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忻 华

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ARTICLES

1 A Structured Analysis on the Strategic Implications of the European Economic Sovereignty and Technological Sovereignty

XIN Hua

Confronted with all the drawbacks in the economic globalization and European integration, the European Commission with von der Leyen as the new President determines to strengthen the EU's status as a major player in the world, for which it strives to build up the "European Economic Sovereignty and Technological Sovereignty" as part of its core missions. Constructed through an elaborative extension of the concept of "European Strategic Autonomy", these two "sovereignties" find their theoretical origins in the traditional geopolitical schools of thought, the ideas of "economic and technological nationalism", and the governance model of "interventionism", whose specific connotations have been outlined by a wide range of policies, with the "strategic value chains" as the policy toolkit. The new EU leadership's ideas on these two "sovereignties" not only reflect its perceptions on the "big picture" of geopolitics and its anxiety about Europe's global competitiveness, but also frame its thorough calculations over the crises of globalization, the fluidity of the China-US-EU trilateral strategic competitions, as well as the requests from the European business interests. However, it will be inevitably dragged into two dilemmas: one is between the political logic and economic rationality whereas the other is between the speed of European integration and the depth of the EU's powers. The buildup of these two "sovereignties" will reinforce the EU's negative attitudes towards China and intensify the EU-China competition.

30 An Analysis of the PESCO Cooperation Mechanism from the Perspective of the EU Common Defense

ZHAO Huaipu

Differentiated integration is an important trend in the development of the EU. The Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), as a measure for realizing differentiated integration in the field of defense, has been regarded as a leading indicator of European integration. PESCO is a result of the combination of internal leadership and external impetus, a contin-

uation of the EU's constantly adaptive reforms of its regulations and a product of the interaction between the interests of the member states and the need for building a common defense. As both an end and a means, PESCO not only helps the EU respond more effectively to security challenges and promote defense integration, but aims to achieve the EU's strategic autonomy and consolidate its international status and legitimacy. Positive progresses have already been made over the past two years since the launch of PESCO, whose development potentials and cumulative effects cannot be ignored, but there is still a long way to go before the EU achieves its strategic goals, in view of the deep-seated problems within the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy and PESCO, with the fundamental crux of the sovereignty sensitivity and multiple national interests over defense cooperation, as well as the complex relationship between the EU defense and that of the US and NATO.

50 **The Dual-construction of the Identity Politics and the Politics of Identity and of Interests: Emergence of Populism in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic**
XIANG Zuotao LI Jiayi

Most of the current researches explore the emergence of populism from the perspective of identity politics. However, the cases of the populist parties in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic indicate that the politics of identity and that of interests overlap and work concurrently on the rise of populism. In terms of the identity politics, the populist parties in these countries have deliberately blurred the ideological boundaries between "the right" and "the left", by employing the rhetoric of nationalism and a discourse distinction between "ourselves" and "others", in order to forge themselves as nationalist parties and parties advocating cultural xenophobia. From the perspective of the politics of interests, the populist parties put an emphasis on the distinction between "the elites" and "the people" rather than on the class mobilization approach and the choice of words such as "caste" or "class", who has successfully gained support from the so-called "victims" of the post-communist transition. The election results in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic have shown that the citizens in the lower-middle-income category constitute the principal supporters for the populist parties, given the worsening economic situations of such groups since the 2008 global financial crisis. It is through the dual construction of both identity and interests politics that the populist parties have consolidated the ethnic, religious and cultural identity and successfully transformed the grassroots participation into political support.

71 **Institution, Organization and Incentives: An Alternative View on the "Illiberal Democracy" in Hungary**

MA Junchi

The fierce critics from the western countries on the "illiberal democracy" in Hungary have

ignored the incentives provided by the existing institutions to political and economic organizations and the influences of these organizations on the institutions. After the transition, the Hungarian political system has provided incentives for its political organizations to further maintain centralization. On the other hand, the economic systems have brought momentum for the economic organizations to promote institutional transformation. Consequently, the political and economic institutions adapt to and become compatible with each other, resulting in a stable system of institutions, which provides significant benefits to the coalition of the specific political and economic organizations. In short, the “illiberal democracy” is the result of the interaction between institutions and organizations on one hand, and between the institutions in different fields on the other, rather than the personal “achievement” of Orbán himself during his ten-year rule. This paper shows that it is necessary to analyze a country’s institutional system, its origin and dynamics from the perspective of institutional evolution.

95 Interest, Norm, and Identity: An Analysis of the Trend and Causal Factors in the European Union’s Enlargement Strategy towards the Western Balkans

GUAN Xin LIAN Chenchao

Since Croatia joined the EU in 2013, the pace of the EU’s eastward enlargement in the Western Balkans has been slowing down, and a decline in the efficiency and credibility has been witnessed in its enlargement strategy towards this region, which has forced the EU to make corresponding adjustments and improvements, including strengthening engagement with these countries, imposing higher standards on them to carry out state transformation reforms, and putting more emphasis on the shifting responsibilities of its own. As the result of a combination of its rational choice, normative pursuit and European identity, the future direction of the EU’s enlargement strategy towards the Western Balkans is faced with uncertainties in view of the interweaving impacts of interests, norms and identity. In order to improve the credibility and effectiveness of its enlargement strategy towards the Western Balkans, it is necessary for the EU to enhance the consistency and coordination among the objectives of its different policies, the policy preferences of different actors, and the EU’s own commitments and actions. In consideration of the dilemmas that the EU’s enlargement strategy towards the Western Balkans is confronted with, its enlargement process will still meet with a number of obstacles.

118 The Choice of the European Periphery Countries—an Analysis of the Foreign Policies of the Italian and Greek Populist Governments

ZHONG Zhun

Situated at the (semi-) periphery of Europe, Italy and Greece have been faced with a

choice of further integration into or deviation from the core of the EU. In recent years the two countries have been increasingly peripheralized on the economic, political and social dimensions, which has stimulated the rise of the populist parties, who, turning away from the EU's mainstream ideas, demand to modify foreign policies after taking office. The populist governments in Italy and Greece attempted to renegotiate with the EU on issues such as the economic policy of the Euro zone, the CFSP and the refugee policies. In addition, due to bilateral frictions with Germany and France, the two countries have attempted to unite the other Member States to counterbalance the Franco-German axis. Meanwhile, Italy and Greece have intensified their cooperation with China and Russia in spite of the pressures from the EU. These adjustments in foreign policy can be attributed mainly to the preferences of the populist parties themselves, while the implementation and effectiveness of their policies will still be constrained by both domestic politics and the international regime.

138 Rethinking European Studies in the Perspective of Area Studies

QIAN Chengdan HU Li

As a newly emerged academic field in China, area studies has its own features. The European studies, with both the EU and European countries as its target, essentially belongs to the category of area studies. After decades of efforts, significant progresses have been achieved in China's European studies, but great deficiencies still exist, among which the biggest problem lies in the lack of a clear definition about what European studies means and in that it does not develop according to the inherent needs of area studies itself. There are four areas on which the Chinese scholars should focus in the future European studies. Firstly, the scope of the European studies should be expanded to include all the European countries, geographically, rather than concentrating only on a few large powers. Secondly, it is necessary for the Chinese scholars to diversify their methodologies in order to construct the European studies into an interdisciplinary research field with a multidisciplinary approach. Thirdly, fieldwork is an indispensable step to make deep-going researchers, especially concerning the cultural and social studies of the targeted countries. Last but not the least, the excessive dependence on the English language as a research instrument must be rectified by encouraging the scholars to master the languages of the targeted countries. In addition, China's European studies should pay particular attention to the basic concepts and methodologies of area studies, and consciously serve China's needs of the time.

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主 编: 吴白乙

编 辑: 《欧洲研究》编辑部

地 址: 北京建国门内大街5号1433室(100732)

电 话: (010) 65135017

电子信箱: cjes@cass.org.cn

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