

state tensions, uncertainties, and anxieties that emerged during the immediate post-Cold War period. Acharya points out that despite the region's strong tendency to become a realm of Mars, multilateralism is expanding in Southeast Asia and is making some limited but substantive headway into the entire region (pp. 2–3). Finally, he observes and maintains that the Asian states are capable of developing their own form of multilateral institutions and processes that will enable them to localize universal principles of multilateralism via the “Asia-Pacific Way” (pp. 243–44). Such a development would validate the constructivist position that anarchy is what states make of it and that the realist logic simply does not hold water in all situations.

Recent events in East Asia, however, again point to the region's possible detour from the liberal path to the realist direction. China's rapid economic growth and arms modernization, its tense relations with Taiwan, Japan and the United States, the growing rivalry between Japan and China over the East China Sea, Japan's efforts to assume a greater security role in the region, and the emerging geo-economic competition between the United States and China in Southeast Asia foreshadow a back-to-the-future (realist) scenario for the region. It is still early to predict how these developments will alter the regional security landscape. Perhaps multilateralism will enable East Asian states to mitigate these adverse trends and to effect changes in regional politics without resort to war. If this will be the case, then Acharya's prognosis that multilateralism will ensure that “East Asia's future will not be Europe's past” is prescient.

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***Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region.* Edited by T.J. Pempel. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005. Softcover: 315pp.**

This volume, in the words of the editor's excellent introduction, addresses an “overarching ambiguity [which] characterizes East Asia”. The region has more than a century of “... internal divisiveness, war, and conflict”, and “several nettlesome territorial disputes”. It is observed that the region is not as integrated as Western Europe, the

Gulf States, Central America and the southern cone of Latin America (though the comparison with the latter does depend on which integration indicators are employed). East Asian nations are often better connected across the Pacific than they are with each other. Nevertheless, “despite the overwhelming structural impediments to integration”, East Asia is becoming increasingly “interdependent, connected and cohesive”. Hence the authors are concerned with the “remapping” of East Asia, not in the sense of defining its outer boundaries, but rather with the “additional lines of cooperation” across the region. There are three principal drivers of this process — governments, corporations and “ad hoc problem-oriented bodies” — from two interrelated directions, regionalism and regionalization.

Organizationally, there are three main sections in the book. The first looks at regionalism in comparative perspective and features chapters on East Asian regional institutions (by Etel Solingen) and its demographic futures (by Geoffrey McNicoll). Next, two drivers of integration are analysed. The chapters on states look at the decline of the Japan-led model in the region (Andrew MacIntyre and Barry Naughton), and Japan and regional cooperation (Keiichi Tsunekawa). The chapters on corporations examine Japanese and Southeast Asian production and business networks (Dennis Tachiki and Natasha Hamilton-Hart respectively). Finally, section three investigates the three I’s in regional linkages: institutions, interests and identities, with chapters by Paul Evans (policy networks), environmental regionalism (Laura Campbell) and terrorism (David Leheny). The editor sums up with an extensive, forward-looking conclusion.

In such a diverse and rich collection of papers, it is impossible to do justice to all the contributions. In this review, I will single out three which caught this reviewer’s eye. Geoffrey McNicoll provides a typically stimulating and broad-ranging assessment of demographic issues. He reminds us that economic and demographic relativities within a region do matter. “A region in which a single state has uncontested dominance would seem to have much less need for laborious development of a regional architecture”. For example, the major power can set the rules for cooperation; a benign one can provide regional public goods, such as security guarantees for smaller states. In this respect, the East Asian relativities are mixed. Its demographics resemble South Asia. Its second most populous state, Indonesia, has 17 per cent of China’s population, while Pakistan has 14 per cent of India’s. However, its economics are somewhere between Europe and the Americas: second-placed Japan is 63 per cent of China’s (France, Europe’s number two, is 79 per cent of Germany), but the number threes, Indonesia and Korea, are just 15 per cent of China. A second demographic challenge is what the author

terms “youth bulges and old-age dependency”, and the extent to which migration will be permitted to build a bridge between them.

Of course, the intra-East Asian growth dynamics are changing, an issue examined with reference to the three most populous states by McIntyre and Naughton. The authors identify two sub-periods in the recent past. First, “Japan-led” through to 1994, featuring economic growth and falling barriers to commerce practically throughout the region. The period since, coinciding with Japan’s prolonged stagnation, the Asian economic crisis, and the rise of China, has been characterized by unstable economic hierarchies and relations. During the latter period, moreover, Japan could no longer aspire to regional trade and investment leadership, while from 1997 Indonesia became preoccupied with its domestic crises. Related to these events, the APEC process began to falter and run out of steam.

Looking forward, the authors argue — plausibly, in this reviewer’s opinion — that East Asian economic cooperation is likely to remain in flux and uncertain. The Japanese role is likely to be fluid, while China’s leadership capacity is essentially untested. APEC may no longer be the principal vehicle for regional cooperation, but there is no guarantee that the “ASEAN + 3” formula is a ready substitute. Not surprisingly, intra-regional cooperation on trade liberalization, exchange rate and monetary coordination, migration and much else is moving slowly.

Complementing these approaches, Natasha Hamilton-Hart investigates in considerable detail a sub-set of intra-East Asian interdependence, namely the regionalization of business networks in Southeast Asia. She nicely combines case studies, anecdotal information and business statistics to develop some sketches of firms in the region. One such example is the Widjaja family, and its ill-fated Asia Pulp and Paper venture, until 2001 listed on the NYSE. Another is the Riady family’s LIPPO group, whose business model in Asia and the United States has displayed considerable adaptability. A third and very different case study focuses on the huge Singapore investments abroad in recent years. The author draws attention to their checkered financial performance, and concludes frankly that “[d]espite being made up mostly of ethnic Chinese, Singaporean companies apparently do not naturally have the skills to operate in the region”. Summing up, the author concludes that there is no uniform set of “Asian” business practices; that the networks have been primarily private and informal, but that governments have facilitated the process; and that the development of these regional networks is consistent with broader extra-regional commercial arrangements.

The volume is primarily intended for students of international relations and political science. There is one economist in the volume

(Barry Naughton), and it is not a criticism of the volume to state that economists would have asked somewhat different questions. For example, they would have worried more about where some particular forms of integration are likely to head. Specifically, Jagdish Bhagwati's spaghetti bowl is rearing its ugly head all over East Asia, a region which was once avowedly unilateral and multilateral in its trade policy orientation, but is now increasingly being directed down to the dead end of preferential trade deals which are neither free nor fair. An economics perspective would also have accorded greater emphasis to the region's comparatively low trade barriers (certainly compared to all developing region comparators) and the fairly open foreign investment postures. Thus, commercial interdependence can proceed a long way even if inter-governmental relations are occasionally hostile, and the "structural impediments" apparently sizeable.

Perhaps also there could have been some more East Asian voices in the volume, if only as discussants. The authorship is overwhelmingly North American and Japanese, although in fairness all the contributors have a deep immersion in the region. But these are minor quibbles. This is a highly stimulating, topical and coherent volume. It will be required reading for specialists and students of international relations and East Asia. Unfortunately, the editor could not have asked for better publicity to underline a key theme of the volume, as China and Japan, continuing their decade-long rivalry for regional leadership, engaged in an acrimonious diplomatic spat earlier in the year.

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Japan's Role in Asia: Mutual Development or Ruthless Competition.
By Lim Hua Sing. 4th Edition. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 2003. Softcover: 333pp.

As evidenced by the impending "Asian summit", China's "peaceful rise", Japan's ongoing identity crisis relative to becoming a "normal" state and major uncertainties about the Korean peninsula, Asia is clearly entering a landmark period of geopolitical and economic change. Fresh assessments of those forces most affecting this process are now critical to understanding Asia at this historic juncture, particularly assessments that are able to bridge analysis of the region's economic development with scrutiny of the longer-term political trends emanating from it.