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欧盟"中国观"的变化

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THE CHANGING IMAGE OF CHINA IN EUROPEAN UNION Vol.13 (2008-2009)

中国社会科学院欧洲研究所 中国欧洲学会

主 编/周弘 副主编/沈雁南









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——欧盟"中国观"的变化

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沈雁南*

2008 年是中国的多事之秋,从年初南方的冰雪灾害,到入夏时的汶川大地震;从奥运火炬在鸟巢熊熊燃起,到"神七"升空,中国人在太空漫步,和平与发展的中国经受了大悲大喜的考验,在接受了国际社会对灾难的援助和对奥运会盛赞的同时,也体验了国际环境中的凄风冷雨。从"3·14"拉萨骚乱事件,到奥运圣火在巴黎传递中受到干扰,国际反华声浪一波接着一波。特别是来自欧洲的反华波,使中欧关系蒙上了一层阴影,从前几年全面发展的"蜜月"跌入几近谷底的境地。炎凉转换如此之快,涉及层面如此之广,显然不能仅用欧洲几个国家领导人的"换届"所能解释得了的,其中必然有着某些更为深层的原因,这便尤其值得我们关注了。

从根本上来看,中国经济的迅速发展是一个重要的、直接的现实原因。2007年,中国经济已连续5年实现GDP增长超过10%,成为第二次世界大战后唯一出现过两次GDP增长连续5年超过10%的国家(上一次为1992~1996年);如果2008年再次超出,更将是破纪录的创举。当中国这艘巨轮驶出地平线,在全球化的国际市场上乘风破浪之际,适逢欧洲许多国家经济发展困难之时,欧洲感到前所未有的压力。以法国为例,近年来该国经济业绩甚差,人均GDP在25年间从世界排名第7位下滑到现在的第17位。多年来,法国经济增长率一直在1%~2%之间徘徊,在欧盟国家中几乎最低,而财政赤字占GDP的比重却几乎又是最高。经济增长持续低迷使得法国国内失业问题严重、购买力下降、社会福利减少,民众的失落感和怨天尤人的心态日益严重,法国已经成为一个充斥着不满情绪的国家。在双边贸易方面,以德国为例。根据德国联邦统计局的数据,随着中德双边贸易额的大幅增长,德国对华逆差不断扩大。从1980~2007年,中

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国对德国的出口增长了约70倍,2000年以来对德出口的年平均增长率达到了17%。2000年中国对德贸易顺差为9亿欧元左右,而到2007年迅速达到了近25亿欧元。同时贸易结构也发生了变化。在对德出口商品结构上,中国已经改变了20世纪80~90年代中期主要以初级产品、纺织品和玩具等劳动密集型产品为主的局面,出口商品结构呈现多元化,高附加值的技术密集型产品逐渐增多,中国产品的市场竞争优势日渐突出。

中国经济发展趋势已令许多欧洲人感到恐慌。他们认为,中国正在夺走他们的经济优势和产品优势;长时期积贫积弱的中国已经成为其强有力的竞争者。在这种经济上的竞争压力下,欧洲国家作出战略调整,重新评估中欧关系也是顺理成章的。问题在于这种调整和重新评估如何立足,其影响又当如何。

总的来说,欧洲对中欧关系的重新评估和战略调整都有以政治"压"经济的倾向,但在不同层面上的表现是不一样的。我们可以从三个方面来考量。

第一,在国家层面上,有些欧洲国家的政府明显提高了在"人权"、"民主"等意识形态问题上批评中国的调门,频频出现指责中国"非洲政策"和"西藏问题"的言论,同时又呼吁中国在国际金融、贸易体系、气候变化、可持续发展等方面"负起更大的责任来"。从国别来看,比较典型的是法国和德国:在巴黎出现了干扰奥运火炬传递、授予达赖喇嘛荣誉市民等事件;德国则有默克尔在总理府会见达赖喇嘛的事件。另一典型国家是英国。虽然在英国也出现了反华活动,但英国比欧洲大陆国家更加主张自由贸易,更多地将中国实力的不断壮大看做是对英国的"机遇而非威胁",加之经济状况比法德要好,因此反华声浪相对低调。欧洲国家层面的反华波主要呈两种特点:其一是经济陷入困境,社会不满情绪高涨并在国际方面转向对中国的不满;其二是政治家或出于个人政治倾向或(更多的)出于选票的考虑而迎合社会情绪。两种特点均主要立足于国内经济与政治的利益考虑,我们可以看到,反华声浪愈高的国家,经济状况也是比较糟糕的,这并非由于偶然。

第二,在欧盟层面上,由于欧洲议会、欧洲委员会和欧盟理事会各自的角色与功能不同,在对华态度方面有很大差别。其中,欧洲议会历来是批评中国的声音最集中的地方。一些议员长期以西方价值观的卫道士自居,在民主和人权等问题上对中国横加指责。无论是从个体而言——凸显其民意代表和党派利益的特色,还是从整体而言——强化其在欧盟中的政治地位和民主政治的特色,欧洲议

会和一些议员都希望通过对中国的指责抬高人们对它或他们的关注。在欧洲民主进程不断发展中,欧洲议会对欧盟决策机构和执行机构的影响将会越来越大,但目前还远不到能产生决定性影响的阶段。与欧洲议会可以站着说话不腰疼相比,欧洲理事会需要从战略的高度全盘衡量中欧关系,欧盟委员会更需要直接面对中国,不同的地位和角色注定它们处理中欧关系更为理性和现实。在1995年以来相继发表五份对华文件的基础上,2006年欧盟发表了第六份对华文件及题为《竞争与伙伴关系:欧盟一中国贸易与投资政策》的对华贸易战略文件。文件肯定了中欧经贸关系发展的成果,承认欧盟已经"从中国的经济崛起中获益"。但文件同时强调,中国的经济水平已经发展到欧方可以要求中方承担更多义务的时候了,中国已经是"欧盟对外贸易政策的一个最重大的挑战"。两份文件的发表表明欧盟的对华政策进入了重大的战略调整阶段。虽然欧盟新对华战略加强了政治考量,有以通过政治压力改变其经贸被动(如在人民币兑欧元的汇率等问题上)的倾向,但与某些成员国领导人或政治家过激的表现相比,明显具有更高的战略高度。

第三,在国际层面上,美国因素始终是中欧关系中挥之不去的"第三者",对中欧关系的发展具有举足轻重的影响。在本年度欧洲发生的反华波背后,也可以清楚地看到美国因素的作用。欧洲一些国家调整其对美关系固然有其自身战略选择的考虑,但其背后也不乏借助美国的政治影响力牵制中国的考量。德国总理默克尔鼓吹"价值观外交",并毫不讳言欧美经济联合的原动力在于其经济体制都是"建立在共同的价值观基础之上的",同时高调批评中国的"人权",便是一个突出的事例。美国自然不愿意看到同为世界多极化推手的中国和欧洲的团结,具有美国背景的"记者无疆界"组织策划了对奥运火炬在欧洲传递的破坏活动;在欧盟对华武器销售解禁问题上,美国更是一再施压,极力阻挠。但是总体上,坚持和平与发展道路、支持世界多极化发展的中国仍然是欧盟世界发展战略中的重要合作伙伴,不仅在经济上,而且也在政治上,欧洲都需要与中国加强合作与协调,以提高自身的国际地位。本年度欧洲反华的喧闹声并不能掩盖中欧之间的战略需要,甚至一手造成中德关系滑坡的德国总理默克尔也声明德国"愿意与中国维持良好的伙伴关系"。

事实上,本年度欧洲反华波的背后是一场中欧之间的利益博弈。在欧盟对华政策的调整过程中,反华波的轩然而起是一种非理性的表现,还不足以对中欧关



系带来根本性的逆转。但是这种非理性的表现在欧洲能够一时甚嚣尘上,沸沸扬扬,也提醒人们,在欧盟及成员国对华关系的层面上,战略调整的坐标尚需进一步稳定和明确,经济对策与政治博弈之间关系尚需进一步协调,否则其战略调整效应将会因社会非理性因素的干扰而大为减色。

反之,中国对欧洲不同层面上对华政策的战略调整也需有清醒的理性认识,并作出相应的战略调整,以推动中欧关系的良性发展。同样,对欧洲出现的反华浪潮更需要理性的判断。必须承认,面对本年度欧洲的反华波,中国表现出了高度克制,展现了一个负责任的大国的风范。但是,欧洲反华波也反映了欧洲社会,特别是欧洲媒体对中国的了解甚少,使得一些别有用心的政治家和一些对中国怀有偏见的媒体得以兴风作浪,这是特别值得警惕的。今后中欧双方应该在推进不同层次的官方外交,切实解决好中欧之间实际问题的同时,大力推动民间外交,加深中欧人民的相互了解,为中欧关系的良性发展提供坚实的基础。

加强中欧的相互了解,包括我们对欧洲如何看待中国的了解。本年度欧洲反 华波的发生,引起了我们对欧洲如何看待中国这个问题的关注。事实上,随着中 欧各自经济社会的发展,中欧关系必然会发生某种调整;调整中,调整方的政治、经济、社会各个层面也必然会出现各种不同的声音,其中既有理性的一面,也有非理性的一面,我们的目的是廓清其相互之间的逻辑关系,把握其发展的主流。

本年度是中国改革开放的 30 周年,回顾中欧关系 30 年的发展历程,应该看到,中国的对欧关系取得了巨大的成果,欧洲在中国的改革开放中占有重要的地位;同时,中欧关系发展也给欧洲带来了巨大收益,合作双赢是中欧关系 30 年发展的主流。

本年度也是欧洲一体化进程发展中的关键时期,是自 2005 年法国与荷兰公投否决《欧盟宪法条约》、政治一体化陷入困境以来重现转机的重要时期。然而,千辛万苦、多方磨合才得以产生的《里斯本条约》又遭遇爱尔兰公投的否决。目前,欧盟内正在为《里斯本条约》的命运展开热烈的讨论,解决方案主要集中于"双速欧洲"和"二次公投"。《里斯本条约》的主要目的是对欧盟的决策机制进行改革,因而"双速"不是一个可行的出路。"二次公投"是较为现实的选择,然而也面临着诸多困难。在欧盟成员国围绕条约批准过程而展开的互动之中,法国与德国的相对疏远、英国与大陆的靠近是两大特点。扩大后的欧盟

政治有着更为复杂的制约因素,欧洲舆论所热议的法德"发动机"和英法德"三剑客"格局将难以重现。

欧盟经济在 2006 年强劲增长后,2007 年继续健康增长。根据欧盟公布的统计资料,2007 年欧盟经济增长率略降为 2.8%,欧元区为 2.6%,均连续两年高于潜在增长率,超过美国的 2.2%和日本的 2.0%的年增长率,这是本世纪以来欧盟经济增长率连续两年高于美日。欧盟人均国内生产总值增长率达到 2.5%,欧元区为 2.1%,超过美国的 1.2%和日本的 2.0%。2008 年欧洲经济周期进入增长下行阶段,加之外部经济环境的恶化造成了经济增长大幅度减速,2008 年欧盟经济增长率将降为 1.4%,欧元区降至 1.2%。欧盟经济活动持续衰退的局面将会延展至 2009 年。2008 年欧洲经济增长出现远比预期严重的大幅度减速,主要原因当属外部经济环境的恶化,尤其是美国次贷危机引发的国际金融市场动荡的负面影响。目前欧洲经济形势仍然极为不佳。

2008年3月,欧盟首脑会议通过了里斯本战略未来三年的规划,旨在使欧盟适应国际经济环境的变化,进一步深化经济结构改革,增强欧盟经济的竞争力。三年实施规划将推动成员国切实执行强化欧盟统一市场、大力推动中小企业发展、加大在劳动力市场方面的投资等具体措施,为欧盟未来经济发展注入新的活力。

新一轮的里斯本战略的三年规划也成为本年度欧盟社会发展的热点:该战略提出的通过投资教育、争取人才等一系列措施,将充分就业与教育改革、职业培训结合起来,将对未来欧盟社会的发展带来重要的影响。在社会方面,欧盟成员国就遗返非法移民问题达成一致、欧盟开展 2008 年欧洲文化间对话年活动也值得关注。随着欧盟经济发展形势和劳动力市场政策的变化,欧盟各国逐渐形成大致相同的移民政策,即限制非精英移民和非法移民,同时吸引高科技人才和精英移民。尽管成员国之间一度就如何处理非法移民问题意见分歧很大,但是,公众舆论和社会稳定的要求终于促使它们制定了一项驱逐欧盟境内非法居留外国人的共同规范,以有效处理欧盟境内日益严重的非法居留问题。面对更为开放、更为复杂的文化环境,欧盟官方一直鼓励所有生活在欧洲的人民开展对话,探索欧洲共同的文化遗产,从不同的文化传统中学习获益。倡导"积极公民权"、大力推动公民社会参与文化间对话、实现社会融合是欧洲文化间对话年活动的亮点。

在欧盟法制建设方面,由于《里斯本条约》在爱尔兰公决中遭到否决,给



对欧盟改革具有重大意义的《里斯本条约》的如期生效带来了一些不确定因素。在二级立法上,欧盟通过了一些条约、指令与决定,在税收、边境控制、跨国司法合作等事项上取得一些进展,但没有出台具有重大影响的立法;司法方面,欧盟的两个法院在过去一年中作出80多份判决,涉及四大自由流动、税收、竞争、知识产权、环境、农业、司法与内务、社会政策、共同体法的原则等诸多方面。

本年度,欧盟对外关系的重点在欧盟与西巴尔干国家关系、建立地中海联盟及气候变化和能源议题三个方面,并都取得了不同程度的进展。2008年,欧盟与西巴尔干各国建立了"稳定和人盟候选国协议网络",与塞尔维亚和波黑签订了协议。该协议网络的目的是加快西巴尔干各国人盟的过程,从而有利于整个地区的稳定与发展。该政策领域的另一项进展是在地区合作与经济发展方面采取了一系列具体的主动行动。如与西巴尔干所有国家就签证自由化开展了对话;授权欧盟委员会与这些国家开始就签订交通协议进行谈判;双方就建立西巴尔干投资框架取得了一致意见;欧盟与西巴尔干地区决定在民事保护领域加强合作;就向该地区各国转移"欧盟方法"和为实行"东南欧有组织犯罪评估"采取了实际步骤,并在反恐领域引入了欧盟建议的机制。2008年7月,"地中海联盟"正式登台亮相,这是欧盟外交的重要成果,42个国家的国家元首或政府首脑会聚巴黎签署协议,实属不易。这也表明了地中海国家在经济和政治领域进一步合作的意愿。本年度,欧盟进一步积极推行其气候变化和能源的安全战略,多次举行多边、双边会谈,引人注目。

2008年8月,俄罗斯和格鲁吉亚爆发了武装冲突,给欧盟的共同外交和安全政策带来严峻考验。一方面,欧盟出于地缘政治安全及对俄能源供给的担忧等考虑,极力以"中立"面貌出面调停;另一方面又因内部分歧而削弱了其调停能力,处境颇为尴尬。事实上,欧盟的内部分歧不仅表现在各成员国之间在对俄政策上存在着较大差异,而且其本身作为欧盟整体的对俄政策上也存在着诸多不确定的因素,特别是对俄的定位相当模糊。随着欧盟东扩进程,俄罗斯离欧盟越来越近,如何与家门口这位膀大腰圆且颇有家底的邻居搞好关系,将是目前和未来欧盟外交最主要的课题之一。

Précis

The year 2008 is undoubtedly an eventful year for China. From the snow disaster in south China at the beginning of the year and the earthquake in Wenchuan of Sichuan Province in May, to Olympic games in August and the launch of China's third manned spacecraft Shenzhou-7 in September, China has received international aid, praises as well as criticism in its endeavors to seek peace and development. The 3. 14 riots in Lasa and the disturbance in Olympic Torch tour in Paris cast shadow to China-Europe relations. Nevertheless, EU-China relationship requires further observance and analysis from different aspects given the complexity of its development.

The rapid economic growth of China is an important and determinative factor influencing Europe-China relationship. By 2007, China has achieved another consecutive five-year of over 10% growth rate and become the only country that has made this record twice after the World War II. (China achieved its first consecutive five-year growth rate of over 10% from 1992 to 1996.) When the boat of China is moving steadily forward in the backdrop of economic globalization, European countries are experiencing economic downturn. For instance, compared with other member states of the European Union (EU), France has witnessed its GDP to flop from No. 7 to No. 17 with increasingly deficit rate and has had a relatively low economic growth rate of 1% to 2%. The recession of economy in France has worsened unemployment, undermined consumption power and deteriorated social welfare that led to public disappointment and social dissatisfaction. In terms of bilateral trade between China and Europe, for example, the trade deficit of Germany against China has continued to increase with the increase of trade turnover between Germany and China. From 1980 to 2007, China's export to Germany has increased for 70 times and China's annual export



growth rate against Germany has increased to 17%. China's trade surplus against Germany has increased to 2.5 billion Euro in 2007 from 0.9 billion Euro in 2000. The China-Germany trade structure has also transformed from labour intensive and low value-added products such as textile products or toys to technology based high value-added products. As a result, it can be seen that China seeks to increase the competitiveness of its products in export.

However, the rapid economic development in China has caused concerns among Europeans who fear that China is taking away the economic advantages Europeans use to have. The Europeans regard China that suffered from long term poverty, as an increasingly powerful competitor and are forced to re-evaluate and make strategic adjustment of China-Europe relationship. However, the basis of the adjustment and the re-evaluation and their impacts on the relation deserves carefully examination.

In general, Europe's strategic adjustment and re-evaluation of its relationship with China is much politics oriented, although the influence by the prevailing political factor varies in different aspects of the bilateral relationship. The observation could be undertaken in the following three aspects of China-Europe relationship.

Firstly, with respect to the relationship between European countries and China, some European countries have, on the one hand, obviously emphasized more on human rights or democracy in their criticism over China on China's Africa policy and Tibet issue, while on the other hand, called for China to take more responsibility in international financial system, international trade system, climate change and sustainable development. For example, disturbance of the worldwide Olympic torch tour happened in Paris and France gave Dalai Lama honorable citizenship. The German Chancellor Merkel met Dalai Lama in September 2008. Anti-China protest also happened in the UK. Yet, compared with continental European countries, the anti-China protest in the UK is the lower key as the UK regards China more as an opportunity than as a threat backed up by its lassie faire economic thoughts and better functioning economy. In

summary, the anti-China protest in European countries has following two characteristics. One is that the economic recession in these countries may have contributed to the breaking out of the anti-China protests. The other is that politicians in these countries chose to cater to the public voice in order to win votes in the elections. In fact, the strongest anti-China protest happened in European countries that suffered most from economic recession, may reaffirm that the outbreak of the protest is not necessarily a coincidence.

Secondly, with respect to the relationship between the European Union and China, the EU institutions have showed different attitudes to China. The European Parliament has been active in criticizing China's human rights protection and democracy issues. In the development of European Union, the European Parliament will play an increasingly important role in decision-making of EU. However, the Parliament's participation in the decision-making process has remained so far mainly as consultative. It seems that the European Parliament wants to draw more attention from public by focusing on the criticism against China. The Council of European Union Ministers aims to set its policy towards China from a more strategic and comprehensive perspective. In 2006, the EU issued its 6th Document on China namely Competition and Partnership: EU-China Trade and Investment Policy since the first China policy was issued in 1995. The 2006 Document praised the achievements of EU-China economic and trade relationships, and acknowledged that EU has benefited from the "economic emergence of China". However, the document also stated that it is time for the EU to ask China to take more obligations given China's economic development level, as China has become one important challenge in the EU's external trade policy. These documents showed that the EU has entered into strategic adjustment regarding its policy towards China.

Thirdly, with respect to China-Europe relations in international community, the United States has been an important factor influencing the development of China-Europe relations. The US factor can be seen in the anti-China protest worldwide in this year. While European countries made adjustment based on their own strategic choice in their



relationship with the United States, they were trying to use the US influence to balance their relationship with China. One example was when the German Chancellor Merkel advocated "value diplomacy", she emphasized that the economic systems of Europe and the US are built upon common value systems and this would become the driving force for the economic cooperation between the two. She also openly criticized the human rights protection in China. However, the US was reluctant to see China and Europe, as two main players in the multi-polarization process of world systems, to get closer. The US backed "Reporters San Frontier" organized the anti-China protest activities in the Olympic torch tour. The US has also put continuous pressure to prevent the EU from lifting the ban of arms sales to China. Nevertheless, China, which seeks for peace and development and upholds for multilateralism, has remained an important partner of Europe. Europe needs to strengthen its cooperation and coordination with China in both economic and political fields. The anti-China protest in Europe cannot eliminate the strategic needs between China and Europe, and even German Chancellor Merkel declared that Germany would like to maintain good partnership with China.

In fact, the anti-China protest in Europe could be understood from the perspective of game theory. The anti-China protest would not cause fundamental changes to China-Europe relations. Still, the fact that anti-China protest broke out and continued in Europe showed that much work should be done to secure and clarify the goals of the strategic adjustment, and to coordinate relationship between economic and political aspects of the bilateral relationship. Without these efforts, the effectiveness of the strategic adjustment can be undermined.

By the same token, China should improve its understanding of Europe's readjustment in different fields and make corresponding adjustment in order to promote the healthy development of the bilateral relationship. China should make more rational and objective judgment of the anti-China protest in Europe. It should be seen that China has showed high level of self-restraint and responsibility in international community. Whatsoever, the anti-China protest in Europe also revealed the ignorance of the European media on



China. This ignorance has provided chances for some politicians and medias biased against China to undertake anti-China activities. In future, Europe and China should not only promote understanding at official level but also at non-official level. To foster the understanding between people in Europe and China would provide a beneficial foundation for future development of the bilateral relationship.

It is also highly concernful for China to understand better how China is viewed in Europe. The anti-China protest in Europe has made this issue especially important. The China-Europe relationship develops in line with the developments in Chinese and European societies. In the process, different voices could be heard in the political, economic and social fields which could be rational or irrational. China aims to find the logics of the developments and grasp the main trend of the development.

The year 2008 is the 30th anniversary after China launched its economic reform in 1978. Looking back at China-Europe relationship in the past 30 years, it should be seen that China has achieved substantial progress in its relationship with Europe. Europe has played an important role in China's economic reform and benefited from the bilateral relation. It is fair to say that a win-win relationship has been the main trend of China-Europe relationship.

The year 2008 has also been a crucial year in the European integration process that suffered from serious set back from the "No" in the referendums in France and Netherlands in 2005. And, the Lisbon Treaty has also received the "No" in Ireland. So far, the European Union debates have centered on two-speed EU and two referendums in how to deal with the "No" in Ireland. However, the main goal of Lisbon Treaty is to reform the decision making process of the EU and a two-speed EU can hardly be a workable solution. The two referendums could be a more realistic choice but its enforcement may face challenges. The making process of Lisbon Treaty also saw the drifting away between France and Germany and the getting closer between the UK and continental Europe. The development of the EU is constrained by more complicated