

The East Asian Cooperation Models under New Regionalism

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ABSTRACT: *Research on the regionalism in developed countries has been very mature, especially in terms of the study concerning European Integration Theory. Exploration on the topic of regionalism is mainly carried out from two different fields in international relations forum: international economics and international politics. For example, international economics put forward the customs union theory, the optimal currency area theory and the fiscal federalism, while the international politics proposed the functionalism, the New functionalism, Intergovernmentalism, liberal intergovernmental theory and so on. In China, the real acceptance and use of the concept regionalism began at the end of the 20th century. The concept barely existed in the international political field in the early 1980s. Although Chinese scholars have long noticed regional integration or area problem. Many scholars have made the introduction and comment on European regional integration, but they didn't notice the concept of regionalism as the relative concept of regional integration or regionalization. By the end of the cold war, with an in-depth understanding of European integration, the Chinese become an important force in regional integration in East Asia, with regionalism gradually attracting more attention. The thesis will start with some regionalism-related concepts, exploring the origin, the process and characteristics of new regionalism. I intend to use the process of regional cooperation in East Asia as a main line, and study the practice and the development of new regionalism in this area. In this thesis, I will analyze and summarize the development and historical evolution of the regionalism. Furthermore, I will analyze the diversity of mechanisms and arrangements in East Asian cooperation. Following that I will list the problems and obstacles that may hinder the process of the East Asian cooperation, and in view of these obstacles analyze some realistic choices for East Asia in the development process of new regionalism. I intended to start from the historical evolution of the regionalism theory, then I will look at the interdisciplinary research method. Next we focus on new regionalism's influence on the East Asia cooperation and provide a fresh perspective based on the core values, essential characteristics, and basic connotation of new regionalism, and try to put forward the countermeasures China should take in response to this changing process.*

KEYWORDS: East Asia, Regionalism, New Regionalism, Regional Cooperation

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I choose new regionalism as the theory frame to analyze the East Asian economic cooperation and discuss the China's East Asian regionalist strategy. Since the 1990s the vigorous development of new regionalism has been an important feature in East Asia. The rise of new regionalism emerged in East Asia provides a good way, development and enriched the regional economic cooperation, and promotes the process of the East Asian economic cooperation.

Originating from the 1950s, the regionalism, backed by the European Integration, is called

as the Old Regionalism, while the New Regionalism which was generated from the end of 1980s and soon became the main study object has greatly influenced and shaped the development and trend of the modern world economy and international politics. The New Regionalism was born with the help of the Old Regionalism, but with different settings, demands of objectives, types of organizations and so on, the New Regionalism has its own characteristics. If the European Integration was the blue Print of the Old Regionalism, cooperation of the East Asia is the typical representative of the New Regionalism.

Malaysian Premier Mahathir's putting forward the idea of East Asia Community in 1990 lighted the spark of East Asia Cooperation. From then on, the East Asia New Regionalism is developing "actively but slowly". The financial crisis of 1997 urged the development of the cooperation of the East Asia. Regional, sub-regional and bilateral cooperation are very active. As a region, the East Asia has been recognized. "10+3" cooperation mechanism symbolizes the formation the East Asia New Regionalism, which also reflects the eager expectation of the cooperation of these nations in this region.

Compared with other region integration, East Asia region cooperation has its features, such as multi-level, sub-region-based low institutionalizing, non-intervening-sovereignty and openness. Despite of trailing behind Europe and North America, East Asia is the most dynamic area among those integrating areas in the world. However, we must bear in mind that the further development of regionalism in East Asia is still facing many thorny difficulties and obstacles, which has impeded the intensification of East Asian cooperation.

China, as the biggest nation in East Asia, has its special interest and a strong and visible presence, meanwhile the East Asia is also the geographical support of the great rejuvenation of China. China will continue to accelerate its own development and play a more and more important role in achieving the target of East Asia Community. In the aspect of economy, China has formally overtaken Japan as the world's second largest economy and its economic growth rate is among the highest in the world, therefore, more and more East Asian countries seek closer co-operation with China in economy. In the aspect of politics, with the development of comprehensive national strength, China has more say in international affairs, and it plays a greater role in promoting regional stability in East Asia. In the aspect of culture, East Asian countries has been affected by the traditional Chinese culture for a very long time, and with Chinese government's promotion, the effect of Chinese culture on East Asia will become greater and greater.

INTERPRETATION OF NEW REGIONALISM AND RELATED CONCEPTS

New regionalism and related concepts

New regionalism is a new concept which is close linked with some other concepts in the field of international relations, such as region, federalism, functionalism, new functionalism, inter-governmentalism. Actually, the federalism aims at explaining European integration from a political perspective, which provides theoretical support for new regionalism to explain the political aspect of East Asian cooperation. Functionalism and new functionalism which explains the cooperation from both political and economic perspective are the expansion of federalism and they offer a more comprehensive theoretical support for new regionalism. While Inter-governmentalism which refers to every aspect focuses the bargains between countries in

the community, and it offers a way to study the relations between countries in essence for new regionalism. Regionalism gives more dynamic model for the study of relations between countries which lays the basis of new regionalism.

Region

There is no agreed definition of "region" in the study of international relations. While Joseph S. Nye's version is widely quoted, he says, "international region can be defined as a number of countries which are geographically linked, and to some extent in a mutually dependent relationship."¹ Xiao Qinghua, a Chinese scholar, defined "region" as a certain scale of social living space according to one or more specific social, political aspects of a relationship which are based on certain geographical boundaries.² Social-constructivism scholars think "region" should be composed of some countries that share a sense of social identity, and do not need to consider their geographical position. In this case, area should not be limited to its natural attributes, but lies in its sociality. More and more emphasis is put on the interaction between countries, rather than geographical area.

Federalism

Federalism is one of the major schools of early European political integration theory on European integration, it describes European integration as a political goal. Modern federalism mainly originated from the Europe's peace plan and American federal politics in seventeenth, eighteenth century.³ Immanue Kant's "perpetual peace" is the most famous example. In his book, Kant proposed the idea that a federal combination of power and the will of people could eliminate war and realize the permanent peace in Europe.⁴ In addition, the US Constitution is regarded as the model of federalism by many scholars, and constitutional convention is regarded as the ideal means of realizing federalism. Federalism is a concept and a kind of system. As a concept, federalism advocates the establishment of a unified nation.⁵ As a form of national political organization, federalism refers to a political system between the centralization and the loose confederation.

Unlike other integration theories, the ultimate goal of federalism integration is more important than the means of achieving this goal. The ultimate goal is to establish a federal state, one can guarantee international peace with political authority, to establish a global Federation instead of a loose confederation of sovereign states. Speaking of the specific proposals and implementation methods, federalists advocated adopting a more radical way in Europe, through the establishment of a "supranational" federal state that would unify the European countries in a "top-down" way. The federalism theory nailed down the ultimate goal of integration, the deficiency is the lack of analysis of the process to achieve the goals. Even so, in the process of European integration federalism still plays an important role and will continue to influence the process of European integration.

¹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *International Regionalism: Readings*, Little Brown and Company, 1968.

² Pp.3-4. *Regionalism: historical evolution of the theory of [M]*. Beijing broadcasting institute publishing house, 2003: 8.

³ F. H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 13-14

⁴ Kant. *Historical rational criticism corpus [M]*. He Zhaowu translation. Beijing: the commercial press, 1996. P97-145

⁵ Wang liping. *Federalism and the world order [M]*. Beijing: Peking University press, 2000. P3

Functionalism

Functionalism comes up in the process of proposing the federal's claim to build a world government⁶. People usually regard David Mitrany as the founder of functionalism. Mitrany thinks the core problem of functionalism is how to avoid a new war, or how to change the relations between countries and eliminate the factors of war.

Functionalism is used to explain the European Economic Community, and lay the theoretical base for European integration. In this context, it gradually becomes the substitute theory of federalism. However, functionalism also has its own shortcomings and deficiencies: first, it does not solve the problem of overcoming the influence of national sovereignty in the functional integration process; second, it fails to clarify the relationship between international service needs and functional operation of the organization, actually many cooperation organizations between countries are nonprofit but operating well, which is against the basic rule of functionalism; third, as the theoretical basis of functionalism, the strict distinction between politics and methodology brings about harsh criticism.

New Functionalism

Federalism and functionalism do not appear to be in contrast to regionalism in Europe, their corresponding target is to achieve peace. New functionalism is the first real sense of European regionalism theory, it is based on the practice of European integration, and its direct theoretical sources are above mentioned early European regionalism theories. New functionalism has two core concepts, namely "Spillover" and "Supranationality". Spillover includes functional spillover and political spillover. Supranationality means the integration which is beyond the boundaries between countries in economic, political, and cultural aspects.

New functionalism emphasizes too much on the role of supra national institutions, in fact nation states and their governments play a leading role in the integration, the supranational affect is very limited. The relations between countries will not exceed the intergovernmental cooperation and development to the supranational integration of senior politics.⁷ The national governments' policies on community depend on their domestic political needs, rather than the spirit of cooperation in solving the problems as envisioned. Even if it is related to the major issues involving common interests of member countries, it also needs to be decided by member governments.⁸

Inter-governmentalism

Inter-governmentalism is a theory about making bargains between countries. The main representative figures are Stanley Hoffman, Robert Jordan and Warner Felder etc.. The theory was born in the process absorbing the nutrition of realism and criticizing the new functionalism.⁹ Inter-governmentalism states that the international system is self-help, the nation-state plays a central role in European international relations; the integration process

⁶ Pp.3-4. Regionalism: historical evolution of the theory of [M]. Beijing: Beijing broadcasting institute press, 2003. P 42

⁷ Stanley Hoffmann, *Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe*, Daedalus, Vol. 95, 1966, pp. 862—915.

⁸Midsummer. Brief review of the development of the theory of integration [J]. *European integration research*, 2000 (3). P50-54

⁹Zhang Maoming. *European integration theory of intergovernmental* [J]. *Journal of Europe*, 2001 (6). P45.

must conform to the interests of participating countries, and then get support from these countries to achieve success.

Stanley Hoffman has made an important contribution to inter-governmentalism. He reaffirmed the center position of states and national interests, which defined that politically and economically are the two relatively autonomous areas, but his theory's weakness also lies in the division of senior political and low-level political. Although the development of EC in the 1970s reflect the explanation of inter-governmentalism, but the development of European integration since the 1980s makes the inter-governmentalism theory explanation inferior by comparison, its analysis is not enough to be convincing.

Regionalism

Regionalism was introduced after War II when many countries faced the problem of reconstruction. In order to share the resources to reconstruct own countries, many countries in Europe and Asia signed cooperation contracts with each other to form communities. Scholars in the field of international relations tried to explain the phenomenon by using economic theories, which gave birth to regionalism. But, the antagonism of capitalism and socialism two camps led the decline of regionalism, because regionalism could not explain the political aspects between different communities. Although the passion to study regionalism diminished, the theory basis had been formed. The most important points in regionalism include the exchange of resources and win-win goals. The exchange of resources lay the basis of regional cooperation, and the win-win goals ensure the sustainable development of the relations between different countries in a community. Regionalism aims at exploring the essence of the cooperation, and it has attracted much attention. But, there is no accurate statement about its definition, and many scholars have their own understandings.

The most popular definition of regionalism in international economics was made by Peter Robertson: Regionalism is a single national economy combined into a larger economic group or community in the system¹⁰. Regionalism is a kind of ideology and faith, its arrangement is the most effective method for the realization of national interests. And regionalism is a phenomenon of multinational exchanges and cooperation between countries. The future of regionalism theory research is necessarily from the interdisciplinary perspective, in addition to international economics and traditional international politics, it will also introduce the research results of economic geography, cultural anthropology and psychology, the realization of the real interdisciplinary study is imperative.

Regionalism and New Regionalism

In recent years domestic academic circles started to use words like "regionalism" and "New Regionalism", before that they frequently used "regional" or "regional integration" and other words. At present the academic circles generally believe regionalism was born after the Second World War, and the global development of the regionalism is an important phenomenon in the world's political and economic development after the Second World War. But other scholars hold different views, they proposed that regionalism events have already taken place in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it was mainly a European phenomenon. At the same time, some scholars put forward that traditional regionalism exists in East Asia, with three systems represented: the Confucian system, the open door system, and Japan's Greater East

¹⁰ Peter Robson, *The Economics of International Integration*, 4th edition, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 1.

Asia co-prosperity sphere, but they all belong to "imposed regionalism"¹¹. The Confucian system which originated in China has been widely spread in East Asia and has a great impact on the culture in other East Asian countries. As GengXie points in his paper "new regionalism" study, different perspective evaluation", Confucian system is a cultural system which includes some principle rules for one's behaviours, and with the population migration and cultural exchange between China and other East Asian countries in ancient times, the ideology in Confucian system has rooted in the culture of East Asia deeply. Therefore, The Confucian system is a typical symbol of cultural aspects in regionalism. The open door system is the typical symbol of economic aspects of regionalism in East Asia, while Japan's Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere is the typical symbol of economic aspects. All of them are triggered by discrete events, or "shocks" that change the balance of East Asia.

After the Second World War, the development of regionalism has experienced two periods, commonly known as "the two wave". The first wave began after the end of World War II, the characteristics of the development in this period is the birth of many influential regional economic organizations, and most of them concentrated in Europe. And one of the most influential two was the Commission for Mutual Economic (1949 – 1991, disorganized due to the collapse of the Soviet Union), the other is the European Economic Community formally established in 1958, which developed into a political and economic union in the 1990s, this is the old regionalism period.

The second wave is from the end of the cold war to the present, because of the accelerated pace of globalization and active performance of regional economic growth, the development of regionalism is full of energy, known as the "new regionalism". In this period, many old regional organizations such as NATO, ASEAN and others kept rejuvenated, while the new regional organizations like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Organization and the Shanghai cooperation organization were emerging continuously. New regionalism based on the regional identity has become the preferred way of regional bodies (including national, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, Multi-National Corporation and individuals) to respond to the challenges of globalization.

The concept, "New Regionalism ", was first put forward by Norman D Palmer, the Honorary Professor of the University of Pennsylvania. The statement was raised in his book, named "The New Regionalism in Asia and the Pacific"¹². It emphasize that the polymerization development which center on different regions has led to the new wave of cooperation of different areas in the global scope, which points the reasons why new regionalism develop rapidly. After that many scholars devoted themselves to the studies of new regionalism, and put forward some viewpoints. These scholars defined new regionalism respectively from their own perspective, vague or broad, caused the complexity of definition to this concept, so now there is no agreed definition of new regionalism in the academic circles at home and abroad.

Economists regard new regionalism as a bigger economic group or community combined with individual national economic entities¹³. New regionalism is equivalent to the regional economic integration in Asia. Many theorists tend to specify this term, and think new regionalism is "a

¹¹ GengXie peak. "new regionalism" study, different perspective evaluation [J]. Journal of world economics and politics, 2001:22.

¹² Norman D. Palmer. The New Regionalism in Asia and the Pacific[M]. Lexington Books, 1991:5.

¹³ Peter Robson, The Economics of International Integration[M], London: Routledge, 1998: 1.

government economic policy in the form of regional economic integration".¹⁴ International political scholars tend to establish a formal organizational system as standard to define the new regionalism. Joseph S. Nye Jr., one of the representatives, believes that the new regionalism is "a form for countries to contact or establish organizations on a regional basis"¹⁵.

New regionalism scholar Andrew Hurrell thinks that we can analyze the regionalism with four indexes, social cohesiveness, economic cohesiveness, political cohesiveness and organization cohesiveness, he presented five kinds of regionalism phenomenon, respectively are regionalization, regional awareness identity, regional interstate cooperation, state-promoted regional integration and regional cohesion¹⁶.

Biorn Hettne and A.Inota defined the new regionalism as a multi-level regional integration process including economic, political, social and cultural¹⁷. Compared with other scholars, they put more emphasis on the non-economic aspects of regional integration, namely on the political and security aspect. And they use the concept "regionness" to represent the degrees of regionalism, the degrees from high to low is divided into five levels: region area, region complex, region society, region community and region state. Chinese scholar, Geng Xiefeng, influenced by Hurrell, defined the new regionalism as the thoughts and practices of all kinds of actors (including nations, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, Multi-National Corporation and individuals) based on common interests¹⁸. And Pang Zhongying defined the New Regionalism like this, "It is an extensive regional cooperation movement, which has formed a regional international system"¹⁹. Therefore, it has the characteristics of an international political economics.

The core value of new regionalism

The core value of the new regionalism is "regional supremacy". Specifically speaking, it is reflected in: the new regionalism encourages countries to put interests of the area first, resolve regional issues first and take the realization of regional integration and the construction of regional community as the highest goal.

Regional interests first

The so-called regional interests, means the common interests of the region. Most regional interests are the realistic interests that existed objectively. For example, in East Asia today, economic development is the current major benefit. In order to develop the economy and also increase the region's common interest, the "10+3" organization has offered a stable security environment. Therefore, we can make the conclusion, as long as the area partition exists, there must be regional interests.

Countries cooperate only if they have common interests, regional cooperation can only develop

¹⁴ Paul Bowles. Regionalism and development after the global financial crisis[J]. *New Political Economy*, 2000,11(5): 433.

¹⁵ Joseph S. Nye. Jr. *International Regionalism: Re Max weber. Regionalism and the developing countries* [J]. China social sciences press, 2002:2.adings. Little Brown and Company, 1968.

¹⁶ Andrew Hurrell. *Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective*, in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell, eds, *Regionalism in World Politics*[M]. Oxford: Oxford University press, 1995: 38-45.

¹⁷ Biorn Hettne, A. Inota, *The New Regionalism: Implications for Global Development and International Security*[M]. UNU/WIDER.Helsinki, 1994: 69.

¹⁸GengXie peak. *The new regionalism and structural changes in the asia-pacific region* [M]. Cambridge university press, 2003:37.

¹⁹Zhong-ying pang. [J]. *Journal of regionalism and nationalism in Europe*, 1999 (2) : 42.

on the basis of regional common interests. For example, America has built coalitions with Japan, South Korea and other East Asian countries to ensure its strategic position in East Asia, meanwhile Japan, Korea and other East Asian countries can share martial and economic advantages in America to keep up the pace of China, in a word, they have a common interest in contending China. Without the common regional interest, the alliance cannot be built. Actually, cooperation between different areas in the world puts regional interest first. But it cannot "accomplish the whole task in one stroke", the realization of the common interests of regional cooperation is a deepening and expanding process. The process of European integration has experienced from the small scope of Western Europe to a larger European unification, from functional economic organizations like European Coal and Steel Community to the European Common Market and the European Atomic Energy Community, and finally constituted the European Union.

And after half a century, from the EC to the European Union, European countries have united on the basis of common interests --militarily, politically and economically. This is also a continuous process of finding common interests and expanding the scope of common interests, which is also a process of seeking the regional consensus.

Therefore, to advocate and practice the new regionalism, we must put regional interests in the first place, this is the premise to carry out regional cooperation and understand the cooperation in East Asia.

REGIONAL ISSUES FIRST

Economy

The development in economy is the direct expression of the common interests in the community. The benefits in pursuing economic cooperation within East Asian countries have proven to be vital with two important development trends; globalization and localization. While globalization is only a trend which is based on the increasing communication between different countries in the world, and it cannot eliminate the differences in regions completely and solve the problems in regional economies. Actually, the problems in regional economics can only be solved by regional community, for different regions in the community shares the common economic interests. Therefore, we should give priority to solve the economic problems of regional cooperation, and pay attention to the mutual coordination of international economic cooperation organizations. This is the reality of the pursuit of new regionalism in economic cooperation, and also its priority.

Security

Nowadays our world is facing a test of "comprehensive security", including the financial crisis, the refugee problems, environmental disasters, terrorism, drug and smuggling problems etc. Both the 1994 financial crisis in Mexico and the 1997 Southeast Asian financial crisis are regional. The American debt crisis in 2008 developed from a regional issue to a global issue gradually. Although some other so-called "new security problems", such as the deterioration of ecological environment, oil and water resource shortage, terrorism and refugees, are all global issues, but they basically are the major concerns of regional security.

Social issues

Social issues can be divided into two parts, one is the social problems of the macroscopic aspect, including cultural, ethnic and religious identity problems in the field of international political sociology. The other is micro problems, including environmental protection, transnational resource utilization, undeveloped areas, international terrorism, transnational refugees, and drug problems, international public health problems etc..

When we study the new regionalism, the main intent is to build a regional community, which focused on creating a new identity according to the level and scope of the region, thus solving the macro problems is an important aspect of the new regionalism. In microscopic aspects, we can first establish functional organizations, and then expand communication and cooperation on the basis of solving the specific problems, finally realize the whole area's cooperation. New Regionalism's "new" ,means that it starts to focus on the problem of social and environmental, not only concerned about macro problems, but also focus on micro problems, and that the two kinds of problems are closely related.

The common goal first

The ultimate goal of the new regionalism in East Asia is to build a real regional community. The concept, regional community, was originated from the successful experience of Europe. The European Union's experience is successful in general, but the defects and disadvantages are also very clear, and in the future will continue to expose. The great decline in economy in West Europe has exposed the problems that as a close community, it is easy to trigger a domino effect in economy. And the environment is becoming more and more instable, the problems of domino effect in European Union may continue to expose. We shall see the differences between the common goal advocated by the core values of new regionalism and the other community goals already exist, and take its essence and reject the bad, so as to establish an East Asia community, in a very real sense. It means that East Asia community should learn from the positive aspects of European integration and neglect the negative aspects such as debt ridden institutions and "wall street".

If the above-mentioned "regional issues first" and "regional interests first" are only the means, then the establishment of East Asia community is the reflection of the ultimate goal that share resources and achieve common development. In turn, the East Asian community is a carrier, through the function of the community, it can realize regional interests and solve regional problems. Therefore the two means and the ultimate goal are complementary and interaction.

From my perspective of views, new regionalism is a theory based on regionalism and other theories in the international relations mentioned above, but it has its own characteristics. Firstly, it is comprehensive, because it involves political, economic, social, environmental, cultural and other multi dimension multi issue of the direction of development. Secondly, it has the characteristic of cross-region, because it is beyond the geographical restrictions and emphasizes the multilevel cooperation. Thirdly, it has the characteristic of openness, because the cooperation between countries is open to each other in both economy and politics. Finally, it has the characteristic of subjectivity, because the community starts to play a role as a whole in international affairs. In a word, new regionalism is more persuasive to explain the current phenomenon of regional cooperation.

EAST ASIA'S COOPERATION

The history of East Asia's Cooperation

The history of East Asia's Cooperation can be divided into two stages, the first stage is the enlightenment stage which means there are not many cooperation in East Asia and the cooperation consciousness is still weak, and the second stage is growth stage which means the cooperation in East Asia is becoming more and more, the relationship between different countries become closer and closer, and the cooperation framework has been built.

Enlightenment stage

The idea of East Asia cooperation can be traced back to 1960s, there had been a lot of ideas and programs about the Asia Pacific regional economic cooperation. For example, in 1965 Kojima proposed the establishment of Pacific Free Trade Area; in 1970s, Japan proposed the establishment of Pacific Community etc.

The history of East Asia to co-operate in the true sense as a region is not long. Generally, in the early 1990s, as the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir's proposal of starting an "East Asia economic group" is just the enlightenment. The real practice is from the first informal meeting of ASEAN Plus Three Summit in 1997, because it directly leads to the start of the "10+3" mechanism. In 1990, the then Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir put forward the initiative of the East Asian economic core Forum, and in 1994, the ASEAN Regional Forum was established. In 1997 the Southeast Asian financial crisis became the "inflection point" of promoting the economic integration of East Asia. Since 1997, the regional cooperation of East Asia has achieved great progress in economic development, social cooperation, security cooperation, currency stability, and has contributed the development of world economy. The same year, the first "10+3" leaders meeting and the official launch of "10+3" dialogue and cooperation mechanisms established a new platform of East Asia cooperation, and the consciousness of East Asia had penetrated deeply into people's hearts in every country in the community.

The growth stage

The dialogue mechanism among leaders of China, Japan and ROK started in 1999. In the report submitted by the East Asia Vision Group in 2001, the group put forward a proposal of transiting the "10+3" frame to East Asia mechanism, and take the establishment of East Asia Community (EAC) as a long-term goal for East Asia cooperation.

In 2002, the "10+3" Leaders Meeting let through the report of establishing "a East Asia Community" proposed by the East Asia Study Group (EASG). At this point, the East Asian countries basically determined to take the establishing of "East Asia Community" as the long-term objectives for East Asia's cooperation. In December 14, 2005, the 10 ASEAN countries, Japan, the South Korea and China, India, Australia, and New Zealand signed the "Kuala Lumpur Declaration" at the East Asia Summit. Since from 2005 to 2014, the East Asia summit has been held for a total of eight times. Using the East Asia Summit as a platform, East Asian countries has formed a preliminary regular meeting mechanism of ministers of economy, trade, energy and environment, East Asia's cooperation has made considerable progress.

After the start of the East Asian cooperation, it shows the characteristics of non-European style,

Peking University's professor, Chen Fengjun compared it to "five parallel moving trains"²⁰:

The first train is "10", namely the 10 countries in ASEAN. The ten ASEAN countries and China, Japan, and the ROK are geographically close, economically complementary and culturally connected. Over the past years, the ASEAN Plus Three cooperation has grown from strength to strength and become a strong impetus in the East Asia integration process. Although ASEAN is only a part of East Asia, it is "the source" of East Asia's cooperation, and plays a decisive role in the cooperation. In October, 2003, the ninth ASEAN summit was held. At the meeting, leaders of ten ASEAN countries signed the "Declaration of the ASEAN Community". In the declaration, the ASEAN Community aimed to be established in 2020, and it's an organization similar to the European Union.²¹ This declaration includes three parts, the "ASEAN Security Community", the "ASEAN Economic Community" and the "ASEAN socio cultural community", marking ASEAN's cooperation of political, economic, security, social and cultural has entered a new stage of history. In 2007, the thirteenth ASEAN Summit adopted the "ASEAN Charter", marking the formation of a binding legal framework for all Member States. The document is an important milestone of ASEAN.

The second train is "10+1", namely the dialogue and cooperation of ASEAN respectively with China, Japan and the South Korea. This includes economic cooperation, security cooperation, and other typical social cooperation. For example, in order to promote the regional economy, ASEAN established free trade zone respectively in China, Japan and the South Korea. In order to enhance mutual trust and settle disputes through negotiations, the "Declaration on the conduct of parties in the South China Sea" signed by China and ASEAN countries is finally implemented in July, 2011. In addition, ASEAN and Japan have carried out extensive cooperation on earthquake prevention, and other medical and education issues. Besides, ASEAN and South Korea have established common foundations and signed security and defense agreements.

The third train is "3", that is dialogue and cooperation among China, Japan and the South Korea. In October 7, 2003, the leaders of Japan, South Korea and China issued a "Joint Declaration" to promote trilateral cooperation", initially identifying the principle and field of trilateral cooperation. Which symbolized that cooperation has entered a new stage. By May 2011, the Leaders Conference of three countries has been successfully held four times, the three countries have achieved great development in the field of economic, political, diplomatic, security, and social cooperation. And in the fifth time meeting held in Beijing in 2012, they decided to start the negotiations about free trade zone between the three countries.

The fourth train is "10+3", which is the only mechanism that covers the entire scope of East Asia, and it is a real sense of cooperation in East Asia. In recent years, the "10+3" cooperation mechanism with an emphasis on the economic cooperation, gradually expanded to political, security, culture and other fields, it has formed a multi-level, wide-field, all-around good situation.

The fifth train is "10+6", namely the expanded East Asia Summit in December, 2005, in addition to the cooperation and dialogue among ASEAN and China, Japan, South Korea, it also includes cooperation and dialogue with ASEAN and India, Australia and New Zealand. ASEAN is actively promoting the East Asia Summit, and strives to extend it. Its main hope is

²⁰Chen Fengjun. New regionalism and the east Asia cooperation [M]. Beijing: China economic publishing house, 2007. P185.

²¹ Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II), <http://www.asean.org/15159.htm>

to further close the relationship with leading powers in East Asia to promote its own development, to realize its goals for building free and friendly environment and take-off in the field of politics and economy. Because ASEAN is a regional organization composed of several small countries, various leading powers interlaced in East Asia because of the special geographical position and external conditions.²²

Therefore, ASEAN's decision to expand the East Asia Summit is based on the reality. Only through this step can we cover the countries outside the region in the framework of East Asia's cooperation, and play a balancing strategy to balance the internal force. When joining the East Asia summit, India, New Zealand and Australia stated that the goal and prospect of East Asia's cooperation in the region is more attractive, so that countries outside the region want to participate in it.²³

Another cooperation has been built based on ASEAN, "10+6", European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and its name is Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) has developed more than 20 years, has many contributions in reducing trade barriers and dealing with the non-traditional security cooperation in East Asia. In the past ten years, regional cooperation in East Asia has made great achievements through five different trains:

First, economic ties in East Asia are increasing. Because the East Asian countries are on different levels of economic structure and have strong competition, they are in the key period of the economic development, so in this period, the economic cooperation of East Asian countries and the GDP growth significantly strengthened. East Asia's total GDP is about 2/3 of the America's, 9/10 of the EU's, but East Asia's economy is increasing steady, especially since the 2008 world financial crisis, East Asia is the world's first recovery area from the financial turmoil, and has maintained a high GDP growth in 2010.

Secondly, the East Asian countries have reached a basic consensus on the East Asia cooperation, the principle, direction and ways of cooperation have been basically determined. East Asian countries have realized the necessity and urgency of regional cooperation and integration. In the previous sessions, although the parties were divided on the specific details of the East Asia cooperation, but they have reached a consensus on the trend of East Asia's integration. The declarations and statements published in previous conferences are able to fully prove this.

Third, the integration process has made progress in political, security and social cooperation. In addition to the economic cooperation in East Asia, some progress has been made in the political, security and social cooperation. ASEAN, and the later participants, China, Japan, and South Korea, both have played an important role on the regional cooperation of East Asia. Especially the East Asia cooperation process under the auspices of "ASEAN", the mode of the cooperation, namely the "ASEAN Way" is the most attractive, the remarkable characteristics of the ASEAN Way is in the principle of consensus, the principle of flexibility and the principle of inter-governmental cooperation. These basic principles are widely applied in regional cooperation in East Asia, "the ASEAN Regional Forum of ASEAN" in 1995, the "10+3" mechanism in 1999 and the "China-ASEAN Free Trade Area" in 2011 are all established

²² Chen Fengjun. New regionalism and the east Asia cooperation [M]. Beijing: China economic publishing house, 2007. P185. Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II), <http://www.asean.org/15159.htm>

²³ Jeffrey: the present situation and the future of east Asian cooperation, ((international studies, 2002, page 22.C.F red Bergsten.

based on the principles.

DIVERSITY OF COOPERATION MECHANISMS AND ARRANGEMENTS IN EAST ASIA

Cooperation Mechanisms in East Asia

Like the formation process of other regions' mechanisms of cooperation, East Asia's cooperation mechanism is also dominated by governments. Through the active efforts of countries in East Asia, the "10+3" mechanism has become the main channel for the cooperation, and has played a major role in the integration of the regional economy.

The main channel, "10+3", has five branches: dialogue and cooperation throughout the whole region (10+3), the trilateral cooperation with ASEAN respectively (10+1), the dialogue and cooperation among the three countries (China, Japan and South Korea), sub regional cooperation arrangements, and folk cooperation conference. These different branches all go into the main channel. ²⁴ In addition, the development and cooperation among the 10 ASEAN countries has also been incorporated into the main channel 10+3.

The annual government cooperation meeting of "10+3" constitutes the core of the East Asia cooperation mechanism. This is an official cooperation framework promoted by the government of ASEAN countries, and implemented by leaders of relevant departments. It dominated other types of cooperative arrangements in the whole area. This cooperation mechanism mainly includes four aspects: ①the "10+3" informal leaders meeting; ②the "10+1" informal leaders meeting; ③the informal leaders meeting of China, Japan and South Korea; ④the ministerial conference of "10+3" members.

The supreme leaders' regular meeting mechanism

East Asia's cooperation mechanism is promoted by top leaders of East Asian countries, the "10+3" informal leaders meeting is the result of this effort. In December 15, 1997, the first informal summit of East Asian countries was held in Malaysia, opened a cooperative process mechanism of annual informal meeting of leaders of East Asian countries. On the first meeting, the leaders of East Asian countries discussed some hot issues, the key topics were the coordination and cooperation of global relations in twenty-first Century, which set the tone for the direction of East Asia's cooperation in the future.

The East Asia Summit mechanism can be divided into the following aspects: ①the summit is informal; ②there existed the conference of all member countries, the respectively meeting of 10 ASEAN countries and China, Japan and South Korea and the informal meeting of the three countries (China, Japan and South Korea); ③the topics are usually the principles of East Asia's cooperation, they are not binding on member states.

The informal meeting of leaders of East Asia countries is a great creation in East Asia's history, it has opened a new chapter of cooperation among East Asian countries. It reflects the multi

²⁴ ①JiXingLong: "10 + 3 cooperation make asean meeting window", <http://www.fujian-window.com/fujian-w/news/sebe/gb/20020801/28205.html> quoted from Su Hao: the regionalism and the establishment of the east Asia regional cooperation mechanisms, journal of foreign affairs college, 1, 2003, page 24.

polarization development trend of the world, and also reflects the common aspirations of Asian countries to maintain regional peace and development, it has the profound significance to the future development of East Asia. Although the main content of the summit informal conference is economic cooperation, but as the world situation become more and more unstable, political and security cooperation has become a concern too. From the overall trend, it will be the main forum to discuss East Asia's political, economic, security and social issues.

Ministerial meeting mechanism in the framework of "10+3"

In the framework of East Asian cooperation, there existed 6 ministerial meeting mechanisms of diplomatic, financial, economic, agricultural, tourism and labor. The Ministerial Conference plays a role in implementing the principle of the summit. It has effectively promoted the cooperation in related areas. Especially, the financial cooperation and has made substantive progress. According to the initiation of Chinese government, the deputy governors' meeting and deputy secretaries' meeting successfully held in March 18, 1999, in Hanoi, Vietnam. In May 6, 2000, the first financial ministers' meeting of ASEAN Plus Three was held in Chiangmai, Thailand. Since then the meeting is held every year. It is worth noting that, on the first meeting, finance ministers of participating countries reached an agreement on the establishment of a comprehensive cooperative system in the financial field, namely "Chiangmai agreement". The participating countries decided to exchange foreign reserves, so as to prevent the financial crisis. This is an important self-help measure of East Asia's 13 nations, and an important effort to promote the reform of the existing financial system.

The "10+3" economic ministers meeting: The first economic ministers meeting among ASEAN and China, Japan, Korea was held in Yangon, Burma, on May 2, 2000, and then held two times a year. At the first meeting of economy ministers, ministers agreed that each country should promote the commercial intercourse, investment and technology transfer in the area; encourage the cooperation of information technology and electronic commerce; encourage active participation in the ASEAN's development area (including the Mekong basin); strengthen cooperation in human resources development; promote broad participation of private sectors by establishing networks like the "East Asia Business Council" and the "special industrial business forum"; promote agricultural cooperation, industrial cooperation and the development of the tourism industry; strengthen the small and medium-sized enterprises to support industry; promote the cooperation of science and technology development; promote the coordination and cooperation of various international and regional forums. And these topics will be continuously discussed in the future.

Council of foreign ministers: the first ASEAN Plus Three foreign ministers meeting was held after the ASEAN foreign ministers meeting which was held in Bangkok, Thailand, in July, 2000. This is the first time the foreign ministers of East Asian countries gathered together to discuss the problems of cooperation in political, security, economic and technical. After that the meeting is held once a year. In addition, outside the "10+3" framework, East Asia countries also held the tourism ministers' meeting, the labor ministers' meeting and the agriculture ministers' meeting, launched the official cooperation in these fields. In the future, East Asia countries will also hold meetings in the field of information, which solidly promote the in-depth cooperation in various fields among countries.

The success of East Asia's cooperation under the "10+3" framework

Actually, the economic development is the direct reflection of the success of the cooperation.

On one hand, under the “10+3” frame work, countries in East Asia have got good economic performance, for example China has got an average annual economic growth above 10% last ten years. On the other, the increase in trade has proven the success of the cooperation. The trades between countries in East Asia have been increasing and increasing, for example, China has become the biggest trading partner of South Korea, Malaysia and other countries in “10+3” framework in recent years.

The emergence and development of the "10+3" cooperation mechanism marks the official formation of regionalism in East Asia. The "10+3" mechanism is the inevitable product of common regional identities and the regional consciousness in East Asia. After decades of development, especially after the cold war, the development of East Asia's cooperation formatted a unique, closely interdependent relationship based on geographic proximity and achieved remarkable economic achievements. However, the existing order of international economic and financial practices did not give East Asia the corresponding international status. Moreover, East Asia doesn't have enough voice in the current international economic institutions²⁵. In view of this, East Asian countries have been seeking a regional mechanism to reflect on their own behalf for a long time. Richly endowed by nature geographical advantage and close interdependent, in the circumstances of the rapid development of economic integration of other regions, and the rest multilateral trade negotiations of the world have suffered setbacks, led to the inner polymerization and foreign defensive reaction of East Asia, the awareness of regional cooperation is unprecedented. At the same time, East Asia has been initially established a multilevel framework of cooperation mechanism. The cooperation of "10+3" has been established a cooperation framework, which take the leaders' meeting as the core and the ministerial conference as an important component²⁶. The framework has both formal and informal channels. The annual leaders' informal meeting is the highest decision-making body, which is responsible for the discussion of direction, key points and principle of "10+3" cooperation. The ministerial conference is responsible for implementing the initiatives and decisions of leaders' meeting. The Ministerial Conference is also provided with a vice ministerial officials or a deputy meeting to take charge of the specific work. In addition to the official mechanism, there are folk mechanisms like the East Asia Vision Group, the Boao forum and so on. From the common orientated behavior of the member countries, the "10+3" cooperation has made substantial progress in some areas. The development of financial cooperation is the fastest and most attractive. After the introduction of "Chiengmai agreement", East Asia countries started to take practical actions in the implementation.

This suggests that, East Asian countries' ideas and actions began to be coordinated in some aspects of internal and foreign affairs. Bergstan once asserted that, new challenges from Asian countries after the cold war are political and institutional. East Asian countries are determined to prevent the abnormal situation that does not yet exist in their own regional organizations. They will start from establishing regional economic cooperation organizations like Europe and North America to coordinate their relations with other parts of the world. This challenge may be one important force to reshape the world pattern of the early twenty-first Century²⁷.

²⁵ C.Fred Bergsten , Institute for International Economics Working Paper 2000: The New Asian Challenge , see http://www.steelan.com/8u8.com/asian_challenge.html/

²⁶ Jeffrey: the present situation and the future of east Asian cooperation, ((international studies, 2002, page 22.C.F red Bergsten.

²⁷ C.Fred Bergsten , Institute for International Economics Working Paper 2000: The New Asian Challenge , see http://www.steelan.com/8u8.com/asian_challenge.html/

Different types of East Asia's cooperation arrangements

With the strengthening of cooperation consciousness, the East Asian countries started to explore other mechanisms of regional cooperation in East Asia on the basis of informal leaders' meeting, and have made some substantial progress. Different types of cooperation have appeared in recent years.

The respective cooperation of ASEAN (China, Japan, Korea)

China and Southeast Asian countries are geographically linked, coupled with the blood relationship with tens of millions of overseas Chinese, the two sides are easily coordinated and integrated. Therefore, China and ASEAN countries developed an increasingly close cooperation relationship in the framework of "10+3".

On the fifth China-ASEAN meeting, China and ASEAN agreed to build a China-ASEAN Free Trade Area in the next 10 years, and reached a consensus on the key areas of cooperation in the new century. This is another milestone of China-ASEAN relations. And on the sixth China-ASEAN meeting, China has taken a series of important measures. Taking advantage of the signing of the "Framework Agreement on China-ASEAN comprehensive economic cooperation" as an opportunity, China launched the establishment of China-ASEAN Free Trade Area process. Using the publishing of "national reports" (the cooperation of China and Mekong's sub-regional) as an opportunity, launched a comprehensive cooperation between China and Mekong basin of ASEAN. In addition, China published a "Joint Declaration" on the cooperation of non-traditional security area, and launched the all-round cooperation between China and ASEAN in the field of non-traditional security. At the same time, China and ASEAN reached an agreement on the formulation of the "Declaration of the Code of Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea" which has been signed. The positive significance of this declaration is to send a clear signal that countries in the region can totally work out remaining differences through dialogue by themselves, and maintain peace and stability of the South China Sea through cooperation. China also announced the implementation of the "Asian debt reduction plan" to relief some debts of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Burma and other six countries. These initiatives are realistic and receives praise by relevant countries.

The other two "10+1" cooperative relations of Japan-ASEAN and Korea-ASEAN have also begun to work. These two annual meetings held once a year, has strengthened the exchange and communication between them. It is noticeable that Japan and ASEAN have a traditional relationship of economic cooperation, its investment and trade to Southeast Asia countries plays an important role in driving economic development in ASEAN countries.

The trend of trilateral cooperation of China, Japan and South Korea

The running of regional cooperation mechanism in East Asia relies on the smooth cooperation of China, Japan and South Korea. Although the three countries have lots of trade connections, they don't have any cooperative arrangement. The Chinese government has a positive attitude to promote trilateral cooperation. In the "10+3" meeting in November, 2002, China's Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, proposed that three countries should take the economic and trade, information industry, environmental protection, human resources development and cultural exchanges as the three key areas of cooperation, and initiated a long-term cooperation in the sandstorm and other large projects. These proposals got a positive response from South Korea and Japan. The leaders of South Korean were also hoping to push the trilateral cooperation

process. In October 29, 2002, interviewed by the "Financial Times" of British, the then South Korean Deputy Prime Minister and finance minister of economic affairs officer, Tian Yun-cheol, pointed out that "for the development of the Asian region, there is a pressing need to urge the three Asian economy powers, China, South Korea, Japan to cooperate together". The Deputy Prime Minister advised the three countries to sign a free trade agreement (FTA) as a concrete scheme²⁸. The three countries have started a construction mechanism.

The first meeting of trade ministers of the three countries was held in Brunei in September 13, 2002. In the meeting the trade ministers of three countries made a decision that they will cooperate in the field of information technology in order to eliminate the information difference within the region. In addition, they will actively promote the trilateral cooperation relationship in commercial trade seminar, WTO, Asia Pacific economy cooperation and so on. The assumption of free trade area in three countries has been designated and implemented. Its successful completion will completely change the backward situation of Asian regional economic cooperation.

Sub-regional multilateral cooperation plans

In regional cooperation framework of East Asia, there are two important arrangements of sub-regional cooperation and are worthy paying attention to. They are the developing project of Mekong River basin and the cooperation project of Tumen River basin.

The development project of Mekong River basin: in 1992, the Asian Development Bank launched the Great Mekong sub-regional economic cooperation development project, and put forward an economic development strategy of Greater Mekong sub-region, hoping that through cooperation, especially economic cooperation, by providing loans and technical assistance to help countries in the region to eradicate poverty, improve people's living standards, and promote the region's economic and social development.

Since 1992, the states of the Mekong River basin established the ministerial meeting mechanism of economic cooperation. The participants mainly are ministerial representatives of China, Kampuchea, Laos, Burma, Thailand and Vietnam, the six countries along the Mekong River. The meeting identified 11 backbone projects, the economic corridors, transportation, energy, trade and investment, human resources development, environmental protection, telecommunications, agriculture and tourism. Actively promoted by relevant countries, the first Great Mekong sub-regional Economic Cooperation Summit was held in November 3, 2002 in Phnom Penh, Kampuchea's capital city. The leaders and officials of the 6 countries, China, Burma, Laos, Thailand, Kampuchea and Vietnam, attended the meeting. The theme of the conference was the strategy of achieving growth and prosperity of the Great Mekong sub-region through cooperation. The cooperation of the Greater Mekong sub regional is not only conducive to improving the overall economic development level within ASEAN, but more conducive to promote the development of regional cooperation in East Asia.

Cooperation in Tumen River Basin: among the countries that are involved in the cooperation program of Tumen River Basin, only China is a member of the East Asia cooperation mechanism. At present, it has not yet been incorporated into the framework of the "10+3"

²⁸The free trade agreement should be signed in Korea and Japan, South Korea every week, on November 5, 2002, 3. Version.

cooperation. But in the long run, the developing plan involving China, North Korea, South Korea, Russia, Mongolia can be used as a part of East Asian cooperation, and become an important cooperation project of the Northeast Asia cooperation.

The second track (folk mechanism)

Apart from the above-mentioned official mechanisms, East Asian countries also began to set up some important unofficial coordination mechanisms. The folk communication enriches the forms of cooperation and can complement the formal organizations. Actually, as a form of cooperation arrangement, folk mechanism plays great important in promoting the cooperation consciousness into people's minds. Here are some folk organizations:

East Asian Vision Group: This is a non-government organization of East Asian countries, it was founded in 1999, initiated by South Korea. Its members are retired ambassadors or officials that participate in their individual capacities. The topics of the meeting are wide and without constraint, including the qualitative data of East Asia's cooperation mechanism, the form of East Asian cooperation, the cooperation of politics, economy, finance, science and technology etc.. In addition, the East Asian countries formed an "industrial and commercial forum" in economic circles, which is composed of a number of business people and scholars, to discuss business cooperation among East Asian countries not regularly.

Asian Forum: In February 27, 2001, a new, non-governmental international organization, "Boao forum for Asia" was born in Boao, the Shuicheng of Hainan Province. 24 countries from Asia and Australia's politicians, former politicians, experts and scholars participated in the general assembly of establishment. This forum is different with other nonofficial organizations, it received official support, and its members are also former government officials. The forum provides a forum for high level dialogue amongst Asian politicians, business leaders and experts to discuss the problems of economic development, population and environment in Asian²⁹. The first annual meeting of "Asia Forum" was held in Boao in April, 2002. The theme of the conference is: the new century, the new situation, new task-- cooperation and development of Asia's economy. Focusing on the theme, the main venue discussed several issues: the effects of the world economy's trend to Asia's economy, the countermeasures of recovery of Asia's economy and the Asian economic cooperation and so on. The meeting unveiled presentations and dialogues concerning business communities, the content mainly involved the free Trade Zone, sub regional cooperation, investment, finance, insurance, telecommunications, energy, IT industry etc., especially including some consideration about China entering into the WTO. The meeting will be an important communication channel of East Asia cooperation and become the basis of cultivating valuable ideas.

The plight of East Asia's regional cooperation

Although the East Asian cooperation has made a lot of achievements, and has many favorable conditions for East Asian integration, such as location, convenient transportation, trade intercourse, information communication. In addition, there exists similar traditions and values culturally in the area. Especially in the level of economic structure, there is a strong complementary behavior amongst the East Asian countries. But we should also be aware that cooperation in East Asia has remained at a low level, especially the development in recent years. ASEAN's idea of the "10+1" to "10+3" model ("axis -- spoke" model) of integration has not

²⁹ <<The People's Daily>>, on February 28, 2001.

achieved³⁰; the development of APEC (APEC) is still remains as a regional forum in its 20 years, still far away from the initial goal of "Asia Pacific Community". It remains elusive to solve the contradiction and conflict between China and Japan, the hidden trouble of security in East Asia has also been there. In addition, the leading powers of East Asian countries haven't made a final consensus on the dominance of cooperation and the choice of cooperation mode, which is also the bottleneck problem of the current East Asia's cooperation. To sum up, the dilemma of the East Asian cooperation problems mainly existed in the following aspects:

The problems left over by history and realistic disputes

The problems left over by history and realistic disputes are the background disorder of East Asia's regional cooperation. Historically, East Asia has been colonial invaded and dominated and Japan's aggression and oppression of Western powers. Therefore, compared with the national consciousness, the concept of East Asia's regionalism and consciousness is in the secondary position. This is a sharp contrast with that of European countries, which placed regionalism above the position of national consciousness. In addition, the complex practical factors exist around politics and security. Factors such as Japan's attitude in relation to its aggressive history, territorial disputes, as well as the Taiwan issue directly results in the weakening of mutual trust among East Asian countries, the backlash of nationalists and the slowness of integration. These various historical factors and practical disputes, become a serious impediment to the regional cooperation in East Asia and the restricting factors of the background which is also difficult to solve.

Differences between countries in East Asia

The difference of East Asian countries is one of realistic obstacles in regional cooperation. One of the important conditions for the smooth progress of regional cooperation under the framework of the European Union and North America free trade area is the internal homogeneity of social system, especially the political system and the economic system. But there are so many differences in the East Asian countries, no matter from the level of economic development or from political system and culture, there exists great a difference.

As Robert Scalapino, an American expert said, "there are few other regions that can explain various problems will encounter to obtain consistent. Numerous races represent different features, types of culture, economic systems and political systems. The varieties and ranges almost cover all types that a human beings one could see"³¹. Southeast Asia is only a part of East Asia, the whole East Asia is no exception. The differences in religion, culture and tradition may make it more difficult for cooperation.

The lack of a dominant force and coordination mechanisms

The reality shows that the East Asian cooperation cannot work without the core power to promote and the auxiliary function of the coordinate mechanism. The function of core powers lie in the coordination of Member States and the stability of regional economic development.

³⁰ Headquarters, ms li bud. Regionalism and transformation trend of the east Asian order [J]. Journal of northeast Asia BBS, 2007 (9).

³¹ Robert scala pinault. Asia and future [M]. Beijing: xinhua publishing house, 1983. P18

But in East Asia, the core countries which can take this kind of responsibility does not exist at present, such a core state maybe already exists to some degree of significance, but still can not be recognized by other countries, and therefore can not properly perform their functions. The lack of backbone reduces the cohesion of the East Asia cooperation, and the lack of system and coordination mechanism is also an important factor to influence regional cooperation in East Asia.

The influence of big powers

Historically, big powers have always been the key factor to promote regional cooperation. From the reality of the situation in East Asia, the influence of big powers on East Asia cooperation is mainly reflected in three aspects, namely the influence of big countries within the region, the influence of America and the balance strategy of ASEAN.

Powers within the region

China and Japan are the core countries in East Asia. However, because of problems left over by history and the security problems based on reality, China and Japan can not form a leading force similar to the French-German cooperation in European Union. It should be one of the main factors to hinder the regional cooperation in East Asia.

Since the 1960s, after the completion of the restoration and development of economy, Japan gradually began to seek political power status, especially at the end of the last century, it's strengthened relations with Southeast Asian countries through economic means, so that the latter have largely formed a deep dependence on Japan. However, although Japan is in East Asia, but in foreign policy it is subject to America, and based on previous experience, Japan also largely relies on the US-Japan alliance to influence the regional cooperation in East Asia. In addition, considered from the geographical point of view, with the rise of China, China is destined to become the leading force in the cooperation process in East Asia.

China has become the locomotive of economic growth in East Asia, and its GDP has surpassed Japan. Politically, China is the one state that can balance between America within the region. But based on misunderstanding and fear of East Asian countries, China is inadequate in soft power, and can't provide a set of regional cooperation framework recognized by East Asian countries. In a fairly long period of time, China can only participate in the process of East Asian cooperation as a promoter rather than a leading role.

The realistic condition of regional cooperation in East Asia is that ASEAN doesn't have the proven ability, Japan and China have their own advantages and characteristics, but both are unable to dominate the process separately. Based on past factors in history, the reality is that these two core countries are also unable to form a dominant mode similar to the Franco German cooperation. Thus, in a long time, the regional cooperation of East Asia can only be built by the guidance of ASEAN, and promoted by core countries. ASEAN should be a platform to coordinate countries' benefit and cultivate peaceful relationship, but should not be the arena of competition among great powers.

Actually, Southeast Asian countries have a more common cultural basis, and the relations between the countries may be more united because only by uniting together, can the small countries speak louder in international affairs. The better relationship between Southeast Asian countries provide more common views and more power to promote more extensive cooperation

between East Asian countries.

The USA factors

America is one of the key factors in East Asia regional cooperation. America has very important strategic interests in East Asia. Since the end of the Vietnam War, America has been taking the strategy of contraction in the East Asian region, relatively less directly intervened in the region matters. However, this does not mean the USA has completely left East Asia. In fact, America wants to maintain the stability of East Asia, and in accordance with its own intention to dominate the regional cooperation of East Asia. Aiming at the current situation of East Asia and the rise of China, America make every attempt to hinder the cooperation process by using the North Korea's nuclear issue, the issue of the Taiwan Straits, South China sea territorial disputes and opposition and mutual distrust between China and Japan. At the same time, America also seizes the opportunity to play the leading role through the "TPP, Trans-Pacific, Partnership", to reverse its current embarrassing situation of being excluded the regional cooperation in East Asia. Only through reasonable treatment and appropriate solutions to America's factors, can there be an active and effective promotion in regional cooperation in East Asia. Since East Asia countries can not exclude America they simply accept it. With restraints to its power by East Asia's own rules and regulations, nations like Japan also can use the power of America, "borrows play force" to a certain extent. In this regard, it can refer to the process of European integration, the USA is not an EU Member State, but it is directly involved in the European security order through the construction of NATO's presence. Maybe America does not care if it truly become the leading power in cooperation process in East Asia, but its interests in East Asia must be protected.

Balance strategy of ASEAN

There is no doubt that in the foreseeable future, ASEAN could not completely back a country (Chinese, America or Japan), balance strategy which refers the mutual balance between countries to avoid the threat from each other is still ASEAN's magic power to keep self-reliance. Since the end of the cold war, ASEAN improves its status through the implementation of balance of power strategy, and benefits from it.

Therefore, ASEAN will implement this strategy for success as in the past. From the mid 1990s, ASEAN has been diligently pursuing the strategy of balance power. The establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum, the initiation of the ASEM summit, the establishment of China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, the anti-terrorism cooperation agreement with American, strengthens links with India, expansion of the East Asia Summit, put Australia, New Zealand, India under the framework of regional cooperation, are all the important measures of the balancing strategies of ASEAN.

This kind of power-balancing strategy of ASEAN has positive significance for the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific region. It is a kind of strategy that for relatively small countries to defend their own rights. The surrounding countries has important interests in Southeast Asia, if ASEAN can make this kind of interest to achieve a relatively balanced condition, they can avoid a lot of conflicts, and can take the interests of all parties into account, so that all live in peace. Of course, for now it is one of the best choices. However, from the perspective of construction of the regional cooperation of East Asia, ASEAN's balancing strategy is a history obstacle to regional cooperation. The balancing strategy requires the checks and balances between regions in power, economy and politics,

which may lead to the obstacle for sharing resources and common development. For example, if some Southeast Asian countries want to make strategy balance to restrict the power of China and treat China as a threat for them, the trades between China and ASEAN may face the danger of decline. In a word, the balance strategy may be harmful for the long-term development of ASEAN.

NEW REGIONALISM IN THE PROCESS OF EAST ASIA'S COOPERATION

Infiltration process of New Regionalism in the process of East Asian cooperation

So far, the cooperation process in East Asia has experienced two stages: the preparatory stage and initial stage.

The preparatory stage of East Asian integration progress was from 1990 to 1997. In December 10, 1990, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir, offered a proposal of establishing East Asia Economic Group (EAEG). Which first truly reflect the regional cooperation consciousness of East Asia's regionalism. However, "East Asia Economic Group" is considered to be an exclusive organization, especially that it excludes the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries, so it is disapproved by the United States and has its critics. In order to reduce criticism, it was renamed the "East Asia Economic Core forum" (EAEC), in order to reflect its nature of voluntary, equality, cooperation, open, nondiscriminatory and nonexclusive nature.

The idea of building the forum was supported by China, and won the favor of ten ASEAN countries. Although Mahathir is willing to allow Japan to play a leading role, but considering the special relationship between Japan and the USA, Japan eventually not explicitly expressed the signal of support, resulting the advocacy aborted. However, ASEAN didn't give up the efforts of East Asia cooperation. In October, 1994, Singapore's Prime Minister, Wu Zuodong, visited France. During the visit, he proposed to hold Asia - Europe summit, and received favorable responses from European countries. The following year, in the ASEAN summit in Bangkok, he instructed Malaysia to discuss the problems of holding a summit conference of East Asian countries with relevant countries.

After the preparation of more than a year, the first ASEM summit was held in Bangkok in March, 1996. Asian countries participate in the meeting were ten ASEAN countries plus China, Japan, and the South Korea, exactly were the members of East Asia Economy Core Forum. This summit, for the first time made the leaders of East Asian countries sit down together to discuss the interests in the area and initiate dialogues and cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and equality with European countries.

In December, 1997, the first informal meeting of ASEAN Plus Three Summit marking the regional cooperation in East Asia has entered the initial stage of development. Early In January, 1997, the Prime Minister of Japan, Ryutaro Hashimoto visited ASEAN countries, expressed the hope that ASEAN and Japan hold regular conference. In March, Mahathir responded that it is better to let the three countries of East Asia (Japan, the South Korea, and China) to participate in the consultation. ³²Soon, as the host of the ASEAN summit in the year, Mahathir

³²Zhang Xi town, the east Asia cooperation process and the attitude and position of all parties concerned, the southeast Asia research, 2001, 5, page 34.

invited the leaders of Japan, the South Korea and China to attend the informal meeting of ASEAN Plus Three Summit and ASEAN Plus One Conference. The above-mentioned three countries accepted the invitation.

In 1997, East Asian suffered an unexpected financial crisis, but contrary to one might suppose, this crisis became the accelerator of regional cooperation in East Asia. The financial crisis made East Asian countries profoundly aware that it is difficult for them to resist international financial risks only by themselves. And relying on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international economic organizations cannot avoid the crisis and get rid of the dilemma. Only through unity, through effective regional cooperation, can enhance the overall capability of preventing and resisting international financial risk. Therefore, take the East Asian financial crisis as an opportunity, East Asia accelerated the process of regional cooperation. The "10+3" mechanism, which is the main cooperation mechanism at present, was established in the promotion of this East Asian financial crisis.

In December 15, 1997, the informal meeting of ASEAN Plus Three Summit was held in Kuala Lumpur, capital of Malaysia. The main topics of the meeting included the prospect of the development of East Asia in twenty-first century, the Asian financial crisis, strengthen regional economic bond and so on. Leaders reached many consensuses on these issues, and expressed the desire to further strengthen co - operation in East Asia areas. The convening of this meeting was a decisive step of East Asian integration progress.

So far, the summit has been held for eleven times, and achieved remarkable results. The "10+3" mechanism has become the operational framework of regional cooperation in East Asia. The ASEAN Plus Three (APT) cooperation has grown from strength to strength and become a strong impetus in the East Asia integration progress. The principle and direction of regional cooperation has become increasingly clear. Through regular meetings, the ASEAN and countries in Northeast Asia has enhanced mutual trust. This spurred East Asian countries to reach an agreement on the principle and direction of cooperation. At the same time, through regular meetings, the countries actively discussed issues on cooperation for the future. At present, the regional cooperation of East Asia is still in the process of learning and discussing. The name of East Asia cooperation organization, the ultimate form of organization, the long-term action plan, the implementation steps are still under discussion.

After the Asian financial crisis, the main progress of regional cooperation in East Asia can be briefly summarized as:

- (1) ASEAN's cooperation has been developing into the stage of integrated construction system. The main content of development is the construction of free trade zone, and the idea of developing the ASEAN community was put forward.
- (2) China, Japan, the South Korea has initially established a dialogue and consultation mechanisms, and also actively promote the bilateral cooperation between them.
- (3) The "10+1" cooperation progress shows difference. At present the most effective one is the ASEAN-China cooperation.
- (4) The "10+3" cooperation progress continuing to move forward, based on the hierarchical

and region-specialized way. The East Asia Free Trade Area developed step by step on the basis of "10+1" free trade area and bilateral free trade agreement. On the vision of the establishment of East Asia community, East Asian countries have reached general agreement.

So far, the regional cooperation of East Asia is mainly carried out under the framework of "10+3" mechanism. After years of development, it has established a cooperation framework, which is composed of the following kinds of mechanisms :(1) Leaders' Meeting. Since 1997, the meeting has been holding once a year, consulting on East Asia's economic development and the formation of cooperation mode.

(2) The Ministerial Conference. The meeting is held annually, there are financial ministers, foreign ministers, ministers of economic affairs and ministers of other three departments attending. At the meeting, ministers of sovereign state sit down together, discussing on major issues, preparing for the issues discussed on Leaders' meeting and so on.

(3) Senior Officials' Meeting. It is an agency that takes care of the daily work of East Asia cooperation, its work is to discuss the agenda of cooperation, to prepare for the Leaders' meeting and the Ministerial Conference³³.

As a new step towards the regional cooperation, the East Asian countries initiated the first East Asia Summit in December, 2005, in Malaysia's capital, Kuala Lumpur. The leaders of 10 ASEAN countries, Japan, the South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand attended the meeting. The first East Asia Summit adopted the "Kuala Lumpur Declaration"³⁴. The summit played the following roles:

1. Clearly defined a goal of constructing a regional community. In the declaration, 16 attending countries agreed that East Asia summit can play an important role in the process of community building process.
2. Clearly positioned the East Asia summit as a forum. The declaration says the East Asia Summit will be an open, transparent, inclusive, and export-oriented forum. This qualitative conclusion means that the East Asia Summit was no longer an institutionalized, binding regional organization, but only a mechanism for all the countries in attendance to have conversations and discusses on their concerned problems.
3. Affirmed that political and security issues are important content of the East Asia Summit. It is mentioned that the ASEAN summit will be focused on the political and security to strengthen strategic dialogue and cooperation, ensure East Asia's financial stability and energy security, and promote the international cooperation in the field of environment protection, infectious disease prevention and disaster reduction.
4. Explicitly stated the leading role of ASEAN in East Asia cooperation. The declaration says the East Asia Summit will be hosted by the chair of ASEAN, and be held with the annual ASEAN Summit at the same time. It also stated that the entry qualifications of

³³Su Hao: the regionalism and the establishment of the east Asia regional cooperation mechanisms ", journal of foreign, 1, 2003, on page 31.

³⁴ "Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the East Asia Summit," www.aseansec.org/18098.htm

member nations will be set just like the standards of ASEAN.

Although the trend that East Asia's cooperation mechanism develops reinforces gradually. However, the current East Asian cooperation is mainly led by ASEAN, and under the conversation pattern, has not formed a mature binding regional cooperation organization.

Characteristics of the new regionalism in East Asia

Compared with the formation process of the EU, North American's regionalism, in addition to the collective response to the economic globalization and regional economic integration, the formation and development process of regionalism in East Asia has its own characteristics:

1 The new regionalism in East Asia is market oriented bottom-up regionalism. Regionalism in Asia is mainly reflected in economic cooperation, embodied in the market integration, and lack of a formal mechanism to promote and guarantee it. It formed spontaneously in the market, driven by the market rather than official system. Since the 1980s, the economic dependence of Asian areas is increasing with the help of the world Chinese business network and production chain built by Japan after World War II. While the realization of the cooperation should be sponsored by government, without the support of the government, the cooperation cannot be formed. In other words, the difference between the regionalism and East Asia Cooperation may be that a theory driven by the market power, while East Asia Cooperation is a process for applying the theory controlled by government.

In the European integration process, both the federalism and old and new functionalism, its final purpose is not to enjoy the economic benefits of the common market, but the realization of the political union in Europe, so as to ensure security. Although economic means was more frequently used, from the perspective of history, the political integration was earlier than economic integration.

European integration has its clear political objectives, the signing of every political treaty will promote economic integration greatly, and the economic integration is only a means to European integration. Unlike Europe's top-down pattern, Asia's regional integration is a bottom-up process, formatted on the basis of the natural development of the regional economy, without a transfer of state sovereignty, it's a process driven by non-government consultation and gradually growing with official participation. Asian integration did not following the Europe's usual mode: the Free Trade Area -- the Customs Union -- Common Market -- Economic Union -- Economic Integration -- Political Alliance, it according to the objective reality of local area, take priority choice of trade and investment liberalization as goals, combined with economic and technical cooperation. Either the Japan's production chain or China's business networks, they bind Asia's economy together with trade and investment. Although since 1990s the government investment has a rapid growth, but governments favor to appear as economic entity, not interested in establishing a rigid mechanism.

Until 1997, the outbreak of the Asian financial crisis, East Asian countries started to understand the weakness of their construction of formal mechanism. The correlation of economic interests made East Asia countries rethink profoundly, and started to consider the establishment of mechanisms in the area.

2 Conversation is the main form of East Asian regionalism system construction. Regular

and non regular meeting negotiation mechanism is the main form of the cooperation in East Asia, until today, East Asia still didn't have a coordination organization for East Asia cooperation with all countries in the area. But we cannot deny the development achievement of East Asian Regionalism. In the beginning, it built the leaders' regular meeting mechanism, that's a high starting point, shows the strong desire of the East Asian countries for East Asia cooperation. The reason of adopting this way is decided by the reality of the complex situation in East Asia, it is the realistic choice of East Asian cooperation. Although in this way we cannot ensure the authority of the mechanism, but it shows greater flexibility, and it can compromise the tastes of different countries towards the regional system, make the regional cooperation can work between the countries with smaller identity. The biggest advantage of this mechanism is that it provided an institutional communication place for members, it will be conducive to the establishment of cooperation. "Keep smooth, lasting communication between members, make rapid transmission and processing of information, timely implementation of resolution or correction and make feedback, thus ensuring the development of integration"³⁵.

3 The New Regionalism in East Asia shows the characteristic of diversity, multi-level and unbalanced. East Asia is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious region, with different social systems and cultural traditions, different countries have different levels of development, these differences can easily become the obstacles of the cooperation. In order to overcome the obstacles and strive for common development, the cooperation between countries in East Asia takes different forms which include official forms and folk forms. Mover, the cooperation between different countries in East Asia involves economy, politics, security, and other aspects from government to folk, which shows the muti-levels.

At the same time, the relationship between countries is complex, in the area there exists competitive bilateral or multilateral cooperation system. Some countries may have both competition and cooperation relations, so the cooperation may stay shallow-level. While some other countries may cooperate in a deep-level because of the good relations and less interest conflicts. The overall situation of East Asian cooperation, to a large extent, is not balanced. China, Japan and the South Korea launched a series of activities around ASEAN, but the level of cooperation between them has not been greatly improved. In a word, the New Regionalism in East Asia may be complex and diverse because of the vast squares of the area, and the complex interests balance between countries.

4 East Asia's New Regionalism has weak cohesion and weak regional identity. Historically, the relationship between East Asian countries is very complex, and almost all of them have the experience of being colonies or semi colonies, it is this special experience that makes all countries have a very strong sense of sovereignty and national consciousness. Especially the ASEAN countries, which have relatively weak strength, but also unwilling to accept legally binding from integration organization, ASEAN excepted. At the same time, the boundary problem of some East Asian countries have not been finally resolved, these contradictions often become obstacles in the integration progress. Adequate political trust among parts of East Asia is still lacking, it is difficult to carry out close cooperation in these countries. The depth of regional integration depends on the level of countries to identify themselves as a part of the region, only when the regional identity deepened,

³⁵ Breslin: an introduction to the contemporary international relations, Shanghai: fudan university press, 1998), p. 144.

regional cooperation can become possible.³⁶ Although the interdependence of regional economic will provide certain conditions and space for regional cooperation, but it does not necessarily lead to the integration of politics nor security. Without stress, the weakness of regional identity will become important factors that hinder the development of Asian Regionalism. East Asian countries have significant heterogeneity in cultural, economic system, political system, ideology and historical background, which caused those East Asian countries has great difficulty in sharing the idea of regional identity. At the same time, the East Asian countries don't give enough notice on group safety. The same security threats promotes the formation of specific security conception, so as to strengthen the regional identity of members, but there exists multiple centers of power in East Asia, security concept is not the same in all countries, and some countries even have sharp confliction. With America involving itself in the area, makes the construction of Asia's collective security more difficult. The missing of collective security concept in East Asia leads to a widespread concern to a rigid constraint mechanism.

5 New Regionalism in East Asia has characteristics of a combination of regional and open. At first regional integration was born to "against" competition outside the area. Concerned countries in order to ensure the public interests under the pressure of competition, established the institutional framework of cooperation. Based on this, regional systems are exclusive, and have the principle of differentiate internal and external. But in the process of East Asia's regional integration, the countries also adhere to the principle of openness, that's why regionalism in East Asia has been called the "open regionalism". For example, in 1950s, China had been closed to West countries, and only cooperated with Soviet Union and other socialist states, after 1978, the regional cooperation and the openness have been improved together. The so-called open regionalism thinks that regional organizations not only should co-operate with each other, also should strengthen the horizontal linkages and communication with different regions; it thinks external relations will not weaken the intra regional cooperation, but strengthen the regional cooperation by providing opportunities. East Asian countries repeatedly stressed the idea of non-aligned, non-military and non-exclusive when they promoting bilateral, multilateral and regional cooperation. Most countries in the area also attach great importance to the exchanges and cooperation with other countries outside of East Asia. Actually, the reality of East Asia has proved that the regional cooperation and development are close linked with openness. No matter Four Asian Tigers in 1990s or current China has experienced the process of opening the door and regional cooperation together to get a rapid development.

6 East Asia's New Regionalism has the characteristics of "seek common ground while reserving differences" and "negotiation". The first characteristic of East Asia is difference. "Seek common ground while reserving differences" is a basic principle in the process of East Asian cooperation. Thus the new regionalism takes the means of consultation instead of negotiations, make forum commitment instead of legal agreements in order to balance the interests and requirements of members at different levels of development. Every cooperation matter should be initiated by member states, seek common ground while reserving differences, seek mutual respect and mutual benefit beyond the diversity and

³⁶ Edward D.Mansfield and Helen V.Milner(ed.) , The political economy of regionalism , Golumbia University Press , 1997, P.3.

differences in social system and ideology, shows the spirit of APEC.

Besides the above-mentioned points, there are some characteristics of new regionalism in East Asia. For example, unlike the integration process in Europe and North America, it is ASEAN's small countries playing the leading role in East Asia's cooperation.

The Aim and Path of East Asian Cooperation

Everything has its own aim and path to achieve the aim, there is no exception for East Asian Cooperation. The aim of Asian Cooperation means the common goal for the countries in the cooperation framework, which lays the basis of the cooperation. While the "path" means the methods for different countries to achieve the common goal.

Regional cooperation in East Asia has achieved a lot of results, but there is still lack of a clear political objective, to a large extent, there is also no consolidated consensus. As a process, it starts from the actual needs, and then growing with increasing contents of cooperation, and gradually establishes and improves the cooperation mechanisms. Economic cooperation is the foundation of the formation and development of East Asia's regionalism. However, what's the future of East Asia cooperation process? What's its ultimate goal?

In 1998, the President of the South Korea, Kim Dae-Jung, proposed to establish a "East Asia Vision Group" at the second Leaders' Meeting. In the group, the celebrities of East Asian countries can discuss on problems like how to strengthen the long-term cooperation in economic, political, security, culture and other aspects, namely, a jointly discussion of mapping out the future cooperation of East Asia. In the rapid development process of cooperation in East Asia, the consensus of "East Asia Community" gradually formed. In 2001 the East Asia vision group submitted a research report to the leaders: take the construction of East Asia community as a long-term goal for East Asia cooperation. Therefore the vision group put forward some specific proposals: establish free trade area and investment area in East Asia; strengthen financial cooperation in East Asia; promote the institutional development of economic and political cooperation; transfer the "10+3" frame to "East Asia" mechanism; strengthen the political security cooperation as well as the social, cultural, educational cooperation. Although the Brunei Conference (held in November 5, 2001, the fifth Leaders' Meeting of ASEAN plus China and Japan) did not immediately adopted the proposal of vision group. After all, this proposal pointed out a direction for East Asia's cooperation. It is an inevitable choice to transfer from conversational Collaboration to institutionalized cooperation.

The decentralized mechanisms of regional cooperation in East Asia remain to move towards a common direction. How to make these distributed process integrated? Generally there are three paths to be selected: first, the enlargement of ASEAN. Namely make more countries to join ASEAN, following the pattern of the ASEAN Free Trade Area, and finally realize the integration of East Asia. However, the economic scale of Japan, china and the South Korea is too large, there will be a lot of problems coming out, and ASEAN itself would be unbearable.

Second, let "10" and "3" develop separately, realize the joint of Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia in mature basis, finally, integrate the two parts into an overall East Asia cooperation organization. But it is essential that whether the Northeast Asian countries (mainly refers to China, Japan and the South Korea) are able to establish a true free trade area. To achieve this goal, there lies lots of difficulties. Especially considering the economic development gap between the three countries and political obstacles, it is difficult to develop a real integrated

organization. And even if they establish free trade areas respectively, it will restrict the East Asia's cooperation process, even cause division.

Third, promote and comprehensive planning the framework and the organization of the whole East Asia area, and put all the decentralized cooperation into the frame, at the same time, establish the East Asia Free Trade Area. This approach is more realistic, and more practical. The Construction and promotion of the integral East Asia's cooperation mechanism should certainly consider the existing mechanism. Therefore, it is not wise to dissolve ASEAN immediately or stop other multiple mechanisms. On the contrary, in the near future various forms of cooperation should be encouraged. The momentum of East Asia's regional cooperation has been clearly revealed, East Asian countries began to reach a consensus on the construction of East Asia Community, and the substantive progress has already started.

The future mode of East Asia's cooperation

The regional cooperation of East Asia has been grown slowly with difficulties, it's mainly due to three "missing" things, namely, the lack of cooperation system, the absence of led forces and shared ideas. Therefore, a new regionalism perspective should be proposed, namely the "1+2+10" pattern, it is more suitable for East Asia's. The pattern make China playing the leading role, Japan and the South Korea as supportive forces, pushed by ten ASEAN countries, and then realize the transition and integration from sub-region cooperation to overall integration step by step. This means that the first step is to promote the paralleling cooperation of Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. After a process of full development and fusion, then realize the integration of two sub regional cooperation.

The diversity and openness of new regionalism

From a subjective point of view, using New Regionalism to explain the cooperation process in East Asia is because the New Regionalism has many unique and practical characteristics. As is known to all, the complex diversity of East Asia makes the East Asian regional cooperation has lots of difference with European pattern and North American pattern. These differences reflected in core problems like dominance, cooperation pattern, and theoretical basis for cooperation etc.. Only through the unique perspective of the new regionalism, can we find more effective solutions to difficulties in the regional cooperation in East Asia. In addition, because of the existence of the large number of countries and the interference factors outside, the local cooperation process will not use the similar pattern of Europe, which is closed, exclusive, and must adhere to the principle of "open regionalism". Only in this way, the East Asia regional cooperation can be more smoothly.

Specifically, new regionalism grows with the characteristics of diversity and openness. About the application of new regionalism's openness in East Asia's region cooperation, it should be emphasized that the principle of voluntary cooperation and flexible approach are more important. And the so-called "open", not only means to open up to the world, but also open to local countries. To achieve internal and external interaction, is the essential requirement of open area cooperation. Old regional trade organizations obviously have the characteristics of exclusive and closure, their liberalization measures are mostly limited to member countries, and give discriminatory treatment to nonmember countries.

Regional trade organizations in Europe, the North America and ASEAN Free Trade Area all belong to this category. East Asia countries should grasp the focus and basis of the openness of

the new regionalism, and adhere to the wide-field, multi-level development. The openness of regional cooperation should have a definite object in view and make the key points stand out.

Regional cooperation should not pursue the "all-round package" kind of cooperation, on the contrary, must develop step by step, focus on the key points and difficulties to promote cooperation in the area, from point to area, produce radiation effect. On the basis of grasping the focus, regional cooperation should be more widely open and develop to a deeper level. Specific say, the economic cooperation should gradually develop into the field of culture, at the same time, security cooperation could be the guarantee of economic cooperation.

Diversity is the essential characteristic of new regionalism. The diversity of the new regionalism is mainly refers to three aspects, the diversity of form, the diversity of systematism degree and the diversity of the relationship between new regionalism and other ideologies³⁷. Diversity of East Asia is very prominent, including the level of economic development, history, religion and cultural background, ideological differences. From the deep point of view, cooperation in such a diverse region is a unified process.

Under the circumstances, the difficulty of cooperation would be huge, but the development of new regionalism is a main trend in today's world, which has a great influence on the entire East Asia, even on the whole world. Diversity is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, diversity will inevitably accompanied by complexity, which will run brings certain difficulty and resistance to the regional cooperation; on the other hand, diversity also accompanied by complementary. Diversity in East Asia's economic can provide complementary advantages for regional and inter regional cooperation, diversity of East Asian culture can promote the construction the common idea in the area, and diversity of East Asia's system can provide the experience for reference for regional cooperation system.

In my personal view, the "New Regionalism" is a comprehensive interpretation method, rather than a pure theory of international relations. Representative of realism, liberalism and constructivism although do not claim that their theory can explain all international relations, but they are trying to prove their assumption as the only explanation³⁸. Since it is a comprehensive interpretation method, it needs to absorb the essence of all mainstream theories of international relations in regional cooperation. So we should avoid misunderstanding of interpretation and re-recognize the "new regionalism".

The construction of East Asia's common idea and collective identity

From the perspective of new regionalism, the East Asia needs to highlight its common idea and collective identity. Constructivism believes that collective identity formed in the interaction among countries. In the process of interaction, four factors contribute to the formation of collective identity: interdependence, common fate, homogeneity and self-restraint.³⁹

³⁷Chen Fengjun. New regionalism and the east Asia cooperation [M]. Beijing: China economic publishing house, 2007. The P104

³⁸Shao-jun li. Large international relations theory and comprehensive explanation model [J]. 2005 (2) the international relations theory.

³⁹ [the] Alexander winter, qin Steve. International political and social theory [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai people's publishing house, 2000. P370-381.

First of all, interdependence among countries as a factor to promote the construction of collective identity in the area is very important, and it's the objective existence. In today's East Asia and even the whole world, every country cannot exist separated from other countries, interdependence between countries has become a reality beyond all dispute. It is easier to form a collective identity when interdependence among countries is deeper. Countries participate in the regional cooperation are facing the same fate, which is the competitive pressures or threats from outside and the main objective needs of national development. From the process of East Asia cooperation we can find that the three peaks of East Asia's regional cooperation originated from three crises in East Asia, the results of cooperation in the field of economic, security and social were also derived from the "Southeast Asia financial crisis", "SARS crisis" and "non-traditional security crisis". Therefore, the crises made East Asian countries first deeply aware of their same fate in the tide of globalization. And this fate could be transformed into the collective identity of the region. Besides, countries with the same or similar social and political system (economic system) has a relatively advantage of consistency in the formation of value, this advantage can be transformed into a positive attitude toward cooperation, thus contributing to form the common sense and collective identity.

The self-constraint involves the fundamental problem of economic cooperation and the formation of collective identity -- the problem of trust. Cooperation needs the mutual trust of each other, without trust, the cooperation cannot be sustainable. For example, the cooperation between China and Soviet Union in 1950s was broken because of lack of trust. In essence, the reason for lack of trust is the lack of common ideas and interests. Without common ideas and interests, the cooperation may face conflicts in idea, thoughts, sharing interests, which may lead to the break of cooperation. The lack of common ideas in East Asia is an important factor that leads to the slow development of East Asia's regional cooperation. In order to find a way out in this dilemma, central countries in East Asia should play "a friendly leading role", and promote the establishment of regional common ideas. In other words, the central countries need to make some peace and security commitment to other countries through their own absolute advantages in economic and political resources, provide services such as security, market and other international public products. So as to promote the regional countries' definition for each other develop from the Rock culture to the Kant culture, which is the transformation from "enemies" to "friends". This will be the foundation of the regional cooperation, regional common sense will also be effectively constructed, and regional cooperation will become a real possibility.

Strengthen the system construction and promote the regional cooperation

Some scholars think that the charm of extrovert cooperation lies in the emphasis on non-institutional and non-formal. The system construction of the regional cooperation in East Asia is crucial to the future of East Asia's cooperation. The reason of the slow development of East Asia's cooperation is the lack of systems. Due to the lack of standard and guide system, regional cooperation cannot work effectively. At the same time, the maintenance and construction of international systems has become a key factor of cooperation and peace.

Just like regional economic cooperation needs the guarantee of regional security cooperation, regional cooperation in East Asia also needs the international mechanism as a security system. When speaking of the formulation and effect of mechanism, the attitude of central countries is very important. Regional cooperation is a complex process of coordination of interests and bargaining, so the distribution of power should be an important variable. The central countries

need ability, and also have the intention to create the regional identity, promote the construction of regional cooperation mechanism, and guide the regional cooperation process. Although China is not the hegemonic power in East Asia, compared to other countries in the area, it is the core power in this area. China is capable to advocate the creation of this mechanism.

To highlight the dominant position of the core power

For the central countries in the area, in order to grasp the leading right of regional cooperation, has got to be initiative in the following three aspects: First of all, have a voice in decisions like admittance criterion; secondly, have influence in agenda setting, positioning, cooperation mechanism construction and so on, so as to decide the nature and characteristics of regional integration, and its relationship with external countries, regions, international organizations; thirdly, be able to expand their own market scale through leading the regional integration, and enhance the ability of negotiation, agenda setting and rule making in World Trade and the field of international politics.

In the process of East Asia's integration, there can be little doubt that economic cooperation should take the priority. Then the economic cooperation "extended" to the security cooperation and social cooperation, in turn, security cooperation and social cooperation provide a protective effect on economic cooperation. Economic regionalism, security regionalism and society regionalism are the three pillars of new regionalism in East Asia. At the same time, there are three core influence factors of the regional cooperation in East Asia, that is, institutions, leading power and ideas. In the three factors, leading power is the core factor. The dominant force can promote the establishment of systems, and also can promote the formation of common ideas; in turn, systems and ideas can regulate power, and through the role of the central countries works on regional integration in East Asia. The guidance of central countries is the core factor of regional cooperation, and also a important carrier of various influence factors. East Asia's cooperation is just like a space plane, which is about to take off. Economic cooperation, security cooperation and social cooperation are the three level of auxiliary propulsion system of East Asia cooperation. The leading force plays a major role in promoting the whole East Asia cooperation, and ensures that the cooperation works smoothly on the system and idea level. This cooperation pattern can be viewed as a prototype of East Asia's cooperation mode in the future.

The problems and obstacles in the process of the development of new regionalism

New regionalism thinks that regional cooperation is the results of the interdependence of world economy, the increasingly fierce international competition, and the re-combination of international power. Among them, realization of mutual trust, coordination interests and relations , construction of long-term mechanism, will all lay the foundation of effective cooperation for the region, and ultimately provide support for the formation of a loose federal supranational, namely, "society, countries and different economy entities combine together beyond the existing boundaries, in a peaceful and voluntary way"⁴⁰.

At this stage both East Asia's cooperation in the area and the integration process are restricted by its complexity, the development process is not smooth, the influence factors of the development of East Asia cooperation exists in the following aspects:

⁴⁰Kokler-koch , Beate/schmidberger , Martin. Internationstheorien , in :Nohlen , Dieter(Hrsg):Lexikon der politik , Bd. 5 , Munchen ;C.H.Beck: ⁴⁰Kokler-koch , beat/woyke , wichard(Hrsg.):Die Europaeische Uion , 1996 , R152.

First, the deficiency of regional consciousness and mutual trust prevent the process from developing smoothly. Generally speaking, the link of culture, history, tradition and social beliefs and other aspects is the internal factor of the formation of regional identity consciousness. The formation of member nations' common sense and identity is the basis of regionalism, and is also the basic requirements of regional cooperation. "If the idea of establishing a unique community supported by political actors, regional integration will be easier to be institutionalized"⁴¹. According to the constructivists, mutual trust and common identity plays an important role in the integration. Trust between countries provides important social capital for economic entities and political actors, the potential economic exchanges will be easier to be found.

Countries suffered a common crisis have strong consciousness of community development and common identity concept is not a common thing. Common sense will not naturally produce. Although the East Asian countries have a strong desire to promote regional cooperation, but the road of establishing the frame of regional cooperation system is not flat. Traditionally, Confucian culture, Buddhist culture, Islamic culture and Christian culture exist in East Asia to varying degrees, and influence every aspect of social life in different countries.

In India and Thailand, Buddhist culture is the mainstream. In Burma and Indonesia, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam coexisted, but the number of Buddhist in Burma accounted for 85%, while 84% of Indonesia people believe in Islam, , 93% of Philippines people believe in Christianity. In Korea, most of the residents believe in Buddhism, Christianity, Catholicism and Confucianism. Japanese residents mostly believe in Shinto and Buddhism⁴². This multiple cultural background directly leads to the different contexts and conversations. In the view of constructivists, the characteristic of Inter-subjective of regional countries is an essential element of creating a common regional identity or common sense of belonging in the area⁴³. But in the present stage, the construction of regional identity in East Asia will be restricted by the diversity of the region from the subjective field.

In addition, diversity in East Asia also showed a huge difference in land area, population, resources, economy and international status. The realistic principle of "power" is still widely pursued in international intercourses. East Asian countries especially value on sovereignty, therefore, the construction of trust among countries is very difficult. Composed of ASEAN, China, Japan ,the South Korea and other countries, East Asia have always been viewed as the most typical area of "balance of power", the development situation of East Asia's regionalism is closely related to the area's power structure. For example, the small countries in ASEAN develop relations with its neighboring countries very carefully, and strive for the protection of external forces, to form the pattern of balance. The "Asia Pacific", advocated by Japan, does not include China, its purpose is to stop China from playing a role in East Asia, and has more interest in maintaining a special relationship between Japan and America.

The South Korea's attitude towards China is very complicated, on one hand, it must get rid of the dependence on American and actively develop relations with China; on the other hand, the

⁴¹ Peter J.Katzenstein , Introduction: Asian Regionalism in comparative , in Peter J.Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi , eds , network power :Japan and Asia , Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press , 2005 , P.24.

⁴²Xue Zhen Peng Sheng: the regional cooperation in east Asia to the eu's experience for reference and beyond - to the perspective of new regionalism " , ". Social science front, (3), 2006, p. 2006.

⁴³ Glenn Hoek&Ian Keams, Subregionalism and World Order, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999, P.3.

situation of the Korean Peninsula changes unpredictably, different attitudes towards the North Korea coupled with the impact of the China threat theory, makes the South Korea remain suspicious of China, so it seeks America's protection in turn, collaborate with the USA to prevent China. In fact, this equilibrium strategy makes the East Asian countries always consider the strategic factors when carrying out cooperation, and could not pay more attention to strengthen the all-round cooperation, which had an impact on the development of East Asia's regional integration.

Second, there is a huge gap among the East Asian countries, they are facing different problems and needs. It's difficult to coordinate their different demands, and there exists complicated contradictions. On the economy, the situation of East Asian countries is rather uneven in development level. Measured by the GDP per person, Japan is on the first level, 4 small dragons of Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and Singapore) is on the second level, China and four small tigers of Asia (Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines) is on the the third level, other countries such as Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos is on the fourth level.⁴⁴ The dynamic development status of solid economic scale is not optimistic, such as the proportion of East Asia's trade in 2000 accounted for only 19.8%, lower than ASEAN (21.6%) and the North American Free Trade Area (46.5%). In 1999, the proportion of trade concentration in the area is only 1.7, lower than the North American Free Trade Area (2.2) and the ASEAN (3.6). The slow development of cooperation mainly because the huge difference among countries in land area, population, resources and other natural conditions, there also exists obvious differences in polity, culture and religion. These differences restrict the development of East Asia's regional cooperation to some extent.

From the perspective of political system, there are countries implementing the system of people's representative, such as China, Vietnam and Laos; and countries implementing the monarchy, such as Kampuchea, Thailand, Brunei and Malaysia, and other countries in the implementation of the system of president republicanism. In the economic system, the market economy goes paralleling with the planned economy. In addition, East Asia has always been the "National Museum" and "religious Museum", the ethnic and racial composition of East Asian countries is quite complex. The sharp contradiction resulted from ethnic and religious issues are intertwined and prominent, especially in ASEAN countries. Tense situations caused by racial problems in Malaysia and Singapore have occurred from time to time. The Philippines is facing a serious separatist movement in southern parts. In Indonesia, separatist movements in Aceh, Maluku, and West Kalimantan province of Sulawesi influenced the stability of Indonesian and even the security of East Asia. If the domestic contradictions cannot be resolved in the short term, the overflow results will restrict the development of inter-state cooperation. As professor Scalapino said: "there are few other area than Southeast Asia can clearly explain all kinds of problems occurred when pursuing consistency in a tremendous difference."⁴⁵

Third, the integration process is interfered by America. According to the geographical definition, the United States of America is an Asia Pacific country and not an East Asian country. But because of the existence of American power in the Asia Pacific region, American remained highly influential in East Asia. The USA in East Asia is like Britain in continental Europe. The existence of American power in East Asia is an unavoidable problem for the East Asian

⁴⁴Andrew Gamble & Anthony Paine, *Regionalism and World Order*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996, P.207.

⁴⁵Robert a. scarpetta novels, pull YuYuan et al: "the future of Asia" (Ed), Beijing: international culture publishing company, 1990 edition, page 18.

countries in the development of the regionalism. America's attitudes directly influence the East Asia's cooperation process. The abortion of EAEC advocated by Malaysia in 1990 and the AMF initiated by Japan in 1997 are the evidences.

In East Asia, many countries regard the development of bilateral relations with America in the first place. Especially in Northeast Asia, America is the only country which is important to China, Japan and the South Korea at the same time. The relationship between most countries in East Asia and America is better than the relationships among themselves. And the East Asian countries all have their own demands towards American. For the countries in Southeast Asia, they generally want to maintain a wonderful balance between America and China, while trying to pursue a better security guarantee. At the same time, from its global strategic layout considerations, America also needs to keep a positive cooperation with East Asian countries in commercial business, regional security and other aspects. The realistic demands from each other decide that America's inference is not likely to be excluded. America also has a clear understanding about this, and take measures to ensure its strategic position and initiative rights not be weakened. And America's attitudes towards East Asia's cooperation also have its obvious choice of likes and dislikes. It depends on whether it meets the need of the USA's national interests and global strategy. America's support for ASEAN, ASEAN Regional Forum and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, objections against the East Asian Economic Group and the Asian Monetary Fund, both reflects America's preference. America support for the three organizations is because that they provide services for its policies in East Asia or Asia Pacific area. America's objections against EAEG and AMF is because the members are the countries in East Asia circle, thus America is excluded. It is difficult to control and may impact America's leading order in financial. From the view of America's global strategic interests, America is not willing to see the East Asia as a whole and become a major international power. Considering the economic benefits, the USA is also not willing to see an exclusive Free Trade in East Asia, which will weaken its impact in the local economy. At the same time, the East Asian countries traditionally associated with America in the fields of political, military and economy, and American has very strong dependence in these fields, which will undoubtedly enhance America's influence in East Asia's cooperation process.

Fourth, the Sino-Japanese relations also hindered the development of regionalism in East Asia. The demand of the development of East Asia's regionalism needs the three countries in Northeast Asia united as a whole. Especially the unity between China and Japan has a great influence on the integration process. At present, the biggest problem in Sino-Japanese relation is the trustful crisis. China's rising inevitably challenged Japan's superpower status in Asia, but the transfer of power is not necessarily leads to conflict, the cognition on the nature of power and the role of each other is essential. New generation of politicians of Japan dissatisfied with the power challenge, while China ask Japan to apologize for launching the aggressive war and hurting the feelings of Chinese people. Superficially, the concern of both two countries is dignity of the state or nation, so the key of improving the relationship between them is not to change the balance of power or deepen economic cooperation, but to improve the emotional identification relationship. However, it's really difficult to improve the identification between China and Japan. To improve the identification of both sides needs sincerity actively exchanges and enhancement of mutual trust. Simply change the balance of power in fantasy or deepen economic relations are not enough to help the two countries step out of the shadow of history or create mutual trust. Japan and China has a deep economic interdependence, but it cannot be translated into good political relations. But fortunately the current bilateral political relations have not affected the economic relations. Although maintaining good economic relations

between China and Japan will not promote the Sino-Japanese political relations, it will help to prevent the deterioration of relations between the two sides and continue to promote the development of East Asia.

In addition, Japan's role in the development of East Asia's regionalism is embarrassing. As the only developed country in Asia, Japan tends to define itself as a member of the west countries. With the past military conquest experience, Japan is the only Asian country which is not certain enough to regard itself as an Asian country.⁴⁶

Japan's wrong attitude towards history problems was widely criticized, and the criticism of Japan's lack of regional identity can be heard from time to time.⁴⁷ The intimacy relationship of Japan and America makes Japan's attitude towards East Asia cooperation become ambiguous and swing. Japan's promoting force to East Asia's regionalism mainly reflected in the official foreign-aid and development of bilateral free trade relations, but the performance in the field of politics and security is not satisfactory.

Fifth, the lack of cooperation institution is another obstacle. International cooperation must rely on institutional guarantee in the era of globalization. In the process of European integration, Europe follows the path of social contracts, transnational multi-level legal arrangements becomes the key to construct a new European order, exchange of information and solution of common concern issues are maintained by institutions. Institutions are not only the carrier of common interests, but also the tools of realizing common interests.⁴⁸ This is the inevitable result of social governance, the establishment of this kind of supranational regional organizations is essentially an organization formed based on region, and it also confirms the core status of the construction of system in new regionalism.⁴⁹

Although the "10+1" mechanism (APO), "10+3" mechanism (APT) and trilateral negotiation mechanism of China, Japan and the ROK continues to form, and some supporting mechanism and the framework agreement has been implemented, but in essence, these mechanisms only provide a platform for negotiation and discussion. A stable, binding system is far from being. This is mainly because when the East Asian countries are facing common problems, they have deep misgivings on the rigid systems. They tend to reach a consensus on the basis of their preference based on a bilateral negotiation face to face. But this kind of "flexible means" often make the problem cannot be solved effectively and thoroughly. Only in the face of serious problems in the globalization challenge, institutionalization will receive the attention.

Sixth, the lack of leadership is also a serious problem. One important cause of the late starting and slow progress of cooperation of East Asia is the lack of leadership and traction of a central country. The existence of a core state provides public products of the area, and then greatly increased the possibility of cooperation in the area, such as Germany and France in the European Union and America in the North American Free Trade Area. East Asia's cooperation mainly use the "10+3" mechanism, the Leaders Meeting of 13 countries is held after the annual Leaders Meeting of ASEAN countries, and each time the leaders meeting of "10+3" will be held in a member country of ASEAN, and the host must be a member country of ASEAN.

From the name, we can find that ASEAN is in the former, China, Japan and the South Korea

⁴⁶ Lowell Dittmer, "East Asia in the 'New Era' in world Politics", World Politics, Volume 55, No 1, October 2002, P.40.

⁴⁷ Axel Berkofsky, "Tokyo Lacking Community Spirit", Asia Times, October 2005, P.5.

⁴⁸ Wang Liping: [federalism and the world order], Beijing: Peking University press, 2000), p. 333.

⁴⁹ Josep S.Nye, ed. International Relationism, Boston :Little Browand Co., 1968:XII.

are in the back. In a sense, ASEAN is playing a leading role in these years. The reason why there is such a situation is that central countries rather pleased by political considerations. They have their own concerns and doubts, but at the same time worry about the other two countries won the leadership. So the central countries actively develop relationships between ASEAN, which objectively help ASEAN get the dominant position in the previous stage.

However, from the overall contrast of economic strength, ASEAN countries are far inferior to China, Japan and the South Korea. After the financial crisis, the economic power of ASEAN was weakened, so it seems difficult to play a leadership. Throughout the East Asian countries, only the three Northeast Asia countries have the potential to lead countries in the integration process.

However, for the present, none of the three countries has sufficient strength or fully prepared. China has made great economic achievements after the reform and opening up, but it is still in an important period of transition. In the near several years after entering WTO, the task of political system reform is very onerous. The current priority is to seize the opportunity and deepen the domestic construction and development. Besides, other East Asian countries have doubts on China's strategic intention, more or less.

Japan, as an economic giant in East Asia and even the world, has been eager to take the leadership in East Asia regional cooperation. But in recent years, the economic downturn has weakened its influence, the traditional "flying geese pattern" has been suspected. Coupled with the Japanese intransigence on the history issues, has seriously restricted the trust of East Asian countries in Japan.

South Korea is a strong economy power in East Asia, but because of the lack of power of authority and corresponding international status, it is really difficult to take the responsibility of leadership. One of the most important experiences of European integration is the reconciliation and cooperation of France and German after the World War II, which plays an important role in promoting the integration. While the integration in East Asia lack of this kind of strength.

Seventh, the universal existence of nationalism in East Asian countries has strong negative effects on the regional cooperation. In the beginning the regionalism arose because of the need of nationalism. On the one hand, regionalism is the "amplification" of nationalism, countries in the area found the junction of power, interests and even ideas. On the other hand, regionalism is a process of overcoming nationalism, which has promoted some profound changes to the nature of international relations.

Regionalism has gone through a long and tortuous process of development. At first it is the need of nation states, they want to realize the interests of countries which cannot be achieved by a member country alone. After that, the integration process became to spread into the level of national sovereignty and national system, the nationalism force against regional integration may even be strengthened, the integration process became very difficult and can only move forward in the comprehensive effect of internal and external forces. Finally, East Asia was becoming increasingly integrated, and then encouraged the emergence of supranational institutions. One of the important reasons that promoted the development of East Asian countries after World War II attributed to the "strong government". In the process of modernization, the nationalism in East Asian countries and the whole region usually combined with political authority (or once combined), it was designed to realize the integration of social

life and promote the development of modern countries' ideology and social mobilization by "strong governments". In general, nationalism can only be realized with the help of modern political philosophy and modern social mobilization means. But the most important factor that influences the direction and achieving degree of nationalism is the intention and guidance of the ruling class or the ruling group.

In the process of modernization, due to the common features of the history, cultural traditions, national characteristics and special geopolitical environment conditions, East Asian countries generally choose the authoritarian regime to cope with the challenges. Their authoritarian ideology generally has the basic characteristics of nationalism and collectivism, and takes that as the basis for the legitimacy of authority regime. East Asian countries are of strong nationalism, this kind of nationalism in East Asia not only not outdated, but still have the basic value of existence. This is very different with the situation in Europe, so the East Asia is still in the era of nationalism. The existence of nationalism restricted the development of regionalism to a large extent. Besides, because of the special historical background (once reduced to a colony or semi-colony), East Asian countries value their national sovereignty very much. So this kind of situation is conflict with the further development of the regionalism, which required transfer of some sovereignty particularly in political cooperation. In these circumstances, it is not easy for the East Asian countries to make some concessions or compromise towards the community.

Eighth, the East Asia regionalism is competitive, which hinders the development of integration. Baldwin, a Geneva scholar, thinks that the true regionalism in East Asia has not yet started. In 2000, the "ASEAN Plus Three" initiated to establish the East Asian economic community, but the idea chilled down after the 2002 summit, the East Asian countries started to carry out competitions of bilateral free trade. Behind it there were more political or strategic factors, they were not really committed to economic cooperation and trade liberalization. However, the enlightenment of European unity experience for Asia is, we cannot have two free trade groups in the near space. East Asia has appeared many competitive regional groups in a short period.

There exists a kind of binary power structure in East Asia. ASEAN, a sub-regional power acts positively in the "10+3" mechanism, and plays a leading role in it. But the chief power, Chinese and Japan, is only following ASEAN's footsteps. This power structure is not conducive to regional integration in East Asia. Some scholars believe that there exist at least three kinds of patterns in East Asia, Japan's "flying geese pattern", China's "Greater China Economic Circle" and "ASEAN pattern".

In 2002, China and ASEAN have made great progress in establishing a free trade area agreement in 10 years, which brought great shock in Japan. Koizumi's visit to ASEAN and his proposal of Japan-ASEAN Free Trade Zone reflected Japan's worries. In order to avoid degeneration and to keep the impact on Southeast Asia, it will not pose just as a spectator of cooperation. At the end of 2008, the foreign ministry announced that the Chinese government would send Chinese ambassador to ASEAN, which showed the cooperation between the two sides had risen to a new level. In January 1, 2009, China decided to impose taxes on part of the tariff commodities of ASEAN countries at China- ASEAN Free Trade Agreement rate, which provide advantages for commodities in ASEAN to sell in Chinese market. In 2010, China-ASEAN free trade area which was the largest free trade zone among developing countries was formally completed.

At the same time, Japan has developed economic and political cooperation with ASEAN. Both

the Japanese and international public opinions think that Japan's effort to strengthen relations with ASEAN and the proposal of East Asia Community is aimed to compete with China for regional dominance, and limit the growing influence of China. ASEAN countries are also worried that the development of the "10+3" becomes the only form and mechanism of the regional cooperation in East Asia, which makes itself further marginalized.

CHINA AND THE NEW REGIONALISM IN EAST ASIA

Chinese government's attitude towards regionalism

As Zhangyunlin pointed in his paper written in 2005, since from the rise of regionalism, Chinese government's attitude towards regionalism has changed with time. At first, Chinese government was in favor of regionalism. In the 1950s, China proposed the "five principles of peaceful coexistence", advocated the establishment of peace and cooperation relations with Asian countries and African countries. Until now, five principles of peaceful coexistence are the basic principles of Chinese foreign policy, and in 2010 the Chinese friendly agreement with ASEAN was referred to five principles of peaceful coexistences. But some countries in East Asia have established military security relations with some western countries during the cold war, the relations are against China to some extent. Resulting in China holding a certain doubt on multilateralism arrangement, and China has a cautious attitude when it comes to participating in some cross-regional cooperation organization. Therefore, China did not participate in some Asia Pacific cooperation mechanism when they were established in the 1980s. Actually, as Jeffrey pointed in his paper in 2010, the absence of China in some Asia Pacific cooperation mechanism made the mechanism not function well and damaged the interests of every East Asian country.

As XueZhen pointed in 2006, during the cold war, China always followed the diplomatic route of independent and nonaligned. After the end of the cold war, along with the relief of international environment and surrounding situation, China changed its foreign strategy towards East Asia to a great extent. In addition to continuously sticking to the traditional bilateralism, China is also actively involved in the process of multilateralism with surrounding countries, and exhibits more and more attention on East Asia's regionalism. The relationship between China and regionalism has a developing process, China's attitudes towards East Asia's Regionalism experienced from hostility (during the Cold War), suspicion (after the Cold War), and acceptance (in the mid 90's) to agree (now). China has been focusing on the development of friendly relations and cooperation with neighboring countries.

After the end of the cold war, the Chinese government regarded the maintaining of a peaceful and stable international environment as the overall strategic target of diplomacy, based on adhering to the foreign policy principle of independence and peace. And put the development of a friendly cooperative relation with neighboring countries in an important position.

In the early 1990s, China restored and established diplomatic relations with Indonesia, Singapore and South Korea, realized the normalization of relations with all East Asian countries. With the deepening of cooperation with East Asian countries, China's attitude towards regionalism gradually becomes active. China begins to recognize that the framework of cooperation in East Asia is beneficial to itself.

China successively joined almost all cooperation mechanisms of folk and official in East Asia,

and participated in the establishment of the "ASEAN Regional Forum". China has integrated into the process of East Asia's "New Regionalism". At first, China considered more about the constraints by the opposite side in the mechanism, but now it is more inclined to directly involve its self in eliminating the negative impacts. With the deepening participation in the multilateral cooperation mechanism in East Asia, China more and more realized that the emphasis on multilateral "New Regionalism" arrangements is coordinated with China's overall foreign policy, it is beneficial to its national interests. Since the mid 1990s, China's foreign policy was based on "China upon the Asia Pacific and the stability of the surrounding." This has the connotation of "new regionalism". The strategic decision "based on the Asia Pacific", opened up a favorable and broad space for China's activities in the area of East Asia. Relations with good neighborliness, friendship and cooperation have become the main theme of the relationship between China and East Asian countries.

As early as in 1990, Malaysia's prime minister proposed the initiation of "East Asia economic group", Chinese showed a positive and supportive attitude. In 1997, China took a responsible attitude towards the establishment of "ASEAN Plus Three" mechanism, and participated in regional cooperation at various levels. China specified the East Asia regional cooperation strategy in some foreign policies to keep good relations with neighboring countries. This is a strategic decision that China deeply participated in regional integration process. From the geographical scope, China and East Asian countries constructed a variety of cooperation circles, including the brewing of economic cooperation in the Northeast Asia circle, the assumption of free trade areas, and the sub regional cooperation of the Mekong River Basin, the Tumen River Basin cooperation project, Great Northern Bay Economic Circle and various bilateral cooperative arrangements. From the participation and cooperation mechanism, were China is a member of East Asia's Leaders Meeting, the Ministerial Conference, were Senior Officials' Meet. From the perspective of the content of cooperation, China carried out extensive economic cooperation with East Asian countries, including trade, finance, investment, infrastructure construction, a certain degree of industrial division of labor and so on. At the same time, dialogue and cooperation between China and East Asian countries in the field of non-traditional security has begun.

As a diversified unity, China has good conditions to carry out multi-level, diversified cooperation and integration with East Asian countries. As a great power in East Asia, China has become the new engine of economic development in East Asia. It can be said that China is in the deepening process of integration into East Asia's regional cooperation. The current concept of "open regionalism" and its development status is coordinated with China's situation. Therefore, take the concept of "open regionalism" as a guidance to promote the regional integration process, which is a reasonable choice for China. China has an open attitude towards the internal affairs in the area, it can be perfectly reflected in its foreign policy of "good neighbor, rich neighbor, and peaceful neighbor". China consistently supports ASEAN's leading position in regional cooperation, and takes practical measures to coordinate in the process. Through the expansion of imports and actions of tax cuts, China has brought economic benefits to the East Asian countries (especially the ASEAN countries). Chinese government adopts a flexible attitude on the selection of regional cooperation mode.

Chinese government doesn't regard East Asia as narrow concept of a closed region, on the contrary, it supports countries and organizations outside the region to be involved in East Asian cooperation. As a "inter-regional power", China's realistic national interests is not only reflected in the East Asian region, it need to establish direct relations of cooperation with and

South Asia, Central Asia, South Pacific and even further afield.

When the "East Asia Summit" held at the end of year 2005, China holds an open attitude towards the participation of India, Australia and New Zealand etc., and uses the mechanism as an important platform to expand china's inter regional cooperation.⁵⁰ This is a reflection of a prominent attitude and policy of "open regionalism". In fact, China is not only the active participants of all the cooperation mechanisms in East Asia, but also established the "Shanghai Cooperation Organization" with Central Asian countries. In 2005, China participated in the activities of South Asian Association for regional cooperation as an observer. China has established a circle of regional cooperation with surrounding countries, and wove itself into the "open regionalism" network of various cooperation organizations.

Why does Chinese government's attitude toward regionalism change over time? Actually, the main reason is the change of idea. Before 1978, China is a country closed to West countries, which leads to hostile attitude to cooperation with West countries or countries which have good relations with West countries. With the Chinese economic reform, the government starts to recognize the importance of cooperation with different regions and countries, so the attitude to regionalism becomes positive. In short, with the development of Chinese comprehensive national strength, the Chinese government would attach greater and greater importance to regionalism.

China's positive role in East Asia cooperation

Geopolitics as a real and effective analysis tool has very strong capability of explanation and prediction. It is a solid and reliable foundation for a state to reposition itself. China has a land area of 9,600,000 square kilometers, accounting for 25% of the land area of Asia, 61% of East Asia, and it is connected to more than 10 countries in Asia. Located in the eastern edge of the Eurasian continent and the west coast of the Pacific Ocean, China is located in the hub position of East Asia. It is a country with both land and sea. If the heartland of central Europe is the world's geopolitical hub, then China is the geopolitical center of East Asia. The geopolitical environment of East Asia can be divided into two parts, Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. And it has three geographical pivots, the Korean Peninsula, the Taiwan Strait and the Indochina Peninsula. These three pivots is the key of both East Asia's geopolitical environment and East Asia's cooperation process. Japan and South Korea can be radiated by the Korean Peninsula, the "Greater China" including Taiwan and Hongkong can be radiated by the Taiwan Strait, ASEAN countries and the entire South China Sea area can be radiated by the Indochina Peninsula. Therefore, as the hub of East Asia's Geopolitical, China plays a role in connecting the Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia. The strategic goal of economic development of Southeast Asia is the formation of "Economic Circle around the South Chinese Sea". And the regional strategic target of Northeast Asia's economic development is to form the "Economic Circle around the Yellow Sea ". The two major economic circles will form a West Pacific Economic Belt, through the participation of countries around the Yangtze River Delta radiated from Shanghai in the Donghai area. The establishment of this economic belt will unlock China's huge potential. Only through the economy scale and potential economic ability of China, can complete the common cause of East Asian countries. The division and China's radiation effect perfect matches the "1+2+10" model of cooperation. Therefore, China is playing a geopolitical gravity's role in East Asia. This role is mainly reflected in the following

⁵⁰Wen jiabao: 《Adhere to the open inclusive achieve mutual benefit》, 《The first east Asia summit》, On December 14,2005, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/zxxx/t226426.htm>.

aspects: politically China is the main places for political and diplomatic activities in East Asia; on economics, China has become the engine of economic development of East Asia, and it has an important influence on the development and the prosperity of national economy in the area; in security, it is the safety valve of the regional security structure of East Asia and it also decides the peace and stability of the region. In addition, China is the main power to promote the process of East Asia's integration.

As mentioned above, the dominance of regional cooperation should be manipulated by the countries that hold both "hard power" and "soft power". Specifically, those countries must have strong political, economic and military strength. China is the largest country in East Asia, has the largest population, the strongest comprehensive national strength, and the most extensive territory. Its political strength or economic strength is in the top of East Asian countries. China's economic gross ranks the forefront of the world, it has the world's largest trade market, and it is the destination of main commodity export around the world. China has become largest trading partner of Japan, South Korea and ASEAN. South Korea's trade dependence towards China has increased from 2.9% in 1991 to 20.4% in 2011, and in 2011 China's imports and exports respectively account for 17.3% and 14.3% of ASEAN's.⁵¹

With the increasing of China's status and strength, the existing rules of East Asia's cooperation can not meet China's demands. The hands of China, such a political, economic giant, will be tied. The Cooperation in East Asia under ASEAN's domination will restrict the development and rise of China in many aspects. The existing cooperation in East Asia is led by ASEAN, which requires the ASEAN must stand on its own. The rules and systems are mainly set to meet the interests of ASEAN countries. For example, the ASEAN security community which plans to be built in 2015 will create obstacles of territorial disputes between China and ASEAN.

In fact, China not only has the objective strength to lead the process of East Asian cooperation, but also has the subjective will to dominate the process. Since 1999, China's positive attitude and influence has reflected such a belief in the process of promoting regional cooperation. In 1999, China participated in the Asian Currency Swap Agreement. In 2002, China signed the currency swap agreement with Japan. Since the global financial crisis in 2008, China successively established bilateral currency swap arrangements with neighboring countries, and in 2011 the currency swap amount with the South Korea increased to 360,000,000,000 yuan, marking that China is gradually set up new rules of Asian monetary sovereignty, and the rules are primarily oriented towards China. In 2003, China initiatively proposed the establishment of a free trade area with ASEAN, and received a positive response from ASEAN. It became the first outside power signed treaties of friendship and cooperation with ASEAN. In January 1, 2010, the China-ASEAN free trade area was established, becomes the world's third largest free trade area after Europe and the North America free trade area. With the in-depth development of East Asia's cooperation, especially the growth of China's economic strength and the implementation of the foreign policy of good neighborliness, Chinese relations with ASEAN countries will get to continue to ascend by providing a variety of preferential policies to ASEAN, such as free trade agreements, assistance and various plans. China will also propose a variety of new cooperation mechanisms, not only consider its own interests, but also take care of interests of other countries in the region, eventually leading to the integration of East

⁵¹Australia's foreign ministry about the introduction of the association of south-east Asian nations (asean) material (2010 edition)
www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fs/asean.pdf

Asia.

The restriction factors of China in East Asia cooperation

With the sustainable development of China's comprehensive national strength and continued economic growth in nearly 30 years, East Asian countries have different views, even fear and doubt, on the role and position of China's rising in East Asia. This makes China difficult to clearly position its function and position in East Asia's cooperation process. This also makes the struggling regional cooperation in East Asia become more complex.

First, the fear towards China's rising of some countries in the region. Although after twenty years of development cooperation the East Asian countries has been gradually recognized that China is a safeguarding force of the world's peace and prosperity, a part of East Asia countries have power political realism thoughts, still have concerns on the rise of the Chinese. Regional cooperation in East Asia dominant by China, should be sponsored by core countries within the region with the aid of other countries or organizations. As Robert Keoghan pointed out, "the leading nations should abandon the short-term interests of the negotiation process to ensure the stable and long-term interests of relevant international mechanisms. Large countries are more likely to make such short-term sacrifices, because they may be the main beneficiary of the mechanism. Such leaders are not given special material benefit, but can bring a lofty position and the ability to shape the agenda between countries"⁵².

Second, territorial disputes. In addition to the "Chinese threat theory", the territorial dispute is another important factor of strategic security. The South China Sea is strategic place, and it is an essential path from the Middle East to the South Asia, Africa and Europe. The oil and gas resources of the area are very rich, the area has been called "the second Persian Gulf". China and Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines all claim that they have partial or full sovereignty in the South China Sea. Although Chinese government has been advocating the cooperate idea of "sovereign belongs to China, putting aside disputes and promote common development", but it did not play the role of resolving disputes. The territorial disputes of the South China Sea have a long history, and they cannot be solved in a short duration of time. In the disputes, China should take the concept of "cooperative security" of new regionalism. Put the issues under the framework of "cooperation", and adhere to bilateral solutions.

In addition, the concrete measures can be flexible in practice. When necessary, disputing countries can refer to the approach of "economic community" in European regional cooperation. Put the gas resource of the South China Sea under the jointly develop and co management of disputing countries, so as to provide the driving force for regional cooperation in East Asia.

Third, Trend of Sino-Japanese relation

It is undeniable that Japan and China both belong to the core countries in East Asia. The global significance of the relationship between the two countries has gone far beyond the bilateral relations itself. The development trend of the relations between the two countries will directly affect the cooperation process in East Asia.

Today's predicament of Sino-Japanese relation is mainly reflected in three aspects: first, the

⁵² [the] Robert keohane, Joseph nye, door discord. Power and interdependence (3rd edition) [M]. Beijing: Peking University press,2002. P242-243

trust crisis between China and Japan. As everyone knows, the regional cooperation between countries in the region must be established based on mutual trust and consensus. However, in East Asia, mutual distrust situation between the two core powers is very prominent. On the one hand, Japan is afraid that the rise of China would be a threat to its status in Asia and the world, it regards China as a potential enemy. On the other hand, Chinese also holds a wait-and-see attitude and doubt towards Japan. In addition, the existence and constantly strengthen of Japan-US military alliance also makes the development of Sino-Japanese relations between the two countries is full of unknown factors.

Secondly, the territorial dispute between China and Japan. The two countries still have many differences on the problems of the Diaoyu Islands and the ownership of oil and gas fields in the East China Sea. The incident of collision on the Diaoyu Island in 2010 once made the relations between the two countries in crisis.

Third, the existence and development of Japan-America military alliance. Facing the America's overbearing offensive strategic of "return to Asia" and the constantly strengthening military alliance of Japan-America, the security and stability of China and even the whole East Asia is threatened seriously.

The above-mentioned three points are the crux of the plight of Sino-Japanese relations. The contradiction between the two countries cannot be resolved in a short duration of time, but there is a positive side of the contradiction. But with the development of economic globalization, the degree of interdependence among countries is increasing. Japan cannot develop independently apart from China, so the relations between the two countries appear a phenomenon of "cold politics and hot economy". If the two countries can proceed from the overall situation, trying to find the connecting point of strategic interests of the two countries, and gradually deepen mutual understanding and trust between them. The Sino-Japanese relations will move toward a positive direction, so as to provide the impetus and support for East Asia cooperation process.

In the process of constructing a harmonious East Asia, big powers should play an exemplary role. Harmony between the people and people is the essential condition of building a harmonious world. The relations between countries are good or bad, ultimately depends on the relationship between people and people. In order to achieve the harmony of people and people, should vigorously promote the exchanges between people and people, through the exchange of each other to deepen understanding and enhance the sense of closeness.

In short, strengthen the East Asian identity, promote the harmonious area construction is the inevitable choice in today's East Asia cooperation process, and is also the inevitable choice of Chinese regionalism strategy.

CONCLUSIONS

With the continuously deepening and developing of the economic globalization and regional integration, the traditional theories of international relations on this trend are explanatory faded. The studies on the new regionalism are gradually rising, and having reason of such dilemma can be concluded as lack of leading power, institutions and been one trend of the current era. Although the East Asia cooperation has gained quite a lot of achievements, some internal aspects have entered a bottleneck period. The shared ideas of the cooperation progress,

combined with some other elements such as the internal and external super powers and the East Asia's own diversity, which constitute the curtail reason of current difficult position of the cooperation. In order to study the Characteristics of East Asian Cooperation, find the problems in the cooperation and explain the phenomenon in essence, this paper chooses to make use of New Regionalism and related theories to explore the mechanism.

In the first chapter, I introduce the concept of New Regionalism and related concepts, and discuss the relationship between New Regionalism and other theories about international relations field. The main conclusion in this part is that New Regionalism involves various aspects including economy, politics, security and so on, and its core value may include regional interests first, regional issues first and common goal first.

In the second chapter, the phenomenon of East Asian cooperation has been introduced and discussed. The main conclusion in this part is that the cooperation in East Asia has its own characteristics and problems compared with European cooperation, and it can be well explained by New Regionalism, thus East Asian countries should apply the New Regionalism theory to get a sustainable cooperation and development.

In the third chapter, the relations between New Regionalism and East Asia's cooperation have been deeply discussed, and we can conclude that the New Regionalism should be improved to adapt the characteristics of East Asia's cooperation and the mode of East Asia's cooperation should be changed with the change of the country balance in East Asia and the world.

In the last chapter, I have discussed China's East Asian regionalist strategy, thought that participates positively to the East Asian economic cooperation is an important contents of China's East Asian regionalist strategy. I also suggest that China should continue keep the self-localization which maintains the positive and active participants rather than leading, when China participates to the East Asian economic cooperation.

In a word, cooperation is an irreversible trend for the development of East Asia, the New Regionalism may help form a stable environment for countries' development and strengthen cooperation between different countries.

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