

講演

欧州の活性化

—— EU地域の重要性とフランダースの実情——

1. 実施要領

講師 ベルナルド・カトリッセ（ベルギーフランドル交流センター館長）

日時 2009年12月11日（金）午後5時～6時30分

場所 大学院国際文化学研究科E棟4階大会議室

主催 異文化研究交流センター（IReC）

共催 文部科学省 大学院教育改革支援プログラム「文化情報リテラシーを駆使する専門家の養成」（<http://cil.cla.kobe-u.ac.jp/>）

協賛 ベルギーフランドル交流センター（<http://www.flanders.jp/>）

関西ベルギー研究会（<http://www40.atwiki.jp/kbek/>）

通訳 箱田徹（神戸大学大学院国際文化学研究科学術推進研究員）

講師略歴

ルーヴェン・カトリック大学卒（国際経済学）。1988～93年フランダース政府日本代表、1993年にベルギーフランドル交流センター館長に就任（現職）。甲南大学非常勤講師。

日本とヨーロッパの間の文化活動において先導的役割を担う団体の立ち上げやイベントの企画に数多く携わる。異文化交流に重きを置いた文化イベントの企画と制作を専門とする。

2. 講演

Energizing Europe

The Importance of the Regions and the Case of Flanders

Bernard Catrysse*

Ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you for this kind introduction. Allow me to start with elaborating a little bit more on my relationship with Europe and the EU.

Indeed, in front of you stands a real European in hart and in mind, by birth and by conviction. Being born and raised in Brussels, a stone throw away from the seat of the EU, Europe and the diversity of its cultures have been a very part of my daily life since childhood. I have seen Europe growing before my eyes and also – literally – in my backyard.

At the age of 18, I moved to Leuven, the old University City, some 25 km east from Brussels. There, I studied international economics and for the first time in my life, it made me understand thoroughly the tremendous benefits of the EU, the European zone, the internal market where people, goods and capital could move freely without any hindrance of borders. For the first time I could understand a little bit more about the enormous potential of the EU for Europe and its citizens.

Soon after my graduating, I moved to Japan. That was some 23 years ago. Yes, indeed I am 46 years old and I have already spent half of my life here in Japan. Soon, I will have been living longer here in Japan than I have ever lived in Belgium. But being even far away from Brussels, my genuine conviction of being a European hasn't faded. To the contrary, in my professional capacity, as a Representative of the Flanders Government in Japan and also as a Director of Flanders Center I became an even more committed European then I have ever been and in my work I have been acting accordingly.

As a director of the Flanders Center, I was a co-founder of the Osaka European Film Festival now some 16 years ago. Every since we have held this festival every year and by

* Director, Flanders Center (Osaka, Japan)

doing this it was my firm aim to help build a forum for the Japanese film lover to enjoy the richness of European cinema. Some 10 years ago we have also started the European Open Door Day, again a collaborative effort of all the European Cultural Centers in Osaka and this time to promote and enjoy the benefits of mastering several European languages. And then finally, some 5 years ago we started the Europe Japan Day, a cultural event to be held every year in May with the firm support of all the European Cultural centers in Kansai and with the aim of making Europe and its diverse cultures better known and appreciated.

Ladies and gentlemen, all along I do this and I keep on doing this because I believe very much that the most precious thing that Europe has on offer to Japan is the diversity of its cultures. Indeed, I believe very much in the benefits for Japan being exposed to the rich diversity of European cultures. I believe that there is a tremendous potential of inspiration and stimulation. And I am convinced that doing this effort to bring European culture to Japan keeps on challenging and triggering the hearts and the minds of the Japanese and enrich their life in many ways.

After this brief introduction about myself and my relation with Europe, allow me to get back to the original aim of this meeting here with all of you.

Introduction

Before I forget to say, I would like to take this opportunity to stress my gratitude. I feel it as a great honor to be able to address you here today at the Kobe University. I am very happy to speak to this crowd of young people. This meeting is the perfect occasion and also a very suitable forum to exchange ideas about the EU and the future of the European Union. That is indeed what I would like to talk to you about.

I would like to take this occasion especially to engage with you in a deeper discussion on the role and the importance of regions and sub-national entities. The EU is not just a collection of 27 member states; it is also an association of hundreds of local regions.

It is my view and many others with me, that the regions as entities of governance could or should complement or even in some instances replace states. The deeper involvement of regions is not a movement against states. It is a way for states to better respond to the challenges of globalization.

But before engaging in this very serious discussion, I would like to start telling you a little bit more about my country and its involvement in the EU. I would like to underline the immense importance of the EU, not only for all the participating member countries but especially for my own country Belgium.

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In a second stage I would like to brief you about the latest developments in the EU more especially the importance of the Lisbon Treaty in the decision-making process of the EU.

And lastly, I would like to elaborate on the importance of regions and sub-national entities and try to define with you where exactly they come in on the European decision making process. I especially would like to focus on the position of regions with legislative powers like Flanders and how these entities, through bodies like the Committee of Regions, can contribute to a more effective European Union.

Belgium and the EU

Coming back to the topic of my own country, ladies and gentlemen, one cannot think of nowadays Belgium without its European context of which it is a very part. Belgium and Europe belong to one another. Nowadays Belgium is firmly rooted in its European mission.

Back in 1957, Belgium was a founding member of the EEC, the then European Economic Community that later became the EU, the European Union. Ever since, Belgium has been a very committed and loyal member country of the EU. On top of that, Brussels, the capital city of Belgium, became the heart and the official seat of the EU. Moreover, the first president of the EU who has recently been appointed is the former prime Minister of Belgium, Mr. Herman Van Rompuy.

As you can see, ladies and gentlemen, Belgium is very narrowly connected to Europe. Belgium breaths European air in every thinkable way. As a smaller member country, Belgium has been recognizing in a very early stage the importance of working closely together with other European partners in order to create a scale effect and to better solve some bigger problems.

Apart from the economic aspirations, that certainly were very urgent in the period after WWII, there is the ever-growing need to tackle more and more issues effectively on a higher level. Issues like cross-border crime, terrorism, but also all issues related to the migration of people. There is the very precarious issue of the sustainable energy supply and there are of course the very urgent environmental problems and challenges that are related to the climate change. These very big issues made it even clear to us that a solution for these problems cannot only be found on a European level but also need a very strong coordination on a global level. The Climate top of Copenhagen is the very proof of this.

Over the years, the EU managed, in as far as possible, to fine-tune its decision making processes. Gradually it evolved to the world's most advanced form of supranational regionalism. It has managed to develop a model that incorporates political elements in a

deep economic integration. Still on many occasions the European citizen feels left alone and not being taken seriously. On those moments one could feel very much that there is still room for improvements in the internal as well as the external policies of the European Union.

Lisbon Treaty

Over the last years it was clear to many that the EU was facing a tough challenge because in the space of just a few years it had doubled its membership. At this moment the EU has 27 member countries. The EU therefore needed to continue to ensure that the decision-making in the EU is a smooth process.

This is why the Heads of State and Heads of Government of the EU Member States signed the Lisbon Treaty in December of 2007, and just a few weeks ago all the members have ratified this Treaty.

This was not an easy process, I can tell you. This law – or Treaty rather – needed to negotiate a tortuous path to reach the end-station. The EU went through a European Convention, a draft Constitution, two rejections in national referenda, then a draft Treaty and again a revised draft before it finally got signed. The good news however now is that it got signed and there is now, at least we believe so, an EU that is better equipped and possessing the right tools to improve its efficiency.

Indeed, for more than 40 new policy areas the EU will resort to qualified majority voting. In essence, this means that a single Member State will no longer be able to prevent action agreed by all remaining 26 countries.

Some of the innovations introduced by the Reform Treaty will also make the EU a stronger global actor. For one thing, there will be a new role for what we have called the High representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. This High representative, the so-called Minister of Foreign Affairs of the EU, will be responsible for conducting the Union's common foreign and security policy. Recently, newly nominated Catherine Ashton has occupied this position. It finally 'puts a face' on the Union: a face that will be much easier to recognize for the Japanese Foreign Minister Okada than it is now.

Similar with the nomination of Herman Van Rompuy, the former Belgian prime Minister. The EU has now its own President. Here too, finally, a face has been put on the numero Uno of the European Council.

These are not cosmetic changes. In fact, these are necessary changes for an EU the membership of which has ballooned in just a few years.

Importance of the regions

In spite of the big Treaties like the Lisbon Treaty that I just talked to you about which certainly are a big improvement and an update on the functioning and the governance of the EU, one has to admit that the EU is still in need of more transparency, accountability, effectiveness and proximity of the European decision-making process. There is still a quite big democratic deficit. The very difficult path of rejection and revising that for instance the Treaty of Lisbon went through before it was finally accepted and voted is just a proof of that. Many Europeans still feel left out and not really properly taken into account when important decisions are made. They often refer to these kinds of decisions as ‘Brussels has decided that...’

The simple truth indeed is that EU is not just a collection of 27 member states; it is also an association of hundreds of local regions and entities. Regions can be found at all territorial levels some with administrative powers, others with legislative powers. Each of these regions has their own characteristics. Some even have their own language and culture. On the basis of their specific characteristics, these regions want a place within the European decision-making forums and wish to participate actively and directly in the European decision-making process.

Allow me to elaborate on the specifics of the Belgian political and institutional structure. As you may know, Belgium is a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary democracy and a federalized country. Apart from a central Government, Belgium has three regions; Flanders (Dutch speaking), Wallonia (French speaking) and Brussels (Bi-lingual Capital Region). Each has their directly elected legislative bodies, which make them legislative sub national power entities. In fact, Belgium evolved to this kind of political structure as a reflection of its specific characteristics (language, culture etc.) and needs.

In fact, regions with legislative powers, like Flanders have good reasons to ask for more saying and a stronger voice. Due to their own legislative powers, which were granted to them by the Constitution, they are becoming an increasingly important actor in the European policy process. They are responsible for transposing EU directives into their own legislation and for implementing the EU policy in various policy sectors. This role results from a major development in the political and administrative organization of our democracies in the past decades. While regionalization and decentralization gained ground within the EU Member States, more and more responsibilities were transferred to the supra-national level.

In other words, European integration has been accompanied by “de-federalization”: the emergence of sub-national regional governance. Some will argue that we are witnessing a decline of the importance of states for many issues of governance, and that regions of all kinds are filling the gap.

The view that regions as entities of governance could or should complement or even replace states is shared by a growing number of scholars. Kenichi Ohmae argued in his book “The End of the Nation State” that regional economies are the new engines of prosperity while “traditional nation states have become unnatural, even impossible, business units in a global economy.” And Mark Leonard in “Why Europe will run the Twenty-first century” called for a “regional domino effect” that should lead to a world of interdependent regional clubs.

I myself believe that an announcement of the “death of the state” is exaggerated. In the foreseeable future, states will remain important centers of governance. But in an attempt to face the challenges of globalization, states can and at some point will have to turn to the world and to local regions to complement and even strengthen their power. Transparency, accountability, effectiveness and proximity of the European decision-making process new types of efficient European governance should be based on a democratic partnership between the different levels of governance in Europe, as they all have a responsibility in drafting, introducing and implementing policy measures. If the European Union is to keep abreast of how its citizens feel in an increasingly complex context, its decision-making will have to be in line with their daily lives. The regional policy level is an indispensable instrument for this. That is why regions should be given the opportunity to incorporate the expertise, which they gathered on the basis of local needs and traditions, into a European Union where all levels of governance shape the European policy. The international context increases the need for a Union, which can count on the full support of the European citizens.

As you might know, the Committee of the Regions (CoR) is the political assembly that provides the regional and local levels with a voice in EU policy development and EU legislation. This Committee is the only institution in Europe, which brings together the various sub-national entities of the different EU Member States. The regions with legislative powers are members of it and play a very active role here. These regions have always been in favor of reinforcing the Committee.

At present, the Committee has a mere advisory role. Nevertheless, it can bring issues to the notice of the institutions that have a certain impact within the EU, such as the

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Commission, the Council or the European Parliament. What really matters is to grant the Committee a larger role than that of a mere advisory body.

Local and regional authorities in the Member States implement around two-thirds of EU legislation. The Committee of the Regions was created in 1994 to give representatives of local government a say over the content of these laws. The CoR organizes five plenary sessions a year, where its 344 members vote on opinions issued in response to proposed legislation. The European Commission, which initiates EU laws, and the Council of Ministers, which determines the final content of the legislation (usually in tandem with the European Parliament), are obliged to consult the CoR on a wide range of policy areas including the environment, employment and transport. The Lisbon Treaty has strengthened the position of the Committee of the Regions further. In future, the European Parliament on all issues that are important for regions and municipalities must consult the Committee.

Conclusion

In conclusion I would like to say that in this world that is getting more and more complex, the European integration necessarily goes hand in hand with a de-federalization process, where, for the sake of transparency, accountability, effectiveness and proximity of the European decision-making process, more and more powers are given to the regions. In the case of legislative bodies like Flanders, or the German Länder, or Scotland, England and Wales, I would even say, 'should' be given to the regions. This doesn't mean that national level will vanish but I do mean that we will be witnessing a decline of the importance of traditional states for many issues of governance, and that for more and more issues, the regions will be the real engine and will be filling the gap. The future is thus more and more going to be a world of states AND regions.

3. 質疑応答

奥西（経済学研究科） ベルギーの事情はわかりにくいところがあると思うので、日本人研究者の観点から少し内容を補足したい。ベルギー人は「ヨーロッパを非常に意識する」という話があったが、これは「ベルギーのアイロニー」と呼ばれている。つまりベルギー人はベルギーという国家（nation）を意識する前にヨーロッパを意識するが、それ自体がベルギーという nation の特徴だと言える。またベルギーの地域（region）については、連

邦政府と地域政府が対等な中央政府を構成する点は、他国からは想像が非常に難しいがベルギーを理解する上では重要なので強調しておきたい。またお話にもあった、ヘルマン・ファン・ロンパウ（Herman Van Rompuy。日本語では「ファンロンパイ」の表記も）氏の役職が、日本では一般に、英語名（president）から EU「大統領」となってしまったのは誤解を招く。これは「欧州理事会議長」であることも再度確認しておきたい。さてカトリッセさんに質問だが、de-federalization（脱連邦化）という表現についてももう少しご意見を伺いたい。確かに EU 内にはベルギーなど地域が国家を代替できる国もあるが、例えばフランスでは考えられない。その点はどうか。

カトリッセ 確かにベルギーは脱連邦化がいわば極限まで進んでおり、EU 内でも世界でも稀なケースだ。この脱連邦化のプロセスは EU27 カ国でそれぞれ違った形をとっている。フランスはベルギーの対極で、パリにすべての権限を集中させる中央集権的な国家を維持している。今回の話ではスペインには触れなかったが、カタルーニャも脱連邦化が進んでいる。もちろんここにはその地域の経済力という問題も関わる。とにかく重要なのは、脱連邦化を地域、国家、超国家という 3 つのレベルの関係のあり方として考えることだ。EU 統合が進展するにつれて、この 3 者の中間、すなわち国家の役割が低下している。国家は超国家体としての EU に権限を移譲すると共に、地域にも権限を委譲しているからだ。

この現象は 17 世紀以降に成立した国民国家という概念自体の変化であるとも言える。先ほど触れたトランスペアレンシー（透明性）、アカウンタビリティ（説明責任）、近接性（政治的意思決定過程に対する住民の近さ）の観点からも、国家の役割の縮減を論じることができる。脱連邦化のペースは国によって異なるのが当然だが、連邦制の観点からすると、ベルギーで言えば地域政府が直接 EU に働きかけるプロセスが必要だ。フランスはまた独自のやり方があるだろう。ここで大きな役割を果たすのは、今日お話した EU 地域委員会だ。立法権限を持つ地域には委員会内で相応の発言権を与えるべきであり、委員会を通して各地域が EU に意見を反映させる仕組みがなければならない。確かにリスボン条約で EU 地域委員会の権限は強化されたが、まだ不十分ではないかと私は考えている。

正躰（京都産業大学） 脱連邦化という表現で先ほどおっしゃったことは興味深い。というのは一般にそうした脱中央集権化と分権化のプロセスは「連邦化」（federalization）と呼ばれるからだ。まったく同じことをベルギーの文脈では逆の表現で論じるのはベルギーらしい。リスボン条約によって地域委員会の諮問範囲が増えたり、権限強化が図られたりしたというお話があったが、実際のところ地域委員会の構成メンバーは非常に多様だ。ベルギーのように立法権限を持ったメンバーも参加しているし、市町村が参加するだけのところもある。この夏に地域委員会でインタビューを行ったところ、ベルギーやスペインの地域のような実際に強力な権限を持つ主体は、委員会内でも発言権は強いのだが、そうしたところとローカルなレベルの主体との間にかなり温度差があることがわかった。これは

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もちろん権限の差が影響しているだろう。例えばベルギーの地域は地域委員会のチャンネルを使わなくても意見表明ができる。これはドイツのラント（州）でも同じことだ。つまり地域委員会の役割強化の旗振り役だったこうした権限のある地域主体ほど、委員会以外のチャンネルを使うことができる状況が生まれている。

こうした地域委員会の構成メンバーの多様性や内部での温度差を踏まえた上で、地域委員会は今後どのようなようになっていくべきだと考えるか。また民主主義の赤字（Democracy deficit）というお話があったが、その解消を図るために地域委員会や EU 理事会を強化するという議論がリスボン条約で行われた。その観点と今日の話は非常に結びついている。この問題と欧州議会の権限強化をセットにする議論がよく行われるが、地域委員会の視点を出すことは珍しい。その意味でもカトリッセさんのお話は大変興味深いものだ。

カトリッセ 地域委員会の役割の自己定義は非常に難しい問題だ。参加する 340 のメンバーがそれぞれ考えるべきことだ。政治的な問題なので、現実的な処方箋を提案するのは難しいが、私としては地域委員会が一番末端のレベルの意見をきちんと反映するような形で変わっていくべきだと考える。

参加者 サミットなどの政治的な場所で EU 理事会常任議長は今後同席するのか、それとも将来的には EU は国単位では代表を送らなくなり、常任議長だけが出席することになるのか。

カトリッセ 将来的には可能だし、オブザーバーとしてではなく実質的な権限を備えた形で参加する方が望ましいだろう。

石川（国際文化学研究所） カトリッセさんのお話は、私のフィールドであるチェコの作家ミラン・クンデラのエピソードを思い出させる。彼はかつてヨーロッパとは最小空間における最大の多様性だと言っていた。さてクンデラは 1967 年にフランドルの劇作家と会った際、かれらが母語であるオランダ語よりも英語を重視していることに驚き、自分たちの言語と文化の衰退につながることを懸念していた。EU 全体からすれば複数の言語を使いこなす人はもちろん少数派だが、反面でグローバル化によって英語を使う場面が増えている。この点についてご意見をお聞きしたい。もうひとつはカトリッセさんのように日本で暮らしている期間が長いヨーロッパ人にとって、特に多様性という視点から、日本社会はどう映るのだろうか。

カトリッセ 私はフランドルの人間で母語はオランダ語だ。自分の国で自分の言葉が話せることは非常に重要だと考える。当たり前聞こえるかもしれないが、ベルギーに関して言えばそうでない部分がある。歴史的に言えば公用語がフランス語だった時代もあるし、

大学のフランデレン化運動や言語法の制定といった流れもあった。ベルギーはこの数十年間、統一的な国家から脱連邦的な国家へと次第に変容しつつあるが、その中で地域言語主義の採用を通して行政・教育言語が確定されていくプロセスがあった。こうした経緯からすれば自分の土地で自分の言葉を話すことができる状況がベルギーに存在することはとても重要だと感じざるを得ない。

私は人生の半分をヨーロッパの「中心」で過ごしてきた。ラテン、アングロサクソン、ゲルマンという 3 つの文化の交差点であり、精神的にもヨーロッパ的な多様性に対してオープンに接することができる土地だ。歴史的に見ると、ベルギーは大国の干渉や支配を何度も受けているが、そのせいでかえって異文化に対してフレキシブルになった面がある。したがってベルギーの文化的なアイデンティティのあり方はベルギー的と同時にヨーロッパ的だということができるだろう。おそらくベルギーでアンケートをやっても間違いなくそうした結果となるはずだ。この議論はワロン地域にも当てはまる。言語は文化の核となるものであり、母語による自己表現が制限されることは、自らのあり方に制限が加えられるようなものだ。EU は文化の多様性をこれまでも保障してきたし、これからも保障すべきである。それは英語だけを話すことを強いられることもなく、自分たちの言語で生活できる状況があるということだ。フランドルというのは確かに小さな地域だが、将来的にオランダ語を捨てて英語を選択するということはないだろう。日本人にはちょっと想像し難いところがあるかもしれないが、もし母語を捨てることがあるとすれば、自分が自分でなくなってしまうような感覚を得ることになると思う。

日本をどう思うかという質問には、まず個人的な例を出してお答えしたい。妻は日本人で私は国際結婚をしている。2 人子どもがいるが、非日本人の父親が子育てをするのは難しい。自分のアイデンティティや自分の出自をどのように子供に伝えるのかには、それが義務であるとはいえ色々悩ましい。子どもは生まれとしては日本人だが、非日本人の部分は確かにある。他にも仕事と家庭のバランスや、子供と接するときの言葉の問題など様々なことを考えさせられた。私の場合は、子どもたちをどの学校に行かせるかという問題に、日本に来てから比較的早い段階で直面した。私はインターナショナル・スクール、妻は日本の学校と意見が別れたが、話し合っただけで日本の学校に入れることにした。その後子どもが中高生になったときにヨーロッパの学校に留学させたりもしたが、子ども自身は最終的に日本の学校に行くことを自ら選んだ。これは国際結婚で最も難しい問題の一つだろう。しかし自分の経験から言えば、親は選択肢を提出する以上のことはできない。判断するのはやはり子どもなのだ。

さて巨視的な観点から日本について述べると、私が住み始めた 1980 年代終わりにはバブル経済がまだ続いていた。確かに活気はあったが、他方で強い不自然さを感じた。大学で経済を勉強していたこともあって、株や投資の知識もない人々が株を売り買いする状況に明らかにおかしいと思ったし、こうしたギャンブルのような状況は長く続くわけではないと感じた。1990 年代について言えば、経済面の不振が続くと同時に、湾岸戦争時の対応に

II 講演

見られるように、日本は国際社会の中での位置をうまく定めることができていなかったという印象を受けた。つまり国内的には自信があるように見えても、対外的には自信なさげに映った。これは今もそうだと思う。日本はもっと自信をつけても良いはずだ。文化的にも歴史的にも大国であることを考えればその点では残念だ。

だが私はこの国に住み続けることができるととても幸運だと感じている。新しいものと昔からのものとのバランスが取れていることは素晴らしい。ただやはり国際的なレベルで言えば、経済力に見合った地位を占めているようには思えないのも事実だ。今日の話のテーマに引きつけて言えば、日本の中での地域の役割を活性化させることは大切だと思う。月に数回東京に出張するとそのことをとても感じる。もちろん日本人が考えることだが、日本でも「脱連邦化」を議論してもよい時期なのではないか。