Regional Leadership, Norms and Diversity: Comparing the Asia-Pacific with Europe
Waseda University, Tokyo, 29th – 30th January 2013

Programme

Tuesday 29 January

9:15 –
Registration – Meeting room (N301, 3rd floor) in the Bldg. No, 20 (Okuma Kaikan)

9:45 – 10:00
Opening Remarks: Shaun BRESLIN (Warwick)

10:00 – 11:10 (Session 1) Chair: Hidetoshi NAKAMURA (Waseda)
Regional Leadership in the Asia-Pacific: An Overview
1. Mark BEESON (UWA):
   Balancing powers, juggling priorities: Australia contemplates its strategic and economic options
2. Min SHU (Waseda):

11:15 – (Break)

11:30 – 13:00 (Session 2) Chair: Hidetoshi NAKAMURA (Waseda)
Leadership in Practice
1. Ralf EMMERS (NTU):
   Indonesia’s Role in ASEAN: A Case of Incomplete Leadership
2. Shiro KOMATSU (Waseda):
   The Style of the British Leadership in Europe: The Evolution of the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy
3. Lisa TILLEY (Warwick):
   Regional Leadership by and through the Asian Development Bank: Expanding the Concept of Developmental Regionalism

13:10 – 14:10 (Lunch)

14:20 – 15:50 (Session 3) Chair: Shujiro URATA (Waseda)
Global and Regional Responses to the Crisis
1. WANG Yong & CHEN Jie (PKU):
   Is China a potential competitor for regional leadership? - Rethinking the development of Chinese manufacturing industries
2. June PARK (BU):
   Wither Regional Bloc Formation? Intra-Regional Trade Imbalances among China, Japan, and South Korea
3. Lurong CHEN (UNU-CRIS):
   A Romance of Three Nations in East Asian Regional Integration: with Focus on South Korea

15:55 – (Break)
16:10 – 17:40 (Session 4) Chair: Shunji MATSUOKA (Waseda)
The Environment: The case of functional cooperation in Asia
1. Anna CHUNG (ULB): Development of Environmental Cooperation Institutions in Northeast Asia
2. Shunji MATSUOKA & Kenji HORIUCHI (Waseda): Global Warming and Nuclear Safety: Significance and Prospects of Regional Cooperation in East Asia

18:30 – Reception *Guests, including all the workshop participants, and specially: Ms Maeve COLLINS (Minister, Deputy Head of the Delegation of the EU to Japan); Professor Takashi INOGUCHI (GR:EEN International Advisory Board)

Wednesday 30 January

9:45 – 11:15 (Session 5) Chair: William Redvers GARSIDE (Waseda)
Inter-regionalism and Interaction between Europe and Asia
1. Hana UMEZAWA (UNU-CRIS): Asia-Europe cooperation and the role of Japan: ASEM as a case of inter-regional cooperation
2. Francis BAERT (UNU-CRIS): The BRICS, interregionalism and world order: Suggestions for future research
3. Emi KATO (Waseda): Living together as equals in the age of global migration: Examining European ‘Intercultural cities’ initiative and how Japanese cities perceive it

11:15 – (Break)

11:30 – 12:10 (Session 6)
Regional Leadership: Conclusion
Takashi TERADA (Doshisha): China’s Aspiration in Global Financial Governance: Implications from Regional Leadership Challenge in East Asia

12:15 – 12:40 Closing Remarks: Mark BEESON (UWA) & Hidetoshi NAKAMURA (Waseda)

13:00 – (Lunch)
<ABSTRACTS: Papers presented for the GR: EEN Workshop, held at Waseda University, 29-30 January 2013>

Balancing powers, juggling priorities: Australia contemplates its strategic and economic options

Professor Mark Beeson
Professor, University of Western Australia

Few countries have more conflicted foreign policy options than Australia. Australian policymakers have traditionally looked to the United States to underwrite their security and have gone to great lengths to demonstrate their loyalty to the bilateral strategic alliance. Recently, however, Australia’s economic security has become increasingly dependent on China, a country with which the US enjoys an increasingly competitive relationship. The US’s recent strategic ‘pivot’ toward the East Asian region has highlighted underlying tensions in Sino-American ties and presented Australian policymakers with difficult, potentially incompatible options. The Australian case has a wider relevance in this context as it is a dilemma that confronts a number of states in East Asia as they try to balance competing economic and strategic imperatives. This paper provides an analysis of the factors that are shaping Australian policy and makes the case for a more independent stance. At a time when China is rising and the US is seemingly in decline, negotiating a path through a rapidly evolving regional order will require a reassessment of established priorities that take account of a new balance of material and ideational forces. The Australian experience suggests that while there are no easy options, recognising the nature of the challenges that confront ‘middle powers’ at a time of geopolitical change is an important part of the process.

The Collapse of Functional Leadership in East Asian Regionalism
Min SHU
Assistant Professor, Faculty of International Research and Education, Waseda University

During the decade immediately after the Asian financial crisis in 1997-98, East Asia witnessed unprecedented development in regional cooperation and integration. Behind the growing interests in East Asian regionalism was a functional equilibrium of multi-state leadership that made it possible for Japan to provide regional public goods to crisis-ridden countries, for ASEAN to drive the building of regional institutional infrastructure, and for China to draw other players into the newly established regional framework.

However, this functional leadership has come under increasing strain in recent years. Firstly, the competing provision of public goods has drawn more attention to country-specific goods than regional goods. Secondly, the division within ASEAN has raised serious questions about the internal coherence and external relevance of the East Asia’s institutional center. Thirdly, the participation incentive in East Asian regionalism has transformed from the fear of being a laggard to the desire of institutional balancing. As the regional politico-economic landscape is being redefined by these factors, East Asian regionalism has entered an uncertain period of leadership vacuum.

Indonesia’s Role in ASEAN: A Case of Incomplete Leadership
Professor Ralf Emmers
Associate Professor
Coordinator of the Multilateralism and Regionalism Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University
Indonesia is often regarded as the natural leader of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in light of its geographical dimensions, large population, strategic position and natural resources. The country has felt entitled to a position of natural leadership within the Association and has generally been recognized by the other members as first among equals. It is perceived to have contributed to regional stability and security in Southeast Asia since the formation of ASEAN in 1967. However, Indonesia's foreign policy has historically also been restricted by domestic economic weakness and fragmentation. The paper explores the extent to which Indonesia has succeeded in exercising political and security leadership in ASEAN despite its domestic weaknesses. It argues that Indonesia has mostly been a reactive power that has responded to events that have undermined regional autonomy. As an extension of domestic politics, Indonesia's foreign policy has in recent years also encouraged the promotion of democracy and the respect for human rights in ASEAN.

The Style of the British Leadership in Europe: The Evolution of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy

Dr. Shiro KOMATSU
Researcher, Institute for Research in Contemporary Political and Economic Affairs, Waseda University

The purpose of this paper is to explore the style of the British leadership in Europe, particularly focusing on the evolution of the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) through those cases of humanitarian intervention in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Libya. After failing to respond quickly and decisively to the Bosnian War (1992-1995), the UK felt the necessity to forge a more substantial EU’s foreign and security policy. And it reached to the agreement with France, the Saint-Malo Declaration in 1998. As this brief story implies, CFSP has evolved under the leadership of the UK. Furthermore, as the UK took a crucial part in both military and diplomatic measures to address those conflicts, the case studies could give us useful clues to the exploration of the style of the British leadership. Why and how has the UK identified and behaved itself as a leader in the EU? How have those experiences of intervention influenced it?

The theoretical framework for this study consists of two perspectives. The first is ‘the reconciliation between order and justice’ which is based on the solidarist argument of the English School. It is supposed that an intervening state tries to reconcile order among states and justice for human beings (human rights) in the efforts for conflict resolution. The second perspective is ‘strategic culture’. British diplomacy could be conditioned by its own strategic culture, namely some specific mode of thoughts and actions on security issues which has been determined historically.

To sum up, this study demonstrates that the UK has formed and transformed its distinct strategic culture through those cases of intervention with regards to how to reconcile order and justice, and the culture has affected the style of its leadership.

Regional Leadership by and through the Asian Development Bank: Expanding the Concept of Developmental Regionalism

Lisa Tilley
GEM Doctoral Scholar, The University of Warwick
This paper considers the Asian Development Bank (ADB) both as a pathway for Japan’s deflected regional leadership and as a regional leader in itself, gaining prominence in a region of otherwise temperate formal regionalism. In recent decades, regulatory forms have become somewhat dispersed across scales, and metagovernance may be exerted from a regional level creating the ‘region within’ the state. The analysis is intended to show firstly, how metagovernance by the ADB and Japan is ideationally legitimated and distinguished from that of other international financial institutions and secondly, how Japan - in part through ADB endeavours - helps to consolidate the productivist logic of the region. The emerging concept of developmental regionalism is expanded beyond its basic encapsulation of the integrational development efforts of regionalising actors, towards a wider definition incorporating both an ideational and productivist purpose. Developmental regionalism is recognised as the image emitted by regionalising actors which, in turn, helps to construct a collective image of productivism to distinguish East Asia ideationally from other regions. Relatedly, developmental regionalism is seen as serving Japan’s own ‘high developmentalism’ which has long sought to build pathways for aid diplomacy and to expand the infrastructural logic of East Asia as a regional industrial hinterland for its advanced economy.

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Asia-Europe cooperation and the role of Japan: ASEM as a case of inter-regional cooperation

Dr. Hana Umezawa
UNU-CRIS, Brugge, Belgium

The overall objective of this paper is to analyse the Europe-Asia cooperation and the prospective role for Japan in it. The paper will deepen the understanding of the inter-regionalism via analysing the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process as one of the positive examples of it. As ASEM involves a three-pillar agenda, comprising economic dialogue, political dialogue and other (socio-cultural) negotiations, it is an appropriate forum to deal with security issues viewed from comprehensive aspects, which have even more importance over the last decade. From the theoretical point of view, ASEM raises some important questions regarding the nature of inter-regionalism, especially in relation to regional integration and globalisation. Japan occupies a unique position in Europe-Asia inter-regional cooperation. Nevertheless, explaining and understanding the role of the Japan in Asia-Europe inter-regional cooperation has been an under-researched aspect of ASEM. In this paper, the motivations and methods through which Japan attempts to regulate contact with international actors namely Asia and Europe will be analysed. Japan will be able to make a significant contribution in the enhancement of inter-regional cooperation between Europe and Asia by actively coordinating various parties involved, thereby making ASEM a meaningful platform for cooperation both regions. Moreover, as one of the participating countries on the Asian side, Japan should be able to take a lead in strengthening cooperation among all the participating states in Asia. This will ultimately lead to a more meaningful and effective inter-regional cooperation between Europe and Asia.

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Wither Regional Bloc Formation? Intra-Regional Trade Imbalances among China, Japan, and South Korea

June Park
Fulbright Fellow and Ph.D Candidate at the Department of Political Science, Boston University
Despite the past decades of discussions on regional free trade initiatives in Northeast Asia, recent territorial disputes and bilateral confrontations in the year 2012 that culminated to a trade war between China and Japan gave an alert signal to the meaning of cooperation schemes in trade and finance. While the region may be a well-connected, vast regional production network with expansions into Southeast Asia, there are several economic constraints at the bilateral levels that are manifested in times of intra-regional crises that hinder the possibilities of cooperation. The rise of the Chinese economy serves as a new factor to the whole region, causing a shift in trade dynamics in which, much of the trade was originally directed at trading with the U.S. While the previous chapters have underlined the impact of U.S. trade imbalances with the main export-led economies of the region, Japan, South Korea, and China, this chapter argues with a microscopic view on the countries that in unraveling the roots of economic conflicts in the region, intra-regional trade imbalances among the largest economies – China, Japan, and South Korea – cannot to go underestimated. By analyzing each of the three bilateral trade imbalances and bilateral WTO consultations / dispute settlement cases among China, Japan, and South Korea, the paper finds that the validity of a trilateral trade cooperation initiative among the three countries remains questionable at this time, and the continuation of current trends of trade imbalances may bring about intra-regional trade wars in larger scales in the coming future.

A Romance of Three Nations in East Asian Regional Integration: with Focus on South Korea

Lurong Chen
Research Fellow, United Nations University-Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS).

This paper explores the role of South Korea in East Asian regional integration from a political economy point of view. East Asian economy until the early 1990s could still be understood in ‘flying-geese’ formation, of which Japan leads the flight. The development of an intensive regional production sharing network has been considered as one of the core characteristics of the ‘Asian way’ of regional economic integration. When looking at the evolution since Asian financial crisis and China’s entry to WTO, the rise of China has fundamentally changed the picture by positioning itself as a second hub in the region. So far a solid ‘East Asian Bicycle’ composed of a ‘Chinese wheel’ and a ‘Japanese wheel’ has been assembled, characterized by a strong mutual interdependence between these two wheels as well as the two hubs (Japan and China).

South Korea can distinguish itself from any other spoke candidates in Asia from several aspects. First, its economic size is much larger than that of NIEs or ASEAN member states. Second, it is a close ally to the United States. Third, it is one of the only two OECD members in East Asia. Moreover, driven by technological progress and the moving-up in the global value chains, South Korean economy has achieved sustained growth; and its average income level is already close to that of Japan. This makes it to be one of ‘the big three’ (Japan, China, and South Korea) in East Asia.

Regarding the regional leadership, the paper suggests that instead of individually competing for sole regional dominance, East Asian countries can move towards an integrated regional economy that is based on collaborative leadership, in which South Korea can play like a coordinator. The structure of the paper is as follow: Section 1 raises the research question. Section 2 introduces the market driven integration and a two-hub formation in East Asia. Section 3 explains the importance of South Korea in arranging collaborative leadership in East Asia. Section 4 discusses how South Korea can interact with other key players and then promote the process of regional integration in East Asia.
Does function matter? Researching comparative regional governance

Professor Shaun BRESLIN
Professor, University of Warwick

Global Warming and Nuclear Safety: Significance and Prospect of Regional Cooperation in East Asia

Shunji MATSUOKA (Professor, Faculty of International Research and Education, Waseda University)
Dr. Kenji HORIUCHI (Research Fellow, Waseda University Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies)

The accident at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant caused by the Great East Japan Earthquake on 11 March 2011 posed serious problems to the nuclear policy not only in Japan itself but also in the other countries around the world. The accident once again highlighted the nuclear safety problem, and Germany, Sweden and other countries embarked upon policies to abandon nuclear power. Also in Japan, its traditional nuclear policy has been reconsidered and the debate over how nuclear energy should be placed within Japan's future energy policy remains confused. Meanwhile, the reason why nuclear energy has been developed in Asian countries including Japan concerns the need for measures against global warming. Nuclear energy, which does not directly emit greenhouse gas, has been promoted as the most important countermeasure for global warming in many countries. Especially the governments of Asian countries where energy demands are rapidly growing in recent years believe that nuclear energy has a great advantage. Although Fukushima accident revealed a serious radioactive contamination risk, nuclear energy, which is clean, stable in cost and advantageous to energy security, remains so much attractive for Asian countries which are facing the problems of costs and risks regarding energy including CO2 reduction. Therefore, nuclear power plant construction is expected to increase in Asia in the future, and this trend remains basically unchanged even after the Fukushima accident. Even Japan, regardless of the future of its nuclear power utilization, must continue to deal with nuclear energy issue for a long time, decommissioning operating reactors and disposing of radioactive waste.

Given this situation, the challenge of ensuring the nuclear safety is much important. As became clear in Fukushima accident, the effects of nuclear-related accidents inevitably transcend national borders and become regional and global problems. Therefore, regional cooperation and regional governance on nuclear safety is crucial. For Asian developing countries, where nuclear power plant construction is increasing and whose technical and managerial capacities are not always sufficient, regional cooperation and regional governance are especially important. Thus, global warming prevention and nuclear security can be one of the powerful driving forces for environmental governance building in East Asia after the Fukushima accident.

This paper will discuss the effects of Fukushima accident on environmental governance in Asia, focusing on global warming and nuclear safety. Section 1 discusses the impact of Fukushima accident. Section 2 discusses the effect of the Fukushima accident on nuclear energy policy and global warming policy and their future in Asia. Section 3 surveys international institutions on nuclear safety at global and regional levels, and refers to the more advanced approaches in Europe. Section 4 returns to the Fukushima accident and discusses the efforts toward strengthening regional institutions on nuclear safety stimulated by the accident.

Development of Environmental Cooperation Institutions in Northeast Asia

Anna Chung
Erasmus Mundus – GEM PhD Fellow
Institute of European Studies – ULB
The research examines the development of cooperative mechanisms for environment protection in Northeast Asia with an emphasis on the changes in participants and types of mechanisms, in order to better understand the involvement of state and non-state actors and interactions among those mechanisms. Northeast Asia (NEA) does not entail clear-cut boundaries, and includes different countries for different purposes. For cooperation on environmental protection, China, the Russian Federation, Mongolia, The Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea), the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and Japan are considered to belong to the regional grouping due to their geographical proximity which calls for response at the regional level.

While ASEAN has been at the center of building regional institutions for economic cooperation in East Asia, China, Japan and South Korea ('CJK' hereafter) form the core of various environment cooperation mechanisms in Northeast Asia. Figure 1 illustrates different institutions for cooperation involving CJK, Mongolia, Russia and North Korea.

Though several studies have identified the existing platforms for cooperation on environmental protection, few have analyzed the changes that have occurred since the start of regional cooperation in early 90's. These changes are significant in understanding institution building and cooperation activities in Northeast Asia.

If the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 had given a rise to regionalism and thus enhanced economic cooperation in East Asia, it was the end of cold war that opened door for environmental cooperation in Northeast Asia. The platforms for cooperation had been mostly sub-regional group of projects initiated by international organizations or projects funded and promoted by Japanese government in early 90's.
Figure 1: Cooperative Mechanisms for Environmental Protection in Northeast Asia*

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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* Abbreviations and other participating countries and international organizations (in brackets)

- **AAEA**: Atmosphere Action Network East Asia
- **ADB-GEF**: Asia Development Bank - Global Environment Facility
- **EABRN**: East Asian Biodiversity Reserve Network
  + (UNESCO)
- **EANET**: Acid Deposition Monitoring Network in East Asia
  + (Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Mongolia, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos)
- **Eco-Asia**: Environment Congress for Asia and Pacific
- **EPNEA**: Eco-Peace Network in Northeast Asia
- **LTP**: Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollutants in Northeast Asia
- **NAPEP**: Northeast Asia-Pacific Environment Partnership
- **NEAC**: Northeast Asian Conference on Environmental Cooperation
- **NEASPEC**: Northeast Asian Subregional Programme of Environmental Cooperation
  + (ESCAP, ADB, UNEP, UNDP, World Bank)
- **NOWPAP**: Northwest Pacific Action Plan
- **TDGNN on DSS**: Tripartite Director-Generals Meeting on Dust and Sandstorm
- **TEEN**: Tripartite Environment Education Network
- **TEMM**: Tripartite Environment Ministers' Meeting
- **TPM**: Tripartite Presidents' Meeting among Environment Research Institutes
- **TRADP**: Tumen River Area Development Program
  + (UNDP)

Source: The Triilateral Cooperation Secretariat (www.tcs-asia.org), the Tripartite Environment Ministers’ Meeting (www.temm.org), the National Institute of Environmental Research (www.nier.go.kr)
Though CJK was grouped only after the first Tripartite Environment Ministers’ Meeting (TEMM) in January 1999, the cooperation under TEMM has grown steadily and continuously since then. TEMM is also the only ministerial meeting among China, Japan and South Korea that had started before the Trilateral Summit in later 1999. Environment has remained one of key areas of trilateral cooperation among CJK.

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** Author’s calculation based on data provided by Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (www.tcs-asia.org)

Cooperation projects under the framework of TEMM involve both issue specific areas such as DSS and structured exchanges of information and personnel. Actors have also been diversified from the government to research institutes, NGOs and universities. The fact that research institutes are mostly affiliated to the governments in CJK countries and certain projects carried by NGOs were financed by the governments may weaken the autonomy of these organizations; however, interactions of non-state actors have been regularized without further support from governments.

The study uses the notion of path dependence in analyzing the development of platforms for cooperation. The concept presented by Brian Arthur for economics and technology development and developed by North and Pierson in explaining the properties of positive feedback, as well as social settings and mechanisms that generate increasing returns will provide the theoretical background for this research.

<References>


The BRICs, interregionalism and world order. Suggestions for future research

Francis Baert
GR:EEN project researcher
United Nations University (UNU-CRIS) & Centre for EU Studies, Ghent University

A new avenue is apparent in studies of interregionalism (region to region relations): it's spread in the global South
without assistance from a partner in the North. Especially the BRIC countries are spearheading this new trend. Old coalitions and traditional Western 'control areas' are more and more opening up towards leaders from the Global South (Africa, Latin America, Persian Gulf). South-South cooperation is on the rise, on the one hand due to power shifts in the world but on the other due to a greater resistance in the Global South against the spread of EU & US 'models' of regionalism. The study of interregionalism in the Global South is often ignored by scholars. It is generally seen as a concept only valuable for the Triad. The paper argues that interregionalism is itself a badly understood concept that lacks proper theoretical foundations.

This paper seeks to redress this by making further distinctions among hybrid forms of the concept (hybrid interregionalism and transregionalism). In doing so, Southern initiatives can be captured which challenge Northern assertions that interregionalism is a European, Western concept. Such novel forms are increasing as new power centers in the global South collaborate more with each other. By doing this, the paper wants to address how regionalism relates to world order approaches and the current discussion on multipolarity.

Is China a potential competitor for regional leadership?  
-Rethinking the development of Chinese manufacturing industries

Wang Yong (Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University)  
and Chen Jie (Ph.D candidate, School of International Studies, Peking University)

The study of regional leadership premises that leadership is pursued intendedly by national or transnational actors, meanwhile actors are capable to fulfill their goals by taking strategies and initiatives. Based on that we can analyse regional integration succeed or not and what influences it has.

This paper aims at challenging this premise by examining Chinese photovoltaic industry which, since it's born a decade ago, barely developed domestic market but highly depended on foreign trade. As we know, Chinese government and MNCs play an essential role in Asian TPN and the regional integration. Yet somehow the economic influences aren't purposely generated by actors' policies and initiatives. In the case of Chinese PV industry, though it accounts more than 60% PV modules production of the world, it wasn't a natural result of national strategy. Rather, the reform and regulation of the whole power industry, and regulation capture by interest groups who competing with PV industry put the PV industry into a domestically disadvantage status. Domestic discrimination squeezes this industry's space, making it no choice but to explore the foreign market, especially when the Europe came out of the huge support plan to European solar-power in 2010. In other words, the huge global market share of Chinese PV industry shows its vulnerability in domestic competition, and Chinese policies network unintentionally create an impact to the global trade.

The paper will consist of three parts in which the first part we briefly illustrate the general situation of Chinese PV industry, the second part we examine legislative and regulatory obstacles to this industry and the competition of interest groups which brings regulation capture, the final part we conclude this case and its implications.

By this case study we show an industry highly involving into globalization isn't cultivated out of a design by actors. We need to realize that there is a gap between the TPN and de facto transnational economic/social network, which can generate consequences differing or even against TPN's expectations and goals. In order to understand what brings regionalization and what affects TPN has, we need to go deeper into the micro-interactions in specific issue areas to find answers.

Living together as equals in the age of global migration: Examining European 'Intercultural Cities' initiative and how Japanese cities perceive it
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This paper examines the joint initiative ‘Intercultural Cities (ICC)’ of the European Commission and the Council of Europe, and appreciations by Japanese cities with increasing cultural diversity. The ICC programme is designed to promote policies and practices at local level that encourage interactions and dialogues between different cultures and ethnic groups for mutual understanding and shared aspirations. Some of the cities in Japan, where newly arrivals are densely residing, are keen to learn from the initiative, however, it can be thought that their interests are limited.

First, the paper explains what is the ICC initiative for and how it is expected to work. Second, the role of city in diversity management or social integration, to which Japanese cities' attentions are drawn, is analysed, and then issues of Korean old settlers or North Koreans who are left marginalized in Japanese society are discussed. Finally it is argued that intercultural dialogue, if Korean old settlers in Japan participate in it, could substantially contribute to better lives of those who are living in Japan, and also to greater regional stability for all living in Asia.