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International Relations of East Asia in Transition, and ASEAN, China, the United States and Japan^{*}

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大学院生のみが執筆する場合は、指導教員の許可を受けた旨を明記。

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【原稿執筆に関するガイドライン】

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3. 分数は「1/2」と書く
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例) Kang, David C. (2007), *China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press).
Lieberthal, Kenneth (1995), "A New China Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 6, pp. 35-49.
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9. 図表は本文中に挿入し，Figure 1，Figure 2...，あるいは Table 1，Table 2... と通し番号を附す。
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Introduction

With the Cold War finally coming to an end by the end of 1991, together with the rapid economic growth of the People's Republic of China (China) in the 1980s, East Asian international relations in the early 1990s seemed to be experiencing a great transition and instability. Since then, academics and journalists have tried to predict how the East Asian international relations in the twenty-first century would look like, on the assumptions that the end of the Cold War and the rise of China would change international structure of the region to a great extent and China would come to play a larger role than before in the international affairs.

Pessimists predicted that Asia after the Cold War would become a multipolar and unstable region. To take one example, Aaron L. Friedberg, a political scientist at Princeton University, the United States, presented this kind of pessimistic view in the early 1990s [Friedberg 1993/1994]. Some even proclaimed that war between the United States and China would be inevitable [バーンスタイン, マンロー]. Optimists, on the other hand, argued that East Asia would be a more stable region than before for the variety of reasons. FUNABASHI Yoichi (船橋洋一), a highly acclaimed journalist of Japan, in his award winning book, *Asia-Pacific Fusion*, published in 1995 illustrated dynamic moves toward the regional integration of Asia that were changing Asia-Pacific international relations and the whole region, the dynamics which Funabashi called "Asia-Pacific Fusion" [船橋]. Amitav Acharya, a political scientist at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, argued the international order of Asia in the twenty-first century would become stable. He pointed out that the development of human and other networks, the increased level of economic integration, as well as the increased number of nations that share norms in international relations in the region were shaping more stable Asian international order [Acharya]. Experiences in the nearly two decades since the end of the Cold War have not yet succeeded in providing hard evidence to make conclusive judgments on these two diversified views on Asia [Lampton; Christensen 2006; Friedberg 2005; Shambaugh 2005; Mahbubani; Kang; Ross; Goldstein; Lieberthal].

Adding on to those already presented findings and arguments, this paper, yet as another effort to answer to the question mentioned earlier, tries to portray changing faces of international relations in East Asia in the past two decades, with focus on key actors, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, the United States and Japan, and interactions among them. Sections and discuss increasingly growing roles of China and ASEAN in new international order in East Asia. China responded to the structural changes of East Asia and managed to change its policies for the region in the mid-1990s, and China began to engage itself more actively than before in multilateral frameworks in the Asia-Pacific region. China's policy changes, in reverse, have helped to bring China and ASEAN in the center of international order of East Asia. Sections and take a look at the U.S.-China-Japan triangular relations and inquire into the implications of Taiwan on the relations.

. The New International Order of East Asia

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International order in East Asia witnessed significant changes in the past two decades. With the Cold War coming to an end, expanding diplomatic relations among East Asian nations at the bilateral level and efforts to bring multilateral frameworks in East Asia firm in place paved the way for new East Asian international order. In 1990 China normalized its relationship with Indonesia and Singapore, while the Republic of Korea (South Korea) established a formal relationship with the Soviet Union. In 1991 South Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) joined the United Nations simultaneously, and the next year China and South Korea established a formal relationship between the two. The beginning of APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) unofficial summit meetings in 1993 indicated the historic tide moving toward the integration of the Asia-Pacific region reached to a higher level. ASEAN in 1994 organized the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in order to provide opportunities with the foreign ministers of 17 nations in the Asia-Pacific region and the representative of EU to talk about security issues in the region. Two years later, ASEAN hosted the first ASEM meeting, the summit meeting among nations in Asia and Europe, in Bangkok in 1996. These developments helped to create an East Asia covered with multilateral and multi-layered regional frameworks and dialogue opportunities in which ASEAN was supposed to play significant roles [Leifer].

In spite of great setbacks the Asian currency crisis of 1997-1998 brought to the region's economy, ASEAN has continued to pursue the integration of Southeast Asia, and has committed to expand multilateral frameworks on a broader basis with non-ASEAN actors since the late 1990s. ASEAN impressively expanded itself and strengthened the regional integrity. ASEAN, originally created in 1967 by 5 Southeast Asian nations (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand), added to its membership Brunei Darussalam in 1984, Viet Nam in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997, and finally Cambodia in 1999. After more than 30 years since its foundation, ASEAN accomplished its goal to become a truly regional organization that included all the 10 nations in the Southeast Asian region (ASEAN 10). In 1997, ASEAN adopted ASEAN Vision 2020, which promised to establish "ASEAN Community" by 2020. In the same year, in an effort to accomplish that goal, ASEAN began to invite China, Japan and South Korea to official/unofficial summit conferences and related meetings of ministers (ASEAN+3). It has also hosted East Asian Summit meetings (ASEAN+3, India, Australia and New Zealand) three times since December 2005. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of ASEAN, all the ASEAN nations signed the ASEAN Charter in November 2007 [Narine; Simon].

The development of multilateral and multi-layered frameworks in East Asia after the Cold War changed the region to a great extent. East Asia is becoming a region covered with the web of frameworks with ASEAN in its center. When one remembers that East Asia in the Cold War years was a region with bilateral "hub and spokes" security arrangements (the "hub" being the United States) and the significance of ASEAN was still limited, one needs to admit that this change is highly remarkable [山本].

Conclusion

This paper has tried to illustrate changes in East Asian international relations in the past two decades with emphasis on the role ASEAN and China played. The responses of ASEAN and China to the structural changes of East Asia caused by the end of Cold War and the expanded power of China, have helped to bring on a firm basis the emerging new international order of East Asia with ASEAN (probably ASEAN and China in the near future) in its center. Rapidly rising China is likely to play the role of a status quo power, and not a destroyer, of the East Asian international order in the first half of the twenty-first century.

This paper has also examined U.S.-China-Japan triangular relations, and has discussed that the basic workable understanding on which the three nations can work together to resolve the Taiwan issue do exist. The three nations and Taiwan seem to be heading for better relations among them for the moment at least. Improved relations between China and Taiwan and good relations among the four states in the region are the necessary condition to establish international environment helpful to solve the Taiwan issue, and to bring out the eventual peaceful unification of China and Taiwan in the future, no matter how distant it really is.

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東アジア国際関係の変容とアセアン・中国・アメリカ・日本
山田 康博

要 旨

冷戦終結後の20年間における東アジア国際関係の変容を素描して、ASEANと中国が、生まれつつある新しい東アジア国際秩序の核となっていることを強調した。また、主として台湾をめぐるアメリカ=中国=日本の三国間の関係に焦点をあてて、これら三国間には台湾をめぐる協調関係を築いていく基盤が存在していることを指摘した。

担当委員 (***)