

Lessons from the European Union for the Northeast Asia Regional Cooperation♪

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**European Union: The biggest economic power,
covering 27 countries**

-population: 450 Million (cf. USA: 290 Million)

-GDP: 11 trillion US Dollars (cf. USA: 10,4 Trillion)

**-The biggest foreign trade entity (trade balance) and biggest
domestic market**

.Political Union:

-European Union Constitution ('European Government')

-multilevel intergovernmentalism

-multilevel public governance



References (recent publications)

-  S.J.Park and J. Lee, eds., 2006: Economic Cooperation and Integration in Northeast Asia. New Trends and Perspectives, LIT Berlin
- B.Fort and D. Webber, eds., 2006: Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe. Convergence or Divergence? Milton Park /NY
- B.Rehbein et al, eds., 2006: Identitaetspolitik und Interkulturalitaet in Asien, Southeast Asian Modernities, vol.1, LIT Berlin
- Asia Europe Journal, vol.7, no.1 no.2, 2009 (february)

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1. Definitions of North East Asia (1)♪

- Region?
- North East Asia
- -in narrow sense: China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan
- -in broader sense: + Mongolia, Hong Kong, Philippines....??)
- **Regionalness in economic and military perception:**
+ Siberia, Alaska
- Regional homogeneity?

Definitions (2): What about the integration?♪

- Primarily ‘economic integration’ (free trade union, customs union, currency union)
- *How about other integrations?*
- -political and institutional integration
- -military integration
- -social integration (‘Asymmetric Integration’ in contrast with economic integration)
- -cultural integration

2. Trajectories towards the European Integration: historical dimension and integration driving forces♪

- *1. Ideas, Idealisms, and Integration Leaders*
- ‘United States of Europe’ a la Victor Hugo (1849) – *Idealism*
- Churchill, Monnet, Schuman – *Idealism and Realism*
- *2. Cooperation Franco-Allemande as European Integration Locomotive*
- -De Gaulle-Adenauer; D’Estaing- Schmidt; Mitterrand-Kohl
- -Germany’s *satisfactio operis* : Integration into Western Democracy, Military Alliance and Economic Contributions
- *3. Small State Capitalisms’ Competition*
- *4. Intense Transatlantic Cooperation in the era of Cold War*

3. How about East Asia?♪

- Japanese Pre-War Concept: ‘Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’ and Postwar Reluctance to Integration Initiative
- ‘Ahn Joong Gun’s Idealism’
- A Model towards ‘Regional Cooperation Governance’?
- Conflict Potentials:
 - ***-Japan versus Korea:***
 - Dokto/Takeshima Dispute; Textbook; Comfort Women; Japanese Colonialism’s contribution to Korea’s development.....
 - ***-Japan versus China:***
 - Senkaku Islands Dispute; Textbook; Nanking Holocaust

4. Historical process of European Integration

- 1948: 18 countries (profiting from Marshall Plan set up OEEC (Organization for European Economic Co-operation))
- 1951: Treaty of Paris, European Community of Steel and Coal (1952-2002); Benelux, France, and Germany joined. These 6 countries signed in Rome the so-called European Economic Community' (1957).

Two Parallel Organizations in the West:

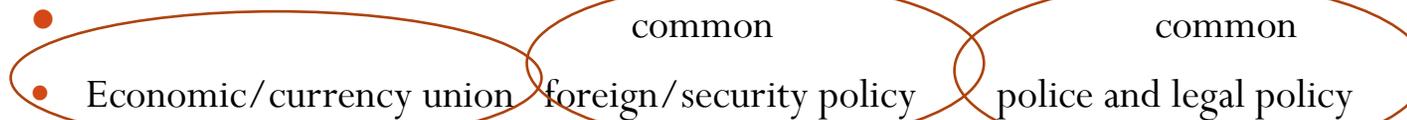
- 1958: Treaty of Rome, 'Single European Act' aiming at intensifying cooperation in economic sphere (goal: European Common Market within 12 years).
- 1960: European Free Trade Area (EFTA) (joined by other European countries)

East-West Block Formation begun:

- Military Integration: 1948-Bruxelles Pact leading to NATO and to WEU (1954); in contrast in Eastern Europe: 1949 COMECON; 1955 Warsaw Pact
- 1973-1975: Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); 1995 OSCE

- 1992: Treaty of Maastricht leading to formation of the European Union (EU) with the aim of going further to the political union through stronger cooperation in foreign and security policy, justice and home affairs

3 pillars for EU perfect!



What does the “common policy” mean?

- 1993: formally established : nov.1, 1993; 1995, Austria, Sweden and Finland joined
- 1997: Treaty of Amsterdam: strengthening common foreign and security policy, home and legal affairs and introducing social charta

- 2000: Treaty of Nice: Eastern Europe Expansion
- 2002: Currency Union started
- Treaty of Lisbon 2002, ‘ European Constitution’
- 2004: EU saw new members such as Malta, Cyprus, etc.
- 2007: Romania and Bulgaria joined
- 2007: French and Dutch voters rejected the European Constitution.
- 2008: Irish voters rejected Lisbon Treaty; July 2009 Iceland agreed to formally apply for EU membership

5. Fictions of (European) Integration Theories: Reflexive Evaluation

- 1. increase of foreign direct investment and intra-regional trade – *through spill-over effect* – political and social integration (pitfall of functionalism)
- 2. cultural homogeneity *instrumental* for political, economic and social integration
- 3. high economic growth in the region *necessarily leading* to economic integration
- 4. mutual contact between social and cultural groups, local entities and NGS entails – through *enhancement of social capital* – political and social integration

6. Problems of European Integration♪

- 1. general and obligatory application of *acquis communautaire* (entire legal norms) to all member countries: by increasing number of member countries differences with regard to the application of legal norms increased. (differentiated perception and application of legal norms sharpened debate over intergovernmentalism, federal state of EU, etc.)
- 2. The increasing number of member countries with extremely different interests caused debate over whether the EU can remain 'alliance of independent states' instead of the United States of Europe'.

- 3. Realisation of the subsidiarity principle at lowest level of administration
- 4. distinction between core members and peripheral members
- 5. realisation of the currency union (16 out of 27 member countries: 3 countries such as UK, Sweden and Denmark??)
- Other 8 countries have not met criteria)
- 6. Schengen Treaty since 1985
- 7. Democracy Deficit
- 8. Subsidy for agriculture ('Common Agricultural Policy'; CAP)
- 9. membership of Turkey (Islamism versus Christianity)

7. Lessons from the European Experiences for the Regional Integration in North East Asia

- 1. condition sine qua non: Japanese–neighboring countries’ mutual understanding
- 2. Japanese-Chinese Hegemony Competition
- 3. North Korea as ‘enfant terrible’
- 4. Demise of the Six Party Talks
- 5. FTA strategy: Japan-Korea; Japan-China; Korea-China
- (Europeans began with Customs Union of Benelux countries ; East Asia eventually with successful FTAs)

The financial crisis in East Asia 1997-1998 – intraregional cooperation perceived♪

- Accentuating necessity of economic cooperation in terms of increase in trade and investment
- New cooperation in other areas such as energy, environment, social and cultural subjects
- Monetary Integration possible?

EU's ideal and North East Asian realities



EU's Ideal:

- Participatory democracy
- Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
- Exercise of good governance
- Upholding the rule of law

East Asia:

- -diversity in system, ideology and political rule
- -diversity in economic system and order
- -diversity in cultures, languages and behaviors

Kaelble's optimism towards 'Europeanism' (1987) and affinity of social phenomena in East Asia♪

- Differentiating from American, Soviet and Japanese society European societies increasingly became similar since the second WW in family structure, employment structure, company structure, social mobility, social inequality, urban development, social security and labor conflicts....'
- What does this mean? Is this a product of the European Integration? Or rather a general trend of modernization and post-modernization?
- How about East Asia? One can state a variety of affinities in social behavior and phenomenon. Can similar value patterns entail social homogeneity?
- To jump to a conclusion "away from exclusively national perspectives toward more consciousness of the whole East Asian identity" may be premature!

- North Korea and Unification of the Korean Peninsula

- Regionalism and Regional Identity?

- A long way to go!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

- Thanks for your attention!