

EUROPE
YEARBOOK

大欧盟 新欧洲

2004—2005
欧洲发展报告

VOL. 9 (2004—2005)

中国社会科学院欧洲研究所
中国欧洲学会

中国社会科学出版社

EUROPE
YEARBOOK

大欧盟 新欧洲

2004—2005
欧洲发展报告

VOL. 9 (2004—2005)

中国社会科学院欧洲研究所
中国欧洲学会

中国社会科学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

大欧盟 新欧洲:2004—2005 欧洲发展报告/中国社会科学院欧洲研究所,中国欧洲学会编. —北京:中国社会科学出版社,2005. 3
ISBN 7-5004-5073-7

I. 大... II. ①中... ②中... III. 欧洲联盟—研究
IV. D814.1

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2005)第 038556 号

责任编辑 刘 兰
责任校对 修广平
封面设计 毛国宣
技术编辑 李 建

出版发行 中国社会科学出版社

社 址	北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号	邮编	100720
电 话	010—84029450(邮购)	传真	010—64031534(总编室)
网 址	http://www.csspw.cn		
经 销	新华书店		
印 刷	北京新魏印刷厂	装 订	丰华装订厂
版 次	2005 年 3 月第 1 版	印 次	2005 年 3 月第 1 次印刷
开 本	710×980 毫米 1/16		
印 张	19.25	插 页	2
字 数	321 千字	折 页	4
定 价	31.00 元		

凡购买中国社会科学出版社图书,如有质量问题请与本社发行部联系调换
版权所有 侵权必究

本书课题组

主 编：周 弘

副主编：沈雁南

编 委：（按姓氏笔画排列）

刘 绯 刘立群 沈雁南 周 弘

罗红波 裘元伦

作者名单（按文章顺序排列）

导 论 沈雁南

导论及目录英译 吴倩岚

主题报告 吴 弦 吴白乙 陈 新

综合篇 闫小冰 王 鹤 刘立群 吴白乙 王振华

赵 晨 范勇鹏

专题篇 程卫东 赵俊杰

地区与国别篇 张健雄 李靖坤 马胜利 顾俊礼 罗红

波 郭灵凤 田德文 张 敏 秦爱华

陈亚力 左 娅 许志新 潘德礼

资料篇 钱小平 沈雁南

2004年5月1日，当零点时钟敲响的时候，欧洲历史揭开了新的一页；从这一天起，欧盟正式完成东扩，由15国的欧盟扩至25国的大欧盟。礼花在夜空中绽放，人们相拥欢庆。这是一个值得纪念的日子，欧盟由当初六国的欧共体发展到今天25国的大欧盟，欧洲一体化进程实现了一次了不起的跨越。

本年度，与东扩完成接踵而至的是欧盟宪法的出台，扩大和深化进程同步向前迈进，将欧盟推向一个新的发展阶段。欧洲格局为之一变，冷战结束的尘埃正在落定，欧洲新格局已可初见端倪。

欧洲一体化进程的新发展对世界的影响也许不如对欧洲的影响那么直接，但其意义却绝不容低估。欧洲经过几百年乃至上千年的探索，终于找到了一条以和平求发展的道路，并以欧盟的形式表现出来，通过政治、经济、法律、社会、安全等全方位的制度结构将其固化。欧洲人向世界提供了一种新的国际社会体制经验。这与美国在冷战后以强权追求“美国治下的世界和平”的道路形成鲜明对照。这也是欧美在对待伊拉克战争等问题上产生矛盾的重要原因之一。

与此相对照的是，本年度中欧关系取得了令人瞩目的迅猛发展。欧亚大陆东西两端同举和平发展理念的大旗，正在形成维护世界和平、反对霸权政治的组力。尽管中欧关系的发展更多也是出于现实利益的考虑，但是从历史角度俯瞰，它们的政治取向却无不折射出各自文明积淀的深厚背景。

欧盟东扩、欧洲宪法草案和中欧关系正是这样成为本年度欧洲发展的最大亮点。

波兰、匈牙利、捷克、斯洛伐克、斯洛文尼亚、塞浦路斯、马耳他、爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚和立陶宛正式加入欧盟，是欧盟有史以来规模最大的一次扩大，成员国增至 25 个，面积增加约四分之一，人口超过 4.5 亿。

但是，欧盟扩大进程并没有因此次东扩的完成而停止，在门口排队等待入盟的还有罗马尼亚、保加利亚、克罗地亚和土耳其等国。

欧盟的不断扩大也给内部一体化体制的改革带来压力，扩大与深化的存亡关系从来没有像今天这样更为彰显。经过激烈的争论和反复讨论，各成员国首脑终于在 2004 年 6 月欧盟首脑会议上就欧盟首部宪法草案达成一致。该宪法草案对联盟的构成和功能、基本权利等做出规定，改革了欧盟的表决机制，增加了欧盟领导层的新职位，扩大了欧洲议会的权力，提高了欧盟决策机构的透明度。

欧洲宪法草案文本的通过是由多种因素促成的。

首先是 2004 年 3 月份西班牙马德里爆炸案及其对西班牙大选的影响。西班牙爆炸案使西班牙社会党上台，改变了西班牙前政府在欧洲宪法问题上的强硬立场，也改变了欧盟内部在宪法草案问题上不同立场的力量对比；在西班牙软化了其在表决机制上的立场后，波兰也独木难支，难以继续坚持其强硬的立场。

其次，在 2004 年 6 月举行的欧盟议会选举中，许多国家的“疑欧派”党派获得了胜利，这对欧盟各国领导人是一个极大的触动，使得它们认识到欧盟正在面临着前所未有的挑战，从而促使欧盟峰会加强了相互妥协。

第三，法国与德国在许多问题上，加强了与英国的协调，不再寻求两个速度的欧洲模式。

第四，大多数欧洲人支持欧盟立宪。

第五，欧盟现任轮值主席国爱尔兰政府及其首相埃亨积极努力协调各方立场并集中于重大问题的讨论，避免陷入细枝末节的争论，提高了协调工作的效率。

宪法文本的通过与签署并不意味着欧盟宪法生效会一帆风顺，欧盟立宪还将面临各国批准的重要挑战。而且欧盟宪法生效后能否很好地运作也存在着不确定性。虽然从初衷上讲，欧盟立宪的一个重要考

虑是为扩大后的欧盟的运作提供一个有效的框架,但该制度性框架能否满足这种需要,实践效果如何,只能等待未来实践的检验。

二

2003 年欧盟经济增长率连续第三年下降,进入 2004 年后,欧洲经济呈现出基础广泛的复苏;特别是占欧盟经济总量三分之一的德国经济出现好转,从而对欧盟经济整体增长起到有利作用。但是欧洲经济内部需求增长乏力,可能影响复苏的可持续性。

2003 年欧盟经济增长停滞主要表现在上半年,并与德、法、意等大国的经济陷入衰退密切相关。主要原因是国际贸易状况不佳的阻滞和与伊拉克战争有关的地区冲突的影响,加之欧元升值对外部价格竞争力产生的影响,等等。2003 年年中以后,欧洲经济周期的低谷逐渐过去,下半年重新出现增长势头。

2004 年上半年欧盟经济保持增长态势,经济增长在各国和各部门都有广泛基础。除荷兰和希腊外,大多数欧盟国家呈现稳定但缓慢的加速增长。然而进入下半年后,欧洲经济增长形势出现了微妙的变化。由于石油价格飙升和美国提高利率的影响,世界经济增长有所减速。一直作为欧洲经济复苏主要动力的出口对增长的贡献正在逐渐消减,而期待已久的内部需求的强劲增长尚未出现。不过复苏仍在继续,只是下半年不太可能有进一步的加速动力。

欧盟实现东扩后对欧盟经济的增长带来较大益处。现在欧盟人口已增至约 4.5 亿,国内生产总值总量增加 5%。由于新入盟国家正处于经济发展阶段,因此经济增长率普遍高于欧盟的平均水平。仅从统计的角度看,由于 10 个新成员国的加入,使扩大后的欧盟的经济增长率大约提高了 0.1 个百分点。

对于欧盟 15 个老成员国而言,新成员国的加入提供了新的消费市场、重要的原料产地和廉价的劳动力来源,它们将从统一市场扩大所产生的贸易和投资的创造与转移效应中获益。扩大也为新成员国带来机遇,新成员国将从欧盟获得包括农业补贴和地区发展援助资金在内的大量财政援助,还将从欧盟获得拨款用于发展交通、通信等基础设施建设,并从欧洲投资银行等金融机构获得贷款和融资,以促进本地区的经济发展。根据欧盟的统计,自 2001 年开始,全球外国直接投资流量有所减少,但中东欧国家获得的外国直接投资却明显增加,

2003 年达到 300 亿美元, 比上一年增长 3.8%。投资的增加有利于中东欧国家的生产率提高、经济增长速度加快, 从而会对欧盟经济发展提供新的机遇。

欧盟《稳定与增长公约》问题是本年度欧盟经济中的一大争论焦点。由于近年来经济增长状况不佳, 欧盟成员国财政赤字状况普遍恶化, 特别是德法两国的财政赤字不断超过《稳定与增长公约》规定的标准。荷兰、希腊、意大利和葡萄牙的财政状况也在恶化, 预计 2004 年欧元区有一半以上的成员国可能赤字超标。由此引发了是否按规定对这些国家进行惩罚的问题; 如不予以惩罚则带来是否要对《稳定与增长公约》进行修改的问题。虽然欧洲法院已做出裁决, 肯定了欧盟委员会有权维护欧盟法律的权威性, 要求欧盟成员国应当遵守自己制定的规则, 不过并没有回答法德是否要受处罚的问题。同时, 欧盟成员国中要求对《稳定与增长公约》进行修改的呼声依旧很高, 认为过于苛刻的赤字限额束缚了欧元区的经济增长。严峻的财政形势也使《稳定与增长公约》修改的问题不得不被提上了欧盟的议事日程。这将成为新一届欧盟委员会的重要工作之一。

欧盟经济虽已开始复苏, 但由于劳动力市场反应的滞后性, 失业率在一段时间内仍保持在高位并只能缓慢下降。同时, 欧盟东扩对欧盟就业形势也带来了新的挑战。

欧盟各国在社会保障制度改革方面继续加大力度, 但同时遇到巨大阻力, 许多国家的改革都遭到民众的普遍反对。欧盟新老成员国都面临着同样的挑战, 即人口老龄化、劳动人口比例下降、养老保险和医疗保险制度的改革等。

近年来欧洲社会中的民族冲突问题较为引人注目。除以往的反犹太主义之外, 又出现了一种“新反犹太主义”, 即主要因当前中东巴以冲突而对所有犹太人的反对及敌视态度, 包括一些阿拉伯裔居民对犹太人的敌对情绪和行为。同时, 欧洲也存在着对伊斯兰教的某种敌对情绪, 在有伊斯兰教背景的反犹事件发生之后, 一些国家反伊斯兰教的情绪也在上升。

三

2004 年欧盟的对外关系呈现多向的强劲扩展态势。欧美关系在经历伊拉克问题之争后, 继续处于低谷, 双方的接近与缓和仍掩盖不

了根本性的分歧。欧洲主要国家之间的分歧通过调整对美政策和欧盟扩大而有所弥合，团结的局面正在形成。欧盟与区外其他主要战略力量的关系则在平稳中有所发展，总体上呈现出一种积极和强硬并存的态度。而欧盟内部的国际关系则折射出一体化进程中的不和谐与矛盾，体现出其历来所具有的希望与艰难并存的特点。

年内，欧美在伊拉克战争留下的裂痕不但没有弥合，反而呈现出固化的趋势。法、德等国仍坚持拒绝向伊拉克派驻维和战斗部队，只承诺在伊拉克周边海湾国家培训伊警察部队。在马德里“3·11”爆炸后，西班牙阿斯纳尔中右翼政府在选举中失败，新政府上台后一改前政府追随美国的外交政策，将伊拉克驻军撤回国内。随着伊拉克战后形势的复杂化，除英国之外的欧盟主要大国都或多或少表示出反对或动摇的态度。

此外，欧美在贸易问题上龃龉不断。继欧盟针对美国《外销公司法》欲行对美贸易制裁后，又有空客和波音两大欧美企业互指对方政府提供补贴的争执。跨大西洋的经济竞争不仅涉及双方的近期利益，而且还与各自在新的技术与增长模式、高科技制高点、国际经济制度及规则等领域的优势消长有关，所以一时难以调和。

从本年度欧美关系的综合考察，可以比较清晰地看到，现阶段的欧美分歧具有结构性的特点。

首先，跨大西洋关系的基础已经从传统的欧洲地域内的安全合作转向在全球安全问题上的竞争，欧美之间在国际战略上的差异日益表现为二者利益、目标和方式的不同。冷战后，美国的全球战略就是防止和制约任何挑战美国利益、威胁美国超强地位的力量。欧盟国家，特别是法、德等大国，则长期致力于一体化建设，重视软力量（即制度和规范）的作用，强调“协商一致”和尊重多样性的原则，坚持认为影响国际战略稳定和全球安全的因素是多方面的，解决问题的方法也应该是综合性的，而且必须依靠包括联合国在内的组织框架和多边合作才能从根本上奏效。

其次，跨大西洋关系的实质已经从传统的主导与从属转向全方位的平等伙伴关系。冷战后，欧美之间安全环境已今非昔比。欧洲要求增强独立防务能力，建立针对后冷战时期地区冲突和非传统安全威胁增大这一特点的欧洲快反部队。这些变化都导致欧洲更加追求与美国在安全合作中的平等地位。

第三，美国霸权自身的矛盾使欧方难以与之协调。法德等国强调

规则和信义,反对滥用武力,更不愿意再像从前那样出人出钱去收拾美国搞乱了的烂摊子。特别是伊拉克主权移交后形势不稳,伊重建工作面临巨大的艰巨性和复杂性。这都使欧洲决策者们难以轻易和美国的政策保持一致。

从根本上说,欧美关系的外部环境正在发生巨变,全球化进程促进了多极化趋势的发展,使多层次的全球治理成为日益突出的主题,对此,欧美观点难以弥合。双方在包括环境保护(如《京都议定书》问题)在内的几乎所有问题上的对立尽显无遗。理念的不同可能将带来更为长远的影响。

同时,随着形势变化,特别是欧盟和北约实现“双扩”后,欧洲国家之间政策协调难度也在增大,欧盟在牵制美国的同时也受到美国牵制,不得不对美国的压力做出某些让步。但由于构成大西洋联盟的基本要素,如体制性质、价值观念及彼此的身份认同(cognitive identity)等依然存在,欧美在对世界的控制和全球治理等问题上还互有所求。所以,今后双方仍会在一些国际问题上开展有限合作,各取所需,未来欧美关系基本仍将由合作与竞争构成,不会演变到对抗与冲突。

本年度内,欧俄关系跌宕起伏。近一年多来双方在俄国内政策、俄与独联体国家关系等问题上分歧严重;而欧盟东扩又给双方关系增添了新的问题和不稳定因素。但总体上看,俄对待欧盟东扩与对待北约东扩有所不同,表现的更为容忍。因为在俄罗斯看来,北约是“冷战的遗产”;而欧洲一体化进程则与俄建设大欧洲的战略设想相符,也为其回归与融入欧洲提供了机遇与可能。但是,无论是北约还是欧盟东扩,俄罗斯都有一种“被攻击”的心态。“双扩”给俄在欧洲的地缘政治和经济发展环境带来了明显的影响。在这种情况下欧俄关系应该如何发展,双方都有一些问题和困扰,需要尽快予以探讨解决。尽管欧俄矛盾凸显,但欧俄接近毕竟对双方有利,从大局与长远利益考虑,双方还是希望通过协商谈判来寻求妥协、解决问题。在欧盟东扩前后,欧俄加快了对话磋商步伐。经过双方的共同努力,欧俄关系在历经数月的低潮之后出现了转机。

本年度,一系列恐怖袭击震惊了欧洲。西班牙马德里“3·11”系列爆炸案更令举世震惊。欧盟呼吁各成员国进一步加强协调合作,打击恐怖主义。同时也加强了对中东地区的关注和政策调整。

在欧盟国家间关系方面,欧盟宪法草案的审批、欧盟委员会主席

人选和东扩引发的问题是人们关注的焦点。

欧盟宪法草案问题上的争执主要反映了欧盟内大国与小国及新老成员国之间的矛盾；在欧盟委员会主席普罗迪的继任者人选问题上的分歧主要反映了两种不同的欧洲发展观的对立。东扩带来的则是劳动力流动可能对老成员国社会经济的冲击。这些问题虽多经坎坷，但最终仍通过协商和妥协得以解决。欧盟首部宪法条约草案的通过，为欧洲一体化进程翻开了新的一页；葡萄牙总理巴罗佐被提名接替普罗迪出任下届委员会主席最终得到了各国和欧洲议会的通过，结束了欧盟的“组阁危机”。然而欧盟老成员国们对新成员国移民做出的严格限制规定等举措则引起新成员国的不满。

在欧洲防务方面，大国的合作成绩显著，在建立欧洲超高速反应部队、建立欧盟军事装备局、组建欧盟宪兵部队等问题上均取得进展。同时，欧盟内小国的合作也引人注目。爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚和立陶宛正式加入北欧投资银行，以促进波罗的海地区与北欧地区的合作与经济发展。这是北欧国家与波罗的海国家的“第一次具有实质性内容的重大合作”，将带动其他领域的合作与发展。维谢格拉德集团的波兰、捷克、斯洛伐克和匈牙利也在寻求全面的战略及能源、基础设施和文化等领域的合作。

本年度中欧关系发展良好，中国积极开展对欧外交，中欧全面战略伙伴关系得到充实。中欧高层互访，情景壮观，成果显著，中欧关系成为影响世界和平局势和国际战略格局重要的积极因素。但是，欧盟在承认中国的完全市场经济地位和解除对华军售禁令的问题上尚未取得突破，与中欧关系发展主旋律显得不对称。在亚欧关系上，第五届亚欧首脑会议在越南首都河内成功举行并首次扩大成员；中法两国在会上积极推动亚欧合作全面发展取得明显的成功。

Précis

On 1st May 2004, European History turned into a new page. The European Union (EU) formally completed its remarkable eastward enlargement, and developed into an EU of 25 from an EU of 15. This is a day to remember. The EU, from a European Community of 6 to today's Union of 25, has made one unprecedented achievement.

Following the enlargement, the European Union Constitution Draft came into birth which marked a new stage of development for EU. As a result, a new European pattern emerges from a fading Cold – War Pattern.

The European Integration undoubtedly has profound impact on Europe. However its implications to the world should never be underestimated. Europe, after long time of exploration, has finally found a peaceful developmental path. The essence of the new path has been embodied in the form of the EU, which is consolidated by political, economic, legal, social and security institutions. Europeans have presented the world a new model of international social institutions, as a sharp contrast against the concept of US – controlled world peace upheld by the America. This also partly explains why the Europe and US were drifted away on the issue like Iraq War.

This year also sees substantial progress in the EU – China relationship. EU and China, both endorsing the idea of peaceful development, are becoming important players to maintain world peace and forces to lever against hegemonic politics. It is fair to say that the development of EU – China relations can be somewhat motivated by practical interests. However, the political preferences shown by the EU and China reflect the richness

of the thousands of years of civilization possessed by the two important players on international arena.

The Eastward Enlargement, European Union Constitution Draft and EU – China relations are undoubtedly the highlight of this year's European development.

I

The Accession of Poland, Hungary, Czech, Slovak, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to the EU – the largest enlargement ever in the history of EU – has made the EU a union of 25 countries with over 450million population

However, the step of EU enlargement has not stopped here. Waiting outside the door of the EU are countries like Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Turkey.

The enlargement of EU has also imposed pressure on its internal institutional reform, which caused the tension between the enlargement and institutional reform to reach a climax. It was in June 2004 after much arduous diplomatic maneuver, that the European leaders reached an agreement on the first EU constitution draft. The draft provides clear provision on the organization and functions of the EU and on fundamental rights. It reformed the voting system of EU institutions, added new posts in EU institutions, afford increased competence to European parliament, and improve transparency of EU decision making mechanism.

The agreement among European leaders on the EU constitution draft can be promoted by the following elements.

Firstly, Spanish socialist party came in power after Spain's general election this year, which was much influenced by the Madrid bomb attack on March 2004. As a result. Spain softened its strong opposition against the EU constitution held by its previous government. Poland as Spain's ally on the opposition found it difficult to sustain alone.

Secondly, numerous European "Euro – sceptic" parties had unprecedented victories in this year's general election of European Parliament. European leaders, stirred up by this phenomenon, had to reconsider the chal-

lenges faced ahead. This could also explain why the European leaders increased effort to seek for coordination and compromise on the EU summit.

Thirdly, France and Germany enhanced their cooperation with Britain and no longer seek for variable geometry.

Fourthly, the majority of European population support the European Union Constitution Draft.

Fifthly, the Irish government which was by then the presidential member state of EU, and its Prime Minister played an active role in promoting an agreement on the European Union Constitution Draft.

However the approval to the constitution by the European leaders has not yet guaranteed a bright future for the European Union Constitution. The draft has to be ratified by the 25 member states by national parliaments or national referendum. Even receiving ratification by all member states, the constitution may have uncertainty in its future enforcement. The European Union Constitution, originally designed to provide a framework for an enlarged Europe, faces future challenges in its appropriateness and effectiveness.

II

In 2003, the economic growth rate of EU kept decreasing for the third consecutive year. However, the EU economy turned into recovery in 2004. This was partly driven by the recovery of German economy, which accounts for the 1/3 of European economy. However, the demand on the European market remains to be sluggish which may affect the continuity and strength of the recovery.

The economic recession EU has experienced in the first half of 2003 was much linked with the economic set-back in Germany, France and Italy. This is mainly affected by international trade, War on Iraq and a strong Euro. The European economy entered into the cycle of recovery after the mid 2003.

In the first half of 2004, European economy stayed in strong increase. Member states excluding Greece and the Netherlands have had slow but stable economic growth. However, the growth slowed down in the second half

of 2004 when the world economy was affected by the oil price rise and the increase of interest rate in the US. Exportation, as the driving main force of European economic recovery, gradually reduced. On the other hand, the long – waited strong increase of domestic demand did not appear. Though the recovery continues, it is unlikely to grow with an accelerated speed.

The enlargement has brought benefits to Europe's economic growth. These new comers of EU are developing countries and have a higher average growth rate than that of EU. The EU after enlargement had its economic growth rate raised by 0.1 percent.

The new EU members have provided the 15 old member states with new consumer markets, material supply and more cost – effective labour. On the other hand, the new member states benefit from the trade and investment resulting from EU's harmonized internal market. Furthermore, these new member states will receive support from the EU including agricultural subsidy and regional aid, grant for transportation and infrastructure development. They could also borrow loans or raise fund from European Investment Bank and other related financial institutions.

According to EU statistics, foreign direct investment has decreased since 2001, however the foreign direct investment to Central and Eastern Europe has increased, reaching US \$ 30billion in 2003. The increase of investment will promote the economic development in Central and Eastern Europe, which in turn will produce new opportunities for the economy of EU.

The *Growth and Stability Pact* has been one issue in contention this year. The fiscal deficits of many EU member states have worsened while France and Germany continuously exceeded the limits provided by the Pact. It was estimated that half of the member states of the Eurozone would exceed the limit by 2004. Contentions were triggered on whether these countries should be fined and whether the *Growth and Stability Pact* should be amended should punishment be impossible. The European Court of Justice (ECJ) has ruled that the European Commission has the competence to protect the authority of EU law, and require member states to comply with rules made by themselves. However the ECJ failed to answer whether France and Germany should be punished. The call for Growth and Stability

Pact to be amended is getting stronger, which argues that the harsh standards set up by the Pact regarding the deficit have restricted the economic growth in the Eurozone. The amendment of the Growth and Stability Pact has been put on the agenda of the EU and will be one main tasks face by the new Commission.

Europe's unemployment rate has stayed higher and began to reduce slowly' as Europe's labour market did not reacted promptly to nor in line with Europe's economic recovery. On the other hand, the eastward enlargement of EU has brought new challenges to the employment market of EU.

The EU member states experienced opposition from their people in the social security reforms. The aging of population, decrease of labour population and reforms of pension and medical insurance systems have become common challenges faced by both old and new EU member states.

Ethnic hostility is another issue worth paying attention to. The emerging Neo Anti - Judaism based on the Middle East conflict and hostility against all Jews is supported mainly by Arabians. In the mean time, the Anti - Muslim voice is getting stronger in Europe, which has been inflamed by Anti - Judaism events involving Muslim elements.

III

The external relations of EU developed unrestrainedly in various aspects. The relations between EU and other international powers kept stable and made improvements. The EU - US relationship experienced its low after the War on Iraq. The drifting away between the EU and US on the Iraqi War reflects the fundamental difference in terms of principles held by each other, which the later reconciliation could hardly make up. The international relations within the EU improved after the member states adjusted their policies to America and the eastward enlargement. The relations of EU member states, once again, revealed that European integration is a process of challenges, opportunities and hopes.

The impact arising from the drifting away between EU and US with respect to the war on EU - US relationship tended to stabilize. France and

Germany refused to send troops to Iraq and only promised to provide training to Iraqi police forces in the Iraq's neighbouring countries. After the "3.11" bomb attack in Spain, the Jose Maria Aznar's central - right wing government lost in the election. The newly elected Spanish government changed Spain's "America Follower" policy and withdrew its troops from Iraq. As the situation in the post war Iraq complicates, many EU member states other than Britain, has showed, to a certain extent, either opposition against or hesitance to support the US.

The EU and US had a series of international trade disputes in the last year. The WTO, upon the EU initiation, ruled that the foreign sales corporation (FSC) section of the US tax code as flouting global trade rules. The Air Bus and Boeing criticized each other for receiving government subsidy. The competition between EU and US in international trade is unlikely to calm down, as EU and US have each other's advantages and different focuses in terms of technology development and international economic institutions building.

In a word, the current EU - US relationship contains the following characteristics.

Firstly, the transatlantic relationship has transformed from security cooperation within Europe to competition in the sphere of global security. The EU and US began to show difference in the interests, goals and methods of their global strategies. The US set the priority of its post war global strategy as to prevent and contain any power which might challenge US's interest or threaten US's superpower. The EU member states, in particular France and Germany focused on integration, emphasized on institution and regulation, upheld consensus and respect diversity. These EU member states believed that problems in global security are caused by multi factors, and therefore must be solved by comprehensive means, which can only work effectively through multi - lateral cooperation and international framework like the U. N.

Secondly, the transatlantic relationship has transformed from the traditional subordinate model into a relatively equal relationship. This can be observed by the fact that the Europe is strengthening its defence power, by establishing its own fast - reaction forces to deal with the conflicts and