

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Learning from the European Union: A Functionalist Perspective on the Formation of a Hypothetical Chinese Regional Union

Alex Chang

School of Government, Peking University, P.R.C.

Abstract

The European Union provides a compelling model for regional integration that can inform the idea of a hypothetical “Chinese Union.” In Europe, repeated conflicts, religious divisions, and the devastation of two world wars created a strong incentive to cooperate for peace and stability. Jean Monnet’s approach, grounded in functionalist theory, emphasized practical cooperation in economic and technical sectors as the foundation for deeper political integration.

Applying these insights to China, a regional alliance could adopt a similar step-by-step functional strategy. Initially, cooperation could focus on trade, infrastructure, and technological projects, building trust and mutual benefits among diverse regions. Subsequently, collaborations could expand to education, cultural exchanges, and coordinated governance, gradually fostering a shared sense of identity and interdependence.

While China’s historical, political, and cultural contexts differ greatly from Europe, the core principle remains: practical, functional cooperation can reduce conflict, build trust, and lay the groundwork for a more integrated regional system. In this sense, the European experience offers both a theoretical and strategic framework for imagining regional alliances in China.

Keywords: Functionalism; EU; Chinese Union; possibility

Motivation

The idea for this study originates from my earlier research conducted during my doctoral studies at Peking University in 2015. At that time, I explored the historical and theoretical foundations of European integration and attempted to apply these insights to a hypothetical model of regional cooperation in China. However, due to the sensitive political context, the work could not be published. Over the years, my interest in the dynamics of regional integration and the role of functionalism approaches has only deepened, and the lessons from the European Union (EU) continue to offer valuable frameworks for understanding cooperation among diverse regions.

The primary motivation of this research is to investigate how the EU achieved unprecedented levels of regional integration despite a long history of cultural, linguistic, religious, and political diversity. The EU’s formation, particularly after the devastation of two World Wars, highlights the importance of practical cooperation as a mechanism to maintain peace and stability. Jean Monnet, often regarded as the “Father of Europe,” implemented strategies grounded in functionalist theory, focusing on step-by-step integration through economic, technical, and institutional cooperation before pursuing political unification. This pragmatic, incremental approach enabled trust-building among states and minimized potential conflicts, laying the foundation for a long-term and sustainable union.

By revisiting these historical and theoretical insights, I aim to explore the potential applicability of such functionalist strategies to a hypothetical Chinese regional alliance. Although the historical, political, and cultural contexts of China differ significantly from Europe, certain principles—such as gradual integration, trust-building through practical cooperation, and multi-level collaboration—can provide a theoretical lens for imagining regional coordination in China. For instance, cooperation could initially focus on trade, infrastructure, and technological development, followed by cultural, educational, and administrative exchanges, ultimately fostering a shared sense of identity and interdependence among regions.

This research also seeks to contribute to the broader field of regional integration studies by examining the universality and adaptability of functionalist approaches. While most literature focuses on the EU or other Western regional organizations, less attention has been given to applying these theories to Asian contexts, where political centralization and diverse local interests present unique challenges. By positioning the EU experience as a comparative framework, this study emphasizes both the theoretical value of functionalism and its practical implications for promoting cooperation, peace, and stability in a different geopolitical environment.

Moreover, reflecting on my 2015 work, this study allows me to revisit unresolved questions with the benefit of temporal perspective and additional scholarship. The earlier research laid the groundwork in terms of historical analysis and conceptual framing, while the current approach strengthens the methodological rigor, theoretical clarity, and contextual sensitivity required for publication. In doing so, the research not only revisits a personal intellectual trajectory but also addresses an enduring scholarly question: how regional integration can be achieved across diverse, historically fragmented territories.

Ultimately, the motivation behind this study is to bridge historical understanding, theoretical analysis, and hypothetical application. By drawing lessons from the EU, examining the functionalist principles underlying its success, and carefully considering their adaptation to the Chinese context, the study aspires to advance knowledge in the fields of international relations, regional integration, and comparative political studies, while also contributing to discussions on peace, cooperation, and strategic planning in complex multi-level systems.

Introduction

In 1988, French President François Mitterrand authorized the transfer of the ashes of Jean Monnet to the Panthéon in Paris, a site reserved for the most distinguished figures in French and human history, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Victor Hugo. This symbolic act raises an important question: why can Jean Monnet be placed alongside such eminent intellectual and cultural figures?

The answer lies not only in philosophical thought, but in Monnet's transformative contribution to modern political organization—particularly through the development of European integration after the Second World War. His approach reflects the principles of functionalism, a theory developed by David Mitrany, which argues that international peace can be achieved through practical cooperation in technical and economic fields rather than immediate political unification (Mitrany, 1966).

Following the devastation of World War II, Europe faced deep economic collapse and political hostility, particularly between France and Germany. In response, Monnet proposed a pragmatic strategy: instead of pursuing grand political unity, states should begin with limited but concrete cooperation in key sectors. This idea led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, integrating industries essential for warfare under a shared authority. Such integration made future conflict materially difficult, embodying the functionalist logic of peace through interdependence (Haas, 1958).

At the political level, Robert Schuman played a decisive role in advancing Monnet's vision, particularly by mediating Franco-German relations. The Schuman Declaration of 1950 translated functionalist ideas into political action, marking the beginning of European institutional integration (Schuman, 2010).

From a functionalist perspective, European integration demonstrates how cooperation in limited sectors can gradually expand into broader political coordination. This process, often referred to as the "Monnet Method," emphasizes incremental progress, mutual benefit, and trust-building among states (Monnet, 1978). Over time, these functional linkages create interdependence, reducing incentives for conflict and fostering regional stability.

This study examines the historical development of the European Union through the lens of functionalism, focusing on the contributions of Jean Monnet and other key actors. It argues that European integration represents a successful application of functionalist theory in practice. Furthermore, by analyzing the European experience, this research aims to explore how such a model may inform discussions of regional cooperation in other geopolitical contexts. In an era of increasing regional interdependence, functionalism remains a relevant and valuable framework for understanding the mechanisms of peace and integration.

China can derive multiple lessons from the historical experience of European integration when promoting regional cooperation. First, functionalism demonstrates that peace and cooperation often begin in practical, concrete domains rather than by pursuing immediate political unity (Mitrany, 1966; Rosamond, 2000). For China, regional collaboration could start with mutually beneficial projects in areas such as economy, infrastructure, energy, and technology, gradually building trust and interdependence between regions. For example, transportation networks, energy distribution systems, and technological research collaborations among Chinese provinces or urban clusters could serve as pilot areas for functional cooperation, helping to reduce regional friction and foster a sense of shared interests.

Second, the European experience emphasizes the importance of institutionalization. Functional cooperation requires supporting institutions to ensure continuity and effectiveness (Monnet, 1978; Sandholtz & Stone Sweet, 1998). For China, establishing cross-regional coordination mechanisms, unified regulatory frameworks, and dispute-resolution systems would enhance credibility and stability in regional collaboration.

Moreover, gradually developing shared policies and standards—such as in environmental protection, energy management, or urban planning—can promote policy alignment and prevent major conflicts or resource inefficiencies during cooperation.

Finally, European integration illustrates that the ultimate goal of functional cooperation is not merely material benefits, but also the cultivation of shared political and cultural identity (Haas, 1958; Dinan, 2014). For China, educational exchanges, cultural programs, technological cooperation, and governance experience sharing can gradually build mutual trust and regional identity, laying the foundation for deeper policy coordination and regional integration in the future. This gradual, step-by-step approach aligns with functionalist logic and provides a practical pathway for China to promote cross-provincial or cross-regional cooperation.

Functionalism, Spillover, and the Dynamics of Regional Integration

The development of European integration cannot be fully understood through functional cooperation alone; rather, it also involves a dynamic process in which cooperation in one area generates pressures and incentives for further integration in other areas. This mechanism is commonly described as the concept of “spillover,” a central idea within neofunctionalist theory. Haas (1958) argued that integration in technical and economic sectors can create new demands for coordination, encouraging political actors and institutions to expand cooperation beyond the original functional areas. In this sense, regional integration is not a single political decision but an evolutionary process shaped by increasing interdependence, institutional development, and continuous interaction among participating actors.

The concept of spillover provides an important theoretical explanation for the gradual expansion of European integration. The establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community initially focused on controlling strategic industrial resources, but cooperation gradually expanded into broader economic and political domains. Over time, institutions developed greater authority, and member states increasingly relied on shared decision-making mechanisms. This process demonstrates how limited functional cooperation can create institutional momentum and generate deeper forms of regional governance (Haas, 1958; Rosamond, 2000). Therefore, the European experience suggests that successful integration may emerge not through the immediate creation of a unified political system, but through the gradual accumulation of cooperative practices.

Furthermore, regional integration requires not only economic interdependence but also the development of social and political communities. Deutsch et al. (1957) introduced the concept of a “security community,” arguing that sustained communication, shared expectations, and peaceful interaction can transform relationships among previously conflicting societies. From this perspective, integration is strengthened when actors begin to perceive cooperation as a normal and beneficial process rather than merely a strategic choice. This insight complements functionalist theory by emphasizing the importance of communication, identity formation, and social learning in maintaining long-term regional stability.

Institutional development represents another critical dimension of functional integration. While functional cooperation may begin with specific technical issues, durable integration requires institutions capable of managing complexity, enforcing agreements, and coordinating policies. Sandholtz and Stone Sweet (1998) emphasize that supranational institutions can gradually reshape the behavior and preferences of participating actors by creating new rules and patterns of interaction. Similarly, Hooghe and Marks (2001) highlight the importance of multi-level governance, in which decision-making authority is distributed across different levels of government and institutions. These perspectives demonstrate that regional integration is not simply a process of state cooperation but also a transformation of governance structures.

However, contemporary integration theories also recognize the limitations of functionalist assumptions. Postfunctionalist scholars argue that integration may encounter resistance when it affects issues related to identity, sovereignty, and political legitimacy (Hooghe & Marks, 2009). The European experience demonstrates that while functional cooperation can promote integration, deeper political coordination requires social acceptance and public support. Therefore, any attempt to apply functionalist principles to other regional contexts must carefully consider historical conditions, political institutions, and societal factors.

For the Chinese context, these theoretical debates suggest that functional cooperation should be examined as a gradual and adaptive process rather than a direct replication of the European model. The relevance of functionalism lies not in copying European institutions, but in understanding how practical cooperation, institutional learning, and increasing interdependence may contribute to regional coordination. By applying

the insights of functionalism and related integration theories, this study provides a framework for analyzing the possibilities and limitations of hypothetical regional integration in China.

The Concept of “ONE”

The concept of “One Europe,” developed by Jean Monnet, represents one of the most influential approaches to post-war European reconstruction. Rather than pursuing immediate political unification, Monnet advocated a gradual process of integration grounded in practical cooperation, particularly in economic sectors. This approach reflects the broader theoretical framework of functionalism, which emphasizes that cooperation in technical and economic domains can generate trust and eventually lead to deeper political integration (Mitrany, 1966).

Monnet’s primary concern was that the re-establishment of European states based solely on national sovereignty would reproduce the structural conditions that had led to conflict, including economic protectionism and political rivalry. Without a new model of cooperation, Europe risked returning to instability. Therefore, together with Robert Schuman, Monnet promoted sectoral integration as a means to gradually eliminate distrust among European countries. The establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) marked the first practical implementation of this idea, demonstrating how economic interdependence could reduce the likelihood of conflict (Haas, 1958; Monnet, 1978).

From a functionalist perspective, several key principles can be identified in Monnet’s strategy, each of which offers potential insights for regional governance in China.

First, economic interdependence serves as the foundation of integration. Monnet’s observations of North American trade relations highlighted the inefficiencies of fragmented European markets. By promoting a common market, European states were able to enhance cross-border exchange and mutual dependence. This principle suggests that, in the Chinese context, reducing regional administrative barriers and strengthening inter-provincial economic cooperation could foster greater cohesion and balanced development (Mitrany, 1966).

Second, integration enhances collective strength in a multipolar international system. Monnet recognized that individual European states were relatively weak compared to major powers. Through integration, Europe could maintain a strategic balance. While China is already a major global actor, internal regional disparities remain significant. A coordinated regional framework could therefore enhance overall national competitiveness and reduce internal inequalities (Haas, 1958).

Third, integration transforms conflict into cooperation. Europe’s history of prolonged warfare demonstrated the necessity of a new model of peaceful coexistence. By shifting focus from territorial competition to shared economic interests, integration reduced incentives for conflict. In China, although inter-state war is not an issue, regional competition for resources and investment may create structural tensions. Functional cooperation can help mitigate these risks by aligning regional interests (Monnet, 1978).

Fourth, integration requires the gradual transformation of political and economic priorities. Monnet emphasized that states must move beyond narrow national interests toward common goals. This transformation was achieved through institutional mechanisms that encouraged cooperation and shared benefits. In China, this could be reflected in coordinated regional development strategies that prioritize collective growth over local competition (Haas, 1958).

Fifth, institutionalization is essential for sustaining integration. Functional cooperation alone is insufficient without stable governance structures. The creation of supranational institutions in Europe ensured the implementation of agreements and reduced uncertainty among member states. While a supranational model may not be directly applicable to China, strengthened inter-regional governance mechanisms could perform a similar function in coordinating policies and maintaining stability (Mitrany, 1966; Monnet, 1978).

In conclusion, Monnet’s concept of “One Europe” demonstrates that regional integration is a dynamic and incremental process, driven by practical cooperation and institutional development rather than immediate political unification. Although the political and historical contexts of Europe and China differ significantly, the functionalist logic underlying European integration provides valuable theoretical insights. A gradual, sector-based approach to regional cooperation may offer a feasible pathway for enhancing internal cohesion and long-term stability in China.

Implications for a Chinese Regional Union

European integration can be systematically understood through the theoretical lens of functionalism. The origins of this process can be traced to the 1950 declaration jointly advanced by Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, which led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). This initiative introduced supranational regulation over key war-related industries—coal and steel—thereby reducing the capacity of individual states, particularly France and Germany, to engage in future military conflict (Haas, 1958; Dinan, 2014).

The reconciliation between Germany and France constituted the cornerstone of European integration. Germany, as the largest economic contributor, and France, as a major political actor, represented both the central tension and the potential for cooperation within Europe. Functionalist logic suggested that rather than confronting nationalism directly, integration should gradually reduce exclusive national loyalties by encouraging participation in cross-border economic cooperation. In the early stages, Germany assumed the role of a “paymaster,” supporting integration as a pathway to re-enter the European community after World War II (Moravcsik, 1998).

The Schuman Plan, largely designed by Monnet, exemplified a functionalist approach by prioritizing practical cooperation over coercive political arrangements. The ECSC required member states to pool sovereignty in strategic sectors, effectively transforming resources historically associated with warfare into instruments of cooperation. This model was subsequently extended to other sectors, including the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC), ultimately leading to the formation of the European Community (EC) (Rosamond, 2000; Dinan, 2014).

From a theoretical perspective, David Mitrany identified two core principles of functionalism: first, that economic integration serves as a foundation for international peace; and second, that integration should begin at a regional level (Mitrany, 1966). These principles are clearly reflected in the trajectory of European integration, where economic cooperation preceded and facilitated broader political coordination. The European Community thus evolved into a form of supranational governance, in which states voluntarily transferred certain competences to common institutions in order to enhance efficiency and stability (Pollack, 2005).

Importantly, functionalist integration does not require universal participation from all actors at the outset. Instead, it operates through incremental expansion, where successful cooperation in one sector generates incentives for further integration. This pragmatic approach stands in contrast to attempts at immediate political or military unification, which are often constrained by sovereignty concerns and political resistance. As such, functionalism offers a more feasible pathway for regional cooperation by prioritizing tangible benefits and gradual trust-building (Haas, 1958; Schimmelfennig, 2018).

From a comparative perspective, these insights provide a useful framework for examining the potential for a hypothetical Chinese regional union. While China differs fundamentally from Europe in terms of political structure and state organization, the functionalist logic remains relevant. Rather than pursuing comprehensive institutional integration, a Chinese regional framework could emerge through sectoral cooperation, particularly in areas such as infrastructure development, regional trade, and technological innovation.

Moreover, functionalist integration may help address internal regional disparities within China by fostering interdependence and coordinated development. By shifting the focus from competition among regions toward shared economic objectives, such an approach could enhance both efficiency and stability. However, it is essential to recognize that, unlike the European case, the Chinese context does not involve sovereign states but subnational regions. Therefore, any form of “regional union” would likely take the form of enhanced multi-level governance rather than supranational integration.

In conclusion, European integration demonstrates that functional cooperation can transform historically conflict-prone relationships into stable and institutionalized forms of collaboration. While the direct transplantation of the European model to China is neither feasible nor appropriate, the functionalist approach offers valuable theoretical insights into how gradual, sector-based cooperation may contribute to deeper regional coordination and long-term stability.

European Integration and the Possibilities and Limitations of Regional Integration in Comparative Perspective

Despite a long history marked by religious and ethnic conflicts, Europe has played a pioneering role in shaping modern civilization. Major intellectual and socio-economic transformations—including the Renaissance, the French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution—contributed significantly to the development of modern science, political thought, and economic systems. These transformations not only restructured European societies but also generated global impacts, accelerating processes of modernization worldwide. As demonstrated by Angus Maddison, global economic and population growth experienced a dramatic increase after the eighteenth century, reflecting the far-reaching influence of European innovation and institutional development (Maddison, 2001).

This study emphasizes the historical transformation of Europe from reluctant coexistence to institutionalized cooperation. The development of legal and political frameworks for stability provided a foundation for regional integration, inspired in part by the pragmatic vision of Jean Monnet. The European Union, now comprising 27 member states, is built upon shared principles such as liberal democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and market integration. These institutional arrangements have enabled not only economic cooperation but also political coordination and social integration (Dinan, 2014; Rosamond, 2000).

In contrast, regional integration in other parts of the world has followed different trajectories. For example, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations emphasizes state sovereignty and non-interference, which limits deeper political integration. Similarly, agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement primarily focus on trade liberalization rather than supranational governance. While these arrangements facilitate economic exchange—through the reduction of tariffs, quotas, and barriers to trade—they generally lack the institutional depth necessary for comprehensive political integration (Acharya, 2009; Moravcsik, 1998).

From a theoretical perspective, regional integration varies along a continuum between market-based cooperation and hierarchical governance. The European model is distinctive in that it combines both dimensions: market integration and supranational institutional authority. In contrast, many regional organizations remain confined to market mechanisms without developing strong governance structures. As a result, their integration remains limited in scope and depth (Schimmelfennig, 2018; Pollack, 2005).

From this comparative perspective, the possibility of a “Chinese regional union” must be approached with caution. On the one hand, functionalist theory suggests that regional integration can emerge through gradual cooperation in economic and technical sectors. China’s ongoing development in infrastructure, digital economy, and regional coordination could provide a foundation for enhanced inter-regional integration. Mechanisms such as coordinated development strategies and cross-regional economic zones may foster interdependence and reduce regional disparities.

On the other hand, significant structural limitations constrain the applicability of the European model to China. Unlike Europe, where integration occurred among sovereign states, China is a unitary state with a centralized political system. Regional governance operates within a hierarchical administrative framework rather than through voluntary cooperation among independent actors. Furthermore, issues of sovereignty, political authority, and territorial integrity limit the feasibility of any supranational or quasi-federal arrangement.

Therefore, rather than envisioning a direct replication of the European Union, a more realistic scenario would involve the strengthening of multi-level governance within China. This could include enhanced coordination between central and local governments, increased regional policy integration, and functional cooperation across provinces. In this sense, the concept of a “Chinese regional union” should be understood not as political unification among separate entities, but as a reconfiguration of governance structures aimed at improving efficiency, stability, and long-term development.

In conclusion, the European experience demonstrates that regional integration is a complex and historically contingent process, shaped by both structural conditions and institutional innovation. While functionalist mechanisms provide useful analytical tools, their applicability depends on the specific political and institutional context. For China, the challenge lies not in replicating the European model, but in adapting its underlying logic to a fundamentally different system of governance.

Conclusion

This article has emphasized the importance of inclusiveness and non-discrimination in the process of regional integration, particularly in the context of the European Union. European history demonstrates that peace was not an inherent condition, but rather the result of a long and difficult transformation. Centuries of warfare—especially between Germany and France—were driven not by universal principles of justice or equality, but by competing sovereign interests, religious conflicts, and ethnic divisions. Although Europe is often regarded as the birthplace of modern ideas such as freedom and human rights, these ideals alone were insufficient to resolve its internal contradictions.

The process of European integration was therefore neither inevitable nor straightforward. It required a gradual and pragmatic approach, largely shaped by the vision of Jean Monnet. Through functional cooperation, particularly in strategic sectors such as coal and steel, former adversaries were encouraged to share resources and build mutual trust. Despite initial resistance—such as the reluctance of the United Kingdom to participate in early integration efforts—and the complexities of institutional development, Europe progressively established a legal and political framework that culminated in the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. This step marked the formal creation of the European Union and reflected a broader consensus among European states and citizens (Dinan, 2014).

This study does not aim to attribute the success of European integration to a single individual, but rather to highlight the broader structural and institutional achievements of the European Community and the European Union. Member states actively participated in this process through domestic democratic systems and gradually transferred certain competences to supranational institutions. This evolution aligns closely with the principles of functionalism, whereby cooperation in specific sectors generates broader integration over time (Mitrany, 1966; Haas, 1958).

The European experience has also stimulated debates on regional integration in other parts of the world, particularly in Asia. However, the conditions for integration in Asia differ significantly from those in Europe. Variations in political systems, levels of economic development, and the absence of a strong shared regional identity have often been identified as major obstacles. Unlike Europe, where integration was driven in part by a collective response to war, many Asian countries continue to prioritize national sovereignty and non-interference, limiting the depth of regional cooperation.

In this context, the idea of a potential “Chinese regional union” must be approached with both analytical openness and caution. On the one hand, China possesses significant structural advantages, including strong state capacity, extensive infrastructure development, and increasing regional economic interdependence. These factors may provide a foundation for enhanced regional coordination and functional cooperation, particularly in areas such as trade, technology, and regional development strategies.

On the other hand, current political and institutional conditions impose clear limitations. China’s centralized governance structure, combined with the importance attached to sovereignty and territorial integrity, constrains the emergence of any supranational or quasi-federal arrangement. Moreover, regional governance in China operates within a hierarchical administrative system rather than through voluntary cooperation among autonomous political entities. As a result, the formation of a “union” comparable to the European model remains unlikely under present conditions.

Therefore, a more realistic interpretation of a “Chinese regional union” lies not in political restructuring, but in the gradual strengthening of multi-level governance and functional cooperation across regions. Such an approach may enhance policy coordination, reduce regional disparities, and contribute to long-term stability without challenging existing political structures.

In conclusion, the European Union illustrates that regional integration is a complex and historically contingent process, requiring both institutional innovation and sustained political commitment. While the European model cannot be directly replicated, its underlying functionalist logic offers valuable insights. The future of regional cooperation in China will depend not on institutional imitation, but on the adaptive application of these principles within its own political and historical context.

References

- Acharya, A. (2009). *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia*. Routledge.
- Borzel, T. (2010). European governance: Negotiation and competition in the shadow of hierarchy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(2), 191–219.

- Burgess, M. (2011). Entering the path of transformation in Europe – The federal legacy of the Schuman Declaration. *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 29(2), 4–18.
- Dinan, D. (2014). *Europe recast: A history of European Union* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dougndary, J., & eds. (1987). 紹文光譯, 《爭論中的國際關係理論》。世界知識出版社, 北京。 p.446
- Dwan, R. (2000). Jean Monnet and the European Defense Community, 1950–54. *Cold War History*, 1(1), 141–160.
- Haas, E. B. (1958). *The uniting of Europe: Political, social, and economic forces 1950–1957*. Stanford University Press.
- Mallard, G., & eds. (2011). The fractal process of European integration – A formal theory of recursivity in the field of European security. *French Politics & Society*, 29(2), 68–89.
- Maddison, A. (2001). *The world economy: A millennial perspective*. OECD.
- Martinsen, D. K. (2005). The end of the affair? Germany's relationship with France. *German Politics*, 14(4), 401–416.
- Mitrany, D. (1966). *A working peace system*. Quadrangle Books.
- Monnet, J. (1978). *Memoirs*. Doubleday.
- Moravcsik, A. (1998). *The choice for Europe*. Cornell University Press.
- Murray, P. (2010). East Asian regionalism and EU studies. *European Integration*, 32(6), 597–616.
- Nugent, N. (2017). *The government and politics of the European Union* (8th ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pollack, M. A. (2005). *Theorizing EU policy-making*. Oxford University Press.
- Rosamond, B. (2000). *Theories of European integration*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2018). *European integration theory*. Oxford University Press.
- Schuman, R. (2010). *For Europe* (Original work published 1963). Fondation Robert Schuman.
- Vernygora, V., & eds. (2012). Mirroring the EU? Functional capacity of integration in Asia. *Trames*, 16(66/61), 47–61.
- Zielonka, J. (2011). The EU as an international actor: Unique or ordinary? *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 16, 281–301.