

参議院 外交・安全保障に関する調査会
 21世紀の戦争と平和と解決力—新国際秩序構築—
 軍縮・不拡散②核以外の大量破壊兵器、対人地雷・クラスター
 爆弾等 2023.2.22.

世界、アジアの軍縮を どう実現するか？ —日本からの平和構築—

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 グローバル国際関係研究所 所長

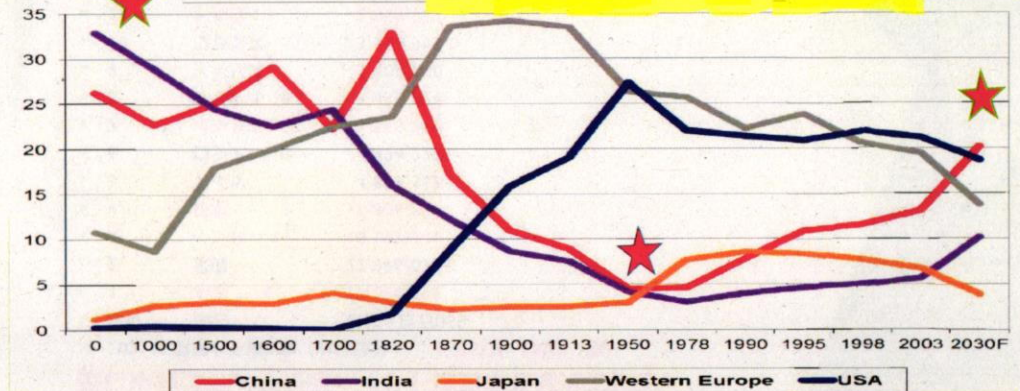
参議院 外交・安全保障に関する調査会 にお呼び頂き、光栄に存じます。

- ▶ 「21世紀の戦争と平和と解決力、新国際秩序構築」こそ、冷戦終焉後34年間
 考え続けてきたテーマ。
- ▶ 参議院 外交・安全保障に関する調査会会長の猪口邦子先生が、「戦争と平和」の
 著書で考え続けてこられたテーマでもある。
- ▶ 国際政治学者として、大きな観点から、世界平和と新国際秩序を考えたい。
- ▶ I. **今はどういう時代なのか、** データと世界平和の観点から分析
- ▶ 最も重要なことは、歴史的な潮流を理解し、戦争を生まないメカニズムは何か、
- ▶ 市民が犠牲にならず、平和と繁栄をもたらすにはどうしたらいいか
- ▶ 戦争が始まったらどうすればいいか？ データをもとに考えること。
- ▶ II. これらを理解したうえで、**新世界秩序を構想し、平和と繁栄の道を探ること、**
- ▶ 重要なことは、**市民の犠牲・地球の荒廃を招かないこと、**
- ▶ 戦争が始まったらすぐにでも終わらせるために全力を尽くすこと、
- ▶ **新しい世界秩序を、SDGs 誰一人取り残さない、**という観点から再構築すること
- ▶ そのためにこの調査会が貢献され、
- ▶ **日本が世界平和と軍縮のリーダーとなっていくならば、是非そのお手伝いをしたい。**

1. 現在の世界の大きな流れは、どうなっているのか？ データから見る21世紀

- ▶ 1. **アジア (中国,インド,ASEAN)の急速な経済成長。**
 - ▶ 欧米近代200年は、頭打ちからゆっくり衰退(アンガス・マディソン統計分析)
 - ▶ 2. **世界人口：2100年には、アジアとアフリカで8割、米欧1割**
 - ▶ 3. **コロナ・パンデミック：死者は当初9割が米欧、現在も死者の5割が米欧**
 現在、日本・韓国・中国でコロナの感染拡大。
 しかしアジアの死者は欧米の5分の1から10分の1。ただし高齢者が犠牲
 - ▶ 4. **日本、少子高齢化：40年後に、労働力人口が現在の半分に (4割が65歳以上)**
移民を入れねば立ち行かない。近隣国との協調
 - ▶ 5. **ロシア・ウクライナ戦争は世界の紛争の一つ。軍備拡大ではなく早期停戦を**
流れは、アジア・アフリカとの共存と発展の時代へ
- 米欧の軍備拡大は、米欧の時代終焉の焦り→そうではなく軍縮と平和こそ重要
日本はアジアの一国。アジアの経済的平和的繁栄を支え協力することこそ
世界平和と繁栄の道。歴史とデータが教えている。戦争ではなく、広範な軍縮こそ重要

表1-1) アンガス・マディソンの経済統計AD1-2030 (河合正弘氏グラフ)
 インド・中国1800年の繁栄：古代・中世・近世、そして将来、世界経済の中心
 欧米近代の時代は、たった200年 (植民地により成長)



Source: Angus Maddison, *Contours of the World Economy 1-2030 AD (2007)*, *The World Economy, A Millennial Perspective (2001)*; and "The West and the Rest in the World Economy: 1500-2030" (2005). Masahiro Kawai, *Asian Economy*

表1-2) 世界名目GDP (2022) IMF/Elementary

2028年(6年後)中国はアメリカを超える。(アジア・BRICS 赤)

順位	国名	単位(百万US\$)
1位	アメリカ合衆国★	25,346,805
2位	中国★ C	19,911,593 ↑日本の4倍
3位	日本	4,912,147
4位	ドイツ	4,256,540
5位	インド I	3,534,743
6位	イギリス	3,376,003
7位	フランス	2,936,702
8位	カナダ	2,221,218
9位	イタリア	2,058,330
10位	ブラジル B	1,833,274
11位	ロシア連邦 R	1,829,050
12位	大韓民国	1,804,680

表1-3) PPP(購買力平価)ベースのGDP (2021)

既に中国はアメリカを、インドは日本を超えている。

▶ 2021年 購買力平価GDP (IMF統計) (アジア・BRICS 赤)

順位	国名	単位:百万US\$
▶ 1	中国 C	27,206,091
▶ 2	米国	22,996,075
▶ 3	インド I	10,193,541
▶ 4	日本	5,606,553
▶ 5	ドイツ	4,888,363
▶ 6	ロシア R	4,494,223
▶ 7	インドネシア	3,566,259
▶ 8	ブラジル B	3,435,874
▶ 9	イギリス	3,402,740
▶ 10	フランス	3,358,913
▶ 11	トルコ	2,953,937
▶ 12	イタリア	2,734,614
▶ 13	メキシコ	2,669,061
▶ 14	韓国	2,517,129
▶ 15	カナダ	2,024,955

Global Note:2022. IMF統計

表2. 地域別世界人口の推移 <豊かさ・経済力・IT/AI>

2100年、Asia Africaの国々が世界人口の8割を超える。

米欧は1割を切る。(1割はLA) (明石康国連研究会)

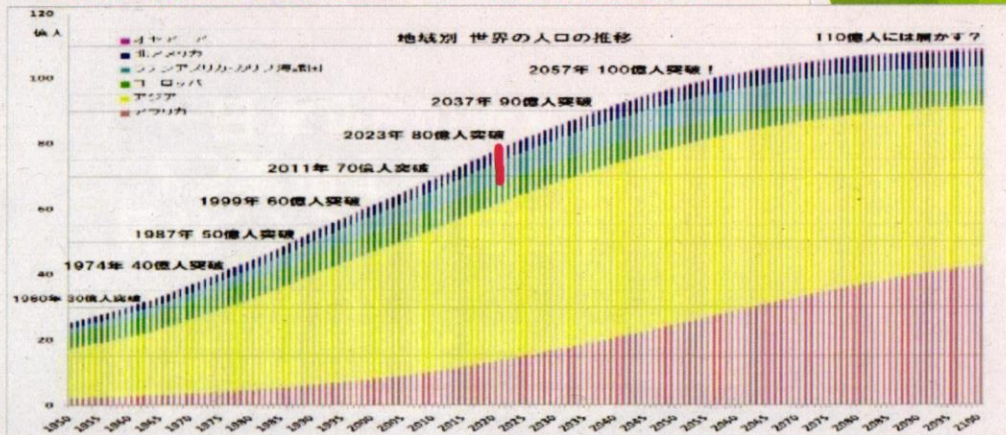
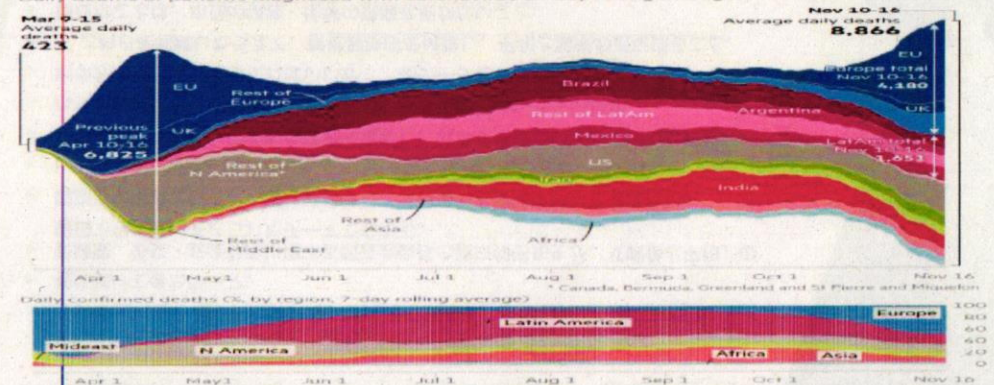


表3. 2020年のコロナ・パンデミック感染死亡者数

(2023年現在、67800万人が感染、679万人が死亡)

死者は、第1波が米欧で9割、第2波も米欧に6割、現在も死者の半分が米欧 (上位のコブが欧州、下位のコブがアメリカ、中はLAとインド)

Europe's Covid-19 resurgence pushes daily death toll higher than April peak (Daily deaths of patients diagnosed with coronavirus (7-day rolling average))



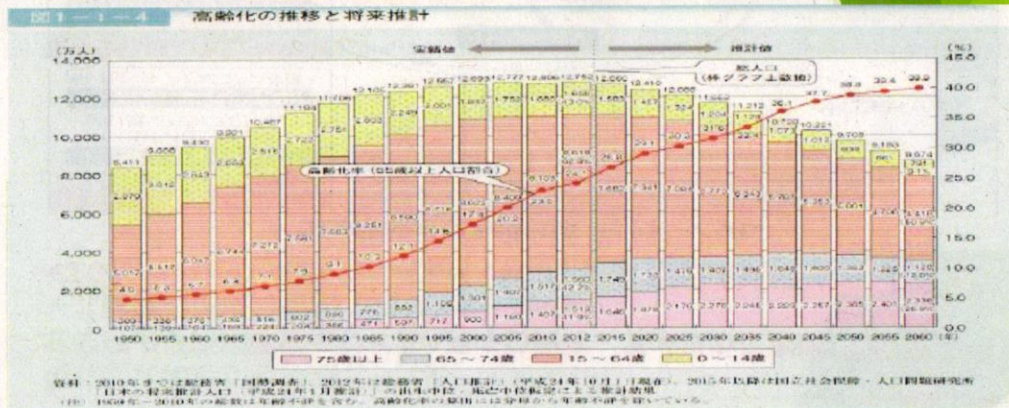
EU graphic: Steven Bernard / godberhard; Source: EU analysis of data from the ECDC, the Covid Tracking Project, UK government Covid-19 dashboard and the Spanish Ministry of Health.

表4. 現在のコロナ感染・死者、トップ10か国
worldometers (東アジア感染拡大、But死者比率が違う)

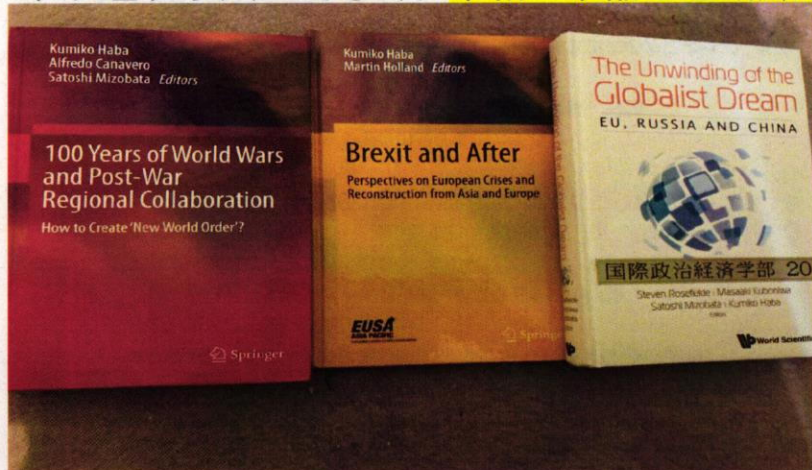
	World	671,032,177	+215,123	6,729,117	+831
1	USA	103,482,187		1,125,020	
2	India	44,681,884		530,726	
3	France	39,442,176		163,347	
4	Germany	37,605,135		163,775	
5	Brazil	36,623,217		695,334	
6	Japan 日本 ★	31,308,352	+132,071	62,264	+503
7	S. Korea	29,774,321	+36,552	32,912	+45
8	Italy	25,363,742		185,993	
9	UK	24,243,393		202,157	
10	Russia	21,851,824	+5,102	394,355	+46
11	Turkey	17,042,722		101,492	

表5. 日本の変化: 少子高齢化と労働者不足:
日本の人口、2060年には、労働力人口半減、65歳以上40%。

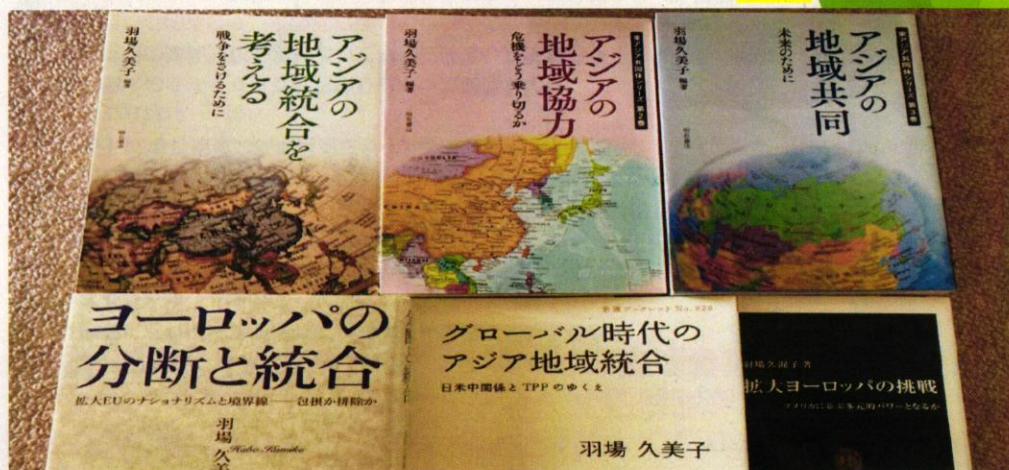
改革なければ、2110年には人口3分の1, 2200年には人口1千万人!
入管法改正2019.4. 外国人労働者受け入れ, 5年で34万人: (1年目1621人) 出入国管理庁
(内閣府総務省Data) 移民による労働力補充(アジア)は、少子化日本の喫緊の課題!



羽場久美子編著書: 新世界秩序をどう作るか?
ナショナリズムでなく、平和・軍縮と地域協力



羽場久美子編著書: アジアの地域協力、共同
戦争をさける。分断から統合、欧州に学ぶ和解



にもかかわらず危機の時代—世界の不安定化。なぜ？

- ▶ 1. 米欧先進国のナショナリズムの高まり (Make America Great Again)
 - ▶ イギリスのEU離脱 (Britain, First)
 - ▶ グローバリゼーションによるアジア・イスラム人口の増加
 - ▶ アジアへのパワーシフトへの危機
 - ▶ 中国が6年後にはアメリカを追い越すという恐怖
- ▶ 2. 世界最大の軍事力で、世界秩序を維持しようとする。
 - ▶ 軍拡、武器輸出、武器支援
 - ▶ 軍拡、武器輸出はますます世界の紛争を拡大する。
- ▶ どう克服するか？ レジリエンス、地域の協力、相互信頼、対話
- ▶ タボス会議でも
- ▶ 「コラボレーション、イノベーション、人間の善意と創意工夫の力によって、私たちは課題をチャンスに変える能力を持っています。これこそ、相互尊重と協力によって問題を解決する精神です。」
- ▶ 世界経済フォーラムの創設者兼会長、クラウス・シュワブ氏
- ▶ ★平和への努力を巻き戻さなければならない。

アジア、特に近隣国との友好が不可欠！にもかかわらず、現状① 沖縄諸島に（対中）ミサイル配備開始 2022年12月から2023年1月。ミサイル攻撃避難訓練も

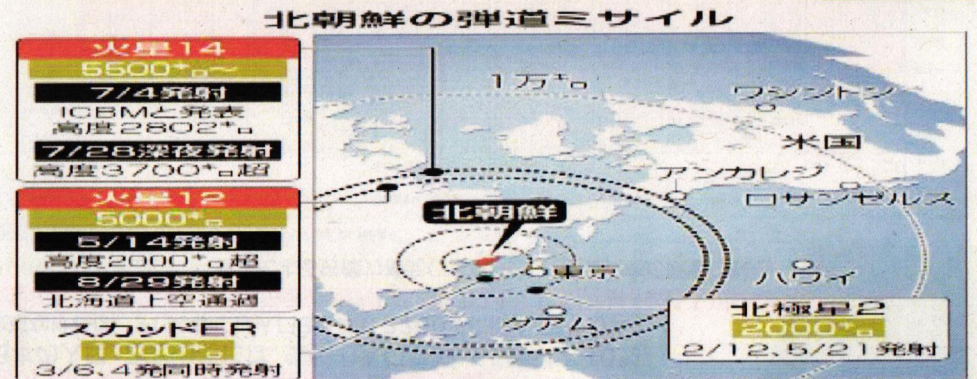
- ▶ 「戦闘になれば沖縄が標的に」ミサイル配備に反対うるま市
- ▶ 2022/12/26 (沖縄タイムズ)
- ▶ 歴史的に考えて中国が沖縄にミサイルを撃ち込むはずがない！ (誰の利益?!)
- ▶ 沖縄に無人ミサイル配備へ：日米2+2、南西諸島の防衛強化
- ▶ 2022/1/13 (琉球新報) ★盾(専守防衛)から矛(攻撃)へ！
- ▶ 防衛予算 与那国島の新地対空ミサイル配備の土地取得費も
- ▶ 2022/12/24 NHK
- ▶ 過去最大の6兆8000億円余りとなった防衛費には、南西諸島の防衛強化のためとして沖縄に関連した予算も多く含まれる。(NHK)
- ▶ 誰のための防衛か？ どうすれば止められるのか？
- ▶ こちらがミサイル配備すれば、当然相手もこちらに向けてミサイル配備
- ▶ 2000年の歴史で、中国に対してミサイル配備などしたことがない。
- ▶ むしろ対中に、朝貢、冊封(さくほう)体制を続けてきた沖縄。歴史を崩す方向

現状② 日本列島南部、南西諸島と沖縄石垣島に、地下司令塔 (2023.1.22) 大分、青森にも。日本全土に地下司令塔？

戦闘が始まって地上が荒廃しても、地下から敵基地攻撃を司令

- ▶ 国民の犠牲を、考えていない。
- ▶ あるいは、国民に犠牲が出ることを前提として、地下司令基地を作る。
- ▶ 憲法9条の違反、人権侵害ではないか？ 地元の議会・住民に了承を得ているのか？
- ▶ どうすればいいの？—ミサイル配備を停止。少なくとも議会での話し合い。
- ▶ 広範な市民の連携を作る、国際機関の協力を仰ぐ
- ▶ メディア、経済界と連携。全ての政党が連携、自治体から平和と軍縮を推進！
- ▶ 羽場、1月末、アメリカ・New York、国連本部訪問、
- ▶ その後EUアジア27カ国との国際会合、インド社会科学院との会合
- ▶ ロシア・ウクライナ戦争に停戦を。国際機関と市民・自治体の連携
- ▶ アジアの経済力と平和の力、若者と女性の力で、平和と繁栄を。
- ▶ <国連も停戦に向け尽力> 現在トルコ、フランス、ドイツ、中国、インドが停戦努力。国際機関、自治体、平和団体の連携で戦争を停止。

現状③ 北朝鮮から弾道ミサイル 2017.11. 北朝鮮の長距離弾道ミサイル1万キロ開発、アメリカに到達—北朝鮮の軍事力開発 (時事ドットコム図) ★2022年11月の、火星17は、ICBM 15000キロ。米国全土と欧州が射程！



(北朝鮮メディア、日韓両政府の発表による)

現状④ 東アジア安全保障: 1) QUAD, 2) QUADプラス、
3) AUKUS、4) Five eyes

- ▶ 1). QUAD (日米豪印4か国戦略対話) -ひし形で中国を取り巻く、しかしインドが消極的
- ▶ 安倍首相が提唱、トランプ政権が実質化: 2018年頃から強化
- ▶ 2). QUADプラス: 韓国、ベトナム、ニュージーランド、(台湾)
- ▶ <東アジア版NATOを構想> (中国・ロシア・北朝鮮を封じ込め)
- ▶ <台湾と沖縄をその最前線に置こうとする>
- ▶ ★欧州、日本、ASEANは、中国との対立に必ずしも同調しない
- ▶ <★経済先進地域の東アジアを紛争地にしたくない★>
- ▶ 背景: コロナ禍で経済が悪化、安全保障と経済を分けたい
- ▶ ★重要! 経団連、中小企業: 日本商工会議所、中国経済との連携を希望
- ▶ ロシアとのサハリン2も継続: 三井物産、三菱商事。
- ▶ 国民の利益、企業利益、継続性を考える。イデオロギーではない。我々は何をすべきか?
- ▶ メディアは極めて重要: 情報が十分伝えられていない。
- ▶ メディア・リテラシー、公平な報道が重要

インドの位置、重要: QUADに懐疑的。
インド、ロシアと軍事経済関係。

- ▶ インド、独自に、ロシア、周辺国との地域協力
- ▶ インドの地域共同、とりわけ、SAARC, BIMSTECが
- ▶ 2014年頃から発展 (インド科学アカデミーとの学術交流)
- ▶ インドー中国に並ぶプライド。米欧のいうままにはならない。
- ▶ インドは南アジアとの共同を第1に考える。
- ▶ SAARC, BIMSTEC 南アジアの地域共同を重視、
- ▶ それでも、QUAD進行

1) QUAD (日米豪印4か国戦略対話) 安倍首相が提唱
2) QUADプラス (韓国、ベトナム、ニュージーランド) 東アジア版NATO

米国のインド太平洋戦略

QUAD (日米豪印4か国戦略対話)

QUADプラス (韓国、ベトナム、ニュージーランド)

東アジア版NATO

クワッド関連協議はいかに進められてきたか

2015年 4月	米日同盟、中国の海上に対応する「グローバル同盟」に拡大	2018年 1月	インドのニューデリーで「クワッド」軍事情報会議
2016年 6月	安倍首相、自由で開かれたインド太平洋を初めて宣言	2019年 6月	米国防務省、インド太平洋戦略を公式化
2017年 11月	米日豪印首脳で「インド太平洋を自由で開かれた空間に、同盟する諸国と協力し、競争的な関係を構築」	2020年 8月	米国のニューヨークで初の「クワッド」外相会議
12月	米露、中国を「戦略的競争相手」と捉える国家安全保障戦略(NSS)を発表		ピーガン副長官、「クワッド」を東アジア版北大西洋条約機構(NATO)にする構想について発言

3) AUKUS: 米英豪の軍事情報3国同盟 4億人超
軍事・IT・核 (背景に中国のIT人口10億!) バイデン・ジョンソン・モリソン
4) ファイブアイズ (米英カナダ・豪・ニュージーランド) 諜報網
ヨーロッパ、日本韓国同盟国は除外。同盟国欧日にも、盗報器(Wikileaks) (Wow! Korea)

オクセス(AUKUS)

英 米 豪

ジョー バイデン
米大統領

ボリス ジョンソン
英首相

スコット モリソン
豪首相

参加国	米、英、豪
目的	インド太平洋地域で3国 능력 강화 및 연결
주진 업무	국방 외교 회의, 사이버-인공지능-수출 분야 협력, 정보기술 공유
첫 구성	호주 핵추진 잠수함 보유 자원

現状⑤ このまま進めば、日本列島が最前線に。

3000キロにわたるアジア大陸封じ込めの自然要塞(赤ライン)

日本列島・沖縄・台湾の連携により、

ロシア・北朝鮮・中国に対抗する、最前線基地に(日本の利益か?)

この細腕で、弁慶のように、3核大国から飛んでくるミサイルに対して1億2500万の国民を守れるのか? 大陸との共同こそ軍縮・平和の道



現状⑥もし東アジアで戦争が起こったら?

北朝鮮の核施設車道(コンドン核施設)を爆破するだけで、東アジア経済圏ストップ

★チェルノブイリ30年後の、ノルウェー、スウェーデンの調査によれば、

原発事故後30年たっても、北歐1200km圏のトナカイの肉、キノコなどに影響 ★驚愕の事実

北朝鮮1200km圏: 日本列島、朝鮮半島、中国沿海州、ロシア極東すべて入る。

東アジア経済圏壊滅! 台湾・沖縄で有事が起こったら? 中国・日本の経済圏壊滅!

北朝鮮からの射程距離

1017-04-04 07:00:25, updated: 2017/04/04

北朝鮮の核実験場、海軍特殊部隊がミサイルを飛ばして半島(コンドン核施設)の地下核実験場へ送る作業を始めた(5月10日)と、
くわえて日本列島にミサイル発射の動きがあるとか、
北朝鮮、韓国(入国禁止)からの射程距離

韓国からミサイルを飛ばす、射程距離=1208.88 km



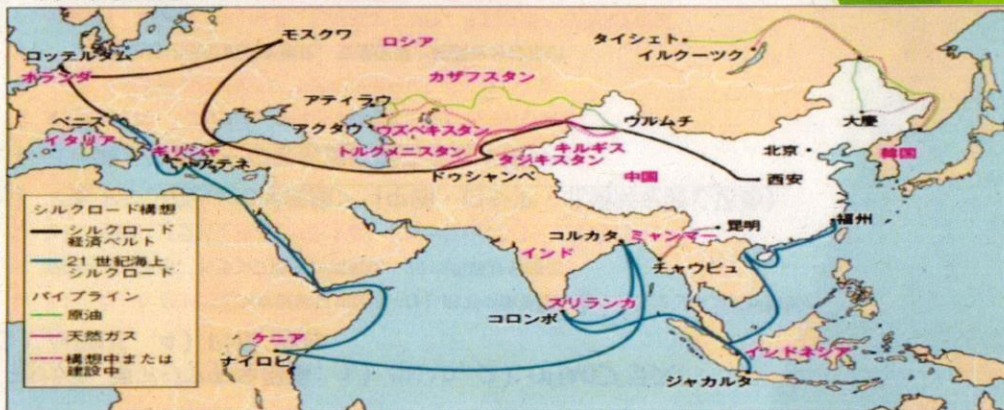
II. どうしたらよいか。どうなっているのか?

1. <アジア周辺大国の地域協力 興味深い事実:>

1) 中国 地域の協力関係を重視。

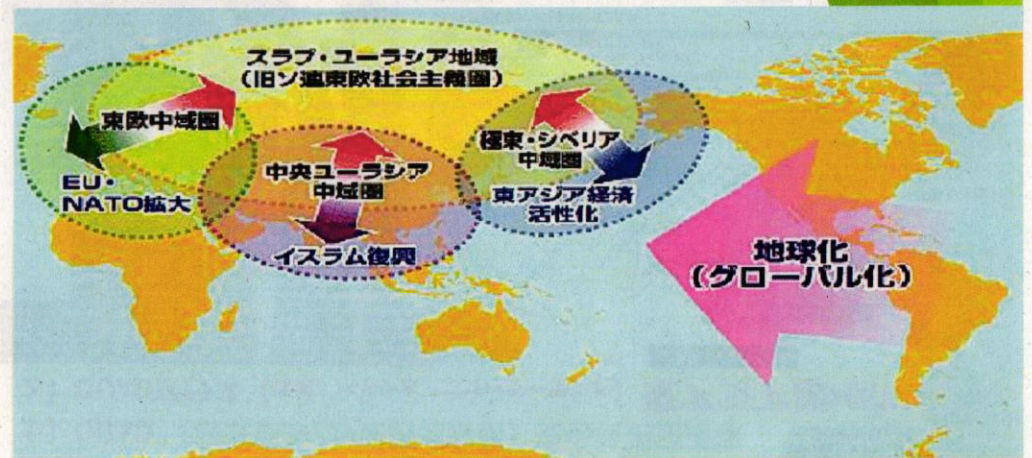
米英: QUAD, AUKUSへの対抗を避け、西へ: 経済投資とインフラの安全保障。

米英軍事共同 vs 中国の経済拡大・地域協力:

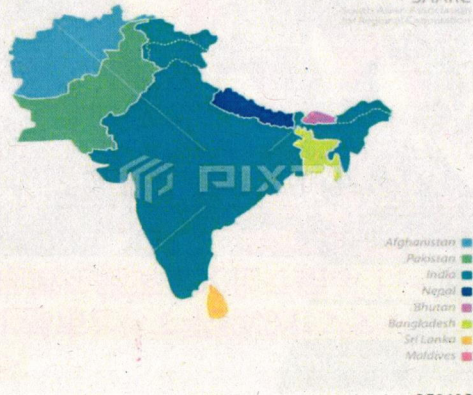


2) ロシアも地域協力: スラブ・ユーラシア連合(北極圏含む)

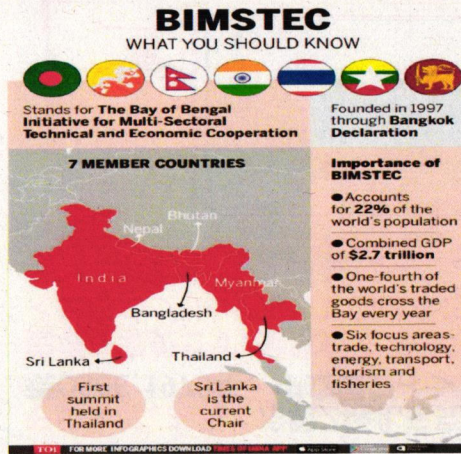
欧州、アジア、アフリカに、石油・天然ガス、穀物供給



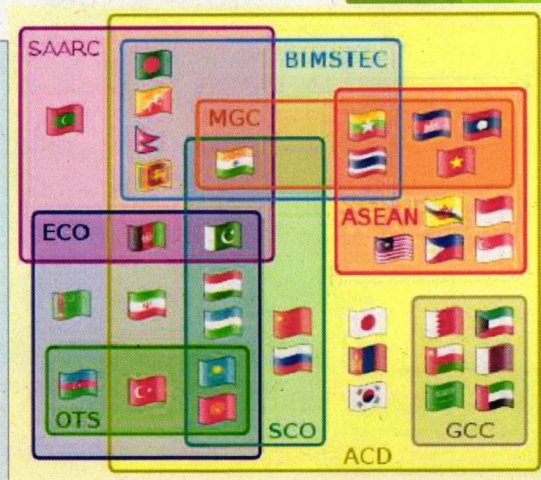
3) 14億インドも、周辺諸国と地域協力
① SAARC(南アジア地域協力連合)



3) インドの地域協力;
② BIMSTEC(ベンガル湾多分野技術経済協カイニシアチブ)



4) ASEAN地域協力、アジアの重層的地域協力
沖縄、日本もこれらと連携して世界経済をリード(日本はアジアの一員)



II. どうしたらよいのか。どうなっているのか?
2. <沖縄+台湾を平和のハブに> 東アジアでは戦争しない

<沖縄は、歴史的に、平和と交流のセンター> 中国・韓国とは強い歴史関係
沖縄を基地・ミサイル配備ではなく、アジアの平和と市場のセンターに！
<地域、若者、経済界、市民がリード！> 政府は国民と自治体を守る義務。自治体の声を聴いて



<沖縄+台湾を平和のハブに！>
中国とも日本とも歴史的な関係を持ってきた
日中韓ASEANと連携 (等距離)

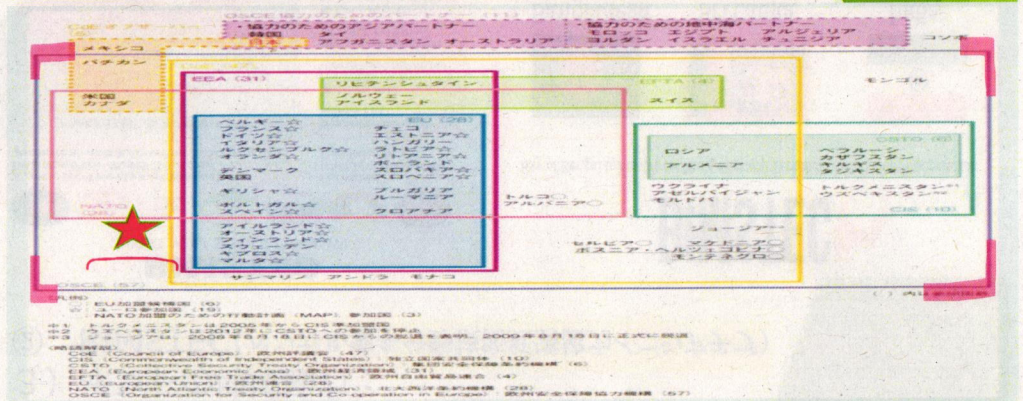
- ▶ 沖縄は長年、長期に亘り
- ▶ 中国に対して朝貢・冊封体制を取ってきた。
- ▶ 2000年以上にわたる友好関係の中で、
- ▶ 今、アメリカを経済で抜こうとする中国が、
- ▶ なぜ台湾や沖縄に戦闘を仕掛けるか？理由がない。
- ▶ アメリカ、「6年以内に中国が戦争を起こす」
- ▶ あり得ない！
- ▶ 世界の統計「6年以内に中国はアメリカを抜く！」
- ▶ (イギリスのシンクタンク)
- ▶ **沖縄市民、中国市民、の声こそ、日本メディアは報道すべき。お隣国との友好は必須。**
- ▶ 沖縄にとって東京はフィリピンより遠い



<首里城に、東アジアの国連を！>
沖縄・多文化:多文化、多芸能 文化都市として平和のセンター
近隣国と友好・話し合いを継続—地域を経済と文化で結ぶ！—



モデルは、ある！冷戦2極化を克服したCSCE(欧州安保協力会議)
現OSCE.1975年、中立国フィンランド・ヘルシンキで宣言
国境を変更せず、全欧州を含み対話！平和の基礎をつくる。欧州文化都市
<米中のブリッジとしての日本を>日本はそれにふさわしい



II-3. 世界最強の6人の指導者:東アジアの安定を望むのはだれか?

だれが戦争を止められるか? <だれが平和を作るか? >
 大国の指導者に任せ平和を待つのでなく、市民・自治体から。
 自治体、国民、メディア、自らが平和を構築。政党の連携も必要!
 ★沖縄玉城知事・既に「自治体外交室」作成、独自に米中韓台湾と対話



他方、事態はますます不安定化

- ▶ 1. 安倍元首相の死、統一教会の信者、社会の保守化
- ▶ 近隣国は本当に、日本にとって危険なのか?
- ▶ むしろ日本経済にとってアジアとの連携は経済回復のチャンス
- ▶ Butロシア・ウクライナ戦争の中、欧州も日本も防衛費2%に加速
- ▶ 2. ペロシ下院議長、米欧議員の台湾訪問。支援を約束
- ▶ アジアの緊張激化は、戦争の危険を生む。
- ▶ 3. ミサイル配備、ミサイル避難訓練進む。
- ▶ 中国は、仮想敵ではないはず。
- ▶ 民意で、政党、自治体・市民・若者の結束!
- ▶ 4. 私たちはどうすべきか?
- ▶ 政党、市民、自治体、メディア、企業の連携
- ▶ 沖縄・台湾をハブとする、平和の広範な連携が、安定と繁栄を導く!

まとめ:軍縮を東アジアから。沖縄・地方自治体を、平和のハブに!

「東アジアの国連」を市民から。SDGs誰一人取り残さない

- ▶ 1. <沖縄を平和のハブとする、東アジアの国連を作る>
- ▶ 東アジアは繁栄の地。戦争をしない! 可能なら、非核地帯宣言を! (非戦の保証)
- ▶ 「考え方が違ってても、互いに意見を伝え合う場」を作る。それが民主主義!
- ▶ ★ 中国から侵略された歴史はない。(日本が大陸侵略) まずそれを認識。
- ▶ 2. 国連と結び中国・インド、アジア・アフリカの平和と繁栄を!
- ▶ 政府は、基地拡大やミサイル配備には、国民・自治体の合意を取るべき
- ▶ 3. NGO、自治体から「平和」を作る:
- ▶ 市民・経済界・メディア・若者・女性が連携し、平和と対話、繁栄を提唱
- ▶ 4. 中国・韓国・台湾など近隣国と、常に連携。
- ▶ 問題があっても「対立国とホットラインで話し合う」市民のホットラインを。
- ▶ 5. 日本、中国、韓国は、勤勉さや技術的先進性、和の力で、世界を平和的にリードする。
- ▶ 6. 「アジア人同士の戦争はしない」欧州、ASEANと連携して、平和を学ぶ。
- ▶ EUのCSCEのように、沖縄に「東アジアの国連」を! 東アジアにノーベル平和賞を!

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Chapter 14

The United States' Differing Strategies of "New World Order" Between Europe and Asia in the Post-War Period



Kumiko Haba

Abstract In this article, the author wishes to investigate and analyze what were the underlying reasons for the United States to adopt a completely different strategy towards Europe and Asia as part of its search for a New World Order during a period defined by Toffler as a 'Power Shift era'. While promoting the integration of Europe, the US simultaneously accepted and encouraged division across East Asia.

Here, the author investigates and pays attention to why "the new world order" of the United States or of the United States-Britain and the Soviet Union had been different between Europe and Asia after WWII, and considers merits, demerits, and limits of post-war new world order, analyzing forecast on European regional integration, and Asian disintegration, or the aim and limits of new world order and the "Divide and Rule" strategy of the United States. In connection with that, the author wishes to consider and investigate the contemporary "new world order" from the US-China trade war in 2018–2020; how we could reconstruct that phenomenon.

Keywords New World Order · The United States' Strategy · European Integration · Asian "Divide and Rule" Strategy

1 Introduction

In this article, I intend to investigate and analyze what were the underlying reasons for the United States to adopt a completely different strategy towards Europe and Asia as part of its search for a New World Order during a period defined by Toffler as a

'Power Shift era'.¹ While promoting the integration of Europe, the US simultaneously accepted and encouraged division across East Asia.²

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1.1 Democracy and War

In terms of values, US participation in World War I and World War II was very much connected with the pursuit of democracy. In World War I, President Wilson changed the US position from one of neutrality to one spearheaded by the slogan, "the war to end all wars". In its wake, President Wilson, issued the "Fourteen Points" that envisaged a post-war world order built on democracy and establishment of the League of Nations. In World War II, President Roosevelt entered the war, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, with a philosophy built upon the "four freedoms", freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.³ That he laid out during his January 1941 State of the Union speech. It was a speech that also proposed a nascent United Nations and envisaged a more effective post-war order than in 1918.

¹ Fukuyama, Francis, *State Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*, Profile Books Ltd, 2004. Toffler, Alvin, *Power Shift; Knowledge, Wealth, and Violence at the Edge of the Twenty-First Century*, 1990. Haba Kumiko (Ed.), *Twenty-First Century, International Society in the Great Transition Era*, Publisher of Law and Culture, Japan, 2019.

² Haba, Kumiko, *Division and Integration in Europe—Borders and Nationalism in Enlarged EU, Inclusion or Exclusion*, Chuo-Koron Shinsya, 2016. Haba, Kumiko, Yoshinobu Yamamoto and Takashi Oshimura (Eds.), *East Asian Community Considering the International Politics*, Minerva Publishers, 2012. Haba, Kumiko (Ed.), *Great Power Politics and the Future of Asian Regionalism*, at Harvard University, Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo, 2013. Fukuyama, Francis, *State Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*, Profile Books Ltd, 2004. Haba, Kumiko, *Asian Regional Cooperation in the Global Era*, Iwanami Publisher, 2012 (Translated to Chinese, 2013).

³ The Four Freedoms speech was given on January 6, 1941, in State of the Union. John V. Denson, *A Century of War (Large Print Edition): Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2006, Julia Hargrove, *Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms Speech: History Speaks*, Teaching and Learning Company, 2018.

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The "four freedoms" would be protected by the "Four Policemen", that is, the USA, the UK, the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China. The inclusion of the USSR and China stemmed from Roosevelt's belief that future stability depended on the inclusion of all the Great Powers. Such a 'New World Order' also addressed skepticism that U.S. liberal leaders had towards what they saw as the colonial and imperialistic tendencies of many European nations, including the United Kingdom.

In addition, it was hoped that the future would be based upon 'the rule of law' rather than the 'the rule of force'. However, this wish had been repeatedly shattered post-1945. After World War II, the battle against Nazism, fascism, and militarism of Germany, Italy and Japan, soon turned into a "fight to protect freedom" against the Soviet Union and communism as the world witnessed the start of "the Cold War". Because of this, "the four freedoms" underwent a major transformation in forming the post-war World Order. No longer would they have a common global intent. The strategy of the "New World Order" would take on a divergent hue i.e., would be completely different in the European and Asian theatres. Was that difference originally designed as such, or did historical or regional circumstances force this difference? This is the question that I will address in the rest of this chapter.

1.2 Change of "Enemy"

In Europe after World War II, a "no-war community" was realized through integration. It did so by incorporating the former Axis powers of Germany and Italy while excluding the Soviet Union, which had experienced the highest human cost as a member of the Allies.⁴

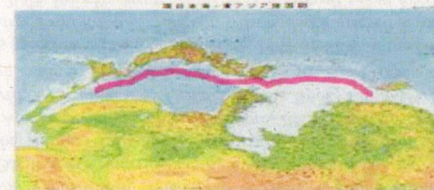
As the security strategy, for energy collaboration the 1951 ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community), followed by the 1975 CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe), which was organized, discussed and institutionalized, by not only states but also by NGOs and NPOs, for regional safety and problem management. On the other hand, in Asia, especially in East Asia, as is well known, a "Divide and Rule" strategy was introduced.⁵

In Asia as well, a "network of containment"—against countries which had been on the Allied side in World War II, like the Soviet Union and communist China, established in 1949—, was formed to counter the communist threat. That network would include Japan—the former "enemy".

⁴ Documents: *Germany/Holocaust, North Korea, and New Documents in East Asia/Korea*, Wilson Center, 2019.

⁵ Robert S. Ross, "The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-first Century", *International Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4, Spring, 1999, pp. 81–118.

Geopolitical Importance of Japan: Japan's archipelago looks 3000 km geopolitical fortress against Soviet Union(Russia), China, Korean Peninsula with Taiwan: it is the best fortress for the USA
Or we could make Regional Collaboration like UK and European Continent
Source ; Map is East Asian countries by Toyama Prefecture, Japan: Fortress line is drawn by Haba



Japan is in a very specific position on the map when viewing the Earth from the North Pole. As a natural fortress it closes the Asian Continent toward the Pacific Ocean, against the Soviet Union, China, or against North Korea and South Korea; it contains the Asian continent over a length of 3000 km in the Pacific Ocean. Not surprisingly, it functions as a very important fortress/base for the United States. At the same time, as a result of the Korean War, the Korean Peninsula was divided between North Korea and South Korea at the 38th parallel: geography encapsulated the socialist sphere of the USSR, China and North Korea on the one hand, and the capitalist sphere of South Korea and Japan on the other. This meant that a post-war peaceful collaboration and regional reconciliation across East Asia was not realized and was, in fact, hampered by the US's world strategy by Truman Doctrine, which completely changed from Roosevelt 'Four Freedoms' policy. The USSR also changed their strategy by Stalin against so to call "Western World". It wished to divide Western World using that the 'Stalin note',⁶ the plan of neutralization of West- and East Germany, but it was in vain.

1.3 Regional Collaboration Efforts and Their Obstruction

It has been 75 years since WWII, and 30 years since the end of the Cold War, but regional collaboration has remained so difficult in East Asia. During the first 22 years of the twenty-first century, we have witnessed many issues/problems that have impacted upon regional dynamics—relations between Japan and China; the democratization movement in Hong Kong, elections in Taiwan, and the expansion of COVID-19.

⁶ Soh, Shimizu, "Stalin's Note" and the Cold War, *Journal of Western History*, Volume 37, 2008, pp. 58–68.

Unlike in Europe, in East Asia regional co-operation and "non-war communities" through integration have yet to materialize. Under such circumstances, the US unilateral leadership from the end of twentieth century, and especially during 4 years of Trump Government from 2016–2020, had harmed so much the system of Liberal Democracy.

Regardless of whether the US prefers it or not, the USA had always constructed the New World Order after major conflicts. But the Trump administration amplified fears that that traditional approach was in crisis. President Biden tried to change that but showed how difficult it would be to radically change diplomacy and domestic affairs in a Republican-dominated parliament.

After four years of the Trump administration, Biden won the presidential election in November 2020. But even in 2022, Trump and the Republicans have strong enough influence in the United States and in the diplomatic field, still thinking "we are the first and brightest" and trying to prevent China from overtaking the United States in the future.

There is a pressing need to consider a more multidimensional world order that is different from "they are the first and American-led democracy". And to consider that, we need to think about Asia from the postwar period to the present day, why the United States did not allow integration and collaboration unlike Europe, and why it does not allow it until now.

Therefore, again, the main question of the author is, How could create the United States a "post-war world order" during and after the war, what were they aiming for, and why was it changed or different between Europe and East Asia?

2 The United States' World Strategy After WWII

2.1 Three Focal Points of "Reconciliation" Between Europe and East Asia After World War II

When considering the US strategy for Europe and Asia after World War II, there are a few very important focal points. The first one is the massive number of casualties in World War II, the "German–French reconciliation" after the war and the start of the Cold War. The second one is that the United States' "post-war world order" strategy was different in Europe and in East Asia. The third one concerns the changing status (conversion) of certain countries from ally to "enemy", or from enemy to 'ally' after World War II.

1. First, the number of dead in World War II and "German–French Reconciliation".⁷

In Europe during World War II, about 32 million to 37 million people died. In World War I, this figure was about 9 million people; the number of dead had quadrupled during only 20 years due to improved armaments. Among them, the dead of the Soviet Union were between 18 and 20 million people, accounting for half of all casualties.⁸

Number of Deaths in the World War II

Source: there are difference numbers and not exact: several sources: *World War II Historical Atlas*, Times-Mirror, UK, 2001, Tokyo Shimbun, August 15, 2006 (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare data), *Asahi Shimbun*, 1995.8.15, *Japanese Invasion and Expansion*, Yoshimi Yoshimi, New Japan Publisher, 1996, and others.

Europe		Asia	
Dead in Europe (thousand)		Dead in Asia (thousand)	
Soviet Union	21500	China	11324
Poland	6628	Indonesia	4000
Germany	6150	Vietnam	2000
Yugoslavia	1710	Japan	3100
Italy	373	Korea	200
USA	292	Myanmar	150
France	364-500	Philippine	111
Romania	985		
Hungary	490		
UK	332	Others	
Others			
sum	32,151-37,057-	sum	18,433-

On the other hand, the dead in Asia totaled over 18 million, with China accounting for more than half with over ten million. That means about 50–57 million people died in World War II in Europe and Asia, more than 60 million people died world-wide. The responsibility for the war was assigned to the Tripartite Axis League—Germany, Italy, and Japan—who were compelled to pay reparations to the Allies; the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, under such circumstances, why was a German–French reconciliation achieved, but not a German–Soviet reconciliation? If the losing (defeated) nation is responsible for paying the cost of the war for the most damaged nation, it requires a "German–Soviet reconciliation" and "Japanese–Chinese reconciliation". So why a "German–French reconciliation"?

In Japan, it is sometimes said that Europe is a homogeneous society as a Christian world; on the other hand, East Asia is so diverse due to the presence of so many religions, cultures and nationalities; that is why it is not only difficult, but also impossible to make regional collaboration like in Europe. However, this comparison is not correct. A recognition of a long history of national rivalries and conflict is a more accurate picture.

⁷ John V. Denson, *A Century of War (Large Print Edition): Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2006. Alice Ackermann, "Reconciliation as a Peace-building Process in Postwar Europe, The Franco-German Case", *Peace and Change, A Journal of Peace Research*, July, 1994.

⁸ *Times Atlas World War II Historical Map Compact Edition*, Hara Shobo, 2001, 96, August 15, 1995, *Asahi Shimbun*, 1995.

Krzysztof Pomian, a Polish historian, and Professor at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, wrote in his book, Europe has been facing a confrontation over Christian religions, cultures and nations, since before the birth of Christ until the contemporary world.⁹ The high number of dead during World War II also tells the history of the conflict. Conflicts of nations were profound ones; European history is a history of conflicts, and WWI and WWII were the peak of these confrontations.

2. Second, the Concept of the United States New World Order in the post war.

From the Tehran meeting to the Yalta Conference, unlike the more solitary role played by Woodrow Wilson towards the end of World War I, Roosevelt would be joined by Winston Churchill and Josef Stalin to make the postwar "new world order."

After World War II, the postwar world order vision should have been based on territorial inviolability and respect for sovereignty. However, at the end of the war, in the Moscow Conference of October 10, 1944, Churchill and Stalin talked about the influence of the great powers, sharing of key areas, and divided the sphere of influence, as a "percentage agreement".¹⁰ President Roosevelt was trying to mediate the three countries, but ultimately lost out to illness and his ultimate death in April 1945. Vice President Truman's inauguration would result in a sea change in the emphasis of US policy. It brought the Truman Doctrine (March 1947); military assistance toward Greece and Turkey following a request of the United Kingdom brought the start of the Cold War, but it was already started a matter of controversy among the UK, the US and the Soviet Union in the process of envisioning the postwar international order.

3. Third, The Decisive Transformation of the "Enemy" in the Post-War Period.

As is well known, in the second World War, three Axis countries, Germany, Italy and Japan, requested territorial modification on the one hand, and Allied countries, like the US, the UK, Soviet Union, France and China, against the infringement of the territory and sovereignty and respected "territorial integrity and sovereignty" on the other. That is, immediately after World War II, the "enemy" of victorious powers was Germany, Italy, and Japan—Axis countries. The German army was ruined completely by the Battle of Stalingrad, later by the march to the west of the Soviet Army, and the United States indiscriminate carpet bombing caused surrender. (May 1945). After that, America also dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan (August 1945).

In the final stages of the war, the Soviet Union advanced until just before the German border (January 1945), and on the eve of the German surrender, in February 1945, the leaders of the US, the UK, and the USSR gathered in

⁹ Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Europe et ses nations*, Paris, Gallimard, 1990. Krzysztof Pomian (Translation), *What Is Europe?*, Heibonsha, 1993.

¹⁰ "Percentage Agreement", Charles Gati, *Hungary and the Soviet Bloc*, p. 31. Kumiko Haba, *Division and Integration in Europe*, Chuo-Koron Shinsha, 2016, pp. 44–47. Gair Lundestad, *The American Non Policy Towards Eastern Europe, 1943–1947*, Tromsø-Oslo-Bergen, 1978.

Yalta.¹¹ Here, Roosevelt accepted Stalin's request concerning Soviet interests in Manchuria, the Kuril Islands and southern Sakhalin. As Roosevelt believed that Soviet cooperation was essential for Japan's surrender, he called for the annulment of the Japan-Soviet treaty of neutrality as he simultaneously asked the Soviet army to enter Japanese territory. As a result, the three parties drew-up a in Yalta, by the three parties of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, a secret agreement.¹² The Soviet Union participated in the war against Japan and invaded the northern Japanese islands the promised territory at the request of the United States on August 9, 1945, in the wake of the atomic attack. Five days later, Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration on August 14 and sent a letter of surrender to the Allies on September 2, 1945. As a result, the Soviet Union kept its promises to the United States, occupying the Kuril and Northern Islands. At this time, apparently Roosevelt respected the Soviet Union and China as an Allied power and considered Germany and Japan as enemies.¹³

As a result of three points, namely (1) "Franco-German reconciliation", (2) A difference of Europe and Asia strategy as "post-war world order" of the US, (3) Conversion of "enemy" after the world war. In Europe, European integration was under the US support. The Soviet Union containment policy started, on the other hand, in East Asia. Then the underlying strategy of the East Asian "Divide and Rule" was introduced, and as a result of that, the Asian region continued to be hostile each other, until the twenty-first century. The question is why European strategy could not be taken in East Asian international politics of the US world order? Both were closely linked.

Four months before in Europe, the Soviet troops had already destroyed the German army in the Soviet territory and were marching west at breakneck speed. The US and the UK Army quickly landed on the banks of the Elbe in April 1945 and joined with the Soviet forces at the end of the month. Germany surrendered on May 6, 1945. Pivotal to subsequent events, however, was the death of Roosevelt, who had a deep understanding of the Soviet Union and China, without seeing the formal surrender of Germany or Japan.

¹¹ Diana Preston, *Eight Days at Yalta: How Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin Shaped the Post-War World*, Pisdor, 2019.

¹² This secret agreement, called the "Yalta Agreement," was agreed between Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill to encourage the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan. Contents are following: Maintaining the status quo of outer Mongolia (People's Republic of Mongolia) under the strong influence of the Soviet Union, returning southern Sakhalin to the Soviet Union, handing over the Chishima Islands to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union's ports in Manchuria and the South Manchuria Railway. It was agreed that the Soviet Union would participate in the war against Japan on the condition that it would secure its interests. It is said that the Soviet Union have resisted the abolition of the Neutral Treaty with Japan.

¹³ At the Cairo Conference and the Tehran Conference in November 1943, Roosevelt emphasized adding China to the three major powers (US, UK and Soviet Union) by advocating the concept of 'Four Policemen'. It was also to advance the post-war initiative against Germany and Japan in an advantageous manner.

4. Containment policy toward the Soviet Union.

After the Second World War, both Truman and Churchill of the United Kingdom both were wary of the Soviet Union, due to their overwhelming force in the eastern half of Europe. The two leaders introduced the containment policy against the Soviet Union in Europe and the far East.

In particular, Churchill had already delivered his famous Fulton speech in March 1946 in Fulton, Missouri, USA, saying "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."¹⁴ In addition, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Association) was founded in April 1949. The organizations' first General Secretary Hastings Ismay (from the UK) famously quipped, "Keep the American's in, the Russian's out, and the German's down".

On the other hand, Stalin, in what is referred to as the "Stalin Notes" in March 1952, offered German integration between east and west on a proposed neutrality, German unity and in the center of the European buffer zone the safety of the Soviet Union. However, at that time, this was refused by Adenauer's West German government. After that, Germany joined NATO and pursued rearmament.¹⁵ Through this process, the "enemies" in Europe were completely transformed from Germany to the Soviet Union.

In the Far East, Roosevelt had always pinned his hopes on a Chinese administration under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. As we know, however, the Chinese Communist Party secured power in October 1949 and the Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang administration fled to Taiwan. The following year the Korean War broke out over the 38th parallel. When the outbreak occurred, the United States found itself up against a coalition of the Soviet Union and the socialist regimes of China and North Korea.

Thus, the newly emerging Cold War order began to crystalize around the following three focal points, (1) Reconciliation between Germany and France, (2) The "new world order" of the United States and the changes of strategy between the administrations of Roosevelt and Truman, (3) The fundamental transformation of former 'enemies' and 'allies'. The postwar world order, which was supposed to be carried out by the United States, the UK, the Soviet Union and China, was drastically rearranged by the transformation of the "enemy." But the "new world order" would also take quite different forms between Europe and East Asia.

¹⁴ Winston Churchill, *Fulton speech on Iron Curtain*. <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/the-sinews-of-peace/>.

¹⁵ Yoko Iwama, *German Re-armament*, Chuokoron-sha, 1993.

3 **Conciliation with the Enemy and the New World Order—Divide and Rule in Asia**

Considering why East Asia was not organized as a region, we must realize that the main reasons were driven by international rather than domestic factors. For the United States, immediately after the war, there was no reliable ally in East Asia.

Contrast this with the situation in Europe where almost every country in Europe was in favor of restraining Germany, and few refused to form an alliance with the United States, except for French President De Gaulle. Therefore the "American in, German down, and Russian out" policy was very much welcomed. The United States had, therefore, formed an alliance with Europe as a "region." On the other hand, in East Asia, both the Soviet Union and China, which extend far into the far East of the continent, had become socialist countries, and the leaders of the Republic of China had fled to Taiwan. Therefore, in order to hold back the USSR and China, the only remaining countries for the US to ally with were South Korea and Japan.

Few countries in East Asia could be trusted to organize the region. As a consequence of an accident of history, post-1945 Japan (a country that had experienced one of the greatest human tragedies in history at Hiroshima and Nagasaki) became a fortress of the capitalist world against the Soviet Union, China and North Korea after the San Francisco Treaty in 1950. Initial signs for this envisioned role could already be seen in McArthur's direction of the GHQ. He considered using the Showa Emperor as the center of new the constitutional monarchy in an attempt to bring the nation together and as an ally of the western world.

3.1 *Leadership of Politicians Who Led the Reconciliation. European Success*

The reconciliation and joint leadership of European post-war enemies helped to frame the new era in post-war Europe. The success of this European settlement largely depended on the following three examples of agency:

One is "Reconciliation between Germany and France" which was centered around the central role Robert Schuman.¹⁶ Schuman was born in Luxembourg, studied in Germany, joined the resistance movement against the Vichy regime and was part of the liberation of France. He also held the office of French Prime Minister before later becoming the Foreign Minister. He was a person who symbolized the German-French Reconciliation, and the German-French Youth Exchange Program (used by eight million young people during the 70 years since the war) that has made the

¹⁶ Takahiro Kondo, "Robert Schumann's German-French Collaboration", Noriko Yasue, "Great Men of the EU Integration; Schumann, Adenauer, Churchill", both are in *63 Chapters to know the European Union*, Ed. By Kumiko Haba, Akashi Publisher, 2017, 5th edition, pp. 76-79, 80-82.

likelihood of a war between Germany and France unthinkable. As a result of that, the EU took the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012.¹⁷

The second is energy collaboration, which was the realization of the coal and steel community and the Euratom (nuclear community) as laid out in the "Schuman Declaration" which was written by Jean Monnet. Having been the first of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, special chairman of the Joint Committee on the management of military supplies during WWII he was familiar with the relationship between energy and war.

The third is the freezing of geographical borders across Europe after WWII. Europeans argued that changing borders would lead to conflict and war, therefore, it would not allow border changes after the Soviet Union's remarkable change like the annexation of the Baltic states and the amendment of Poland's eastern border during and after World War II.¹⁸ This played itself out in the "Helsinki Agreement" and the creation of CSCE (the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) in 1975, which was trying to solve the security questions all over Europe, including the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Although Germany had been divided into East and West at that time, both German Prime Minister, Willy Brandt, who negotiated the agreement, and Helmut Schmidt who signed it, accepted the freezing borders sincerely "but with humiliation",¹⁹ for the sake of European stability and peace. Because of that, after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990, Europeans no longer felt a threat from the German unification, and accepted the unified Germany, as "the country walking with Europe". That is why both Chancellor Kohl and Chancellor Merkel repeatedly emphasized henceforth that "Germany lives with Europe."

4 The United States' World Strategy and International Relations After 1950—Why Asia is Irreconcilable?²⁰

As in Europe, East Asia too had a number of capable politicians who, preached the integration of East Asia. In Japan, we can point to Tenshin Okakura and Hirofumi Ito for example, who was assassinated because of the Japanese annexation of Korea,

¹⁷ It was highly estimated and praised following: Europe, especially Germany and France, overcame nationalism after WWII, and realized an economic community, spread respect for the democratic system and basic human rights to the European continent, and as a result, peace, stability and economic prosperity in Europe and in the world. European Nobel Peace Prize, 2012. The Nobel Peace Prize, 2012.

¹⁸ Annexation of the Soviet Union in eastern Poland after the conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty and the annexation of the three Baltic states of the Soviet Union in 1940.

¹⁹ Professor Karl Kaiser informed that word when we discussed about the Helsinki agreement in 2012.

²⁰ *Sharing the Burden of the Past: Legacies of War in Europe, America, and Asia*, The Asia Foundation, Friederichs Ebert Stiftung, 2003.

and Jungun An, who assassinated Hirofumi Ito.²¹ We can also mention Chiang Kai-shek, leader of National Party, and Mao Zedong, leader of Chinese Communist Party. However, their philosophies were obviously poling apart. In comparison with European visionaries such as Schuman and Monnet, East Asian leaders, with national unity as their primary goal, could not reconcile and work with each other Under such circumstances the prospects of mutual reconciliation and prosperity were lost.

As well as regional political dynamics, US opposition to East Asian nationalism and region-building would also prove crucial. U.S. leaders regarded the ideas of those who aspired to Asian integration as dangerous. Because of that, after WWII, the United States relied on politicians who could execute US strategies and concentrate on domestic development, rather than leaders who held a strong nationalist and regionalist outlook. In the case of Japan, Shigeru Yoshida and Hayato Ikeda, who tried to suppress the increase in security and military power and aim for the prosperity and development of the country, played such a role. After the war, Japanese leaders specialized in its postwar recovery and growth, focusing on the economy, rather than engaging in international politics. Politicians who sought nationalism, independence and collaboration with neighbors different from the United States tended to be ostracized.

The US approach to East Asia became one of "Divide and Rule" especially after the seizure of government of the Communist Party in North Korea in September 1948 and China in October 1949. The breakout of the Korean War in 1950, further strengthened the US strategy, resulting in Japan becoming a buffer against communist countries as laid out in the Treaty of Peace with Japan in San Francisco in 1950, and the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan.²²

4.1 The Establishment of a Strong Socialist Regime in the East Asian Continent

With the establishment of Mao's Communist Party system and Chiang Kai-shek fleeing to Taiwan, a powerful Communist Party troika was established on the East Sea coast of Japan, by the Soviet Union, North Korea, and China. In addition, North Korea's rich seams of uranium ore proved crucial for the Soviet Union's nuclear capability which would extend to both China and North Korea. The three represented a powerful socialist and communist system that was deemed a threat by the United States. In such a geopolitical atmosphere, Japan's importance as an anti-communist buffer was enhanced. From a Japanese perspective it could be argue that it lacked the

²¹ Interestingly, both Hirobumi Ito and Jungun An have been highly regarded as nationalists and East Asian integrationists as well, in both countries.

²² Full text and translation of the Treaty of Peace with Japan in San Francisco: <http://www.chukai.ne.jp/~masago/sanfran.html>, <http://worldjpn.grips.ac.jp/documents/texts/docs/19510908.TIJ.html>.

sorts of reliable neighbors like Germany and Italy had in Europe, in order to engage in processes of region-building.

4.2 *Regional Integration Was Realized in Southeast Asia Even Under the Cold War*

This was not the difference between Europe and Asia. Because, as everyone knows, "divide and rule policy" was a peculiarity of East Asia and it brought antagonism and instability. That is why the regional collaboration in Northeast Asia is so important for to make peace and stability. In ASEAN, although Vietnam divided between north and south, both sides of the region pulled in, therefore South Vietnam was included in ASEAN, and North Vietnam, established under Ho Chi Minh in cooperation with the Soviet Union. Although the Cold War has divided all territories by border lines, it is interesting to note that in Southeast Asia, of course, different from Europe, but regional collaboration had managed to establish and taken the direction of combating communism together.

5 *The US Intervention in East Asia—Perception of East Asian Threat: Comparing ASEAN*

Why did the United States intervene in East Asia with a 'divide and rule' governance approach? It seems that at the heart of this policy were lingering perceptions of an East Asian threat that centered around three scenarios:

1. If Russia, China and North Korea collaborate as a socialist system, it will become a strong competitor to US hegemony.
2. The United States' desire to build a new world order necessitated a foothold in East Asia in order to restrain the Soviet Union and China. It was MacArthur's strategy as well.
3. The US impact on the emerging post-war Japan. Unlike in Europe, MacArthur's post-war determination to intervene in politics, carefully sidelined politicians that held anti-American, nationalist, and pro-independent views.

Not only the Japanese Communist Party or Socialist Party, but also nationalists and independent fractions were also ousted from the government or leading positions. In light of that the remaining political elite could hardly refuse the US strategy.

5.1 *ASEAN—Successful Integration in Asia*²³

As we could see, the US strategy was very different in Europe and East Asia, yet at the same time Europe and ASEAN had many similarities.

For example, like the EC/EU, ASEAN was able to compete with the Soviet Union, China, and North Vietnam by integrating its regional system, including South Vietnam. On the other hand, in East Asia, the United States has implemented a "divide and rule" policy, and Japan, China and South Korea have always been in conflict and have continued to politically blame the "enemy" as neighboring countries. Although Japan and South Korea both allied with the United States, that could not dispel their own bi-lateral difficulties over, for example, numerous historical issues including the issue of the comfort women.

However, South-East Asia escaped from the suspicions of neighboring countries and formed an EU-type network, therefore it became the center of ASEM (Asia and Europe Meeting). We could learn from ASEAN several countries as "good governance" as an Asian case of regional collaboration, although some of them are.

In Europe, post-war regional integration and the US strategy did not contradict. "German-French reconciliation" started after WWII. By reconciliation, Germany was included into Europe and got the Marshall Fund. On the other hand, German-Polish reconciliation, or German-Russian reconciliation didn't exist until the end of Cold War for Poland, and never for Russia.

6 *Thaw of the Cold War and the Limits of Independence (from the 1960s to the 1970s)*

In the 1960s–1970s, in the thaw of the Cold War, high growth of Japanese economy started after the war; the national restoration of diplomatic relations carried out that had been suspended during the Cold War.

That is, the thaw of the Cold War and the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, and Japan and China brought about friendship with neighboring countries and the development of Japan and Northeast Asia. This is the greatest achievement of regional collaboration.

The first moves in the normalization of relations between The Soviet Union and Japan came with the October 1956 Soviet-Japanese Joint Declaration that was co-signed by Nikita Khrushchev and Ichiro Hatoyama in October 1956.²⁴ At that time, it was recognized that when the peace treaty was concluded, the two islands of Habomai and Shikotan could be returned to Japan. It was confirmed and ratified two months later. Then, in June 1965, the Japan-Korea Normalization and The Treaty on Basic

²³ R. Stubbs, "ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism?", *Asian Survey*, 2002.

²⁴ Full text of Soviet-Japanese joint declaration: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiiko/bluebook/1957/s32-shiryou-001.htm>.

Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea were concluded.²⁵ It had US support and encompassed a wide-range of political, economic, security, and cultural issues.

In September 1972, Tanaka Kakuei and Zhou Enlai signed The Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China. This was the basis of the historical and diplomatic rapprochement between Japan and China.²⁶ However, Nixon and Tanaka who were involved in the normalization of diplomatic relations with China, were overtaken by Watergate and the Lockheed case. With the coming to power of Deng Xiaoping, in China, he would go on to pursue economic reform and economic cooperation and development. He pushed 韜光養晦 (hiding one's own fame and talent) and put China on a path of rapid and realistic economic development and cooperation with neighboring countries. There is no doubt that the post-War development of Japan, China and Korea has been remarkable. If these three nations were able to put aside historical antagonisms, East Asia would stand alongside the EU and the US as one of the dominant economic players in the world economy. However, there has been little progress in contrast to Europe.

6.1 Chinese Independent Development

As for the Communist bloc, China has taken a different path from the Soviet Union. After Gorbachev's Soviet Union gained acceptance in the western world, with the introduction of glasnost and perestroika, the Soviet sphere of influence across Eastern Europe began to collapse in the autumn of 1989. This was followed by the dissolution of the Soviet Union itself in 1991. In China, 1989 also saw the emergence of a democratic movement, led by students, which culminated in its crushing in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. It raised considerable international criticism at that time. Ironically, however, since the Tiananmen Incident, China has strengthened its global significance in economic, military, and even science and technology fields – even overtaking the United States in some of these areas. Simultaneously, though, it continues to maintain a political dictatorship, not to collapse like the Soviet Union....

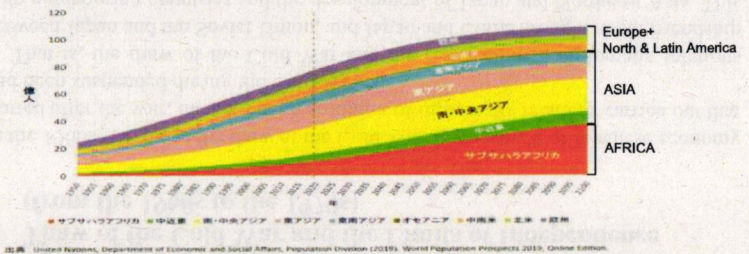
²⁵ Full text of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea, 2006. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/treaty/pdfs/A-S40-237.pdf>.

²⁶ Full text of The Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China. https://www.cn.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_ja/bunken_1972seimei.html.

7 Conclusion: Predicting the Decline of the Postwar "World Order" Due to Economic Development

Who makes the "new world order" in the twenty-first century? The transformation of economic power relations has begun in the second quarter of the century. Look at the figures.²⁷

Changes in World Population by Region
 Europe, North America, Latin America, and Oceania=1.8 billion
 Asia=4.8 billion, and Africa=4.3 billion, Total=10.9 billion in 2100.
 Under the Covid-19, 3 million Deaths in Europe and America, half of World population
 Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019, World Population Prospects 2019, Online Edition



Covid-19 continuously spread widely, especially in the USA and in Europe, therefore, how to develop after Covid-19 is the most important trial for the USA, Europe, Asia and the rest of the world. It might change drastically the world order in the future.

Between 2010 and 2030, China will have overtaken Japan and the United States. In 2060, the OECD forecasts that China will be the first, and India or the USA will be the second and third most powerful economy. However, a single country cannot create a "New World Order". The US leadership collaborated with the EU, the UK, Japan and most of the Asian countries, Canada, Australia, and others; most of the countries supported the USA leadership. If Asia is to take the reins of leadership in the latter half of the twenty-first century, it must strengthen regional co-operation, development and collaboration. Without such developments, it is impossible to make an Asian era.

The unanswered question though is 'how to establish economic basement, political collaboration and mutual trust in Asia'?

²⁷ Maddison, Angus, *Contours of the world Economy, 1-2030 AD; Essays in Macroeconomic History*, Oxford University Press, September 2007. Maddison, Angus, *Chinese Economic Performance in the Long Run, 960-2030*, OECD, Paris, October 2007. Kawai, Masahiro, "Economic Relations between Japan, the United States and China: East Asian Community and the United States", *Press Club Meeting*, 2009.11.25. Kawai, Masahiro, *New Asian Economy*, Bunchindo, 2016.

1. Democracy is not the goal. Stability, peace and prosperity are fundamental to the world order.
2. How to build stable relations with neighbors and the world? Economic collaboration, interests, development and mutual communication of youth, citizens, companies, and professors are very important.
3. How to dispel US suspicion. Asia should not cut off the good relationship with the USA but should call for the US to respect the sovereignty of Asian nations and seek to build mutual trust.

With the future economic decline of the United States, the increased likelihood of global instability appears unavoidable. Add to this flashpoints and unexpected events like Hong Kong demonstrations, Middle East and Syria destabilization, COVID-19 pandemic spread, disaster, etc. It, therefore, becomes necessary to ask what the best way is to create regional stability built on foundations of responsibility and trust.

Again, learning from historical European attempts could provide a potential roadmap for building a regional security system. Rather than increasing military strength why not draw upon the examples of the CSCE and OSCE. Why not draw upon civil society initiatives that promote cultural-, citizen's- and youth exchange, energy-, science- and technology exchange, expert- intellectual- and military personnel exchange. Such developments could be the basis upon which to promote regional, inter-regional, and trans-regional collaboration appropriate for the global era. Asia's joint development has just started. There will be many trials and errors in the future, but we will not successfully deal with them on our own. The need for mutual respect and trust; the need for diligence etc. will be the sort of values necessary to take us towards a new era. In order to ensure the prosperity of the region and the world, we should reorganize Asia in collaboration with the EU and the United States to create a "New World Order" appropriate for the latter half of the twenty-first century.

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