

ASIA'S NEW WORLD ORDER

Also by George T. Yu

CHINA'S AFRICAN POLICY

CHINA IN TRANSITION

MODERN CHINA AND ITS REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

(with Robert A. Scalapino)

Asia's New World Order

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Preface

Changes of historic proportions are occurring globally and a new international context is rapidly developing. The disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the end of the cold war and economic developmental 'miracles' in disparate regions of the globe have brought a vast transformation to the political, economic and security configurations of the world. Gone is the bi-polar world of superpower rivalry, replaced by new international patterns and trends.

Nowhere is the transformation more striking than in East and Southeast Asia, the region which includes China, Japan, the 'four tigers' of Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan, and the emerging 'tigers' of Southeast Asia. The regional transformation in turn has not only impacted upon the entities within the region itself but has also changed global politics and international relations. Consider, for example, the growing economic importance of the countries and territories of East and Southeast Asia both as markets and centres of manufacturing in the globalization of production and trade. But the transformation is not limited to the economic sector; the political and security realms have also experienced vast changes, with a trend towards more political 'openness' and a strategy, in most instances, of focusing on economic development in place of military dominance.

These and other changes have impacted upon the position of states outside the immediate region. For example, the mission and role of the United States, the last remaining superpower, has been subject to challenge and redefinition. In place of acting as hegemon, the United States must now further its interests in Asia by working with others in the region to promote security and development.

Against the background of the dramatic changes taking place in East and Southeast Asia and the changing role of the United States in the region, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations made a commitment to expand programme activities directly related to Asia. With a long history of attention

to Japan and Japan–US relations, a new focus was determined. A project was designed to examine the overall political, economic and security developments of the region, to look beyond the customary great-power fixations by examining developments in the lesser powers, and to search for unforeseen policy implications and directions for the United States. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund provided generous financial support for the endeavour.

The project brought together a group of leading specialists on East and Southeast Asia, American foreign policy and America's role in Asia. Each was asked to contribute a designated chapter. In the Introduction, Arthur Cyr discusses Asia and American foreign policy, with an emphasis on comparing Europe and Asia. In the general development chapters, Gerald L. Curtis examines the relevance of the Japanese experience of a one-party dominant system for democracy in East Asia; Robert F. Dernberger classifies and names the economies of East Asia and addresses the question of what should get credit for the East Asian 'miracle'; and Patrick M. Morgan surveys security issues in East Asia and describes how economic development is more important for maintaining peace than American military hegemony.

Looking beyond the major Asian powers and sub-regions, the project examines next three micro developments. B. C. Koh examines the continuities and changes in the reunification policies of both North and South Korea and the US role in developments on the Korean peninsula; Harry Harding analyses Taiwan's relations with East Asia, explaining how Taiwan seeks to integrate itself with the rest of the region while Beijing plays a major role in the process as well; and Donald K. Emmerson looks at the issues of diversity, growth and stability in Southeast Asia through developments of the emerged and emerging 'tigers'.

Robert A. Scalapino concludes the project with an overview of economic and political developments in Asia, arguing that in order to further its interests there the United States must remedy its domestic weaknesses and work jointly with others in the region to create institutions and mechanism to promote security and development.

Few projects are the labour of a single individual or institution, especially collected works. I have benefited from and

received the support of many individuals and institutions. I wish to thank the chapter authors for their acceptance of the invitation to participate in the project and for their individual and collective contributions. Each has worked diligently to bring the project to a fruitful conclusion. The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the sponsors and organizers of the project with the support of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, has been unflinching in its encouragement and support; I am especially appreciative of President John E. Rielly and Vice President Arthur Cyr for the invitation to direct the project. Arthur Cyr has been particularly generous, chairing most meetings of the year-long seminar, during which the individual papers were first presented, and graciously consenting to write the Introduction. I wish to thank also the Wingspread Center of the Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, for inviting project members to meet, discuss and finalize for publication the papers in a most tranquil setting. M. Jon Vondracek, former Vice President for Program and Public Communications of the Wingspread Center, was generous with his hospitality and stimulating in his comments. Ambassador Charles W. Freeman, Jr, who participated in the Wingspread Center retreat, was a welcome and constructive critic.

Last but not least, I am indebted to a patient and efficient staff of the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, for their unflinching assistance and support. The project would have encountered great difficulties meeting deadlines and other tasks without Paul Bolt's research and editorial assistance. Mary Oberg in her usual proficient manner typed the manuscript while attending to her demanding and diverse responsibilities.

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Arthur Cyr is President, World Trade Center, Chicago, and was Vice President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. He served on the faculty and in the administration at UCLA and on the staff of the Ford Foundation. He teaches at Northwestern University and lectures occasionally at other institutions. Among his publications are *After the Cold War: American Foreign Policy, Europe and Asia* (forthcoming); *US Foreign Policy and European Security* (1987); and *British Foreign Policy and the Atlantic Area: The Techniques of Accommodation* (1979). He graduated from UCLA and received his PhD in political science from Harvard University.

Robert F. Dernberger is Director of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan and author of several books and over 50 published papers on China and Asia. He has been editor of *Economic Development and Cultural Change* and President of the Association of Comparative Economic Studies. He has served as Chairman of the Advisory Committee for the Study of Technology Transfer to China, Office of Technology Assessment, US Congress. He received his PhD in economics from Harvard University in 1965.

Donald K. Emmerson is Professor of Political Science and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin-

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Robert A. Scalapino is Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley. From 1949 to 1990 he taught in the Political Science Department at the University of California, Berkeley. He was department chairman from 1962 to 1965. In 1978 he founded the Institute of East Asian Studies and remained its director until his retirement in 1990. He is the editor of *Asian Survey* and the author of numerous works, including *The Last Leninists: The Uncertain Future of Asia's Communist States* (1992) and *The Politics of Development: Perspectives on Twentieth-Century Asia* (1989). He received his MA and PhD from Harvard University.

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