

MAKE

陈昊苏 序

CHOICE OF PEACE

苏明忠 著

OR WAR

选择和平还是战争

——关于欧洲联盟理想与实践的报告



国际文化出版公司

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——关于欧洲联盟理想与实践的研究报告

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苏明忠 著

By Su Ming Zhong

Doctor of law de L'

Catholique de Louvain

陈昊苏 序

Preface by Chen Haosu

Vice-President of the Chinese People's

Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

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著 者 苏明忠

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序 言

有关欧洲联盟的过去、现在、未来,是我们这个时代国际政治经济发展全局中的一个大大题目,我因为近十年来在对外友协工作,具体负责对欧盟的交往,一直很有兴趣地关心这个问题。在 1992 年曾支持出版《欧共体基础法》,并为之写了序言,对欧洲联合与统一发表过肯定的看法。1999 年初又支持出版《欧洲联盟条约》,这一次我没有写序言,只是提供了一个短短的贺词,同样对欧洲的一体化表示了支持的意见。

现在这两本书的译者苏明忠同志写成一部关于欧盟问题的专著《选择和平还是战争》,显然,这是他多年来研究欧洲和欧盟问题付出宝贵心血赢得的丰硕收获,我对此表示祝贺,并且衷心希望这部专著能对中国的欧洲研究产生积极的影响。

我们关注欧盟问题,当然会特别注意欧盟在未来的多极化世界中将能发挥什么样的作用。我在 1992 年为《欧共体基础法》写序言时曾指出:“不管怎么说,欧洲用自身的联合与统一来影响世界,比过去用分裂和战争来影响世界,无疑是一个值得欢迎的进步。”现在我的看法没有改变,不过涉及选择和平还是战争这样严肃的话题,我觉得还是有些话可说。

20 世纪两次世界大战都是从欧洲引发的,人们于是觉悟到,如果欧洲依然分裂成为敌对的国家集团,则有可能给世界和平带来威胁。第二次世界大战之后,莫内和舒曼提出欧洲一体化计划,戴高乐和阿登纳倡导法德和解并使之成为欧洲联合的核心,这些选择和平的理论与实践在西欧的范围内成功地改写了欧洲分裂的历史。一个政治经济日益紧密联系起来的欧洲联盟在大西洋东岸崛起,其内部边界已经基本上不存在,统一的欧洲大市场如期形成并且正在成功

地运行之中,到世纪之末又推出了统一的欧洲货币。凡此种种,都让世界许多地方的国家集团感到羡慕,邻近的中欧国家纷纷表示愿意加入欧盟。人们有理由相信,由于一体化的前景光明,欧洲的和平已经有了比较确实的保障,世界也将因此而受益。

麻烦似乎出在欧盟与其相邻国家的关系上面。在过去长达半个世纪的冷战时期,欧共体所营建的联合与一体化仅仅局限在西欧的范围以内,而西欧与中东欧国家被划分为北约与华约两大军事集团,它们彼此之间的对峙使人们无法对和平前途的确保表示乐观。这就是说,半个世纪欧洲的联合只是在西欧范围内走出了新路,而涉及全欧,仍然是在重复过去两大军事集团对抗的老路。幸运的是冷战没有发展为热战,最后结束冷战也没有采用战争的方式。

冷战之后,欧洲联合开始在更大的范围发挥作用,即由西欧向中欧扩展。现有 15 个国家的欧盟已经延伸到北欧、中欧、东南欧,相当多的中欧国家成为进一步扩大的对象。按理来说,这应该是向着欧洲和平的总体目标跨进了一大步。然而事与愿违,恰在这时,巴尔干的火药桶又重新活跃起来,接连引发热点冲突,使战争的烈焰时隔 50 年后又在欧洲大陆上点燃。

我认为欧洲联盟在处理自己内部关系问题时确实比较成功,可是一旦涉及其外部关系就难免要出问题。这似乎很值得欧洲的政治家们做一点认真的反思。从苏明忠同志这本著作中我们可以看到,这里所说的有关欧洲与外部世界的关系其实是一个很古老的政治话题。早在 14 世纪欧洲就有一位法国律师皮埃尔·迪布瓦提议通过建立联盟来实现欧洲和平,而其目标是收复圣地并对付异教国家。迪布瓦关于欧洲联盟的愿望已在很大程度上实现了,而且被证明是造福了欧洲的天才的构想。但是他想要对付异教国家的那种念头是不是仍然在欧盟对外政策中保持了某种影响呢?如果是,那就不是欧洲之福了,我认为恐怕要加以抛弃才是。

让我们具体讨论一下欧盟今后的扩大过程。目前在欧盟与独联

体国家之间,还有 15 个国家,这与现有欧盟国家的数量一样多。其中有 5 个国家可能在未来 5 年中实现加入欧盟的愿望。欧盟如果打算把所有中欧国家都纳入自己的范围,还需要再接纳 10 个成员国,这一步将会比较困难,恐怕要再经历 10 年 20 年甚至更长时间才能完成。

问题在于欧盟的扩大如果不能很快实现,则欧洲特别是中欧的和平问题就无法按欧盟内部方式得到根本性解决。我曾跟德国朋友谈过,欧洲的概念有一个历史的发展过程。3000 年前的欧洲其实就是克里特岛与希腊半岛这一带。现在虽然希腊已经加入欧盟,但邻近希腊的巴尔干地区还基本上被孤立 in 欧盟之外。选择和平的理想因此而留下了遗憾。这个问题不解决,则欧洲联盟的事业总不能说是圆满的,按欧洲一体化方案最后解决欧洲和平问题也不免要耗费时日,前途未卜。

请注意历史的经验,在欧洲内部设置敌对的国家集团或敌对国家,这种政策每一次都给欧洲带来战祸,几乎找不到例外!明智的做法应该是通过和平协商,在互相信任的基础上开展合作与交流。那怕整个中欧只剩下一个国家还未加入欧盟,都应该实行合作的政策而不是敌对的政策来解决有关的政治经济问题,这才是真正的选择了和平。

我的基本见解就是欧盟如果把成功地实现了和平的内部政策用于外部对其他非欧盟的欧洲国家发展友好合作,将会对世界与欧洲的和平带来巨大利益而且将促使欧洲联合在全欧范围的最后实现。

设想欧洲联盟不断扩大,终有一天会把整个中欧都纳入范围,则欧盟就会遇到一个与现在独联体国家特别是俄国相邻的问题。我认为道理是一样的,欧盟如果实行正确的外部关系政策,则不仅与俄国的友谊和合作可以得到满意解决,而且整个欧洲乃至世界的和平就有了充分的保障。

俄罗斯其实也是一个欧洲国家,我听说俄国也有人表示希望加

入欧盟,这只是一个相当遥远的前景,大概会成为 21 世纪中叶的重大国际问题。到那时欧盟的影响就会跨越欧亚大陆,又将遇到与中国等东方国家相邻的问题。我相信随着时代的进步,世界和平的前途将比现在更有保障,欧盟实行正确的政策处理与东方国家的关系将不至于成为麻烦的事。那时也许迫近了实现世界大同的时代,我不能做出准确的预言,但我希望我们的后代将能够看到那个时代的光临。

以上所说,出发点都是肯定欧洲的一体化保障了内部的和平,但是随着欧盟的扩大,其成员国越来越多,难免在利益分配方面产生矛盾。有没有可能在其内部引发冲突并发展成为对于和平的威胁呢?我以为,这也许是下一个世纪后半期人们将会遇到的政治难题,没有必要提前在这里做详尽的讨论。我只能说,但愿不是如此。

我们都赞赏欧洲人的智慧,从古希腊时代以来,欧洲在理论思想领域对人类贡献很大,值得敬佩。在欧洲联盟的设计方面,几百年来欧洲所积累的正确思想不仅造福了欧洲,而且使全世界受益匪浅。读读苏明忠同志的这本书就可以知道许多有意义的历史事实。如果前人提出的各种方案都不可避免地存在局限性,那并没有什么奇怪。应该重视的倒是许多天才的构想今天都已经成为现实。相信在前人智慧的基础上,现代的欧洲政治家将会妥善地处理现实的政治经济问题,把一个前途光明的欧洲联盟带进 21 世纪。

今年是 1999 年,我为迎接 20 世纪数字最大一年到来写了一首贺年诗《新世纪的友谊歌》,谨录此诗如下,借以表达对欧盟事业的祝福。

来到二十一世纪的大门口
看得见新时代向我们招手
她期盼各国人民成为朋友
她号召全人类团结起来向前走

消除彼此之间的疑虑偏见和敌意
防范那无端降临的双重和双倍的痛苦
营建彼此之间的信任理解和友谊
赢得这属于全人类的双重和双倍的幸福

.....

世纪难题仍多人类正面临困境
世界前途未定各国应早作决策
选择和平能将干戈化为玉帛
选择友谊可把悲哀变成欢乐

.....

让我们响应新世纪的召唤
去创造和平发展合作的新局面
去创造全人类团结友爱的新纪元
去创造属于世界历史的永恒的春天

(原诗共七段,这里选摘四段)

陳昊舜

中国人民对外友好协会副会长
一九九九年八月八日

PREFACE

The past, present and future of the European Union are a major subject in our study of the development of contemporary international politics and economics. I have been watching this development with deep interest over the last ten years, ever since I began to work in the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, especially because I am in charge of the communication work between China and the European Union. Back in 1992, in support of the publication of the Chinese translation of the *Treaties and Acts Establishing the European Communities*, I wrote a preface for that book, giving my positive appraisal of the unification and integration of Europe. In early 1999, I again supported the publication of the Chinese version of the *Treaty on European Union and Treaty of Amsterdam*. Yet this time, in stead of writing a preface, I just wrote a short passage of congratulation, expressing the same expectation for the European integration.

Dr. Su Ming Zhong, the translator of the above-mentioned two books, has recently completed a monograph on the issue of the European Union, entitled *Make Choice of Peace or War*. Obviously, this monograph represents years' of diligent research in the issues of Europe and the European Union. Here I offer him my heartfelt congratulations for his success, which was hard won with the "precious life blood of a master spirit." I expect that this book will make a positive contribution to the European studies in China.

We show great concern to the issue of the European Union, and we pay special attention to the role that the European Union will play in a world of multipolarity. In my 1992 preface to the *Treaties and Acts Establishing the European Communities*, I pointed out: "After all, the fact that Europe seeks to influence the world through its own

unification instead of war is no doubt a welcome progress." Generally speaking, my point of view remains unchanged, yet concerning such a serious topic of the alternative for peace or war, I feel that I have something more to say.

The two world wars of the 20th century both broke out in Europe. Therefore people realize that if Europe is still divided into two opposing camps, it will probably threaten the world peace. After the Second World War, Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman put forward the plan for the European integration, both le general de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer advocated the reconciliation between France and Germany, and together they helped to make these two countries the force at the core of the European unification. The theory and practice of this peace process successfully changed the history of the European disintegration within the boundary of Western Europe. An entity of the European Union with its closely interrelated politics and economy has emerged on the eastern coast of the Atlantic Ocean. Its internal boundary is now practically nonexistent, a unified European internal market was duly formed and has been functioning successfully, and an integrated European monetary system is now being launched towards the end of the century. We have reasons to believe that, due to the bright future of the European integration, peace in Europe has a relatively reliable guarantee, and the world at large will also be benefited from this peace.

Nevertheless, troubles seem to have grown out of European Union's relationships with its neighboring countries. During the Cold War period, which lasted nearly half a century, the unification and integration of Europe was only confined within the boundary of Western Europe, and countries in Western Europe and Eastern Europe were divided into two military blocs of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The confrontation between these two blocs made it impossible for people to be optimistic about an ensured prospect of peace. In other words, nearly

half a century's unification of Europe only opened new roads within the boundary of Western Europe, whereas the rest of Europe was just repeating the old pattern of the confrontation between two opposing military blocs. Fortunately, the Cold War did not develop into a "hot" war, and it did not end through a war.

After the Cold War, the European unification began to play its role in a wider scope and extended its influence from Western Europe to Central Europe. The European Union now has 15 member countries, which extend to Northern Europe, Central Europe, and Southeastern Europe. A considerable number of Central European countries have become the candidates of its membership. This should be a logical step towards the overall goal of peace in Europe. Nevertheless, things have not been going the way one expected. At this very moment, the Balkan powder barrel again becomes active, and a series of hot spot clashes once again ignited the roaring flame of armed conflicts on the European Continent, where war had died down for the past 50 years.

Personally I think the European Union is relatively successful in dealing with the issue of its internal relations, yet problems arise as soon as it turns towards its external relations. This issue seems to be worthy of serious consideration for European politicians. From Dr. Su's monograph, we can see that the above-mentioned relationship between Europe and the outside world is in fact an ancient political subject. As early as in the 14th-century Europe, a French lawyer named Pierre Dubois proposed to establish the peace in Europe by forming an alliance, with an aim of reconquering the Holy Land and fighting against pagan countries. Dubois's wish of a European Union has already been realized to a large extent, and it proves to be a proposition of genius which is beneficial to Europe. Yet is it true that his concept of fighting against pagan countries still exists in the European Union's foreign policies? If it is true, I do not think that the concept is a blessing to

Europe. On the contrary, I am afraid that it must be discarded.

Let us have a look at the prospect of the European Union's future enlargement. At present, there are 15 European countries left between the European Union and the Commonwealth of the Independent States. That number is exactly the same as the one of EU countries. Out of these 15 European countries, five will probably realize their wish to join the European Union in the next five years. If the European Union intends to include all the Central European countries within its framework, it will have to accept another 10 countries as its members. This will be a relatively difficult process, and it will probably take another ten to twenty years, or even longer.

The problem is that if the enlargement of the European Union cannot be realized very soon, the knotty issue of peace in Europe, especially in Central Europe, will never be ultimately solved in the fashion that the European Union deals with its internal problems. I once told my German friends that the concept of Europe had a long history of evolution. Three thousand years ago, Europe referred only to the Crete Island and the Greek Peninsula. At present, though Greece has already joined the European Union, but the neighboring Balkan region is still basically excluded from the European Union. Therefore the ideal of peace has been compromised. If this issue remains unsolved, the cause of the European Union can never be said to be satisfactory. It will be a time-consuming and problematic process to ultimately resolve the issue of peace in Europe according to the blueprints of the European integration.

We must pay attention to historical lessons: the policy of setting up opposing camps or enemy countries within Europe will ultimately lead Europe to war, and there is no exception! A much wiser policy would be to solve the problem through peaceful consultation, and to promote cooperation and friendly exchange on the basis of mutual

trust. We must stick to the policy of cooperation, instead of hostility, to solve any political and economic issue, even if there is only one country left in Central Europe that has not yet joined the European Union. That is a real choice of peace.

My basic point of view is that if the European Union applies its successful internal policy for peace to the outside world, and promotes the friendship and cooperation with other non-EU European countries, it will bring great benefits to the world peace and especially peace in Europe. It will also bring about the ultimate realization of European unification throughout Europe.

Imagine the continuing enlargement of the European Union. If all the Central European countries join the European Union, another issue will arise, i. e. , how should the European Union deal with its relationships with the CIS countries, especially Russia. I think the principle is the same; if the European Union has a correct foreign policy, it will not only promote a friendly and cooperative relationship with Russia, but also ensure the peace throughout Europe and the world.

Russia is also a European country. I learn that Russia also expressed its wish to join the European Union, but that will be a very remote prospect and will probably become a major international issue in the mid 21st century. By that time, the influence of the European Union will have come across Europe to the Asian Continent and it will face a new problem of how to deal with its relationships with China and other Oriental countries. I believe that with the progress of our time, the prospect of world peace will become even more firmly ensured, and there will be no difficulty for the European Union to adopt a correct policy in dealing with its relationship with Oriental countries. By that time, we will probably be very close to our ideal of a universal harmony in the world. I cannot make accurate predictions, but I sincerely hope that our descendants will be able to see the coming of that era.

All I said above is to affirm that the European integration has guaranteed its internal peace. Yet with the enlargement of the European Union, there will be more and more member countries, and conflicts will inevitably arise in such issues as how to distribute the interests among its member countries. Is there a possibility that this kind of internal conflicts will develop into a threat to peace? I think that this might become a political problem for people in the latter part of the next century, it is not necessary for us to have detailed discussion of it here. All I want to say is that I hope things will turn out for the better.

We appreciate the European wisdom. Since the time of ancient Greece, Europe has made great and admirable contribution to mankind in the field of theoretical ideology. The constructive ideas and concepts accumulated in the past several hundred years in Europe concerning the design of a European Union not only bring benefit to Europe, but to the whole world as well. By reading Dr. Su's book, you will learn many interesting historical facts. It is not surprising that the various proposals put forward by the predecessors inevitably have their own limitations. What we should pay attention to is that many of these projects of genius have already become reality. I believe that the contemporary European politicians will learn from the wisdom of their predecessors in dealing with concrete political and economic issues of the day, and that they will bring the European Union with a bright future into the 21st century.

1999 is the last year in the 20th century, I wrote a poem in celebration of the coming of the new century. I would like to conclude my preface with this poem entitled "The Song of Friendship in the New Century," in order to express my blessing to the cause of the European Union:

As we approach the entrance to the 21st Century,

We can see a brand-new era is beckoning to us;
She expects that all peoples will become friends,
And she calls on the mankind to unite as one.

Dispel all suspicions, prejudices and hostility,
Guard against the unexpected pain, dual and double agony;
Build up mutual trust, understanding, and friendship,
And win the dual and double happiness for mankind.

...

We are confronted with problems and dilemmas,
And we must make decisions for the unpredictable future;
Let us put an end to war and have peace,
Let us bury the hatchet, and turn hostility into friendship.

...

We must answer the call of the brand-new era:
To create a new situation of peace and development,
To initiate an epoch of harmony and friendship for mankind,
To welcome an eternal Spring in world history. ①

Chen Haosu

Vice-President of the Chinese People's
Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

8 August 1999

① There are seven stanzas in the original poem, only four of them are quoted here.

前 言

关于“欧洲联合”的话题是一个非常古老的话题,实现“欧洲统一”也是多少世纪以来的许多欧洲人的梦想。但人们所选择的方式却大不相同。查理曼曾“统一”过欧洲,但他选择的方式是“战争”;拿破仑曾“解放”过欧洲,但他选择的方式也是“战争”;希特勒曾“征服”过欧洲,他所选择的方式仍然是“战争”。但“战争”带来的“统一”是表面的、不稳定的和短暂的,武力只能导致痛苦、仇恨、反抗和分裂。然而,到了20世纪50年代,人们却又看到了另外一种欧洲统一的现象,一种以不流血的和平方式所完成的体现人类智慧的统一现象,这就是大家都知道的始于50年代初和目前仍在继续的以内部^①和平、发展和进步为宗旨的欧洲大陆国家间的联盟进程。这一历史事件改变了欧洲人的命运,也改变了他们的思维和生活方式,并对世界产生了非常重大的影响。因此,在20世纪即将结束的时候,人们有必要对这一进程作一些客观的总结和介绍,从而使它的经验能够借鉴于全人类的共同事业。

当然,在笔者看来,为了全面地了解欧洲联盟的过去和现在以及为了在尽可能的情况下对它的未来作一些预测,仅限于研究欧洲统一50年的经过恐怕是不够的,还应该将这一历史追溯到更加久远的年代。因为,事实上,今天人们所能看到的欧洲一体化的具体实践不仅仅是当代人为解决欧洲问题所作的尝试,而是数百年来欧洲人不断追求和不断探索所取得的成就。这些不断追求和探索在相当长的

^① 至于欧洲联盟的对外政策,目前的事实是:欧洲联盟15个成员国中的11个是北大西洋公约组织成员国,这11个成员国中的大部分都程度不同地积极参与并配合了自1999年3月24日开始的以美国为首的北约集团对南斯拉夫联盟共和国的野蛮轰炸。北约的此次军事冒险从本质上讲是对主权国家的侵略行为,是对人类和平事业的破坏行为,也是对人类发展与进步潮流的公然反动和挑衅。如果欧盟不能从中吸取教训,继续支持美国的全球霸权主义战略,那么,莫内、舒曼、阿登纳和斯巴克等人苦心筹划和建立起来的欧洲共同体就会改变其原来的和平性质。因为,一个仅限于对内选择和衷共济但对外却奉行炮舰干涉政策的共同体决不是一个和平共同体。