

Historical Studies of Socialist System

ISSN 2432-8774

社会主義 体制史研究

No.29 (26th May 2022)

BOOK REVIEW

The EU's Eastward Enlargement

by Yoji Koyama, 2015

Eva Hanada (Kobe University)



社会主義体制史研究会

The Japan Collegium for Historical Studies of Socialist System

『社会主義体制史研究』 (Historical Studies of Socialist System)

ISSN 2432-8774

Website: <https://journal-hsss.com>

publisher: 社会主義体制史研究会

(The Japan Collegium for Historical Studies of Socialist System)

size: A4

mail to journal.hsss99gmail.com (99 = at mark)

既刊リスト 6-7 ページ

past issues : pp. 6-7

不定期刊(原稿があり次第発行)、文字数制限なし、無料のオンライン・ジャーナルです。

旧社会主義諸国(共産圏)の歴史(「革命」前・体制転換後を含む)と、社会主義や共産主義の思想・理論を対象に批判的検証を志しています。投稿歓迎。

This is an electronic journal, published irregularly, and it publishes a paper free of charge whenever its manuscript is accepted. The number of pages is not limited. The journal accepts papers on history of former socialist countries (Communist Bloc) including histories both before and after system changes and aims at critical verification of thought and theories of socialism and communism. Submission of papers is welcome.

表紙写真 Photos on the front cover

左: 1926年のクーデンホーフ (Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, 日本名青山栄次郎, 1894-1971)

1923年『パン・ヨーロッパ』を出版し、ヨーロッパの対ソ連(ロシア)防衛のために、英国を除く欧州統合の理念を訴えた。世界はパン・ヨーロッパ(植民地を含む)、パン・アメリカ、ロシア連邦、英連邦、極東アジアから成る(地図参照)。カール大帝記念の「カール賞」(「シャルルマーニュ賞」)の第1回受賞者(1950年)。

Left: Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi (Japanese name: Eijiro Aoyama, 1894-1971). The photo was taken in 1926. He has been famous as an advocate of the European integration. In 1923 he published *Pan-Europe*, appealing the idea of the integration of Europe (except the Britain) including colonies in order to defend Europe from the USSR (Russia). As shown by an atlas in the book, the world was seen to be composed of Pan-Europe, Pan-America, the Russian Federation, the British Commonwealth and Far Eastern Asia. He was awarded the first Karlspreis (Charlemagne Prize) in commemoration of the Karl the Great in 1950.

右: その母クーデンホーフ=カレルギー光子 (Mitsuko Coudenhove-Kalergi, 1874-1941)

夫ハインリッヒの没(1906年)後の一族の財産争いを制して現地に留まり子育てをしたが、オーストリア=ハンガリー帝国崩壊により多くの財産を失った。彼女の伝記や手記が出版され、放送番組や芝居、展示会でも取り上げられている。

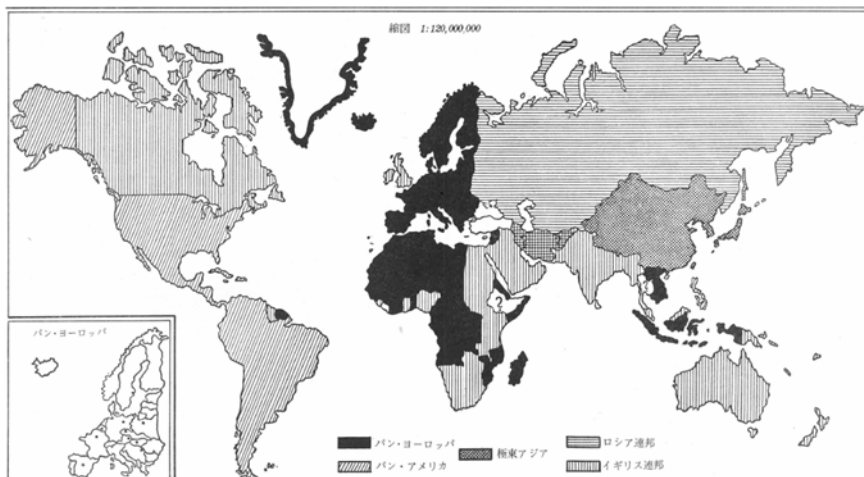
Right: His mother, Mitsuko Coudenhove-Kalergi (1874-1941). After the death of her husband Heinrich in 1906 she won a dispute about the succession and stayed in Europe for children-raising. Due to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, however, she lost most of her property. Her biographies and memoirs were published. She was also featured on TV programs, dramas and exhibitions.

(出所 Source) Both are in public domain.

Left: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coudenhove-Kalergi_\(Adelsgeschlecht\)#/media/Datei:Coudenhove-Kalergi_1926.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coudenhove-Kalergi_(Adelsgeschlecht)#/media/Datei:Coudenhove-Kalergi_1926.jpg)

Right: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mitsuko_Coudenhove_1_cropped.jpg

世界地図 (World Map)



(出所 Source) 『クーデンホーフ全集』第1巻 (1970) (The collected works of Coudenhove-Kalergi, Vol. 1, 1970)

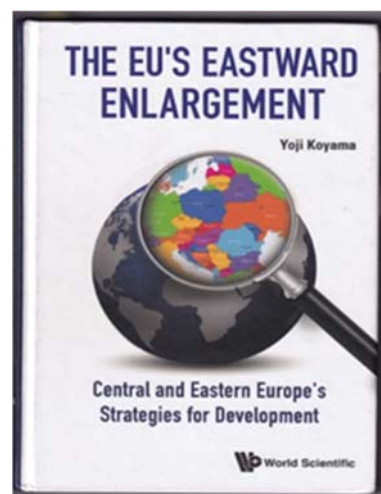
BOOK REVIEW

The EU's Eastward Enlargement Central and Eastern Europe's Strategies for Development

by Yoji Koyama, World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2015,
405 pp. (hardcover), ISBN-13 : 978-9814602457

Eva Hanada¹

This publication aims to assess the prospects of the Western Balkan countries joining the European Union (EU) in the future. What challenges do these countries face on their path towards the EU membership? What economic strategies do these small economies need in order to achieve a long-term economic prosperity? To answer this, in Part I the book provides its readers with the broader context by describing the economic transformation of Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) and their integration in the EU. Consequently, in Part II the book illustrates the specific economic features of the Western Balkans and



examines in detail the case of Croatia (EU Member State since 2013), Serbia, Macedonia and Albania. The book is concluded by Part III, which analyzes both the economic crisis in the New EU Member States (NMS) and the Eurozone crisis, while also offering insights on the prospects of Euro adoption by the non-Eurozone NMS.

The author of this book, Yoji Koyama, Professor Emeritus of Niigata University, has been a leading Japanese specialist on Central and Eastern Europe. He has published extensively in both Japanese and English on the economies of this region and on comparative economic systems. In addition to his impressive record of research activities, he has a long-standing connection to the former Yugoslavia, as described in the book's Preface. Correspondingly, he draws relevantly on his field surveys in the Western Balkans and therefore offers a unique perspective on the future prospects of the EU's southeastward enlargement (accession of candidate countries and potential candidates from the Western Balkans to the EU).

Part I begins by outlining the position of CEECs prior to the collapse of communism in 1989 and explains the reasons for their economic stagnation. The author then explores the two conflicting approaches to the economic transition of CEECs: the French and American approach.

* in: <https://journal-hsss.com>

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With the expectations of a speedy transformation, the latter approach based on the idea of a shock therapy was adopted. The author notes two important points in this regard. First, the United States has traditionally been a shadow leader in the European integration, thus the US, aiming to maintain its influence on Europe even after the system change in 1989, supported the swift integration of CEECs into the West European markets. Second, the EU did not have the same resources as IMF to enforce the system changes in CEECs in the period of 1989 -1997, therefore the IMF initially led the institutional reforms in CEECs. Large IMF loans were provided to these countries on the condition that they enact prescribed policy changes, such as trade liberalization, privatization and fiscal discipline, which became known as the “Washington Consensus”. Overall, the author is critical of the shock therapy and demonstrates its negative impact on the economies of CEECs. To illustrate further, the author refers to the East Asian (South Korea, Taiwan) experience, in which the governments actively intervened in the gradual economic restructuring, and argues that a similar alternative would have been more beneficial to CEECs. He also distinguishes between the Central Europe and Baltic States that managed to withstand the negative impact of the shock therapy and the former Yugoslavia where the economic hardships exacerbated ethnic conflicts. Part I is then concluded by a case study of Poland to highlight its successful economic transformation and accession to the EU in 2004. Overall, Part I is an overview of how the CEECs transformed their economies and progressed towards their EU accession. The focus is on the economic issues, nevertheless, the author also points out several important political considerations in the EU’s eastward enlargement of 2004.

Part II can be considered to be the central part of this book. Interestingly, it does not start with an overview of the Western Balkans (region consisting of 7 countries: Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia, Albania and Kosovo), but rather with a chapter describing in detail the problems related to Kosovo’s independence. Discerning readers will observe that it was indeed the Kosovo problem which triggered the disintegration of Yugoslavia, which in turn led to turbulent political and economic changes in this region. After examining the Kosovo problem, the author moves on to highlight the key features of the Western Balkans, notably the lack of cohesion, ethnic conflicts and high emigration rates resulting in both brain drain and dependence on foreign remittances. Chapters on Serbia, Macedonia and Albania reveal some other economic characteristics shared by these countries, such as a large scale of informal economy, consumption-led economic growth, insufficient exports and a lack of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in manufacturing. The author gives clear insights into both economic and political hurdles faced by Serbia, Macedonia and Albania on their path towards the EU membership. These countries are required to meet both Copenhagen criteria and the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) criteria in order to join the EU. The former refer to political, economic and institutional criteria, for instance, having a functioning market economy

and the rule of law, while the latter include respect for the rights of ethnic minorities and a full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), just to mention a few. Regarding the economic criteria, Serbia, Macedonia and Albania have inefficiencies in their business regulatory framework and their economies are fragile due to a large scale of informal economy and chronic trade deficits. Each country also faces its own set of hurdles in meeting the political criteria for the EU membership. Kosovo problem has constituted a major obstacle for Serbia on its path towards EU accession. Macedonia has experienced two problems: internal tensions between ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians and a name dispute with Greece. However, the author expresses some optimism with regard to the possibility of a compromise to be reached between Macedonia and Greece. Albania needs to improve its internal political climate. Throughout his detailed account, the author who has had a long-standing interest in small economies (countries with less than 10 million inhabitants) guides us towards exploring viable economic strategies that the above-mentioned small-sized countries need in their quest for a long-term economic growth. He states the need to boost exports, to improve infrastructure (in order to attract more FDI and tourism) and in long-run he underlines the importance of investments into education and technological skills. Part II, just like the whole of the book, is informative and objective, as the author illustrates his statements with numerous data, refers to first-hand observations from his field surveys and gives some relevant historical parallels. For instance, he observes that in the Meiji era the Japanese students were dispatched to the West so that after their return they could help modernize Japan. According to the author, similarly, the present Albania's economic and political climate would benefit from talented people who had been educated abroad.

As mentioned previously, one of the central themes conveyed by the book concerns the striking difference between the CEECs (Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic) and the successor states of former Yugoslavia. For the former group, its relatively short period of successful economic and political transformations culminated in the EU accession of 2004, whereas the latter group's transition started much later and did not progress smoothly. Not only can this difference be explained by the political stability of the former, but it can also be traced to the historical background. For, while all CEECs had an appropriate infrastructure (such as Commercial Code) for a market economy in place well before the Second World War, the Western Balkan states lacked similar infrastructure.

The comparison between the CEECs and the Western Balkan states leads us directly to the last part of the book, Part III. Here the author first analyzes the cases of Baltic States and Slovenia. The successful economic transition of these small-sized countries throughout the 1990s paved the way to their EU accession in 2004. Yet, Baltic States (especially Latvia) and Slovenia were severely hit by the economic crisis. In this regard, the author delivers next

important conclusions. First, aggressive lending by Scandinavian banks to their Baltic subsidiaries and the FDI primarily focused on the financial sector and real estate created overheated economies with unsustainable growth prior to the global financial crisis. Second, crisis-hit Latvia adhered to its policy of internal devaluation and eventually achieved an economic recovery. Third, Slovenia had traditionally been cautious about the FDI, but the banking crisis in 2011-13 revealed a weak corporate governance in its state-owned banks, thus the country is expected to actively start attracting FDI. Part III then succinctly moves on to explain the main reasons behind the Eurozone crisis (2009-11) and the reforms by the Eurozone to prevent further economic and financial crises.

Overall, this book can primarily be recommended as essential read for students and researchers focusing on the EU's eastward enlargement. However, because of the way it combines a comprehensive overview of the post-communist economies in CEECs and Western Balkans with a detailed account of selected countries in these regions, it should be of interest not only to specialists in country studies from Eastern Europe but also to a broader audience of readers interested in post-socialist transformation, regional integration, and the role of FDI in the economic development.

Finally, we should add that the book remains pertinent, because at the current times there are still many salient questions concerning the EU membership prospects of the Western Balkan countries. After this book was published, the EU has experienced its biggest migration crisis since the Second World War, and for the first time in history a Member State has recently departed from the EU (the so-called 'Brexit'). In addition, the whole world has been deeply impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. How did all this affect the membership prospects of candidate countries and potential candidates from the Western Balkans?

First, the geopolitical importance of the region was highlighted during the peak of the migration crisis in 2015. Large flows of migrants from the Middle East and Central Asia followed the shortest transit route from Turkey to Greece and then through the Western Balkans towards the EU (the so-called 'Balkan Route'). Serbia and North Macedonia (in 2019 Macedonia was renamed in order to resolve its name dispute with Greece) cooperated with the EU in the border management and humanitarian support, yet their cooperation did not accelerate their EU accession process. Second, while the Member States presented a unified front in the Brexit negotiations with the UK, the same unified front cannot be seen with regard to the EU's southeastward enlargement. In 2020 Bulgaria blocked the EU accession talks of North Macedonia over a language dispute and the French President Emmanuel Macron has frequently raised doubts over the future EU enlargement. Third, in the midst of the COVID-19 vaccine supply delay to the Balkan countries from the EU, these countries relied on the Russian and Chinese vaccines instead (the trend which has currently been referred to as 'COVID-19 vaccine

diplomacy’). Last but not least, the fact that five EU Members do not recognize Kosovo delays Kosovo’s membership prospects.

In the light of these developments this book has an enduring relevance in that it shows how the EU membership represents the best choice for the small Western Balkan countries in their quest for economic prosperity and political stability.

『社会主義体制史研究』既刊
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