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提 要

千年之交,欧洲正逢多事之秋。欧元问世伊始,科索沃战火突起。科索沃的战事还在继续,北约首脑又开始制订以"新干涉主义"为标志的 21 世纪新战略。20 世纪的欧洲目睹了近半个世纪的人类浩劫和另外近半个世纪的军事对峙,在最后的 10 年中出现了缓和与调整。善良的人们都在期望,和平与发展能够成为下个世纪,乃至下个千年欧洲的主旋律。但是,世纪末的欧洲局势却给爱好和平的人们带来了深刻的担忧与思考:下个世纪欧洲的和平是可以预期的吗?和平与繁荣怎样才能实现?

1999年1月1日,欧元随着新年的钟声问世了。在欧洲商店的货架上转瞬间出现了欧元标价,中东欧、地中海地区、非洲法郎区也正逐渐在转向使用欧元。受欧洲经济增长缓慢和科索沃危机等因素的影响,欧元在1999年经历了考验,但是欧元已经成为举世公认的世界第二大货币,与美元、日元一起,在国际货币体系中形成三足鼎立之势。欧元问世受到了全世界的普遍重视和欢迎。

在欧洲一体化进程中,欧元问世是一个意义重大的突破,也是一个稳定金融、促进增长的重要因素。1999 年欧洲经济景气不佳,但是欧洲央行实行了扩张性的货币政策,在欧元区内保持了币值的稳定,使通货膨胀率保持在1.0%的水平,低于欧盟的平均值(1.3%)。欧元区 GDP 的增长率达到了2.1%,分别高于欧盟的2.0%和西欧的1.9%。除了失业状况以外,欧元对于区内成员国的经济都有积极的影响。欧元的问世还加快了企业购

并的浪潮。1999年的交易额逼近 1.3 万亿美元,比 5 年前增加了 3 倍。最具有代表性的是德法英三大航空航天企业的合并,合并后的欧洲航空航天公司销售额达到 210 亿欧元,对美国的同行业形成强有力的挑战。1999年下半年始,欧洲经济开始出现回升势头。预计 2000年经济增长率可望从 1999年的 2%上升到 3%,与美国的经济增长率将会比较接近。

当人们正在关注欧元给世界带来的影响时,战争风云就出现在了科索沃上空。1999年3月24日,以美国为首的北约8国撤开联合国安理会,以"防止人道主义灾难"的名义,对巴尔干小国南斯拉夫联盟发动了长达78天的单方面空袭战争。在这场势不均、力不敌的战争之后,以北约为核心的西方在关于科索沃危机的谈判中获得了有利的地位。俄罗斯的口头警告形同虚声恫吓,没有产生威慑的效果。中东欧国家的领导人几乎毫无二致地站到了北约的一边。它们或出于对边缘化的恐惧,或出于对经济出路的渴望,纷纷要求加入北约和欧盟。科索沃战争还给西欧的一些中立国带来了震动。奥地利、瑞士和瑞典等国内发生了对于中立地位的辩论,这些国家的政府政策进一步向北约靠拢。

科索沃战争使冷战后欧洲并不十分明朗的战略均势状况清楚地显露了出来。俄罗斯的潜在实力仍然不可低估,但是它的软弱已经暴露无遗。不仅它在欧洲的影响力受到了极大的伤害,就连它在中亚的侧翼也暴露了出来。在中东欧,北约通过接受波兰、捷克和匈牙利,将其实际控制线向东推进了700公里,战略扩张的矛头直指俄罗斯边境,威慑力远及中亚独联体国家。俄罗斯被迫重组力量,强化俄白联盟。在巴尔干,美国和欧洲用战争的手段控制了科索沃、孤立了南联盟,又通过号称"第二个马歇尔计划"的《东南欧稳定公约》,开始用经济援助的手段从政治、安全和经济上将巴尔干半岛纳入西方体系。

与北约的这种战略扩张同步的是西方观念的扩张。1999 年 4 月,北约一边在巴尔干狂轰滥炸,一边在华盛顿制定 21 世纪新 战略。新战略文件公开声称,北约的宗旨是捍卫美欧基于共同价值观念之上的共同利益,并且提出要为地区和平与稳定作出贡献。一个军事组织,通过军事手段,谋求对于共同价值和共同利益的认同,军事扩张就是不可避免的。在巴尔干,北约对于地区和平与稳定的"贡献"是用轰炸机和导弹作出的。

科索沃危机的起因与其说是"人道主义灾难", 莫若说是 "移民灾祸"。冷战结束以后, 西欧各国不断地承受越来越大的移 民和难民压力。前南地区民族矛盾的加剧, 使更多的移民和难民 涌入西欧国家, 造成西欧极右翼民族主义势力的抬头, 给西欧的 社会生活带来了负面的影响。西欧各大国政府决心进行联合武装 干预, 并以"人道主义干预"为旗帜, 挑起了科索沃战争。

在科索沃战争中,英、法、德等西欧大国政府态度坚决,积 极邀请美国入欧作战,而正在经历欧盟委员会辞职危机的欧洲联 盟却无所作为。欧洲联盟的软弱反映了欧盟在政治与军事方面联 合的滞后,同时也说明欧洲各大国为了相互之间的战略均势,情 愿再度邀美入欧,也不愿意有任何一个大国在解决巴尔干民族问 题时起主导作用。

在欧洲大国之间进行制衡一向是美国的基本战略目标。冷战结束以后,欧洲大陆上华约和北约的制衡关系被打破,德国在欧洲中部地区经济和政治影响力的扩大给周边国家带来了新的忧虑。美国不希望在欧洲出现一个能够左右局势的大国,所以邀美人欧,既是欧洲人的需要,应邀入欧,也符合美国人的利益。

欧洲人接受"美国强权下的世界和平"符合欧洲的眼前利益,但是,美国对于欧洲事务的深层介入并不符合欧洲的长远利益。欧洲的长远利益只能通过欧洲联合的深化和扩大得到实现。1999年欧盟通过了《2000年议程》,为东扩制订了财政计划。科索沃战争后,欧盟加快了和6个人盟候选国的谈判。10月份的芬兰欧盟首脑会议又决定于2000年启动与第二批入盟国家的谈判。与此同时,欧盟加快了内部机构的改革,以利于接纳新成员。

科索沃战争充分暴露了欧洲联盟三根支柱之间发展的不平衡。欧洲共同外交和安全政策的滞后使美国有理由继续留在欧洲,对欧洲事务实行深层介入和干预。在科索沃战争中,80%以上的军事力量由美国提供,这种深层介入使欧洲人对于许多决策程序失去了控制,对于欧洲安全不利。同时,欧洲人在北约的全球战略,以及对俄关系等方面,也和美国不尽相同。因此,科索沃战争后的欧洲要务是趁着欧元成功的机遇,加快内务和外交这两根支柱的建设,使欧洲联盟有在欧洲独立采取行动的能力。

6月初,在科隆欧盟首脑会议上通过了两份与共同安全与防务政策有关的文件,一是将西欧联盟纳入欧洲联盟成为欧洲的防务支柱,使欧洲拥有"以可靠的军事力量为基础的自主行动能力"。科隆会议还决定任命即将卸任的北约秘书长索拉纳出任欧盟首任"共同外交与安全政策先生",使欧洲联盟第一次有了一个正式的对外发言人。

欧洲的进一步联合不仅表现在外交与防务领域里,而且表现在社会和内务领域里。欧盟科隆首脑会议审议通过了《就业公约》,要求各成员国协调工资、财税和货币政策,以便更好地实施欧盟就业战略。1999年10月的欧盟首脑会议要求各成员国进一步加强对外部边界的控制,逐步采取共同的入境规定,打击有组织的跨国犯罪和非法移民,至2004年制订出欧盟统一的避难及移民政策。

1999 年欧洲各国政府都加大了对于科技和教育的投入。法国政府于年初制订了《技术创新与科研法》,促进科技人员与企业的合作。英国一面鼓励科研机构和企业界的合作,一面加大科研投入。德国政府提出《行动纲领》,到 2002 年普及电脑和因特网的使用。小国也不甘示弱。芬兰在科技产业方面已经居领先地位,比荷卢一向重视科技发展,爱尔兰等国继续增加教育与培训开支。欧洲联盟在 1999 年正式实施第五个科研总体规划,预算149.6亿欧元,并提出设立"欧盟科研委员会",力求以整体的

实力,逐步追赶在研究与开发方面领先的美国。

1999年的中欧关系经历了起伏跌宕。北约挑起了科索沃战争,而中国坚持和平共处五项原则,对于北约的行动持批评的态度。中国驻南联盟大使馆突然遭到北约导弹袭击,造成馆毁人亡的悲剧,使本已有所降温的中欧关系雪上加霜。江泽民主席两度出访欧洲,尤其是 10 月间对英国、法国和葡萄牙的访问,获得了圆满的成功。西欧各国表示支持中国加入世界贸易组织。施罗德的两度访华,英、法、葡 3 国对于江泽民主席的盛情款待,特别是法国对于中国多极化主张的支持,以及对于战区导弹防御系统的明确反对,这些都使得中国和欧洲之间的关系在经历了考验之后,又进入一个新的发展阶段。

Precis

Europe at the corner of the millenium has experienced an eventful year. While the flames of war was rising over the Balkan Peninsular, NATO leaders were gathering in Washington D. C. 21^{st} strategy, known formulating its century as Interventionism". Having witnessed the human calamity for nearly half a century and the strategic confrontation for another, Europe in the 20th Century finally obtained the détente over the last ten years. The peace-loving people wish that the peace and development could continue to be the main tone in Europe for the next century or even the next millenium. However, the situation in Europe at the end of 20th Century raised deep concerns and worries: Is the peace in Europe in the next century still expectable? And how could the peace and prosperity be realized?

On January 1, 1999 Euro came into birth with the new-year bell. Goods in the shops were priced in Euro overnight. The Middle & Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean and African Franc Zone are turning to the Euro gradually as well. Though influenced by the sluggish economic growth and Kosovo crisis in Europe, Euro has become the world recognized No. 2 currency and created a triangle of Dollar, Euro and Yen dominating the international currency system. It also wins much welcome and attentions worldwide.

The birth of Euro is not only a significant breakthrough in the European Integration, but also an important factor in stabilizing the finance and promoting the growth in Europe. Despite the slump of European economy, ECB has implemented the expansive monetary policy, stabilized the currency in the Euroland, and kept the inflation at 1.0% lower than the EU average of 1.3%. The GDP growth rate in the Euroland is 2.1%, while that of EU is at 2.0% and West Europe at 1.9%. Except for the employment, the Euro has exerted optimistic influence to its Member States. The enterprises merging in Europe has been promoted by the birth of Euro as well. The turnover reached 1,300 billion US Dollars as triple as five years ago. The merging of the Aerospace Corporations in Germany, France and Britain is a best example. The European Aerospace Corp. as the result of the merging thus becomes the strong competitor to its American peers with the sales revenue at 21 billion US Dollars. European economy began to recover in the second half of 1999. The growth rate in 2000 is estimated to increase from 2% in 1999 to 3%, which is close to that of America.

When people were watching the impacts of Euro on the world, the war broke out over Kosovo. On 24 March 1999, regardless of the UN Security Council, NATO headed by USA unilaterally started the 78-day air raid to Yugoslavia under the name of "preventing the humanity catastrophe", which gave the Western world the privileged position in the negotiation of Kosovo Crisis. The warning of Russia turned out to be the deterrence with no effect. The Central-Eastern European countries almost unanimously stood in the line of NATO, and applied to join NATO and EU either

due to the fear of marginalization or to the economic needs. The Kosovo war reverberated the countries known for their neutrality in western Europe as Austria, Switzerland and Sweden, the neutral position were highly debated there and the policies of governments were drawn much closer to NATO.

The Kosovo war has revealed the strategic frontier in Europe, which became obscure after the Cold War. Though the potentiality of Russia can not be underestimated, its weakness has been completely exposed. Russian influential power has been greatly shaken both in Europe and in the Central Asia as its flank. NATO has enlarged its controlling area for 700 km. to the east through receiving Poland, Czech and Hungary, and pushed its strategic frontier against Russia. Russia was forced to reorganize and strengthen the Russia & Belarus Union. America and Europe as having controlled Kosovo and isolated Yugoslavia by the means of war and the South-East Europe Stability Pact as the so-called 2nd Marshall Plan, began to integrate Balkan into the western political, security and economic institutions through the economic aids.

The strategic expansion of NATO coincided with that of the western ideology. In April 1999, while keeping the bombardment in Balkan, NATO made its 21st Century Strategy. The new Strategy declares that the principal of NATO is to defend the common interest of America and Europe based on their common values, and NATO is there to contribute to "the regional peace and stability". The seeking of the convergence of common values and interests by a military organization through military means makes it inevitable for the military expansion. NATO's contribution to "peace and

stability" in the Balkans was made by the missiles and bombers...

The origin of the Kosovo crisis owes more to the migration calamity than to the humanitarian catastrophe. The western countries have to face the stronger pressure of the immigration & refuge tides after the Cold War. The aggravation of the tension in the former Yugoslavia area caused more immigrants and refugees flowing into the western countries, which pushed the reemergence of the rightist nationalism and brought much impact on the social life of western Europe. Thus the western large countries were determined to undertake the military intervention, and started the Kosovo war under the flag of "Humanity Intervention".

Large western European countries as UK, France and German held firm attitudes in the Kosovo war, while EU in the collective resignation crisis of European Commission took no position. The weakness of EU in Kosovo crisis is a result from the lagging behind of EU in its political and military integration rather than from the resignation of the Commission for the reason of corruption. Moreover, the willingness of the large western European countries in inviting America again to lead a military action in Europe reflects that they would rather invite America again, than see any of them becoming the leading power in resolving the kosovo crisis.

To keep the power balanced among the European countries has been the basic strategic objective of America. The balance between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO was disturbed after the Cold War, and the emerging economic and political influence of Germany in Central Europe aroused new concerns in its neighboring

countries. Neither does America wish to see a new power rising from Europe to challenge its leading position in the next century. Thus reaffirming American leadership in Europe not only meets the Europeans' needs but also satisfies the American interests.

Europe has to take America's hand to cope with the crisis in its area. However, to live under the Pax Americana is not Europe's long-term interest, which on the contrary can only be secured by the continuation and deepening of European Integration. The Kosovo war has contributed to the acceleration of EU eastward enlargement processes. The 2000 Agenda passed by EU in March 26, 1999 made the financial plan for the enlargement. The entrance negotiations between EU and the 6 candidate countries have been speeded up after the Kosovo war, and the EU summit in Finland in October decided to start a new round of negotiation with the applicant countries in 2000. In the meantime, EU quickens its institutional reform so as to promote the enlargement.

The war in Kosovo has also exposed the underdevelopment of two of three pillars of EU. The weakness in EU common foreign and security policy has justified America's role in Europe, who unavoidably poses its nose into European affairs. In the Kosovo war, America provided more than 80% of the military capacity. Europeans find that the deep intervention by America in its defense leads to its losing of control over many decision-making procedures, which is to the detriment of European security. And Europe took different positions from U.S.A. on the global strategy of NATO and Russian affairs. Therefore a task urgently required with the ending of Kosovo war for Europe is to speed up its construction of the two

pillars as internal affairs and foreign policy based on the success of the EMU, so that EU could have the independent action capability in Europe.

In the early June, two documents on the common foreign and security policy were passed in the EU summit in Koeln. In one of the documents, the West Europe Union has been integrated into European Union and serves as the Defense pillar, so that Europe will have its own action and reaction capability based on reliable military forces. The Koeln summit also decided to appoint Mr. Solana, the former secretary general of NATO as the first Mr. Common Foreign and Security Policy, who thus becomes the first formal spokesman of EU.

The further integration of Europe refers not only to the foreign and security aspects but also to its social and judicial affairs. *The Employment Pact* as passed in the EU summit in Koeln in June 1999, requires each member states to coordinate its wage, tax and monetary policy for a better implementation of EU employment strategy. The EU summit in October 1999 asked each member states to reinforce its control over the external borders, employ the common entry formalities gradually, strike the organizational transnational crimes and illegal immigrants, and to have a common refuge and immigration policy in 2004.

All national governments in Europe increased the input in technology and education in 1999. The Technology Innovation and Research Law was released by French Government, aimed at promoting the cooperation between intellectuals and enterprises.

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