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Italy in the European Union and Italy for Japan*

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1. Introduction

The Italy-Japan relations after the Second World War are least studied at least in Japan. For example, Heibon-sha published *Cyclopedia of Relations with Japan* in 2001 and the chapter on Italy scarcely touches on the post-war relations. Even Italian foreign diplomacy and foreign policies are rarely taken up by Japanese scholars. The exception is Ishida (1994), although the period of the story was before the war. Most of contemporary Japanese political scientists interested in political thoughts, political history and internal politics of Italy. As a series of *Waseda libli mundi*, Italy has been taken up in three volumes and *Itaria no seiji (The Politics of Italy)* (Baba and Okazawa eds., 1999) was one. But, no chapter on Italian diplomacy, nor foreign policies nor on external relations. Only two articles are found on Italy's relations with the European Communities/European Union written by Japanese scholars. Murakami (1990) and Suzuki (1993) are only among few.

What does this academic situation mean? Is it lack of interest by Japanese scholars on the subject? Or is it reflection of the reality of Italy-Japan relations itself?

Before analyzing Italy-Japan relations, it is essential to address the situation of Italy in the European Communities/ European Union.

2. Italy in the European Union

2.1. If you open any introductory textbook on the European Union, you usually find table contains basic indicators of the European Union and the member states. Take John McCormick's book (McCormick 1999) for an example, Table 2.1(pp. 44-45) shows comparative data (area, population, GNP, GNP per capita etc.). Out of the current fifteen member states, Italy ranks 6th in area, 4th in population with 57.2 million, 4th in GNP with \$1,088 billion (1997), 10th in GNP per capita with \$19,000.

As far as the institutional arrangements of the European Union are concerned, Italy has been treated as a member of four major states along Germany, France and the United Kingdom. Italy shares same number of the votes in the Council (10 votes, will be 29 votes once the Treaty of Nice comes in force), same numbers of the members of the Commission, Economic and Social Committee, Committee of the Regions and other institutions with other three major member states. Only in European Parliament after the unification, Germany has more seats (99 seats) than Italy, France and the UK (87 seats respectively, will be 72 seats after 2004).

Moreover, Italy has been a founding member of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952, the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC) in 1958. Italy has contributed enormously to the development of European integration from the beginning. To identify this, let us look back the history of the European integration. We easily find many Italian names and names of the Italian cities as evidence.

2.2. There was the Ventotene Manifesto in July 1941, written by Ernest Rossi, Eugenio Colorni and Altiero Spinelli, which was later developed into the draft Declaration of the European Resistance, issued at Geneva in July 1944 (see Lipgens, 1968). Spinelli and others were influenced by

the writing of Prof. Luigi Einaudi of University of Turin, who later became the first President of the Republic in 1948 (Delzell, 1960, pp. 241-50).

It was Alcide De Gasperi, Prime Minister, and his Foreign Minister Count Carlo Sforza who took Italy into the Paris Conference after the Schuman Declaration of May 9, 1950. "The Schuman Plan offered a further opportunity to be recognized on equal footing with France (and also with West Germany), Rome could also hope to renew its special relationship with Paris, and last but not least, the Italian authorities could give the American administration further evidence of their strong commitment to the European ideals"(Varsori, 1995, pp.55-56). It is no wonder that the name of De Gasperi is crowned on the Institute of European Studies in Rome, our co-sponsor of the conference.

Then comes Messina. The six Foreign Ministers of the ECSC met on the island of Sicily in June 1955 and issued the Messina resolution, which later provided the base of the Spaak Report and the two Rome Treaties. It was in Rome that the EEC and EAEC Treaties were signed on March 25, 1957. The Prime Minister was Antonio Segni and his Foreign Minister was Gaetano Martino. According to Prof. Varsori, "In early 1955 the Italian authorities accepted that European integration had been—and was still—one of the most effective foreign policy cards that they could play"(p. 65). But Italy supported proposals, albeit cautiously. The Rome had always seen economic integration as their ultimate and the most advantageous goal, but had often been worried about the relative weakness of the Italian economy compared to other European countries. Italy stressed the markets of the Six would have to be opened not only to industrial products but to manpower and the investment, and Italy's needs were certainly taken account by its European partners (Varsori, pp. 65-66). The right of free movement of persons (especially labours) was admitted and the European Investment Bank (EIB) was established.

On April 8, 1965, the Merger Treaty establishing a single Council and a single Commission for three European Communities was signed and Italian representative was Amatore Fanfani, to whom Keio University presented

honourary Doctorate in 1977.

January 1970, Franco Malfatti became President of the European Communities and Altiero Spinelli became Commissioner for Industrial Policy. But, Malfatti discredited the Commission by stepping down President before the end his term in order to re-enter Italian Politics. Spinelli also left Brussels unexpectedly in 1976 to join the European Parliament (Dinan, p. 433) but he kept very active to promote the idea of European integration. He was a founding member of the Crocodile Group and later wrote the Draft Treaty establishing European Union, which was adopted by the European Parliament on February 14, 1984. and promoted reforms of the European Communities to European Union.

Aldo Moro, then Prime Minister, signed the Helsinki Agreement under the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in August 1975 representing the member states of the European Communities as Italy held the Presidency of Council.

2.3. Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo coined his name by taking joint initiative in November 1981 with his German counter-part, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, on the reform of the European Political Cooperation (EPC). This “Genscher = Colombo Initiative” brought “the Solemn Declaration on European Union” at Stuttgart European Council in June 1983. Although “the Solemn Declaration” did not have legal binding force, it initiated the next institutional reform.

The European Council held in June 1985 at Milan will be remembered in the history of the European integration. The Milan European Council quickly adopted the White Paper “Completing the Internal Market”, which is set schedule for “Europe without Frontiers” by the end of 1992. At the same time, Italian Prime Minister, Bettino Craxi and his Foreign Minister, Giulio Andreotti, decided to take vote to convene Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) to amend the basic Treaties against the strong opposition by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Danish Prime Minister Paul Schlüter and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. It was the first time that vote was taken in the European Council since it had been inaugur-

ated in March 1975. The 1985-IGC, convened in September 1985 at Luxembourg, produced the Single European Act (SEA), which opened the way for further round of IGCs and revitalization of European integration in 1990's.

Three names of the Italian economists had been coined in relations with Internal Market. Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, then Deputy Director-General of the Bank of Italy and now in European Central Bank, was responsible for the report entitled "Efficiency, Stability and Equity: A Strategy for the Evolution of the Economic System of the European Community". The report made assessment on the impact of the third Enlargement (accession of Spain and Portugal) and Internal Market, and now called "Padoa-Schioppa Report (1987)".

Paolo Cecchini, an Italian economist, led a group of researchers in huge project on the "cost of non-Europe". The purpose of the project was to quantify the cost to the EC of maintaining a fragmented market. In early 1988 a massive sixteen-volumes, popularly called the Cecchini Report (Paul Cecchini 1988) was submitted which predicted rosy pictures on European future.

Prof. Mario Monti, then the Commissioner responsible for Internal Market and for Competition Policy since September 1999, was responsible for the study on the effect of the Internal Market known as "Monti Report (Mario Monti, 1996)". The effects of the Internal Market still need to be followed.

Three Italian cities are again reminded in the process of Treaty amendments. The 1990 IGC was convened at Rome in December to produce the Treaty on the European Union, signed at Maastricht on February 7 1992 and came in force November 1, 1993.

Messina celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the Messina conference and opened discussion of the Reflection Group on June 1, 1995. The Reflection Group submitted report to urge Member states to promote further reforms. The Italian government hosted the first meeting of the 1996-IGC on March 29, 1996 at Turin to pave way to the Amsterdam Treaty, signed on October 2, 1998 and came in force May 1, 1999.

It was not coincident that Italy, as Presidency of the Council, convened

and hosted three IGCs to amend Basic Treaties to drastic changes in institutional arrangements and policies of the European Communities/European Union.

Thus Italy has been very active and playing very important roles in the process of European Integration.

3. Italy for Japan

3.1. The first formal relations between Italy and Japan in modern age began on May 25 1866 when the Italian Naval vessel “Magenta” arrived at Yokohama with the official representative of King Vittorio Emanuele II on board. Italy and Japan signed the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce on August 25, 1866 and established diplomatic relations. The first Italian diplomatic mission was established in Japan in 1867. The Italian Embassy moved to Mita, next to Keio University, in 1932(L’Ambasciata D’Italia, pp. 7-13).

Italy and Japan came closer in 1930’s and had been members of the Tripartite Alliance, which was concluded in September 1940. But the new government under Marshall Badoglio concluded the Armistice Agreement with the Allied Forces in September 1943 and declared war against Germany in October 1943. After war ended in Europe, Italian government under F. Parri, declared war against Japan in July 1945.

Italy and Japan had exchanged the notes in September 1951 to end war situation between the two countries once the Peace Treaty with Japan, signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951, came in force. After the Peace Treaty came in force on April 28, 1952, the two parties restored diplomatic relations (Atsushi Kitahara in *Cyclopedia of Relations with Japan*, pp.200-201). After Italy and Japan concluded Cultural Cooperation Agreement in 1954 cultural exchanges between the two countries became active and Italian Cultural Institute was established in Tokyo in 1959 and Istituto Giapponese di Cultura was established at Rome in 1962. Active cultural exchanges and cooperation have become one of the characteristics of the relations between Italy and Japan.

3.2. So what I have done is facts finding operation. In order to investigate political relations between the two countries after the war, I will use *Waga gaiko no kinkyō (The Recent Situation of Our Diplomacy)*, vol. 1 (1957) to vol. 30 (1986) and its succeeding issues, *Gaiko Seisho (The Bluebook)*, vol. 31 (1987) to vol. 43 (2000) as basic materials for analysis.

The first visit of Japanese Prime Minister to Italy was July 19-21, 1959 on the occasion of his European tour. Shinsuke Kishi had a series of talk with President G. Gronchi, Prime Minister Antonio Segni and Foreign Minister G. Pella. They discussed how to make closer political and economic relations in addition to cultural relations (vol. 4, 1960, p. 107). The repayment of deposit of Italian Exchange Bureau in Japanese bank, one of delicate issues of the compensation on the war damages, was solved on August 4, 1959 (p.109).

As far as trade was concerned, the basic issue was how to abolish or reduce the Italian measures to restrict imports from Japan. In the Fall 1959, Italy was judged by the IMF Council that Italy had no qualification to maintain import restriction measures due to the balance of payment reasons. In addition, the sixteenth Plenary Session of the GATT passed resolution in Spring 1960 calling Italy to make direct consultation on import restriction with the parties concerned (vol. 5, 1961, pp.178-9). The remaining restricted items were about 520 in 1959. Although Italy liberalized about 120 to about 400 items by the beginning of January 1961, trade talks have continued even till 1994, when all remaining bilateral import restrictions by the member states of the European Union were finally abolished with the completion of the Internal Market.

Italian Foreign Minister Segni visited Japan May 30-June 6 1961 as an official guest of Japanese government and met Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda and Foreign Minister Zentaro Kosaka and others (vol. 6, 1962, p. 130). Europe has become more important area for Japanese foreign policy in 1960's especially European Economic integration began to produce benefits. Foreign Minister Kosaka made European tour in July 4-17 and visited Italy July 11-12, 1961. He paid visit to President Gronchi and talked with Prime

Minister Fanfani, Foreign Minister Segni and Trade Minister Martinelli (p. 127). The Aviation Agreement was negotiated from October 1961 and signed in January 1962. This agreement made possible for both flag-carriers to set direct flights between Rome and Tokyo, which was expected to make economic and cultural relations closer (p.128).

Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira paid unofficial visit to Europe including Italy from September 30 to October 2, 1962. Then, Prime Minister Ikeda visited Europe in November 5-24 with Kiichi Miyazawa, then Minister for Economic Planning Agency, visited Italy in November 17-19. They met Segni, then as President, Prime Minister Fanfani, Foreign Minister A. Piccione and others (vol. 7, 1963, p.115). The Italian import restrictions were kept reduced, but still 181 items remained by the beginning of 1963 (p.221).

3.3. The Year 1963 saw the institutionalization of the bilateral Foreign Ministers regular meetings between Japan and major powers in Europe. The first Anglo-Japanese annual regular meeting was started on September 3rd between Ohira and Lord Home. Ohira also visited Paris to conduct the first Franco-Japanese regular meeting with M. Couve de Murville. Taking opportunity of the official visit of the President of Federal Republic to Japan, Foreign Minister G. Schroder met Ikeda and Ohira and decided to establish similar arrangement between Germany and Japan (vol. 8, 1964, pp. 107-9).

But, it took two more years to hold the first bilateral regular meeting between Italy and Japan. Foreign Minister Etusaburo Shiina, under Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, visited Italy by the invitation of Italian government on July 16-17, 1965. He met Prime Minister Moro and Foreign Minister Fanfani and discussed recent international situation, especially the situations in Southeast Asia and Europe, the United Nations issues and bilateral issues. Then the both Foreign Ministers decided to establish regular meeting between Japan and Italy, similar to the arrangement between Japan and three European powers (vol. 10, 1966, p.139).

The frequency and intervals of the regular meetings have differed. It

took another five years for Italy to hold the second meeting with Japan. Foreign Minister Moro visited Tokyo on November 19-20 1970 and met Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi. By the same year, Anglo-Japanese and Franco-Japanese meetings were the eighth and German-Japanese meeting was fifth (vol. 15, 1971, pp.183-4).

It is important to note here that the Common Commercial Policy of the European Community began to take place from January 1970. The competence on commercial policy had been transferred from national capitals to Brussels. There were negotiations to conclude EC wide trade agreement with Japan in early 1970. But, the negotiation broke up on the safeguard clauses issue and bilateral agreements between Japan and the member states of the EC were kept alive for renewal.

As far as bilateral issues are concerned, the negotiation on Tax Treaty was started in September 1964 and finalised on December 29, 1967 (vol. 12, 1968). The import restriction still dominated in trade negotiation in 1960s. By January 1970, Italy's import restriction against Japanese products were reduced to 45 items (cf. 27 items by France)(vol. 14, 1970, p. 156). The aviation talks began in September 1969 quickly agreed on the flights via Southern route but the negotiation on the flights via Siberian route was not easy. The agreement was finally agreed in September 1972 (vol.14. 1970, p. 155 and vol. 17, 1973. p. 203). The Exchange of Letters was done at Rome on August 24, 1973 (vol. 18, 1974, p. 370).

3.4. Giulio Andreotti visited Japan in April 1973. This is the first time that Italian Prime Minister visited Japan as an official visit. He paid a visit to Emperor and had a talk with Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka and his Foreign Minister Ohira. Ohira visited Rome in September for the third Italy-Japan regular meeting (vol. 18, 1974. pp. 365-6).

The Year 1975 saw very important institutional development in Europe and world. The summit meeting of the EC nine member states, held in December 1974 in Paris decided to convene regular summit meeting and called it European Council. The first European Council was taken place at Dublin in March 1975 and showed the effectiveness of summit diplomacy by

solving British budgetary issue.

The first Summit by industrialized states was convened in November 1975 and Italy and Japan were invited as original member of the G-6, later G-7/8 Summit. This G7/8 framework provided Japan the most important mean to discuss and if necessary take common actions in international economic and political issues later. It also provided Japanese leaders to conduct a series of bilateral meetings with other leaders including Italians.

But, economic relations between Japan and Italy kept low considering the size of respective economies. For example in 1977 (vol. 22, 1978, p.126-7), Japanese export to Italy was US\$444 million, ranked sixth in EC member states, one sixth of Germany and a little more than half of Belgium. Japanese import from Italy was US\$466 million, ranked fourth and but one third of Germany. Then, Italian export to Japan rapidly increased and it rose to US\$656 million (+40.7%) in 1978 and US\$993 million (+51.3%) in 1979. On the contrary, Japanese export to Italy US\$489 million (+10.3%) in 1978 and US\$681 million (+39.2%) in 1979 (vol. 23, 1979, p.134; vol. 24, 1980, p.146). Thus Italy along with Denmark were the only member states of the EC recorded trade surplus against Japan.

Foreign Minister A. Forlani visited Tokyo for the fourth regular meeting from November 27-December 1, 1978. But in the same fiscal year, the fifteenth meeting was held with the UK and France and the tenth meeting was recorded with Germany. These figures clearly shows the rank of priority on European partners for Japan. Prime Minister Andreotti, Forlani and F. M. Pandorfi visited Japan for Tokyo Summit in June 1979. The next year, the G-7 Summit was held at Venice from June 21 to 23, 1980. Due to the sudden death of Prime Minister Ohira, Saburo Okita, Foreign Minister, headed the Japanese delegation with Finance Minister Noboru Takeshita and Trade Minister Sasaki. Okita had also flown to Rome for the fifth regular meeting in early June.

3.5. In January 1982 President Pertini with Foreign Minister Colombo visited Japan. This is the first time that the Head of State of Italy visited Japan (vol. 26, 1982, p.164). Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe visited Rome in

January 1983 for the Seventh regular meeting. This meeting was the only occasion Japanese minister met Italian Minister that year except the occasion of the G-7 summit at Williamsburg. The relations with Italy still kept low in Japanese decision-makers. So vice versa..

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone visited Rome in July 1985. The Year 1985 saw visits of five different Italian ministers—Commerce and Industry, Treasury, Education, Science and Research, Labour—to Japan in different occasions (vol. 30, 1986, p.182). For the Tokyo G-7 Summit in 1986, Prime Minister Craxi, Foreign Minister Andoreotti, Treasury Minister G. Goria came to Tokyo. In return Nakasone visited Italy in June 1987 again for the Venice G-7 Summit. Prime Minister Takeshita visited Italy during his European tour in April-May 1987.

3.6. Japan and Italy intensified contact in early 1990's. Foreign Minister G. de Michelis visited Tokyo in May 1991 and Italy-Japan summit was held in London in July. The one of the reasons of these intensifications of dialogue between Italy and Japan is the active Presidency of Italy in the European Communities in 1985 and 1990, which helped to change Italian images in Japanese policy-makers' mind. With the collapse of the "Berlin Walls" and eventual end of the Cold war, Japan and the Europeans Community agreed to establish a new framework for dialogue and cooperation. The joint declaration between Japan and the European Communities and the member states on July 1991 at the Hague, which was the turning point in the EC/EU and Japanese relations. The declaration was the product of mutual recognition that both sides are looking for partner to cope with the new situation.

The year 1996 was the year for the strengthening of the bilateral relations between Japan and three major powers of the European Union. Japan and Germany signed "Action Plans for German Japanese Partnership" on May 20 at Bonn. "Action Plans for the Special Partnership" was signed on September 2 at Tokyo between Japan and the UK. Then Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and President Jacques Chirac signed "Twenty measures for Japan-France Cooperation towards 21st Century". As for with Italy, Japan and Italian Foreign Minister met in February 1998 at Singapore

on the occasion of the ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) Foreign Ministers Meeting. Yukihiko Ikeda and L. Dini agreed to establish a new framework of cooperation between two countries, so-called. "Japan-Italy Initiatives for the 21st Century" (vol. 41, 1998, p. 113). The proposals from Rome Group and Tokyo Group were submitted but not yet finalized as far as the vol. 43 reported (2000, p. 125). The new political document, "Shaping Our Common Future: An Action Plan for EU-Japan Cooperation" to strengthen the Euro-Japanese relations on the tenth anniversaries of the 1991 Joint Declaration between Japan and the European Union was signed on December 8, 2001 at Brussels. But Japan-Italy Initiatives was not yet signed even there was the occasion of Genoa G-7/8 Summit on July 20-22 2001.

As a whole, Italy-Japan relations are traditionally in good situation, especially the last remaining trade restrictions were finally abolished in March 1994. "Giappone in Italia in 1995/65" had been very successful. Italy has been taking favourable attitude towards Japan except on one issue.

The Japanese bid to become a permanent member of the Security Council as the one of reforms of the United Nations has been blocked by Italy for many years. Italy has been opposing the enlargement of permanent seats in Security Council and proposing enlargement only for the rotating seats (1998, p. 113).

4. Conclusion

Italy has been the founding member not only of the ECSC, later the European Union, but also of the NATO and the G-7/8 Summit.

But, are we, Japanese, treating Italy as our partner in proportionate to her power in the European Communities/European Union? Are we not under-estimating Italian power? Probably, the reverse may also be true in Italy.

"Italia in Giappone 2001" is a very good opportunity for us to reconsider these provocative but fundamental questions. I really hope "Japan-Italy Initiatives for the 21st Century" will provide useful base to improve and strengthen our relations between Japan and Italy.

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