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南盟与中国关系:现实,挑战及前景

SAARC-China Relations: Realities, Challenges and Prospects

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摘要

南亚区域合作联盟成立于 28 年前，其目的在于促进南亚人民福利及提升生活质量。南亚区域合作联盟宗旨也揭示了联盟将努力加速该区域的经济增长，社会进步和文化发展，并为个人提供尊严的生活的机会及实现他们最大潜力。但是，由于官僚作风的作祟，不仅使得机构发展缓慢，而且也削弱了机构作为成员国政府延伸翼的作用。此外，区域内国家间的政治纷争持续地干扰区域内的和谐及经济合作。因此，南亚区域合作联盟不仅在促进成员国合作方面没有取得成功，并且在一定程度上还剥夺了他们从世界经济新格局中获得利益。事实上，由于他们薄弱的经济能力，八个成员国中的五个被列为世界最不发达国家，

有鉴于此，南亚区域合作联盟决定打破区域界线与强国家和相关机构展开联合。由于考虑到区域政治的现实及南亚区域的潜力，一些强国家及相关机构已经以观察员的身份参与南亚区域合作联盟的活动。所有的观察员国都表达了要进一步扩大和加深与南亚区域合作联盟合作的愿望。南亚区域合作联盟原则上批准与观察员国的合作指南，并期待他们为南亚发展合作伙伴与他们合作。中国于 2005 年在南亚区域合作联盟达卡峰会上，成为南亚区域合作联盟观察员国。中国参与南亚区域合作联盟活动符合其一贯的与邻国建立和平稳定环境的外交政策。而且，自 1978 年实行改革开放政策后，中国的外交及安全政策发生了根本的改变。在 1978 年 3 月召开的中国全国第六届人大四次会议政府工作报告中，第一次将多边外交列为重要的外交任务。在二十世纪最后十年，中国开始积极参与各种不同的区域及国际机构事宜。例如，中国与东南亚联盟关系的发展，特别是经贸的发展，无疑是中国希望选择多边外交政策的一个鲜明例证。

不仅如此，中国也相当注重与南亚国家的双边外交。中国与所有南亚区域内国家的关系在各个领域都在稳固基础上持续发展，特别是在经济方面。中国对获得南亚区域各组织完全会员资格抱有强烈愿望。很多政治家及学者相信，如果中国参与南亚区域合作联盟区域联盟论坛，将为南亚区域的经济的发展及合作注入新的活力。很多南亚国家支持中国更加深入地参与南亚区域合作联盟区

论坛的愿望。他们还相信中国与南亚区域的多边合作机制将有助于进一步增强该机构在区域及国际事务中发挥更为重要的作用。所有的南亚区域合作联盟国家将中国视为其合作伙伴而非对手。他们相信他们与中国之间存在经济利益互惠关系。

本文首先系统地考察了南亚区域合作联盟的发展演变进程以及其力图超越区域界限范围的愿望，进而深刻地分析了促进建立南亚区域合作联盟与中国之间稳固多边机制的不同因素。本文认为，中国快速的经济增长以及其增强与国际经济的互动表明，南亚地区作为一个整体，其机遇与挑战共存。最后，本文还探讨了发展南亚区域合作联盟与中国多边合作机制的各种制约因素。

关键词： 南亚区域合作联盟， 区域和谐， 最不发达国家， 观察员国， 多边外交

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ABSTRACT

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established 28 years ago to promote welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life. The SAARC Charter also reveals that the association will strive to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals with the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potentials. Unfortunately, the pace of development of the organization is too slow, because of over bureaucratization that has rendered the organization to remain as an extension wing of the governments of the member states. Moreover, inter-state political disputes continued to disturb regional harmony and economic cooperation. Consequently, SAARC remained unsuccessful not only in promoting cooperation among the member states but also deprive them from achieving benefit from new dynamics of world economy. It is fact that five out of eight member countries of the region have been listed world's Least Developed Countries (LDCs), because of their weak economic performance.

Under this backdrop, the SAARC member countries decided to move beyond the region to forge linkage with strong countries and institutions. Consequently, a number of powerful countries and institutions has already involved as observer status with SAARC considering geopolitical reality and latent potential of South Asia. All observer states expressed their willingness to extend cooperation with SAARC to enhance their deeper cooperation. In this connection, SAARC also approved, in principle, the guidelines for cooperation with the observers and look forward to work with them in a common pursuit of partnership for development of South Asia. On her persuasion, China has been awarded observer status to SAARC at Dhaka SAARC Summit in 2005. Chinese involvement with SAARC complies with her long cherished foreign policy to build a peaceful and stable environment with her neighbors. Moreover, Chinese diplomacy and security thinking has underwent a fundamental change since the adoption of reform and opening up policy in 1978. It was listed in the work report of the fourth session of the sixth National People's Congress (NPC) of the People's Republic of China on March 1978 that multilateral diplomacy was one of the important tasks for the first time. It started actively participating in different regional and international organizations since the last decade of twentieth century. For example; the development of China-ASEAN

relations is distinct manifestation of China's desirable foreign policy options toward multilateral diplomacy, especially in the economic and trade relations.

Moreover, China enjoys excellent bilateral relations individually with all South Asian Countries. Her relations with all regional states are steadily growing with a strong underpinning in various fields particularly in economic sector.

China's hopes and aspiration of having the full membership of the regional grouping are high. Many political scientists and scholars believe that economic development and cooperation in the regional organization will get extra vigor, if China engages with the SAARC regional forum. Most of the South Asian countries support the aspiration of China to engage deeply with SAARC regional forum. They also believe that a strong multilateral mechanism between SAARC and China would further strengthen the organization enabling it to play a bigger role in regional and global affairs. All SAARC member states look upon China as a partner in progress and not as an adversary. They believe that there is a confluence of economic interest between them and China.

This paper will comprehensively investigate development of SAARC and its aspiration to expand beyond its territorial jurisdiction. It will also critically analyze different factors that encourage establishing a strong multilateral mechanism between SAARC and China. Moreover, the rapid economic growth of China and its increased interaction with the global economy is representing both challenges and opportunities for the region as a whole. This research will also analyze different constraints towards development of the SAARC-China multilateral mechanism.

Keywords: SAARC Charter, Regional Harmony, Least Developed Countries, Observer Status, Multilateral Diplomacy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
APTA	Asia Pacific Trade Agreement
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BCIM	Bangladesh, China, India and Myanmar
BIISS	Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiatives for Multispectral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BPC	Bangladesh Parjatan (Tourism) Corporation
BSS	Bangladesh Sangbad (News) Sangstha (Agency)
CASS	China Academy of Social Sciences
CCCT	China Chamber of Commerce for Import & Export of Textile
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCPIT	China Council for Promotion of International Trade
CIISS	China Institute of International and Strategic Strategy
CPD	Center for Policy Dialogue
CSABF	China South Asia Business Forum
EAS	East Asian Summit
ECDC	Economic Cooperation with Developing Countries
EPB	Export Promotion Bureau
ESCAP	Economic and Social Council for Asia and the Pacific
G77	Group 77
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSP	General System of Preference
HDI	Human Development Index

IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Integrated Programme of Action
IPE	International Political Economy
IT	Interdependence Theory
JEC	Joint Economic Commission
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MNC	Multinational Company
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
N11	Next 11
NAM	Non Align Movement
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Agreement
NARBO	Network of Asian River Basin Organizations
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
NICs	Newly Industrialized Countries
NIEO	New International Economic Order
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PLA	Peoples' Liberation Army
RMG	Ready Made Garments
RTA	Regional Trade Agreement
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Agreement
SAGQ	South Asian Growth Quadrangle
SAVE	SAARC Audio-Visual Exchange
SAU	South Asian University

SAPTA	South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement
SDF	SAARC Development Fund
SYVOP	SAARC Youth Volunteers Programme
SYAS	SAARC Youth Awards Scheme
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank
WDP	Western Development Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization

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