复旦大学国际问题研究丛书

地区主义与 东盟经济合作

Regionalism and ASEAN's Economic Cooperation 卢光盛著

上海辞书出版社



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□早在1979年,邓小平同志就指出:"政治学、法学、社会学,以及世界政治的研究,我们过去多年忽视了,现在也需要赶快补课。"他还特别指出,

要加强"世界政治研究"。

□自改革开放以来,我国对世界政治、国际问题的研究有了很大的进展,在政府部门以及各大院校先后增设了一批研究机构,增加了一批新专业,开设了一批新课程,研究项目也有了较大的成就,我国的国际问题研究学者们勤奋耕耘,取得了丰硕的成果,基本上完成了邓小平同志提出的"补课"的任务。

□但是,与国际同行中的先进水平相比,我国的国际问题研究仍有很多不足。特别是自上世纪末以来,国际形势和世界格局继续发生着深刻的变化,世界多极化和经济全球化在曲折中发展,世界格局和秩序的大转折、大变动的时期正在到来,国际关系正在动荡中进行深度调整。与此同时,我国经济和社会的快速发展,已使中国与世界的关系,成为当代国际问题研究的一个十分重要的内容。我们必须抓住机遇,研究中国和平发展进程中所面临的各种国际问题。

□在这种形势下,国内各大高等院校和科研机构对国际问题研究的重要性和迫切性都有比较深刻的认识,并正在采取各种行动,以进一步增强对国际问题的研究和探讨。复旦大学国际问题研究院编辑出版的《国际问题研究丛书》,就是这种努力的一个组成部分。

□复旦大学国际问题研究院由美国研究中心、日本研究中心、 俄罗斯中亚研究中心、欧洲问题研究中心、朝鲜韩国研究中心、 北欧研究中心和拉丁美洲研究室等组成。研究院成立的时间虽

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然不长,但它集中了复旦大学对于国际问题研究的重要力量, 拥有一定的科研能力。特别是美国研究中心作为国家人文社会 科学创新基地,在围绕美国和中美关系的问题上,常年进行着 重要的研究工作。

□参加这套丛书撰写工作的,既有德高望重、学养深厚的老教授,也有朝气蓬勃、思想活跃的青年学者。我们计划这套丛书每年出版几部研究著述,内容主要侧重大国关系、中国外交、周边问题以及世界政治与经济等方面。我们希望,这套丛书的出版将会进一步推动我国的国际问题研究。

Hojan

Preface

By Long Yongtu

Deng Xiaoping pointed out, as early as in 1979, that "[w]e neglected over years the studies on political science, law, sociology, and world politics. Now we need to make up lessons and catch up." He especially noted that more work should be carried out on the "study of international politics".

Since adopting the Reform and Open Door policy, China has made significant progress in research on world politics and international issues. Many new research institutes have been launched in governmental sectors and universities as well as colleges, many new disciplines

are added and curriculums developed, and sizable headway has been made in researches. Due to the dedicated work by our scholars of international relations, great achievement has been accomplished, nearly attaining the objective of catching-up with the world assigned by Deng Xiaoping. However, there still exist many deficiencies in our research on international issues, compared with our international counterparts. Particularly, since the end of the 20th century, the world has undergone significant changes. Through the turns and twists, the multi-polarization of the world and globalization of economy are in formation. The time has come that the world structure and order are going through great shifting and change, and subsequently, the international relations are being adjusted fundamentally given the turbulence. At the same time, China is rapidly developing its economy and society. Therefore, China's relation with the world has become a rather important issue of contemporary international study. At this time of transition, we shall seize the opportunities and concentrate on various issues that China might encounter in the process of its peaceful development. Fully aware of its importance and urgency, China's institutions of higher education and research organizations have been exploring various means to deepen the discussion and research on international issues. Part of such efforts is the Series of International Studies published by the Institute of International Studies of Fudan University. The Institute of International Studies at Fudan University consists of Center for American Studies, Center for Japanese Studies, Center for Russian and Central Asian Studies, Center of European Studies, Center for Korean Studies, Nordic Center, and Department of Latin American Studies. Young as it is, the Institute has centralized the essence of intellectual expertise of international studies at Fudan, maintaining certain cutting-edge research capabilities. Above all, the Center for American Studies, as the leading state-level Base for Humanities and Social Sciences Innovation, has been undertaking the perennial important research on America and Sino-U.S. relations.

The authors of this series of books include both well-established and respectable senior scholars and emerging young researchers. It is expected that several books will be published each year, mainly focusing on studies of major powers, China's foreign policy, China's peripheral environment, and world political and economical issues etc. It is our hope that this series will help advance international study in this country.



□ 卢光盛,法学博士,云南大学国际关系研究院副教授,云南大学东南亚研究所副所长。1972年12月生于广西桂平。1992—1996年就读于云南大学经济学院对外经济贸易系,获经济学学士学位。1997—2000年就读于云南大学国际关系研究中心国际关系专业,获法学硕士学位。2003—2006年就读于复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院国际政治专业(研究方向为国际政治经济学),获法学博士学位。主要从事东南亚研究(包括东南亚经济、地区主义与国际关系等),主要成果有《柬埔寨》(社会科学文献出版社2005年,第三作者)等,曾在《当代亚太》、《世界经济研究》、《东南亚研究》、《南洋问题研究》、《亚太经济》、《国际论坛》、《国际问题研究》等刊物上发表学术论文30余篇,在新加坡《联合早报》、菲律宾《世界日报》、印度尼西亚《千岛日报》等报刊发表多篇文章。

中文摘要

2007年8月8日是东南亚国家联盟成立四十周年纪念日。经过四十年的发展,东盟赢得了"发展中国家最成功的地区组织之一"的称号,同时它也已成为席卷全球的地区主义浪潮的重要代表之一。在政治对话之外,地区经济合作也是东盟赖以成功的另一个重要支柱。

本书是一部运用地区主义相关理论来研究东盟地区经济合作的著作。一般认为,地区主义主要是指地理上毗邻的一组国家之间,为了寻求国家和地区利益而开展的政治、经济方面的合作实践,以及由此体现出来的思想与信念。从本质上讲,地区主义是研究地区合作中国家与市场,亦即政治权力与市场机制如何彼此作用、相互博弈的理论。

传统上,地区主义研究有着政治学和经济学两个主要研究方法,而本书选择的是体现两者交叉的国际政治经济学(IPE)的分析视角,从国家与市场互动的角度来讨论地区主义。在案例上,本书选择东盟的地区经济合作为考察对象;在目标上,本书的主要任务是探讨东盟经济合作的内容、制度、绩效、性质及前景。

本书的基本思路及主要内容是:首先,介绍地区主义的基本概念与相关理论,以政治经济互动为核心,建构以国家与市场为主要视角的地区主义分析框架。这里所谓的国家是指以主权与安全为核心的国家政治权力和政治意愿;所谓的市场主要是指在资源配

置、商品交换和资本流动中的市场竞争机制。其次,运用这个框架对东盟经济合作这一具体案例进行分析,从内、外两个层次对东盟经济合作的进程及内容进行讨论。第三,从制度与绩效两方面对东盟经济合作的形式及作用进行探讨。第四,对东盟经济合作的核心动力进行剖析,分析东盟经济合作的主要特征及内外制约因素,并对东盟经济一体化的发展前景进行展望。

本书正文约 18 万字,除绪论及结论部分外共分五章,各章主题 及要点如下:

第一章题为"地区主义的一般理论"。第一节主要介绍地区主义研究的相关概念,为全文铺垫地区主义研究的一般背景。第二节主要讨论地区主义研究的主要理论、基本逻辑和研究方法。在简要介绍地区主义研究的政治学和经济学两大方法的基础上,总结地区主义研究的几条基本逻辑,指出地区主义研究将以折中的方法来进行。第三节从国家与市场这一典型的国际政治经济学分析角度来研究地区主义。本章提出,追求主权与安全的国家以及追求财富与效率的市场,分别对地区主义发生重大影响,国家与市场的互动从根本上制约着地区主义的性质及发展。

第二章题为"东盟内部的地区经济合作"。本章从内部层次对东盟经济合作进行讨论。第一节主要梳理东盟地区经济合作的历史脉络,为下文分析提供纵向的发展线索。接下来的第二到第四节,分别从"内部贸易合作"、"工业、投资与次地区合作"以及"地区金融合作"三个横向角度介绍东盟经济合作的主要内容。第五节主要从国别的角度介绍了地区经济合作中的东盟六个主要国家(新、泰、马、印尼、菲、越)。

第三章题为"东盟对外的地区经济合作"。本章从外部层次讨 论了对东盟地区经济合作具有重要影响的外部国家与市场,在内容 上主要涉及贸易和投资两大方面。第一节主要分析的是美、日、欧 三方,它们对于东盟的地区经济合作有着重大影响。第二节简要讨论了澳大利亚、韩国和印度分别与东盟开展合作的情况,它们是东盟经济合作中相对次要的外部国家。第三节特别讨论的是东盟一中国的地区经济合作,并对东盟一中国和东盟一印度的地区经济合作进行了简要比较。第四节简单讨论了东盟与其他国际经济组织的合作,侧重于亚太经济合作组织以及亚欧会议。

第四章题为"东盟经济合作的制度与绩效"。与本书前两章着重于进程和内容不同,本章的重点在于集中分析东盟经济合作的机制及作用。第一节首先讨论了地区主义与国际制度的密切关联,然后对东盟经济合作进行国际制度方面的分析。本书认为,东盟经济合作有着一系列的原则、规范、规则与决策程序,它们实际上是经济地区主义的"东盟方式"。对于东盟经济合作的绩效评估,构成了本章的第二节。本节认为,东盟经济合作有着政治与经济的双重作用,既有静态的也有动态的效应。本节重点对东盟地区经济合作所带来的经济效应进行讨论,从地区经济合作与各国经济增长的关系、地区竞争力、内部市场成长与外部市场拓展等方面分析了正面效应。但本书也认为,东盟地区经济合作的作用是有限的,表现在对经济增长的直接推动力有限、未能有效引导产业结构调整、没有形成地区经济整体性以及制度建设还有较大缺陷等方面。

第五章题为"东盟经济合作的动力与前景"。本章的前两节分别讨论了国家和市场在东盟经济合作中的地位与作用。本书认为,国家在东盟经济合作中有着主导作用,而市场则有着导向作用,特定的国家与市场条件决定着东盟经济合作的发展及性质。国家层面的牢固主权观、对安全的高度关切、外部大国的重要影响,以及市场层面的经济发展水平普遍较低、内部市场狭隘、对外部市场高度依赖,共同制约着东盟经济合作及东南亚地区主义的发展及性质。

受其影响,东盟经济一体化发展有着向东盟经济共同体升级、向东 亚范围扩展的两个趋势,它们将给东盟经济合作发展带来新的机遇

【关键词】 地区主义 东盟 地区经济合作 东南亚经济一 体化 经济地区主义 国际政治经济学

Abstract Specification and Abstract

Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) met her fortieth anniversary on August 8, 2007. After 40 years' development, ASEAN has earns her an appraise of "one of the most successful regional orgnization", and becomes the distinquished example of the regionalisms which overwhelm the whole world. Besides political cooperation, regional economic cooperation constitute the other pillar of ASEAN.

This book is titled Regionalism and ASEAN's Economic Cooperation. Regionalism in this book is defined as the practice and faith on political and economic cooperation which are carried out by some adjacent nations, with a goal to attain national and/or regional interests. Essentially, regionalism is a theory on the interactions between state and market or political power and market mechanism.

There are two traditional approaches to regionalism study, namely, political and economic ones. The author of this book chooses the International Political Economy (IPE) approach which treats state and market as the most important analytical dimensions, to discuss regionalism. In order to analyze the objective, the author choses ASEAN's economic cooperation as a case study. The main

objective is to study the content, institutions, performance and characteristics of ASEAN's economic cooperation.

The contents of this book include: (a) the key definitions and relevant theories of regionalism, and IPE analytical framework of regionalism; (b) the case study on ASEAN's economic cooperation, including internal and external perspectives; (c) the international institutions and performance in ASEAN's economic cooperation; and (d) the dynamics and future of ASEAN's integration.

Besides Introduction and Conclusion, there are 5 chapters in this book, total 180 thousand Chinese words. The subject and outline of each chapter are as follow:

Chapter One is titled The General Theory on Regionalism. In the first section, the author discusses the definitions of region, regionalism, regionalization, regionness and integration. In the second section, the author explores, based on the introduction of the two traditional political and economic approaches, the basic logic on regionalism, and argues that regionalism study needs an eclectic approach. The third section uses the IPE framework to analyze regionalism. The conclusion of this chapter is that the state and market, of which the key interests are defined respectively by security-power and wealth-efficiency, have a great impact on the characteristics and evolution of regionalism.

Chapter Two is titled ASEAN Internal Regional Economic Cooperation. From this chapter on, this paper begins to analyze ASEAN's economic cooperation at internal and external levels for the sake of discussion convenience. This chapter includes 5 sections. The first section is mainly about the historical

background and evolution clues of ASEAN's economic cooperation. The following three sections include internal trade cooperation, industrial cooperation, investment cooperation and sub-regional cooperation, and regional monetary cooperation. The final section makes a special discussion of the 6 key ASEAN member-states, e. g. Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippine and Viet Nam, in regional economic cooperation.

Chapter Three is titled ASEAN's External Economic Cooperation. Foreign states and markets which have great impact on ASEAN are discussed in this chapter, mainly from the perspectives of trade and investment. Section one is about the United State, Japan and European Union, which are three of the most important partners to ASEAN. Section two makes some discussions on the other important partners, such as Australia, Korea and India. Section three makes a detailed discussion on the economic cooperation between ASEAN and China, with a conclusion that there are both competition and complementarity relationships in this cooperation. In the final part of this section, the author makes a comparative study on the economic cooperation between ASEAN-China and ASEAN-India. The fourth section discusses the economic cooperation between ASEAN and the other regional economic organizations, especially for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM).

Chapter Four is titled ASEAN's Economic Cooperation: Institutions and Performance. Different from the previous two chapters which are mainly about the contents of regional cooperation, this chapter is to explore the characteristics of this cooperation. Based on the close relations between international regime and regionalism, the author makes a discussion on the regime of ASEAN economic cooperation. There are a series of principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures in ASEAN's economic cooperation. These four factors can be named as the ASEAN Way on Regionalism. The discussion on the political and economic performance for this regime is in the second section. The author argues that regional economic cooperation brings positive effect to ASEAN, such as on economic growth, regional competitive ability increasing, regional market development and foreign market access. But there are also some limitations in this economic cooperation, such as its failures to upgrade member states' industrial structure, and deficiency on regional cohesiveness and institutions building for ASEAN economic cooperation.

Chapter Five is titled The Dynamics and Prospect of ASEAN's Economic Cooperation. In the first two sections, the author argues that ASEAN's economic cooperation is state-led and market-oriented. The certain conditions of state and market have a decisive impact on ASEAN's regionalism. In the third section, the author argues that there are two development tendencies for ASEAN's integration, e. g. from Free Trade Area (FTA) to Economic Community and from Southeast Asia to East Asia, which bring ASEAN both opportunities and challenges.

【Key Words】 Regionalism ASEAN Regional Economic Cooperation Southeast Asia Economic Integration Economic Regionalism International Political Economy