Bibliography

ALLEN, George Cyril. 1968.

Japan's Place in Trade Strategy: Larger Role in Pacific Region. 62 pp. London: Atlantic Trade Study, 1968.

Allen is mainly concerned with the advantages and disadvantages for Japan of a regional free trade organization. As background, he briefly sketches Japan's international trade patterns generally, its commercial policy, and its trade relations with the United States, Southeast Asia, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Of particular interest to the current Pacific Community dialogue is Allen's analysis of Kiyoshi Kojima's Pacific Free Trade Area (PAFTA) proposal and Takeo Miki's advocacy of closer Pacific cooperation. Among the impediments to Japan's participation in a PAFTA arrangement, Allen cites strong interests opposing agricultural trade liberalization and the freeing of capital movements. He points to the political advantages of maintaining American involvement in the region and undertaking economic and political support for developing countries in the region in an international framework. Allen concludes that Japan could not politically take the initiative for pressing for a free trade area, but that it will continue to give active support to regional economic cooperation for both economic and political reasons.

ARIYOSHI, George R. 1980.

"Hawaii's Role in the Pacific Community." Paper delivered as part of the Pacific Community Lecture Series at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 1980. Mimeo. 11 pp.

Hawaii's governor puts forward the case for increased Pacific cooperation in humanistic terms. Noting that the "Age of the Pacific" has dawned, he comments that the United States has for too long been preoccupied with its trans-Atlantic connections. Ariyoshi points to factors inhibiting greater cohesion, such as: size and distance; language differences; power and influence and who would exercise it in any organization; the membership question and the philosophy attached to any Pacific-wide endeavor. One factor that has brought nations in the region together has been economic issues: "money, profit and entrepreneurship." While this is not an intrinsically bad motive, in the author's view, it should not be an end in itself. Trade must be accompanied by a social philosophy. Ariyoshi advocates the setting up of a Pacific Community Advisory Committee to examine the issues. He maintains that Hawaii is the perfect site for a regional organization.

AUSTIN, R.W.L. 1979.

"An Australian View of the Pacific Basin." *La Communidad del Pacifico en Perspectiva*, edited by Francisco Orrego Vicuna and Gloria Echeverria Duco. Estudios Internacionales, vol. 2, pp. 78–88. Santiago de Chile: Editorial universitaria, 1979.

This paper attempts to give a broad overview of Australia's interest in the Asia-Pacific region and examines progress toward establishment of a Pacific Community organization. The author argues that since the American withdrawal from the region in 1975, Australia has had to stand alone and search for its own place in the region. At the present, its position appears at best ambivalent. The economic dynamism of the Asia-Pacific area is examined and efforts to promote a Pacific cooperative organization discussed. The paper concludes that industrial structural adjustments in the region will be necessary and that change in the Basin is inevitable.

BORTHWICK, Mark. 1981.

"U.S. Governmental Responses to the Pacific Community Idea." Paper presented at the International Studies Association 22nd Annual Convention, Philadelphia, March 1981. Mimeo. 14 pp.

After a brief overview of the development of the concept, Borthwick examines the interest displayed by the administration, the House of Representatives and the Senate in the idea of Pacific cooperation. Emphasis is laid on the activities of one "prime mover" in each House, namely, ex-Congressman Lester Wolff in the House, and Senator John Glenn in the Senate. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the paper is the concluding section, where Borthwick provides some informed speculation on the attitude of the Reagan administration to the Pacific Community concept. He believes that the emphasis by the Reagan administration on security in the international setting is unlikely to advance or detract from the potential American contribution to the debate.

CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Jakarta, ed. 1980.

Asia-Pacific in the 1980s: Toward Greater Symmetry in Economic Interdependence. 178 pp. Jakarta: CSIS, 1980.

These papers and the report, contained in a separate booklet, were the result of the CSIS conference held at Bali in January 1980. In the main, the papers are concerned with economic interdependence in the Asia-Pacific region and with suggesting better ways in which this interdependence might be managed. Discussion of the Pacific Community concept is implicit in all of the papers and explicit in quite a few. Contributions by H. Edward English, Goh Chok Tong, Robert Keatley, Mahathir bin Mohamad, William V. Roth, Jr., and Lester L. Wolff are separately summarized in this bibliography. The separate report contains rapporteurs' reports on each conference session.

CHIA, Siow Yue. 1981.

"ASEAN and the Pacific Economic Community." *Southeast Asian Affairs 1981* (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies), pp. 30–48. Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1981.

Dr. Chia provides an excellent and dispassionate overview of the Pacific Community debate. Among the topics considered are the economic and political rationales for a Pacific Community institution, three Pacific Community proposals (OPTAD, the Pacific

Basin Cooperation Study Group proposal, and the Pacific Cooperation Committee), obstacles to a Pacific Community, and ASEAN interests. On the last point, the author writes that ASEAN reservations do not stem from skepticism about the value of regionalism as such or from "an undue sense of nationalism." Rather ASEAN reservations arise from concern about the compatibility of a new organization and the development of ASEAN and from skepticism about the real benefits of a Pacific Community. She believes that many of the potential benefits to ASEAN could be lost if the Pacific Community institution were purely consultative, but closes by saying that for the present a consultative forum is all the Pacific Community can hope to be.

CONGRESS, U.S. (See U.S. Government, U.S. Congress.)

CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE, Library of Congress. 1979.

An Asian-Pacific Regional Economic Organization: An Exploratory Concept Paper. Prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979. 74 pp.

This small booklet had an important catalytic effect on debate on the Pacific Community concept. It includes a study by Peter Drysdale and Hugh Patrick, entitled "Evaluation of a Proposed Asian-Pacific Regional Economic Organization," which presents the most complete outline to date of the rationale for an intergovernmental "Organization for Pacific Trade and Development" (OPTAD). This study is summarized separately in this bibliography. There is a very brief addendum by Alfred Reifman of the Congressional Research Service expressing a skeptical view of the need for an OPTAD. Reifman points out that the proposed members now participate in ESCAP and argues that a new Pacific organization could run counter to the traditional U.S. "universalist approach" to economic issues. A forward to the booklet by Senator John Glenn, then Chairman of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, calls the Patrick/Drysdale thesis "generally persuasive" and the Reifman arguments unconvincing. The major part of the space of the booklet is taken up by several appendices providing trade and economic statistics on the

region generally and on the U.S. interaction with the region and presenting descriptive summaries of existing Asian and Pacific regional organizations.

CRAWFORD, John. G., Sir. 1980.

"Pacific Community: Dream or Reality." Paper presented as part of the East-West Center Lecture Series, "Building a Pacific Community," Honolulu, 1980, Mimeo. 15 pp.

Sir John Grawford, chairman of the Canberra Pacific community Seminar, presents the outcome of the conference held in Canberra in September 1980 and underlines its achievements and recommendations. Convened at the Australian National University (A.N.U.), pursuant to a request by the australian and Japanese Prime Ministers and funded by the Australian government, the seminar brought together some thirty-six participants from government, academic and business circles from the five OECD nations of the Pacific, the five ASEAN countries, Korea and the Pacific Island nations. Sir John emphasizes that the seminar participants felt that cooperation should not be a zero-sum game; indeed there need not be losers. However, "the need to hasten slowly emerged strongly as a desirable caution." The "next step" decided upon was the setting up of the "Pacific Cooperation Committee" (PCC), an unofficial, private and informal body, which would operate as a standing committee to initiate an exchange of information and to sep up task forces in the areas of trade, investment, energy, marine resources and international services. The author stresses that the idea behind setting up the PCC is to encourage the practice of cooperation, a necessity if any Pacific Community is to be brought to fruition.

CRAWFORD, John, G., Sir. 1981.

"The Pacific Basin Cooperative Concept." Excerpted in *Pacific Economic Cooperation: Suggestions For Action*, edited by Sir John Crawford and Greg Seow, pp. 35–40. Selangor, Malaysia and Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1981.

Sir John maintains that despite the diversities existing among nations of the Pacific Basin, the complementarity of resources and

trade which has contributed to interdependence necessitate the establishment of a Pacific Community organization. Bilateral approaches are insufficient to deal with these relationships and the author argues that the establishment of ASEAN itself is a recognition of this inadequacy. Sir John discusses the form such a new organization might take and focuses on the Commonwealth model and the proposed OPTAD. He rejects the former since political and security issues could too easily be imported into the agenda. OPTAD, however, is favored since it would deal with strictly economic issues. Strategic and economic issues are not so intertwined as to warrant "confusing them" in one body. Aspects of membership and leadership of the organization are discussed.

CRAWFORD, John G. Sir and SEOW, Greg, eds. 1981.

Pacific Economic Cooperation: Suggestions for Action. Selangor, Malaysia and Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1981. 246 pp.

This book contains the proceedings and summary recommendations of the Pacific Community Seminar held in Canberra in September 1980. Convened pursuant to a request by the Japanese and Australian Prime Ministers in January 1980, the seminar was a private, non-governmental symposium which brought together one government representative and two persons from the academic/private sector of the five developed countries of the Pacific Basin—the U.S., Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand—the ASEAN five—Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines—South Korea and the Pacific island states (as a group). Chaired by Sir John Crawford, the seminar was organized along four discussion questions: What are the forces promoting the Pacific Community idea? (comments by Don Brash and Hadi Soesastro) What are the issues for substantive cooperation? (comments by Han Sung-Joo and Lawrence Krause) Which countries are interested to participate and in what form? (comments by Amado Castro and Seizaburo Sato) What steps could be taken? (comments by Snoh Unakul and Eric Trigg). Statements by Thanat Khoman, Sir James Vernon, representing PBEC, and the International Steering Committee of PAFTAD are included. The six page summary report of proceedings and recommendations follows, proposing the setting up of the Pacific Cooperation Committee (PCC) to establish task forces on

specific issues where cooperation could be facilitated. The other 211 pages of this volume are taken up with "readings," that is, excerpts from 34 papers previously published elsewhere.

CROCOMBE, R. G. 1979.

"Bases for Pacific Cooperation: The Islands and the Rim." *La Communidad del Pacifico en Perspectiva*, edited by Francisco Orrego Vicuna and Gloria Echeverria Duco. Estudios Internacionales, vol. 1, pp. 320–30. Santiago de Chile: Editorial universitaria, 1979.

A forthright and well-argued case is presented for Pacific Island states to treat the idea of greater Pacific Island cooperation with the rim nations cautiously. Factors which lead to a case for enhanced cooperation and divisive characteristics are examined. Crocombe argues that the Pacific Island states "want cooperation, they do not want domination . . . the key to future Pacific cooperation of the islands with the rim is going to be to increase by every possible means the coordination of the islands among themselves, and a working set of rules, procedures and processes." It is argued that the often imperceptible drift of the benefits of cooperation to the powerful rim nations needs to be overcome.

CROCOMBE, R. G. 1981.

"The Giants of the Pacific Rim Eye the Pygmies of the Center." *Pacific Islands Monthly*. Vol. 52, no. 4, pp. 11–14.

Presented in a journalistic fashion, this article is concerned with the strategic line-up of superpowers in the Pacific and its implications for the Pacific Island states. Crocombe argues that the U.S. is currently the major influence in the area, having swallowed up all the northern Pacific islands, with America's satellite allies holding sway over a large proportion of other Pacific islands. In discussing the Pacific Community proposal it is argued that such a grouping would only give formal recognition to an existing reality, given the above situation. While pointing out that a grouping of Pacific Island states would only be "a club of the weak," Crocombe advocates increased cooperation among Pacific Islanders to study the shifting balance of power in the Pacific region.

DAVIES, Derek et al. 1979–81.

"Exploiting the Pacific Tide." *Far Eastern Economic Review.* Vol. 106, no. 51, pp. 47–59; vol. 107, no. 5, p. 44; vol. 109, no. 40, pp. 90–93.

In the first of a number of articles appearing in FEER, Derek Davies outlines the history of the Pacific Community concept and the progress it has made in government circles in Japan, the U.S. and Australia. Saburo Okita, an academic economist and former Japanese foreign minister, who is strongly associated with the concept, having headed the Pacific Basin Cooperation Study Group, is interviewed. The OPTAD concept is outlined and Mike Mansfield, U.S. Ambassador to Japan, is also interviewed. In addition, several organizations which focus on the Asia-Pacific region are profiled. In the second article, Susumu Awanohara reports on the decision to hold the Canberra Pacific Community Seminar in September 1980 and the negotiations which led up to this decision. Helen Ester, in the third piece, "Slow Start in the Pacific," reports on the outcome of the Canberra Seminar and Gough Whitlam, Australian Prime Minister 1972–75, comments on the concept more generally.

DONOWAKI, Mitsuro. 1979.

"Japanese Attitude Toward the Promotion of the Pacific Basin Cooperation." *La Communidad del Pacifico en Perspectiva,* edited by Francisco Orrego Vicuna and Gloria Echeverria Duco. Estudios Internacionales, vol. 2, pp. 36–41. Santiago de Chile: Editorial universitaria, 1979.

This paper, by a member of the Japan Pacific Basin Study Group, is primarily concerned with setting out the thinking of the Group prior to the release of its Interim Report. Since the Final Report has now been published, most of the same material is contained therein. The author reiterates that Japan does not wish to play a leading role in the establishment of any such community. Donowaki believes that the Japanese government will react favorably to the Study Group's recommendations in the main, while its reaction on the subject of permitting increased imports from developing nations may require serious study.

DRYSDALE, Peter. 1979.

An Organization for Pacific Trade, Aid and Developments: Regional Arrangements and the Resource Trade. Canberra: Australia-Japan Economic Relations Research Project. Research Paper, no. 49, 1979. 35 pp.

Outlining the fact of economic interdependence in the Asia/Pacific region, the author proceeds to summarize various proposals for Pacific economic cooperation, concentrating on the OPTAD proposal. The importance of the resource trade and resource security to Pacific rim nations is examined. Finally, the author puts forward modes of action which recommend themselves for adoption as policy initiatives. These issues include: energy security, resource security, resource development, commodity market stabilization, and trade restructuring.

DRYSDALE, Peter and PATRICK, Hugh. 1979.

"Evaluation of a Proposed Asian-Pacific Regional Economic Organization." *An Asian-Pacific Regional Economic Organization: An Exploratory Concept Paper*, prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, pp. 1–25. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979.

This study, prepared for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, presents the rationale for the creation of an intergovernmental "Organization for Pacific Trade and Development" (OPTAD) from the standpoint of the authors' perceptions of U.S. national interests. The study describes the growth of economic interdependence in the Pacific region and its implications for the United States. It argues that the U.S. has a "major interest in preserving a leadership role in commitment to a liberal international economic order which promotes relatively free, multilateral flows of goods, services, and capital" on a global and a Pacific regional basis. Existing global trade institutions are regarded as increasingly directed toward protection of the existing economic order, and a new Pacific organization is deemed attractive to deal with problems inherent in the dynamic growth of the Pacific region, particularly problems of structural adjustment. The history of the OPTAD proposal is outlined, and the authors discuss possible membership

options, favoring an initial membership including the five developed countries of the Pacific region, the ASEAN group, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Papua New Guinea and the Pacific Island states as a group. The authors suggest that the administrative apparatus of OPTAD be confined to a small permanent secretariat and that issues be handled by specific functional task forces. They propose six task forces on the following subjects: free and fair trade, trade restructuring, financing of regional development, foreign direct investment, resource and energy security, and trade with non-market economy countries.

DRYSDALE, Peter. 1981.

"Australia and the Pacific Economic Community." Excerpted in *Pacific Economic Cooperation: Suggestions For Action*, edited by Sir John Crawford and Greg Seow, pp. 83–87. Selangor, Malaysia and Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1981.

Describing the outlook of Australian foreign economic relations in recent years, the author points to two factors which have shaped the part Australia plays in the Asia-Pacific economy: first, economic competition between Japan and the U.S. presents Australia with more difficult choices in the conduct of economic diplomacy; and secondly, interdependence broadens Australia's relationship with Japan into a regional setting. Japan will be directing its attention to three broad categories in the 1980s: stress on solidarity with industrial democracies in economic and political affairs; stress on balance in Northeast Asia and Pacific as a basis for continuing regional security, and stress on the creation of arrangements in Asia and the Pacific to support global trade and development objectives. Drysdale believes that the establishment of an OPTAD would promote security in the region and would allow Australia more fully to develop its contacts in the region and to promote regional interdependence.

ENGLISH, H. Edward. 1980.

"Economic Prospects for the Asia-Pacific Region in the 1980s." *Asia-Pacific in the 1980s: Toward Greater Symmetry in Econ-*

omic Interdependence, edited by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, pp. 29–61. Jakarta: CSIS, 1980.

A comprehensive and lengthy assessment of Asia-Pacific economic prospects, dealing with patterns of economic opportunity, foreign direct investment, policy harmonization, policy initiatives and impediments to such. Of particular interest to those interested in the prospects for the establishment of a Pacific Community organization are the last three sections dealing with policy aspects of economic growth. English sees opportunities for improving aspects of economic policy in the fields of trade, investment and the North-South dialogue. The United States should be the frontrunner in contributing to the Pacific Community debate in this Canadian author's view. ASEAN and Japan cannot be expected to take a leading role while U.S. policy on the issue remains fuzzy. English sees impediments to the realization of greater Pacific cooperation lying in questions relating to the role of China; the uncertainties surrounding the continued progress of ASEAN; short-term economic stability in the developed nations; and the political economy of both the U.S. and Japan. In the end, the onus rests on Washington to sort out its policy on these issues.

ENGLISH, H. Edward. 1981.

"Canada and Pacific Opportunities." Prepared for the 1981 meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, Toronto, Canada. Mimeo. 17 pp.

This paper discusses the current state of interest in Canada in the Pacific Community concept and advocates Canadian participation in a Pacific Basin Community. The author notes that the preponderance of private industry support represents resource companies in Western Canada. On the other hand, clothing manufacturers, especially in Quebec, favor protection. For the government sector, relations with Asia have been mostly commodity oriented with some aid, especially to Indonesia. Professor English also points to two new Canadian perceptions—seeing the Western Pacific as a growth area; and, from a federal point of view, finding Pacific cooperation as a means of appearing politically sensitive to the interests of Western Canadian provinces as well as counterbalancing U.S. market dependence. The author hopes that Pacific cooperation can

improve North-South relations on a regional basis and suggests that a tripartite business-government-academic group is the most feasible grouping at the present time.

ESTANISLAO, Jesus P. 1980.

"The Philippines and the Pacific Community Concept." In *The Pacific Community Concept: Views from Eight Nations*. The Proceedings of the Asian Dialogue at Oiso, Japan, January 1980. The JCIE Papers, no. 1, pp. 72–76. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 1980.

Estanislao sets out nine principles which he feels should guide any Pacific Community that may be established, involving policies for mutual benefit in the fields of resources, matters relating to multinational corporations, foreign aid and greater harmonization of economic and industrialization policies. In order for these principles to be attuned to reality, the author proposes five steps to clarify the concept: Conceptualizing an identity for the Pacific region; agreeing on the purpose of a Pacific regional organization; defining the input to such a body by countries in the area; clarifying mechanics for action and formulating programs every four years. The Philippines, according to Estanislao, looks particularly forward to strengthening ties with Latin America.

FIFIELD, Russell H. 1980.

"ASEAN: The Perils of Viability." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 199–212.

This article is primarily concerned with tracing the degree of cooperation built up by ASEAN, in relation to both internal and foreign policy issues. Discussion is divided into three subheadings: Indochina, the Pacific Community and Internal Developments. The section dealing with the Pacific Community concept briefly states the progress arrived at to date, indicates ASEAN reservations and concludes that the concept is "too vague at present to merit detailed consideration."

GARNAUT, Ross. 1981.

"Australia in the Western Pacific Economy." Excerpted in *Pacific Economic Cooperation: Suggestions for Action*, edited by Sir John Crawford and Greg Seow, pp. 91–95. Selangor, Malaysia and Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1981.

The author attributes the high intensity of trade within the Asia-Pacific area to geographic proximity of nations in the region and to their exclusion from the European market. Protectionist forces in Australia are discussed as being symptomatic of a trend visible in many advanced nations. This protectionism threatens to thwart the development of the Northeast and Southeast Asian developing nations. Regional trade bargaining through a regional organization is advanced as a possible way to alleviate this situation. "Vested interests in export expansion would be brought into direct conflict, and so help to balance vested interests in protection."

GHAZALI BIN SHAFIE, Tan Sri M. 1980.

"Toward a Pacific Basin Community: A Malaysian Perception." In *New Foundations for Asian and Pacific Security*, edited by Joyce E. Larsen. Papers and report of a conference held at Pattaya, Thailand, December 1979, pp. 201–14.

Malaysia's then Minister for Home Affairs presents a skeptical view of the concept. He argues, at some length, that the concept is being propounded by the U.S., Japan and Australia for strategic reasons and is "in effect a recycling of a Pacific 'containment' scenario, with different combinations of antagonists." For the idea to have any chance of success, Ghazali argues that it would need to follow the path of a gradual evolution and gestation, "slowly building up habits of cooperation premised upon diversity." Perhaps the best expressed of skeptical reactions to the concept.

GOH, Chok Tong. 1980.

"The Role of National Governments in Strengthening Economic Interdependence in the Asia-Pacific Region." *Asia-Pacific in the 1980s: Toward Greater Symmetry in Economic*

Interdependence, edited by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, pp. 147–55. Jakarta: CSIS, 1980.

Much of this article is devoted to showing that economic interdependence based on international specialization is associated with growth. The role of national governments, according to Singapore's Minister for Trade and Industry, is largely confined to creating the right kind of climate and economic philosophy that will facilitate free interaction among the private sectors of the region. In closing, Goh suggests that Asia-Pacific cooperation among governments begin "with the lowest form—a forum of like-minded countries in the region." Such a forum would provide for regular consultations among leaders of market-oriented economies.

GORDON, Bernard K. 1981.

"Japan and the Pacific Basin Proposal." Prepared for the 1981 meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, Toronto, Canada, 1981. Mimeo. 29 pp.

This paper traces the historical development of Japanese interest in the Pacific Community concept. Gordon points to Japanese interest in the mid- and late 1960s, suggesting that Ohira's emphasis was not a new approach, but a resumption of an older policy line. The author sees Japanese diplomacy torn between emphasis on Japan as a global power and Japan as a regional leader. Because of the shocks in the early and mid-1970s, Japanese policy began to give more attention to regional diplomacy, especially relations with ASEAN and China. The author ascribes the decline of Japanese interest in the Pacific Community concept after Ohira's death to several factors including ASEAN's cool reaction, Japan's inability to establish a clearer general foreign policy framework, and the lack of consensus in Japan on specifics of the proposal. While Gordon believes that interest will continue, he says that it is clear that an intergovernmental OPTAD organization cannot be formed, given ASEAN's reluctance and Japan's unwillingness to take steps unacceptable to ASEAN.

GREEN, Carl S. 1980.

"Towards Pacific Economic Integration: Making Haste

Slowly." In *The Pacific Community Concept: Views from Eight Nations*. The Proceedings of the Asian Dialogue at Oiso, Japan, January 1980. The JCIE Papers, no. 1, pp. 103–8. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 1980.

The paper represents a well-stated case for the gradualist approach to the establishment of any Pacific Community. The author argues that the debate on the motives of the proponents is likely to prove sterile and that it would be more useful to concentrate on determining whether the proponents have convincingly demonstrated that a new organization is needed. The author believes that this need is not self-evident and requires empirical demonstration—"we should not try to build the building until we have a better idea of what will go on inside of it." The establishment of task forces is advocated in order to gather such empirical evidence. Task forces should be convened on: economic adjustments; financing regional trade and development; technology transfer and foreign investment; energy and resources; economic cooperation between market and non-market economies; and on the Pacific Ocean.

HAN, Sung-Joo. 1980.

"Thoughts on the Pacific Community Proposal." In *The Pacific Community Concept: Views from Eight Nations*. The Proceedings of the Asian Dialogue at Oiso, Japan, January 1980. The JCIE Papers, no. 1, pp. 42–56. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 1980.

An assessment of the interest articulated in Pacific cooperation in Korea, together with a discussion of the broader implications of forming a Pacific Community, are presented in this paper. It is pointed out that interest in Korea dates only from 1979 when high level discussions were initiated by the Japanese and Australian governments. From the Korean viewpoint, the creation of a free trade zone would be optimal. However, it is recognized that there is little support for such a proposal. Korea is interested in the Pacific Community concept and due to the importance of its trade with other Pacific nations could not afford exclusion from such an organization. However, there is some apprehension that such a body may be dominated by the economic superpowers of the region. A sixfold plan of action is outlined to develop the concept more fully.

The author advises that organizational efforts be directed to one "**functional area**" at a time so as to avoid any unproductive rush to **set up an** organization.

HAN, Sung-Joo. - 1981.

"The Pacific Community Proposal: An Appraisal." Excerpted in *Pacific Economic Cooperation: Suggestions For Action*, edited by Sir John Crawford and Greg Seow. pp. 101–8. Selangor, Malaysia and Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1981.

Having listed some objections to the Pacific Community concept advanced by skeptics, Han moves on to address the possible motives and benefits likely to accrue to the advanced countries of the region. The U.S. is anxious to make sure that its economic position vis-à-vis the Asia-Pacific region does not deteriorate further in favor of Japan's interests. In addition, the U.S. is interested in bringing the five Southeast Asian countries into a loose security framework. The Pacific Community concept would provide such a vehicle, since it would not be obviously security oriented and would, thus, not frighten the Southeast Asian nations away nor create so much opposition in the U.S. as a security organization. Finally, a Pacific Community organization would correct the imbalance in the U.S.'s dealings with the Altantic and Pacific basins and counter the trend toward protectionism. Japan's interest is similar to that of the U.S., according to the author. Seven motivating factors are outlined, which include: the maintenance and consolidation of a Pacific economic community under Japan's leadership; the securing of convenient and stable sources of natural resources; and the amelioration of problems and disadvantages arising from other groupings, such as ASEAN, the Andean Common Market and the Latin American Free Trade Area. The author also says that the ASEAN countries have "much to gain" in preserving markets and providing greater opportunities for policy coordination, information sharing, and interest representation. However, guarded reaction may be expected from the ASEAN nations until more is known about the concept. Han warns about "attempting to accomplish too much too soon." He advocates more research and "quiet diplomacy" for the present.

HARA, Yasushi. 1980a.

Heiwakeizai no umi—Taiheiyo rentai o saguru. [Ocean for a Peaceful Economy: In Search of the Pacific Community Concept.] Articles from a series of nineteen in the *Asahi Shimbun*, April 1980.

The entire series is based on Hara's extensive interviews with scholars, bankers, businessmen, bureaucrats and politicians in countries such as Canada, Mexico, Australia, the U.S., and the ASEAN nations. Hara's discussion starts from the full recognition that international relations have greatly changed in the Asia-Pacific region today. He argues that economic, ethnic, cultural and even political diversities are potential sources of dynamism in the region, where great powers are now motivated to seek new roles different from traditional interventionist policies while at the same time, emerging nations such as Japan and the NICs are more and more required to play realistic roles balancing self-assertion with peaceful interdependence and coexistence in the region. Then Hara moves on to focus on what are major concerns about the concept in respective countries. For instance, Hara points out that Western Canada will soon become a major player in Pacific Basin cooperation and identifies Mexico as "an awakening giant" in terms of its potential role in the future. In case of the U.S., Hara interprets its concerns in terms of "an underlying sense of diplomatic crisis," referring to Peter Drysdale's words that the U.S. traditionally dominant commitment to the Atlantic world has now become a barrier to the implementation of a constructive policy responding to dynamic economic development in the Asia-Pacific region. After discussing various expectations and fears held by ASEAN nations about the concept, he concludes the series as follows: First, Japan should undertake initial efforts to open itself up if it seriously advocates the concept. Secondly, he proposes to establish an institution to coordinate various problems existing in the region, but he takes note that such an institution should not engage in political and security issues, otherwise Japan could discourage such a direction. Thirdly, Hara calls for Japan to be aware of its international economic obligations, comparing Japan's role with that of West Germany within the EEC. In other words, Hara argues that the Pacific Basin cooperation concept might provide a useful framework for Japan's new international role, and that the internationalization

of Japan should proceed along the lines of this concept in the coming century.

HARA, Yasushi. 1980b.

"How to Make a Concept Real– The Idea of Pacific Basin Cooperation." *Japan Quarterly*. Vol. XVII, no. 4, 1980, pp. 471–78.

One outstanding contribution this paper makes to the Pacific Community debate is in its emphasis on the method of Japanese policy-making. Hara points out that Ohira's Pacific Basin proposal initially received a lukewarm reception by the Japanese bureaucracy, since the policy was initiated at prime ministerial level and was seen as an undermining of traditional foreign policy. In addition, "the various ministries feared encroachment on their areas of authority." The author discusses the report of the Japanese Pacific Basin Cooperation Study Group and attempts to suggest reasons why Japan was motivated to promote the concept.

HARRIS, Stuart. 1980.

"Changed International Trade and Resource Relationships: The Economics/Politics Links Renewed." *World Review*. Vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 17–31.

This article seeks to demonstrate that while there was an attempt in the postwar period to separate international trading relationships from politics which enjoyed a modicum of success, in recent years linkages between economics and politics have once again become pervasive. Economic issues are currently being used for political ends, and political power is being employed for economic purposes. The author points out distinctions between the use of economic power for political purposes and the use of political power for economic purposes. He argues that times of heightened international tension contribute to a stronger intertwining of politics and economics. The "rules of the game," as formerly understood, are no longer a firm guide to international behavior. The author argues that the intensifying of trade relations among nations increases the intertwining of domestic and international policies and, hence, growing protectionism is evident. This, coupled with the trend away from multilateralism, increases bilateral negotiations. In

conclusion, Harris warns that it is necessary to recognize the renewal of political/economic linkages and take this into account in policy making. The current situation facing Australia is examined.

ILLANES, Javier. 1979.

"El rol internacional de la India y su efecto en la relación Transpacífico al nivel de países en desarrollo." *La Communidad del Pacifico en Perspectiva*, edited by Francisco Orrego Vicuna and Gloria Echeverria Duco. Estudios Internacionales, vol. 2, pp. 98–127. Santiago de Chile: Editorial universitaria, 1979.

Illanes discusses the internal strengths and weakness of India and its foreign policy. Much of the paper is devoted to India's relations with Latin America. The author believes that India will continue to be basically a regional power in the Subcontinent, but that gradually it will play a more important global role. The Pacific Ocean has served as a barrier between India and the Latin American countries.

INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS INTERNACIONALES DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE CHILE, eds. 1979.

La Communidad del Pacifico en Perspectiva, edited by Francisco Orrego Vicuna and Gloria Echeverria Duco. Santiago de Chile: Editorial universitaria. 2 vols.

These two volumes consist of papers presented at a conference on the Pacific Community concept held at Easter Island, Chile, in October 1979. The main topics include historical relationships between Latin America and East Asia; political and economic relations in the Pacific; ASEAN and the Pacific Community; the Pacific Island nations and the Pacific Community; the role of Japan, Canada, Australia, China, and India in a Pacific Community; and resource issues in the Pacific. Papers by R.W.L. Austin, R.G. Crocombe, Mitsuro Donowaki, Javier Illanes, Rosewati Ismail, Lau Teik Soon, Guy J. Pauker, Walter Sanchez, Dante Simbulan, and Jusuf Wanandi are described individually in this bibliography.

ISMAIL, Rosewati. 1979.

"ASEAN in the Cooperation and the Security of the Asia-

Pacific Region." *La Communidad del Pacifico en Perspectiva*, edited by Francisco Orrego Vicuna and Gloria Echeverria Duco. Estudios Internacionales, vol. 2, pp. 234–51. Santiago de Chile: Editorial universitaria, 1979.

As the author maintains, this paper is concerned, in the main, with the importance of the strategic position the ASEAN states occupy in international trade. ASEAN's internal cooperation is examined and there are brief assessments of ASEAN's relations with Japan, Australia, and the United States. Security problems are addressed at some length with particular attention paid to the refugee problem. Addressing the question of the proposed Pacific Community organization, Ismail warns that it is essential to ASEAN that such a grouping seek a more equitable division of economic benefits; otherwise it is likely to be seen by ASEAN as an attempt by the advanced developed nations to reassert their hegemony of the region. Fears are also expressed that a Pacific Community may provoke a hostile reaction from the communist bloc.

KEATLEY, Robert. 1980.

"Making the Pacific into a Community." *Asia-Pacific in the 1980s: Toward greater Symmetry in Economic Interdependence*, edited by Center for Strategic and International Studies, pp. 165 -169. Jakarta: ISIS, 1980.

In this short paper, Keatley comments on the discussion on the Pacific Community concept at the Bali conference held in January 1980. The participants at this conference did not decide what the proposed organization would do, what degree of governmental involvement would be acceptable, nor who the members should be. What the participants did come to agreement on was that there was a need for a body for consultation involving business, government and academic representatives, but not dominated by any of these participants. Thus, it would be a "government-approved" body but "not a government-controlled one." Keatley comments that this requires political will, which will not become evident until interested groups and governments devote attention to these issues.