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# 美国与东亚合作



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## 编者的话

2004年12月11—12日，由暨南大学美国研究中心、东南亚研究所、华侨华人研究所、国际关系学系联合主办的暨南大学第一届美国研究国际学术研讨会在广州暨南大学学术会议厅举行。这次会议得到美国驻广州总领事馆新闻文化处的部分资助。大会主题为“机遇和挑战——地区主义与亚太区域合作”，会议语言为英语和中文（大会报告为英文，其他中英文均有）。来自印度尼西亚、菲律宾、中国大陆等地的20多家学术研究机构60多位学者参加了这次研讨会，他们向大会提交了30余篇论文。会议安排紧凑，讨论热烈，取得了圆满成功。大会分为开幕式、主题报告会、分组讨论和小组总结与闭幕式四个环节。

大会开幕式由暨南大学东南亚研究所所长兼国际关系学系主任曹云华教授主持。暨南大学副校长王华、美国驻广州总领事曾国熙先生（Edward Dong）专程到会并致词表示祝贺，暨南大学美国研究中心主任吴金平博士简单介绍了暨南大学美国研究的情况。

会议主题报告会由暨南大学美国研究中心主任吴金平博士主持，一共有四场。第一场是中国人民大学国际关系学院时殷

弘教授的“中国与朝鲜核问题”<sup>\*</sup>。时教授认为，中国国家利益决定了中国希望维持朝鲜半岛的和平态势，只有维护这一和平局面，才能实现中美之间的和平、东亚区域的和平，保障中国在东北亚、东亚周边局势稳定。实现朝鲜半岛和平的惟一办法是达成朝鲜半岛无核化，否则，朝鲜核问题对中国就会有双重威胁：一是美国如采取军事途径解决威胁，那就会改变该地区的原有格局；二是朝鲜加速发展核武器，会导致半岛核扩散的危险。为了应对威胁，中国既开展对朝鲜和美国的双边外交工作，同时也发动多边外交攻势，促成六方会谈，充当美国和朝鲜之间的桥梁。时教授认为，最新的发展动态是，中国加大对朝鲜的经济援助力度，力图通过经济手段逐渐改变朝鲜对待外界的态度。尽管中国为解决朝鲜核问题做出了很大的努力，但是效果不尽如人意，今后的发展趋势依然难以确定，其关键因素是中美之间缺乏战略对话系统和机制，因此缺乏双方认可的相关规范，这使得东北亚多边安全机制的构建难以实现。

第二场大会报告为印度尼西亚现代经济战略研究院副主席黄道根博士的“中美关系：面向新合作的挑战与变化”。黄博士认为，在东亚经济一体化的情势下，中美关系在东亚地区将面临巨大挑战，那就是美国必须面对中国在东南亚地区影响日渐增大的事实。面对东盟已发生的变化，东盟国家虽然希望美国继续能成为这一地区和平的保护者，但也担心因此而招致美国在其他方面的影响和干涉，因而普遍采取在中美两个大国之间求取平衡的战略，这就排除了以前美国的独霸地位。东盟也正在逐渐改变对中国的疑虑态度，积极与中国密切关系；尽管美元依然是这一地区的主导货币，但人民币的地位上升势头迅猛，已经有人在考虑把人民币作为亚洲货币的可行性了。中美能否合作的关键在于美国能否适时调整自己的角色，把中国在

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\* 该文未收录本书——编者。

东南亚的影响增长看成是威胁还是机遇。

第三场报告为来自菲律宾马尼拉 De La Salle 大学的国际问题研究所所长瑞纳托·克鲁兹·德·卡斯特罗 (Renato Cruz De Castro) 教授的“美国东亚自由贸易区方案的政治战略视角”。该研究以美国国会 2004 年通过与菲律宾建立自由贸易区协定的议案为切入点,对二战后美国推动自由贸易的行为进行了理论分析。通过对美国与东南亚已缔结的双边贸易协定进行比较分析,卡斯特罗先生认为:菲律宾并不具备满足美国所要求的像新加坡和泰国那样的政治经济条件,美国之所以要与菲律宾缔结条约完全是出于安全方面的考虑,而且美国这种行为只会分裂全球经济,增加与其他主要贸易国的政治紧张。

第四场报告为暨南大学美国研究中心张振江博士的“试论东亚经济合作及其新特点”。张博士主要论证了东亚经济合作的推动因素与合作机制。与地区一体化的成功典范——欧盟相比,东亚经济一体化具有两个鲜明的不同特点:一是它的推动力来自东盟这样的地区小国组织,而不是该地区的大国,如日本、中国等;二是东亚经济一体化将主要由东盟与其他国家如中、日、韩的双边自由贸易区构成,但中、日、韩之间却没有建立自由贸易区的打算,这一点与欧盟很不一样。

除大会发言外,本次研讨会围绕下列内容,分小组进行了深入研讨。

第一组的主题为“美籍华人和亚裔问题”。中国华侨华人历史研究所的张秀明就美国华人与印度裔人的文化认同进行比较,对全球化时代移民的跨国主义对国家关系的影响作了初步分析。暨南大学的廖小健教授则就美国华侨华人社会的变化与发展作了历史宏观考察。暨南大学华侨所博士生万晓宏则以 1969 年创建的“美国华人权益促进会”为考察对象,从一个侧面具体微观地研究了美国华人状况。这些研究从不同角度分析和介绍了美国华人和亚裔的发展状况,对我们认识中美关系

中的华人因素有启发作用。

第二组讨论“东亚合作中的美国因素”。这一组讨论集中在美国对东亚经济合作领导权的影响上。烟台师范学院的高春常教授认为美国对东亚经济合作采取多边与双边交替使用手法,通过这种变化手法加强对东亚经济的介入,具体的表现是对亚太经济合作组织(APEC)的支持和对东亚次区域主义的抵触态度。美国的这一政策对东亚经济一体化的发展起到了阻碍作用。

第三组讨论“美国在东亚的安全战略”。讨论涉及的主要问题:1. 美国在东南亚的反恐。中国社科院亚太所副所长韩峰认为,恐怖主义在东南亚是一个顽疾,美国在东南亚的反恐活动目前主要是准军事化的,东盟国家参与反恐主要出于维护自身利益的需要。美国与东南亚在安全领域的合作将不会打破该地区原有的大国平衡,东盟是在不改变大国地区平衡和维护地区稳定的前提下加强与美国的安全与反恐合作。暨南大学郑一省博士对此持不同看法,他认为美国在东南亚的反恐活动加剧了东南亚国家之间的军备竞赛,给东南亚和周边地区带来了不安,尤其是给中国妥善处理南海“主权”争端增加了许多难度。2. 东北亚的安全机制问题。中山大学喻常森博士认为亚太国际关系受到中、日、俄、美之间缺乏信任和冷战思维的负面影响,朝鲜半岛南北分治、台湾问题、区域安全结构分裂是这种负面影响的具体表现。受这些问题的影响,亚太国际关系的发展前景是不确定、不明朗的。上海国际问题研究所任晓博士从朝鲜核问题由四方会谈到六方会谈的进程入手,对当前六方会谈出现的局限性进行了分析,提出了几个需要解决的问题。

除了上述讨论外,本次研讨会代表还就美国与东亚关系研究中的一些其他问题展开了热烈的、富有成果的讨论,如围绕北京大学王立新教授的“传教运动对美中关系的影响”等一些

主题，与会代表所作的学术发言水平都相当高。

这次会议为国内外学者提供了很好的交流机会，与会学者就大家共同关心的问题进行了热烈讨论，甚至争辩。对与会代表而言，通过畅所欲言的讨论，他们不仅交流了思想，更增进了相互之间的了解，加深了感情和友谊；对暨南大学美国研究中心而言，第一次主办这样的国际学术研讨会就取得圆满成功，意义更是重大：它不仅打下了与国内外同行进一步合作的基础，也让我们看到了将暨南大学的美国研究事业做强、做大的希望。

本书基本上是从这次会议提交的论文选编而成，按照经济、政治、安全、其他进行归类编排。为保持论文原貌，我们基本上没有做大的改动，只是在体例上进行简单统一。所选论文文责自负，书中所论观点只是代表作者本人，与编者无关。由于时间仓促，加之编者水平有限，书中错误在所难免，敬请作者和读者批评指正。

编 者

2005年4月16日



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## **The Politico—Strategic Dimension of the U.S. Proposal for a Free Trade Agreement (FTAs) with the Philippines<sup>①</sup>**

Renato Cruz De Castro

(Chair, Department of International Studies, De La Salle University,  
Manila, Philippines)

“Trade, together with war, constitutes one of the oldest modes of international communication and affects the well-being of an ever-large segment of the world population. Because of this, it has always been a central issue in national, regional and international politics, reflecting the fact that policy decisions regarding, for example, levels of tariff at national borders, have differential effects on groups within and outside national communities . . .”<sup>②</sup>

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① Paper originally presented in the International Symposium on U.S. A. and Asia, Ji Nan University, Guangzhou, China, December 11, 2004.

② Brian Hocking and Steve McGuire, “Trade Politics: Environment, Agendas and Processes,” Brian Hocking and Steve McGuire (eds.), *Trade Politics* (New York: NY: Routledge, 2004), p.1.

*Hocking and McGuire, 2004*

“Regional economic groups are often inspired by political motives, despair over the achievement of genuine multilateralism, and among other things, by a desire to obtain more leverage in global economic negotiations...”<sup>①</sup>

*G. R. Berridge, 1997*

On March 11, 2002 Senator Richard Lugar presented to the United States Congress Senate Bill 2004. The bill authorizes the American president to negotiate and conclude a free-trade agreement (FTA) with the Republic of the Philippines. Washington's offer of an FTA to Manila has very strong political-strategic undertones.<sup>②</sup> It should be noted that Washington's choice of a bilateral negotiating partner is based on a number of factors ranging from the open trade policy of the partner country, hemispheric political grounds (as in the case of Central America), global strategy (as in the proposed negotiations in the Middle East) to support the wider U.S. foreign policy objectives (as in the cases of the Israel, Jordan and Australia). The Philippines is not a major trading partner of the U.S.. However, an FTA with the Philippines will have important strategic and foreign policy implications on the Bush Administration's current war on terror and on the revitalized security relations with Manila.

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① G.R. Berridge, *International Politics: States, Power and Conflict since 1945* (Trowbridge, the United Kingdom: Redwood Books, 1997), p.41.

② A free trade agreement consists of an arrangement between states by which they agree to remove all customs duties (quotas) on goods passing between them. Each party is free, however, to unilaterally determine the level of customs duty on imports coming from third party states. A good example of this arrangement was the European Free Trade Area of 1957.

A free trade deal with the Philippines will not only manage practical trade problems with the latter, but more significantly build closer bilateral economic and security ties. The Bush Administration considers the proposal as part of its international counter-terrorism initiative. Washington extends an FTA to the Philippines to elicit political compliance and loyalty from the country. It is also aimed at minimizing political disputes between the two allies in the light of the war on terror and other future conflicts in East Asia. From the Bush Administration's view, an FTA deal will provide the Philippines a better chance to compete in a changing and globalizing international economy and, possibly, enable it to lift the majority of the population from poverty through international trade, and to contribute to regional stability and order.

From a larger picture, the U.S.'s initiative to forge an FTA with the Philippines is a component of the Bush Administration's global effort to pursue a policy of competitive liberalization. This policy is primarily aimed at creating a competition in [trade] liberalization that will "increase U.S. trade leverage and promote open markets in the western hemisphere and throughout the world."<sup>①</sup> It is part and parcel of the Bush Administration's coherent strategy of competitive liberalization that is directed to establish free trade relations with countries selected on the basis of the following criteria: 1) net economic gains for the U.S.; 2) promotion of constructive economic

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① Statement of the Honorable Robert B. Zolleck, United States Trade Representative, Testimony before the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Committee on Ways and Means. Hearing on Summit of the Americas and Prospects for Free Trade in the Hemisphere. May 8, 2001. Quoted from William Copper, "Free - Trade Agreements: Impact on U.S. Trade and Implications for U.S. Trade Policy," *Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress* (Washington D.C.: The Library of Congress, April 9, 2002), p.5.

reforms in the designated country; 3) importance for broader U. S. trade policy; and 4) significance for overall U. S. foreign policy objectives.<sup>①</sup> The Philippines is one of the East Asian countries being considered by the U. S. This is because Washington aims to encourage economic reform and to cement economic and foreign policy ties with its oldest Southeast Asian ally. In addition, this move will give the U. S. additional leverage against any European stalling of the global trade negotiation, and more significantly, the ability to thwart the prospect of a new East Asian economic bloc that will exclude American economic interests in the region.

It is imperative for the Philippines to understand, analyze, and effectively respond to the Bush Administration's offer of a free trade agreement. This entails determining whether it will be in the country's interest to consider and possibly accept this proposal. Thus, this research addresses the following background issues of an FTA proposal: 1) what are the strategic and political dimensions of a free-trade arrangement? 2) What are the strategic and political agenda of the Bush Administration in its current effort to promote competitive liberalization in international trade? 3) How will the American FTA proposals in East Asia affect the the growing economic competition among the United States, China and Japan? 4) And what are the possible politico-strategic issues pertinent to the U. S. offer of an FTA to the Philippines?

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① C. Fred Bergsten, "Foreign Economic Policy for the Next President," *Foreign Affairs* 83, 2 (March/April 2004), p.95.

## Overview of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy

In the last few years since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. has been actively forming bilateral and regional FTAs with a number of countries. Currently, the U. S. is conducting negotiations with 33 Latin American countries to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by 2005 and with various Asian and Pacific-Rim countries to form a free trade and investment area by 2020.<sup>①</sup> Since 2002, U.S. efforts to form bilateral and regional free trade areas have intensified. The Bush Administration negotiated and signed FTAs with Singapore, Chile, Australia, Morocco, Bahrain, Thailand, and member states of the Central American Common market and the Southern African Customs Union although these countries are not among the U.S.'s top 10 trading partners. The U.S. motives behind its FTAs are a mixture of economic and political factors. One important factor is to protect American exporters from being discriminated by foreign companies that get preferential treatment from FTAs that exclude the U.S.. Another consideration is to reaffirm American political and strategic support to certain countries and strengthen its ties with these states. As the world's only superpower, the U.S. efforts to form an FTA cannot be separated from its wider politico-strategic interests. Its large market and strong economy have laid the very foundation not only for its economic growth and prosperity but also its military prowess in the 20th century.

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① William H. Cooper, *Free Trade Agreements: Impact on U.S. Trade and Implications for U.S. Trade Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, April 9, 2002), p.2.

Consequently, trade liberalization has been an integral component of American foreign policy. It has made the U.S. economy vibrant, and is immensely credited with developing the country as ultimately the only superpower in the world.

American integration of this economic agenda to its overall foreign policy stems from the political leadership's recognition that global economy is far from being a perfect market. Thus, the government has to play an active role in improving the country's balance of trade and national welfare.<sup>①</sup> Faced by colonial preferences and protected markets in the aftermath of the Second World War, the government found it necessary to assist American firms to generate positive externalities (technological spillovers and a large market) as well as to shift profits and earnings away from foreign firms to American companies. Since the late 1940s, trade liberalization has helped American firms increase their productive capabilities, and has paved the way for the building of excess production capacity for the country's economy.<sup>②</sup> Thus, the foreign economic policy agenda of every U.S. administration in the last 70 years has been directed at reducing barriers to international exchange at home and abroad; and developing a rule-based trading system built around strong multilateral institutions.<sup>③</sup>

The U.S. government's strategic approach to international trade became more apparent during President Bill Clinton's famed emphasis on economics as the central preoccupation of his Administration. In the early 1990s, the Clinton Administration gave much attention to trade

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① Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 124.

② Ibid. p. 124.

③ C. Fred Bergsten, "Foreign Economic Policy for The Next President," *Foreign Affairs* 83, 2 (March/April 2004), p. 94.



negotiations and the creation of jobs through export-oriented programs such as the Big Emerging Markets strategy.<sup>①</sup> It managed an ambitious record of successful trade deals particularly the Uruguay Round the North American Free Trade Agreement, and trade with China despite being battered by powerful domestic anti-trade liberalization trends, and often appearing unaware of its strategic trade promotion policy.<sup>②</sup> With its comparative advantage in services and agriculture, the Bush Administration is aggressively pushing U. S.-sponsored initiatives to eliminate the discrimination that goes head-on with preferential trade arrangements formed by West Europeans and possibly by East Asians.

The U. S., however, is not only a trading state. More importantly, it sees itself and acts as a leader or a hegemony in an open and a liberal trading order. According to American economist Charles Kindleberger, an open and a liberal international trading system requires a strong political leadership by the most advanced economy at a certain point in time. This concept is known as the theory of hegemonic stability, which states that the leader or the hegemony facilitates international economic cooperation and prevents states from defecting through the use of side payments (bribes), sanctions, and/or other means but can seldom, if ever, coerce reluctant states to comply with the rules of a liberal international economic order. This theory likewise assumes that a liberal and open international trading regime requires certain private that will be provided by the hegemony or the U.S. A private has the properties of non-exclusivity (inclusiveness)

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① Brian Hocking and Steven McGuire, "Trade Politics: Environments, Agendas, and Processes," Hocking and McGuire, *op. cit.*, 7.

② John Peterson, "The Politics of Transatlantic Trade Relations," *Ibid.*, p. 41