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Historical Globalization and Asian Implications

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Construct of RH's paper

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1. Introduction

Two contrasting tendencies, centripetal and centrifugal, have been very remarkable in the international society of the late 1990s. The former promotes globalization, which is predicated on legitimization of the value or scope of the world, globe, or earth. The latter is inclined toward something indigenous, local, or regional, and manifests itself in various forms: deadly ethnic conflicts, reclaiming religious fundamentalism, and multi-layered overlapping regionalisms. In practice, these two tendencies in reinforce each other, although in essence they are derived from distinct bases.

This paper focuses upon globalization, defining its basic features, exploring its historical origins, investigating the current state of American hegemony and querying its implications for the future of Asian nations.

2. Defining globalization

2.1 Unification versus diversification

Globalization, in essence, is the fact that the world or globe is becoming "one." But its effects in practice are multifarious, permeating many aspects of our everyday life and thereby rendering the world more diverse as well as uniform. In academic discussions, it is both an analytical term to depict a situation or process, and a normative concept oriented toward some "ideal" world in reality. It comprises at least five aspects. First, the world-wide or globe-related human activities (especially economic ones) have been increasingly activated in many fields. Second, people have become closer to each other throughout the world. Third, a more identical or similar life style has prevailed among people all over the world. Fourth, the world or globe has become much smaller due to the rapidly increasing mobility of people. Finally, these changes have worked to reformulate the international system in certain ways.

Being integral to the contemporary world, it is the present stage of historical processes. Being human endeavours, it is naturally associated with our mental activities. Ideology or philosophy, promoted in this context, is called globalism: a way of how to understand, evaluate and promote it.

It has been greatly accelerated by the development of capitalism in the modern world, the features of which are now recognized almost everywhere in the world, however isolated it is. Examples are the predominance of market economy and the ubiquity of commercial commodities used in everyday life. Due to their being commodities, all goods including human labor have become objects of buying and selling. Many goods and services are created only for sale, with little attention paid to utility. Borrowing the thought of Karl Marx, what matters is not the value of use but of exchange. Thus consumers are encouraged or forced to accept the culture of consumption called consumerism. They gradually accustomed to buying in order to enjoy not the consumption of goods themselves but the act of purchase itself. Consumerism has permeated throughout the world.

Western capitalism has become the world economy, subduing other nations under its strong influences, and setting there the Western style of economy, society and politics as a model to emulate. Thus Western versions of nation-building, social values, philosophy, thought, and culture has been promulgated as models necessary for the modernization of non-Western countries. In recent years, such a process has been further accelerated by both the consolidation of capitalism as the basis of the world economy, and the rapid innovation of transport, information and communication technology. However, as A. Giddens observes, "The development of globalised social relations probably serves to diminish some aspects of nationalist feeling linked to nation-states (or some states) but may be causally involved with the intensifying of more localised nationalist sentiments." (Giddens, p.65) Moreover, while Western particularism has been promoted as global universalism, this universalism has come to be discredited as particularism. This is the point that S. Huntington emphasizes in his argument over the "Clash of Civilizations." As he points out, globalization centering on Westernization has recently evoked strong reactions from the Islamic, Hindi and Sinic worlds against its Western mainstream. Counter-unification or counter-globalism is a twin of globalism in this sense.

2.2 The "compressed" world

A major feature of globalization is "the spatial and temporal compression of the world." (Robertson, p.101) The revolution of telecommunication and transport technology has made our life more dependent on other people's activities and less separated from them in space and time. Nowadays spatial distance does not necessarily mean physical separation of people from each other. Besides, sharing of time has increased, made feasible by that technological innovation. Then at least on the surface our culture has begun to share more with other cultures outside us. Now we can communicate almost instantaneously with people living at the other end of the earth by fax or email. The Internet provides us with easy access to the homepage of the White House, or the bookseller Amazon. International telephone calls are now very common as they are almost everywhere available, and the quality of sound has progressed so much in these decades. We watch a live broadcast of the Football World Cup or the Baseball "World" Series on TV, the images of which are transmitted by communication satellites. London is within the distance of only 12-13 hour trip by air from Osaka. Political leaders meet with each other at the Summit to discuss about global affairs, and hotlines are available for them in case of emergency.

International human movement has continued to flourish in these years, directly due to the transport revolution and basically owing to the soaring world economy, where an exception is the exodus of refugees from areas burdened with civil war. That varies in form: sightseeing, studying abroad, overseas service at a branch, temporary migration, permanent immigration, refugees and so forth. Since the end of the Second World War, migration has headed toward such advanced countries as UK, Germany, France and US and since the 1980s Japan. However, recently such semi-advanced countries as South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia or Thailand in Asia have become the place where many neighbours come to work for manual or service industries. Foreigners work at such sites as those of road, subway, or building-construction, which are a prerequisite for the infrastructure underpinning a highly advanced capitalist economy. Some work for service industries such as restaurants, cleaning of buildings and the street, or maids, which are an indispensable auxiliary of such a kind of economy. Others go abroad to fill up the absolute shortage of labour at factories or construction sites in the period of rapid economic growth in other countries. These trends are

quite a contrast to the fact that 10-15 million slaves were forced to traverse the Atlantic Ocean to work for sugar or cotton plantations in the colonies in the West Indies and the Americas under European colonial powers in the sixteenth century to the nineteenth. For while they were fated to death or agony, the contemporary migrants are destined to better lives and fortunes, however small the margin may be. Those who have migrated to other countries maintain human networks with their family, relatives or friends at home. In addition, they create economic networks with their nationals living in a new country or the neighbouring countries. An outstanding example is the world-wide networks of overseas Chinese scattered throughout the world.

However, seen as a whole, the "compressed" world is somehow distorted in the sense below. Unrelated with fax, email or Internet, space and time in human relationship are still as they were without them. As we use more often domestic than international telephone calls and watch more often conventional than satellite TV, our interface with the globalized world is still limited in time and space. Most of our everyday time and space is limited to the domestic and nearby spheres. Although a high-speed aircraft has made the global as well as the domestic travel easier, the maximum distance of a day trip, even by Shinkansen train, is less than the entire length of the Japanese archipelago. Thus, even though many men and women move around the world, most of us continue to be born, brought up and die in our home country.

In the international perspective, human relations are more "compressed" at all levels among the advanced countries, and at the elite and migration levels between the advanced and developing countries. But the basic relationship among people of developing countries is less "compressed," where people enjoy their lives with little direct relationship with foreign countries and peoples. Generally speaking, time and space there are just the same as they were decades ago. Thus the world is not uniformly "compressed", but greater or lesser distorted. The more globalized it becomes, the more distorted it becomes in terms of "compression."

2.3 The reformulation of the world

In the increasingly compressed world, the inter-state, inter-enterprise, and inter-group activities all have been accelerated. Economic transactions, human migration, and interchanges of fashion, food taste or philosophy have shown a tremendous increase in recent years. However, this does not mean that the inter-state relations have become less frequent and important. On the contrary, they have become more numerous, varied and consolidated because the goals of a nation-state and national economy still remain to be upheld firmly. It is an integral aspect of globalization that the inter-state relations as well as the inter-people have steadily been mobilized.

In tandem with these changes, it has become necessary to reformulate the international relationship in order to either promote globalization or cope with the resultant issues. Generally speaking, the former is inclined toward institutionalization while the latter is toward popular movement. The former is recognized in cases of standardization of industrial technology (e.g. measurements), of international telecommunication technology (e.g. assignment of frequencies), of international transport means (e.g. containers), of international postal services (e.g. mailbags), or of computer interfaces. Legal protection of intellectual property, the establishment of frameworks for free trade such as WTO, EU, or APEC, or

financial big bangs also belongs to the first category for promoting globalization. The second embodies itself in an NGO or NPO type of popular movement oriented toward such activities as development cooperation, preservation of the global ecology, or promotion of human rights. The most outstanding examples are OXFAM, Greenpeace, and Amnesty International.

It is the belief in development, termed developmentalism, that has underpinned industrialization in every country, and which in turn has set globalization in motion. From industrialization and developmentalism, however, have ensued sufferings of those left behind in the rush for development, and issues of mal-development in advancing countries, and environmental deterioration in every part of the globe. Furthermore, the violation of human rights committed in any country has begun to be severely criticized under international surveillance since the 1970s, when the Western notion of human rights was in principle finally accepted by international community.

Transnational activities of people have become more important in creating a new safe world. Industrialization along with modernization produces "invisible" risks (Beck, p.28) at home, which will penetrate into other countries as part of globalization. An example is the contamination of other countries by radioactivity brought into the Northeast direction by the accident of the nuclear power plant at Chernobyl in Ukraine, in the former Soviet Union (1986). Thus, this nuclear calamity became a transnational problem in Europe, while the main cause was the "invisible" radioactivity at work, of which plutonium 239 is extremely harmful to our health. Also "invisible" are the risks of agricultural products imported from an advancing country, which are contaminated by the insecticide manufactured but prohibited in advanced countries. The same kind of risks are to be discerned in the breeding of a new type of insects that have become stronger against some specific insecticide, or of a new type of microbe that has got stronger against some particular medicine. Genetically modified plant seeds may be said to belong to this category of risks. It is only transnational activities of people freed from the logic of profit-making or national interest that should be able to make those invisible things more clearly visible to us.

2.4 Symbols of globalization

Symbolic manifestations help to promote the "compression" of the world, which in turn facilitates more of symbolic function in the world. To cite a case, market economy, human rights, or trust in paper money, credits or securities are all conceptual artifacts that are necessary tools for globalization. In the future, electric money will also come into circulation. While in theory they should concrete in kind at the final stage of transaction, in practice they are accepted mostly in abstract terms. This has been greatly accelerated by the computerization of information networks as well. Now money hops out of and into computers of all the world's stock exchanges. As for the symbol of globalization, we have come to accept as our comrades, living on the earth together, those whom we have never met nor shall ever see. The metaphorical expression of the Spaceship "Earth" tells us that we all belong to the community of fate related to the global environmental issues. The Japanese abbreviation of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1992) is the Earth Summit. Nowadays such a slogan as "To protect the earth" is fairly popular even in advertisement pages in the newspaper sponsored by enterprises indirectly for their benefits. It is not important at all in these cases to identify the place or aspect that "the earth" or "the globe" points to. It is more significant that they should remind us of something universal associated with the fate of all people on the globe.

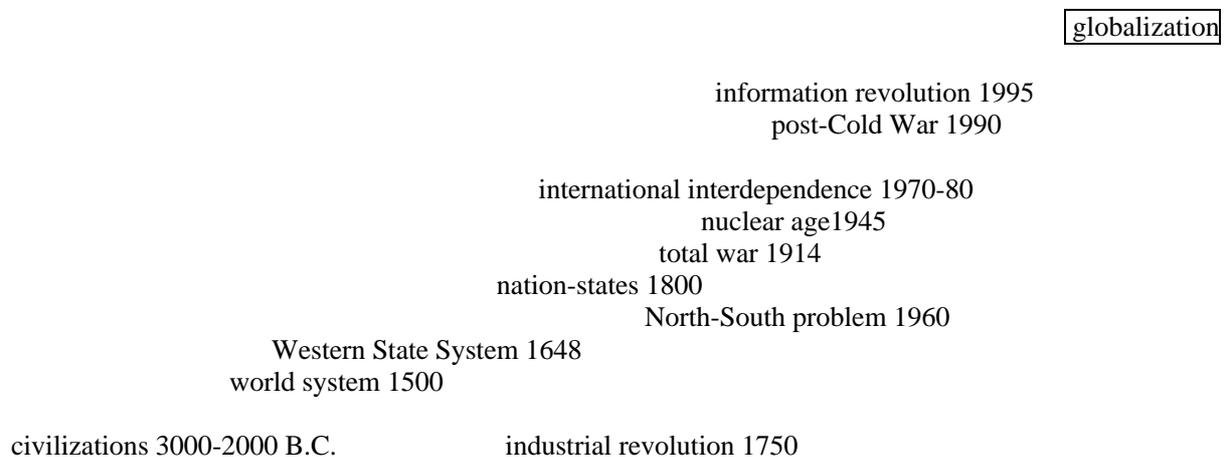
"The world" is also a symbol in a similar sense. We have come to feel ourselves bound with some type of common destiny with the world in these years. That is symbolized in such expressions as the world depression, a world car, or the World Cup Game of football or rugby. In journalism and academia, we often talk about the world order centering round the United Nations. The Japanese translation of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) is the "world" declaration of human rights. Here, too, it is not important to determine in a concrete term what these expressions cut out of the world. We should come to admit that they are symbols of something universal related to the destiny of all people in the world.

Thus, when through the intermediary of symbols of the "world," "earth," or "globe," we have accepted that all people in the world are living "together," "identical" or the "one," the global consciousness becomes part of the reality, which can be an unspoken norm to promote globalization further.

3. Globalization in history

3.1 Historical origins

We cannot stop globalization whether or not we like it, so it does not make sense to debate over whether it is acceptable or not. Rather, if we understand that globalization is the present stage of historical processes of different origins, we can look for issues consequent on them. In this context the definition of historical processes is crucial for finding out the issues involved.



note: American global dominance; American global influence; American incompetence

Japanese regional dominance; Japanese regional influence; Japanese incompetence

The length of those processes varies much. The longest is from 3,000-2,000 B.C. when the ancient civilizations or the political organization of development started, and this process was forcefully reinforced by the modern industrialization in the Industrial Revolution since the late eighteenth century. In this perspective, problems resulting from civilization,

development, or environment are considered to be part of globalization. The next longest is from circa 1500 when Western Europe intruded itself into the Americas and Asia to form the modern world system mainly in the economic sphere. This system, being reinforced by the Western State System in the political sense since 1648, has formed the basis for the dominance of European Powers and US over the world affairs in the modern period, part of which is globalization. In this context the greatest problem of globalization is the confrontation between Western and non-Western countries over the world dominance. One example is the North-South debate over development, animated since the 1960s. Another is a global discussion on the thesis of "Clash of Civilizations" proposed by S. Huntington in the middle 1990s. The shortest is from the middle 1990s, when technological innovations introduced us a new life-style in communication and information. Those who will come first in computer technologies are sure to command the world economy, and hence politics in the coming decades. In this connection, a central issue of globalization is how to establish and uphold the supremacy in computer industries, both hard and soft. The next shortest is from the early 1990s after the Cold War ended. Then American monopoly in military affairs started in the world politics, and apparently American people started to think that they have monopolized the legitimacy of ideology and philosophy. The extreme proposition is the "End of History" or the eternal victory of Western liberalism (F. Fukushima). Here is a very controversial issue: the confrontation between universalism and counter-universalism. An example is the debate over the Asian way of human rights between those supportive of Asian particularism and Western universalism.

The proliferation of discussions about international interdependence or regimes from the 1970-1980s can be seen closely related with the necessary reformulation of the international society as part of globalization. Although the reformulation is a historical necessity, its content is determined by our choice.

Other stating points of those historical processes are the French Revolution seen as the inception of the national state and army, the First World War as the beginning of the total war, and the first A-bombing in 1945 as the outset of the nuclear civilization. These three can be grouped into a category of war, provided that although war is not globalization per se, it may be used to support a particular type of globalization under someone's hegemony. The US-led Gulf War in 1991 and the NATO air campaigns against the Serbs this year are such cases.

In the following we will focus on (1) a belief in civilization and development, (2) the Western rule over the world, and (3) non-Western objections against that rule, as they are basic issues related to those historical processes of globalization.

3.2 Developmentalism

In order to clothe ourselves, eat and take shelter, we must take pieces out of nature with which to make clothes, food and a house. Even in this limited sense we cannot live together with the nature as it is, but its modified part. We can only eat, wear, inhabit or drink the part of nature as modified in artificial ways. That is food, clothes, a shelter, or the clean water, which is generally called the Basic Human Needs. We need an organized effort to secure most of them. For that purpose, human groups seek to transform the nature on a large scale for their benefits, using the technology that makes their job much easier and faster. Development is such an effort made by human groups, especially the political authorities, and

civilization is a whole set of human endeavors to enhance the standard of living by means of development.

In agrarian or industrial societies, those who enjoy the fruits of development are inclined to accept a whole of changes in the nature conducted for their benefits. Thereby arises a belief in development or civilization, which should be called developmentalism. Thus it is inevitable that development, big or small, deforms the natural environment in some way, where the cause-effect relationship becomes transnational in the globalized world. For example, those people in the advanced countries often deprive those in developing countries of Basic Human Needs in order to secure their own. To cite a case, beef or bananas in the former are produced in a ranch or plantation in the latter where the seeds of cereals are rarely sowed for the workers and families living there.

Any type of development exerts devastating effects on the natural environment once it has exceeded an appropriate level. If it goes too much, we shall be fated to lose some of conditions for subsistence. In the past, over-intensive irrigation made the soil too salty to be used as farmland in the agrarian civilization of Mesopotamia. Moreover, since the Industrial Revolution, industrialization has made our environment of living increasingly worsen as well as our standard of living steadily higher. The conventional solution was to either impose the burden of environmental devastation on the weak or poor at home, or the colonial people abroad, neither of which is in principle available in the globalized world. Besides, the earth as an ecological system faces such serious difficulties as the depletion of the ozone layer, global warming, acid rain, sea pollution, the deforestation of tropical rain forests, desertification, or the loss of bio-diversity. In addition, "invisible risks" are so serious as discussed in the above sections.

It cannot be denied that serious risks of human survival are inherent in civilization itself as an artifact. Although they are not a direct result of globalization, they are certainly consequent on developmentalism that has been a driving force for globalization. Our choice is between the conventional path to prolong risks and injustice through further continuing the present type of globalization and a new path to solve them through cultivating the consciousness of the one-world, globe or earth, and reformulating the international society for that purpose. It is a great question whether US is willing and qualified to take such initiatives.

3.3 The Western dominance

Modern globalization was promoted under the European dominance, and contemporary one is proceeding under the American dominance. Globalization is considered to be the present stage of the world economic system formed first in circa 1500. While Columbus reached an island in the Caribbean Sea in 1492, Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in South India in 1498. The period around 1500 was the starting point of the worldwide economic and capital accumulation system. The dynamism of capitalism has worked to unify the world more tightly ever since. Up until the end of the Second World War, huge areas of Asia and Africa remained colonies mainly under the rule of Portugal, Spain, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, or Germany. Globalization in the post-War period has been promoted under American hegemony. The institutional construct for this Western dominance was the Western State System in operation since 1648. That was both an instrument of rule by the Western world over other worlds and a framework within which the Western countries pushed

forward with modernization and industrialization. For that purpose, non-Western regions were transformed into the hinterland for the Western industrialization where they were encouraged or enforced to produce raw materials for the West and purchase its manufactured goods. At the same time, the Western culture and values were introduced into most of the indigenous local elite in the colonies, for whom they became symbols to both respect and reject.

The age of colonialism came to the end when most of Asian nations regained independence after the end of the War and many African peoples in the 1960s. Thereby the Western State System lost a fulcrum with which to support domestic economic prosperity based on the structure of international exploitation. Once Asian and African peoples had recovered political power, they began to call into question the cause of existing economic deprivation. That was the outset of the North-South problem and debates about it. However, in fact it is not a new but five hundred years old problem. Against such a backdrop, for the first time in the modern history, the realization of equality of all people became a practical norm in the international society. Some think that industrialization is the solution of this problem, asking for more involvement in "compression" of the world. Others opt for alternatives for industrialization, keeping aloof from the "compressed" world. It is quite controversial whether and how American world hegemony will contribute to the solution of the North-South problem.

3.4 Universalism and objections

As globalization up to the present has been promoted under the predominant influences of the Western modern science and culture, the Western culture and values have also come to be disseminated throughout the world, seemingly being accepted that they are universally applicable. In addition to industrialization, the Western modern ideas have been placed on the altar to worship in other places, too. For example, the conception of human rights has been diffused throughout the world in these two decades. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and two International Covenants on human rights (1966), adopted in the United Nations, have set the norm for fulfilment of human rights for the international society. However, although the Western countries have employed the "human rights diplomacy" to China, Malaysia, Singapore or Myanmar so as to protest against violation of human rights in those countries, Asian countries have rebutted the charge against them. In short, those governments in Asia insist that the Western concept of human rights deduced from individualism should never be applied in those countries where people, mostly living in an extended family, prefer duties to rights, choose the way of seeking consensus in decision-making, and expect the power of morality and the effective leadership of strong government in development policy. The proponents of Asian particularism often raise voices of objections against the proposition of universalism based on the Western type of human rights. They cast doubt on the way the "compressed" world is deformed in the Western favour even in discussions about human rights.

In a similar vein, not all people in the world have accepted the idea of globalism, formed under the Western leadership, as a whole. Throughout the world, various versions of counter-globalism are getting stronger, and doubts about the Western type of modernization swirl around at least among the intellectual elite in other worlds. Prominent examples of counter-globalism are Islamism against Western universalism and the idea of the East Asian Economic Caucus proposed by Dr. Mahathir, Prime Minister of Malaysia against APEC

being under the strong influence of US. They understand that the so-called universalism of Western origin is an ideology that tries to mask Western interests under the guise of universalism, and that it is another expression of Western particularism. Seen in this context, "Clash of Civilizations" are considered to be confrontations between globalism and counter-globalism, which are in turn an integral part of the contemporary globalization.

However, their attitudes toward Western ideas are not so simple and straightforward as they claim, because, while trying to reject them, they have accepted them to some extent and the industrialization strategy of Western origin to a larger extent. Will the Western cultural hegemony come to the standstill in the foreseeable future? And will some counter-globalism grow to be alternative ideas to the West-centered globalization? Anyway, the West seems unable to win a complete victory over other civilizations and the clashes will continue for the foreseeable future.

Seen from the reversed angle, it is clear that the Western countries are implementing a self-contradictory policy in the sense that their human right policy is practically limited at home and very selective abroad in implementation. For example, how to cope with Islamic minorities in Western countries is now a problem fed back to them by progress in globalization. However, it is very dubious whether they can be completely consistent in application of the universal standard of human rights in any place at any time. It can be transnational popular movement such as NGO activities that should infuse originally Western ideas and institutions such as human rights and democracy with a new version of universal spirit, because it can be freed from the vested idea of national interest. Hence, this is an area where the people shall be able to cultivate a new ground for more equal globalization.

4. American hegemony in globalization

4.1 Revitalized hegemony

Here we understand that hegemony is the power to rule nations through ruling over the field within which they act. The main resources are economic (capabilities in manufacturing, trade and finance), cultural, military (especially, superiority in air and naval forces), and institutional (the ability to form and operate institutions or regimes), among which the economic is the most basic and important.

Needless to say, globalization is one thing and American hegemony is another. But it is obvious that US is promoting globalization further in the way it likes to do.

When the Cold War ended, we felt that at last the age of peace had come, but in reality the 1990s have been rife with ethnic war and cleansing, and regional conflicts, although the fear of nuclear war had temporarily receded. In such situations, it is only US that came to reign all over the world, exerting the military hegemony. It tends to behave like the policeman in the world, making the most of mobility of the air, naval and marine forces. Economically too, US has regained prosperity in the late 1990s, which is a contrast to the fact that East Asian countries has had to greatly suffer from the most serious recession in the late 1990s after the preceding boom. US seems to be returning to the former glorious position of the Economic Power, the pinnacle of which was in the late 1940s and 1950s just after the end of the War.

American industries take the lead in manufacturing civil and military aircraft, chemical products and medical supplies, or computers and computer software, mining petroleum, and developing genetic engineering and space science, the mass media (e.g. CNN), or intellectual property rights (e.g. royalties, patent fee) quite ahead of other than European countries. US dollar is treated as the key currency in most of economic transactions. US also takes the lead in forming and implementing the rule and regimes of international trade and finance such as the IMF and the World Bank, and seeks to rule over the economic development of developing countries.

With respect to the future of American hegemony, there are three crucial questions to be probed. The first is whether US can continue to go ahead in the innovation of information and communication technology that has made the world "compressed" in the 1990s. The second question is about the way US is going to reformulate the world order, behaving as the greatest military power. Thirdly, we should examine whether and how far it is able to lead other countries in the spheres of values and culture.

4.2 Leadership in information and communication industries

It was the latest revolution of information/communication and transport technology that has made the temporal and spatial "compression" possible. That will be the most influential in determining the speed, scope and extent of globalization in the foreseeable future.

Taking the advent of a Boeing 747 plane carrying about five hundred passengers as the outset of this revolution, the age of "compression" started in circa 1970. But, considering the worldwide spread of personal computers as the beginning, it came about in the middle 1980s. Moreover, if we mark the age of information with the popular use of email and Internet, this is a history after around 1995. Anyway, the age of information has just started. It is sure to increase in importance.

American enterprises have led the whole world in innovating the technology of information/communication and transportation. For an example, a Boeing 747 or 777 is the most popular aircraft now in use. Many personal computers have Pentium, a product of Intel Co., as a CPU, Windows of Microsoft Co. as OS, and Explorer of the same company as Internet explorer, and in addition there are still a lot of Mac fans. Companies such as IBM, Dell and Compaq are the biggest manufactures of computers in the world. Among the enterprises in the world, Intel ranked fourth and IBM eighth in terms of the total amount of profit, and Microsoft first and Intel third in terms of the ratio of earnings to net profit in 1997 (Nakao, p.96). Moreover, in the computer industry, those enterprises that have controlled the standards of manufacturing come to reign in not only sales of computers but also setting-up of communication networks. Besides, the dominant language in computer communication is English, which gives US another advantage. Globalization in the above aspect will continue to be a monopoly game for American hegemony in the foreseeable future.

4.3 Order for US

US government proclaims that American objectives are to "protect and advance US interests," and "enlarge the world community of secure, democratic and free market economies." (The White House 1996, pp.12-13) So "America must continue to lead. (The White House 1997, p.29) "The US military plays an essential role in building coalitions and shaping the international environment in ways that protect and promote US interests. Through means such as the forward stationing or deployment of forces, defense cooperation and security assistance, and training and services with allies and friends, our armed forces help to promote regional stability."(The White House 1997, p.8) The President notes that "our (overseas) involvement must be carefully tailored to serve our interests and priorities," and "we will send American troops abroad only when our interests and our values are sufficiently at stake." (The White House 1996, p. &).

Thus American military strategy aims for securing its interests first, then promoting globalization under its hegemony and finally reformulating the world order for democracy and free market. During the Cold War, both US and the Soviet Union developed and deployed an enormous amount of nuclear weapons (respectively, more than ten thousand strategic nuclear warheads, and besides innumerable theater and tactical nuclear warheads), and extraordinary transportation methods such as ICBMs, SLBMs and strategic bombers. After the end of the Cold War, both agreed to reduce the number of the piled-up strategic nuclear warheads to two thirds of the highest number (slightly more than seven thousands) and finally reach the level of a third of it (slightly more than three thousands) by 2003. In addition, UK, France, China, Israel, India and Pakistan are nuclear armed.

US nuclear strategy is more oriented toward keeping a grip on the nuclear oligopoly, in essence promoting American monopoly. For that purpose, both the Nonproliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (ineffective yet) are indispensable for American nuclear strategy, whose final cause is judged to be American rule over any area of the world. Apparently American reasoning for this strategy is firmly grounded, but on second thoughts it is not so well constructed. As widely known, no nuclear arms have been used in war despite the fact that US, Soviet Union or Israel was several times on alert to launch nuclear missiles or bombers against North Korea, China, North Vietnam, Afghanistan, or Arab states. When some country ventures to attack the enemy by nuclear weapons, nobody can predict whether and how that strategy can achieve its military goal, let alone political goals. While the nuclear calamity will spread throughout the world, the legitimacy of nuclear attack might not be established in any part of the world.

US military capabilities are outstanding in the rapidly deployable air and naval forces. US behaves as if it were the policeman of the world community in the Gulf War in 1991 and the NATO's air campaigns against the Serbs in 1999. In such cases, it is situated at the center of international forces organized to attack their defined enemy.

It cannot be denied that such American strategy provides us with some international order, but it is also pointed out that this is fundamentally aimed for American purposes. There is no formula available for reformulating the international society for the purpose of international equality, and easing the military risks consequential upon American globalization. Here arises the question of order and justice. Those who identify American order with justice are willing to support an alliance with US and contribute to the reformulation of world order

promoted under American leadership. But those who consider American order as one just for American interests are eager to reject or modify it for their own benefits. There will continue to be discussions about the way of how to change American military hegemony for the benefit of all other nations.

4.4 American ideology

In conjunction with the end of the Cold War, we have seen the revival of the optimistic view on free economy, democracy and liberalism, and a belief in market economy almost everywhere in the world. An example is the argument shown in the thesis of the "End of History" by F. Fukuyama, which sees liberalism as the final ideology in history. Another interesting case, though much less noticeable, is the part of Helsinki Declaration Two (by Helsinki Summit in July 1992) that proposed a set of democracy and market economy as the best objective to be pursued by the East European countries and the former Soviet Union (CSCE, p.2). In a general perspective, the combination of liberalism, democracy and market economy will persist for the time being. However, it is sure to give US an insoluble problem if an Islam fundamentalist party wins a national election conducted in a democratic way as done in Algeria. And market economy also has brought about great social turbulence into such fragile economies as that in Russia. Moreover, the idea of welfare state or socialism, now in recess, might come back again in the future, which US might be unable to cope with internally. It is a case that democratic socialism is still strong in the EU countries.

More noteworthy is American prejudice against and overreaction to Islamic powers. While US never allows any Arab nation, Iran or Iraq, to exert hegemony in the Middle East, it never stops supporting Israel's military buildup that has gone nuclear. Here it is quite obvious that, as US adopts a double standard in diplomacy, at least some countries take American attitudes as self-contradictory. Certainly there are definite limits to the extent that they will accept American proposition of liberalism or democracy to be applied in their own countries.

Among American ideologies, developmentalism is most welcome to other nations. In this respect, the confrontations between US and developing, Asian and Arab countries respectively, shall be in principle eased at least at the governmental level. That is, both advanced and developing countries have the same ideology of developmentalism, which is inclined to implement the policy of development even at the sacrifice of human rights of the worse-off such as the indigenous or slum inhabitants. Obviously, American leadership in the sphere of ideology is so much limited.

Summing up the above discussions, globalization now in under way is proceeding under the strong influences of US economic, military and political capabilities, and to a much lesser degree the cultural influence. Here we should note that US will not exert a strong leadership in setting limits to development and developmentalism. Nor will it be able to cope well with voices of objections from other worlds. Seen in a long historical perspective, American hegemony may be rather short-lived. But in a short perspective, it will remain firmly established.

5. Asian implications

5.1 Politico-economic implications

In the following discussion, we will probe the implications of American hegemony for the future of Asian nations. Here we limit the scope of Asia to East Asia, which is composed of East and Southeast Asian countries including Japan, South Korea, North Korea, China and ASEAN members and excluding South Asia west of Myanmar. Until the 1970s, Asia was two-layered: advanced Japan and other less-advanced countries. In the 1980s it became three-layered: Japan as a center, the NIES as semi-peripheries and others as peripheries. In the 1990s it turned four-layered: Japan as a center, NIES as semi-centers, ASEAN and the Coastal Provinces of PRC as semi-peripheries, and other developing countries as peripheries. Again in the late 1990s, still four-layered, all the layers equally fell off, firstly because there arose the serious depression in most of Asian economies, and secondly because Japan has experienced the collapse of bubble economy in the late 1990s.

The economic crisis has been very serious in Asia. After the bubble economy had burst in Thailand at the end of 1996, Thai baht began to depreciate in July 1997. Thereafter, the currency crisis went rapidly to Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and South Korea. Against US dollar, Thai baht dropped by thirty-three percent, Indonesian rupiah by 70%, Malaysian ringgit by 32 %, Filipino peso by 34%, Singapore dollar by 10% and Korean won by 34% during the end of June 1997 to the end of April of 1998. In the same period, the Japanese yen also depreciated by fourteen percent (Sakura Sogou Kenkyusho Kan-Taiheiyou Kenkyu Senta, p.65).

Against this backdrop, American hegemony surfaced, taking the form of financial supports provided by the IMF and the World Bank with the condition of implementing of a tight money and freer trade policy of each country concerned except for Malaysia that opted out. For that purpose, IMF provided twenty-one billion US dollars for South Korea, ten billion dollars for Indonesia, and four billion dollars for Thailand. The World Bank provided ten billion US dollars for South Korea, 4.5 billion dollars for Indonesia, and 1.5 billion dollars for Thailand. On the other hand, Japan's relief money was ten billion US dollars for South Korea, five billion for Indonesia, and four billion for Thailand, while the contribution by the Asian Development Bank was as big as 4 billion dollars to South Korea, 3.5 billion to Indonesia, and 1.2 billion for Thailand (*ibid.* p.129). In such cases, the two US-led organs contributed more than Japan and the Japan-led bank did. US hegemony in Asian economies is to be found in the emergence of the IMF and the World Bank as the ultimate arbitrator in those economic crisis as well as widely-used American sophisticated products such as aircraft, computers or computer software, and whatsoever.

The Japanese economy, enfeebled, is still hegemonic in this region. However, turning to Japanese domestic economy, a number of banks and securities companies went bankrupt in the late 1990s, among which were such big enterprises as Yamaichi Securities, Japan Long-Credit Bank or Hokkaido Takushoku Bank. Incredibly the interest rate of bank savings has been almost zero in these few years, but the economy has not been recovered yet. Besides, Japanese economy has some weakness coming from its strength itself. Japanese economic power is derived from export and offshore production of a certain types of manufactured goods such as cars, color-TVs, VTRs, motorcycles, cameras, or watches. But the NIES, ASEAN and China have almost caught up with Japan in production of basics of these

products. Now is time for Japan to go up a few more stairs of economy. Otherwise, it will be far behind US in the production of such highly sophisticated goods as mentioned above. On top of that, Japan shall have to rectify the imbalance of services and technology trade with the West, although it has kept the balance with Asian countries in the black.

The bubble economy led to the breakdown of many existing social systems. Toward its end, the Ministry of Health showed the bureaucratic conservatism not to take the responsibility for not preventing the unnecessary spread of HIV-contaminated serum to hemophiliacs. Nobody from the Ministry of Finance would take the responsibility for having greatly encouraged banks to create and run affiliates specializing in transactions of real estate, whose failure in land speculation triggered part of the burst of the bubble economy. As a result, people now are more concerned with private than public affairs, and as a reaction to such irresponsible bureaucracy, people at present look forward to a strong efficient government. Therefore there have been few political struggles over such important issues as a substantial revision of the Japan-US security treaty or the legislation for the national flag and anthem.

Japan is still an economic center in Asia, but the future is not so bright as the past has been. Japan should somehow raise the level of technology and finance to be competitive with US or UK. Otherwise the voices for a strong government will grow stronger, accompanying the weakened economy in Japan. In such a case, globalization may lead to the birth of a kind of statism in Japan. This is to be voices asking for more efficient government, which is socially based on more popular basis but politically more limited in participation.

5.2 Security implications

The military structure in Asia is tripartite: US presence, deployed on the basis in Guam and Okinawa or deployable from other places in case of emergency, on which Japan depends; China having military potentialities as a Big Power; and the loose cooperative system of ASEAN or the ASEAN Forum. We should also note that, as cited above, American regional (Asian) commitments are in principle for defending its "interests" and "values."

The US cannot intervene so freely in Asian politics as in the Middle East, firstly because the lessons from the Vietnam War still are kept alive in American minds, and secondly because Asian nations are more consolidated in unity than Arab nations separated by individual interests. As for the Formosa problem, US must be prepared for total war against such a giant state of China, when it would venture to directly intervene in its "domestic" problem. Obviously, it would be foolish to do so. North Korea is fairly different because it is surrounded with all enemies including China. It will continue to be under the international surveillance led by US and China.

Japan is a junior partner of US in military affairs. Although Japan looks to be strong in terms of the amount of defense budget, it has not been a major military actor at least up to the present. The reason is that its capabilities are more oriented toward defense than offense and that Self-Defense Forces have had no experience in actual warfare since the inception in 1954. Combined with American offense capabilities, it turns to be a great military power.

But US would neither admit more, nor less than Japan's playing the junior role in the military affairs. In other words, US will never let Japan go nuclear, and rarely allow Japan to abandon the Japan-US Security Treaty. The best case for US is that Japan itself is willing to strengthen

the treaty by getting more positively involved in its formulation and implementation. The new Japan-US Guidelines for security cooperation (formulated in September 1997) are very significant in the sense that this practical revision of the treaty, done rather on administrative basis, has enlarged the target area of the treaty from the Far East to the "situational" area surrounding Japan. It implies that it can be extended geographically without limits. Laws relating to the Guidelines stipulate administrative proceedings relating to the logistics and supplies in the area in and surrounding Japan.

While US has freer hands, Japan's hands are rather bound tight. Or while the former has more policy options, the latter's options are more limited. Japan is, so to speak, a pawn, albeit very important, to be used in American war. While US has security relations with South Korea and the Philippines respectively, Japan has none of those. The relationship between American will and Chinese capability may determine the future of the Japan-US Treaty, but not vice versa.

5.3 Cultural implications

Asian and Western cultures coexist in the everyday life of Asian people, given that many of the traditional culture in Asia have been modified and modernized. For example, while American fast food, pop music, or films are popular in Asia, Asian traditional fast food, folk music and original films are also available. In short, there are three kinds of culture in contemporary Asia: (1) traditional Asian culture, (2) modernized Asian culture, and (3) modern Western culture, most of which is now of American origin. On the surface, American cultural influence seems to be strong. But traditional culture persists in Asian societies, and besides, modernized Asian culture is also founded on that. So it is quite controversial how influential it is in depth of the mind and society.

Strong voices are raised against Western political culture among Asian governments. That is most clearly manifest in the intensive discussions about the Asian way of value and human rights between Western and Asian governments, and between Asian governments and human rights activists. Chinese, Malaysian, Indonesian or Singapore governments are major protagonists of the Asian way of human rights, stressing more economic than civil rights, and more national than individual rights. Opposing this, both Western governments, and Asian activists and NGOs support the general principle of human rights. But, while Asian activists seek for complete implementation of the universal principle, American government is sometimes rather hesitant to apply it, depending upon time and space.

It should not be forgotten that American influences are strong in Asian social and natural sciences. Many professors and engineers have once studied at universities or institutes in US. Those who did Ph.D.s at American universities in their twenties or thirties work for the government in Korea, Indonesia or the Philippines, shaping policy on development. They are generally inclined toward creating the social atmosphere for industrialization and developmentalism. Thus, being economic culture, developmentalism is very influential throughout Asia nations, which is reinforced by their longing for the American way of life.

But we must hasten to add that counter-developmentalism comes also from US. An example is *Silent Spring* written by Rachel Carlson in 1962. Many contemporary ecological ideas have been developed in the West although there used to be similar philosophy or practice in any traditional society. Western notions are commonly used in the Asian discourse about ecology. For example, even in NGO discussions about people-to-people cooperation for development, key words are "sustainable development," "empowerment" or "gender," all of which are originally American or European concepts. Thus American influence is strong in counter-developmentalism as well as developmentalism. In short, American cultural influences are multifaceted in Asia. But it is all but impossible to determine how strong they are. Some are powerful but limited in scope. Others are widely recognized but only on the surface.

6. Concluding remarks

In sections 2 and 3, we defined the characteristics of globalization by describing the contemporary situation (unification/diversification, compression, reformulation, and symbols) and analyzing the historical origins and related issues (developmentalism, the Western dominance, universalism/objections, and information society). And in sections 4 and 5, we clarified American hegemony in contemporary globalization, looking at four aspects (regeneration of hegemony, and technical, military, ideological capabilities and problems), and searching for its implications for the future of Asian nations in three spheres (economic, military and cultural).

Here we conclude by emphasizing three points. First, seen as a whole, globalization is uni-linear, heading toward one world, globe or earth. Made of historical processes, however, it is complex and multi-dimensional. Its effects are dialectical as expressed in a pair of unification and diversification, universalism and particularism, and developmentalism and counter-developmentalism. Compression and deformation are also understood in the same context, although they do not make a pair in a strict sense.

Second, globalization brings about serious issues along with it, each nature of which can be best understood to be consequential on a distinct historical process. In the future those nations that strive for the leadership of globalization shall more squarely and properly cope with them.

Third, contemporary globalization is proceeding under American hegemony, which is in turn reinforced by further development of globalization. Now American influences can be found in many parts of the world, but generally speaking, in Asia they are not so deeply established, though appearing very strong on the surface. Asian people are rather selective when taking in American culture. In Asia people have to decide what to opt for as universal value, and what to opt out from as particularly American values and interests.

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