

⇒ Book Review ⇐

Haba, Kumiko, *Kakudai Yoroppa no Chohsen: Amerika ninarabu Tagenteki Pawa tonaruka? (Challenges of the Enlarging Europe: Will it Become a Multilateral Power Comparable to the U.S.?)*, Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 2004

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Kumiko Haba, the author, is Professor at the Hosei University's Faculty of Sociology and a specialist of the studies on the EU and international political history with Eastern Europe as its center. In May 2004 the EU admitted 10 new member countries, ie., 8 Central and East European countries and 2 Mediterranean countries, thus starting the enlarging EU with 25 member countries with over 450 million people which produce a quarter of the world's GNP (US \$ about a billion). Romania and Bulgaria are expected to join the EU in 2007. Besides, 5 or 6 countries of the 'West Balkans' and Turkey are expected to join from 2013 to 2015. In addition, the joining of Norway, Switzerland and Iceland is also awaited. Romania and Bulgaria were admitted to the NATO already in 2004. In this way, almost all of the Eastern Europe except the former Yugoslavia and Albania returned to the Europe, and they are embedded in the US-Europe security system. At the beginning of the 21st century the enlarging EU began working in all areas including economy, politics, society, security, etc. The author asks, "Can the enlarging Europe become a multilateral power comparable to the US?". The answer to this question is positive, and its argument is discussed in detail in the following chapters:

Preface

Introductory Chapter	Why Enlargement of the Europe Now?
Chapter 1	History of European Integration and the Reality of the Enlargement
Chapter 2	NATO Enlargement: From Kosovo to Iraq
Chapter 3	Distress of 'Democratization': Actual Situation on the Side to be Absorbed
Chapter 4	New Border Lines of Europe and Nationalities
Chapter 5	European Integration in the Balkans
Chapter 6	What was the Iraq War to the Europe?

Chapter 7 Enlarging Europe's Strategy in the 21st Century

Postscript.

The book is written in Japanese. In addition to these chapters the book includes endnotes, bibliography, a chronological table on the enlarged Europe.



Although the book size is small and popular type, it contains plenty of information compactly. It is not easy to explain its contents, but I will try to summarize them below:

The author says, "Contrary to the enlargement done so far, the enlargement of the EU and the NATO has historical significance. Because it is an attempt of integrating the biggest European territory in history comparable to the Roman Empire into a single structure peacefully and of one's free will without any wars", and she analyzes European integration from viewpoint of international politics, international economy, identity and security. She mentions the significance and role of Central and Eastern Europe (Introductory Chapter).

The author gives general outline of history of European integration. The 'integration' of the Europe after World War II was done, in fact, along with the 'exclusion' of a new enemy the Soviet bloc due to the cold war. Starting with six countries in 1958, the EU (originally the EEC) has been enlarging itself by admitting many countries. Every time it enlarges itself a question is raised what is Europe. In view of stability and development of 'the enlarging Europe' in the 21st century, a question concerning borderlines in Europe, Asia and Africa, i.e., 'how far does Europe extend?' is a potentially tensional problem to people who live on the 'borderlines'. Pointing out 'Europe's ambiguity, its vagueness and its unity in mixture of different species' (Norman Davies), the author says, "Every year Europe is enlarging itself, rewriting its definition of 'Europe'. The definition of Europe itself is dynamic and 'growing'" (Chapter 1).

From 1989 to 1991 when the cold war ended, the Warsaw Treaty Organization collapsed and the socialist regime collapsed first in Eastern Europe and then in the USSR the West was pressed to redefine the *raison d'être* of the NATO and its role. Especially coup d'état in August in 1991 as well as the collapse of the USSR at the end of the same year was perceived by Central and East European countries as a symptom of anarchy in the USSR and a threat that borders might destabilize. Since then these countries unitedly approached the NATO. The NATO and the EU jointly promoted their enlargement as a pair of wheels of European enlargement. The NATO admitted three countries of Central Europe (Hungary, Czech Republic and Poland) in March 1999 and seven countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania and

Bulgaria) in March 2004, and the number of its member countries increased to 26. In the eyes of new member countries of Central and East Europe their admission to the EU and the NATO means 'return to European organizations', in which the both are two organizations for similar purposes with the EU representing economic aspect and the NATO political and military aspects. However, with the bombardment over Kosovo in 1999 as a turning point the NATO changed its role drastically and gave substance to 'new strategic concept'. Such violent participation in 'a party' of the ethnicity problem repelled European countries which themselves had complicated and historical ethnicity problems, resulting in complicated reaction especially among non-member Balkan countries (Chapter 2).

Usually ordinary people in the outside world are not well informed about the process of the EU accession and actual situation on the side to be absorbed by the EU, i.e., Central and Eastern Europe. The author comprehensively analyzes actual situations in these countries, focusing on 'democratization'. Analyzing political development in Hungary for 13 years, she mentions merits and demerits of democratization: Formal and institutional democracy has taken root in the country, a change of government proceeds smoothly and 'a two-party system' of 'Anglo-Saxon type' came into practice. Care of unemployed people, unskilled workers and old people has retreated compared with the socialist period. In such a situation nationalism and right-wing groups became more influential. This is because the government was obliged to substantially cut the expenditure for social security in pursuit of economic efficiency and balanced budget under the strong pressure of globalization and Europeanization. In this point the author finds distress of 'democratization' (Chapter 3).

It is well known that EU citizens can freely move within its region owing to the Schengen agreement, but in order to assure the free mobility the EU must raise its wall and assure safety within the region. This in turn has brought another problem that some countries outside the borders of the enlarged EU (especially Ukraine, Belarus, and the former Yugoslavia) are kept under strict surveillance and limitation. More concretely, it means introduction of visas, stricter border guard, fixation of 'European' citizen and elimination of people from the third countries. In connection with the problem of national borders, the author discusses problem of Hungarian minorities and problem of Kaliningrad which – due to EU enlargement in 2004 – is surrounded by the EU member countries and becomes an enclave of Russia (Chapter 4).

Around 1991 there were a process of dismantling the socialist system and at the same a process of self-assertion of nations as 'tactics' of Europeanization and early 'diplomatic recognition of states', which was the beginning of a mistake, resulting in tragic affairs like the former Yugoslavia. Later, however, since the Hungarian government learned how expensive the price of national independence conflicts was it came to consider that it would be more important

to enable free movement across borders between neighboring countries by European integration, thereby removing the walls. The author says that in Central and Eastern Europe a way to the solution is not 'formation of nation state' but 'peaceful coexistence in a multi-ethnicity region'. She emphasizes the importance of regional cooperation as 'preventive diplomacy' and enumerates several 'Euroregions' as its examples (Chapter 5).

Why did Central and Eastern Europe support the US in the confrontation between the USA and Europe on Iraq War? Seemingly it was strange that 'new Europe', which were going to join the EU, supported the US against the will of 'old Europe' (German and France). According to the author, however, to Central and Eastern Europe distrust of Britain and France, which signed the Munich Agreement of 1939, is beyond our imagination. Since people in Central and Eastern Europe have had little memory of historically being betrayed by the US, which is 'not a neighboring country', their hope for the US was quite big. In addition, there was a situation in which the admission to the NATO would be approved if these countries would satisfy requirements on the NATO admission, at the same time Central and Eastern Europe had severe negotiation with the EU concerning conditions for the EU accession, therefore they judged that tie-up with the US would meet their national interests (Chapter 6). The author did not fail to notice shrewdness of Poland, which shook the EU by making use of the US President Bush in order not to bend to the big power's interests in the European integration (Postscript).

The European Constitutional Treaty was drafted in 2003, and since then the future of the enlarging EU has been discussed. Its main characteristics are simplification, decentralization, democratization and efficiency. Big powers and small countries show different responses to this. People in the enlarging EU are facing a choice 'more efficient EU or more democratic EU?' In this regard the author argues that it is more desirable for the EU to have a multi-states cooperative principle whereby opinions of small and medium-sized states are also taken on board. EU enlargement should not entail pauperization of neighborhood. Because it would bring friction with neighboring countries as well as heightened pressure of immigration. 'Wider Europe' as the world strategy for the 21st century was worked out on the ground that stabilization and prosperity of the surrounding areas will benefit Europe in the long run. This is a measure toward east borderline and south borderline and at the same time a European policy of friendship and cooperation with Eurasia, Middle East and Africa. To explain its importance the case of conflicts in the former Yugoslavia is mentioned. Due to the prolonged conflicts and outbreak of war, the EU was obliged to expend €20 billion for the region. In view of this bitter experience, the spread of democracy, human rights and rule of law in the present Mediterranean, African and Middle East countries is conducive to 'wider Middle East' and at

the same it becomes an important policy for development of Europe. 'Wider Europe' is not simply a concept which includes Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova of the former USSR but also a grandiose idea which aims at economic, political and military cooperation with Russia. Then a European security strategy is explained on the basis of Solana paper. This paper states that in an era of globalization, distant threats may be as much a concern as those near at hand, and it proposes to deploy security activities abroad. The author views it epoch-making, saying, "The EU is addressing to the world its will of becoming a global organization with military presence comparable to the US". Finally collaboration of the enlarging EU with Asia is discussed (Chapter 7).

Turning to East Asia, the situation is quite different. Although Japan, China and Korea should compose the core of the future East Asian integration, communication and mutual understanding among the heads of these countries has been so far insufficient. Behind this problem there is a serious discrepancy in perception of the responsibility of World War II in Asia. In spite of the fact that European countries have experienced big wars for several times in the past, after World War II they have overcome antagonism and pursued integration following 'the historical European tradition of tolerance of diversity and absorption of heterogeneity' and finally they have materialized the enlarging EU. Their experience gives us a precious lesson. This book describes the story convincingly.

Regarding European integration, as the author tells, in Japan there are many excellent studies from a viewpoint of economic integration and organizational integration, but there have been still fewer analyses from a viewpoint of reconsidering history, ethnicity and nation states. The author analyses European integration from various aspects focusing on the side to be absorbed, i.e., Central and East European countries. In her description the author is looking warmly at minorities. In addition, the author pays special attention to areas of the EU's new borderlines and discusses problems of countries, ethnic groups and minorities which are left out of the borderlines. Here is the uniqueness of this book.

Starting with a study on history of Hungarian revolution¹, then the author has intensively studied contemporary Eastern Europe and the EU. Now she is a representative researcher on the EU in Japan, and she is awarded the Jean Monet Chair. In this book she has used not only

¹ Haba, Kumiko (1989). *Hangari Kakumeishi Kenkyu: To'oh niokeru Nashonarizumu to Shakaishugi [Study on History of Hungarian Revolution: Nationalism and Socialism in Eastern Europe]*, Tokyo: Keiso Shobo.

English literatures but also many Hungarian literatures. Since she weaves interviews with President of Hungary, Prime Minister of the Hungarian Government and other people into documentary analysis on Hungary, especially the description on Hungary has depth. Compared with this, the description on other Central and East European countries is concise but necessary information and evaluation is provided.

After studying in Budapest and London in 1994-1996 the author goes to Europe several times every year and visits various places in Europe. She has written this book on the basis of numerous books, papers, materials, and interviews and discussion with politicians and researchers. She visited places where ordinary Japanese people do not step in, for example, Yugoslavia (Vojvodina) immediately after the NATO bombardment in 1999 and Kaliningrad in September 2003 and January 2004. I admire her for her vitality.

Finally, I would like to raise some questions: First, the author seems to be optimistic about the European integration. As for ratification of the European Constitutional Treaty, majority voted against it in the referendum in France and Netherlands in 2005. What does she think of this? As I quoted in my book², there is a pessimistic view like Paul Welfens, a German researcher on the EU. He says, "Integration overstretch could be the end of the EU as a prosperous integration club"³. Instead of enlargement, he recommends the EU to offer attractive association status to Turkey and some countries in the Balkans, and he stresses a necessity for internal effort toward deepening of the integration⁴.

Second, in contrast to Welfens, Karl van Wolferen is optimistic. He says that the failures in the 'Constitution' may become a good chance to reconsider the original grandiose European attempt and rescue it in the long run, and he referred to a possibility of Europe with 'twin-track' and 'dualism'⁵. What does our author think of Wolferen's view.

I would like to expect the author to describe her opinion on these problems in her English book which she is planning to write next.

² Koyama, Yoji (2004), *EU no Toho Kakudai to Nan To'oh: Shijoh Keizaika to Shokoku no Ikinokori Senryaku [EU's Eastward Enlargement and South Eastern Europe: Transition to a Market Economy and Small Countries' Strategies for Survival]*, Kyoto: Minerva Shobo, p.246.

³ Welfens, J.J. Paul (2001). *Stabilizing and Integrating the Balkans: Economic Analysis of the Stabilizing Pact, EU Reforms and International Organization*, Springer-Verlag, Berlin Heidelberg, p.94

⁴ Ibid., p.95.

⁵ *Asahi Shimbun*, August 15, 2005.