

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xv</i>
1 Introduction	1
What is and what drives IREA?	1
IREA as a field of study	3
Why we study IREA	4
Theory, scholarship, and policy analysis	5
Learning strategies	6
Further reading	9
2 Theorizing IREA	11
Conventional framings of IREA	13
Nation and state in war and peace	16
Bipolarity	17
Regional industrial diffusion	20
East Asian theories	21
“IR Theory with Chinese characteristics”	23
Does Japan have an IR theory?	26
“Korea between empires”	29
Regional identity and an ASEAN IR theory	31
National theories and a theory of IREA	33
A framework for IREA	34
Further reading	36
3 Historical International Orders	39
International orders and order transformation	40
The warring states	40
The Chinese world order	42
European colonial governance	45
The greater East Asian sphere of co-prosperity	51
Imperial orders and modern transformation	55
Further reading	57
4 War, Peace, and Geopolitical Dynamics	59
The Cold War and hot wars	60
War over state constitution	60
War over state boundaries	65

War and transborder nations	66
Geopolitical drivers	69
Japan and China in East Asia	70
Rise of China in post-Cold War East Asia	75
US engagement with East Asia	77
Between great powers	80
Further reading	84
5 The Bipolar Structure	87
International structure in a regional system	88
Power vacuum	91
The Yalta vision	92
Concentration of power	93
Organization of collective forces	95
The bipolar structure in IREA	98
Correction, disturbance, and structural shift	99
A historical pattern or a generic structure	102
Further reading	103
6 Culture in IREA	105
Culture in International Relations	106
Confucian authority structure	110
International policy and behavior, Japanese style	112
National identity	115
Religion as a political force	118
Third-wave democracy	119
China's evolving international identity	122
The ASEAN way and the Asia-Pacific way	124
The normative structure of IREA	125
Further reading	127
7 Industrial Development	129
East Asian growth	130
The lead goose	132
Akamatsu's original model	134
"Four little dragons" and newly industrializing economies	135
A theory of East Asian growth	137
The rise of China, economically	140
Debating Smith, Wallerstein, and Kant	144
Further reading	148
8 Economic Regionalism	151
Regionalization and regionalism	152
Market forces and institutions as drivers	154
Visions of a region	156

PBEC, APEC, and Pacific business cooperation	162
“Funerals,” “weddings,” and the noodle bowl	164
APT, EAS, and ASEAN centrality	169
TPP, RCEP, and BIFURCATION of a region?	171
Principal movers and shapers	177
Multilateral institutions of economic regionalism	183
Further reading	186
9 Cooperative Security	189
An “after-victory” moment	190
China and ASEAN rapprochement	192
Concept and theory	196
Politics of multilateral engagement	197
Institutionalizing an East Asian security order	199
East Asian security architecture	202
Balance of power or institutions and community?	205
Further reading	208
10 Transnational Challenge	209
Transnational issues	210
Ethnicity, religion, and the nation-state	213
Rights movement and transnational activism	217
Environmental security	221
International institutions of transborder governance	223
States and interstate politics	226
Further reading	228
11 Domestic Structures	231
The “second image” problem	232
Three types of domestic structures	233
Regime types and IREA	234
International policy of the developmental state	235
Liberal states, pacific community, and democratic peace	237
Social ideas, economic interests, and national identities	239
When Duterte became President	241
Mechanisms of domestic and international linkage	242
Further reading	244
12 East Asia in the World	247
East Asia as a civilization	248
International society and East Asia	250
Triple transformations	252
Industrial revolution, East Asian style	253
Democratic transitions	256

Civilizational identity of the region	259
Three challenges	261
Agent, structure, and East Asia as a platform	262
Further reading	264
13 Conclusion: Futures of IREA	267
Key dynamics of IREA	267
Three key areas to watch for future IREA	269
<i>Bibliography</i>	273
<i>Index</i>	293

1 Introduction

In This Chapter...

- What is and what drives IREA?
- IREA as a field of study
- Why we study IREA
- Theory, scholarship, and policy analysis
- Learning strategies

International Relations in East Asia (IREA) have experienced significant changes since the early twentieth century. The impact many countries in East Asia now have in world politics, international security, the global economy and development, and global governance is far greater than it ever was. More importantly, the international order in the region has transformed dramatically over the past 150 years, from the Chinese world order to European colonial governance and imperial competition, and to the Japan-led greater East Asian sphere of influence; and from the Cold War bipolar order to the US-led hegemonic order, and now to an increasingly bipolar order of China-US competition and engagement. Not only have the principal movers and shapers and their power relations changed, but the institutions, normative practices, and operation platforms they use to organize IREA have changed as well. To understand the direction in which IREA are moving, we must understand what has been driving the changes. This book explains the dynamism in IREA and how it has driven IREA to unfold and evolve in the way they have.

WHAT IS AND WHAT DRIVES IREA?

IREA are a complex set of international relations in and over East Asia that include both Northwest and Southeast Asia. This system of international relations has evolved in modern times through a series of distinct patterns and manifested in a constant shift of the international order in the region. Curiosity, inquiry, and theorizing over what drives IREA to evolve and take shape has been an important part of the field of study. Much of the attention has concentrated on the external interests and forces in the shaping of IREA. This tradition sees the influence of the geopolitical dynamics of great power competition or, more rigorously, the effects of the international power structure on IREA.

Growing attention is also seen in the role of industrial growth and economic development in IREA and the national and regional systems of organizing production and trade. Industrial growth and economic development after 1945 added significant

substance and dynamism in contemporary IREA and enabled East Asian states to engage with broader international relations. We have traditionally focused on the role of East Asian culture and civilization in the formation of the international identity of East Asian states and developed an analytical tradition that looks at IREA in a binary framework of international society versus East Asia in analyzing IREA. Traditional East Asian culture and civilization have changed with the new national and international political and economic conditions. This has led to a shift in the normative structure in IREA and complicated how East Asian states identify with international society and pursue a particular set of IREA more so than others. A normative structure in IREA is a pattern of distribution of institutional, normative, and civilizational identities of states in IREA. We will discuss this further in Chapters 6 and 12.

These single factor–focused explanations, however, explain some aspects of IREA in isolation. How do these distinct sets of forces relate to one another in a logical relationship? How do they together provide a coherent explanation of what IREA are and what has driven IREA to evolve in the patterns and sequences we have seen? In addition, these single factor–focused explanations identify three key variables in the development of IREA: the material power and capabilities of states and their international distribution; institutional arrangements, normative practices, and cultural identity that reflect, support, rationalize, and influence the power relations; and a set of authority relations among the states in IREA that form the international order in IREA. An analytical framework to stipulate the possible causal relations between these three variables will not only help connect the various aspects of IREA but also help us to think about IREA theoretically and holistically: what are IREA, how do they work, and what drives their development?

This text organizes the content and material in IREA within such a framework. Chapters here aim to demonstrate that the international structure in IREA, i.e., the systemwide distribution of power and interests of the states in IREA, is fundamental in enforcing an international order in IREA. An international structure is unique in the interstate power distribution. It can be hegemonic and hierarchic or multipolar and competitive. Each state has a different position in the structure in relation to the others. Change in the capacity and interests of a state or states leads to shifts in the international structure, i.e., change in the power relations among these states. This in turn results in changes in the effectiveness of the structure on the behavior, action, and interaction of the states.

An international structure enforces an international order through international institutions and normative practices, such as sovereignty, international treaty, tribute system, mechanisms of conflict settlement, hub–spoke alliance system, collective security arrangements, forms of transborder industrial production, rules on trade and transborder flow of capital, products, and people. The distribution of institutional, normative, and civilizational identities among the states forms the normative structure in IREA. These international institutions, normative practices, and cultural identity convey the effects of the power structure on individual states. They reflect, support, and legitimize the power structure, and rationalize, motivate, and constrain action and interaction among states.

Significant shifts in the international structure will eventually lead to the transformation of the international order. In IREA, the international order has

undergone major transformations in the past 150 years: from the Chinese world order up to the mid-nineteenth century, to the European system of colonial governance and imperial competition, Japan's greater East Asian sphere of co-prosperity, the bipolar international order during the Cold War, the US hegemonic hierarchic order in post-Cold War East Asia, up through an increasingly bipolar order in more recent years. An international order is a set of authority relations among states. These relations are supported by the underlying power structure and the associated institutional arrangements and normative practices. An international order is stable when these institutions and norms are observed in state actions and interactions.

Chapters in this text will show how these structural, institutional, and civilizational dynamics have been instrumental in the development of IREA and, more specifically, in the shaping and transformation of international order in IREA. We will show the working of this dynamism in individual functional areas – geopolitics, industrial development, international security, regional community – through discussions in individual chapters. More importantly, each chapter forms a part of the discussion of the unfolding of the structure–institutions–international order dynamism in the overall development of IREA. Overall, the text will show how structural shifts and institutional and normative dynamics have led to the rise and transformations of the international order in East Asia in the past 150 years and how they are influencing IREA to evolve and develop going forward.

IREA AS A FIELD OF STUDY

East Asian international relations constitute a system of relations among nations actively engaging with one another in the region of the eastern part of Asia bordering on the Pacific Ocean. This book introduces students to IREA and offers access to knowledge and scholarship on this critically important subject. While discussing key concepts and issues, analytical frameworks, theories, and research methods, as well as forms and sources of material and data, the book focuses on a unique set of forces and dynamics that drive nations to engage with one another in politics, economics, security, and war, peace and development in East Asia. We investigate the unique power structures, patterns of economic competition and cooperation, and the institutions and normative practices that emerged from their engagement, interaction, and exchange that have helped shape the international order in modern East Asia. In discussing these systemic and functional issues in IREA, the book will cover the international policy and strategy of key countries of significant engagement and influence in IREA.

Treating IREA as a stand-alone subject is not without its challenges. In the first place, the boundary around the discipline of international relations is always contested. Different views exist as to whether international relations should be part of political science or the other way around, that international politics includes national politics. There is also the question of whether regional politics should be part of comparative politics or part of international politics. In a fully developed discipline of international relations, regional studies are always a very prominent subfield.

We treat IREA here as a subfield of international relations. This, however, is complicated, or enriched, by two interesting features of IREA studies. First, studies of IREA often lead us to investigate the forces and factors at the national level that have uniquely shaped relations and interactions in IREA. Quite a bit of scholarship on IREA has developed in the knowledge system of political science, political economy, development studies, sociology, area studies, and cultural studies.

Moreover, the field also draws on knowledge and scholarship from other subfields in IR, such as international security, foreign policy analysis, international political economy, and international diplomacy and history. Consequently, the subfield is influenced by the research focuses, theoretical frameworks, and research methodology in these other areas of the IR discipline.

As we will show in this book, the study of IREA is a study of a miniature system of international relations. Our focus, though, is on the underlying structure of IREA, the institutions and norms that sustain the structural relations, and the dynamics of stability and change in the international order that have shaped war and peace, and poverty and development in East Asia. This focus is manifest in our treatment of an individual functional area of IREA in each chapter, as well as in the theoretical explanation of IREA overall that fashions individual chapters into a coherent thesis.

WHY WE STUDY IREA

There are reasons why IREA has emerged as a popular subject area of study. East Asia is the last area in the world to be affected by the global expansion of the modern international system. It is an area that might have had its own coherent and distinct system that governs the actions of states and structures relations among them. The modern transformations of international order in East Asia in the past 150 years involved not only shifts in the interstate power structure in the region, but also changes in the institutions and normative practices in the conduct of international relations in East Asia. We are interested in how these different sets of dynamics shaped the evolution of the international order in IREA.

Moreover, the system, i.e., the way IREA are structured and organized, may have a role to play in producing some high-impact “East Asian miracles” in industrial development, political modernization, and cultural change in the twentieth century. We are interested in how IREA operate, what drives them, and what influences their development in different functional areas of IREA: in international security, industrial growth, trade, and culture and civilization. We intend to understand all of these in the broad context of established theories and practical experiences as to how a set of international relations progresses and operates in modern times.

Furthermore, there have been a significant number of “system-changing” international events and developments of global significance in post-1945 East Asia; for example, three major wars in the Cold War, waves of rapid industrial growth, and political liberalization in the 1980s and 1990s. Issues stemming from these events and developments decades ago remain high on the agenda in the practice of IREA. They have attracted a great deal of scholarly interest as well as policy efforts to

analyze and forecast IREA for nations' more effective engagement with East Asia. Politicians, policymakers, and policy analysts, as well as business practitioners, social groups, and an engaged public, require knowledge and expertise on IREA and analysis and explanations on these issues.

Finally, as students of international relations, we are naturally interested in what we can learn from IREA about how the general international system works. IREA are a rich set of empirical content that can help us consider concepts and theories established in IR in explaining how international relations are shaped by whom or what, in what mechanisms and on what platforms, and to what ends. We are interested in how general IR knowledge is useful for us to understand IREA. On the other hand, with the rich practice and experience of East Asian states in international relations, our knowledge on IREA can make an important contribution to the development of IR as a body of knowledge.

THEORY, SCHOLARSHIP, AND POLICY ANALYSIS

The reasons for our interest in IREA also point to some of the challenges we face. The first challenge is how to balance between “seeking truth” from empirical material and using established concepts and theoretical frameworks and applying them to the empirical setting. This is a broad challenge for the social sciences generally, not just IREA students. But there is an element of uniqueness in this challenge to IREA studies. IREA are often seen as “non-Western” international relations, and as such, non-Western approaches might be required for explaining and interpreting IREA (Hoffman 1977; Holsti 1985; Acharya & Buzan 2010; Chan & Moore 2009). Identifying where these non-Western approaches come from, though, has been a challenge for attentive scholars and theorists for decades: from the East Asian intellectual traditions or from the ever-evolving practice of IREA? Our focus in this text is to scope knowledge on IREA rather than a non-Western theory of international relations. For this purpose, we engage established theories and concepts, Western or non-Western, to help us understand the empirical patterns and trends in specific functional and issue areas of IREA. We also explore the inherent logic underlying the patterns and driving their change in IREA and use this to frame the rich body of empirical material of IREA. The rich empirical material allows us to think about IREA theoretically. Chapter 2 will discuss this overall approach in greater depth.

The broad scholarly and policy interest in IREA also influences the focus and methods of research and the standards of scholarship in IR. There are pressures from various directions that combine to compel scholars to be more active and impactful and engage in policy issues, writing op-ed pieces, commissioned reports and community contributions, and to be active and effective in scholarly inquiry in systematic investigations on issues important for knowledge development on the subject. Both avenues of activity have their value in contributing to the development of knowledge and expertise under the current research environment. It is a challenge to ensure that both contribute to the growth of knowledge and the impact of our research.

This challenge can be further complicated by the politics of international policy with East Asia in the national capital where a different approach by the current administration can brush aside much of the research focus, knowledge products, and networks of knowledge production on IREA. As a student of international relations, we will want our knowledge and scholarly work to be useful for policy analysis and general practice of international relations. Understanding the dynamics of knowledge development and skill building in this regard would be useful for us to meet the challenge.

LEARNING STRATEGIES

In light of the preceding discussion, how do we go about studying this subject? More practically, how do we use this book for our classroom learning? Knowledge on IREA is organized in this text around a key “middle-range theory” in each chapter about what drives IREA in that functional area. In each chapter, you will learn to apply theoretical perspectives to the analysis of IREA in functional areas. These theoretical perspectives focus on geopolitical competition, structural dynamics, cultural and normative factors, transborder industrial integration, multilateral institutions, nontraditional challenges, domestic structures, and global structure and international society, and how they have influenced the shaping of the international order in a particular functional area of IREA.

Chapter 4 looks at geopolitics in East Asia in the analytical tradition of classical realism. It focuses on the unique causes of war and conditions for peace in IREA and the role of geopolitical competition of the major powers in the shaping of contemporary IREA: Japan, China, United States, ASEAN, and middle powers. Chapter 4 represents a conventional account of IREA and an application of one of the middle-range theories to IREA. In the overall framework explaining IREA, it forms part of the investigation of the forces in the power distribution in East Asia.

Chapter 5 takes this discussion of power distribution in IREA in a more rigorous structuralist direction. It focuses on the formation and transformation of the international structure in IREA and its defining character. The chapter asks whether there was an international structure in IREA and how these structures emerged and evolved in the context of Cold War East Asia. More importantly, it asks whether the bipolar structure that developed was the effect of the structural dynamics in the historical evolution of the power structure in IREA or that of the unique sets of conditions during the Cold War. In exploring this topic, the chapter highlights the organization of alliances and partnerships in each camp as evidence for the role of institutional arrangements and normative practices in the shaping of the bipolar structure.

Chapter 6 investigates the cultural, normative, and civilizational dynamics that have shaped IREA and the emergent normative structure that sustains the international order in IREA. In particular, the chapter works carefully to consider “East Asian culture,” or civilization, and its contemporary development and transformation. East Asian culture is believed to be an important variable defining the distinct

character of IREA. Chapter 6 shows that culture, social values and national identity have significantly changed in East Asian nations. This has blurred the traditional boundary between East and West and replaces it with a divide between “liberal” and “conservative” that aligns states into different groups. The chapter explains why and how culture matters in IREA today.

Chapter 7 discusses the growth of national capabilities of East Asian states. This distinct growth in their industrial, financial, and trading capabilities adds new dynamics to the power distribution in IREA and influences the power structure underlying the international order. Moreover, the chapter explores the institutions and normative practices of national and transborder organization of industrial production in East Asia. The flying geese pattern of industrial development and flying geese model of regional industrial diffusion are the focus of the chapter’s discussion.

Chapter 8 focuses on the building of multilateral institutions for such an economic community in East Asia in the past 30 years. We use methods and frameworks of institutional analysis and employ concepts and theories of multilateral institutionalism to assess how regional economic cooperation and integration have been achieved. Chapter 8 discusses the politics of East Asian regionalism and engages the debate over the role of multilateral institutions and market forces of industrial development in regional economic cooperation and integration.

Chapter 9 discusses the role of multilateral institutions in shaping the international security order in East Asia. The chapter examines the rise of the movement of multilateral institutionalism and the shaping of a new international security in post–Cold War East Asia. It investigates the challenge of institutionalizing commitments to common security and building confidence and trust among dialogue partners and the piecemeal, accumulative process of reaching agreement on the rules and norms of states to act for a security order in East Asia. The chapter discusses the dependency of institutions on the power structure for their effectiveness in ensuring a regional security order.

The unique form and substance of transnational challenges in IREA and the rise of international institutions to organize regional governance to meet those challenges are discussed in Chapter 10. The chapter uses a range of practical cases to show that growing transborder ethnic, religious, civilizational, and economic interests and activities are increasingly requiring some form of effective management and governance for the security and wellbeing of people in the region. The state-centric international institutions are inadequate in meeting this challenge. New institutional arrangements and norms are developing to form an international order on transnational issues.

Chapter 11 investigates the domestic sources of international behavior of East Asian states and the impact of the state’s “internal structures” on the international order in the region. Structural effects and institutional dynamics transcend state boundaries. The chapter explores how domestic structures, institutions, and normative practices in domestic politics influence state behavior, action, and policy and, ultimately, how the domestic power structure translates into international institutions and policy, and influences the shaping of the international order.

Chapter 12 analyzes the changing relations between East Asia and the international system. East Asia itself has transformed significantly in the twentieth century. The chapter examines the general claims that IREA have been significantly shaped by the world power structure, international society, and the current global international order. It discusses in detail how and to what extent the forces of IREA influence the world power structure, international society, and the global international order. It suggests a two-way influence between IREA and global IR. But more importantly, the chapter highlights the original sources of the shaping of the international order in East Asia.

The two chapters immediately following this frame the foregoing material into a coherent theme on the dynamism of IREA. Chapter 2 looks at various different theories, largely nationally privileged perspectives, on the structure, institutions, and order of IREA and lays out a framework that centers on the mutually constitutive roles of the international structure and institutional and normative dynamics in the shaping of the international order in IREA. This theoretical framework helps connect discussions in the individual chapters into a logical process of the historical evolution of IREA: the power distribution and its shifts, development in institutional arrangements and normative practices, and the stability and transformation of the international order.

Chapter 3 investigates the historical instances of the transformation of international order in East Asia. It presents more empirical material on what is explained in our explanation of IREA. The chapter discusses the distinct interstate power structure and institutional arrangements and normative practices that underlay each of these international orders and shows the effects of the dynamics of the interstate power structure and institutions and norms on the transformation of one international order into another. In this exercise, the chapter highlights some of the key indicators and methods in the analysis of international orders and their transformation.

There seems to be a historical sequence in the subject matters these chapters deal with. This in a way helps us to understand the dynamic nature of IREA and the logical relations between the different aspects of IREA. Structural shift, institutional change, normative adaptation, and the transformation of the international order take time to connect and effectuate. There has been a distinct pattern of transformation of the international order in East Asia over the past 150 years. The development of the different ways IREA are organized and different mechanisms in which IREA are enabled brings us back to the central questions: Have IREA evolved to improve the way they are organized in the historical shifts in the power structure and institutional and normative dynamics of IREA? Have IREA moved from one set of power relations and institutions to another? Are all of these forms of power and influence still available in the toolbox of IREA? Do these forms of power and influence and the patterns of change in IREA constitute a distinct system of international relations? We hope to provide some answers to these questions over the course of the chapters that follow.

The text here presents a large amount of material and evidence, as well as scholarship, on these issues and topics. For a learning strategy, the reader may focus on one or two particular functional areas – security and military dynamics, great powers and geopolitics, regional political economy and geoeconomics, cultural dynamics and national identity, values and normative structure, transnational challenges,

multilateral institutions, domestic structures, East Asia in international society, and so forth. One could also focus on the theoretical side of these topics and investigate whether there are such things as international structures, institutions, and orders and, if so, how they might work and how one has influenced the others in the evolution of IREA. You will take structuralist, institutionalist, or cultural theories, for example, to task and critically examine them in the working of IREA. Or you might come up with something of your own making.

The text is also written within a context of a changing scholarly environment and system of material, information, and content distribution. In a traditional scholarly environment, detailed material and information are often essential as evidence presented in texts on a specific subject matter. However, such materials are increasingly available in digital form, with instant accessibility, on fully developed content holding platforms and, best of all, in the public domain. This text would serve as a guide on locating and assessing these contents and materials while leaving more space for the text itself on analysis, interpretation, discussion, and overall framing. The text, after all, is aimed at enabling the reader to acquire solid knowledge on the significant experiences, events, and developments in IREA, an ability to identify patterns in IREA in a particular region, a set of skills to interpret or explain a particular pattern as an instance of how an international system works, and, from there hopefully, some ability to forecast the unfolding of these patterns in the years or decades to come as IREA continue to evolve as we look on.

Further Reading

- Acharya, Amitav, 1997. "Ideas, Identity, and Institution-Building: From the 'ASEAN Way' to the 'Asia-Pacific Way'?" *The Pacific Review* 10(3):319–346.
- Gilpin, Robert, 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goh, Evelyn, 2013. *The Struggle for Order: Hegemony, Hierarchy, and Transition in Post-Cold War East Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ikenberry, G. John, 2015. *Power, Order, and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inoguchi, Takashi, and Edward Newman, 2002. "Towards an East Asian IR Community?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 2(1): 11–20.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., 2002. "Area Studies, Regional Studies, and International Relations," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 2(1): 127–138.
- Lake, David A., 1984. "Beneath the Commerce of Nations: A Theory of International Economic Structures," *International Studies Quarterly* 28(2):143–170.
- Lake, David A., 2009. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Pekkanen, Saadia, John Ravenhill, and Rosemary Foot, 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waltz, Kenneth, 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Index

- Abe, Shinzo, 29, 115, 181
Abenomics, 181
Acharya, Amitav, 31, 32, 76, 125, 166, 167, 197, 206
ADB, 163
AIIB, vi, 101, 176
Akamatsu, Kaname, 129, 134, 137, 138, 288
Alagappa, Muthiah, 32, 60, 196, 197, 203, 205, 206, 208, 288
alignment, 66, 74, 79, 89, 93, 94, 95, 99, 100, 102, 268
alliance system, 30, 95, 97, 200, 204, 206, 239
AMU, 194
APEC, vi, 80, 151, 154, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 165, 166, 168, 170, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 186, 187, 200, 288, 289, 294, 300, 301
APT, vi, 151, 158, 164, 169–171, 174, 176, 196
ARF, vi, 194, 196–198, 200, 202
ARMM, 214
Arrighi, Giovanni, 75, 145, 248, 288
ASEAN, vi, 11, 31, 32, 67, 68, 80–83, 105, 116, 124, 125, 139, 147, 151, 158, 162–171, 173, 175, 176, 178, 182, 185–187, 189, 192–208, 211, 213, 225, 226, 228, 263, 287, 288, 290, 291, 295, 297, 298, 300–302, 305
ASEAN centrality, 169–171, 185
ASEAN Concord II, 167, 186
ASEAN Declaration, 166
ASEAN way, 32, 68, 105, 124, 125, 167, 168, 186, 195, 197, 207, 208, 225, 226, 287
ASEAN+, 170
Asian democracy, 110, 121, 260
Asian financial crisis, 130, 135, 148
Asian modernity, 120, 121
Asian values, 105, 110, 120, 121, 250, 259, 260, 295
Asia-Pacific vision, 158
Ayoob, Mohammed, 228, 288
Ba, Alice, 193, 289
Baldwin, David, 228, 289
Baldwin, Richard, 186, 289
Battle of Dien Bien Phu, 63
Beeson, Mark, 289
Berger, Mark, 166, 186, 289
Bifurcation, 18, 126, 127, 151, 171
Bipolarity, 18, 87, 91, 93, 95, 97–103, 126, 189, 190, 209, 263, 269
BLOs, vi, 224
Bogor Goals, 165
BRI, 101, 144, 160, 161, 270
Buddhism, 110, 118, 119, 302
Bull, Hedley, 15, 56, 250, 264, 289
Busan, Barry, 15, 25, 32, 76, 251, 252, 264, 289
Cairo Declaration, 92
Cambodia-Vietnamese War, 64
Capitalism, 137, 155
Centripetal, 42, 43, 112, 120, 122, 257
CEPA, 172
Cha, Victor, 19, 30, 95, 96, 97, 103, 290
Chaebol, 256
Chang Mai Initiative, 170, 194
Chiang Kai-shek, 62
China Proper, 42, 55
Chinese World Order, 14, 30, 39, 40, 42–45, 49, 51–53, 55, 56, 66, 71, 73, 74, 87, 91, 112, 116, 195
CICA, 202, 203, 290
Clark, Ian, 15, 76, 251, 290, 291
classic realism, 88
Cochinchina, 46

- Cohen, Warren I., 43, 44, 249, 291
 Cold War, 18, 20, 30, 32, 45, 59–61, 67, 68, 78, 80–84, 87, 88, 94, 99–103, 112, 113–117, 119, 120, 121, 127, 147, 189, 190–193, 195–198, 202, 203, 205–207, 211, 227, 252, 268, 270, 288, 293, 294, 303
 Cold War regime, 120
 collective action, 82, 91, 184, 204, 218, 219, 222
 collective identity, 32, 115, 119, 182, 270
 collectivism, 122
 colonialism, 72, 81
 Columbo Plan, 164
 common security, 190, 196, 207
 communal conflicts, 66, 119, 125, 211, 223
 Communism International, 98, 123
 Communists, 18, 61, 63, 67, 72, 74, 82, 93, 97, 108, 119, 122, 190, 192, 197
 confidence-building, 197, 202
 Confucian authority structure, 110, 111, 116, 124
 Confucianism, 110, 111, 119, 122, 259, 260
 constructivism, 24, 32
 continental East Asia, vi, 14, 18, 27, 40, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51–53, 55, 56, 70–73, 77, 78, 91, 94, 95, 97–100, 102, 106, 111, 112, 114, 117, 118, 121, 164, 166, 167, 174, 191, 192, 195, 249, 259, 267
 continentalism, 52, 53
 Correlations of War Project, 233
 cosmopolitan law, 147
 CPTPP vi, 158, 177
 critical theory, 109
 CSCAP, 198, 200, 291
 cultural character, 107, 122, 123, 124
 cultural theory, 28, 109
 Cumings, Bruce, 17, 61, 138, 148, 149, 235, 246, 291, 304

 Daoism, 118
 De Bary, William Theodore, 15, 109, 291
 democratic peace, 233, 238
 Dent, Christopher M., 84, 186, 291
 development financing, 144, 153, 161, 176
 developmental peace, 238
 developmental state, 73, 133, 145, 239, 243, 253, 260, 296
 developmentalism, 132
 domino, 94
 Doyle, Michael W., 147, 233, 238, 244, 245, 291
 DPRK, vi, 61, 198
 DRV, 63
 dual track dynamism, 222
 Duterte, Rodrigo, 214, 231, 241

 EAEC, vi, 158, 165, 187, 294, 302
 EAS, vi, 80, 151, 158, 162, 169–171, 174, 176, 196
 East Asia cooperation, 170
 East Asian Business Council, 170
 East Asian civilization, 15, 52, 105, 109, 110, 111, 248, 249
 East Asian crescent, 49, 60, 91, 93, 94, 95, 97, 101, 102, 116, 121, 122
 East Asian culture, 6, 69, 106, 108, 110, 120, 121, 126, 268
 East Asian growth, 130, 131, 135, 138, 140, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 153, 157, 172, 178, 268
 East Asian miracle, 110, 129, 149, 253, 256
 East Asian model of economic development, 122, 250
 East Asian modernity, 110
 East Asian nationalism, 117
 East Asian peace, 20, 60
 East Asian Peace, 85, 238, 303, 304
 East Asian regionalism, 20, 101, 124, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 200, 232, 240, 250, 268, 295
 East Asian vision, 157, 175
 East Indies, 46, 119
 East Indies Company, 46
 East Sea, 65, 71, 111
 East Sea dispute, 65
 East Sea rim, 71
 ECFA, vi, 172
 ecological citizenship, 222
 empire building, 46, 50, 51, 55
 enfeoffment regime, 41, 42
 English school, 14, 22, 250–252, 264
 environmental justice, 222

- ethnopolitical conflict, 66, 68
 ethnopolitical group, 67
- Fairbank, John King, 14, 15, 42–45, 50, 56,
 74, 109, 248, 249, 264, 292, 301
- Far East, 13, 72, 78, 92, 248, 291
- Far East Agreement, 92
- FDI, vi, 137, 138, 142–144, 161, 179, 182,
 281, 303
- financial economy, 179
- flying geese, 20, 132, 138–140, 142–145,
 148, 149, 162, 163, 182, 296, 297
- Fourteen Points, 78
- Fravel, M. Taylor, 65, 85, 201, 292
- French Indochina, 63
- Friedberg, 19, 76, 290, 292
- FTA, 159, 160, 165, 173, 175, 182, 194
- FTAA, vi, 158, 200
- Fukuda, 73, 158, 163, 292
- Fukuda Doctrine, 73, 163
- Fukuzawa, 292
- Fukuzawa, Yukichi, 26, 128, 292
- Gaddis, John Lewis, 292
- galactic polity, 46
- Geertz, Clifford, 292
- Gellner, Ernest, 116, 293
- Geneva Conference, 63
- geopolitical grouping, 82
- geopolitics, 6, 8, 16, 17, 20, 21, 30, 69, 70,
 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 87, 146,
 201, 209, 241, 242, 267, 269, 270,
 288
- George, Alexander, 58, 93, 107, 293, 296,
 297, 299
- Gerschenkron, Alexander, 144–145, 293
- Gilpin, Robert, 75, 89, 91, 93, 101, 262,
 264, 293
- global international society, 15, 251, 252
- globalization, 144, 146, 180, 219, 220, 262,
 269, 295
- Goh, Evelyn, 19, 76, 91, 95, 96, 97, 192,
 204, 205, 238, 239, 293
- Gong, Gerrit W., 15, 45, 51, 128, 251, 293
- Gourevitch, Peter, 232, 245, 293
- Great East Asian Sphere of Prosperity, 53
- Greater China Three, 165
- Gries, Peter, 117, 293, 294
- group theory, 107
- guerrilla war, 68
- Gurr, Ted Robert, 66, 67, 233, 245, 294
- Haas, Ernst, 159, 223, 228, 294
- haijing* (海禁), 49
- Hall, Peter A., 155, 174, 186, 294, 300
- He, Baogang, 14, 180, 186, 294
- hedging, 83
- Higgott, Richard
- Hoffmann, Stanley, 294
- Holsti K.J, 294
- horizontal integration, 158
- HRD Fund, 170
- hub-spoke, 95, 96
- Huntington, Samuel P., 108, 109, 121, 122,
 128, 235, 245, 259, 294, 295
- Hurrell, Andrew, 251, 295
- ideational forces, 125
- IISS, 200
- Ikenberry, G. John, 25, 76, 89, 91, 95, 96,
 103, 123, 145, 190–192, 204, 205,
 208, 262, 293, 295, 297
- illiberal democracy, 121
- import substitution, 134
- inclusion-exclusion logic, 178
- Indochina War, 63, 64, 194
- industrial diffusion, 20, 100, 132, 135, 138,
 139, 182
- industrial policy, 132, 133, 236, 253
- industrial production, 72, 131, 134, 137,
 138–142, 144, 145, 147, 151–153,
 158
- industrial revolutions, 46
- Inoguchi, Takashi, x, 27, 28, 186, 295, 296
- institutional vacuum, 56
- intergovernmental, 152–154, 156, 159,
 161, 162, 165, 166, 169–171, 173,
 185, 197, 198, 200, 202, 226
- internal conflict, 66
- international order, 4, 6–8, 14, 21, 25,
 32–34, 41, 45, 55, 61, 64, 70, 73, 75,
 76, 80, 81, 83, 88, 89, 91–93, 95, 97,
 99–103, 109, 112–116, 121, 126,
 127, 156, 180, 189, 190, 195, 204,
 205, 250–253, 262, 263, 267–269,
 295, 298

- international society, 9, 14, 15, 204, 248, 251, 252, 261–263, 270, 289
- International structure, 18, 87, 88, 93, 100
- internationalization of Japan, 28, 74, 114
- interstate relations, 14, 15, 34, 35, 40, 42–45, 49, 51, 55, 56, 60, 63, 66–70, 77, 88, 91, 96, 117, 119, 123, 146, 147, 156, 209, 217, 228, 243, 259, 261, 305
- intrastate conflict, 69
- Iriye, Akira, 28, 52, 112, 113, 114, 296
- ISIS, 198, 214
- Islamism, 67, 68, 118, 119, 212–214
- Islamic state, 67, 118
- Japan-Korean Treaty, 53
- JETRO, vi, 139, 142, 143, 161, 163, 295, 296, 304
- JIIA, 198
- Johnson, Chalmers, 73, 132, 133, 149, 235, 236, 237, 296
- Johnston, Alastair I., 25, 117, 123, 287, 296
- Kang, David C., 30, 43, 44, 59, 76, 112, 124, 238, 239, 248, 296
- Kant, Immanuel, 144, 146, 147, 233, 238, 239, 245, 291, 296
- Kantian peace, 146, 147
- Kennan, George F., 93, 296
- Kennedy, Paul M. x, 75, 145, 296
- Keohane, Robert, 88, 95, 153, 156, 186, 187, 191, 192, 210, 211, 251, 288, 296, 297
- Kim, Samuel S., 252, 288
- Koizumi, Junichiro, 29, 115, 181
- Korean War, 17, 30, 60, 269
- labor rights, 218, 219, 223
- Lake, David, 76, 89, 91, 93, 96, 97, 99, 103, 253, 297, 298
- Lasswell, Harold D., 106, 298
- "learning to one side", 95
- Lee, Kuan Yew, 43, 68, 112, 120, 124, 129, 228, 298
- Leifer, Michael, 298
- liberal international order, 25, 121, 204
- Lipset thesis, 234
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, 234, 245, 298
- low intensity violence, 212, 214
- low-intensity wars, 17
- MacArthur Revolution, 113
- Mahathir, Mohamad, 68, 120, 165
- Mahāyāna Buddhism, 119
- Maltili, Walter, 298
- Mancall, Mark, 298
- Manchuria, 52, 53, 54, 72, 77, 92, 93, 95
- mandate of heaven, 112
- Mao, Zedong, 62
- maritime ban, 49
- maritime East Asia, vi, 18, 53, 67, 91, 94, 95, 97–99, 102, 114, 116, 119, 120, 121, 131, 174, 192, 195
- McCloud, Donald G., 46, 58, 299
- Meiji moment, 114
- Meiji Restoration, 26, 71, 111, 113, 118, 120, 132, 253, 261
- Middle Kingdom, 42, 122, 305
- middle powers, 6, 82, 83, 192
- Mitrany, David, 223, 228, 299
- Modernization, 119, 120, 122, 144
- modern-state building, 220
- Moravcsik, Andrew, 233, 239, 240, 245, 299
- Morgenthau, Hans J., 250, 262, 299
- multination state, 211, 215
- multistate system, 41, 42, 44
- Muslim, 68, 118, 213–216, 249, 259
- mutual constitution, 43, 69, 262
- NAFTA, vi, 155
- national character, 107, 108, 112
- nationalism, 116, 288, 291, 293, 294, 296, 298, 301, 302, 304
- nation-state theory, 16
- natural order, 118
- Naughton, Barry, 122, 140, 299
- neo-Bismarckianism, 25
- neofunctionalism, 159, 223
- neoliberalism, 155
- neorealism, 19, 88, 288
- New Asian Security Concept, 203
- New Deal, 155
- new institutionalism, 155, 156

- new security concept, 190–192, 195–197, 203, 205, 206
- NGOs, 222, 225
- NIEs, 136
- Nixon, Richard M., 74, 78, 79, 299
- nontraditional security, 34, 206, 209, 210, 211, 217, 218, 221, 226, 232, 262
- non-Western, 5, 126, 145, 252, 287
- noodle bowl syndrome, 168
- normal state, 28, 29, 73, 114, 117
- normative structure, 6, 8, 76, 91, 95, 98, 105, 108, 112, 122, 125, 126, 127, 205, 263, 269, 270
- North, Douglas C., vi, 13, 20, 63, 65, 67, 75, 83, 89, 97, 98, 101, 116, 120, 144, 153, 155, 156, 166, 184, 187, 223, 237, 241, 253, 290, 294, 299
- Nye, Joseph S., 24, 124, 156, 210, 211, 290, 296, 300
- ODA, 161
- offensive realism, 24
- open door policy, 77, 78
- open regionalism, 153, 167
- Pacific basin, 162, 164
- Pacific business cooperation, 162–164
- Pacific Forum, 198
- Pacific War, 27, 53, 55, 72, 113, 163, 164, 291
- PAFTAD, vi, 158
- Palais, James B., 30, 109, 300
- Pan-Asianist orientation, 52
- Paris Peace Accords, 64
- Paris Peace Conference, 64
- Park Geun-hye, 241
- Pax Sinica*, 55
- PBEC, vi, 151, 158, 162, 176
- Pempel, T.J., 114, 180, 206, 208, 297, 300
- perception theory, 107
- perpetual peace, 146, 147, 233
- personality, 106, 107
- Pivot to Asia, 66, 80, 101, 174, 177, 179, 199, 200, 242
- Plaza Agreement, 139, 180
- political culture, 83, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113–117, 119–122, 124, 126, 222, 259
- political cycle, 241
- political development, 4, 78, 107, 108, 221, 257, 300
- Potsdam Declaration, 92, 299
- prefecture-county system, 41
- preventive diplomacy, 197, 198, 201
- primary institutions of international society, 251
- product cycle, 131, 138, 141, 144
- production networks, 20, 100, 130, 131, 132, 135, 138, 139, 142, 144, 146, 151, 156, 157, 158, 163, 167, 172, 178, 219, 222, 236, 237, 256, 270, 305
- psychological character, 106
- PTA, 172
- public to private, 144, 160
- Pye, Lucian W., 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 128, 248, 249, 264, 300
- Qin, Yaqing, 24, 41, 300
- quality of governance, 257
- Ravenhill, John, 187, 287, 289, 300, 301
- RCEP, vi, 151, 158, 159, 160, 171, 175, 176, 177, 301
- Reaganomics, 155, 178
- Realpolitik, 267
- regime types, 34, 227, 233, 234, 239, 243, 244
- regional identity, 32, 105, 116, 125, 187, 190, 193, 259, 302
- regionalism, 152, 186, 187, 287, 288, 289, 291, 294, 295, 297, 301, 302
- regionalization, 144, 152, 164, 180, 269
- Reischauer, Edwin, 15, 109, 248, 249, 264, 292, 301
- rent seeking, 82
- responsible stakeholder, 123
- rise of China, 14, 24, 55, 65, 66, 75, 76, 82, 100, 117, 129, 140, 160, 192, 199, 204
- rise of modern Japan, 26
- ROK, vi, 61, 143, 169, 197
- ROV, 63
- Rozman, Gilbert, 30, 288
- rule of origin, 152
- Russo-Japanese War, 77
- Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), 52

- sakoku* (鎖国), 49
 San Francisco system, 73, 114
 SCO, vii, 201, 203, 301
 SEATO, 166
 Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, 65, 117
 SFIA, 198
 Shambaugh, David, x, 25, 75, 123, 297, 301
 Shin, Gi-Wook, 30, 302
 Shintoism, 118
 Sino-Japanese War, 52, 53
 Sino-Soviet split, 63, 99, 100
 Smithian model, 145
 Socialism, 120, 126, 155
 soft power, 24, 123, 124
 South China Sea, 17, 65, 66, 100, 241, 296, 299
 South China Sea disputes, 66
 Spruyt, Hendrik, 58, 291, 302
 SPT, vii, 201, 203
 SRV, 63
 standard of civilization, 15, 251
 Strait Settlements, 46
 strategic compensation, 82
 strategic defensive perimeter, 78
 strategic triangle, 100
 structural change, 75, 76, 253
 structural realism, 76, 88, 262
 structural theory, 88
 structuration theory, 263
 substantive economy, 179–181, 253, 268
swaegug(새국), 49
 TAC, 194
 Taiwan Strait, 17, 60, 62–65, 99
 Taiwan Strait crisis, 62
 Tambiah, Stanley J., 46, 119, 302
 Terada, Takashi, 178, 187, 302
 Thatcherism, 155
 the English school, 14, 250–252
 Theravāda Buddhism, 119
 third wave democracy, 114, 121, 241
 Three World theory, 23
Tianxia, 42, 44, 58, 305
 Tilly, Charles, 69, 302
 Tokugawa system, 45, 49, 53, 71, 72
 Toynbee, Arnold J., 15, 109, 303
 TPP, vii, 80, 158–160, 173–177, 181, 185, 242, 303
 TPSP, 173, 174
 track II dialogue, 198
 transboundary river, 224
 transnational activism, 210, 217, 221, 223, 227
 Treaty of Shimonoseki, 52
 treaty-port system, 49, 251
 tribal conflict, 66
 tribute system, 14, 43, 50, 112, 124, 252, 298
 tripartite partnership, 218
 tripolar, 99, 100, 143, 161
 Tu, Weiming, 122, 128, 259, 303
 Tucker, Nancy B., 85, 303
 UNCLOS, 65
 UNDCP, vii, 224
 unipolarity, 100, 102
 unit of analysis, 109, 248
 UNTAC, vii, 64
 USSR, vii, 17, 23, 56, 62, 63, 95, 100, 189, 268
 Vietnam War, 16, 17, 60, 63, 64, 74, 84, 85, 163, 298, 302
 Vogel, Ezra F., 135, 137, 303
 Wallerstein, Immanuel, 20, 75, 101, 129, 144, 145, 303
 Waltz, Kenneth, 88, 89, 99, 103, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 246, 250, 253, 262, 303
 Wang, Hui, 42, 44, 56, 58, 101, 290, 295, 303, 304
 Warring States system, 40, 41, 42, 49, 55, 56, 70, 71, 72, 111, 267
 Washington Consensus, 130, 178
 Watson, Adam, 15, 56, 250, 264, 289, 304
 Wendt, Alexander E., 24, 29, 32, 109, 262, 304
 Westernization, 122
 Westphalia system, 44, 45, 50, 251
 women rights movements, 220
 world economic structure, 145, 157, 247
 world economic system, 20, 144, 145, 155, 194

world society, 251

World Value Survey, 260

Yahuda, Michael, 18, 87, 95, 99, 100, 103,
297, 305

Yalta vision, 92, 94

Yan, Xuetong, 75, 76, 199, 305

Yoshida Doctrine, 28

Zhang, Yongjin, 15, 24, 41, 45, 56, 58, 76,
117, 251, 252, 264, 289, 294, 305

Zhao, Tingyang, 42, 58, 112, 305

