CHAPTER 3
REGIONAL COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND IN EAST ASIA:
BETWEEN INTEGRATION AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL
COOPERATION

European cooperation and integration provide interesting and enduring conceptual challenges. Various theoretical approaches and conceptual tools could be applied to understand models of cooperation and integration. For European cooperation, intergovernmental cooperation seems to be the most suitable approach which can explain international arrangements. For European integration, it presents its own paradigm with a supranational core. Lesson learned in theoretical framework can be explained in two main concepts: supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. The intergovernmental cooperation also prevails in the second and third pillars of the EU.

East Asia, on the contrary, can only be summarized by intergovernmental cooperation. East Asian countries strongly value their sovereignty. They prefer to preserve territorial integrity and a non-interference policy in internal affairs. As a consequence, regional cooperation efforts in East Asia tend to take form of intergovernmental cooperation than intergovernmentalist and supranationalist approaches. Regional integration as a supranational organization is not particularly familiar in the East.

A. European Union: Supranationalism and Intergovernmentalism
as Means of Regional Integration

It is not easy to summarize the European policy process in just a few paragraphs. One reason for this is that there is no one way of making European policy. The EU is unique in its combination of features that enable it to make some decisions at an institutional level "above" its member states as we call 'supranational', while at the same time operating in many respects as an 'intergovernmentalism,' which retains some sovereignty while sharing or pooling some to supranational

institutions. Not only do those two concepts enable EU integration, but the intergovernmental cooperation - the basic concept for multilateral relation as well. In this sense, states will join to participate in a negotiating forum, where they would agree to shape international debate on important issues and forge critical norms of behavior by participating such cooperation.

Table 3.1 Arguments of intergovernmental and supranational approaches to European integration[1]

Approaches to European Integration / Key arguments	Intergovernmental	Supranational
Objective of integration	A series of 'bargains' among states	A gradual process
Responsibility of supranational institutions	Assist and facilitate negotiations among states	A political actors in their own right
Power of the EU	The framework for the execution of inter-state politics by different means	Emergence of a new polity above the level of the state
Integration process	Bargains reflect national interests of the member states	Integration process is to some extent driven by institutional dynamics
Supranational laws	Reflect the interests of powerful states	Provide constraints for member states

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[1] Adapted from Thomas Christiansen, "European integration and regional cooperation," in *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations*, 3rd ed., eds. John Baylis and Steve Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 586.

In terms of community, the EU is divided into three pillars. While the second and third which deal respectively with foreign and security policy, and policy on judicial cooperation in criminal matters are largely intergovernmental cooperation. It uses a decision-making process that is largely based on government-to-government cooperation, there is much more of a supranational and intergovernmental quality to first pillar (EC pillar) decision-making, which accounts for all other European policy areas.[2]

In terms of European integration process, new policy areas are becoming increasingly regulated at the EU level. It implies that at least one new policy area is being partially or exclusively extracted from the authority and competence of nation-states and subjects them to institutionalized cooperation by the EU, in areas of security and defense policy as well as in immigration and asylum policy. Another process of the EU's integration refers to the fact that EU member states' competencies are increasingly shared or delegated to autonomous supranational institutions. Lastly, the EU expands territorially by accepting new members in integration. It is known as EU enlargement, the process whereby new states subject themselves to the acquis communautaire (the body of primary and secondary EU law) (See Table 3.2).[3]

Table 3.2 Dimensions of European integration[4]

	Sectoral integration	Vertical integration	Horizontal integration
What is being integrated?	Policy areas/sectors	Decision-making competencies	Territory, borders and boundaries
What is integration?	Integration of new policy areas/sectors (*'broadening'*)	Transfer of domestic competencies (*'deepening'*)	Extension of the territory governed by the EU acquis (*'widening'*)

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[2] Michelle Cini, ed., *European Union Politics*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 6.

[3] Frank Schimmelfennig and Berthold Rittberger, "Theories of European integration," in *European Union: Power and policy-making*, 3rd ed., ed. Jeremy Richardson (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 73-95.

[4] Ibid.

1. EU's Common Policies

Beginning with trade and agriculture, integration by these common policies has moved progressively into more and more areas of policy such as fisheries, social policy, monetary policy and common currency, and external relations.[5]

Trade represented the first area where the EEC members agreed on a common policy. In the 1960s, the six members began the tough process of harmonizing various health, safety, and consumer protection standards and regulations as well as easing barriers to movement of workers among member countries.

The Common Commercial Policy (CCP) is embodied in the Treaty of Rome but not fully implemented until the late 1960s. The CCP calls for the creation of a customs union, uniform commercial practices with non-member states, responsibility for the conduct of the CCP. The establishment of a customs union and the ceding to the EC of competence in trade matters were only the first steps in the integration process.[6]

In 1968, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) came into existence with a single market for farm products and guaranteed prices for farmers. This was the most challenging and controversial of the EC's early initiatives. In order to be politically acceptable and economically practicable, the CAP had to replace individual member states' system of customs duties, quotas, and minimum prices with an EC wide system of guaranteed prices and export subsidies. The CAP includes rural development, forestry, and environmental protection.[7]

Speaking of fisheries, the starting point of fishery management is that high sea fisheries are examples of a common property resource. In the 1960s there was little pressure to develop a Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) because the sector was relatively unimportant to the original six members. Indeed, the Treaty of Rome

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[5] Margaret P Karns and Karen A. Mingst, *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp.161-174. See e.g Desmond Dinan, ed., *Encyclopedia of European Union* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), pp. 71-88; Richard J. Piper, *The Major Nation-states in the European Union* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005); Alasdair Blair, *Companion to the European Union* (Great Britain: Routledge, 2006); http://europa.eu/index_en.htm; and European Commission, "Europe in 12 lessons," http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_glance/60/en.doc.

[6] Dinan.

[7] Ibid.

defines fish as an "agricultural product." However, in the late 1960s, the Commission proposed a CFP that was eventually implemented in 1971.[8]

In 1969, governments agreed on the principle of the EMU, both economic and monetary matters were regarded as essential to achieving political union. However, the loss of sovereignty with monetary union was particularly difficult for them to contemplate. Despite disagreements over whether economic or monetary union should come first, they agreed to begin efforts toward controlling exchange rate fluctuations and coordinate their national economic policies. Later, EMU was replaced by the Euro on 1 January 2002, which was adopted by 12 national currencies.

Serious attention to common social policy began in the 1980s and became a key part of the SEA. A key objective was lessening the variations in such regulations across the member countries because of their effects on the single market. Social policy illustrates an area of policy where the supranational powers are evident, while common foreign and security policy illustrates weaker EU power and more likely to be influenced by intergovernmental cooperation.[9]

In sum, Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism are used in the EU common policies. In supranationalism, member states would bind their governments to act and implement their domestic law and regulations in accordance to the common policies. The integration process is to some extent driven by institutional dynamics such as the Commission and the Council of Ministers.[10] Those institutions have their own authority to force member states to abide by EU's common rules and regulations accordingly. In intergovernmentalism, states assist and facilitate negotiations only when a series of bargains reflect their national interests. In this sense, the common policy will mostly reflect the interests of powerful states. However, after common policies in the EU have been ratified, formulating such policies by member states must be concerned not only about their national policies but those common agreements as well.

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[8] Dinan.
[9] Dinan, pp. 425-427. See e.g. Karns and Mingst, p.172.
[10] See more details about the EU institutions in the following section.

2. EU's Supranational Institutions

The European institutions usually refer to four key EU organizations. These include the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, and the Court of Justice (See Figure 3.1).

The European Commission, generally known as the Commission, has often been portrayed as a hybrid and unique organization because of its mix of political and administrative functions. The Commission is much more than an international secretariat, but not quite a government, though it has many governmental characteristics. It is an executive body of the EU and the engine for integration, in keeping with neo-functionalist theory, although it has not always acted as such. It has a variety of functions to perform in the EU system, including policy initiation, implementation, management, external relations. It has the exclusive power to initiate community legislation and the responsibility to advance the goals of the treaties. It works with states to implement policies and legislation, represents the EU in international trade negotiations, draws up the budget and spends approved funds, and promulgates regulations on technical matters that are binding on states. The Commission also plays a key role in the enforcement of EU law with the right to warn states when they are violating treaty obligations and the power to initiate legal action in the European Court of Justice against them.[11]

The **Council of the European Union** (formerly the Council of Ministers) represents both supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. It is the main formal vehicle that represents national interests in the EU policy process. The Ministers from all member states attend Council meetings in order to make decisions on the legislative proposals from the European Commission or amendments proposed by the European Parliament. It is the primary legislative body for the EU which is far more powerful than the European Parliament. The Council is made up of one government minister per state with the composition changing based on the issues under consideration. The more important issues are, the more transferred policy-making

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[11] See more details about The European Commission in Morten Egeberg, "The European Commission," in *European Union Politics*, 2nd ed., ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 139-153. See also N. Nugent, *The European Commission* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); Dinan, pp. 102-106; Karns and Minst, pp. 166-167; Piper (2005); Blair (2006); and http://europa.eu/.

authority it is to the EU. For example, on agriculture matters, members states tend to set up their meeting more frequently than others. Also, the voting system is intended to facilitate more efficient community decision-making through the qualified majority voting (QMV). On the other hand, foreign and security policy decisions, along with immigration and taxation, remain firmly intergovernmental and hence, require unanimous support for action.[12]

The **European Parliament** (EP) is the only EU body that is directly elected by voters in the member states. The members of the EP have worked over time to increase the institution's power. Since the mid 1980s, they have succeeded in gaining substantially greater legislative and supervisory responsibility as part of the different treaty reforms. EP members are seated by political group, not by national delegations. The EP's role has evolved considerably over time, and especially since the SEA in the mid-1980s, as its members have used arguments about democratic accountability to gain greater responsibilities and to be taken more seriously. Because the Council of EU is the EU's primary legislative body and the Commission has the sole power to propose new laws and policies, the Parliament's role in this regard is circumscribed and complex. It cannot initiate any legislation. Nor can it enact laws on its own or raise revenues. Thus, while it looks like a legislative body, it lacks the powers that normally define such bodies.[13]

The **European Court of Justice** (ECJ) is a key institution with responsibility to interpret and enforce EU law from its seat in Luxembourg. The ECJ is composed of a judge from each member states, selected by the national government. It has the power to rule on the constitutionality of all EU law, to interpret the EU treaties, to provide advisory opinions to national courts in cases where there are questions about EU law, and to settle disputes involving other EU institutions, member states, individuals, or corporations. It can be regarded as both supranationalism and

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[12] See more details about The Council of the European Union in Jeffrey Lewis, "The Council of the European Union," in *European Union Politics*, 2nd ed., ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 154-173. See also M. Westlake and D. Galloway, *The Council of the European Union*, 3rd ed. (London: Cartermill, 2004).

[13] See more details about The European Parliament in Roger Scully, "The European Parliament," in *European Union Politics*, 2nd ed., ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 174-187. See also F. Jacobs, R. Corbett, and M. Shackleton, *The European Parliament*, 5th ed. (London: John Harper, 2005).

intergovernmentalism. For its roles in supranationalism, the court plays an important role in efforts to get member states, EU institutions, corporations, and individuals to fulfill their legal obligations under the treaties. In the case of intergovernmentalism, the court is requested for preliminary ruling in which it is advising national courts.[14]
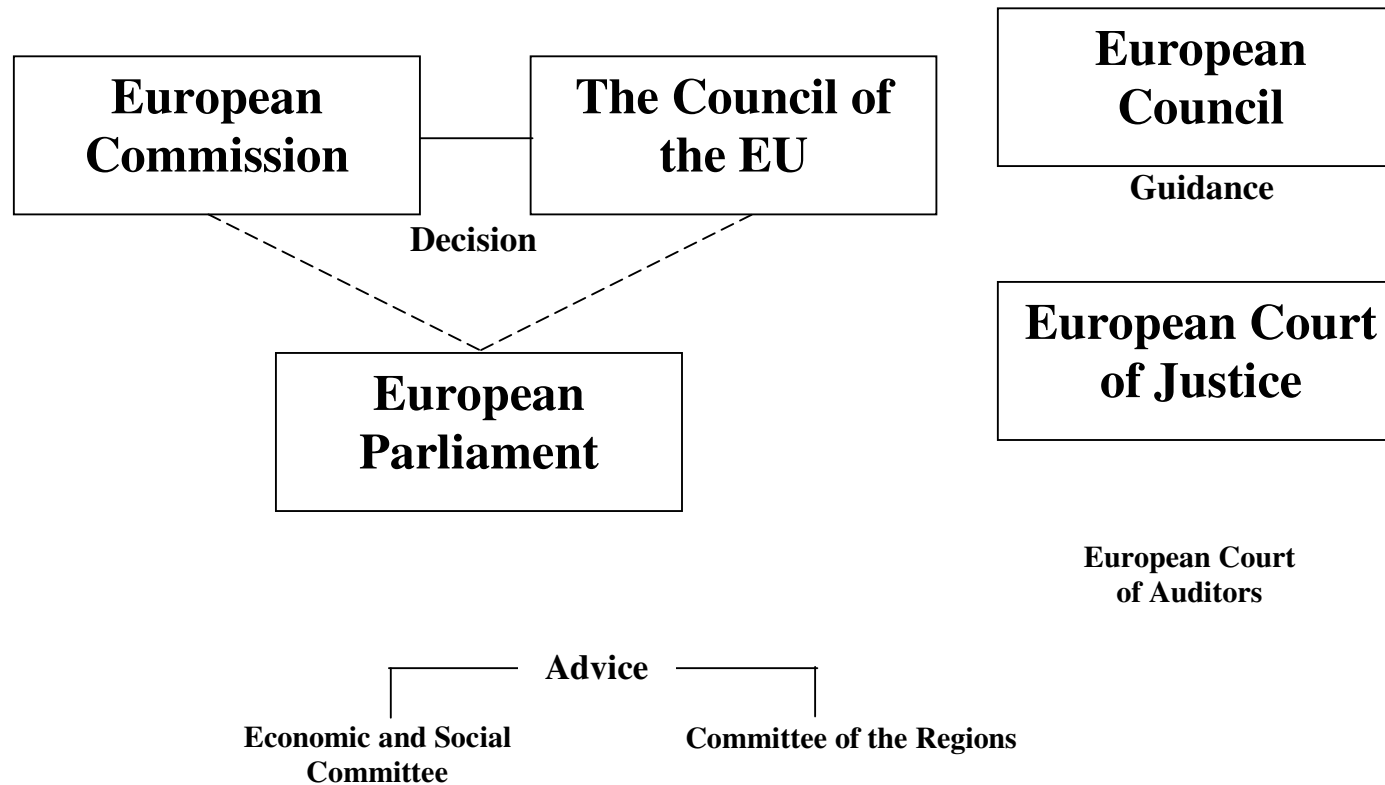
The **European Council** easily confused with the Council of the European Union is the pre-eminent political authority for the EU because it brings together the heads of state and government including the President of the European Commission. The European Council came into existence in 1974 when European heads of government agreed to hold regular summit meetings on community matters and to give greater political impetus to the integration process. It may appear to be another example of intergovernmental cooperation by means of summits, a classical realist tool. The European Council can be seen as a manifestation of the way in which the interdependent welfare states of Western Europe have chosen to integrate their activities and instruments in virtually all areas of public policy in order to meet the overall economic, social, and foreign policy expectations of their electorates. However, this body comprises the heads of state and government which reflects the desire of the member states to ensure the efficiency of the EU system by reforming the constitutional architecture of the EU on the one hand while seeking to maintain the influence of national governments over the decisions that shape the future of Europe on the other.[15]

All in all, the EU has the common institutions which are highly interdependent, and together they form a nexus for joint decision-making in a now extremely wide range of policy areas. Integovernmentalism and supranationalist concepts are used to apply to these institutions. With these significant agencies, the EU can move towards deeper integration. It can play an important role in the making of European policy which binds the member states to run their national policy in the same way. It is undoubtedly understandable why the EU has become the most powerful regional organization in the world.

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[14] See more details about The Courts of the European Union in Ilias Kapsis, "The Courts of the European Union," in *European Union Politics*, 2nd ed., ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 188-201. See also A. Arnull, *The European Union and its Court of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[15] Lewis, pp. 158-159.

Figure 3.1 EU Institutions[16]

European Commission

The Council of the EU

European Council

Guidance

Decision

European Parliament

European Court of Justice

European Court of Auditors

Advice

Economic and Social Committee

Committee of the Regions

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[16] http://www.dadalos-europe.org/int/index.htm.

3. European Common Identity in World Affairs

The status of the EU as a polity is responsible for the delivery of coherent and meaningful policy outputs. In order to understand the EU effectively, one must note that the EU is founded on 3 pillars. The first pillar is the supranational institution where policy responsibility is shared between the EU institutions and national governments. The second and third pillars are in forms of intergovernmental cooperation. Therefore, policies are depended on national governments.

In some areas that are relevant to the first pillar, EU can exert its roles through common policies such as external trade and commercial policy, development assistance policy and monetary policy. Having had to deal with dilemmas from internal pressures by member state governments, interest groups, and competition between the institutions, as well as from external pressures created by globalization, the EU nevertheless managed to have gone considerable distance beyond the nation state. Still, the member states are a major source of policy pressures and challenges for EU's institutions and a key source of the legitimacy which has been acquired by those institutions in the context of global governance. In addition, there is also the legitimacy that has been acquired by decades of steadily deepening involvement in the global economy, and the acquisition of the knowledge and skills that go with it.[17]

In the second pillar related to foreign, security and defense policies, the EU have been incapable of formulating a cohesive identity or credible capabilities with which to project itself on the world stage. Although these policies have developed substantially since the early 1990s, they are still very much under the control of national governments. The EU still conducts its foreign and security policy as extensions of national foreign policy.[18] Greater levels of cooperation between member states is likely to come with greater exposure to collective foreign policy responses and through a shared foreign policy vision, which can only come through greater

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[17] See more details about European Union External Relations particularly in economic aspects in Michael Smith, "European Union External Relations," in *European Union Politics*, 2nd ed., ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 225-236. See also C. Hill and M. Smith, eds., *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[18] However, there has been a substantial shift from national capitals to Brussels, a process known as 'Brusselsization'.

levels of dialogue. The cohesion on the security issues, for instance, namely Iraq and 'Global War on Terror' (GWOT), has been lacking.[19]

In sum, the EU possesses certain formal roles in world politics and in the management of the global economy. It speaks with a common voice in international trade negotiations and has the makings of a foreign and security policy. On the other hand it consists of 27 member states operating as actors within the current international system. For multi-level governance, the EU is a political system across multiple levels including national and sub-national arenas of action as well the institutional environment of Brussels. For constructivists, European norms are established and played out within the member states and the EU. The EU therefore is neither a state as conventionally understood, nor the nature of world order in the early 21st century. It sits between nation states and the international system and arguably transforms both through its very existence.

In conclusion of this section, the EU 2007, a successor of ECSC, is a supranational and intergovernmental union of 27 states in Europe. While it is currently the stage for a continuing open-ended process of European integration, its competences have expanded.[20] However, it is impossible that every member is able to move towards the integration process at the same time. Therefore, it has a method of 'differentiated integration' (or flexibility),[21] where the speed of integration will depend on each nation's capabilities. It describes methods of European integration that do not require all member states to participate in every integration project, or that allow member states to implement European policies at their own pace.

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[19] See more details about foreign, security and defense policies in Chapter 2. See also H. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy: What It is and What It Does* (Pluto Press: London, 2002).

[20] "Europe in 12 lessons."

[21] See more details about differentiated integration in Kerstin Junge, "Differentiated European Integration," in *European Union Politics*, 2nd ed., ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 391-403. See also A. Warleigh, *Flexible Integration: Which Model for the European Union?* Contemporary European Union Studies 15 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2005).

B. East Asian Intergovernmental Cooperation
in Search for a 'Community'

East Asia prefers to preserve territorial integrity, and prefers a non-interference policy in internal affairs, because Asian countries pay greater importance to their national sovereignties. As a consequence, regional cooperation efforts in East Asia are intergovernmental cooperation than intergovernmentalist and supranationalist concepts. It tends to be only the association[22] of immediate common interests than community[23] in Europe. Regional integration as a supranational organization is not really familiar in the East.

ASEAN is a good example of intergovernmental organization. Its members have their rights in choosing to bind or not to bind with any commitments. Each state does not transfer powers or sovereignty to the central institutions. It tends to be an

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[22] Association is the formation of a society of sorts in general meaning, and is often used in International Relations to distinguish between the (loose) ties between states and the (firm) ties between individuals within the state. Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), pp. 36-37.

[23] Community is a social group having a sense of common identity, self-awareness, and shared interests. Generally, members of a community reside in a specific geographical area, utilize common institutional machinery, and conduct a volume of social transactions large enough to create a consciousness of common interests. Communities vary in size and complexity from rural village and urban centers to massive, politically integrated groups in the modern state. Some political analysts have also recognized the existence of "political" and "security" communities on the international level. The scholarly exploration of the concept of community by political scientists has taken several approaches. On the international level, community studies tend to concentrate on studies of the integrative process and the building of political communities beyond the level of the state. Jack C. Plano, Robert E. Riggs, and Helenan S. Robin, *The Dictionary of Political Analysis* 2nd ed. (California: ABC-Clio, Inc, 1982), pp. 23-24, 99-100. See also David Miller, et al. eds., *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of political thought* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991). Community has a high level of use but a low level of meaning, and it is certainly one of the most pervasive, yet indefinite, terms of political discourse. On the one hand it appears to identify particular forms of social interaction, on the other hand its use is usually meant to imply something positive and valuable about the social relations thus defined, though across the political spectrum there is disagreement as to where its value resides. Both the left and the traditional or romantic right set great store by community, but the social conditions and the quality of the relationships which are thought to embody it are very different in each perspective.

association where member states join and share common national interests. In Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Chapter 1 Article 2 states that:

> In their relations with one another, the High Contracting Parties shall be guided by the following fundamental principles: **Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations**…[24]

This illustrates that member states are strongly concerned with their sovereignty and afraid to sacrifice some of them to any supranational authority such as ASEAN Secretariat. Like ASEAN, other regional cooperation institutions in East Asia prefer to restrain their national power.

When states have their own autonomy to implement or ignore the agreements their commitment to the organization is weak. Therefore, it is difficult for such an intergovernmental organization to achieve any objective. In order to improve the effectiveness of the organization, East Asian countries therefore are searching for establishment of 'community'.

Many prominent politicians in East Asia were influence by the early successes of the European integration process and initially used the EC as a model for the making of East Asian community. However, when the European integration process took more shape in the first half of the 1970s or so, it was realized in East Asia that the concept of integration means a partial transfer of sovereignty, a strong institutional framework, and a common and binding decision-making process.[25] They realized that it is impossible for East Asia to emulate European integration process. On the contrary, they must search for their own suitable process of integration.

1. East Asian Intergovernmental Cooperation: The Consolidation of 'Security Community' and the Issues of Common Concerned

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[24] See more details in Appendix XIII (Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia).

[25] Jörn Dosch, "The post-Cold War development of regionalism in East Asia," in *Regionalism in East Asia: Paradigm shifting?* eds. Fu-Kuo Liu and Philippe Régnier (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 35-36.

As mentioned above, East Asian cooperation tends to be intergovernmental cooperation to coordinate in particular common interests. In East Asia, regional cooperation has not been successful in terms of its deeper integration similar to that of in Europe. It is only in the association of states where it can play important role to create the 'security community'. In this sense, it is the idea of 'no war community'. It is a form of international cooperation where participating actors expect peace between themselves in the present and for the future.[26] In this section, ASEAN, ARF and EAC will be illustrated as an example of such cooperation.

ASEAN is not a military alliance but a security community in the sense that probably no ASEAN members would seriously consider the use of military force as a means of problem solving in inter-member relations. ASEAN has successfully managed to keep the residual conflicts between the members – especially territorial disputes – on a low-key level. Armed confrontation or any other kind of seriously threatening behavior in the ASEAN region had been avoided since the end of Konfrontasi (the conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia/Singapore, 1963-1965).[27] ASEAN also reassures the sense of being 'security community' by adopting many declarations and agreements such as ZOPFAN, SEANWFZ, and TAC. As embodied in Bali Concord II, ASEAN intends to establish the ASC as well. Moreover, ASEAN also works in terms of regional security through ARF.

ARF also can be accounted as a 'security community'. It is the multilateral forum for official consultations on peace and security issues. ARF provides a setting for discussion and preventive diplomacy and the development of cooperative responses to regional problems. It has created confidence building in the region. Even the decision-making process relies on consensus and there is no binding in

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[26] See more details in Chapter 1 in Constructivist Approaches.

[27] Jörn Dosch, "Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific: ASEAN," in *The New Global Politics of the Asia-Pacific*, eds. Michael K. Connors, Rémy Davison, and Jörn Dosch (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), p. 78. See also Amitav Acharya, "The Assocition of Southeast Asian Nations: 'Security Community' or 'Defence Community?'" *Pacific Affairs* 64, no. 2 (summer 1991): 159-178; Amitave Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order* (London: Routledge, 2001a).

agreements, ARF successfully retain the confrontation among member states such as territorial disputes above the Spratly Islands.[28]

The APT process and the EAS can bring the East Asian rivalries, China and Japan, to the table. Their unfriendly relations can be tracked back to the 1980s. However, the 1997 financial crisis made these two powerful countries rethink their relations. Japan proposed the summit with ASEAN including China and South Korea to discuss preventive measures for regional stability. This illustrates that East Asian states collaborated in order to achieve common concerns (or interests). The examples of cooperation which member states agree on are matters such as financial, epidemic, energy security, etc.[29] Also, this cooperation confirms the 'no war' situation in the region.

2. International Conference as Means of Regional Coordination on Policies Platform in East Asia

International cooperation is the only concept which can be used to create regional arrangements in East Asia. It means that cooperation occurs only when states agree to do so. There are no supranational institutions to which states transfer or share their sovereignty and authority. Therefore, there is no law-binding commitment towards member states in East Asia.

Unlike EU, East Asian cooperation has lacked common institutions or central authorities which have independent authority to manage and control states implementation. There are no concrete institutions such as the Commission, the Parliament, the Council, and the Court of Justice. Those are to some extent supranational entities that could influence the organization's effectiveness.

Some argue that an organization in East Asia such as ASEAN has a Secretariat which according to ASEAN Concord has been established to enhance coordination

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[28] See more details in Carlyle Thayer, *Multilateral Institutions in Asia: The ASEAN Regional Forum* (Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2000); Shankari Sundararaman, "The ASEAN Regional Forum: Reassessing Multilateral Security in the Asia Pacific," *Strategic Analysis* 22, no. 4 (1998): 655-665; Sheldon W. Simon, "Security Prospects in Southeast Asia: Collaborative Efforts and the ASEAN Regional Forum," *The Pacific Review* 11, no. 2 (1998): 195-212; Jörn Dosch, "PMC, ARF and CSCAP: Foundations for a Security Architecture in the Asia Pacific?" Working Paper, no. 307 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, June 1997).

[29] See more details in Chapter 2.

and implementation of policies, projects, and activities of the various ASEAN bodies. It has been strengthened in the 1992 Singapore Summit to effectively support the ASEAN activities. However, in practice, ASEAN Secretariat has no power to do so. It can advise the ASEAN governments but does not have any decision-making power. Each member states' government always represents its own national interests and stances in world affairs.[30]

Due to the fear of losing sovereignty to central institutions, international conference is the only means to East Asian cooperation. Conference refers to meeting of member states' representatives such as Head of Government Meeting, Ministerial Meeting, etc. They formally meet according to what they decided. When there is an issue that needs to be managed, states will coordinate through international conferences. Conferences raise the issues they feel are skeptical towards national interests. It is the only method where states need not transfer or share any sovereignty and authority with others.

ASEAN and other arrangements in East Asia rely heavily on this method to further develop their cooperation and coordination. The ASEAN Summit is the most important asset that drives its organization. The APT and EAS are the most important conferences in East Asia. They have created many agreements relevant to regional common concerns such as the Joint Ministerial Statement of the APT Finance Ministers Meeting, East Asia Summit Declaration on Avian Influenza Prevention, Control and Response, and Cebu Declaration on East Asian Energy Security, etc.

East Asia depends greatly on international conferences as its method of cooperation. One of reasons is that they prefer to collaborate by fully preserving national sovereignty. It is the only means of international cooperation approach. It is true to conclude such meetings can bring many participants to the table. It is also easier to formulate conference than to establish central supranational institutions or institutional organization. However, even though members show their common concerns in many issues, it does not guarantee that they will implement and strongly cooperate as such. Therefore, coordination through this means cannot promise the effective of organization.

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[30] Dosch, p. 71-87.

3. The Questions of East Asian Regionalism and the Search for Common Identity in World Affairs

Regionalization has occurred in East Asia since Cold War. It develops from the bottom-up process, social construction, and results that do not necessarily involve governmentally representative bodies.[31] Most of them are business-led co-operations such as PBEC and PAFTAD. On the other hand, regionalism which has at least three key elements: top-down process, formal governmental agreements, and semi-permanent structures involvement. It is very common to say that it is really referring to regional cooperation but not integration in East Asia.[32]

Regional cooperation in East Asia is the place where states act together for mutual benefit in certain fields and in order to solve common tasks, in spite of conflicting interests in other fields of activity. It is based on a much looser structure. They only share dialogues in particular issues which they have common interests. States do not combine national policies with regional cooperation. States preserve their sovereignty. There is no sense of common identity, self-awareness, and shared interests.[33]

Unlike EU, East Asian has no common identity in world affairs. Each state has its stance in world affairs. Even if there is joint statement, agreements, declarations, etc., it is not an identity. They are only statements showing common concerns. One example is the 9/11 incident; East Asian countries have no common identity towards such issue. Some countries such as Philippines and Japan support the United States to

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[31] T.J. Pempel, ed., "Introduction: Emerging Webs of Regional Connectedness," in *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 1-30. See also Claes G. Alvstam, "East Asia: Regionalization Still Waiting to Happen?" in *Regionalization in a Globalizing World: A Comparative Perspective on Forms, Actors and Processes*, eds. Michael Schulz, Fredrik Söderbaum, and Joakim Öjendal (London and New York: Zed Books, 2001), pp.173-197; Peter J. Katzenstein, "Regionalism and Asia," in *New Regionalisms in the Global Political Economy*, eds. Shaun Breslin, Christopher W. Hughes, Nicola Phillips, and Ben Rosamond (London, NY: Routledge, 2002), pp. 104-118; and Fu-Kuo Liu and Philippe Régnier, eds., *Regionalism in East Asia: Paradigm Shifting?* (London, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

wage a war in Iraq. Some oppose that stance. This illustrates that East Asian countries do not have common identity towards international affairs.

All in all, East Asian cooperation can be explained by using only international cooperation. It is an association of common interests with no identity within the region. States have their full sovereignty to formulate national policies according to national interests. Regional arrangements are likely to be a loose international organization, using consensus, and non-binding to member states.

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In conclusion, starting in 1951, the ECSC embarked upon a new and vigorous phase of integration based upon renewed regionalism in Europe. It is the beginning of adopting supranationalist and intergovernmentalist concepts. These have tended to be stressed in explaining European integration and the further development of the EU. In contrast, regional integration as a supranational organization is not really familiar in the East. East Asian regional cooperation is tends to be intergovernmental cooperation rather than intergovernmentalist and supranationalist. However, it is difficult for such intergovernmental organization to achieve any objectives. In order to improve the effectiveness of the organization, East Asian countries therefore must search for their own suitable process of integration and the establishment of 'community'.