

# 變動中的東亞區域主義—以東亞的電子業生產分工為例\*

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## East Asian Regionalism in Changing: The Case Study on Production Network of Electronics Industry

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### 摘要 / Abstract

一個國家的技術能力直接關連著國家經濟與安全的戰略性利益，因此技術能力本身就是政治權力關鍵性的組成部分。東亞雁產業分工體系所立基的技術權力階層關係，也就體現了東亞區域主義中的政治權力關係。本文指出：當前的東亞區域主義是由兩個開放性網絡所構成，分別是雁飛行秩序與大中華秩序，前者是由美國與日本為領導核心的區域主義，後者則是以中國為中心的東亞秩序。通過長時期的國際政治經濟學分析，我們進一步論證，大中華秩序是由雁飛行秩序在 1980 年代中期的轉型而來。造成這一轉型的原因有三個：第一是美國的金融調整政策，第二是中國的加入雁飛秩序，第三是垂直分工生產

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方式的出現。這一區域產業網絡的轉型一方面提供後進國家許多新的利基進行工業化發展甚至於追趕，但另一方面也加重了「標準制訂」在全球分工的統治高地份量。通過這一分析的視角，我們論證，一方面，東亞的生產體系其技術、資本與市場仍然是掌握在美、日同盟的手中；另一方面，區域分工的重組卻也加重了東亞經濟區域化現象，以及中國快速的資本、技術累積與市場的擴大，持續地提高中國對東亞經濟的影響能力，因此，東亞區域主義既有其延續性，也正積聚著它的變異性。

A country's technological capability is directly related to her strategic benefits of economy and security. As technological capability constitutes the core part of political power, the technological hierarchy actually embodies the power relation in East Asian regionalism. In this article, the author argues that current East Asian regionalism is structured by two open networks. One is the U.S. and Japan-centric flying geese system, the other is emerging China-centric greater China circle. Through long-term international political economic analysis, the author further argues that greater China circle is in fact the outcome from the transformation of flying geese system in the mid-1980s. Three factors induce this transformation. The first is financial regulation of the U.S. in face of her crisis. The second is China's participation into flying geese system. The third is emergence of vertical disintegration of production. On the one hand, this regional transformation provides some niches for developing countries to catch up first movers, on the other hand, it also weights on the role of standard architecture largely in the hands of first movers. By this analysis perspective, the author argues that technology, capital and final-user market are still controlled by the U. S. and Japan alliance. However, regional reorganization of production also increase economic regionalism by which China rapidly accumulates capital, promotes technology, and expands market scale. In short, while East Asian regionalism maintains its usual

course, it also accumulates momentum for change.

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**關鍵詞：**東亞區域主義、雁行秩序、大中華秩序、技術的垂直分工、標準制訂

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