA-PACIFIC IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM: Geopolitics, Security and Foreign Policy. Edited by Shalendra D. Sharma. Robert E. Bedeski 579


FINANCIAL INTEGRATION IN EAST ASIA. By Gordon de Brouwer. Eiji Fujii 582

ASIAN NATIONALISM: China, Taiwan, Japan, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines. Edited by Michael Leifer. Prasenjit Duara 583

China and Inner Asia

MONGOLIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: Landlocked Cosmopolitan. Edited by Stephen Kotkin and Bruce A. Elleman. Uradyn E. Bulag 585


POWER, MONEY, AND MEDIA: Communication Patterns and Bureaucratic Control in Cultural China. Edited by Chin-Chuan Lee. Tina Chen 589


MODEL REBELS: The Rise and Fall of China’s Richest Village. By Bruce Gilley. Michelle Mood 592

MAO ZEDONG, ZHOU ENLAI AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP. By Thomas Kampen. Gregor Benton 594


OPIUM REGIMES: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952. Edited by Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi. John E. Wills, Jr. 599

Northeast Asia


GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN. Edited by J.S. Eades, Tom Gill and Harumi Befu. David W. Edgington 603
By Mikiso Hane. John S. Brownlee 604

JAPAN AFTER THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE:
In Search of New Directions. Edited by Paul Bowles and Lawrence T. Woods. Wesley Sasaki-Uemura 605

RISING SUNS, RISING DAUGHTERS: Gender, Class and Power in Japan. By Joanna Liddle and Sachiko Nakajima. E. Patricia Tsurumi 607


South Asia


UNITED THEY SURVIVE: Redistribution, Leadership and Human Services Delivery in Rural Bangladesh. By Showkat H. Khan. Ahmed Shafiqul Huque 615

Southeast Asia


CULTURE AND POWER IN TRADITIONAL SIAMESE GOVERNMENT. By Neil A. Englehart. Kullada Kesboonchoo-Mead 619


RAIDING, TRADING AND FEASTING: The Political Economy Of Philippine Chiefdoms. By Laura Lee Junker. Deirdre McKay 622


Australasia and the Pacific Region


A HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND THE PACIFIC. By Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein-Smith And Marivic Wyndham. Cyril Belshaw 629
A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, VOLUMES I & II.
By George Forster, edited by Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MICHAEL AUNG-THWIN is professor of Asian Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, specializing in early Burma and Southeast Asia. His latest book, *Myth and History in the Historiography of Early Burma: Paradigms, Primary Sources, and Prejudices* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1998), was one of Choice’s List of Outstanding Academic Books of the Year. He also co-edited, with Miriam Stark, *The Archaeology of Myanma Pyay (Burma): Special Burma Issue* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), and currently he is writing two books entitled *The Kingdom of Ava: 1364-1527* and *The Legend That Was Lower Burma*.

OMAR KHALIDI is an independent scholar at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is the author of *Indian Muslims Since Independence*, published in 1996 by Vikas, New Delhi. He may be reached at <okhalidi@mit.edu>

MAHENDRAH P. SINGH is a professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Delhi, India. His most recent publication, with co-author Rekha Saxena, is *India at Poles: Parliamentary Elections in Federal Phase* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, forthcoming in early 2002). He can be contacted at <mahendraps@hotmail.com>

DAVID WEBSTER is a doctoral student in the Department of History at the University of British Columbia. He is co-editor, with Leslie Butt, of a special issue on West Papua of the journal *Tok Blong Pasifik*, Vol. 55, #2 (October 2001) He can be reached at <davidweb@interchange.ubc.ca>