



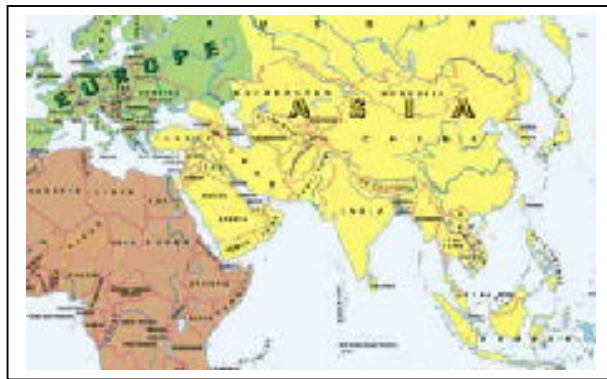
European Institute
for Asian Studies



Nomisma

The European Union's Strategic Interests in East Asia

**Study on the economics and politics of East Asian
Cooperation and in particular China' s role in this process:
Challenges and Opportunities for EU policy**



Volume I: Main Report and Synthesis

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Consortium of European Institute for Asian Studies and Nomisma

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This Study Report has been prepared on the request of the European Commission, Directorate General for External Relations. It was commissioned through an open call for proposals (2004/S 109-090167) and awarded to the EIAS-NOMISMA consortium in November 2004. Implementation took effect from early January 2005 through to the end of August 2005.

The Study Report comprises two volumes. Volume I entitled ‘Main Report and Synthesis’ combines the issues and scenario analyses with the results of the questionnaires and interviews, leading to recommendations for the European Union. Volume II entitled ‘Expert Analyses of East Asian Cooperation, China’s Role and EU Policy’ presents in full the background papers prepared for the Brainstorming Workshop held in Brussels June 16-17, 2005. The two-volume study report was completed by the 22nd of August 2005.

The views expressed are those of the authors and contributors alone and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Union. All errors and omissions are the sole responsibility of the authors and contributors associated with the EIAS-NOMISMA consortium.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

Issues and Challenges

East Asia is emerging as the world's fastest growing region and a high-profitability zone with strong demands for European trade, investment and technology.

East Asia is emerging as the world's fastest growing region and a high-profitability zone with strong demands for European trade, investment and technology. Most of those interviewed for the study observe and forecast a rapidly increasing degree of cooperation and integration within the East Asian

region. It is imperative for the EU that the emerging East Asian regionalism is an 'open and inclusive' one, where cooperation within does not limit engagement with the outside world. Avoiding a 'fortress Asia' and promoting a secure and stable region would be key long-term EU interests in the region.

The unprecedented growth in China and the region, in particular Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam, is changing how the region views itself and how the rest of the world views China and East Asia. Offering labour and markets, China is rapidly becoming the manufacturing workshop of the world. China's approach to slowly liberalising trade and services, coupled with its recent accession into the WTO, indicates a new path for developing countries – a transferable model, according to Chinese experts, for other emerging economies.

Promoting stability within China as the country undergoes domestic transition will be pivotal to the EU's future engagement with China and the region at large. For the time being, China and the EU perceive themselves to be complementary global actors with a shared vested interest in pursuing a stable world order and a commitment to effective multilateralism. China's desire to strengthen links with Europe, which some suggest may spring from its perceived need to dilute US hegemony, puts the EU in a unique position to support transitional reform. A necessary first step for the EU will be to understand the pace and sequence of domestic economic and political reforms, which China is prepared to undertake, and assist them in this process.

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China also looks to Europe to strengthen cooperation with it in the field of science and technology. It is in this sector where the EU, more than the US, can take the lead through scientific and technological transfer. A precondition would be the strengthening of respect for Intellectual Property Rights (IPR), an issue that has become increasingly problematic for both sides.

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The key to EU assistance, and the way it is received, will be the manner in which Europe engages its counterpart. Symbolism and the importance of gestures should never be underestimated in dealing with the Chinese authorities.

The approach that Beijing chooses to regional integration and cooperation will greatly influence the kind of regional entity that will eventually arise in East Asia. As one European commentator expresses it, ‘the role of China, its behaviour, will be critical in the emergence of an East Asian political and economic grouping’. It is in the interest of all external actors that China’s foreign policy and practice is being shaped in a manner that can serve as an example for the Asian region.

The interests and concerns of individual Asian states, be they convergent or divergent, will shape the form and function of future regional structures. Current negotiations undertaken by East Asian governments will, at the very least, lead to a more autonomous East Asia; in which regional partners know each other better, coordinate their actions more widely, determine common goals and form common positions. Tremendous progress has been achieved in this direction over the past few years. New rules are being discussed in East Asia and even if the outcome remains an open process, external actors will find it more difficult to capitalise on regional divisions in the future through a ‘divide and rule’ strategy. The starting point for East Asian regional integration will be, and already is, activities and agreements in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation.

The prospects for advanced military security cooperation seem distant for the moment; however, voices within China would like to see Asian countries ‘focus on cooperation and co-ordination across borders and in different spheres of security to strive for ‘comprehensive security’. However, ‘hard’ security stumbling blocks do exist on the path to a dynamic East Asian region, most notably the dilemma of North Korean nuclear proliferation and tensions in the Taiwan Strait.

If the European Union intends to take part in East Asian integration processes, it must further familiarise itself with the complexities of the region. Currently, East Asia is going through dramatic changes, yet the European Union doesn’t seem to pay sufficient attention to the

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fundamental evolutionary processes at work. For all these reasons, the level of expectation towards the European Union is rather low. Especially in Southeast Asia high expectations have only generated frustrations with the EU. Added to this is the EU’s perceived lack of credibility as a united and coherent actor. East Asia, therefore, constitutes a test case for the EU’s ability ‘to be and act as a major power’. According to a EU Member State government official the EU must begin to integrate its economic engagement with a more visible political presence. In order to do this the EU ‘should utilise ASEM and ARF more constructively. The EU should be active on such issues as security, NPT, anti-terrorism. The Asians look for concrete results’.

The rise of a more organised and coherent East Asian regional grouping will create future strategic challenges for the EU.

The rise of a more organised and coherent East Asian regional grouping will create future strategic challenges for the EU. As competition from East Asian actors increases, Europe must adapt to changing circumstances and remain on the forefront of technological

advances. At the same time, it is vital that the EU pursues greater access to Asian markets. Trade is, by definition, a two-way street. Analysts point to the long-term implications of East Asian regionalism and note that: 'The relative weight of Europe to Asia will decrease. Overall, the weight of the EU will decrease while that of Asia and the U.S. will increase'.

Scenarios and Shaping Factors

The authors of this study identify several clusters of factors which may lead China away from the 'naïve' or 'optimistic' scenario of sustained high economic growth to a scenario of deceleration of growth or, possibly, a third scenario of a substantive slow-down of growth. These are:

1. *Domestic political instability*
2. *Ecological and environmental barriers*
3. *Macroeconomic mismanagement*
4. *Increasing protectionism in OECD markets*
5. *Any occurrence of external military conflict*

In view of these formidable obstacles, a 'slight deceleration' of Chinese growth is judged most likely by the authors of this study, yet this would not in itself endanger the Chinese political system, even though the government's performance-based legitimacy will be eroded. Nevertheless, even a

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slight decline will mean that social tensions, which have already been rising sharply over the past ten years, will be exacerbated further. Overall a 'gradual' political reform scenario for China is most likely and can deliver adequate economic performance, while it can also deliver substantial benefits in terms of civil and political rights, as well as for the relations with Taiwan, the US and the EU. Intra-regional geo-political flashpoints will be main shaping factors for East Asian regional cooperation and integration.

Korean Peninsula. It would seem that the Six-Party talks, resumed July 26, 2005 after stalling for over a year, will be the most important instrument to achieve a durable resolution of the present insecurity within the Korean Peninsula. A framework agreement including credible verification of North Korea's nuclear programmes would undeniably be a

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success for China's 'new diplomacy'. Indeed, it would secure China a stable periphery at its North Eastern borders, addressing problems of forced migration from DPRK, etc. However, the most likely outcome is one in which the world would have to 'live with a nuclear DPRK'; if so 'security dilemmas' would persist in North East Asia, gravely endangering the security of the region.

China-Taiwan. The three scenarios which are distinguished regarding the outlook for China-Taiwan relations reflect the three broad options of (i) peaceful unification; (ii) continued status quo; or (iii) *de jure* independence. A continued status quo is most likely in the short-to-medium term (5-10 years) and implies that the latent insecurity in the East Asian region will remain. The EU's position on China-Taiwan articulated by the Luxembourg Presidency, emphasising dialogue and peaceful resolution through initiatives from both sides, remains the appropriate key to engagement.

China's bilateral relations with Japan and the US will be further shaping factors of East Asian regional cooperation and integration. Will the Sino-Japanese relationship be characterised by antagonism and destructive competition, or will it be one of constructive engagement and partnership? A continuation of the present status-

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quo with current tensions would seem most likely. This will be a major political obstacle to North East Asian integration and thus slow down integration throughout the region. The EU does not have an option but to wait-and-see how the tensions will unfold, with only limited influence on its resolution. In the present situation, characterised by a lack of predictability, it is

essential for the EU to retain flexibility in order to respond with as few constraints as possible at a later moment in time.

For Sino-US relations. The decisive question will be how US foreign policy will address the challenge of regionalisation in East Asia and the increasing role that China will play within it. *Hedged Engagement* has been the chosen terminology for describing the present relationship. This is most likely to remain the dominant policy scenario for the medium-term future. A comprehensive Sino-US partnership would be a major stabilising force across the region. In contrast, the 'hedged engagement', continued from the present situation, will continue to be a divisive element in the region's make up.

East Asian multi-lateralism. A further scenario elaborated for this study, develops the possible forms which multi-lateralism may take within East Asia (possibly involving other parts of Asia, notably India and Central Asia). The three scenarios identified refer different degrees of institutionalisation of (sub)-regional cooperation: (i) 'full' institutionalisation; (ii) 'shallow' institutionalisation; and (iii) 'faltering' institutionalisation. The 'full' institutionalisation scenario would effectively constrain China's power and its freedom to manoeuvre. In contrast, shallow institutionalisation would leave ample scope for China to take on a regional leadership role; this is judged the most likely scenario for the medium term. Interestingly, shallow institutionalisation in East Asia would offer the best opportunities for the EU to actively project its soft power.

Overall, the 'most likely' scenario developed by the EIAS-NOMISMA consortium is one of continued growth in China with political stability. Nevertheless, the authors believe that the

challenges to Chinese economic growth are quite formidable and therefore hold the view that a deceleration of the growth rate somewhat below the post 1980 historical trend is most likely (around 7 percent). ASEAN integration is expected to deepen further and East Asian integration to emerge in a hybrid-form. The regional outlook is having to live with the present regime in DPRK, while tensions in China-Taiwan relations increase further and Sino-Japanese relations are unlikely to improve. Sino-US relations are bound to remain in their present sensitive state, but deterioration is unlikely. The authors hold an upbeat view on China-Taiwan cross-strait relations in view of the momentum towards a peaceful resolution created by the historical meetings of Taiwanese opposition leaders with the Secretary General of the CPC, President Hu Jintao. Further progress would require the duly elected President of Taiwan to be an integral part of the process.

East Asian regionalism will not be a case of simply substituting or transplanting China for Japan – there will be a duopoly of leadership.

East Asian regional cooperation and integration will have two major players in the forefront -- Japan and China – of approximately equal economic size by 2020, though distinct in terms of technological and military capability, per capita income, demography, culture and foreign policy stance. It is not believed that the ‘flying geese’ analogy – popular in the mid-1990s with

Japan leading the formation, will remain appropriate: China’s emergence will be additional and cumulative. East Asian regionalism will not be a case of simply substituting or transplanting China for Japan – there will be a duopoly of leadership. East Asian regional cooperation and integration will be a loose ‘FTA-plus’ style regional association. Unlike the European Union, it will not amount to a custom union – and certainly not a political union. It will be characterised by severe restrictions on the movement of people and capital, although the Asian system of temporary and managed migration will continue to grow. It will be characterised by *shallow* integration, including functional cooperation across a number of distinct domains, including trade, investment, finance and monetary cooperation, development and humanitarian assistance and underpinned by policy-coordination and (in some areas such as trade) common policy frameworks and regional policy coordination.

The implication for the EU is that it would have to start to think of East Asia as a ‘community-for-itself’ and not merely as a ‘community-in-itself’. A sense of collective destiny and shared interest will be articulated through the formation of common institutions. It is with these institutions that the EU will be uniquely placed to engage.

Five Key Recommendations

Effectively projecting EU soft power. Europe should use its soft power to protect its vast interest in East Asia thereby contributing to the stability of the region. With limited military capabilities to project ‘hard’ security, the EU should continue to focus on non-

military security interests such as illegal migration, trafficking, organised crime, WMD proliferation etc. Soft security issues where the EU has a comparative advantage and a certain

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‘moral authority’ over the US may serve as a counterweight to ambiguous feelings towards the US and enhance the EU’s profile within the region. Practical suggestions of projecting soft power could include a change in the institutional format of the ARF. The EU could send a permanent representative (instead of the troika). Furthermore the ASEM coordinators should meet at the ministerial level. The EU may consider supporting a future-oriented joint research project to be carried out by leading think tanks from EU and East Asia on the desirability and feasibility of establishing an East Asian security cooperation mechanism.

The promotion of rule of law, good governance, human rights and democracy will remain a hallmark of Europe’s approach to East Asia.

The promotion of rule of law, good governance, human rights and democracy will remain a hallmark of Europe’s approach to East Asia. In the interest of more effective results, the EU should present these concepts, not from a high moral ground, but from the angle of good governance and public administration,

with focus on how, in concrete terms, the European way may better tackle the multiplying social, economic and political challenges that these societies encounter. Human rights concepts can be mainstreamed into the EU’s aid projects. For instance, in HIV/AIDS projects, efforts should be made to cultivate the idea of protecting the privacy of individual patients. This approach may be more effective in promoting human rights in East Asia.

It is recommended that Europe and some East Asian countries like China, Vietnam, Laos, and even North Korea and Burma, jointly explore, through concrete projects, ways and means to promote and protect all human rights, including encouraging best practices, giving due consideration to local social and cultural conditions. This joint approach will help these countries to “own” human rights initiatives and also facilitate Europe’s greater understanding of these complex societies.

But the EU needs to clearly state that the exploitation of workers (reflecting a disregard for basic human rights and labour safety conditions) is unacceptable to European businesses and/or consumers. Such a stance may give rise to political confrontation with China and others; nonetheless, the EU must be resolute and steadfast when discussing said issues.

Various Member States of the EU have experienced transitions from dictatorships to democracies, transitions that have been accompanied by a modernisation of their economic, social and political structures. This experience should be perceived as an asset in the promotion of EU-East Asian political dialogue and exchange, and should be given special attention.

Support the emerging multilateralism in East Asia. The US and the EU need to start a dialogue on models and modes of regional integration. It is in the interest of both actors (and

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individual EU Member States) to develop a common approach to the challenge of supporting/developing an inclusive, i.e. open, regionalism in East Asia. From this follows the need for the European Union to promote the concept of open regionalism as a normative and institutional basis of

its interregional relations with East Asia.

It is advisable to encourage East Asia to draw on Europe's rich experience in building regional institutional frameworks, as this region is now engaged in or will soon start various regional institution-building initiatives such as ASEAN + 1, ASEAN + 3, regional security arrangements, regional energy communities, and regional financial initiatives. Institution building is widely regarded in East Asia as a main source of Europe's soft power.

Active EU participation at the East Asian Summit (December 2005) will be a clear sign of the EU support for regional integration in East Asia.

Strategize Cooperation with China. Europe does not always understand the complexity of the Chinese approach, which combines pragmatic, soft and dynamic elements with inflexible positions. China's approach to economic policy must be understood in the context of its reform processes and the contradictory balance between economic liberalization and social pressures. Rapid growth rates do not conceal the structural imbalances and constraints that China faces today.

In addressing regional social and economic inequality, the EU has long standing experience of successes and failures through its 'European Regional Policy' and the regional policies of its individual Member States. These consolidated experiences can provide valuable knowledge and "best practices" for supporting China to elaborate its own regional and local development policies. Most pertinently, the recently acceded Eastern European countries have infused new experiences to the EU: in dealing with economies in transition from 'plan' to 'market'. The search for a more socially acceptable balance between growth and cohesion, that the new EU Member States are engaged in, represents a highly relevant experience to be shared with China.

The EU, in the process of tackling its own socio-economic problems, can be an ally and partner to China as it elaborates a *sustainable model* for a Chinese social security system: a system that would try to balance social targets with financial constraints.

During 2004 European Commission officials alone undertook a total of 206 missions to China, apart from numerous missions mounted by EU Member State officials and business representatives. This demonstrates clearly the

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importance attached by the Commission to EU-China relations. Nevertheless, the match between the overall political and economic importance of China and the deployment of human resources to the Commission Delegation in Beijing could easily be improved. Trade negotiation, investment advice and regulation, as well as regulatory reform in key sectors are of enormous economic importance for the EU. Yet, much of the expertise deployed to Beijing in the process of deconcentration focuses on development assistance, even though it is a pertinent question whether the EU should at all be providing aid to China. It would also be wise to assess whether the proliferation of sectoral dialogues between the EU and China does not outsize the capability of the EU institutions to manage these effectively and ensure tangible and operational results. Key areas may be identified, including human rights, market

economy status, arms embargo and security cooperation, regional and cohesion policy, science and technology cooperation, social security systems and cultural exchanges. These should be given high priority.

The EU should strive to develop communicative and rhetorical strategies that demonstrate “parity of esteem”

Keep ‘culture’ central in developing interregional relations. The impact of socio-cultural issues on interregional relations in all spheres of interaction should not be underestimated. The concept of “culture”, with all of its implications for social, economic and foreign policies, should be expanded in the framework of sectoral dialogues and special

attention should be paid to sensitive issues that may jeopardise closer cooperation. The EU should strive to develop communicative and rhetorical strategies that demonstrate “parity of esteem” while staking out or discovering new areas of common ground that will encourage both sides to converge upon common rules for the creation of civic discourse.

Special attention should be given to the Culture Industry, both in terms of its economic dimension and in terms of its role in raising the profile of the EU in East Asia, and vice versa. The European Union and its process of regional integration is a process unknown by the majority of Asian people. The EU should have a communication campaign on its evolution and potential.

The role of the Asian communities resident in the EU in furthering EU-East Asian relations should not be underestimated and efforts should be made to integrate these communities into the process of cross-cultural dialogue in order to build more solid links and networks of interpersonal relationships between both sides.

The main modality for supporting East Asian integration would be through supporting the development of institutions at the regional level with capability to consult, analyse, review, monitor, inspect and advice on policy regimes to be implemented.

Unlike at present, these dialogues need not be confined to a single country nor to a single agency, but could be genuinely inter-regional and cross-sectional.

The development of these institutions would be underpinned through a series of inter-regional dialogues in key-areas. Unlike at present, these dialogues need not be confined to a single

country nor to a single agency, but could be genuinely inter-regional and cross-sectional.

Build-up analytical capability to engage with Asia. Most importantly, the European Commission working with EU Member States, should launch a major programme initiative to strengthen its analytical capability on contemporary Asian economics, politics and security. The EU’s historical lead -role in these fields has been seriously eroded since the mid 1980s. The capability in European universities, research centres and think tanks to deliver high-quality research and analysis to underpin commercial, scientific, economic, political and security cooperation and exchange has steadily weakened, while that in the US has been growing rapidly. While the EU institutions in Brussels can point to some 100 officials and

analysts working part or full-time on China, an estimate of the same capability for Washington D.C. puts the number closer to 1000 – ten times as much.

The human and intellectual resources demanded to manage EU-East Asia exchanges in the fields of trade, investment, intellectual property rights, security, culture etc. are bound to increase, but there is no coherent supply-response to date. A EU-level

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programme, involving the EU Member States and the Commission, should be designed to act as a catalyst to develop inter-disciplinary competences on Asia.

The overall implication of this study is that the EU should take a stance of ‘supporting East Asian cooperation and integration’ – indeed this may well be the headline of the forthcoming communications on EU-East Asia relations, such as the next EU-China communication.

..the EU should take a stance of ‘supporting East Asian cooperation and integration’

This ‘support for integration’ could take the form of a host of initiatives:

- at the levels of inter-regional institutions (e.g. ASEAN – EU dialogue) and processes (such as ASEM);
- at the levels of inter-governmental diplomatic relations (ARF);
- in the domain of cultural understanding and intellectual exchange
- at the levels of civil society and people-to-people exchanges;
- in the areas of political, social and economic rights;
- in the areas of academic, scientific and technological exchange and cooperation;
- in the trade and investment fields at both macro-economic and business levels; and
- in other specific domains of economic cooperation, such as environment, energy, agriculture, finance and savings, with the overall aim to support sustainable reform and development.

Amongst the numerous administrative and operational implications of approaching East Asia as an ‘integrating region’, will be that the artificial and bureaucratic distinction between OECD and non-OECD Asia may be an obstacle to effective EU-East Asia cooperation – this anomaly will need to be dropped.

Objectives, Implementation and Acknowledgements

The main objective of this study is to identify the European Union's strategic interests in East Asia, and to provide information on the region's likely development in economic, political, security and socio-cultural terms, with a special focus on intra-regional co-operation and in particular China's role. The study was requested by the European Commission, Directorate General for External Relations through an open call for proposals and awarded to the EIAS-NOMISMA consortium in November 2004. Implementation took effect from early January 2005 through to end of July 2005.

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Analyse the current factual situation in the region, and in particular China, including relations with major global powers like the USA, Russia, India and the EU;
- Identify long-term shaping factors that affect/determine co-operation within East Asia and with the EU;
- Undertake a strategic analysis of the major world players in the region;
- Examine the existing EU policies and strategies towards the region and China;
- Analyse the challenges posed by the major powers in the region (Russia, China, USA, India); and
- Elaborate alternative scenarios, new options and recommendations for EU policies.

The EIAS-NOMISMA Consortium addressed these ambitious objective in a brief seven-month period through an intensive research and analysis effort, combining desk-research with a global round of expert interviews, a focus-group survey administered through a questionnaire, the preparation of a dozen of background papers by leading experts, a brainstorming workshop in Brussels presenting results and recommendations and , finally, the writing of the present 'Main Report and Synthesis', integrating the results of the above processes.

This 'Study Report' has been prepared under the overall direction of the study's Team Leader, Dr Willem van der Geest, Director, European Institute for Asian Studies, Brussels (Consortium Leader), working in coordination with Dr Roberta Benini, Scientific Coordinator of the Economic Analysis Department of NOMISMA (Consortium Partner), and in close collaboration with Dr Sebastian Bersick, Research Fellow EIAS.

The Consortium, gratefully acknowledging the financial support of the European Commission, was able to invite a group of twelve leading scholars to write issue and background papers. These were: Prof Robert Ash (London), Dr Roberta Benini (Bologna), Dr Sebastian Bersick (Brussels), Dr Sophie Boisseau du Rocher (Paris), Prof Seán Golden (Barcelona), Mr Willem van Kemenade (Beijing), Dr Françoise Nicolas (Paris), Mr Frank Umbach (Berlin), Prof Wing Thyee Woo (Davis, California), Prof Shujie Yao (London), Ms Roberta Zavoretti (London) and Prof Zhang Wei-Wei (Geneva).

The initial findings of these background papers were presented at a Brainstorming Workshop at the European Commission. The sessions at the workshop were chaired by Mr Jan-Willem Blankert, Mr Hervé Jouanjean and Mr James Moran from the Directorate General for External Relations of the European Commission and Mr Jean-Luc Dehaene, Member of the European Parliament, Vice-Chair of the Delegation for Relations with China and former Prime-Minister of Belgium.

For this report, Dr van der Geest concentrated in particular on the scenario analysis, whereas Dr Benini focused on the EU-China economic analysis and recommendations. Dr Sebastian Bersick concentrated on the political issues and the security recommendations. Ms Signe Bruun-Jensen and Ms Karoliine Horekens of EIAS also contributed to the writing of the issues chapter and the recommendations. Prof David Shambaugh of George Washington University (Washington D.C.) advised on the ideas behind the scenarios and peer-reviewed the background papers in the political and security fields. The recommendations of the report benefited enormously from the insights offered by Prof Zhang, Prof Golden, Dr Boisseau du Rocher and Ms Zavoretti.

A focus-group questionnaire was developed at an in-house workshop with several researchers (Bersick, van Kemenade, Zhang) directed by van der Geest and Benini, with contributions from Bruun-Jensen and Horekens. The challenging task of processing, interpreting and reporting on the views of the 96 respondents was undertaken by Bruun-Jensen, whereas Andy Carling provided helpful technical advice and support for the on-line survey.

The Study Report comprises two volumes. Volume I entitled ‘ Main Report and Synthesis’ combines the issues and scenario analyses with the results of the questionnaires and interviews, leading to recommendations for the European Union. Volume II entitled ‘ Expert Analyses on East Asian Cooperation, China’s Role and EU Policy’ presents the background papers prepared for the Brainstorming Workshop in full. The two-volume study report was completed by the 22nd of August 2005.

On behalf of the Consortium, we would like to acknowledge the contribution of the authors of the background papers, the chairs and officials participating at the Brainstorming Workshop and the contributing authors to this ‘Main Report and Synthesis’ for their cooperation throughout. A particular word of thanks is due to those 96 insiders across the world who volunteered their time and insights on EU-East Asia through responding to the focus-group questionnaire.

Furthermore, nearly one-hundred officials and experts across eighteen countries were willing to meet with members of the research team to discuss the present and future outlook for East Asia, China’s role within it and the implications for the European Union. Van der Geest conducted interviews in New Delhi, Taipei, Beijing and Brussels, Benini in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Beijing, as well as Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw; Bersick in Washington D.C. and Berlin, Boisseau du Rocher in Jakarta, Bangkok and Singapore, Horekens in London, van Kemenade in Beijing, Tokyo and Seoul. Insights gained informed the background papers and proved decisive for the drafting of the issues and scenario chapters.

We are particularly grateful to the European Commission for having been awarded the study service contract and to Mr Jan-Willem Blankert, Relations with China, DG External Relations for his keen interest in the study and constructive suggestions throughout.

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