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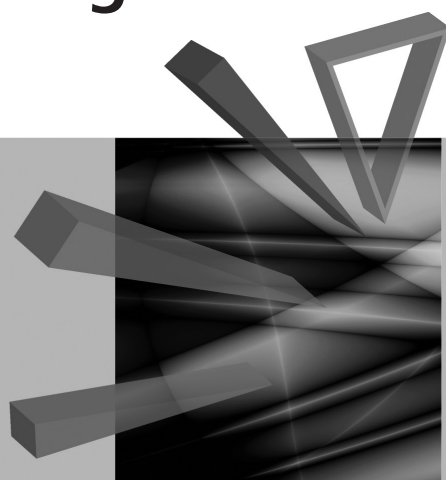
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# **Innovation as a Factor of the Development of the Asia-Pacific Region**



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## IMPACT OF THE MODELS OF ASIAN, AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN REGIONAL INTEGRATION ON DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL

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**Summary:** The models of integration in Asia and America deserve a comparative study, with Europe as a point of reference. Such a comparison makes sense because of the common roots of European and American civilisation as well as the colonial past common for some parts of Asia. It is justified also because European integration processes are the most advanced. The analysis of factors deciding about the accepted models of integration helps to understand reasons for the differences between the economic integration processes in Europe, America and Asia, and consequently reasons for their different advancement and impact on participant development prospects. Thus, the comparative analysis is marked off by socio-political and economic characteristics of countries grouping on three geopolitical continents. We believe that institutionalised forms of economic cooperation on the studied continents and their economic activity scenarios are correlated with the characteristics of a state from a given continent. The cultural patterns absorbed from the outside (in the convergence process) after their internalisation become endogenous.

**Keywords:** economic integration, regionalism, economic development.

### 1. Introduction

Norms, institutions and legal regimes crossing state political boundaries result in progressive cohesion of international space. This resulted in universal character of such elements of a state political system as democracy, rule of law, respect for property and market economy and for collective rights of individuals and social groups. Brzeziński focused on the convergence mechanism in international relations, perceiving it as a source of evolutionary regime changes in open world countries.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, each case of differences existing among geographically designated

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<sup>1</sup> Z. Brzeziński, *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era*, Viking Press, New York 1970.

regions raises the following questions: firstly, whether or not the difference relates to standards of an institution recognised as the endemic or the cosmopolitan one.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, how is the space of phenomena and processes occurrence defined? Thirdly, what determined the diversity of development ways? And fourthly, how do the differences affect development potential of particular regions?

## 2. Factors influencing participation in regional and interregional integration

The forms and intensity of participation of a group of states distinguished by their geographic region in the process of both regional and interregional integration is conditioned by many factors. In particular, they are resultants of endogenous, internal factors impact, characterising a region as well as exogenous (external) factors derived from interregional impacts and interactions (e.g., global forces system). Not only are quantitative differences in the number of existing and emerging regional groupings observable, but also qualitative, relative to the integration progress derived from organisations ranging from coordinating (e.g., coordination of some industries' trade policy) to integrating ones (e.g., the European Union). What is also distinct is states' ability (and motives) to create groups and attract new members. Occasionally, states traditionally maintaining good relations create new types of mutual ties. This was the case of the NAFTA set by the US and Canada. In the latter case, the eternal enemies replace animosities with integration (e.g., the EU collaborative establishing by France and Germany). Dół formularza

Groups may be of closed, partially open or open character. Assuming *a priori* that differences in the effects of the exogenous factors impact and intensity, exerted on the integration potential of a region are insignificant,<sup>3</sup> it should be noted that important, inter-regional differences in the scale of participation in the integration are induced by endogenous factors.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In this paper the notions are to be understood pursuant to their meaning in natural sciences. Endemic organisms are "species found only in one, often a small area, [...] endemic species have evolved primarily in isolated areas of different geographical barriers, such as on oceanic islands, mountain ranges, the valleys among the mountains" (see: [http://przyroda.polska.pl/slownik/index.endemit\\_gatunek\\_endemiczny,id,231794.htm](http://przyroda.polska.pl/slownik/index.endemit_gatunek_endemiczny,id,231794.htm) (accessed: 02.12.2011)). The essence of the natural and social endemic is its uniqueness defined as the occurrence in a specific area, which may result from the past, i.e., rooting in the place of occurrence or isolation, and therefore the discontinuities of the occurrence. The opposite of endemic species is cosmopolitan ones, i.e., those whose geographical scope covers the whole world ("forever", as exemplified by the laws of nature, or due to changes deriving from interactions of individuals, groups, societies and states).

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise, it would be a case of entropy.

<sup>4</sup> The contents of individual folders is not in every case identical. In respect to Asia, such patterns of civilisation integration should be listed as exogenous factors. For more see: M. Weber, *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 239ff and J. Baszkiewicz, *Wolność, równość, własność*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 92–100 and 118–120.

One of the most important endogenous factors is characteristics of political powers in a region. This is balance of power or imperial order, in which all states are grouped around a superpower (the idea of hubs and spokes). What is equally important is society's political culture rooting from civilisation in a region (e.g., designating the European space of democracy dating back to Greek, Roman legal culture and experience of the Reformation) as well as from the impact of new culture-forming factors revealed immediately before the period covered by the study (these include: respect for fundamental human and minorities rights and freedoms, democratic and law-abiding nature of a state, as well as market economy).

Events and processes taking place in Asia and America deserve a comparative study, with Europe as a point of reference.<sup>5</sup> Such a comparison makes sense because of the common roots of European and American civilisation as well as the colonial past common with parts of Asia. Moreover, the European integration processes are the most advanced. The analysis of endogenous factors helps to understand reasons for the differences between the economic integration processes in Europe, America and Asia, and consequently reasons for their different advancement and impact on participant development prospects. Thus, the comparative analysis is marked off by socio-political and economic characteristics of countries grouping on three geopolitical continents. We believe that institutionalised forms of economic cooperation on the studied continents and their economic activity scenarios are correlated with the characteristics of a state from a given continent. The cultural patterns absorbed from the outside (in the convergence process) after their internalisation become endogenous.

### **3. Specific characteristics of European, Asian and American countries' international cooperation**

Deciding to cooperate, states reject the alternative choice, that is, isolation. Cost and benefit analysis provides a basis for this selection. The cooperation option, meaning a partnership or an alliance acceptance, reflects not only the expectation of gains, but also a relatively low opening risks assessment. The choice between isolation and opening depends, among others, on single- or multi-cultures of nation-state society, its values, socio-political systems and characteristics of an economy. A higher level of cooperativeness characterises individualistic states-societies, naturally enforcing individuals to work together, as opposed to collectivist states-societies, in which larger social structures allow isolation, simultaneously, sharply distinguishing locals from strangers. High cooperativeness is manifested by liberal societies. Unlike non-liberal, they accept differences, which is a prerequisite for cooperation. These states' open market economies are focused on economic expansion. Their economic system

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<sup>5</sup> The study is subject to the dictates of geography, listing the NAFTA to American regional integration alongside the institution of Latin American states, not to the transatlantic space.

is correlated with cooperative behaviour and limited intervention of government-regulator, which promotes activity and cooperation.

### 3.1. Historical background

There are two separate ways of community organisation: intra- and inter-state. The first is subordination (Rome was its prototype<sup>6</sup>), the second is cooperation (based on Greek institutionalised, multilateral and multi-institutional cooperation). Balance of power between community members determines the choice of a model. Imbalance favours subordination, while parity closeness promotes cooperativeness. In international relations, cultural models are decisive, among others, states readiness to follow their domestic preferences and experiences in external internal relations. In inter-states relations, authoritarian regimes usually resort to subordination, while democracies favour cooperation.

In the Greek model subjects were setting up all sorts of institutions: organisations whose model was followed by the Washington Treaty Organisation (*symmachie* and *epimachai*). They institutionalised collective self-defence. Its participants remained independent, joining the armed forces under joint command only in wartime. Greeks created also organisations (*amfiktionie* and *koinon*), being progenitors of the Council of Europe or the EU (in its non-economic dimensions). They were established to protect the value system, at that time religious cults, and currently fundamental rights and freedoms. It is in Ancient Greek institutions considering their external environment as a potential source of danger that we can trace an analogy with European or transatlantic space.

Similar processes outside Europe were rare. An interesting project was the Great Union of Chinese States by Confucius (551–479 BC) with the assumptions similar to the concept of the League of Nations. Confucius advocated<sup>7</sup> the establishment of an association of states on the foundation of international law, whose aim was to ensure peace in international relations.

Resorting to remote experience is vital in the comparative analysis of Asian and European continents, because the closer to the present time, the more similarities between them disappear. Gaining independence, Asian countries triggered isolationism, while Europe favoured integration. Distancing both continents civilizations is contrary to their rapprochement through economic openness, as well as with the

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<sup>6</sup> A consequence of the advantage of internal democracy of ancient Rome was building external relations based on subordination, which allowed removing military and non-military threats outside of Rome. The subordinated accepted their position within the empire, in return being offered, among others, protection.

<sup>7</sup> The editing of the Pentateuch and other texts authorship is attributed to Confucius. Li-ki (Book of Changes), which is a proposal to establish an association of states, is the fifth member of the Pentateuch considered by some experts as the Apocrypha (see: J. Künstler, Wstęp, [in:] *Dialogi konfucjańskie*, przekład i przypisy: K. Czyżewska-Madejewicz, M.J. Künstler, Z. Tłumski, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1976, p. 7).



political opening of the nineteenth century (Christian) Europe to Japan and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>8</sup> Still the differences between Europe and America diminished. Paradoxically, as a result of decolonisation, being a formal separation of America from Europe, Latin America is coming into the mainstream of European values.

When in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe began a process of institutionalisation of states' cooperation through international organisations as intermediaries, in Asia there was nothing similar. The aforementioned participation in the cooperation of the Ottoman Empire and Japan was an initiative of the European institutions. China presence among the Great Powers after the Second World War was largely formal, resulting from US global strategy. Actually "the Great Powers" were to maintain and demonstrate unity. Implementation of the second purpose appointed China to the group of the Security Council member states.

The American continent was built by immigrants from Europe, who brought heritage of widely understood European civilisation. American territories belonged to the imperial rulers of European countries (such as the eighteenth-century Spain of Charles II), while the settlers wanted to build states even "more" European, as the case of the USA proves. America's political class was intellectually capable of both continuing the experience of the integration of Ancient Greece and creatively developing the experience of institutionalisation of congresses initiated with the Congress of Vienna.

Milestones in the cooperation of states subject to institutionalisation<sup>9</sup> were reached in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. European conventions and conferences and the processes that they started were taken over by American space states. The Pan-American system has been built since 1826, when Simon Bolivar proposed, during the Congress of Panama, the establishment of the League of Latin American states. Part of creating this system was the Washington Conference in 1889–1890 and in 1902 the establishment of an organisation which in 1910 was renamed as the Pan-American Union, and then led to the creation of the Organisation of American States (OAS).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In 1856 the Congress of Paris recognised the right of the Ottoman Empire to the "membership" in the international community, which was tantamount to admittance of the first non-Christian country that adopted European values and institutions, "[...] recognize this High Port that supposed to participate in the benefits of a European law of nations and the European concert". – Art. 7 of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Austria, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey. For the Polish text, see: B. Winiarski, *Wybór źródeł do nauki prawa międzynarodowego*, Warszawa 1938, pp. 28–33.

<sup>9</sup> Institutionalisation is understood as creation of international regimes, in which actors join teams focused on making and implementing separate tasks (see: S. Krasner, *International Regimes*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1983, pp. 1ff). The concept of international regimes, perceives international institutions as structuring behaviour (see R.O. Keohane, *International institutions: Two approaches*, [in:] R.J. Beck, A.C. Arendt, R.O. Vander Lugt (Eds.), *International Rules. Approaches from International Law and International Relations*, Oxford/New York 1996, p. 193).

<sup>10</sup> The construction of the Pan-American system was completed on 8 January 1990, after the ratification of the Charter of the OAS by Canada.

### 3.2. Current developments

Societies settled south of the Rio Grande, however, lacked the lasting experience of human rights and freedoms, as well as democracy, rule of law and market economy. The end of these governments was the revolt of the oppressed, and an important outer stimulus of this process was President Carter's policy of refusing to support non-democratic authorities. The effect of the authoritarian rule lasting many years was the lack of public and state institutions able to cooperate and hardly able to act differently than enforcing orders execution. Lack of civil society meant not only too low a level of social trust enabling cooperation, but also feedback barriers coming from the division into locals and strangers. Economy, although based on private property (often coming from state allotment or permission to plunder), was not in the case of non-democratic states of the market character. The economic processes were decided upon by neither the market and the economy operation nor created market behaviours and social groups derived from the market, but a nomenclature instead.<sup>11</sup> This hindered not only cooperation, but the innovativeness and development.

A huge difference of potentials between the US and any other American countries or the entire group of countries is vital, as well as the imbalance in the subgroup of South and Central American countries. The Monroe Doctrine<sup>12</sup> and natural closeness of the surveyed countries favours America perceptions. However, at the same time countries of the American continent *de facto* reject the social model "made in USA", manifested extremely by pro-Nazi sympathies and lack of participation in the Second World War. At the same time, however, the United States never took the role of the nineteenth-century Prussia in Europe. Consequently, the United States have been by the states of the continent only as "the indispensable state".<sup>13</sup>

The analysed factors – individualism of transatlantic society and collectivism of Asian space societies as well as a multitude of traditions and identities of American continent moulding societies, traditions of the society created, on the one hand, by individuals possessing their own property and related to it, rights and freedoms, on the other hand, authoritarian society of depersonalised property, as well as a different history, combined with the current state of international relations with one hyper-power – contribute to the fact that the lack in Asian space cooperation institutions like those present in the transatlantic area is not incidental. Such a situation may result only in the imitation of relevant Euro-Atlantic experience in Asia. Regional cooperation and participation of Asian countries in international cooperation, limited by political factors, copies the forms of cooperation from international organisations,

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<sup>11</sup> For more see: R. Pipes, *Własność a wolność*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 21ff.

<sup>12</sup> The doctrine by the US President Monroe (1823), rejecting the right of European countries to engage in matters relating to the American continent.

<sup>13</sup> In this context, Americans themselves define the US as "indispensable state", cf., e.g., President Clinton's second inaugural message of presidential term: "America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation", cf., <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres65.html>.

such as the forum of European countries. However, what is relatively low is the potential of building NATO-like institutions, and even more organising an actor *sensu stricte*, i.e., the EU.

Another important limitation of the possibility of the cooperation of Asian states and the activities in the universal dimension is disparity between their military and economic potential (global reach), and political influence (global grasp). Insignificant political influence of Asian countries results from high fragmentation of the continent and, the connected with it, distrust and animosity between the countries of the region.<sup>14</sup> Occurrence and importance of psychological factors do not allow for a better cooperation, even between states of one hemisphere (e.g., Japan and South Korea). This does not mean that it is impossible to create the Asian model of cooperation. At least two cases indicate the potential in this respect. The first is the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation,<sup>15</sup> the second, the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO).<sup>16</sup>

Growing interest in Asian integration processes has been observed since the 1990s. Before that, the main cause of a limited interest in regional integration was the conviction that global and non-discriminatory liberalisation is beneficial from their point of view. However, a long-term lack of progress in trade liberalisation under the WTO and the incompatibility of the current multilateral negotiations with the needs of Asian economies, among others, because of insufficient covering them with FDI, has prompted setting up Asian integration groups. Asian countries started to perceive regional integration as a possibility of enlarging the internal market. Furthermore, regional integration enhances economic relations of companies from different countries, especially from Eastern Asia.<sup>17</sup> This aspect was revealed in the

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<sup>14</sup> This process includes Latin American societies set on the foundation of Iberian colonisers civilisation. Influenced by specific relations with the US and changing as a consequence of the influx of people from countries other than Spain and Portugal, European countries and other continents (e.g., Asia), and inclusion in the society (in the past excluded), Aborigines.

<sup>15</sup> Shanghai Cooperation Organisation is regional under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, set up to peaceful settlement of border disputes. Its members are Russia, China, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and (since 2001) Uzbekistan.

<sup>16</sup> The Organisation for Economic Cooperation was established in 1985 by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan (since 1992 Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan). The regional location of Turkey following politico-economic and cultural criteria poses difficulties. Already in the mid-nineteenth century, Turkey was a full member of (Christian) international community. As a NATO member it is in the transatlantic area and the Western Hemisphere, and initiation of EU accession process confirms its "Europeaness". Both Turkey itself as well as NATO and the EU are interested in Turkish activities in Asia and its ability to play the role of the Asian regional power and influence local societies and states transformation into free-market democracies. Therefore, despite Turkey's membership, we write about ECO in the context of the integration processes in Asia. Unprecedented ECO character is created by participation of antagonists, which may prove the ability of Asian countries for pragmatic cooperation.

<sup>17</sup> F. Kimura, Economic integration in extended East Asia: Toward a new trade regime, [in:] *Globalization and Economic Integration. Winners and Losers*, Edward Elgar Publishers, Cheltenham 2010, pp. 47–48.

1990s, especially the financial and economic crisis of 1997–98, which not only proved a strong correlation of region economies, but also the need for institutionalising economic cooperation. The efforts, at that time, to institutionalise co-operation also resulted in disappointment with aid programmes results and anti-crisis strategies offered by international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF).<sup>18</sup>

Another reason for increasing participation of Asian countries in preferential trade agreements is the progress of economic integration in Europe and North America. Asian countries are relatively disadvantaged in access to EU and NAFTA markets, and confronted with the demands of the free access to Asian markets by producers from Europe and North America. Simultaneously, there is no comparable counterbalance of Asia's own integration groups focused on discriminatory trade liberalisation, which worsens the international negotiating position of Asian states. Therefore, and because of a desire to relatively reduce foreign influences in Asia, particularly American, attempts have been initiated to create integration club groups addressed to Asian countries only.

A forecast attempt should complete these considerations. Convergence of societies, economies and countries<sup>19</sup> supports the idea of overseas states following the way of the European integration. This direction seems to be proved by Asian experience, as Asian states became increasingly involved in the process of institutionalised economic integration.<sup>20</sup>

Paradoxically, the account of integration's gains and losses proves the contrary. In an open global economy built on a foundation of law and WTO institutions, there may not be sufficient economic incentive to deepen integration, and being an honest participant of the global market based on cooperative coordination provides benefits comparable to those of a common or single policy.<sup>21</sup>

The economic problems of the European monetary union countries disclosed during the economic crisis, which began in autumn 2008, do not favour integration. Limited trust in convergence results also in increased cultural distance in the world derived from the universal civilisation's smaller expectations. South America strongly felt the lack of EU support for its transition. The EU focusing on Central and Eastern Europe was considered a betrayal; a sense of isolation deepened the EU

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<sup>18</sup> J.E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*, New York/London 2003, pp. 89–132.

<sup>19</sup> For example, see: H. Arendt, *O rewolucji*, Kraków 1991, pp. 58ff and G. Rydlewski, *Rządzenie w świecie megazmian*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 35–56.

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that the duplication of structures does not always reproduce the essence of an institution. A good illustration is wearing the gowns of English judges by the judges in the former British colony in Africa, not meaning, however, the transfer of the institution, which resulted in a caricature. These of the integration intensification are not affected even by a relatively low rate of establishing new institutions in Europe. This is the consequence of the continent saturation with institutions. The result is adding more functions and enhancing their competence rather than creating new institutions.

<sup>21</sup> G.S. Becker, G.N. Becker, *Ekonomia życia*, Gliwice 2006, pp. 321–332 and 359–365.

inconsistent attitude to dictatorships and dictators (Judge Garson judicial crusade against members of the Argentinean and Chilean juntas was accompanied by the Spanish Government's flirting with Cuba and its disloyalty to the common EU policy). Also in Asia, the hope to create a unique identity is more frequently and strongly expressed than a desire to build transcontinental bridges.

## 4. Conclusions

Asian, American and European states represent different approaches to regional integration in political terms. Extreme cases determine the scope of differences. One extreme is Europe, whose countries after the Second World War, with US assistance, began to create the western area of integrated space. In this part of the Western Hemisphere for decades the integration within the European institutions, currently converted into the European Union, has been deepened and widened.<sup>22</sup>

The other extreme is Asia, where countries with a delay not only in relation to Europe, but also to America, took action for regional integration. The case of America is between those two.

Different levels of development and different attitudes towards cooperation with foreign countries, including regional economic integration, come from different paths of social and economic development, significantly affecting past, present and future growth opportunities.

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<sup>22</sup> The current EU increased by further member states, including the promotion of transition towards democracy and market economies: Greece, Spain and Portugal, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Southern and the Western Balkans.

Weber M., *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej*, Warszawa 2002.  
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## WPLYW MODELI INTEGRACJI REGIONALNEJ W AZJI, AMERYCE I EUROPIE NA MOŻLIWOŚCI ROZWOJOWE

**Streszczenie:** Modele integracji przyjęte na kontynentach azjatyckim i amerykańskim poddajemy analizie porównawczej, w której punktem odniesienia jest kontynent europejski. Takie porównanie ma sens ze względu na wspólne z Europą korzenie cywilizacyjne kontynentu amerykańskiego oraz kolonialną przeszłość części kontynentu azjatyckiego. Europa stanowi punkt odniesienia także dlatego, że procesy integracyjne są tu najbardziej zaawansowane. Analiza czynników decydujących o modelach integracji pozwala zrozumieć przyczyny różnic między procesami integracji gospodarczej w regionach europejskim, amerykańskim i azjatyckim, a w konsekwencji powody różnego stanu ich zaawansowania i wpływu na możliwości rozwojowe uczestników. Ogólne ramy badania wyznacza zatem analiza porównawcza cech społeczno-politycznych i gospodarczych państw tworzących ugrupowania na trzech kontynentach geopolitycznych. Uważamy, że istnieje zależność między formami instytucjonalizacji współpracy gospodarczej na badanych kontynentach i scenariuszami aktywności gospodarczej a cechami państw z danego kontynentu.

**Słowa kluczowe:** integracja ekonomiczna, regionalizm, rozwój ekonomiczny.