

2000~2001 年

ANNUAL REPORT · EUROPE

主 编：周 弘 沈雁南  
副主编：刘 绯

欧洲  
发展  
报告

欧洲  
蓝皮书

中国欧洲学会(CAES)  
中国社会科学院欧洲研究所(IESCASS)  
中国社会科学院欧洲问题研究中心(CESCASS)

社会科学文献出版社  
SOCIAL SCIENCES DOCUMENTATION PUBLISHING HOUSE

欧 洲 蓝 皮 书

# 2000 ~ 2001 年 欧洲发展报告

ANNUAL REPORT · EUROPE

---

中国欧洲学会(CAES)

中国社会科学院欧洲研究所(IESCASS)

中国社会科学院欧洲问题研究中心(CESCASS)

主 编：周 弘 沈雁南

副主编：刘 绯

---

社会科学文献出版社

## 图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

2000~2001 年欧洲发展报告/周弘, 沈雁南主编. - 北京: 社会科学文献出版社, 2001.1

(欧洲蓝皮书)

ISBN 7-80149-427-X

I .2... II .①周... ②沈... III . 欧洲 - 2000~2001 - 研究报告 IV .D75

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2000) 第 79349 号

·欧洲蓝皮书·

## 2000~2001 年欧洲发展报告



主 编: 周 弘 沈雁南

副 主 编: 刘 绯

责任编辑: 严 波

责任校对: 同 文

责任印制: 同 非

出版发行: 社会科学文献出版社

(北京建国门内大街 5 号 电话 65139961 邮编 100732)

网址: <http://www.ssdph.com.cn>

经 销: 新华书店总店北京发行所

排 版: 北京中文天地文化艺术有限公司

印 刷: 北京科技印刷厂

开 本: 889×1194 毫米 1/32 开

印 张: 9.75

字 数: 214 千字

版 次: 2001 年 1 月第 1 版 2001 年 1 月第 1 次印刷

ISBN 7-80149-427-X/D·062

定价: 23.00 元

版权所有 翻印必究

主 编 周 弘 沈雁南

副 主 编 刘 绯

编 委 (以姓氏笔画为序)

刘 绯 沈雁南 顾俊礼 周 弘

裘元伦

作 者 (按文章先后顺序)

提 要 沈雁南

提要英文翻译 刘 绯

综 合 篇 闫小冰 裘元伦 刘立群 潘琪昌

赵俊杰

专 题 篇 裘元伦 王振华 胡 宁 薛彦平

国别与地区 张健雄 陈志瑞 王立强 顾俊礼

罗红波 田德文 潘德礼 张 敏

王 鹤 陈 新

资 料 篇 钱小平 刘合萍

本报告由欧洲联盟委员会资助出版，欧洲联盟委员会及任何代表欧洲联盟的工作人员均不对本报告之信息负责。

This publication is funded by the European Commission. Neither the European Commission nor any person acting on behalf of the Commission is responsible for the use that may be made of the information contained in this book.

# 提 要

10 年前，两德统一。柏林墙坍塌的尘埃迷漫了欧洲的上空，欧洲前景扑朔迷离。如今尘埃已渐落定，新欧洲虽未成形，但欧洲的整合已大势可见。这就是西方向东方的扩张正在步步进展。这种扩张可从地域政治、地缘经济和社会政治三个方面来看。

冷战结束后，欧洲形成三个板块。其一是以欧盟为主体的西欧国家；其二为苏联解体后重新组建起的以俄罗斯为主导力量的独联体国家；其三是从原社会主义国家阵营中脱离出来的中东欧国家。我们姑且称之为第一板块、第二板块、第三板块。第一板块挟其冷战胜利之政治优势、一体化进展之经济的实力，始终没有放弃借欧洲重组之际扩张其势力、提高其在欧洲的地位的努力。本年度，北约在吸收波、捷、匈三国为新成员后，继续加紧东扩，从东北欧和东南欧两翼向东方楔入。第一板块国家倚重北约，扩大了其周边安全地带，并在北约内部加紧建设独立的欧洲防务，以构筑以其为主导的欧洲政治格局。第二板块国家仍然处在休养生息之中，俄罗斯经济在走过漫长的黑暗之路初见曙光，然而，毕竟苏东剧变使其元气大伤，欲振昔日雄风，尚待时日，基本处于守势。第三板块国家则在从原阵营中分离出来之际便表现出向西游动的趋势，它们纷纷在欧盟门口排队，等待着入盟的“签证”，其中一部分国家已实现了与第一板块在政治和战略上的接合（加入北约）。在内力与外力的相互作用下，第一板块与第

三板块的接轨形势明朗。就地域政治而言，欧洲的整合是西方向东方的扩张。

如果说北约东扩主要反映了地缘政治上西方向东方的扩张，那么，欧盟的东扩更多地具有经济和政治双重整合的力度。这种努力在本年度取得了阶段性的成果：欧盟加快了东扩的步伐，并确定了首批入盟国家的名单，尽管还存在着诸多困难，但东扩的日程已经拟定。欧盟的东扩从另一个层次上配合了北约的东扩，但更多地是自身政治与经济利益的考虑；且因其经济的渗透力更强而具有更长远的战略效果。

在社会政治上，欧洲的整合也是表现为西方向东方的扩张，其趋势更为明显，其发展速度更快，其范围更广。10年之内，第三板块，甚至第二板块的国家几乎无一例外地建立起了西方式的社会政治制度和政党政治制度。本年度内，第二板块和第三板块的许多国家，均进行了总统或议会的大选，除南联盟外，权力的交接是平稳的，没有大起大落的动荡，社会反应平静。这表明西方式的社会政治制度移植第二、第三板块国家后已经开始生根。

欧洲的整合所表现出的西方向东方的扩张，第一板块和第三板块的接近，有其历史、文化等诸多原因，但归根结底是双方利益的驱动。因此，这种整合只是一个总体的发展趋势，其间必会充满着矛盾和曲折。它将是一个较长的过程。何况，处在上风的第一板块国家也并非是诸事顺心，它们也有着自己的烦恼和亟待解决的难题。

总体上看，第一板块的上空是晴见多云的天气。欧盟国家经济在世界经济普遍较好的带动下出现稳定增长。这个增长具有普遍性，不仅表现在主要经济指标上，而且涉及到各个经济领域，并涵盖几乎所有的西欧国家。由于经济的强劲增长，加之欧盟及



欧盟各国的努力，困扰多年的失业问题也有所改善，失业率呈逐渐下降趋势。在此背景下，欧盟继续并加快其改革的步伐。本年度欧盟改革有所进展，其结构性改革表现在大力发展“新经济”和积极进行企业重组两个方面；制度性的改革表现在国家与市场关系的调整、政府与企业关系的调整、社会与公民关系的调整、雇主与雇员关系的调整以及“股东文化”在欧洲的兴起。本报告认为，“股东文化”的兴起将给欧洲带来意义深远的影响。首先，它改变了多年来一直深受社会民主主义影响的西欧政治，政治家们要比以前较多地考虑股东的利益，而不再总是迎合包括工会在内的“压力集团”的要求。其次，政府将减少对企业的管束。企业管理者也将更多地对股东负责，而不是对政府负责。最后，欧洲公司企业的筹资渠道将逐渐发生转变。企业将从过去倚重银行贷款的筹资方法向发行股票等有偿证券的融资方法的转变。这些转变一方面固然会增加企业的经营风险，但另一方面也将会大大提高企业灵活性、适应能力和创新精神。欧盟的改革是形势所使然，但它不会一蹴而就，改革带来的变化也是个渐进的过程。

石油涨价和通货膨胀是飘浮在欧盟国家上空的两块乌云。油价的飚升给欧盟经济带来了明显的负面影响。进出口贸易出现逆差，经济增速也受牵制。通货膨胀的压力也随之加大，突破欧洲央行的限制目标。同时，原油大幅涨价也引起了社会动荡，欧洲再现愤怒的抗议浪潮。

欧元的继续走跌则给第一板块带来团团迷雾，多少掩盖了欧盟经济走好的真实景象。欧元是欧盟国家的一个了不起的创举，它不仅将对国际经济关系，而且也将对国际政治关系产生重要的影响。因此，在欧元问世的前后，其前景如何最为世人关注。然而，欧元问世不久便开始一路下跌，其跌幅之大超过了人们的想象，于是有相当一部分人不再看好欧元。本报告分析认为，欧元



诞生尚不到两年，现在断然下悲观的结论为时还早；且从欧元问世后其内外诸因素来看，欧元的疲软事出有因，未有特殊之异常现象；未来的一、二年内，欧元走向稳定是有可能的。

第一板块在积极整合欧洲的同时，其内部的整合更是紧锣密鼓；对外的向东扩张需要其内部的整合达到一个新的境界之后，才能进行。近年来，欧洲一体化发展较快，而一体化的每一次发展都会给欧盟带来新的问题。本年度，欧盟内部“双速欧洲”的讨论再起风波。尽管各成员国看法不一，但在欧盟内部事实上存在着作用不同的层次；东扩之后，成员国将增至 28 个，其相互间的差异将会更大。将事实上存在的问题作制度上的规范，未雨绸缪，未必不是明智之举。年内，德国外长菲舍尔又以其在洪堡大学的一次演讲而挑起了欧盟内部关于“欧洲联邦”的争论。此问题虽是旧话重提，且以目前欧盟内各种现实状况而言，很有些超前感，而且，不会有实质性的结果。虽然德国外长菲舍尔是以个人身份发表的言论，但值此欧盟改革关键之际、政治一体化有所进展之时，从争论的范围和卷入争论之各家的观点来看，菲舍尔之言亦代表了欧盟中相当有影响的一部分力量，对欧洲建设的影响力当是不可小觑。

欧洲一贯被标榜为现代民主制度的发祥地，历来以尊重民主而自诩。然而当奥地利具有极右色彩的自由党通过大选入阁参与执政后，却遭到了其他 14 个成员国的联合制裁。这是欧盟历史上第一次因一国国内之政治原因而实行集体的联合制裁行动，因而引起人们的关注。制裁的理由本身无可厚非：鼓吹极端民族主义的、排外的极右势力应该得到扼制，不能任其泛滥，否则将给欧洲的稳定和安全带来无穷的后患。问题出在制裁的法理上，欧盟成员国是否可以根据他们之间的民主程序——经过协商共同决定——来对一成员国内部的民主予以否定呢？“超国家”的欧盟

的民主是否可以管制“国家”的奥地利的民主呢？欧盟实质上处于一种两难境地：民主与公理，孰重孰轻？通过民主程序入阁的奥地利极右翼政党似乎给欧洲民主制度出了一个难题：实行制裁有点于“法”不通；容忍极右翼的人阁则又有点儿于“理”难忍。奥地利制裁事件是本年度欧盟内部关系中的一件大事，作为一个事件已经过去，但它给人们留下的思索却是深刻的，它不仅涉及到欧盟政治一体化的制度建设问题，也对国际关系中的干涉主义理论带来的新的挑战，更因在欧洲存在着，除暴力的极右组织外的，政治行为“合法”的极右党派，它们在民主制度的缝隙中游弋、成长，其发展前景值得世人关注。

2000年，中欧关系继续取得进展，尤其是进行多年的中国与欧盟关于中国加入世贸组织的谈判终于有了结果，双方达成了协定，为双方关系在新世纪的全面发展开辟了更为广阔的前景。

# Precis

There was a great uncertainty about the future of Europe after the German reunification ten years ago. Today, although the new Europe still not comes into being, the trend of European integration is quite clear. The eastward expansion of the West is developing step by step, which mainly reflected in three aspects – geopolitics, geoeconomy and social politics.

Three groups of countries have been developed since the end of Cold War. They are: the group of Western European countries with European Union as the leading force, the group of the Commonwealth of Independent states established after the fall of Soviet Union with Russia as its leader, and the group of Central-Eastern European countries formerly within the Socialist camp. The first group takes the political advantages gained after the Cold War, and economical advantage comes along with the development of European integration, never give up the effort to expand and to play a greater role in Europe at the time of European reconstruction. This year, after admitting Poland, Hungary and Czech as its new members, the NATO is stepping forward from both northeast and southeast of Europe. The group enlarged its security zone with the help of NATO and, in the meantime, in order to play a dominant role in European politics, is trying hard to establish an independent European defense force with in NATO. The second group of counties is recuperating; the e-

economy of Russia is recovering after a long dark period, but still could not restore the prestige of Soviet Union. And, most of the third group countries are lining up at the gate of European Union, waiting for the “visa”; some of them have already joined NATO. As the result of interaction between internal and external elements, the trend of integration between the first and third group of countries becomes clear.

The eastward enlargement of EU has important meaning both politically and economically, and has gained a periodical achievement this year—speeding up the enlargement, fixed the list of countries joining EU at the first round, setup the agenda for the enlargement even if there are quite a lot difficulties. The enlargement of EU originates from the concerns for its political and economic interests, and will have long term strategic meaning owing to the strengthening of its economic power.

The political integration of Europe also indicates the expansion of the West to the East, and is developing faster and in a larger scope than economic integration. Within the next ten years, it is quite possible that the third group of countries even the second group of countries establish political systems following the examples of the West. This year, the second group and most third group countries held general elections or parliament elections. The peaceful transformations of powers reflect that the western social and political systems have been taking root in these countries.

The expansion of the West to the East and the merge of the second and the third groups of countries have their own historical and culture backgrounds, but in the final analysis, they are motivated by the interest of both sides. The integration is a general developing trend along with contradictions and difficulties, in which the first group will play a dominant role. But, since the first group also has its own troubles and urgent problems to be solved, the integration

will be a long process.

Generally speaking, the economies of EU countries have been increasing steadily under the comparatively good world economic situation. Owing to the strong economic growth and efforts by EU and EU countries, the unemployment problem that sustained for years has been improved, and unemployment rate has been dropping down. Based on that, the EU is speeding up its reform. The achievements of structural reform this year include the promotion of the “new economy”, while the achievements of institutional reform include—the reorganization of enterprises, the adjustment of the relationships between state and market, and between government and enterprises. In the meantime, the relations between society and citizen, as well as between employer and employee have also been improved. Another development worth mentioning is the emerging of “shareholder culture”. It will have important impact on Europe. First of all, it has changed the politics of Western Europe that had been deeply influenced by the social democrats. Politicians have to think more about the interests of shareholders, but not only how to satisfy “pressure groups” including worker’s union. Second, government will loosen the control over enterprises, and the managers will hold more responsibility to shareholders but merely to government. And the last, channels of companies and enterprises to gather fund will be changed. For example, enterprise will not only depend on bank’s loan but also turn to issuing stocks and some other channels to get money needed. These changes, on the one hand could increase the risks of enterprise, on the other hand, could promote the flexibility and adaptation, as well as initiation of the enterprises. The reform of EU is a response to the changing world; therefore the changes it brings about could only be a gradual process.

The rise of oil price and inflation are the two dark clouds above the sky of EU, which bring about obvious negative effects to its e-

conomy – import and export deficit, slowing down of economic growth rate, increasing pressure of inflation, and instability of the society.

EURO is a great initiation of EU that has important impacts both on international economic relations and international political relations. The launching of the EURO and its future have attracted great attentions from all over the world. But, out of the expectation, the exchange rate of EURO is dropping down all the ways ever since its launching, which make quite a lot people doubt about if it could have a bright future. We believe that, it is still too early to give a negative assessment, for there are understandable reasons for EURO being a weak currency at the beginning, it is nothing uncommon. Within the coming one or two years, it is quite possible that EURO become a stable currency gradually.

Intensified measures have been taken for the integration within the first group of countries while pushing the integration in Europe. The past few years witnessed a rapid development of European integration and the problems bring about by the process. This year, there are heated debates again between the member states of EU holding different ideas on the “double speed Europe”. The fact is, there are actors playing different roles within EU, and the gaps will be widened when the member states reach 28 after its eastward enlargement. It is a reasonable step to set up rules and norms beforehand. And, there are again debates on “European Federation” stimulated by the German foreign minister Joschka Fischer when delivering a speech at Humboldt University. Judged by the ideas and the scope of the problems covering, the debate will have important impact on the construction of Europe, especially at the time of the crucial moment of EU reform.

Europe is known as the cradle of modern democratic system, and it is very proud of it. But, as soon as the right wing party –

Freedom Party – of Austria entered the government, the 14 member states of EU began to impose sanctions on it. This is the first collective action of EU in its history to impose sanction on a member state because of its internal political affair. To restrain extreme nationalism and extreme right is not altogether unjustifiable, the problem is, if the EU states have the right to say “no” to another member state about its internal democracy? If the “democracy” in Austria should be decided by the “democracy” of the “supranational” EU? Now, EU is facing a difficult problem: democracy and generally acknowledged truth, which one is more important? Imposing sanction on Austria is a big event in EU internal relations, which will have far reaching impact, for it is influencing the institutional reform in the process of EU political integration, and at the same time, challenging the theory of “interventionism” in international relations. Besides, there are extreme right-wing parties in Europe developing under the democratic system, and their futures have been drawing attentions of people from all works.

In the year 2000, Sino-European relation is developing continuously. China and European Union reached an agreement on China’s entering WTO, which provides a better chance for the two to develop overall relations in the new century.



# 目 录

提 要.....	1
----------	---

## 综 合 篇

2000 年欧洲政治形势 .....	3
2000 年西欧经济形势 .....	15
2000 年西欧社会形势 .....	25
2000 年欧洲国际关系 .....	33

## 专 题 篇

逐步进展的欧洲改革 .....	47
关于“第三条道路”的讨论 .....	58
欧盟共同外交与安全政策的新发展 .....	73
中国—欧盟：关于中国加入世贸组织的谈判 .....	84

国别与地区篇

欧洲联盟 ..... 97

英国与爱尔兰 ..... 108

法 国 ..... 121

德 国 ..... 132

意大利 ..... 143

荷兰、比利时与卢森堡 ..... 154

奥地利与瑞士 ..... 164

南欧三国 ..... 176

北欧五国 ..... 186

中东欧诸国 ..... 195

俄罗斯 ..... 206

资 料 篇

统计资料 ..... 221

欧洲大事记（1999 年 11 月 1 日~2000 年 10 月 31 日） ..... 248

后 记 ..... 285