

摘要

中共與歐盟自1975年建交至今已滿30年，兩者已建立成熟的合作夥伴關係。尤其，在後冷戰時期國際體系已轉化為「一超多強」，中共與歐盟作為兩支在國際舞台上正在崛起的重要力量，均具有長遠的戰略目標，以實現各自的國家利益。故本論文乃藉由攻、守勢現實主義理論，探究後冷戰時期中共對歐盟之戰略。

基本上，中共與歐體(歐盟前身)雖於1975建交，但在當時冷戰的內外條件下，雙方都將不可能發展經貿關係，作為具根本意義的戰略選擇。直到1978年底中共改革開放實施，同時歐盟整合亦不斷深化及廣化，雙方關係才日趨緊密。然而，1989年六四天安門事件，卻使得中(共)歐關係嚴重倒退。1990年代中期，由於中共經濟實力快速成長及國際地位日漸提高，因此歐盟在政治、經濟等多重因素考量下，重新體會到亞洲和中共之重要性，並於1995年對中共發表《歐盟對中國長期政策》第一份文件，其後又相繼發表《歐盟對華新戰略》(1996年)、《與中國建立全面夥伴關係》(1998年)、《國家戰略文件2002-2006：中國》(2002年)、《歐中關係的共同利益與挑戰 - 走向成熟的夥伴關係》(2003年)等四篇文件，並視中共為其全球六大戰略伙伴之一。而中共亦於2003年10月13日發表有史以來第一份對外關係文件 - 《中國對歐盟政策文件》，公開闡明中共在中(共)歐關係中的國家利益與目標，更標誌著中(共)歐總體關係邁向一個新階段。

由於歐盟欲透過政治與人權對話、經濟及貿易關係、安全合作計畫之三大途徑來達成其所規劃之中共政策目標。因此，中共對在追求經濟發展和國際地位提昇之國家發展目標下，亦欣然接受。同時，中共在國家內部和對外皆做出許多彈性調整，以進一步發展與歐盟的友好關係。

進而言之，中(共)歐雙邊關係迅速提升，以2004年為例，歐盟已超越美國，成為中共的第一大貿易夥伴。然而，中共對於歐盟重視的人權問題等有所堅持，故在經貿利益上，雙邊呈現是利益互補、各取所需之態，但對於普世人權價值卻呈現「同床異夢」現象。另外，在國際安全上，雖然中共與歐盟兩者並無直接威脅及利益衝突，且皆共同主張多極化，但為實現其「和平崛起」過程的「三步走」戰略目標，故筆者認為中共對歐盟戰略目前乃採取一種「明聯歐，暗制美」的積極守勢戰略。

關鍵詞：中共、歐盟、中(共)歐關係、戰略、攻勢現實主義、守勢現實主義



Abstract

It has been 30 years since China started to exchange diplomatic envoys with the European Union (EU) in 1975. They have established mature and cooperative partnership. Especially, in the Post-cold War era, the shape of international system has been changing into the “One Super Power with Multiple Powers”. China and EU are regarding as rising and important powers in the stage of world, and both they have far-reaching strategic goals to carry out their national interests. Therefore, this thesis, based on theories of offensive and defensive realism, is focused on China strategy toward EU in the Post-cold War Era.

Basically speaking, despite establishing their diplomatic relations in 1975, China and EEC (the former of EU) were unlikely to prioritize economic interests on their agendas to develop bilateral links, especially in the overall context of the Cold War. Until 1979, the bilateral relationship developed tighter and tighter day after day between China which performed open-door policy and EEC which deepened and broadened Europe integration. However, the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 caused a very serious damage to the relationship between China and EEC. In the middle of 1990s, owing to the rapidly increasing economic power and the gradually lifting international status of China, EU reconsidered the importance of Asia and China toward itself under political and economic factors. Since 1995, EU published the first communication “A Long Term Policy for China-Europe Relations”. After then, there have been four communications published which is “Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China” in 1998, “Country Strategy Paper 2002-2006” in 2002, and “A Maturing Partnership - Shared Interests and Challenges in EU-China Relations” in 2003. EU regarded China as its one of six global strategic partners in 2003, and China also demonstrated its first external policy “China’s EU Policy Paper” on October 13 2003. It didn’t only state publicly about China’s interests and goals for the relationships between China and EU, but also marked the new situation that the China-EU total relationship developed.

For fulfilling its China policy goals, EU appealed to political and human rights dialogues, economic and trade relations, and EU-China security cooperation. Therefore, in pursuit of continuous economic development and enhancement of its international prominence, China accepted the friendliness expressed by EU with happy. At the same time, China made many flexible judgments in terms of internal

and external policies for developing good relations with EU.

Furthermore, taking it as an example in 2004, owing to rapidly development of China-EU relationships, EU which conquered U.S.A. has already become the first major trading partner of China. However, China still insisted on the issue of human rights that EU paid much attention. On economic and trade interests, their attitudes were with complementary interests and taking what one needed, but they showed the strange phenomenon whereas “the same bed but different dreams” in universal value of human rights. In addition, the two, China and EU, have no direct threat and interest conflict on the international security, and they advocate multiplicity. However, for carrying out the strategic goal of “three steps” in “peaceful rise” process, I think China has been taking a kind of aggressive defensive strategy of “uniting EU obviously but restricting U.S.A. ambiguously” toward EU at present.

Key words: China, EU, China-EU Relationship, Strategy, offensive realism, defensive realism

