

# **Community Building in Asia Pacific**











## Foreword

“Dialogue in Okinawa,” which took place in Naha, Okinawa, on March 25–26, 2000, was the fourth forum of the Asia Pacific Agenda Project (APAP)—a consortium of policy research institutions in the Asia Pacific region—and it presented a unique occasion for dialogue between leading

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Japan, meanwhile, in the belief that “a friend in need is a friend indeed,” has provided assistance through the new Miyazawa Initiative. This is because we recognize how interdependent our relations with other Asian nations have become. In addition to Japan’s contribution, I believe that the resilience demonstrated by Asia’s steady recovery owes a great deal to individual countries’ efforts to improve

operation and solidarity.

I am convinced that, as part of the world system of the 21st century, the Asia Pacific region will gradually



*Prime Minister Obuchi  
addresses the gathering.*

## Summary of Presentations

### Takara Kurayoshi

Takara Kurayoshi, professor at the University of the Ryukyus in Okinawa, Japan, spoke first. He highlighted points from the proposal he and two colleagues from the University of the Ryukyus, Oshiro Tsuneo and Maeshiro Morisada, had compiled on Okinawa's place in Asia Pacific.

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Jesus P. Estanislao

The next speaker was Jesus P. Estanislao, university professor at the Uni-



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be strengthened to deal with environmental, labor, and other such con-



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regional cooperation. He felt that there were three types of regional coop-





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*Dialogue with Prime Minister Obuchi*

promoting the idea of an Asia Pacific community over the previous decade and then moving discussions to the delicate but important topic of

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the process through which its report had been produced. Commission

## *Dialogue with Prime Minister Obuchi*

about relations between Okinawa and the rest of Japan, and between Japan and the United States about the U.S. bases in Okinawa.

The second crisis in bilateral relations occurred in the early 1990s when the first Clinton administration was extremely aggressive toward Japan. This stimulated an antipathy toward the United States among Japanese and a longing to return to Asia. After 1995, economic friction between Japan and the United States subsided. This second crisis was overcome





**Toward an “Okinawa Initiative”—  
A Possible Role for Okinawa in Asia Pacific**

**Takara Kurayoshi**

*Professor of History  
University of the Ryukyus*

**Oshiro Tsuneo**

*Professor of Economics  
University of the Ryukyus*

**Maeshiro Morisada**

*Professor of Economics  
University of the Ryukyus*





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*Toward an "Okinawa Initiative"*

As a result of having experienced these hellish battlefield conditions, the people of Okinawa developed a strong, deep-seated hatred of war and a desire for peace.

*Rule by the American Administration.*

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treaty in effect, and the bases in Okinawa were redefined as fulfilling an essential function under this treaty. That is, “military base Okinawa” was

*Toward an “Okinawa Initiative”*

*Universalizing our Self-Definition.* We should equip ourselves with the firm recognition that the regional sentiment grounded in our historical

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Therefore, the initial point of divergence is the question of how to think of the Japan-U.S. alliance. The three of us take the position that the role of the Japan-U.S. alliance in providing security is a positive one for Asia Pacific and for the international community in general. As long as the



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*Okinawa as a Base for Intellectual Exchange.*





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### A Broader Perspective

One way to approach criticisms of ASEAN and APEC is to look at the

For instance, under the impetus of its finance ministers, ASEAN has set



on their agenda. In the case of APEC, having the finance ministers meet before the leaders and thus prepare for the leaders' meeting could help ensure that—as in ASEAN—the heads of state/government speak to in-



# Asia Pacific Trade Arrangements in the New Millennium

Hadi Soesastro

*Executive Director*

*Centre for Strategic and International Studies*

This chapter addresses of the straightforward question of whether or not regional trade structures contribute to community building in Asia Pacific. Particularly, it examines whether recently proposed bilateral or multi-

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stages of economic development among countries of the region, as well as uncertainties about the international trading system. Countries that are rather similar seek to join hands in order to strengthen their position in the global eco 3(oaa331O)560(.32( 1e)9( 3( vp)-3(i 3(ews o)8(f)27(s unec)6rp)-3(eo-4(gp)8(nized( thene(e)1)0d 3( tm)53(o)0(mtaintaicansbo



*Asia Pacific Trade Arrangements in the New Millennium*

Challenged by NAFTA's formation, among other things, in the early 1990s members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

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discrimination that could generate important economic costs to nonmembers of the groupings and new sources of divisiveness. In the longer run, they could create new entrenched interests that would resist broader regional liberalization.

## *Asia Pacific Trade Arrangements in the New Millennium*

This brief review of developments in the 1990s shows that regional efforts have been made to form FTAs which bring together developed and developing countries. Success in doing so would help promote community building in Asia Pacific. There is am

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could not refuse to entertain Singapore's approaches to develop a Singapore-Japan FTA.

Singapore may have felt that it was only logical to approach Japan as its initiative with New Zealand may not achieve its purpose and as Japan seems to have changed its policy. Thus Japan could be drawn into a set of

*Asia Pacific Trade Arrangements in the New Millennium*

should be dealt with in its own right through international organizations

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had to be reduced to a maximum of 20 percent in 1998 and will have to be

## Comparing the Options

There are many routes to developing an East Asian institutional identity. One route—which is currently being taken—is the pragmatic, develop-as-you-go approach. There is nothing dramatic in this approach; it is fa-

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an East Asian Union, or EAU, the French word for water, that refreshing and essential commodity in life?



# **Fires and Haze in Southeast Asia: Challenges to Regional Cooperation in ASEAN and Asia Pacific**

Simon Tay

*Chairman*

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How do these ideas apply to Southeast Asia or the wider Asia Pacific? Most studies of the environment in the region point to the deleterious and harmful effects on the biophysical level.<sup>2</sup>







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## *Fires and Haze in Southeast Asia*

noninterference in the domestic affairs of member states; for nonbinding plans, instead of treaties;<sup>17</sup> and for central institutions with relatively little independent initiative or resources. Although well meaning, ASEAN co-

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for such transfers within ASEAN. The agreement was overambitious, too idealistic, and perhaps ignorant of ASEAN norms and institutional practices.

Yet this does not mean that environmental cooperation within ASEAN can only follow the ASEAN way to be effective. An examination of ASEAN's response to the Indonesian fires and resulting haze pollution in the region provides suggestions for how the ASEAN way can be helped to evolve to increase its effectiveness.

### ASEAN and the Indonesian Fires<sup>20</sup>

In 1997 and early 1998, Southeast Asia endured fires and smoke haze of great human and environmental consequence. Although the fires were centered in the Indonesian provinces of Kalimantan and Sumatra, the



*Fires and Haze in Southeast Asia*

Faced with Indonesian inaction, the regional haze problem became the

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steps envisaged were actually taken. Indeed, the outbreak of fires in 1997



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## *Fires and Haze in Southeast Asia*

*Official Recognition of Cost.* All the states involved should acknowledge the human, economic, and other costs of the fires and haze. Acceptance of the seriousness of the harm increases the prospect of cooperation and, conversely, the relative insignificance of the problem lowers those prospects.

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be connected to environmental concerns.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, a link to economics would help prioritize the environment by helping ASEAN countries take steps toward sustainable development. Linking the environment and economics among ASEAN members could be positive and cooperative, suggesting an emphasis on “carrots” rather than “sticks.”

None of these suggestions would require a binding treaty on fires to be

*Fires and Haze in Southeast Asia*

countries imposing their own unilateral standards as each country is held to do to others what it is supposed to do domestically.<sup>40</sup>

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*Fires and Haze in Southeast Asia*

assist Indonesia's economic recovery, helping conserve nature, and  
prevent the peat-3(r)-210(d)0(p)6(r)17(oble)6(ms w)-23(ith haz)14(e.)JTJ0.949 -1.234 T

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## ASEAN Policy on East Timor

In line with the self-inhibiting principles of interstate conduct embodied

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responsibility, including for the military and the police, to keep law, order,

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U.S. President Bill Clinton and Australian Prime Minister John Howard

Cambodia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand offered to send peacekeepers.<sup>7</sup>

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On the issue of setting up an international inquiry into atrocities in East Timor, ASEAN member states once again stood solidly behind the principle of nonintervention in another state's domestic affairs. When

international action prior to securing Indonesia's consent. Meanwhile, the slaughter of East Timorese continued unabated. By the time Indonesia agreed, serious damage had already been done.

Asian countries in APEC were careful to distinguish between international action in East Timor and in Kosovo. In the former, Indonesia did consent to international action, thereby easing the difficulties ASEAN and other Asia Pacific countries were having with intervening in another state's

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# **Regionalism in Asia Pacific**

**Jusuf Wanandi**

*Member, Board of Directors*



## *Regionalism in Asia Pacific*

certain tensions still exist among its members (e.g. between Thailand and Burma along their border), full-fledged conflict is unlikely to develop between ASEAN members in the future.

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members of its societies. But ASEAN has had difficulty in moving from its original idea toward closer and deeper cooperation.

is developing a “Pacific community” that will include cooperation on

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These proposals, most of which are being studied, are meant as a political



governments established and control is unlikely to produce really fresh thinking. Track two groups should undertake this task.

## Conclusion

Developing more mature regional institutions is still beginning in Asia Pacific. ASEAN particularly now has to decide how it wants to further develop regional cooperation. Its new phase will likely see the establishment of other principles, rules, and institutions, and it should involve societies—not only states—in cooperation activities.

A key challenge for ASEAN will be where it takes the East Asian consultative process that it has begun. Many factors provide strong incentives for countries in East Asia to come together. The recent financial crisis has created pressures for East Asians to overlook historical burdens and do something real together. The region has become too dependent for resolution of regional problems on global institutions that are more or less dependent on the United States and the EU. If these global institutions do not adequately represent East Asian perspectives, East Asians will have to act together to get their views and policies recognized and considered.

A regional institution is critically important for East Asia so that it will





**Track Two Dialogues: Getting from Security  
Cooperation to Security Community**

**Paul Evans**

*Professor, Institute of Asian Research University of British Columbia*

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vehicles for dealing with functional problems (e.g. public health, control-

*Track Two Dialogues*

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Much more frequently track-two activities have taken the form of dialogues that involve people from two, threeia-



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very pleased with the work done by CSCAP on preventive diplomacy issues.

But it would be unwise to disregard the mounting level of criticism of these dialogues especially the longer-term programs such as CSCAP. One

## Three Challenges for Track Two

*Defining Human Security.* Not all of the dialogue channels were comfortable with the ideas of cooperative and comprehensive security as developed in the early 1990s. But those that were, and this was probably a majority, were drawn into such conventional threats that national security, environmental degradation,

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*Track Two Dialogues*

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# Appendix 1. Agenda

**Saturday, March 25, 2000**

9:15–12:00      **Session I: Place of Okinawa in Asia Pacific**

Presentations:

Takara Kurayoshi, *Professor, University of the Ryukyus, Japan*

Oshiro Tsuneo, *Professor, University of the Ryukyus, Japan*

Maeshiro Morisada, *Professor, University of the Ryukyus,  
Japan*

15:00–18:00      **Session II: Future of Asia Pacific Community Building—  
Regional Cooperation Overview**

Presentations:

Han Sung-Joo,



