Considerations on Society as a Global System - IV

Regionalization in a global system:

East Asia

Goal for Four Sections

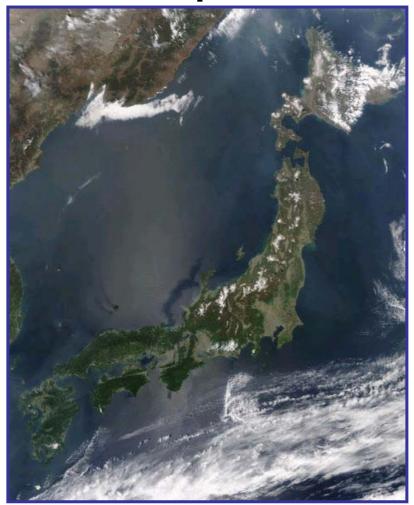
- 1st Section Remarks of forerunners (Review and contemplate on text materials.)
- 2nd Section Simplification and theorization (Formulate a model as thinking framework)
- 3rd Section Concept building to apply to the reality (Review correlation between concept and reality)
- 4th Section Current status analysis (Analyze with fact and data)

Case Study: East Asia after the Cold War

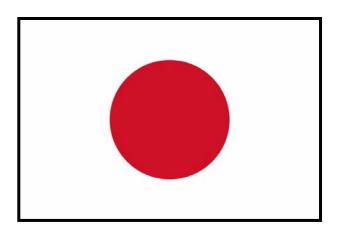


Countries and Regions in East Asia

Japan

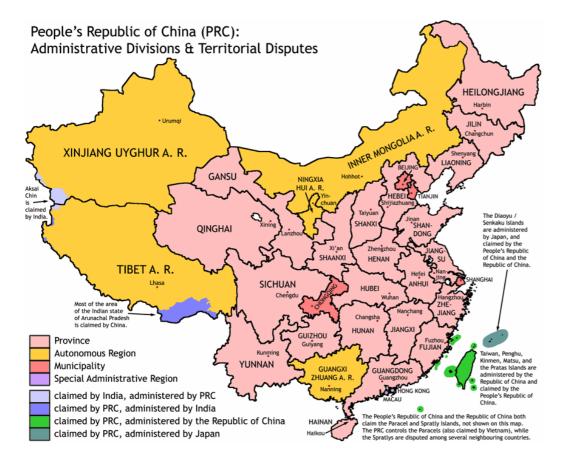


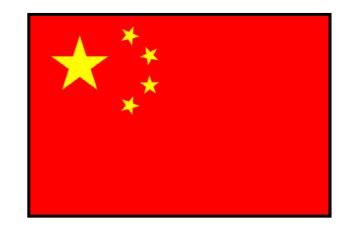
source: wikipedia http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%94%BB%E5%83%8F:Satel lite_image_of_Japan_in_May_2003.jpg



Area 378K sq km²
Population 127,630K
GDP \$4,663.9 bil
GDP/p \$36,542
Japanese, Shintoism,
Buddhism

People's Republic of China





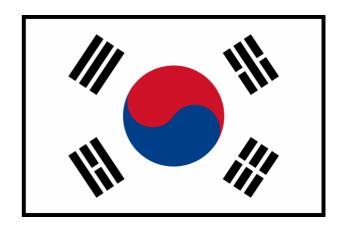
Area 9,600K sq km²
Population 1,299,880K
GDP \$1,649.4 bil
GDP/p \$1,269
Chinese, Buddhism,
Islam, Han and other
55 minority groups

source: wikipedia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:China_administrative.png

Republic of Korea





Area 99,274 sq km² Population 48,080K

GDP \$680.1 bil

GDP/p \$14,143

Korean, Buddhism 27%, Christianity 24%, others

source: wikipedia http://upload.wikimed

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/df/Southkoreamap.png

Democratic People's Republic of Korea



source: wikipedia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Korea_north_map.png



Area 121,000 sq km²

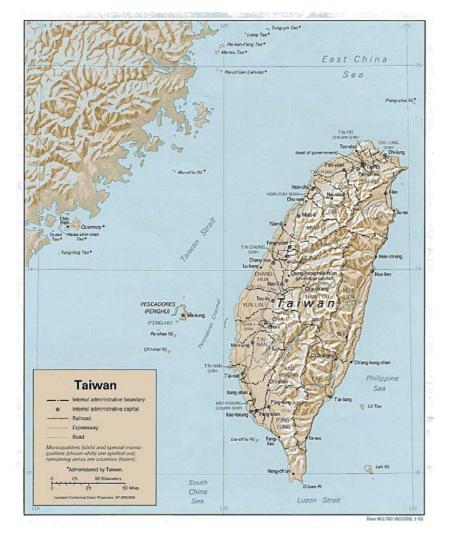
Population 23,310K

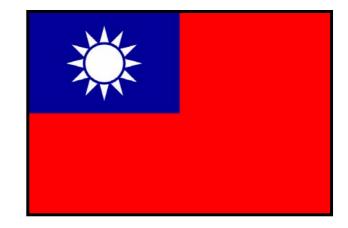
GDP \$22 bil?

GDP/p \$969?

Korean, Kim Jong-il authority

Taiwan





Area 360K sq km²
Population 22,690K
GDP \$306.1 bil
GDP/p \$13,490
Native Taiwanese 85%,
Mainlanders 13%,

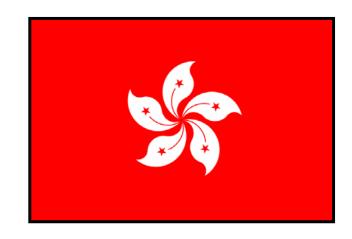
Native residents 2%

source : wikipedia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:TAIWAN_Karte_Gross.jpg

Hong Kong





Area 1,098 sq km²
Population 6,840K
GDP \$164.6 bil
GDP/p \$23,917
Cantonese,
English, Mandarin

source: wikipedia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Hk-map.png

Mongolia





Area 1,560K sq km²
Population 2,530K
GDP \$1.2 bil
GDP/p \$445
Mongolian 95%,
Tibetan Buddhism

source: wikimedia

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/69/Mg-map.png

The Republic of the Philippines





Area 299K sq km²

Population 82,660K

GDP \$86.4 bil

GDP/p \$1,046

Filipino, English, 80 other languages, Catholic 83%, Islam 5%

source: wikimedia

Brunei



source: wikimedia

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cc/Bx-map.png



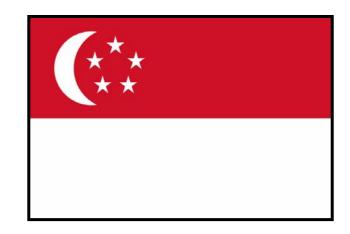
Area 5,765 sq km² Population 372K GDP \$5.2 bil GDP/p \$14,250 Malay, Chinese, Islam (national religion)

Singapore



source: wikipedia

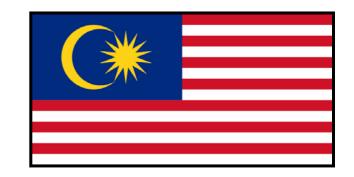
http://ja.wikipedia.org/upload/c/c3/Singapore.png



Area 685.4 sq km² Population 3,480K GDP \$106.8 bil GDP/p \$30,633 Chinese 77%, Malay 14%, Indian 8%

Malaysia





Area 330K sq km²
Population 25,580K
GDP 115.4 bil
GDP/p \$4,512
Malay 65.1%,

Chinese 26%,

Indian 8%

source: wikimedia

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7e/My-map.png

Indonesia





Area 1,890K sq km²

Population 2.15M

GDP \$257.6 bil

GDP/p \$1,108

27 Malay ethnic groups, Islam 87%, Christianity 10%, Hinduism

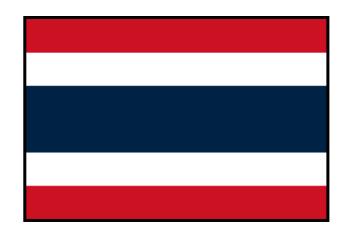
source: wikimedia

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/52/Indonesia_map.png

Thailand



source: wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Political_map _of_Thailand.jpg



Area 514K sq km²
Population 63,350K
GDP \$163.2 bil
GDP/p \$2,577
Thai, Chinese,

Buddhism 95%

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam





Area 329K sq km²

Population 82.07M

GDP \$39 bil

GDP/p \$483

Kinh tribe 90%, About 60 minority groups, Buddhism 80%

source: wikimedia

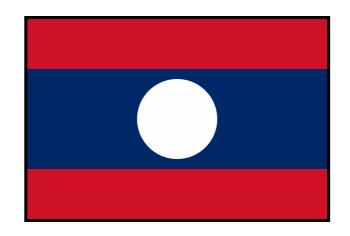
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e2/Vm-map.png

Lao People's Democratic Republic



source: wikipedia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:La-map.png



Area 240K sq km²

Population 5,680K

GDP \$2.8 bil

GDP/p \$455

Lao 60%, 49 other ethnic groups, Buddhism

The Kingdom of Cambodia



source: wikipedia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Cambodia_sm04.png



Area 181K sq km²

Population 13.3M

GDP \$4.9 bil

GNI/p \$365

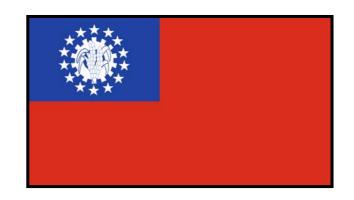
Khmer >90%, Buddhism

Union of Myanmar



source : wikipedia

http://ja.wikipedia.org/upload/f/f4/Mm-map.png



Area 680K sq km²

Population 52.17M

GDP 69 bil (ppp)

GDP/p \$1,483(")

Burmese 70%, many other minority groups, Buddhism 90%

01.07 The Showa Emperor died.

> US-Japan economic conflicts

- "The Japan that can say NO"
- » Super 301
- » US-Japan Strategic Impediment Initiative (SII)

O4. Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's cabinet collapsed (due to the Recruit scandal, etc.).

06.04 Tiananmen Square incident

11.09 The fall of the Berlin Wall

07.	US-Japan SII resolved.
07.	Economic sanctions due to Tiananmen Square lifted. (Houston Summit)
08.02	The Gulf crisis
09.30	Diplomatic relations restored between South Korea and Soviet Union.
10.03	Unification of East and West Germany

01.17	Persian Gulf War (-02.28)
04.	Japan dispatched mine-sweepers to the Persian Gulf.
11.05	Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu resigned. Kiichi Miyazawa took office as prime minister.
09.17	North and South Korea both joined UN.
10.23	Cambodian Peace Treaty

Soviet Union collapsed.

12.

	-
02.	Maastricht Treaty signed (for the establishment of EU).
05.25	The first IAEA inspection in North Korea
06.	International Peace Cooperation Law (Peace Keeping Operations Law) enacted.
08.24	Diplomatic relations restored between China and South Korea.
10.23	The Emperor of Japan visited China. (-10.28)
11.	Bill Clinton's victory in the US

presidential election.

01.	President Bill Clinton took office.
03.12	Mounting suspicions regarding North Korea's nuclear arms ambitions (withdrawal from NPT on 3.12)
06.18	Non-confidence vote for Prime Minister Miyazawa (general election on 7.18)
07.	US-Japan Framework Talks on bilateral trade
	(Numeric targets for semi-conductor, automobile, auto parts, etc.)
08.09	Norihiro Hosokawa took office as prime minister.
12.15	Conclusion of negotiations in Uruguay Round.

04.28	Prime Minister Hosokawa resigned. Tsutomu
	Hata became a new Prime Minister.
>	Deepened crisis on the Korean peninsula.
	(North Korea denied the statement by
	Chairman to UN Security Council. Unloaded
	spent-fuel rods. President Carter visited North

06.30 Tomiichi Murayama took office as prime minister.

07.08 Kim II Sung of North Korea died.

Korea.)

10.21 US-North Korea Agreed Framework

01.17	Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake
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O3.20 Tokyo subway sarin gas attack

06.07 Lee Teng-hui visited US.

> US-Japan Sub-cabinet Economic Dialogue concluded.

09.04 US sergeant's rape case in

Okinawa

11. Dayton Accord regarding Bosnia

O1.11 Prime Minister Murayama resigned. Ryutaro Hashimoto became new prime minister.

O3. Taiwan presidential election. Taiwan Straits Crisis.

04. President Clinton visited Japan.

US-Japan Joint Declaration on Security

Deterioration of relations between China and

Japan (China's nuclear test in July, the

Senkaku islands, Yasukuni shrine, US-Japan

security)

11. President Clinton re-elected (Nov.).

02.19 Deng XiaoPing died.

04.22 The hostage crisis in Japanese

Embassy in Peru resolved.

07. Thai baht crisis

Financial crisis over East Asia

09. Revising the Guidelines for US-

Japan Defense Cooperation

(Sep.)

- > Financial crisis spread over the world.
- 02. Kim Dae-jung took office in South Korea.
- 05. Suharto's collapse in Indonesia
- 05. Nuclear tests in India and Pakistan (May)
- 07. Hashimoto's cabinet facing a crisis due to his unfavorable economic policies. Resigned after Upper House Election. Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi succeeded the office (7.30).
- 06. Clinton visited China.
- 10. Kim Dae-jung visited Japan.
- 11. Jiang Zemin visited Japan.

- 01. Official EURO currency
- 03. NATO's air strike in Kosovo.
- 05. Enactment of legislation to deal with "contingencies in the area surrounding Japan"
- WTO ministerial meeting in Seattle

- 03. Vladimir Putin elected president of Russia.
- 02. Prime Minister Ozawa resigned due to acute disease. Yoshiro Mori became prime minister (05).
- 06. Korean Peninsula North-South toplevel meetings
- 11. George Bush elected US president.

04. Prime Minister Mori resigned.

Jun'ichiro Koizumi took office.

09.11 Terrorists Attack on N.Y. and

D.C.

10. US attacked Afghanistan.

01. EURO began to be used in transactions.

Focused attention on Iraq

09.18 Prime Minister Koizumi visited North Korea

Secondary of Suspicion of Su

O2. South Korean President Roh Moo-Hyun took office.

03. Iraq War

North Korea crisis worsened.

04. Three-party talks

08. Six-party talks

World and Japan Watch in 2004

- O1. Self Defense Forces dispatched to Iraq
- 03. Taiwan presidential election (President Chen reelected).
- 05. EU enlargement (25 member states)
- 11. US presidential election (President Bush re-elected).

World and Japan Watch in 2005

- 04. Anti-Japanese riots in China
- 09. Japan had upper and lower house elections (LDP won by a big margin).
- 4th six-party talks (joint statement)(5th meeting in Nov)
- 10. Prime Minister Koizumi visited Yasukuni Shrine.
- 12. ASEAN+3 summit meeting East Asia summit meeting

Characteristics of East Asia

- Chain reaction of crises
- Deepened regional ties

North Korea Nuclear Issue

1985	North Korea signed NPT.
~1989	Plutonium produced?
1991	US request for inspection. >North-South Agreement. De-nuclearization declaration.
1992	The North accepted IAEA inspection team.
1993.2	IAEA informally requests access to Yongbyon site.
1993.3	North Korea threatened to withdraw from NPT (although backed off later).
1994.3	IAEA inspectors returned.
1994.5	Deepened crisis in North Korea (US prepared for war)
1994.6	President Carter visited North Korea.
1994.7	Kim II Sung died.

Geneva Framework (1994)

- US provided North Korea with light water reactors. North Korea ceased its current nuclear reactors and facilities under the IAEA surveillance. Eight thousand fuel rods were taken out of a nuclear reactor and shipped out of the country.
- North Korea remained in good standing regarding the provisions presented by the IAEA before the main equipment for the light water reactors would be removed. The past nuclear facilities were fully disclosed until the complete implementation of the light water reactor program.
- US provided 500k tons of heavy oil each year.
- The two countries placed a commission for negotiation as the first step toward the restoration of bilateral relations. US agreed not to threaten North Korea with a possible use of nuclear weapons.
- North Korea followed the nuclear disarmament program for the Korean Peninsula and made progress for the implementation of North-South Joint declaration.

Crisis in Korean Peninsula Eased

2000.04	The negotiations to normalize diplomatic relations between Japan and North Korea restarted after seven and then five months.
2000.06	North-South Korea summit meeting was held. (Kim Dae-jung visited Pyongyang and announced North-South Joint Declaration>North-South Red Cross talks and ministerial meetings.
2000.07	North Korea joined ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).
2000.10	Jo Myong-rok, vice-chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK, visited US. Secretary General Albright visited the North.
2001.01	Kim Jong-il visited China.
2002.09	Prime Minister Koizumi visited the North. The DPRK-Japan Pyongyang Declaration was singed.

Crisis in Korean Peninsula Revisited

2002.01	President Bush made the "Axis of Evil" statement.
2002.10	Assistant Secretary James Kelly visited North Korea.
	» North Korea was said to have admitted the possession of a uranium enrichment program.
2002.12	Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) made a statement that it would suspend the supply of heavy oil following the accused discovery of the program.
2002.12	North Korea announced that it had reactivated nuclear facilities and IAEA inspectors were expelled.
2003.01	North Korea declared its withdrawal from NPT.

Development of six-party talks

2003.04	Three-party talks (Beijing)
2003.08	1st six-party talks
2004.02	2nd six-party talks
2004.05	Prime Minister Koizumi visited North Korea.
2004.06	3rd six-party talks
2005.02	North Korea Foreign Ministry issued a statement on the possession of nuclear weapons
2005.09	4th six-party talks and joint statement
2006.07	Missile launched

US and North Korea Confrontation

North Korea	Negotiation without the use of force	Confrontation with military action
Abandonment of nuclear arms and negotiation	2	1
Development of nuclear arms and confrontation	3	0

US and North Korea Confrontation

North Korea	Negotiation without the use of force	Confrontation with military action
Abandonment of nuclear arms and negotiation	2	1
Development of nuclear arms and confrontation	3	0

Conclusion of US-North Korea Confrontation?

USA North Korea	Negotiation without the use of force	Confrontation with military action
Abandonment of nuclear arms and negotiation	3	1
Development of nuclear arms and confrontation	2	0

Six-party talks stagnating?

- US's hostile view and diplomatic response toward North Korea
- Reasons behind diplomatic response:
 - -Difficulty from military perspectives. The location of Seoul.
 - Secondary sphere following the antiterrorism war
 - Valuation of China's diplomacy
- Is there a constraint?
 - To export nuclear weapons

Taiwan Straits Crisis



Taiwan Straits Crisis

1995	Lee Teng-hui visited US.
1996	Presidential election
	(Lee Teng-hui)
	- Missile tests and military exercise
2000	Presidential election
	(Chen Chui-bian)
	- China verbally threatened Taiwan.
2004	Presidential election
	(Chen Chui-bian)
2005	The Anti-Secession Law

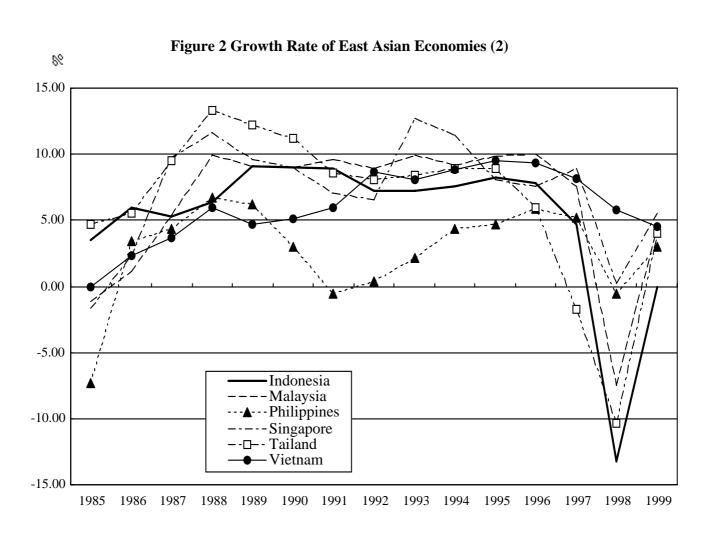
Background of Taiwan Straits Crisis

- Kuomintang (KMT) and Chiang Kaishek's leadership
- Native Taiwanese
 - Taiwanese aborigines 1.7%
 - Southern Fujianese (Min-nan) 73.3%
 - Hakka 12%
- Mainlanders 13%
- Democratization and Taiwan identity

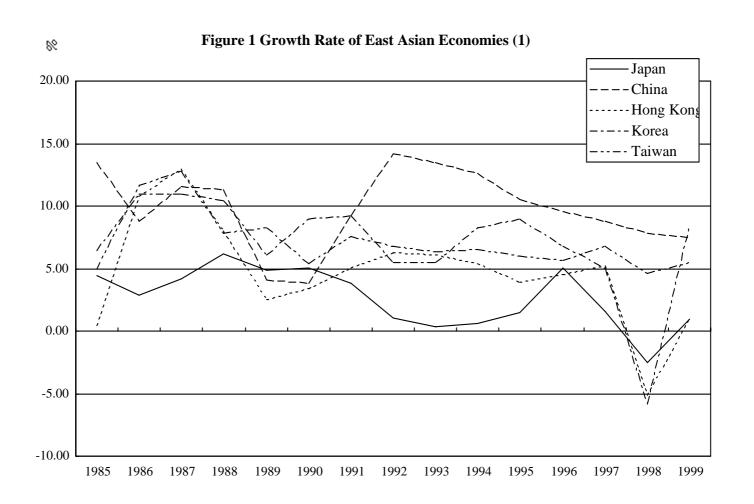
Taiwan Situation

- 2004 Presidential election:
 - Referendum vote showed that people favored "independence." China applied diplomatic pressure.
 - Opposition against unilateral approach by US and Japan.
 - Chen Chui-bian won the presidential election.
- 2004 Election of the Legislative Yuan (Opposition part's victory.)
- The Anti-Secession Law was adopted by National People's Congress in China.

East Asia Financial Crisis (1)



East Asia Financial Crisis (2)



Political implications of East Asian financial crisis

1997.07 Thai Baht in crisis

Latter half of 1997

Spillover over South Korea and

Indonesia

1997.11 Following the fall of Chavalit, Chuan

Leekpai from Democrat party took office

in Thailand.

1998.5 Suharto resigned.

1998 South Korea "ruled by IMF"

 Have international political frameworks been stable in the midst of crises?

 Unstable relations between major countries (US, China and Japan)

Unstable Relations between Major Countries

<Three Threats>

Early 1990s

->->Japan as a threat: "Japan containment"

1990s

->->China as a threat: "China containment" or "involvement"

1990s

->->US as a threat: "Monopolar control" and "hegemonism"

Effects of 9/11

- Improvement in US-China relations
- Improvement in US-Japan relations
- "Hot Economics and Cold Politics" in China-Japan relations. Emergence of domestic issues in China and Japan.
- Does 9/11 have continuing influence?

Community that acts together and advances together.



"Our goal should be the creation of a 'community that acts together and advances together.' And we should achieve this through expanding East Asia cooperation founded upon the Japan-ASEAN relationship."

Source: http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2002/01/14speech_e.html

East Asian Community?

"Seek to build an East Asian community which is outward looking, endowed with the exuberance of creativity and vitality and with the shared spirit of mutual understanding and upholding Asian traditions and values, while respecting universal rules and principles."

(Tokyo Declaration, ASEAN summit, Dec, 2003)

Source: http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2003/12/12declaration_e.html

East Asian Community?

"The Government will play an active role in the creation of an East Asian community (EAc), an open community that shares economic prosperity while embracing diversity."

(General Policy Speech by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to the Diet, January 21, 2005)

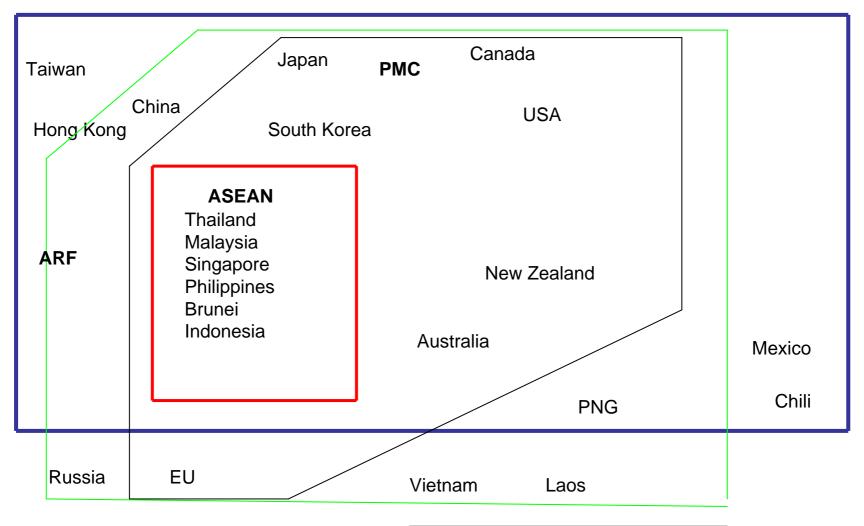
Source: http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2005/01/21sisei_e.html

Regional Framework in Asia

1967	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
1980s	ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting
1989	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Ministerial Meeting
1993	APEC Ministerial Meeting
1994	ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)

Regional Framework in Asia until 1995

APEC



East Asia Economic Group (EAEC) Initiative

Dec 1990, Malaysia's
Prime Minister Mahathir
proposed East Asia
Economic Group (EAEC)
initiative.



source: wikimedia

Increasing criticisms against EAEC



source: wikimedia http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/69/Jame s_Addison_Baker_III.jpg "(EAEC) would draw a line in the Pacific Ocean, and lead to a split between the US and Japan." A strong opponent to EAEC. (US Secretary of State James Baker)



It would cause a negative impact for APEC... (U.S.Ambassador to Japan Michael Amacost)

ASEM (Asia Europe Meeting)

1994 Singapore's Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong proposed Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM)

1994-1995

Informal meetings for ASEAN, Japan, China, and South Korea

1996.2 1st ASEM (Bangkok)

Biannual ASEM hereinafter.

Establishment of ASEAN+3

1997.01 Prime Minister Hashimoto

proposed to hold a summit

meeting with ASEAN+Japan.

1997 Spring ASEAN invited heads of states

from Japan, China, and South

Korea to ASEAN ministerial

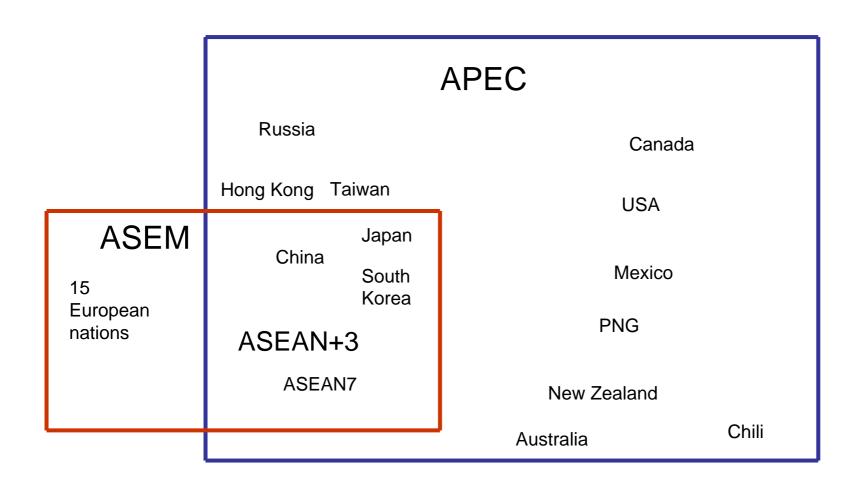
meeting.

1997.07 Thai Baht in crisis

1997 Fall Asian Monetary Fund (AMF)

1997.12 ASEAN+3 ministerial meeting

APEC, ASEM, ASEAN+3



Institutionalization of ASEAN+3

1998	Agreed to hold regular meetings and organize forums on cross-sectoral and specialized subjects
1999	"Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation"
2000.05	Chiang Mai Initiative Cross-sectoral forums increased.
2004.11	Agreed to hold East Asia summit (EAS) in 2005.
2005.12	East Asia summit (EAS)

Diversity of East Asia (scale)

Area

China 9.6 mil km², Japan 370K km², South Korea 100K km², Brunei 5,765 km², Singapore 685km² (Shanghai 6,741km²)

Population

 China 1.3 bil, Japan 130 mil, South Korea 48 mil, Singapore 4.16 mil, Brunei 350K

GDP

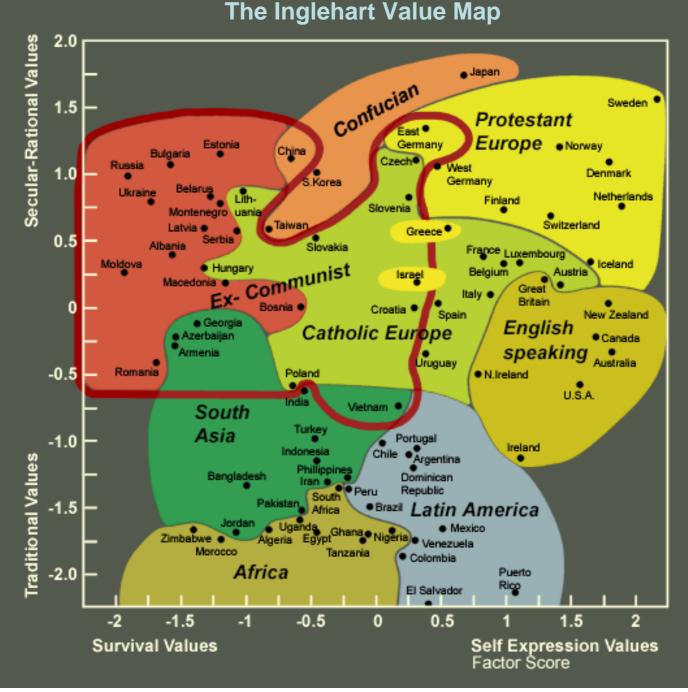
Japan \$4.3 tri, China \$1.1 tri, South Korea \$421.1 bil,
 Singapore \$99.4 bil, North Korea \$15.7 bil, Laos \$1.5 bil

Diversity of East Asia (political systems)

- Liberal democratic regimes
- Authoritative regimes
 - Malaysia and Singapore
 - Communist regimes (China, Vietnam, Laos)
 - Military dictatorships (Myanmar)
 - Rule by Sultan (Brunei)

Diversity of East Asia (culture and religion)

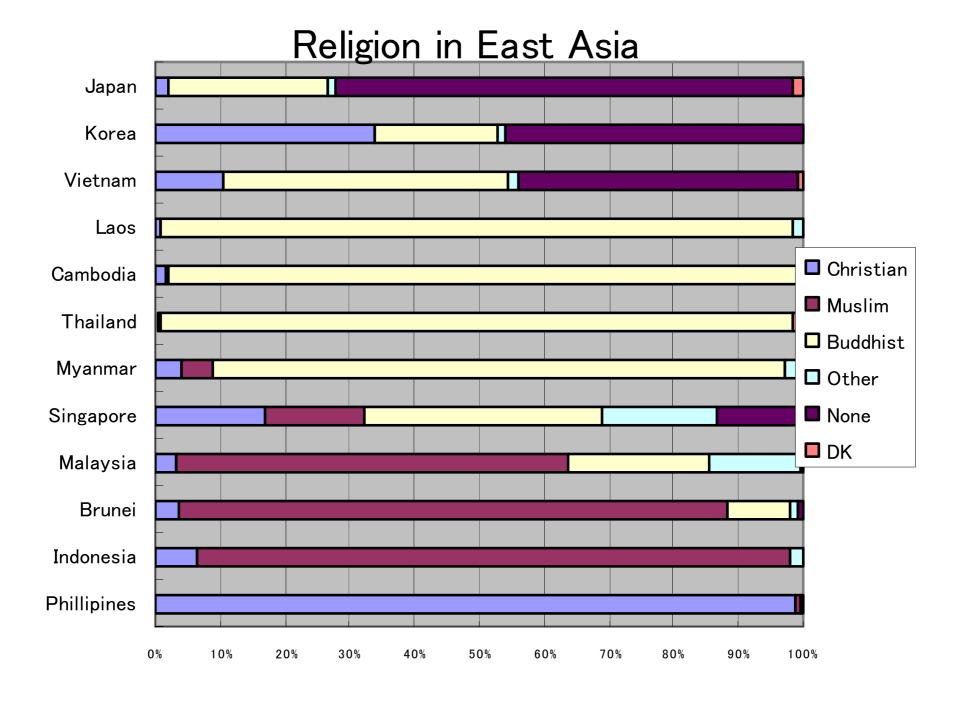
- Buddhism (Mahayana Buddhism, Theravada Buddhism)
- Confucianism
- Taoism
- Shintoism
- Christianity (Protestant, Catholic)
- Islam
- Hinduism



Source: Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Map of the World Written by Ronald Inglehart, http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/

Findings of Asia Barometer

- Project undertaken by the Institute of Oriental Culture, The University of Tokyo (Inoguchi, Dadabaev, Tanaka and forthcoming)
- Standardized attitude survey of Asian countries on daily life, society, and politics of ordinary people
- In 2003, the survey was carried out in 10 Asian countries.
- In 2004, the survey covered an additional ten Southeast Asian countries, Japan, China, and South Korea.



Do you think that ,overall, you are happy these days?

Japan	63
-------------------------	----

- South Korea 53
- China 68
- Malaysia 76
- Thailand 72
- Sri Lanka83

What kind of person do you want your child(ren) to be? (Male)

- "A great scholar"
- Myanmar79
- Thailand 38
- China 24
- South Korea
 11
- Japan

What kind of person do you want your child(ren) to be? (Male)

- "Person who takes good care of family"
- Myanmar12

•	Thailand	34
	11141414	

- China 16
- South Korea
 31
- Japan64

Which country do you think you belong?

Thailand Thai 100

South Korean 100

Japan
 Japanese
 91

• China Chinese 85

Do you think you are a part of a large group including other countries? (Asian)

 Myanmar 	92
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- South Korea 71
- Thailand 68
- Japan42
- China 6

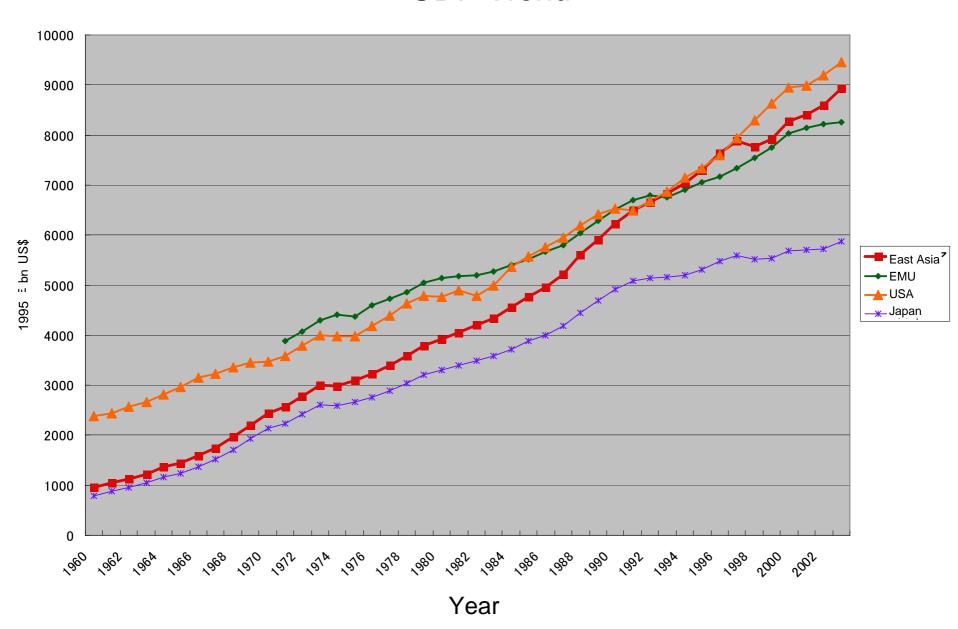
Is it possible to establish an East Asian community?

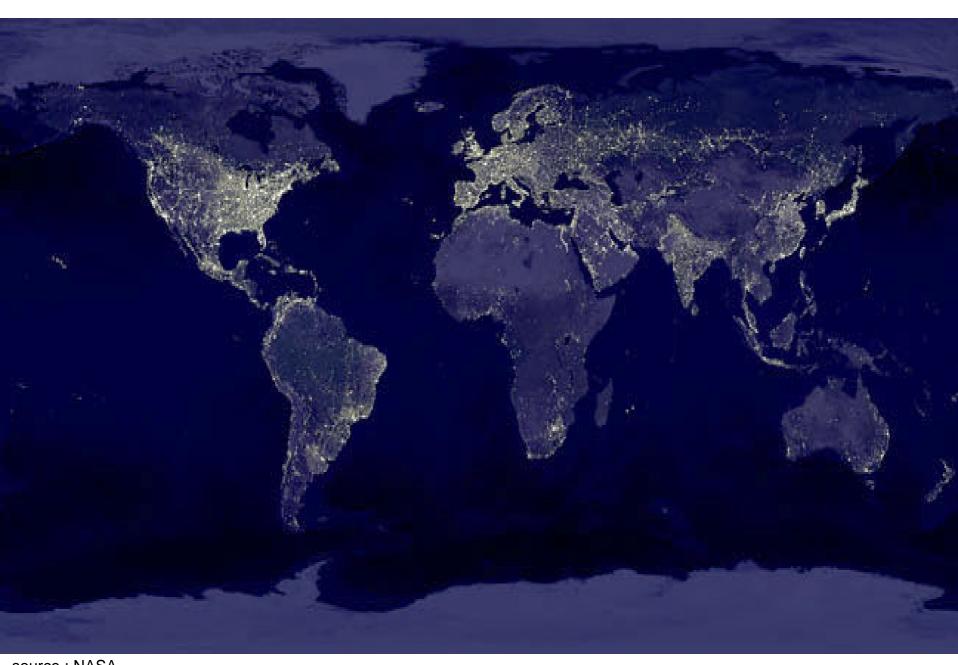
- It appears difficult to establish a "community" embracing values and beliefs in the short run.
- However, it does not mean "regional cooperation" is impossible or desired.
- The growing economic dependency requires proper regimes for economic crisis management and negotiation.

Changes in Regional Trade (1980-2003)

- Ratio of regional imports in East Asia
 - -From 33.9% to 50.5%
- Ratio of regional import in NAFTA
 - -From 33.6% to 55.4%
- Ratio of regional import in EU
 - -From 61.0% to 61.4%

GDP Trend





source : NASA http://www.nasa.gov/centers/goddard/images/content/94112main_flat_earth_nightm.jpg

Political Potential

- "East Asia" is increasing its presence in the political arena.
- More "forums" (ministerial meeting, etc.) are held.
- Major countries (Japan, China) play more active roles.
- US expresses less opposition than before.

Constraints?

- Economy-led formation of community?
- Community of the elite
- Is there a populous foundation?
- Is there substantial progress?
- Is free trade in agriculture possible?
- Confrontation between Japan and China
- Issue of political leadership
- How does the geography change?

Relationship with International Policy in Crisis

- Mechanism beyond bilateral relationship? Buffers for the conflict between Japan and China.
- Inadequate scheme for a crisis such as Korean peninsula and the Taiwan Straits
- Building a community of people would take a long time. On the other hand, the formation of a community is a meaningful goal to achieve in the long run.

What shape is emerging East Asia going to take?

- Present crises will continue.
- Korean peninsula may become an even more dangerous area.
- The stabilization of the Taiwan Straits is unclear.
- The unstable relations between major countries will continue.
- Economic interdependence will be deepened.
- Initiatives for cooperation and community formation will make a progress.