

## EVELOPMENT REPORT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM (2010-2013)

# 英国发展报告

 $(2010 \sim 2013)$ 

国际金融危机背景下的英国

Britain in the Aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis

北京外国语大学英国研究中心 主 编/王展鹏

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本书追踪了 2010~2013 年初英国政治、经济、社会、对外关系等领域的 发展情况,就联合政府执政和国际金融危机、欧债危机背景下的中英关系、英 欧关系、英国防务政策调整、宪法改革、苏格兰独立公决的争论、伦敦奥运会 等重大事件和英国文化产业发展做了专题分析,尤其关注当前国际力量格局发 生深刻变化,经济衰退迁延不愈的情况下,英国自身力量、国际地位及中英关系呈现出的新特点和新趋势。

这一阶段,英国经济表现出衰退长期化、复苏乏力的特点。长期以来,英国经济过度依赖金融和房地产业、实体经济发展相对滞后、制造业持续衰落。 危机表明这一发展模式难以为继,面临艰难转型。而国际经济环境和英国国内 高企的债务水平使这一转型尤为艰难。

在此背景下,2010年大选产生了英国战后首届联合政府。内外政策理念 迥异的保守党—自由民主党联合执政后,为应对严峻的财政状况,采取了近乎 休克疗法的严厉紧缩政策,将减少赤字和政府债务与防范系统性宏观经济和金融风险设定为政府所有工作的首要目标。三年来,紧缩计划在促进英国宏观经济稳定和可持续发展的同时,也对英国传统的福利国家理念形成冲击,加剧了社会阶层间的分化。

国际金融危机以来,英国主要政党的治理思想和政策努力在传统"左翼"和"右翼"之间寻求中间道路,平衡社会各阶层的诉求。卡梅伦提出了"大社会"理念,并将其作为2010年竞选纲领和随后联合政府执政理念的重要部分。2010年大选后,更接近工党传统理念的埃德·米利班德当选该党领袖,提出工党不能停留在新工党的遗产之中,应更加关注下层民众的利益。2012年后工党提出致力建设"全民团结国家政党"(One Nation Party)的定位。2010年大选至今,一些分析家所期待的第三力量崛起给英国政治带来的巨大

变革并未出现。联合政府两党注意力集中于削减赤字,加之受到理念差异、决策效率的制约并未给英国政治带来真正变革。较之新工党时期,英国宪法改革的走势趋于保守。苏格兰民族主义的发展和独立公决的启动也提出了工党政府权力下放的宪法改革是否助长了民族主义并最终将导致联合王国解体的命题。

面对国际体系力量结构调整和欧债危机的挑战,联合政府在应对经济问题的同时,不得不认真思考英国在国际体系中力量和地位的命题,将确保英国的大国地位作为重要战略目标。联合政府明确了努力适应日趋网络化的世界、充当全球大国的国际定位,在维持对美、对欧特殊关系的同时,重视与新兴市场国家的关系。在防务政策方面,新出台的《战略防务与安全评估报告》强调了减量增质的思想。

联合政府上台两年多来,在中英关系方面以经贸与人文为重点,积极构建"共同促进增长的伙伴关系"。与此同时,一些新变化、新问题相继出现。这既是源于联合政府对华政策的调整,也是近年来欧债危机持续发酵、亚洲力量崛起与美欧战略东移的国际背景使然。近三年来,英国对华外交在保持延续性与务实传统的同时,"经济外交"特点突出。从广度与深度而言,特别是在经贸与人文领域,双边关系的发展趋于加强态势。然而,2012年5月,首相卡梅伦与副首相克莱格联合会见达赖也给中英政治关系的发展带来不利影响。

#### **Abstract**

This report traces the developments in politics, economy, society, and foreign policy in the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2013, and makes special analyses on major events in the first few years of the Coalition Government, such as China – UK relations, European policy, adjustments in defence policy, constitutional reforms, debates on Scottish independence referendum, and the London Olympic Games. Special attention has been given to the impact on the UK of the global financial crisis and European Sovereign Debt crisis. The book also focuses on the power shift in the international system and its impact on the evolving British power, its status and role in the world, as well as new characteristics and trends that have emerged in the China – UK relations.

At this phase, the UK economy is characterized by long-term recession and a slow recovery. The UK economy has long been excessively dependent on finance and real estate industry, while the development of the real economy relatively lagged behind and the manufacturing industry experienced continuous decline. Such a development model is difficult to sustain and transform. Furthermore, the international economic environment and the high level of deficit of the United Kingdom exacerbate the difficulty of such a transformation of Britain's economic structure.

In this context, the first postwar Coalition Government was formed after the 2010 general election. Notwithstanding the incongruity of domestic and foreign policies between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats, the Coalition, in order to tackle the difficult fiscal situation, has adopted a harsh shock-therapy-styled austerity programme, which gives priority to reduction in deficit and government debt and to prevention of systematic macroeconomic and financial risk. For about three years, the austerity policy on one hand facilitated the stability of the macroeconomy and sustainable development in the United Kingdom, while on the other hand, it undermined the traditional notion of British Welfare State and aggravated the

gaps between different social classes.

Since the global financial crisis, the major parties in the United Kingdom have continued to take the middle ground in terms of the ideas and policies of British political and economic governance, in an attempt to gain support from all social groups. David Cameron presented the concept of the "Big Society", which has become a key policy notion in the 2010 Conservative general election manifesto and in the following Coalition Government. Since the 2010 general election, Ed Miliband, who favours a more traditional ideology of the Labour Party, is elected as party leader. He argues that the Labour Party should go beyond the legacy of "New Labour" and be concerned more about the interests of the lower classes. After 2012 the Labour Party proposed to dedicate itself to the idea of "One Nation Party". Against the wish of a number of analysts, three years after the 2010 general election the radical reform in British politics which was expected together with the rise of the "third force" did not occur. The priority in deficit reduction of both parties in the Coalition Government, along with the discrepancies of ideas and the constraints on the efficiency of policy-making has all hampered substantial changes in British politics. The pace of British constitutional reforms tends to be much more moderate and incremental compared with that in the New Labour era. The development of Scottish nationalism and the initiation of the Scottish independence referendum also bring forth the debates over whether the Labour government's constitutional reform on devolution encourages nationalism and will finally lead to the disintegration of the United Kingdom.

Facing the power shifts in the international system and the challenge of the Eurozone crisis, the Coalition Government, while tackling the economic problems, has to think seriously about what power and role the United Kingdom has in the international system, and make it a strategic goal to secure the United Kingdom's great power status. In the debates on the UK's place in the world, the Coalition Government endeavours to adapt to a more "networked" world, orientate itself as a global great power, and emphasise the importance of emerging powers in British foreign policy while maintaining the special relationship with the United States and the European Union. On defence policy, the new *Strategic Defence and Security Review* (*SDSR*) emphasises the idea of "using the minimum number, providing both quality and effectiveness".

In Sino-British relations, the Coalition Government has given priority to business, trade and cultural exchange so as to build a "partnership for growth". But at the same time new changes and issues have also emerged. This originates not only from the adjustment in the Coalition Government's policy on China, but also from the international contexts, particularly from the impact of the prolonged Eurozone crisis, the rise of Asian powers and the American and European strategic pivot and repivot to the East. For the last three years, the British government has underlined "economic diplomacy" in its foreign policy, while staying continuous and pragmatic in its relations with China on the whole. China – UK bilateral relations have been augmented in both scope and depth, especially in the fields of business and people – to – people exchange. However, Prime Minister David Cameron and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg's meeting with Dalai Lama in May 2012 has had an adverse effect on the development of China – UK political relations.

#### 目 录

### 主题报告

| 国际金融危机下的英国        | 王展鹏/001   |  |  |  |
|-------------------|-----------|--|--|--|
| 分领域报告篇            |           |  |  |  |
| 金融危机以来的英国经济       | 张 劫/021   |  |  |  |
| 2010 年英国大选与政党政治走向 | 杨光杰 / 040 |  |  |  |
| 英国社会发展评述          | 宋云峰 / 061 |  |  |  |
| 英国联合政府的外交政策       | 曲 兵/083   |  |  |  |
| 欧债危机背景下英国防务政策的调整  | 倪海宁 / 099 |  |  |  |
| 专题报告篇             |           |  |  |  |
| 宪法改革与英国地区自治的新发展   | 王展鹏 / 120 |  |  |  |
| 卡梅伦政府执政以来的中英关系    | 杨 芳/141   |  |  |  |
| 英国与欧洲联盟的关系        | 王展鹏 / 155 |  |  |  |
| 国际金融危机背景下的伦敦奥运会   | 张 浩 / 172 |  |  |  |

#### 英国发展报告 (2010~2013)

| 英国 | 电影产业的发 | 展 … | <br>石同 | 云 | / 186 |
|----|--------|-----|--------|---|-------|
| 英国 | "数字英国" | 战略  | <br>张  | 浩 | / 211 |

#### 资料篇

| 统计资料      |           | <br>     | 沈  | 毅 | 1 | 226 |
|-----------|-----------|----------|----|---|---|-----|
| 2010 ~ 20 | 12 年英国大事记 | <br>英国研究 | 中心 | 编 | / | 236 |
|           |           |          |    |   |   |     |
| 后记        |           | <br>     | 王展 | 鵬 | / | 308 |

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艺法或不写美国地区自给的编队员 一

111人类 (4) 一、一、一、一、一、 等菜及中的休息的风格的发展的

· 172 · 182 · 18 · 193

#### CONTENTS

#### Keynote Report

The United Kingdom in the Aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis

Wang Zhanpeng / 001

#### Reports in Policy Areas

| The UK Economy since the Financial Crisis Zhang        |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| The UK General Election 2010 and the Development       |                     |
| of British Party Politics                              | Yang Guangjie / 040 |
| An Evaluation on the Development of British Society    | Song Yunfeng / 061  |
| Reviewing the UK Coalition Government's Foreign Policy | Qu Bing / 083       |
| Adjustments in British Defence Policy in the Context   |                     |
| of Eurozone Crisis                                     | Ni Haining / 099    |
|  |                     |

#### Special Reports

| Constitutional Reforms and Developments in Devolution |                 |    |
|---|-----------------|----|
| in the United Kingdom                                 | Wang Zhanpeng / | 12 |
| An Analysis of the China-UK Relations since 2010      | Yang Fang /     | 14 |

The Relations Between the United Kingdom and the European Union

Wang Zhanpeng / 155

London Olympic Games in the Context of Global Financial Crisis

Zhang Hao / 172

The Development of British Film Industry

Shi Tongyun / 186

"Digital Britain" Strategy

Zhang Hao / 211

#### Data and Statistics

Data and Statistics

Shen Yi / 226

The Chronology of Important Events in the United Kingdom

(2010-2012)

British Studies Centre / 236

Afterword

Wang Zhanpeng / 308

## 主题报告



Keynote Report

#### 国际金融危机下的英国

王展鹏'

2008 年后,英国与世界上大多数国家一样经历了 20 世纪 30 年代大萧条以来最严重的金融危机,2009 年底爆发的欧洲主权债务危机进一步加剧了英国的经济衰退。预期中的经济复苏在 2010 年并未如期而至,而欧债危机则凸显了欧洲国家经济社会模式存在的诸多缺陷和发展限度,长期积累的全球化时代生产方式和经济社会模式的困境日益突出,影响远远超出欧元区国家的金融治理领域,也对英国产生了重要影响。为应对这一冲击,英国的内外政策都主动或被动地做出了相应调整,其经济社会模式、政党政治、国际地位和对外政策历经变化,面临转型的压力。

在《经济学家》杂志对 2013 年英国走向的预测中,英国副首相克莱格写道:过去几年英国面临的国际和国内环境都发生了深刻变化;游戏规则已

<sup>\*</sup> 王展鹏,北京外国语大学英语学院英国研究中心教授。

然完全改变;英国的经济模式、全球力量格局、气候、人口组成,乃至人们身边的风景都在变化之中。① 在复杂性和不确定性并存的情况下,2010~2013年初的英国呈现出的新特点包括:经济衰退迁延不愈;战后首次出现的联合政府执政给英国政治版图带来新变化;紧缩政策的政治、经济、社会影响日益显现;国际力量格局演变下英国出现了关于自身新的国际地位定位的辩论。

#### 一 危机下的英国经济走势与联合政府的 经济社会政策调整

2010年,联合政府开始执政时英国正处于 2008 年危机后的复苏期,欧 债危机的蔓延迫使卡梅伦政府实行严厉的紧缩政策,在削减预算赤字方面 取得了一定成效,宏观经济形势较为稳定,2012 年通货膨胀降至 2%以下;就业成为疲软的英国经济中的一大亮点,高于 2008 年危机前的水平。然而,在实现经济增长和增强国际市场的竞争力方面,联合政府的政策成效 有限,2011年底英国经济再次陷入衰退。据国际货币基金组织(IMF)的年度统计数字,2008 年英国 GDP 总值约为 27874 亿美元,② 2012 年降至约 24338 亿美元。③ 据英国国家统计局的统计,2008 年第一季度到 2012 年底,英国 GDP 收缩 3.4% 左右,经济表现低于除意大利外的其他七国集团国家,英格兰银行的量化宽松政策也未能阻止英国出口下滑的趋势。④

① Nick Clegg, "Priorities for a Pivotal Year", The Economist, 21 Nov 2012, p. 45.

② IMF, "World Economic Outlook Database, October 2008", http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2008/02/weodata/weorept.aspx? pr. x = 53&pr. y = 12&sy = 2008&ey = 2008&scsm = 1&ssd = 1&sort = country&ds = . &br = 1&c = 112&s = NGDP \_ R% 2CNGDP \_ RPCH% 2CNGDP% 2CNGDPD&grp = 0&a = .

<sup>(3)</sup> IMF, "World Economic Outlook Database, October 2012", http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/02/weodata/weorept.aspx? pr. x = 50&pr. y = 10&sy = 2012&ey = 2012&scsm = 1&ssd = 1&sort = country&ds = . &br = 1&c = 112&s = NGDP \_ R% 2CNGDP \_ RPCH% 2CNGDP% 2CNGDPD&grp = 0&a = .

<sup>(4)</sup> John O'Sullivan, "The Sunshine Breaks Through", in The Economist: The World in 2013, p. 47.