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ASEAN IN VIEW OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF EAST ASIAN REGIONALISM¹

Summary: Regionalism is a major determinant of regional processes taking place in East Asia – both in the northern sub-region (i.e. in Japan, China and the Republic of Korea) and the southern one (within the Association of South East Asia – ASEAN). This phenomenon has become particularly evident from the beginning of the 21st century – in large measure as a response to European regionalism (the establishment of the Single European Market and European Economic Area) and American (creation of NAFTA and Mercosur). As a result, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its member states have naturally become a part of East Asian regionalism. However, the significant supremacy of the Northeast Asian sub-region (primarily in economic terms), induced the necessity for the ASEAN ten member states to maintain their vital role in the East Asian region. For that reason, the Association had to take joint actions to prevent its marginalisation (not only in the framework of regional relations, but also in global dimensions). Increasing activity in this sphere can be noticed also when taking into account individual ASEAN members (especially Singapore) – through establishing numerous bilateral trade agreements with third parties. The purpose of this paper is to present the nature and the specificity of East Asian regionalism, to reveal regional relationships of ASEAN and its member states, to compare diversification of economic development within the Association against the countries of Northeast Asia, as well as to portray activities aimed at establishing the ASEAN Community, based on three pillars: the ASEAN Economic Community, the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community and the ASEAN Political-Security Community.

Keywords: regionalism, regional trade agreements, East Asia, ASEAN.

1. Introduction

Until recently the East Asian region has been described as a “blank page” in the global geography of regionalism. The main reason for this was the considerable degree of mutual mistrust which is characteristic for the countries of that region. Therefore, its participants were not significantly interested in regional cooperation, preferring multilateral institutions. The reasons for this ought to be seen in the historical context of the evolution of East Asian nations.

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East Asia is composed of two sub-regions. The first one is Southeast Asia, which consists of the ten member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), created in 1967 (five founders: Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines – the so-called ASEAN-5; Brunei Darussalam and a group referred to as CLMV: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Viet Nam). Northeast Asia consists of three countries: China, Japan and the Republic of Korea. In recent years Southeast Asian regionalism was becoming increasingly embedded in the broader meaning – East Asian regionalism. This issue – meaning ASEAN as a participant of the process of regionalism in the whole region – is the subject of the present discussion.

The aim of the paper is to present processes occurring in the sub-region of Southeast Asia (i.e. member states of ASEAN) with those occurring in the whole region of East Asia. For that reason, at the beginning the genesis and characteristic features of East Asian regionalism will be characterised. The other main determinants of that phenomenon will be presented as well as its basic symptoms on the background of the main challenges faced by ASEAN in the light of the transformation of the East Asian region.

2. Origins and characteristics of East Asian regionalism

The East Asian region after the Second World War was significantly marginalised in terms of its political and economic role in the world. The specificity of the countries in the region, including in particular the significant differences in socio-economic and political terms, unresolved conflicts and lack of shared strategy of cooperation, meant that East Asian countries for many decades were not able to create a common development strategy. The principal reason for this was the Cold War and the division of the region resulting in armed conflicts and guerrilla wars as its consequence; lack of unified and coherence vision of the region; many territorial conflicts and failures of cooperation that was undertaken mainly among the Southeast Asian countries (South-East Asian Friendship and Economic Treaty – SEAFET; Association of South-East Asia – ASA; Malphindo; Asian and Pacific Council – ASPAC; South East Asia Treaty Organisation – SEATO). Against this background ASEAN has become the only important forum for regional cooperation in East Asia since the end of the Cold War.

The objectives of ASEAN were set out in the Bangkok Declaration, the founding document, which was adopted on 8 August 1967.² The objectives of the Association were related to cooperation in economic, social, cultural and technical fields, as well as to promoting stability and peace in the region by respecting rights and adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. One of the original aims of ASEAN was to counteract the political influence of communist countries, especially

² *The ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration)*, <http://www.aseansec.org/1212.htm> (accessed: 27.03.2012).

China and North Vietnam.³ It is worth noting that since the inception of ASEAN, cooperation among its participants has been based on partnership and equality among members. Therefore, it excluded the possibility of dominance of any one country. It is worth stressing that from the beginning, ASEAN was mainly involved in enhancing the security of Southeast Asia. Hence, till the end of 1980s security matters were dominant issues in ASEAN's agenda.

The dynamic development of Asian regionalism began in the 1990s. One can specify several major causes of this phenomenon. First of all, it was a reaction to the regionalism processes that occurred in other regions: in Europe (Single European Market; European Economic Area), in North America (North American Free Trade Agreement – NAFTA) and in South America (Mercado Comun del Sur – Mercosur). Besides that, the Asian countries, in the era of global transformation, were more and more concerned about a reduction of their importance in the world economy to the benefit of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (in the light of their relations with the European Community) and the countries of Latin America (mainly Mexico – under NAFTA). As a consequence, there was a threat of reducing the inflow of foreign direct investments into Southeast Asia.⁴ Therefore, the analysed East Asian countries began to undertake a common economic cooperation. One of the major reasons for this was the effort to strengthen and expand international production networks that were established in the region (mainly by Japanese enterprises). The result was the concept of creating ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), which was put forward in 1992 by Singapore. On the other hand, taking into account multilateral (GATT/WTO) and trans-regional (APEC) institutions, the problems in achieving a consensus among its numerous participants became more and more noticeable. Therefore, for many Asian countries it became increasingly attractive to cooperate in a narrower group of states, which was particularly important from the standpoint of Japan and the Republic of Korea – countries that in the past strongly supported the multilateral system. All this became more justifiable since regionalism through the WTO framework, which was centered mainly on APEC (with open regionalism and the Bogor Goals), failed.

Moreover, in the early 1990s ASEAN countries became actively engaged in the process of political and security regionalism. This resulted in the establishing in 1994 of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). This institution significantly contributed to the extension of a regional dialogue of Southeast Asian sub-region in the direction of both Northeast Asia as well as other partners outside the region (including countries situated in Europe, North America and in the Oceania region).⁵ Furthermore, the

³ J.-U. Wunderlich, M. Warrier, *A Dictionary of Globalization*, Routledge, London 2010, p. 40.

⁴ N. Munakata, *Regionalization and Regionalism: The Process of Mutual Interaction*, RIETI Discussion Paper Series 04-E-006, The Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, January 2004, p. 19.

⁵ The ARF comprises twenty seven countries: the ten member states of ASEAN, ten ASEAN dialogue partners (i.e. Australia, Canada, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, Rus-

introduction by ASEAN (in late 1998) of the Hanoi Plan of Action and the Bold Measures more formally confirmed that its economic aims were closely linked with the ones which were characteristic for the states from the Northeast Asian sub-region.

However, the key incentives for the analysed countries to create East Asian regionalism were the events within its own region. First of all, it was the 1997–98 Asian financial crisis. This crisis led to a deep disillusionment with the attitude of the United States and the International Monetary Fund. As a consequence, the East Asian countries highlighted the need to create its own regional system to support themselves in the case of potential crisis phenomena. The second main incentive was China and its enormous economic growth, which caused increasing apprehension (mainly in the Southeast Asian sub-region). ASEAN countries were afraid that China's growth would take place at their expense. That is why China has explicitly opted for a strategy of "peaceful development" (not "peaceful growth" – as it was originally projected or "peaceful rise" – because those terms could be understood ambiguously by the Chinese partners).⁶

All those aforementioned facts, together with the specific cultural dimension of the East Asian nations, formed the characteristic features of East Asian regionalism. The essential feature is the "ASEAN Way" – the principle of non-interference in internal affairs and solving problems through informal conversations. As a result, decisions among the East Asian states are taken by consensus. The following features are: the considerable range of informal relationships, bottom-up approach, low level of institutionalisation. It should be underlined that although these characteristics constitute important barriers to solve problems in relation to certain issues (e.g. territorial disputes), in some circumstances (e.g. financial crisis) they can be helpful in taking fast decisions.

3. Indications of East Asian regionalism

The most meaningful aspect of regionalism in the East Asian region is the rapid increase in the number of regional trade agreements. Taking into account ASEAN as a group, one can identify five regional trade agreements (RTAs) concluded

sia, the United States and the EU), one ASEAN observer (Papua New Guinea) as well as the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea, Bangladesh, East Timor, Mongolia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. For more about the ARF see: *The ASEAN Regional Forum*, <http://aseanregionalforum.asean.org> (accessed: 28.03.2012).

⁶ The term "peaceful development" was used by China's President, Hu Jintao, during his speech at Boao Forum for Asia in 2004. Later, in December 2005, the Chinese government promulgated a white paper entitled "China's Peaceful Development Road". The idea of "peaceful development" became the foundation of Chinese "soft power" (together with the concept of "harmonious world") aimed at overthrowing the "Chinese threat theory". It also became a key strategy outlined in the China's 12th Five-Year Plan (2011–2015).

with the four countries (China, Japan, India, the Republic of Korea) and both with Australia and New Zealand (CER).⁷ Most of them were free trade areas (FTAs), which were established under GATT Article XXIV (see Table 1). RTAs concluded by ASEAN with the Republic of Korea, China and with Australia and New Zealand also constitute economic integration agreement (EIA), i.e. they involve trade in services. Agreements among developing countries were notified to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) under Enabling Clause. Among them there is the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA).

Table 1. Regional Trade Agreements concluded by ASEAN as a group

RTA	Type	Date of entry into force		Notification under
		<i>goods</i>	<i>services</i>	
AFTA	FTA	28.01.1992	–	Enabling Clause
ASEAN – China	PSA; EIA	01.01.2005	01.07.2007	Enabling Clause; GATS Art. V
ASEAN – Japan	FTA	01.12.2008	–	GATT Art. XXIV
ASEAN – India	FTA	01.01.2010	–	Enabling Clause
ASEAN – Republic of Korea	FTA; EIA	01.01.2010	01.05.2009	Enabling Clause; GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V
ASEAN – Australia – New Zealand	FTA; EIA	01.01.2010		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V

Source: *Regional Trade Agreements Information System*, World Trade Organisation, <http://rtais.wto.org> (accessed: 29.03.2012).

Most of the Southeast Asian regional trade agreements are bilateral, with FTAs and EIAs as the vast majority (see Table 2). Most of them have been concluded in the 21st century. The agreement on the liberalisation of trade in goods and services, which was signed by Singapore and New Zealand in November 2000, initiated a wave of similar agreements across the region. In the same month, China proposed to establish FTA with ASEAN, which launched a similar movement from Japan and the Republic of Korea as well as from Australia and New Zealand. But Singapore remains the undisputed leader of this process. This country has instituted ten bilateral trade agreements. Singapore was also the only ASEAN member which constituted regional trade agreements with the United States and the Republic of Korea (ROK). On the other hand, Cambodia is the only ASEAN member that is not a part of any bilateral agreement.

⁷ Australia and New Zealand were included in the analysis in this paper as components of the concept of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership for East Asia (CEPEA).

Table 2. Regional Trade Agreements concluded by the members of ASEAN

ASEAN member	RTA	Type	Date of entry into force		Notification under	Early announcement
			<i>goods</i>	<i>services</i>		
Brunei Darussalam	TPSEP	FTA; EIA	28.05.2006		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	–
	Japan	FTA; EIA	31.07.2008		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
Indonesia	GSTP	PSA	19.04.1989	–	Enabling Clause	EFTA
	Japan	FTA; EIA	01.07.2008		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
Lao PDR	APTA	PSA	17.06.1976	–	Enabling Clause	–
	Thailand	PSA	20.06.1991		Enabling Clause	
Malaysia	GSTP	PSA	19.04.1989	–	Enabling Clause	Australia
	Japan	FTA; EIA	13.07.2006		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	Pakistan	FTA; EIA	01.01.2008		Enabling Clause; GATS Art. V	
	New Zealand	FTA; EIA	01.08.2010		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	India	FTA; EIA	01.07.2011		Enabling Clause; GATS Art. V	
Myanmar	GSTP	PSA	19.04.1989	–	Enabling Clause	BIMSTEC
Philippines	PTN	PSA	11.02.1973		Enabling Clause	–
	GSTP	PSA	19.04.1989		Enabling Clause	
	Japan	FTA; EIA	11.12.2008		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
Singapore	GSTP	PSA	19.04.1989	–	Enabling Clause	Canada Costa Rica Ukraine
	New Zealand	FTA; EIA	01.01.2001		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	Japan	FTA; EIA	30.11.2002		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	EFTA	FTA; EIA	01.01.2003		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	Australia	FTA; EIA	28.07.2003		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	US	FTA; EIA	01.01.2004		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	India	FTA; EIA	01.08.2005		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	Jordan	FTA; EIA	22.08.2005		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	Panama	FTA; EIA	24.07.2006		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	ROK	FTA; EIA	02.03.2006		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	TPSEP	FTA; EIA	28.05.2006		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	China	FTA; EIA	01.01.2009		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	Peru	FTA; EIA	01.08.2009		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
Thailand	GSTP	PSA	19.04.1989	–	Enabling Clause	BIMSTEC
	Lao PDR	PSA	20.06.1991		Enabling Clause	
	Australia	FTA; EIA	01.01.2005		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	New Zealand	FTA; EIA	01.07.2005		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
	Japan	FTA; EIA	01.11.2007		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	
Viet Nam	GSTP	PSA	19.04.1989	–	Enabling Clause	–
	Japan	FTA; EIA	01.10.2009		GATT Art. XXIV; GATS Art. V	

Legend: APTA – Asia Pacific Trade Agreement; BIMSTEC – Bay of Bengal Initiative on Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation; EFTA – European Free Trade Association; GSTP – Global System of Trade Preferences among Developing Countries; PTN – Protocol on Trade Negotiations; TPSEP – Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership.

Source: *Regional Trade Agreements Information System*, World Trade Organisation, <http://rtais.wto.org> (accessed: 02.04.2012).

The primary motive underlying the growing number of bilateral RTAs concluded by the Northeastern Asian countries was their aim to play a leading role in East Asian regionalism. At the same time, the smaller economies of the southern sub-region of East Asia tend to shift the centre of regionalism from the north. Apart from that, bilateral trade agreements have another important advantage – owing to their flexibility – they can help to protect their signatories' uncompetitive industries.

It should be also emphasised that although the ASEAN's external FTA policy tends to expand trade and investment, so far the Association has been very careful to ensure that its external trade agreements do not undermine its internal integration efforts.⁸

4. Major challenges for ASEAN in the face of regional transformation

While comparing ASEAN with the Northeast Asian countries, a few important observations can be made. First of all – the southern countries of East Asia are more numerous. Hence, during regional meetings, there is an assumption that they ought to have a greater bargaining power. On the other hand, despite the fact that ASEAN consists of ten member states, together they constitute only 40% of the population of the East Asian region. In addition, they have much less economic potential. Southeast Asia accounts for only 15% of East Asian GDP (see Table 3). These facts mean that only strong cooperation and integration among ASEAN countries can make the Association a more important partner not only in the light of regional relations, but also in a multilateral aspect. Therefore, ASEAN as a regional hub, could also shift the regional economic centre of gravity from Northeast Asia (mainly China) to the Southeast. However, taking into consideration the extremely large differences among ASEAN states in economic and social terms (see Table 3), this is not an easy task. Nevertheless, the East Asian countries are trying to take steps towards building one integrated area.⁹

⁸ G. Hufbauer, J. Schott, Fitting Asia-Pacific agreements into the WTO system, [in:] R. Baldwin, P. Low (Eds.), *Multilateralizing Regionalism. Challenges for the Global Trading System*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009, p. 563.

⁹ However, it is worth noting that this issue is not so simple. Some scientists and politicians from the ASEAN member states, exhort for advancing the process of integration between ASEAN, Japan, China and South Korea to create the common East Asian Community. Whereas others prefer a gradual and lengthy process of integration, fearing that ASEAN could lose its driver's seat in regional politics. For more about debates on the attitude of ASEAN towards that issue see: E.L. Frost, *Asia's New Regionalism*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London 2008, pp. 107–127; K.W. Chin, Emerging East Asian regional architecture: ASEAN perspective, [in:] W.T. Tow, K.W. Chin (Eds.), *ASEAN, India, Australia. Towards Closer Engagement in a New Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore 2009, pp. 27–35.

Table 3. Basic macroeconomic data for Southeast and Northeast Asian countries*

Country	GDP (current prices, USD, billions)	Population (millions)	GDP <i>per capita</i> (current prices, USD)	Unemployment rate (% of total labour force)	Current account balance (USD, billions)	Total trade with ASEAN (USD, millions)
Brunei	15.635	0.437	35 743.154	3.700	7.338	2 793.13
Cambodia	14.553	14.576	998.402	no data	-0.979	6 572.86
Indonesia	936.492	243.379	3 847.875	6.550	-4.016	72 259.67
Lao PDR	8.937	6.678	1 338.342	no data	-1.755	3 608.88
Malaysia	267.265	29.219	9 146.903	3.100	28.756	129 866.34
Myanmar	52.195	63.672	819.752	4.020	-2.202	7 168.06
Philippines	232.089	97.691	2 375.753	7.200	2.941	31 913.21
Singapore	283.739	5.346	53 071.667	2.255	52.492	181 232.43
Thailand	379.158	64.647	5 865.041	1.200	9.322	75 038.59
Viet Nam	137.495	90.388	1 521.161	5.000	-5.260	30 660.04
China	7 744.133	1 354.861	5 715.812	4.000	431.550	292 581.65
Japan	6 125.842	127.728	47 960.072	4.786	172.544	213 870.05
ROK	1 275.010	49.136	25 948.777	3.300	17.774	102 417.74

* Data include the IMF projections for 2012; value of total trade with ASEAN as of 2010.

Source: author's own work based on: *Directions of Trade Statistics*, IMF 2010; *World Economic Outlook Database*, International Monetary Fund, <http://www.imf.org> (accessed: 02.04.2012).

The result of the above mentioned efforts was the concept of establishing the ASEAN Community. This idea was adopted in October 2003, when ASEAN leaders signed the founding document, known as the Bali Concord II. The Community is to be based on three pillars. The first one is the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC). The aim of the APSC is to “ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another and with the world in a just, democratic and harmonious environment”.¹⁰ The Community is aimed at: cooperating in political development (among others by promoting understanding different political systems, history and culture; supporting good governance; promoting principles of democracy); building a cohesive and peaceful region (by potential conflicts prevention; security cooperation); peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts' resolution.

The second pillar of the ASEAN Community is the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). It is to be created by 2015. The basic goals of the AEC are as follows: building a highly competitive economic region with equitable economic

¹⁰ *ASEAN Political-Security Community*, <http://www.asean.org/18741.htm> (accessed: 03.04.2012).

development; creating a single market, production base and a full integration towards the global economy. The implementation of these objectives is going to be achieved, *inter alia*, through the free flow of investments, capital, goods, services and skilled workforce; the competition policy and protection of consumers; development of infrastructure. Besides that, it is underlined that ASEAN's external relations ought to be characterised by a consistent approach.

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) is the third pillar of the Community. Its basic aim is to achieve solidarity and unity among the Southeast Asian peoples and the member states. The objectives for establishing the ASCC can be summed up as the following activities: human resource development (*inter alia* by: advancing education; strengthening skills of entrepreneurship for youth, women and persons with disabilities; promoting decent work); social development (reducing poverty; improving food security); ensuring environmental sustainability (sustainable management of natural resources; harmonisation of environmental policy). One of the key objectives of the ASCC is to create a common Asian identity together with supporting narrowing the development gap among the member states of ASEAN.¹¹

Considering the transformation taking place in ASEAN in the last decade, two important directions of activities taken by its member states, which are a part of long-term goals (including the establishment of the ASEAN Community), should be pointed out. As mentioned earlier, the overriding goal of ASEAN is its unity, which results in fulfilling by the Association the hub function in the East Asian regionalism. Therefore, joint actions aimed at reducing the development gap within ASEAN (and between ASEAN and the rest of the world) were taken by the member states. The outcome is the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI). In order to accomplish this task, the Ha Noi Declaration On Narrowing Development Gap For Closer ASEAN Integration was signed in 2001. Apart from reducing the development gap, the document aims to promote equitable economic development, reduce poverty within the CLMV group and accelerate regional economic integration.

As envisaged, the integration of markets will result in increasing economies of scale, improving competitiveness and accelerating the productivity of enterprises. This causes an increase in investments inflows, development of intraregional trade and it generally will improve the welfare of the peoples of ASEAN states. Closer and deeper economic integration, not only directed at removing trade barriers, but also at developing infrastructure, is to play a decisive role in the reconstruction of the competitiveness of the ASEAN economies and – as a consequence – to achieve by the ASEAN member states higher rates of economic growth.¹²

¹¹ For more about the ASEAN Community see: *Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009-2015. One Vision, One Identity, One Community*, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, April 2009.

¹² IAI scheme is implemented in accordance with the approved Working Plans. The first one was implemented in 2002–2008. The second covers years 2009–2015. It is worth noting that projects are financed also by external institutions (i.e. United Nations Development Programme, International Labour

The second course of action, which is implemented by ASEAN, is to strengthen its institutional framework. The result of these aspirations is the ASEAN Charter, which entered into force in December 2008. Its principal objective is to generate the ASEAN Community. Following the adoption of the ASEAN Charter, the Association has obtained a legal identity. Each member state is obliged to appoint permanent representatives to the Secretariat of ASEAN. The role of foreign ministers of the ASEAN states is increasing and ASEAN summits are going to be held twice a year. The ASEAN Charter has also codified ASEAN norms, values and rules. Among others the “ASEAN Way” is to be supplemented by a new culture of adapting the rules in order to take the obligations of the Association seriously.¹³

5. Conclusion

Regionalism is one of the dominant processes in contemporary international relations. It affects the shape of interstate cooperation in the context of economic, political, cultural, social and security spheres. As a consequence of these transformations, several main types of regionalism have been developed: economic, political, socio-cultural and security regionalism. All of them occur in the East Asian region, being in parallel adapted to the characteristic features of the region.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations has become increasingly entangled in the process of East Asian regionalism. On the one hand, it is consistent with the political will of the ASEAN member countries, as it involves changes in stronger relations with the large economies of the Northeast Asian sub-region (especially with China). Thus, it reduces the possibility of unfavourable economic and political decisions taken by the ASEAN’s neighbour states. On the other – it causes the so-called spaghetti (or noodle) bowl effect. As a result of that issue, regional standards and rules of origin are becoming more diverse. This increases costs (among others for entrepreneurs) of carrying out economic activities on the East Asian markets.

In this light the basic question is: To what extent the above-described wave of bilateral and plurilateral RTAs in East Asia will create a single, unified regional trade agreement, which will provide a foundation for creating a future East Asian Community? This is a very debatable issue. Along with the increasing intensification of trans-regional cooperation among Asian and Pacific countries within the Trans-

Organization) and countries (including India, ROK, China, the EU and especially Japan). For more see: *Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) Strategic Framework and IAI Work Plan 2 (2009–2015)*; <http://www.aseansec.org/22325.pdf> (accessed: 03.04.2012).

¹³ *The Road to Ratification and Implementation of the ASEAN Charter*, P. Chachavalpongpun (Ed.), ASEAN Studies Centre, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Report No. 3, Singapore 2009, pp. 50–51. For more about the ASEAN Charter see also: *The Making of the ASEAN Charter*, T. Koh, R. Manalo, W. Woon (Eds.), World Scientific, Singapore 2009.

Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership,¹⁴ the answer to the question whether the vision of an united East Asia will become a reality becomes even more difficult.

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ASEAN WOBEC PRZEOBRAŻENÍ REGIONALIZMU WSCHODNIOAZJATYCKIEGO

Streszczenie: Regionalizm staje się główną determinantą procesów regionalnych zachodzących w Azji Wschodniej – zarówno w jej subregionie północnym (tj. w Japonii, Chinach

¹⁴ Formally the TPSEP is composed of: Brunei Darussalam, Chile, New Zealand and Singapore. Australia, Malaysia, Peru, Viet Nam, the United States conduct accession talks. In November 2011 also Japan expressed its readiness to the accession. Potential parties to the agreement are: Canada, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea. The willingness to become a part of the TPSEP was also expressed by Taiwan.

i Korei Płd.), jak i południowym (w ramach Stowarzyszenia Narodów Azji Południowo-Wschodniej – ASEAN). Intensyfikacja powiązań regionalnych na obszarze Azji Wschodniej szczególnie silnie uwidoczniła się wraz z rozpoczęciem XXI wieku, w znaczącej mierze jako reakcja na regionalizm europejski (ustanowienie jednolitego rynku i EOG) i amerykański (utworzenie NAFTA i Mercosur). W rezultacie ugrupowanie ASEAN oraz jej państwa członkowskie w sposób naturalny stały się częścią regionalizmu wschodnioazjatyckiego. W obliczu jednak istniejącej znaczącej przewagi subregionu Azji Północno-Wschodniej (przede wszystkim w wymiarze ekonomicznym), państwa ASEAN, dla utrzymania swojej istotnej roli w regionie, stają w obliczu konieczności podejmowania wspólnych działań celem uniknięcia ich marginalizacji (nie tylko w ramach relacji regionalnych, ale również w wymiarze globalnym). Rosnącą aktywność w tej sferze kraje członkowskie ASEAN (w tym zwłaszcza Singapur) wykazują również w sposób indywidualny – ustanawiając szereg bilateralnych umów handlowych z podmiotami trzecimi. Celem opracowania jest przedstawienie istoty oraz specyfiki regionalizmu wschodnioazjatyckiego, ukazanie powiązań regionalnych ASEAN oraz jej państw członkowskich, porównanie zróżnicowania rozwoju gospodarczego w ramach Stowarzyszenia na tle państw Azji Północno-Wschodniej oraz przedstawienie działań mających na celu urealnienie koncepcji utworzenia Wspólnoty ASEAN w ramach jej trzech filarów: Wspólnoty Gospodarczej (AEC), Społeczno-Kulturowej (ASCC) oraz Wspólnoty Politycznej i w Sferze Bezpieczeństwa (APSC).

Słowa kluczowe: regionalizm, regionalne porozumienia handlowe, Azja Wschodnia, ASEAN.