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硕 士 学 位 论 文

“云南走向国际化”：云南在亚洲次区域主义中的  
积极参与次国家外事案例研究

**“Yunnan Goes International”: The Active Involvement of  
Yunnan in Asian Subregionalism as a Case of Subnational  
External Affairs**

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## 摘要

中国西南省份云南与缅甸，老挝及越南接壤，拥有连接中国内地与东南亚及南亚的独特位置，使其成为自古以来的重要的商贸和文化跨区域中心。这一跨区域跨国家的历史特质已使云南演变为一个存在于相异的实体之间及内部的现代环境，这些实体有着一个新的政治经济区域化构建，并呈现次区域化的趋势。

因此，本研究旨在审视云南与东南亚及南亚的次区域合作动态的融合，研究角度为次国家在国际或境外事务的参与理论。

其中，区域和次区域合作的理论复合将与次国家外交关系的理论相结合，后者涉及的理论主要为西方中心式的平行外交或多层次外交概念，以便获得一个贯穿本文的具体修正的框架结构，该结构包含云南“小外交”（即指次国家政府的外交活动）的内部和外部因素。

在呈现云南正在萌发的外交事务活动的涵义后，本文进一步分析了有利于云南的西部大开发，东南亚和南亚外部环境的区域化过程，以及中国在此过程中的融入。云南在以上区域中的中介作用逐渐凸显，其多变及双边的措施和活动充分体现在了这些次区域的互动中，从而聚焦云南在大湄公河次区域和孟加拉国-中国-印度-缅甸（“孟中印缅”）区域经济合作的参与的情况。

可以看出，云南的“小外交”暗示了在处理外交事务中的某种行政区域的能力，此概念将在本文文末参照相关的巨大挑战进行相对处理。

**关键词：**云南省；次区域；次国家；东南亚；南亚；小外交

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## Abstract

With direct borders to Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam, the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan is uniquely positioned between portions of China, Southeast Asia and South Asia, which has made it an important commercial and cultural cross-regional hub throughout ancient and pre-modern history. This cross-regional and transnational legacy has been translated into the modern context of lying between and within different entities of a new politico-economically regionalized architecture with subregional tendencies.

This study is, hence, designed to examine Yunnan’s corresponding engagement with the emerging subregional cooperation dynamics of Southeast Asia and South Asia from the theoretical angle of subnational involvement in international, or external, affairs.

In doing so, the theoretical complex of regional and subregional cooperation will be combined with the theorization of subnational external relations of rather Western-centered concepts of “paradiplomacy” and “multilayered diplomacy” in order to derive a specific, modified framework of internal and external factors for the materialization of Yunnan’s subnational external activities termed as Yunnan’s “microdiplomacy” throughout this study.

After having extracted indications of the generally emerging trend in China of provincial external activities, the Yunnan-specific favoring factors of the domestic policies of the Western Development Program and the external contexts of regionalization processes in Southeast Asia and South Asia and China’s respective involvement are elaborated. Having arrived at the agency-level, it will be shown how these broad regional contexts have been at the subregional level concretely filled with Yunnan’s multilateral and bilateral initiatives and activities, thereby focusing on its involvement in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar (BCIM) Economic Cooperation.

This evident perception of a Yunnanese “microdiplomacy” implying a certain subnational capacity in conducting foreign affairs will be relativized by the reference to associated major challenges at the end of this study.

**Keywords:** Yunnan province; subregional; subnational; Southeast Asia; South Asia; microdiplomacy



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### List of Abbreviations

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| ACFTA    | ASEAN-China Free Trade Area  |
| ACMECS   | Ayeyawady - Chao Phraya - Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy                             |
| ACS      | Association of Caribbean States  |
| ADBC     | Agricultural Development Bank of China   |
| AEM-MITI | ASEAN Economic Ministers-Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Japan) Consultation |
| AER      | Assembly of European Regions   |
| AMM      | ASEAN Ministerial Meeting  |
| AMBDC    | ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation   |
| APEC     | Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation  |
| ARF      | Asian Regional Forum   |
| ARIC     | Asia Regional Information Center (ADB)   |
| BIMSTEC  | Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation             |
| BECZ     | Border Economic Cooperation Zone   |
| BCIM     | Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Cooperation  |
| BIPPS    | Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies   |
| CAEXPO   | China-ASEAN Expo   |
| CAREC    | Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation   |
| CBEZ     | Cross-Border Economic Zone   |
| CBTA     | Cross-Border Transport Agreement (in the GMS)  |
| CCPIT    | China Council for the Promotion of International Trade                                     |
| CDB      | China Development Bank   |
| CEFTA    | Central European Free Trade Association  |
| CLMV     | Cambodia-Laos-Myanmar-Vietnam  |
| CNPC     | China National Petroleum Corporation   |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| CPC     | Communist Party of China   |
| CSABC   | China-South Asian Business Council   |
| CSABF   | China-South Asia Business Forum  |
| DCOA    | Dianchi Cooperation for Opening Asia   |
| DOC     | Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea   |
| DRC     | Development and Reform Commission (provincial)   |
| EAEC    | East Asian Economic Caucus   |
| ECTPA   | Association for Economic Cooperation and Trade Promotion between Yunnan and Southeast and South Asia |
| ETDZ    | Economic and Technological Development Zone  |
| EU      | European Union   |
| FAO     | Foreign Affairs Office (provincial department)   |
| FCDI    | Forum for the Comprehensive Development of Indochina   |
| FDI     | Foreign Direct Investment  |
| FTEC    | Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Commission (provincial)                                       |
| GDP     | Gross Domestic Product   |
| GMS     | Greater Mekong Subregion   |
| GMS-BF  | GMS Business Forum   |
| GMS-ISN | GMS-Information Superhighway Network   |
| GRP     | Gross Regional Product   |
| HDI     | Human Development Index  |
| HRS     | Household Responsibility System  |
| ICT     | Information and Communication Technology   |
| IPE     | International Political Economy  |
| IR      | International Relations  |
| JEQC    | Joint Economic Quadrangle Committee  |
| LDC     | Least Developed Country  |
| MAKAIAS | Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies   |

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| MGC    | Mekong - Ganga Cooperation   |
| MNC    | Multinational Corporation  |
| NAFTA  | North American Free Trade Area   |
| NDRC   | National Development and Reform Commission                                   |
| NRA/T  | New Regionalism Approach/Theory  |
| NSEC   | North-South Economic Corridor (in GMS)                                       |
| OCAO   | Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (provincial department)                      |
| OECD   | Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development                         |
| PBGECZ | Pan-Beibu Gulf Economic Cooperation Zone                                     |
| PRC    | People's Republic of China   |
| RTA    | Regional Trading Arrangement   |
| SAARC  | South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation                              |
| SABF   | South Asia Business Forum  |
| SAFTA  | South Asia Free Trade Area   |
| SAGQ   | South Asia Growth Quadrangle   |
| SANWFZ | Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone Treaty                              |
| SAPTA  | SAARC Preferential Trading Agreement   |
| SASEC  | South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation                                  |
| SCCI   | SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry                                       |
| SDPC   | State Development Planning Commission<br>(since 2003 NDRC, see <i>NDRC</i> ) |
| SEAS   | Yunnan Academy of Southeast Asia and South Asian Studies                     |
| SEZ    | Special Economic Zone  |
| SKRL   | Singapore – Kunming Rail Link  |
| SME    | Small and Medium-Size Enterprise   |
| SOE    | State-Owned Enterprise   |
| SREZ   | Subregional Economic Zone  |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| SSR     | Southwest Silk Road  |
| TAC     | Treaty of Amity and Cooperation                            |
| TRADP   | Tumen River Area Development Programme                     |
| UN      | United Nations   |
| UNESCAP | UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific |
| UNDP    | United Nations Development Programme                       |
| VAT     | Value Added Tax  |
| YASS    | Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences                          |
| YDRC    | Yunnan Development and Research Center                     |
| YPCC    | Yunnan Provincial Chamber of Commerce                      |

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