Transnational Coalitions in Northeast Asia: Search for a New Pathway of Japanese Local Government

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In the heyday of the Cold War, local communities in Northeast Asia were ideologically and militarily divided across national borders. Yet the break-up of the Soviet Union fundamentally altered the strategic landscape of Northeast Asia. The old ideological and military divide began to be replaced by new forces such as political decentralisation and regionalism in which local actors were increasingly involved. Japanese local government that had been strategically handcuffed now looked for its new partners beyond the old network across national boundaries. This project is about the role of Japanese local government in transnational relations.

The study provides a better understanding of new security issues by illustrating a potential role of local government in partnership with the emergence of private transnational interests and identities in civil society. It argues that local government's partnership with private transnational coalitions and networks could help pluralize diplomatic channels and even redefine self-interested state behavior by altering the relationship between states and citizens. It also acknowledges that such a transnational social movement based on diverse coalitions does not automatically ensure democracy and that the establishment

of democracy requires human endeavor. This study's central claim is that the possible source of cohesion among these diverse transnational forces lies in the peculiar role of local government.

East Asia is a region that usually is seen as being quite "Realist." Japanese local government is the most regulated in the world and thus traditionally seen as weak. But Japanese local government spending on transnational networking quadrupled from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, resulting in a rapid increase in transnational activities. Why is Japanese local government able to do so in a setting of institutional centralization? This study also has wider implications for power shifts to a change in the structure of the global community. By understanding the reasons why local communities shape collective life that are not confined to the territorial spaces of states, the emerging world order will be brought into sharper focus.

Globalization, Islam, and Modernity

Mustapha Kamal PASHA

Orientalist constructions of Islam and the totalizing logic of neoliberal globalization take the resurgence of Islam in the political and personal spheres of Muslim social life as basically an antimodern phenomenon. These accounts reduce cultural processes in Islamic societies to a revolt against the West or challenges to a universal civilization. Assuming a basic cleavage between a globalizing project and forms of politics that are encoded in a religious idiom, these perspectives reproduce an irreconcilable breach

between universalistic claims of the rise of a global society and particularistic forms of political and cultural expression. Suppressed in these accounts is the possibility that social processes in Islamic Cultural Zones (ICZs) are not simply about transitions to (Western) modernity but the workings of complex inner dynamics now complicated by globalization. With this leaning, the purpose of this paper is to recognize the current phase of Islamism (or the increasing assertion of Islamic idiom into political practice) as both an articulation of internal processes in ICZs and as a constitutive element of neoliberal globalization, not simply a reaction to its predatory instincts.

Drawing a conceptual distinction between modernity and modernization, I see religious resurgence is an inversion of modernization, from previously state-directed social engineering to a project of social transformation within civil society. Resurgence is not a rejection of modernity, but an inversion of its statist (and previously secular) character. The rise of the middle classes and the consolidation of the mass media are two principal elements linking religious resurgence to civil society. These elements have to be situated within the context of cultural divisions and declining state capacity, giving civil society a new prominence. Hence, religious resurgence is a dynamic process, historically and structurally embedded in the shifting relation between state and civil society.

As ideal types, two modes of civil society, one autonomous and stable, the other subordinate and unstable become recognizable in terms of a distinction between modernity and modernization. The first mode suggests that the institutional dimensions of modernity are more widely dispersed within civil society as well as the

state. In the second instance, modernity can only assume the character of a statist project, hence modernization. The relatively subordinate role assigned to civil society in realizing the aims of modernization in relation to the colonial/ postcolonial state places into focus the "derivative" character of modernity as well as the growing divergence of civil society projects (including religious resurgence) from the state. However, with the postcolonial state under immense stress, civil society may now be in a position to extend its own projects, reshape the state in its own image, invert modernization.

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Political Economy of Currency Union (in East Asia)

PARK Sung-Hoon

A Model to the Comprehension of the U.S.-Cuban Relations at the Present Time

Esteban M. MORALES DOMÍNGUEZ

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Public remembrance and coping with war experience: Southern Africa and beyond

Reinhart KÖSSLER

The intended contribution is to take as its starting point a research project I hope to conduct in Namibia from early next year.

During the 1990s, at various times long-term

wars linked to the struggle against forms of racist minority rule in the three countries of the southern African region specifically marked by experiences of settler colonialism — South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe — have been terminated. Without a doubt, these wars entailed traumatic experiences for individuals and communities exposed, not only to actual direct fighting by all sides involved, but also to police and army repression, as well as to certain mobilization techniques employed by liberation armies. Further, particularly township struggles amounted to what was experienced as all-out war in South Africa. A specific problem is constituted further by grave human rights violations committed not only by the incumbent powers but by the liberation movements, particularly in their camps in exile, as well.

Against this backdrop, I would like to highlight briefly the diverse official remembrance strategies pursued by governments and other constitutional bodies in the three countries mentioned. This pertains in particular to the issue of public scrutiny, in the form of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, on the one hand and of blanket amnesty, linked to an official approach of hero worship related to the liberation war, in the two other countries. As has been shown specifically by recent research in Zimbabwe, this is by no means unopposed. The intended research in Namibia, a case marked by far less open conflict so far, will place one main focus on another aspect, namely initiatives, most often in the form of annual events, emanating above all from traditional communities. There exist certain tensions between such initiatives and state-sponsored remembrance, and again, the complex may be considered as an important

factor in the on-going process of both forging a national identity and reproducing subnational collective identities. The controversial aspect of this process comes to light in particular when looking at a further dimension, namely the festering issue of human rights violations committed under the auspices of SWAPO, the present ruling party with a 75% majority, during the 1970s and 1980s.

This last consideration will open the view to wider problems of coping with and commemorating the past in its more somber aspects of state-sponsored crimes against human rights and against humanity, obviously related specifically to the experience of my native country, Germany. This leads up to addressing once more, from a changed perspective, the issues of amnesty vs. amnesia, and of the relationship between remembrance efforts and the forging of public mythologies that may be considered as constitutive of collective identities, related to any modern nation state.

What can we learn from regionalisation in Africa?

Daniel C. BACH

Africa illustrates in an exacerbated manner the heuristic value of operating a distinction between *regionalism* as a project and *regionalisation* as a process. Whereas these two notions tend to converge within the EU or NAFTA core regions, this is not the case in Africa. Regionalism refers specifically to the idea, to the ideology, to the policies and goals that seek to transform a geographical area into a clearly identified social space. Regionalism also relates to the construction of an identity and carries as a result a

strong cognitive component. It postulates the implementation of a program and the definition of a strategy and therefore is generally assimilated to formal arrangements and institution building. Regionalization is a more encompassing notion which takes into account processes and configurations where states are frequently not key players. Regionalization may or may not correlate with the implementation of regionalist strategies; for states it may translate into processes of integration as much as it may convey loss of territorial control and the promotion of alternative trans-frontier spaces. Regionalization can grow irrespective of state policies, and even at times, in opposition to their stated purpose as Africa illustrates.

In Africa, the wave of 'new' regionalisms has meant changing mandates and priorities assigned to all major regional organizations in the early 1990s. If one excepts the case of South Africa within the Southern African region, this has only signaled symbolic progress towards regional *integration* (emphasis mine). Yet, regionalization is at work in Africa, and contributes to a reconfiguration of state-society interactions.

Regionalization in Africa proceeds largely through patterns of trans-state interaction. This notion accords for the combination of *trans*-national interactions across boundaries, with a capacity to manipulate inter-*state* relations and state policies through the treatment of public functions as opportunities for private enrichment and accumulation. Three patterns of trans-state regionalization may be identified in Africa: (a) regionalization through the conversion of tariff barriers into opportunities; (a) regionalization through the formation of cognitive spaces; (c) regionalization through the

instrumentalization of violence and insecurity.

Unlike what is all too often assumed due to the experience of the European Union, regionalization, however, does not necessarily mean the emergence of common policies or dismantlement of tariff and trade barriers; nor does it necessarily involve the promotion of peace and security. Regionalization can also proceed from different patterns of conceptualization of spaces, on the basis of cognitive networks: in such cases, social bonds, religious or blood ties prevail over territoriality and citizenship in the definition of regional spaces.

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Economic Liberalization in India and Indo-Japanese Relations

K. V. KESAVAN

The end of the cold war coincided with the introduction of wide-ranging economic liberalization measures in India. The Indian economy, which had operated within a narrow framework thanks to the rigid socialist philosophy, started opening up from 1991. Since then numerous measures have been adopted to remove unnecessary restrictions on the role of private enterprise in India. Similarly, for too long a time, India had pursued an economic strategy based on import substitution. But now, export-led growth has become a major thrust of India's strategy. As a result of these economic reforms, India's manufacturing industries have witnessed dramatic growth leading to the accumulation of huge foreign exchange resources. India's strides in the IT sector have been phenomenal owing to the initiatives of the private enterprise. A major policy to encourage

foreign investment has been in effect since 1991 and important fields, which were earlier closed to foreign investors like mining, oil exploration, transport, telecommunication, etc, are now open to them. It is easy for foreign investors to get 51 per cent equity in a wide range of priority areas. In some cases they can even get 100 per cent equity. Procedures for approving foreign investments have been simplified. In other words, liberalization measures have created a very favourable environment for foreign investment.

To what extent has Japan taken advantage of the prevailing favourable economic climate in India? While Japan's evaluation of India's economic prospects has been positive, it has still not tapped India's potential fully. Whereas other countries like the US and UK have gone far ahead in strengthening their economic ties, Japan is still rather wavering in its approach. To be sure, Japan was one of the earliest countries to invest in India even during the 1960s. Many of the economic surveys done by the Japanese firms have considered India as a very attractive investment destination both in the medium and long-term perspectives. Yet, for a variety of reasons, Japanese investments have not grown in a appreciable manner. The time has come for both countries to seriously examine their relations in terms of building a long-term partnership that can contribute to the stability of Asia.