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欧盟的国际危机管理

2006—2007
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本年度，国际形势虽无全球性重大战事，然而局部的危机和冲突依然此起彼伏，这正是后冷战时期国际局势的一大特点。相对于冷战时期各国外交纷纷以两强争霸为轴心而展开，当前的国际格局为各国的外交提供了一个更为广阔的舞台，国际关系更显错综复杂，也更显其色彩纷呈。在这风云开阖之际，欧盟外交渐露头角，特别是在处理伊朗核危机等国际事务中，表现出其堪称“欧洲模式”的政策色彩。

从冷战后历次国际危机来看，欧盟对国际危机的管理模式主要有以下特点：

（一）利益关切度和危机处境决定其介入的方式和程度。冷战后欧洲的防务重心由传统的军事防御转向解决地区危机。一般地说，欧盟对在地缘或传统上与其有密切利益关系的地区所发生的国际危机历来持积极介入的态度，但是欧盟参与这些国际危机处理的方式和结果存在明显差别。如对前南危机和科索沃危机，欧盟视其为“欧洲人的事”，坚持自己来主导处理过程，对联合国等国际组织的作用重视不足，最终不得不借助美国和北约的武力干涉来结束危机。伊朗核危机发生时，后冷战国际体系的多极化趋势得到增强，大国间发生危机或国际战争的可能性大大下降，而大国的协调与合作，防止由地区性危机和中小国家内部危机引发国际灾难及由恐怖主义活动导致的国际危机成为危机管理的主要目标。此时欧盟的国际危机管理也更显成熟，更加接近实际。欧盟更主张用综合手段来处理国际危机，特别要充分利用多边条约和核查机制，加强国际协调和出口管制，同时运用外交和经济杠杆推动危机的和平解决。欧盟坚持认为武力应是一切和平方法用尽后的不得已选择，而且必须以联合国宪章和相关国际法为依据。

(二) 内部协商机制运行状态直接影响其危机管理能力。欧盟历次管理国际危机的结果都往往与共同外交与安全政策的“协商一致”原则能否达到有着密切的关联。在伊拉克战争中, 由于美国的巨大压力, 欧盟在事实上分裂成为两个阵营, 不仅三大成员国之间立场对立, 而且众多成员国和即将入盟的中东欧国家也各持己见, 这使欧盟介入伊拉克危机管理的基本身份和能力化为乌有。而在这次伊朗核危机中, 欧盟与各成员国之间“用一个声音说话”, 这使其作用和分量大大得到提升。

(三) 对美协调机制的塑造功能。自新世纪以来, 欧盟参与的两次重大国际危机管理过程同欧美关系好坏, 双方的协调成功与否有直接的, 甚至决定性的关联。伊朗核危机的出现虽然并未在深层次上改变双方安全理念的差异, 但布鲁塞尔似乎充分汲取了以前与华盛顿反目所带来的教训, 在危机管理的策略上作出调整, 加强对美协调; 同时, 由于欧美对伊朗核危机的立场基本一致, 美国对欧盟坚持外交解决的主张给予一定的忍让, 使欧盟内部形成两个层面的协调机制, 令政府间主义再现活力, 这也使欧盟参与伊核危机管理的整体环境有所改观。

(四) 人道主义援助和战后重建的后续管理范式。从冷战后欧盟历次国际危机的经验看, 其管理过程并未因外交努力失败而中止, 而是一直延续到危机后。即使欧盟作为一个整体也许会被暂时遗忘, 然而在战后它又会重新出现, 并承担起人道主义援助和战后重建的重任。

欧盟模式在处理国际危机中的作用正在被人们重新发现, 但其缺陷也值得关注。首先是自身发展的不平衡问题。一方面, 欧盟的多层治理结构在国际危机的处境下, 特别是欧盟与主要合作伙伴美国发生严重政策分歧的时候, 其原有的政策“倍增”效应消失, 舆论环境恶化, 危机反应效率大大下降; 另一方面, 欧洲政治一体化始终面临着主权让渡问题的困扰。欧盟内部存在着国际政治特殊的等级结构。因此, 欧盟对外关系乃至对重大国际危机的管理长期受到各成员国千差万别的现实利益考虑的制约。其次, 处理国际危机需要该国际行为体具有政治、经济和军事的全面能力, 而欧盟在这方面存在明显的局限性, 其共同安全与防务建设自提出至今没有完全达到预期目的。再者, 虽然欧盟在介入国际危机管理和战后重建时经常以维护国际秩序和稳定, 保护当地人权安全的理由, 提倡所谓利他主义原则, 但其借

用“促进民主和改革”改变被管理政权的性质,通过“合作”中的规则限制和影响对方行为的做法是违背国际法的主权原则的。其评判标准和一整套游戏规则也未必符合被管理者的国情和发展需要。以这种非武力的方式达到强加于人的目的,也大大影响欧盟的外部形象 and 政策的实际效果。

本年度,欧盟正处在上年度发生欧盟宪政危机后的“反思”期。法、荷否决欧宪暴露出欧洲一体化进程中严重的“民主缺失”和民众对欧盟缺乏认同感的问题。欧洲政治家们正在努力“补课”,但效果并不理想。现在欧盟已经决定将“欧宪”“反省期”再延长1年,将完成“欧宪”批准进程的最终期限定为2009年。但届时“欧宪危机”能否出现转机,还要看欧盟面临的一系列矛盾和挑战是否能得到妥善的处理。

“欧宪危机”使欧盟政治一体化进程受挫,减缓了欧洲经济社会改革的速度。贸易保护主义和“经济爱国主义”的抬头,甚至使欧盟取得的最大成就——实现商品、服务、劳动力和资本自由流通的“无国界”市场,遭受迄今最为严峻的威胁。但有人预言“欧盟的影响在急剧地衰退”、“欧盟将面临瘫痪的危险”的推论则未免言过其实。事实上,一年多来,欧盟各大机构运转如常,各项工作也在照常进行,在某些方面和领域还取得不菲的成绩和进展。其中,争论长达两年之久的欧盟2007年至2013年的“中期财政预算”案,经过各方协调和让步终于达成一致。尽管欧盟东扩后,新、老成员国之间的不同利益和战略需求凸显出来,给欧盟带来新的压力,但是欧盟扩大的步伐仍在迈进。同时欧元区也发出了扩大的信号。

在经济方面,随着2005年下半年内部需求的复苏,欧洲经济2006年重新恢复到潜在增长率水平,2006年上半年形成的增长趋势已经步入正轨。由于上半年增长形势好于预期、劳动力市场继续改善、内部需求更为有利,所以欧盟9月发表的中期预测报告中,根据委员会经济动态要素模型预测欧盟和欧元区第三和第四季度的季度增长率均在0.7%,全年增长率欧盟可以达到2.7%,欧元区达到2.5%,这将是自2000年以来的最高增长率。由投资引领的内部需求广泛复苏带来的较强增长动力将能经受住2006年的高石油价格、股票市场波动和欧元升值的负面影响,下半年经济仍然可以保持增长活力,达到甚至超过潜在增长率。

欧洲社会形势堪称多事之秋。首先,英国和法国因社会改革和移

民政策等问题导致社会矛盾激化进而引发大规模群众性骚乱，甚至波及周边国家；随后因丹麦及其他若干西欧国家报纸刊发以伊斯兰教先知为主题的讽刺漫画而引起伊斯兰世界强烈抗议乃至暴力行为。长期以来困扰欧盟的移民问题更使欧盟各国疲于应付，甚至有人惊呼出现“逆向殖民”。在欧盟东扩后，新成员国劳动力大量涌入老成员国的情况下，各国积极调整政策加以应对，欧盟把2006年确定为“欧洲劳工流动年”，以促使劳动力有序流动，在整个欧盟范围内增加就业、减少失业，推动“里斯本战略”的实施。

英国和法国同时爆发大规模社会抗议浪潮，再次反映欧洲国家社会经济发展模式存在着严重的问题。在英国，罢工规模达1962年以来之最；在法国，继2005年年末发生移民青年街头暴力事件（被认为1968年“五月风暴”以来法国最大的一起骚乱）后，短短数月再次爆发有数百万人参加的全国性罢工和示威游行。从2005年欧盟宪法在法荷受阻，到法国的街头骚乱，到这次英法同时发生针对政府社会改革举措的罢工游行，虽然起因各异，但在深层次上无不反映了欧洲国家在社会经济改革方面遇到了重重阻碍。2000年，欧盟提出著名的“里斯本战略”，计划用10年时间，在经济、就业、福利和社会稳定等方面全面赶超美国。但实施几年效果很不理想，该计划受到广泛质疑，被认为是以牺牲“社会公平和环境保护”为代价，片面追求“刺激经济增长”。由于改革触及了每个公民的切身利益，也激起中下层民众的激烈反对，政治家们不得不小心行事。他们试图通过有限的社会改革，解决经济全球化与保持原有“欧洲社会模式”之间的矛盾。欧盟委员会认为，要想使这些改革取得成功，欧洲需要一种“新型伙伴关系”，把社会各界人士都纳入进去，让包括企业、非政府组织等在内的社会各界实现更紧密的团结。如何在社会福利不受大的冲击的前提下，提高竞争力，振兴经济，已经成为欧盟面临的一大难题。

艰难着，然而前进着，这正是欧洲一体化进程的特点。

2005年是欧洲联盟的“欧洲地区发展基金”建立30周年。欧盟的地区政策是为了减轻地区差别给经济整体发展带来的不良影响，由政府出面采取一整套以影响经济活动的地理分布为首要目标的措施。30年来，欧盟地区政策为欧盟成员国及地区之间在经济和社会的均衡发展方面作出了重要贡献。在欧盟地区政策的演进过程中，其政策观念发生三个重大转变。其一，从相信市场自发调整到强调政府干

预；其二，从扶贫性援助到促进自主发展；其三，从消除地区差异到纳入整体经济发展目标。地区政策已经成为涉及欧盟整体经济社会发展的综合性政策。

目前，欧盟各机构为促进欧洲经济社会改革，重新启动“里斯本战略”，正努力推进着欧盟内部服务业市场的开放。欧盟和各成员国领导人为挽救和继续推动“欧宪批准进程”的努力也取得一定成果。

在国际上，欧盟积极调整和发展同一些大国与地区组织的关系，在一些地区和热点问题上都能看到欧盟积极参与的身影，并展示出欧盟的外交特色。在欧美关系上，欧盟和美国缓和的趋势进一步加强，但双方在一些关键领域的分歧依然存在；欧盟与俄罗斯关系继续保持平稳的合作态势，但主要因在俄加入世贸组织、俄国内民主、俄乌天然气之争等问题上存在分歧而使双方的政治互信有所下降；欧盟继续加强对非加太地区的援助，双边合作进一步加深；欧亚关系发展顺利。

本年度，中欧关系发展良好，政治、经济关系都有新的进展。但是中欧关系中的复杂性和不协调性也有所暴露：全面战略伙伴关系的深化面临诸多问题和障碍；双边经贸合作方面也存在着结构性的矛盾和利益冲突。从2005年中欧纺织品贸易纠纷发展到2006年的鞋业和汽车零部件关税之争，使中欧贸易出现对抗化倾向。贸易问题和能源问题出现政治化倾向。2006年，欧盟委员会改变惯常做法，在10月24日发表“1+1”形式的对华政策新文件，即一份新的对华政策文件和一份新的对华贸易政策文件。前者从政治角度重新审视中欧关系，欲表达欧洲“规制主义”的外交立场；后者则从经济角度重新评估双边经贸关系，表达欧方的利益诉求。为此，欧盟不但在政治文件中突出了人权及欧洲价值观的重要性，而且在经贸文件中集中体现所谓欧洲民意，通过官方网站鼓励各成员国政府、企业、商会及个人发表意见，说明他们对中欧关系的看法，重点询问来自中国的挑战和风险有哪些。这些观点和举措表明中欧关系开始走出“蜜月”。

目前中欧关系正处于利益博弈的关键时期，如何体现各自的利益收益，同时又顾及对方的利益已成为双方关注的焦点。就目前中欧关系的现状而言，至少从成熟的双边关系不应受第三方影响并经受得起挫折和考验来看，还很难得出中欧关系已走向成熟的结论；也惟其尚不成熟，中欧关系的发展乃需有力的进一步推动，因为中欧关系的发展对于中欧双方来说都是不可或缺的选择。

Précis

In the past year, regional crisis and conflicts, as one of the characteristics of the international relations in the post Cold War period, continued to occur. However, compared to the international relations dominated by the bi-polar relationship in the Cold War, the current international arena provides more space for different players. Consequently, the international relations contain more complexity than that in the Cold War period. In the backdrop of the increasing complexity, the European Union (EU) began to show its influence over the international relations. This can be well observed in EU's response to the Iran nuclear crisis, which is reputed as a policy of European model in international crisis management.

In dealing with the past international crisis since the end of the Cold War, EU's crisis responses contain the following characteristics:

Firstly, the approach and level of EU's participation into the crisis management are determined by the interest of EU in the crisis and the environment of crisis. After the Cold War, the focus of Europe's defence moved from traditional military defence to solving regional crisis. In general, the EU tends to participate actively into the crisis if the latter happens in an area, that is of geographical interest to EU, or in an area that is of traditional interest to EU. However, the EU responded to the crisis in these two cases differently. For instance, the EU regarded the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and Kosovo as "European affairs" and insisted on playing a leading role in the crisis management. As it did not pay sufficient attention to the role played by the UN and other international organizations, the EU had to rely on the US and the NATO to resolve the crisis. However, when the Iran nu-

clear crisis broke out, the multi-polarism in international relations is strengthened. International war or crisis among big powers is less likely to happen. Big powers tend to coordinate and cooperate with each other, with an aim to prevent global disaster caused by regional crisis and domestic crisis in small and medium countries or international crisis caused by terrorism. The crisis management of the EU becomes more mature and practical. the EU prefers to deal with international crisis with comprehensive approaches, with an emphasis on multilateral agreement and verification mechanism. It emphasises on international coordination and export regulation and uses diplomatic and economic leverages to push for a peaceful resolution for crisis. The EU embraces the idea that for the resolution of international crisis, armed force should be used as a last resort after all possible peaceful resolutions are exhausted, and that the use of armed force must be based on the UN Charter and other international laws.

Secondly, the EU's crisis management capacity is impacted by the operation of its internal coordination mechanism. The results of the EU's previous participation into international crisis management are closely linked with whether the EU common foreign and security policy decision-making process could reach a consensus. In the Iraq war, given the pressure from the US, not only the big member states, i. e. France, Germany and the UK held contradictory opinions, but also other member states, including the new member states, could not reach a common stand. This substantially undermined the EU's influence on dealing with the Iraq crisis. However, in Iran nuclear crisis, both the EU and member states speak in one voice, which increased the EU's weight in solving the crisis.

Thirdly, the EU-US relationship, and the coordination between the two, to some extent, have exerted direct or even decisive impact on the EU's participation in the main crisis managements since 2000. In dealing with the Iran nuclear crisis, Brussels has learned the lessons from the Iraq War in terms of its relationship with the US, and emphasized on coordination with US and making adjustment of strategies in dealing with the crisis. The EU and US share certain common grounds in Iran nuclear crisis. The US made concessions, which allows the EU to hold up to its own diplomatic principles. These factors help to build smooth decision-making process a-

mong member states of the EU and within the EU itself when EU responded to the Iran nuclear crisis.

Fourthly, the EU crisis management highlights humanitarian aids and post war construction. Judging from EU's participation in the crisis after the Cold War, EU's participation into crisis management did not stop when diplomatic efforts fail to bring about expected results. Its participation tends to continue after the crisis is over. The participation by the EU in the post crisis reconstruction guarantees EU's influence in the international arena even when the EU fails to bring any influence before the crisis is solved.

The EU model of crisis management is arousing increasingly bigger attention in international arena. However it should be noticed that the model bears some shortcomings. Firstly, the multiplayer governance structure of the EU loses the multiplied effect of EU's policy when the EU and US have serious policy conflicts. This reduces the effectiveness of EU's response to crisis. The European integration faces the problems of sovereignty transfer and the EU itself has a particular hierarchical structure. The EU's external relations and its management of crisis have for a long term been restricted by the diversified interests held by different member states. Secondly, to deal with an international crisis, it needs helps from an international agent with political, economic and military capacity. The EU has obvious restrictions in this aspect, as in particular its common foreign and security policy has not fully achieved its goal since it was firstly proposed. Thirdly, the EU upholds the principle of altruism and protection of human rights when participating international crisis management and post crisis reconstruction. However, it transformed the local governance through the advocacy of democracy. The fact that the EU restricts and influences the local behaviour through the means of cooperation is not consistent with the sovereignty principle upheld by international law. The game rules EU embraces do not necessarily fit with the needs of the local development. Conflicts tend to arise out of EU's imposition of its own values and ideas on local recipients through non-violence means, which undermines the effects of EU crisis management policy and the image of the EU.

The EU is in its reflection period after the Constitutionalism crisis it has experienced in early this year. The answer of no given by France and

the Netherlands vis-à-vis the European Constitution exposed the democratic deficiency in the European integration and the lack of recognition by the public towards the EU. Though the European politicians are busy with catching up with their own homework, the result is not encouraging. The EU has decided to extend the reflection period for another year and set the deadline for the ratification of European Constitution till 2009. However, whether the European Constitutionalism crisis can be solved smoothly also depends on whether or not the series of conflicts and challenges the EU has experienced can be solved first.

The European constitution crisis has set back the European political integration and slows down the development of economic and social reforms in Europe. The trade protectionism and economic nationalism began to emerge, which poses serious threat to the biggest achievement the EU has ever made, namely the common market based on free movement of goods, services, labour and capital. However, to say that the influence of the EU is rapidly reducing and that the EU is in danger of paralyse are overstatements. In fact, in the past year the EU institutions operate normally and have made progress in certain areas. For example, the debate on "Mid-Term Financial Budget" for 2007-2013, which has been ongoing for nearly two years finally reached a consensus within the EU. The EU enlargement keeps continuing and the Euro zone sends out signals for expansion.

In terms of economy, the domestic demand began to recover in the late 2005. In 2006, European economy reached its potential growth rate level and the growth tendency formed in 2006 began to stabilize. In the early half year of 2006, the economic growth rate was better than predicted, and the labour market continued to improve and domestic demand kept increasing. As a result, the mid term prediction report issued by the EU in September stated that the EU and Euro zone would have a growth rate at 0.7% in the third and fourth quarters of the year, based on economic dynamic factors model analysis by the European Commission. The overall yearly growth rate for the EU would reach 2.7% and that for the Euro zone at 2.5%, which would be the highest growth rate since 2000. In spite of the negative impact brought by the high petroleum price crisis, volatility of stock market and a strong Euro, the economy has kept growing in the sec-

ond half year and is estimated to exceed the highest potential rate.

The European societies have witness an eventful year. Firstly, in the UK and France social riots happened because of public's dissatisfaction with social reforms and immigration issues. In Denmark and other western European countries, large scale of protest by Muslims broke out due to the cartoon on Muslim prophet Mohammad published by newspapers in these countries. The immigration issue has been a long time concern for the EU and its member states and some even called for attention to the reverse immigration issue. With the EU enlargement, labour force has flown into old member states, which forced the latter to adjust their immigration policies. The EU has set the year 2006 as the "European Labour Mobility Year", with an aim to promote orderly mobility of labour force, to improve employment within the EU and to promote the enforcement of Lisbon Strategy.

The social riots happened in France and the UK, once again, reflect the problems, which have existed in the social economic development models upheld by these two member states. In the UK, the strikes have reached the largest scale ever since 1962. In France, the violent riots by young immigrants have been regarded as the largest since the May Riots in 1968. However, a couple of months later, a national strike by millions of people broke out in France. All the social riots, though triggered by different reasons in member states, reflect at a deeper level that the member states have experienced difficulties in their social and economic reforms. The Lisbon Strategy as proposed by the EU in 2000, aiming to use 10 years time to exceed the US in economy, employment, social security and stability, has not been effective after several years of enforcement. To the contrary, the Lisbon Strategy has been cast doubt and regarded as pursuing economic growth only at the price of social justice and environmental protection. As the social and economic reforms are of interests to each citizen, the reforms have received protest from the public, which posed warnings to the politicians. The European politicians attempted to solve the conflicts between economic globalization and the protection of European social models through social reforms in limited spheres. The European Commission holds that Europe requires having a new partnership, which involve the participation by all stalks of the society including enterprise and non-gov-

ernmental organizations, in order to make social reforms into success. How to improve Europe's competitiveness and develop Europe's economy without radical reforms of the current social welfare systems, has become one main concern of EU.

Experiencing difficulties but going on, has been one characteristic of European integration.

The year 2005 is the 30th anniversary for the establishment of European Regional Development Fund. The EU regional policy aims to reduce the negative impact brought by regional differences on economic development in the EU. Under the scheme, the member states governments have undertaken a set of measures to adjust the geographic distribution of economic activities. In the past 30 years, the EU regional policy has made significant contributions to a balanced economic and social development within the EU and among EU member states. In the evolution of EU regional policies, three main transformations can be observed. Firstly, the policy transformed from relying on self adjustment by the market to government interventions; secondly, the policy transformed its focus from poverty alleviation to promotion of self development; thirdly, the policy transformed its goal from eradicating regional discrepancies to involving all parties into general economic development. The regional policy has become a comprehensive policy, which promotes general economic and social development of the EU.

At the moment, the EU institutions have re-launched the Lisbon Strategy with an aim to promote the social and economic reforms in the EU and to liberalize the service market within the EU. The EU and member states leaders have made progress in terms of the promoting ratification of European Constitution.

With regard to the international relations of the EU, the EU has actively developed its relationship with some big powers and international organizations and actively participated in regional affairs. The EU has shown its unique diplomacy in the relationship with big powers. With respect to EU-US relationship, the tension between the two becomes mild but continues to exist on crucial issues. The EU and Russia kept stable cooperation, however the mutual trust between the two has been undermined due to their conflicts regarding issues as Russia's WTO membership, democracy in Rus-

sia and the natural gas battle between Russia and Ukraine. The EU continued to strengthen its aid to Group of African, Caribbean and Pacific Region Countries and the EU-Asia relationship developed smoothly.

In the past year, the EU-China Relationship has made new progress in political and economic aspects. However, the bilateral relationship has experienced difficult and complicated times. The overall strategic partnership between the EU and China faced a series of problems. The bilateral trade and economic cooperation between the two has had structural conflicts. The EU-China textile disputes in 2005, the shoes disputes and automobile equipment disputes in 2006, have shown that EU-China trade disputes have become confrontational. The European Commission prepares to issue a new China policy and a new China trade policy, namely the 1 + 1 China policies. While the China policy would evaluate the EU-China relationship based on political perspectives, the EU China Trade Policy would evaluate bilateral trade and economic relationship by stating the European interests in trade issue. Consequently, in the China policy, the EU highlights the human rights and advocates European values. In the China trade policy, the EU invites member states governments, enterprise, industrial associations and individuals to express their opinions on the challenges and risks in EU trade and economic relationship with China, and based on this, states EU public interests and concerns in trade related issues. The adoption of these measures has shown that EU-China relationship has ended their honeymoon period.

The EU-China relationship is now at a crucial period. How to realize each other's interests and in the mean time, taking into consideration of the interests of the opposite side has become the main concern. If the maturity of a bilateral relationship means that the relationship is not impacted by the third party and can endure frustration and difficulties, it cannot be said that the current EU-China bilateral relationship has entered into maturity. However, it is exactly because of this that the EU-China relationship requires to be further promoted, as the bilateral relationship has become a "can't live without relationship" for both the EU and China.

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