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**THE NEW REGIONALISM:
COMPARING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EC SINGLE
INTEGRATED MARKET, NAFTA AND APEC**

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I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent research and that all authorities and sources which have been used are duly acknowledged.

Stephen Edward Bates

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ABSTRACT

The study of regions in international relations has been a sometime thing, gaining scholarly attention in the 1950s and 1960s, dropping largely from view in the 1970s, and returning to focus quite dramatically in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It is clear that the contemporary manifestations of regionalism (the completion of the internal market of the European Communities in 1992, Asia Pacific developments, and US-centred Western hemisphere moves) constitute a new and qualitatively different factor in both interstate relations and the international political economy. The growth in the development of regions in the 1980s also represents a new level of interstate collaboration in the international system. The question arises as to the causes of this 'new regionalism' of the 1980s, and the implications of these developments for international relations practice and theory. Investigating these issues is the main task of this thesis.

This thesis involves three elements: a central contemporary element examining the re-emergence of regions in the 1980s; a second comparative element comparing the causal factors operating in three different regions; and lastly, a theoretical element examining the usefulness of current theory to the phenomenon of regionalism in the 1980s and 1990s.

Chapters Two and Three discuss the relevant theoretical literature with a view to developing the propositions to be examined in the case studies. They examine three of the major streams of international relations theory - realism, liberal economics, and institutionalism - with a focus on what these contending theories have had to say about how regional groupings arise. Chapter Two looks at the relevant theoretical literature in the 1950s and 1960s while Chapter Three explores the more recent theoretical literature of the 1970s and 1980s.

The rest of the body of the thesis tests propositions set out at the end of Chapter Three on the causes of the regionalist revival in the 1980s by way of three case studies, each one concerned with the actual development of regionalism in three different parts of the globe: Western Europe, North America and the Asia Pacific.

In all three regions the move towards regionalism was clearly a reaction to negative developments in the international economic and political systems. It was in part a specific response to the undermining of the liberal international trading regime and the associated rise in protectionism, particularly in the US. It was also partly the result of an ideational shift in terms of economic doctrine away from keynesianism and import substitution industrialisation to economic liberalism and export-oriented economic growth. Yet it is also apparent from the case studies that the new regionalism was also to some extent the result of a kind of interactive chain reaction, a spiral of mutual anxiety, with regionalism in

one area provoking an extension of regionalism in another. It is indeed difficult to establish which of these causal explanations is the principal one as it is clear from the case studies that they are in fact mutually reinforcing.

The thesis concludes with an analysis of the insights provided by the case studies into the theoretical debates examined in Chapters Two and Three. Finally, there is an attempt to use these insights to construct a theory accounting for the rise of the new regionalism.

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
APC	Asia Pacific Cooperation
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASAS	Association of Southeast Asian States
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN PMC	ASEAN Post Ministerial Conference
ASPAC	Asian and Pacific Council
BCNI	Business Council on National Issues (Canada)
CACM	Central American Common Market
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CER	Closer Economic Relations
CMA	Canadian Manufacturers' Association
CSCA	Council for Security Cooperation in Asia
CSCE	Council for Security Cooperation in Europe
CUSFTA	Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
EAEC	East Asia Economic Caucus
EAEG	East Asia Economic Group
EC	European Communities
ECAFE	Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
ECLA	(United Nations) Economic Commission for Latin America
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EMS	European Monetary System
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European political cooperation
EPG	Eminent Persons Group
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EPU	European Payments Union
ESPRIT	European Strategic Programme for Research and Development
in	Information Technology
EU	European Union
FIRA	Foreign Investment Review Agency
FTA	Free Trade Agreement

GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GSP	Generalised System of Preferences
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import-Substituting Industrialisation
JIT	Just In Time
LAFTA	Latin American Free Trade Association
LDC	Less Developed Country
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MITI	Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Japan)
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MNE	Multinational Enterprise
MP	Member of Parliament
MTN	Multilateral Trade Negotiation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEP	National Energy Programme
NIE	Newly Industrialising Economy
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NORAD	North American Air Defence
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
OAEC	Organisation for Asian Economic Cooperation
OAS	Organisation of American States
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
OMA	Orderly Market Arrangement
OPTAD	Organisation for Pacific Trade and Development
PAFTA	Pacific Free Trade Area
PBEC	Pacific Basin Economic Council
PECC	Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party (Mexico)
R&D	Research and Development
SEA	Single European Act
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organisation
SII	Structural Impediments Initiative
SIM	Single Integrated Market
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference for Trade and Development
VAT	Value Added Tax

VER	Voluntary Export Restraint
VRA	Voluntary Restraint Agreement
WEU	Western European Union