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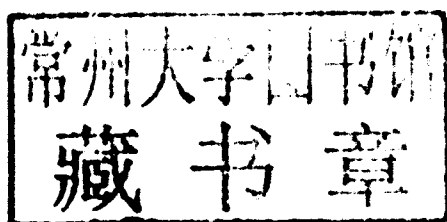
Edited by
Jörn Keck, Dimitri Vanoverbeke and
Franz Waldenberger



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EU–Japan Relations, 1970–2012

This book presents a comprehensive overview of EU–Japan relations from 1970 to the present. It charts developments over the period, analyses key specific areas of importance to the relationship, and concludes by assessing how the relationship is likely to develop going forward. Throughout, the book discusses the factors on both sides that motivate the relationship, including Japan's concern to secure markets for its advanced industrial products, and the factors motivating current negotiations for a deeper and more comprehensive economic and cooperative partnership.

Jörn Keck is a former Ambassador to Japan of the EU Commission.

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Richard Wright was the lead negotiator on an important agreement on automobile regulations with Japan and Head of Unit for Relations with Japan and Korea in the late 1990s. He subsequently held several key positions in the Commission's External Relations, including Ambassador of the European Commission to Russia, Director for Asia, and Director for the Common Foreign and Security Policy in the Commission's Directorate-General for External Relations. Prior to taking up his new post in the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in January 2012, he was Director for Conflict Prevention, Peace Building and Security Policy at the newly created European External Action Service. He wrote his contribution while on sabbatical at Harvard University.

Preface

People with an interest in international economic policy and trade negotiations will find numerous publications describing and analysing US–Japan trade conflicts, but they will find material on the relationship between the EU and Japan much harder to come by. This book seeks to remedy that deficit, at least in part. The contributions in this volume document and assess fifty years of relations between Japan and the European Economic Community, which later became the European Community and is now the European Union. It is – to our knowledge – the first comprehensive account of the EU’s management and development of the various aspects of its relationship with Japan.

At their Summit in May 2011, the EU and Japan agreed to launch parallel negotiations: for a deep and comprehensive Free Trade Agreement and Economic Partnership Agreement (FTA/EPA), addressing the whole range of issues of shared interest to both sides including tariffs, non-tariff measures, services, investment, Intellectual Property Rights, competition and public procurement; and for a binding political agreement, covering political, global and other sectoral cooperation in a comprehensive manner. The former reflects Japan’s emphatic wish to negotiate a comprehensive FTA/EPA in the face of EU reluctance; while the latter represents the continuation of the 2001–2011 Action Plan which, given its non-binding nature, had proven to be rather unsatisfactory.

It has often been said that there is no future without history. If that is so, we believe that the insights to be gained from the historic account in this book could, in addition to their academic value, provide a valuable contribution to the planning and negotiation of new EU–Japan political and regulatory frameworks. Looking at what has been achieved in the past, considering which approaches have been successful and which have not, reflecting on which hurdles had to be overcome and which obstacles remain in the path of a more balanced and efficient bilateral relationship, should be instructive for those involved on both sides: negotiators, Parliamentarians and EU Member States.

Quite apart from the serendipitous timing of this book, coinciding with discussions over the future nature and content of the EU–Japan relationship as it does, the original inspiration for recording the history of EU–Japan relations sprang from two unrelated events, both occurring a few years ago, and from one important consideration. The two events were the death of Sir Roy Denman and

the decoration of Viscount Davignon with the highest Japanese Imperial order for his contribution to EU–Japan relations. Both men had been charismatic leaders during the most troubled years of Europe–Japan relations, the former as Director-General of the European Commission’s Directorate-General for External Relations (DG I), the latter as Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for Industrial Affairs. These two events prompted a lecture to students about the history and meaning of EU–Japan relations: a lecture which suffered very much from a lack of available academic writing and analysis, and which had to be constructed mostly on the basis of personal memory and the few available original documents.

If one were to set about remedying this lack of a detailed historical account and analysis, however modestly, then there was one important consideration to be borne in mind: many of those on both the European and the Japanese sides who had been involved in the most critical years of EU–Japan relations were now getting on in age, and the chances of tapping their memories would quite naturally diminish over time. Sir Roy’s sudden death was a harsh reminder. So we were prompted to launch the process of collecting and recording original testimony without any further delay. Initially, of course, we intended to include contributions from former and still active Japanese officials involved in EU affairs. However, as first soundings proved difficult, we decided to go ahead and record an account of the relationship from the European perspective, hoping that our Japanese colleagues and friends will in due course feel that they would also like to set down their views on the history of this important relationship.

The attention which Japan–US relations and economic disputes have received in both countries, both in the public sphere and among academics, is hardly surprising. For Japan, the US has not only been its most important military ally, it has also been the largest single post-war export market for Japanese products, at least until the recent emergence of China, and it still represents Japan’s most important source of technology imports. Economic conflict with the US could therefore easily become an existential issue for Japan. For the US, Japan seemed to pose not only a threat to its global economic supremacy; it was also blamed, at least in part, for the slow-down in US productivity growth in the 1980s and the burgeoning current account deficit. Japanese economic policies, while on the one hand blamed as incompatible with a free trade regime, were on the other hand glorified as something which the US government needed to emulate if their economy were to regain its ‘competitiveness’. For all these reasons, for better or worse, Japan deserved and received a considerable amount of attention. Last but not least, trade negotiators and academics, especially on the US side, were willing, even keen, to sell their arguments to an audience receptive to and even entertained by the idea that their countries were involved in a fierce ‘economic war’.

Europe’s high income and high income-elastic market, or rather markets, became the other, the second, target for Japan after the Second World War; as a large, economically advanced and increasingly integrated area, Europe was highly attractive to Japan’s exporters of increasingly high value-added industrial products. Consequently Europe, initially at the level of individual member states

but increasingly at the European level, experienced very similar trade tensions and became engaged in outright conflicts with Japan, as the US had been, and as this book documents. At times, these were as serious as those facing the US and Japan, and just as difficult to manage without resorting to outright protectionism, which might in turn have invited a protectionist backlash from the United States. Indeed, right through the most difficult period from the late 1970s until the mid-1990s, both the US and the EEC/EC/EU remained very much alert to any risk of trade diversion should the other take trade-restricting measures vis-à-vis Japan. However, EU–Japan relations never attracted the same degree of public attention as that garnered by US–Japan negotiations. The size of the European market and the influence of the EU on world trade had long since matched the US, so what lay behind this disparity?

One reason is the absence of those factors which were present in the case of Japan–US relations. Politically and economically, Japan depended less on Europe; and the economic challenges which Europe faced were too diverse, many of them being unrelated to trade. Besides, some member states were performing rather well economically at the height of trade tensions. The way the Japanese competitive challenge was perceived in each European member state depended very much on its national industrial structure and also quite often on the volume of direct investment received from Japan. There were no common grounds for dramatising conflicts with Japan as a generalised major threat to European economic prosperity. For a long period, European member states' national interests remained clearly perceptible in their attitudes towards Europe's trade relations with Japan. With tangible differences in the economic, legal and cultural conditions prevailing within individual European member states, business strategies continued to focus on national markets. So, while Europe–Japan issues remained complex and diffuse, and while Japan operated a highly effective *divide et impera* policy with EU member states, there was simply no market for a best-selling story of EU–Japan conflict.

Lack of attention and differing perceptions explain, but do not justify, the scarcity of publications on EU–Japan relations. Recording and analysing Europe's management and development of its relations with Japan is relevant for several reasons:

- 1 It provides researchers with valuable material which not only fills the void of sources on EU–Japan relations, but also complements existing accounts on other bilateral trading relations to allow for comparative research.
- 2 It records how Japan was being perceived, analysed and interpreted by the European Commission, with respect to its trade position, domestic market and regulatory conditions, as well as its overall role in the global economic system; and how these perceptions changed over time.
- 3 By taking Japan as an example, the following contributions also shed light on how the EU's external economic policy evolved, overcoming and replacing national approaches, and how the completion of the internal market programme affected external trade relations.

Apart from the introductory chapter and the conclusion, all contributions in this book have been written by present and former officials of the European Commission. The authors have all been directly involved in the issues of which they write: researching, drafting policy papers and preparing internal notes in Brussels or Tokyo, sitting at the negotiation table, participating in dialogue rounds or engaging in other formal or informal exchanges with their Japanese counterparts. Personal memories were refreshed and complemented by extensive and intensive research in the archives of the Commission. Drafts were counter-checked among colleagues and occasionally even by former Japanese counterparts.

The editors of this book are grateful to, and would like to thank, all those who supported and helped actively with writing and assembling this book. They are, in the first place, all the authors of this book, who agreed to share their experience and views on EU–Japan relations despite their often heavy other commitments. Ralph Wilkinson in particular took upon himself the onerous task of checking the English of the chapters written by the non-native speakers. Our thanks go to the many Commission officials – past and active ones – who supported the making of this book at different stages in different ways. We would in particular like to thank (in alphabetical order) João Aguiar-Machado, Theofanis Christoforou, Eva Gerner, Franz Jessen, Horst-Günter Krenzler, Françoise Le Bail. We are particularly indebted to Jocelyne Collonval from the Historical Archives at the Commission. The book project might never have materialised had it not been for her lists of available Japan files complete with file numbers which proved to be a true Ariadne's thread for those attempting to find their way through the labyrinth of documents. We also would like to express our appreciation for the efforts of Sakuma Kyoko, Nicholas Peeters and David De Cooman who helped at various stages in the preparation of the manuscript of this book. Finally, we are grateful to the Japan Centre of Munich University for its financial support in the publication process. The views expressed are those of the authors in a personal capacity and do not represent formal positions of any of the European institutions.

We hope that this book will inspire further academic debate on the relationship between the EU and Japan and that it will also inspire policy-makers to take account of the past as they move into the next phase of the EU–Japan relationship.

Jörn Keck, Dimitri Vanoverbeke and Franz Waldenberger

Abbreviations

3GPP	3rd Generation Partnership Project
ACEA	Association des Constructeurs Européens d'Automobiles
AD	Anti-Dumping
ARIB	Association of Radio Industries and Businesses
BOJ	Bank of Japan
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CFSP	Common Foreign Security Policy
CSCE	Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CTV	Colour Television
DFA	Draft Final Act
EBC	European Business Council
EFSF	European Financial Stability Facility
EJBRT	EU–Japan Business Round Table
EOC	Elements of Consensus
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ETSI	European Telecommunications Standardisation Institute
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FP	Framework Programmes
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTC	Fair Trade Commission
Gaimushō	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
GSM	Groupe Spécial Mobile, later Global System for Mobile Communications
HFSP	Human Frontier Science Programme
HL Consultation	High-Level Consultations
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IMS	Intelligent Manufacturing System
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
ISO	International Standards Organisation
ITER	International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
JETRO	Japan External Trade Organisation

xx *Abbreviations*

JHMA	Japan Harbour Management Fund
JHTA	Japan Harbour Transportation Association
JIS	Japan Industrial Standards
Keiretsu	Large business groupings in Japan
LIPC	Livestock Industry Promotion Corporation
LTE	Long Term Evolution
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEPP	Middle East Peace Process
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MITI	Ministry of International Trade and Industry
MOC	Ministry of Construction
MOF	Ministry of Finance
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOSS	Market Oriented Sector Specific
MOT	Ministry of Transport
MPT	Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications
MRA	Mutual Recognition Agreement
NTB	Non-Tariff Barrier
NTT	Nippon Telegraph and Telephone
ODA	Official Development Aid
OEM	Original Equipment Manufacturers
PDC	Personal Digital Cellular
QR	Quantitative Restriction
RRD	Regulatory Reform Dialogue
SII	Structural Impediment Initiative
TABD	Trans-Atlantic Business Dialogue
TAM	Trade Assessment Mechanism
TEC	Trade Expansion Committee
TPC	Trade Policy Committee
TPP	Trans Pacific Partnership
TRQ	Tariff Rate Quota
UMTS	Universal Mobile Telecommunications Standard
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICE	European Industry Association
VRA	Voluntary Restraint Agreement
VTR	Video Tape Recorders
WTO	World Trade Organisation