



Chinese Journal of European Studies

中国社会科学院欧洲研究所 主办

祁玲玲 祝宇杭

科技变革、阶级与欧洲政党选举投票

方炯升

何种经济反制措施更具效能?

胡 琨 钟佳睿

欧洲货币联盟会迈向最优货币区吗?

简军波

21世纪欧盟的非洲经贸政策: 一项平等化方案?

孙志强 张蕴岭

地位寻求、角色构建与英国脱欧后的对外政策调整

2022 - 4

歐洲研究

双月刊 第 40 卷 总第 236 期

2022 年第 4 期 8 月 15 日出版

□ 国际政治经济评论		
1 科技变革、阶级与欧洲政党选举投票	祁玲玲	祝宇杭
23 何种经济反制措施更具效能?		
——以欧盟对美反制为案例的考察		方炯升
□ 欧洲一体化		
53 欧洲货币联盟会迈向最优货币区吗?		
——法国调节学派视角下最优货币区的自我实现	胡琨	钟佳睿
85 21 世纪欧盟的非洲经贸政策:一项平等化方案?		简军波
□ 国别与地区		
106 地位寻求、角色构建与英国脱欧后的对外政策调整	孙志强	张蕴岭
135 法国的新一轮欧洲核威慑政策设想	周顺	何奇松
□ 学术动态		
158 "俄乌冲突背景下的欧洲经济形势与前景"研讨会综述	孙雅雯	孙彦红

封面题字:周 南

Chinese Journal of European Studies Vol.40 No.4 August 2022

ARTICLES

1 Technological Innovation, Class and the Changing Voting Behavior in European Countries

OI Lingling ZHU Yuhang

Technological innovation transforms the patterns of social, economic and political activities. The adoption of automation, robots and AI brings the risk of job displacement, which creates a group of "losers of automation". In the European countries with high level of automation, the adoption of new technology not only impacts the life of the workers but also that of the middle class, which further changes the voting patterns in Europe. This article, based on the latest four rounds of data of the European Social Survey, finds that the rising risk of job displacement will generally increase the voters' demand for welfare policy, which leads the workers to turn their support to the radical right parties and the mainstream left parties, as well as weaken the middle class' support for the mainstream right parties, who instead turn to the mainstream left parties. It is noticed that a downward mobility of the middle class is taking place in the European countries. Therefore, the consequence of technological progress has become an indispensable factor in explaining the changing voting patterns in the European countries.

23 Which Kind of Economic Countermeasure Is More Efficient? An Analysis Based on the European Union's Countermeasure towards the US

FANG Jionashena

Economic countermeasure is a type of hedging strategy in economic diplomacy, which offers self-protection and retaliation in the face of the other countries' economic coercion or the other actions that violate national interests with economic leverage. Despite the fact that economic countermeasure has been widely used in the world economic system with a characteristic of "weaponized interdependence", some important theoretical issues like the classification and efficiency of economic countermeasure have not been thoroughly discussed. Economic countermeasure could be categorized into four types, namely denial, circumvention, punishment and substitution, depending on whether it is targeted at structural or relational power, and whether its aim is to protect or resist. Divergences exist in the efficiency of the four types of countermeasures. The more escapable the coercive power that the countermeasure is faced with, or the higher the cost controllability of the countermeasure, the higher the efficiency of the countermeasure itself will be. Currently, the European Union is a representative in countermeasure implementation, and thus the study with its countermeasure towards the US as a case could prove the accuracy of the above theoretical deduction. The theory of economic countermeasure and the EU's practice could provide references for the other countries' diplomatic action that hedges against economic coercion.

Will the European Monetary Union Move towards an Optimal Currency Area? —Self-Realization of Optimal Currency Area from the Perspective of French Régulation School

HU Kun ZHONG Jiarui

As an "incomplete monetary union", the regulation mode of the European Monetary Union is not fully compatible with its accumulation regime. As a result, it is often exposed to risks of asymmetric shocks and economic imbalances. Although the introduction of common currency has promoted the convergence of trade, inflation and unemployment, it has not automatically driven the Eurozone towards the establishment of an "optimal currency area". The imbalance still exists or even becomes worsened, but it is now manifested in the divergence of the other indicators such as labor productivity and current account balance, which has been exposed recently in the international financial crisis. Given the consensus on further advancing economic integration and the reality of the high degree of its economic integration, the EU has been focusing on the specific problems and institutional loopholes that caused the economic crisis directly and directing its regulation mode to match its economic accumulation regime, in order to maintain the macroeconomic stability of the Eurozone. During the process, the EU inadvertently introduced common bonds and fiscal transfer payment instrument, the two basic elements of a fiscal union, which has, as a result, initiated the process of EU fiscal integration and brought the Eurozone a breakthrough towards an "optimal currency area". Therefore, the Eurozone's practice provides an alternative perspective for us to explain the "endogenous" hypothesis of optimal currency areas.

The EU's Trade Policy towards Africa in the 21st Century: A Project towards Mutual-equality?

JIAN Junbo

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the key to the EU's trade policy towards Africa has transformed from the Lomé Agreement to the Cotonou Agreement and then to the Post-Cotonou Agreement. In short, through the Cotonou Agreement in lieu of the expired Lomé Agreement in 2000, the EU tried to change its unilateral preferential trade relations with Africa and establish a complete "equal" partnership with the latte in place of the former "aider-recipient" one, in which the core project is to promote the negotiation and signing of the "economic partnership agreement" (EPA) with Africa. The "Post-Cotonou Agreement" generally inherits such kind of economic policy. However, the adjustment of the EU' s trade policy towards Africa in the past 20 years, which is aimed at realizing a "equal" relationship, may bring potentially negative impacts on Africa, including harming its initial industrialization, undermining its financial resources and social governance capacity, affecting its economic integration and damaging the African countries' diversification of foreign relationships, which will ultimately deepen Africa's economic and political dependence on the EU. Therefore, instead of realizing an equal partnership based on the liberalization of their economic relations, the EU's adjustment of its African trade policy may make its relationship with Africa more unequal. In view of this situation, it is necessary for Africa to deepen comprehensive relations with the emerging economies such as China and strengthen its capability of negotiation and communication with the EU in order to get rid of its dependence on the EU as much as possible.

106 Status Seeking, Role Construction and the Adjustment of British Foreign Policy after Brexit

SUN Zhiqiang ZHANG Yunling

A state's status—seeking behavior will lead to the adjustment of its foreign policy. It means that within the international system with hierarchical characteristics, a state will seek appropriate status according to its own strength and the objective environment. After a state has ascertained its status, it will fix the corresponding role and perform accordingly in front of the international and domestic audiences. The role—playing process of a state is the one during which it chooses and adjusts its foreign policy. The whole transmission chain from status seeking to role construction and then to foreign policy adjustment is a logical self—consistent

process of the state's foreign behavior in the context of its interaction with the international and domestic audiences. This paper constructs an overall interpretation framework and intends to explain the function and transmission mechanisms governing the relationships between a state's status seeking, role construction and foreign policy adjustment. According to this framework, the UK seeks the status of a global power after Brexit, and mainly plays the role of a loyal ally to the United States, a regional partner of the European Union, a global trading state, a coordinator of the Anglosphere, the leader of the Commonwealth, and the defender of democratic values, which brings about significant adjustments to its foreign policy.

135 France's Vision for a New European Nuclear Deterrence Policy

ZHOU Shun HE Qisong

In order to enhance European security, strengthen the European pillar of the NATO, and highlight France's leadership in Europe, France has repeatedly proposed the idea of European nuclear deterrence policy, which failed ultimately. During the Trump administration, the US-Europe relations have undergone major adjustments, and Europe has become more skeptical of the determination and sincerity of the United States and NATO to protect Europe. The withdrawal of the US and Russia from bilateral arms control treaties has brought Europe back to the forefront of the US-Russia nuclear standoff. In this context, French President Macron put forward France's vision for a new European nuclear deterrence policy, hoping to conduct strategic dialogues and joint nuclear exercises with European partners in order to foster a common nuclear strategic culture and advance the European nuclear deterrence process. But the response from the other European countries has been extremely cautious. The prevailing anti-nuclear stance in Europe is a "roadblock" to France's vision of a European nuclear deterrence policy. The 2022 Russia-Ukraine conflict presents both challenges and opportunities for France and Europe to rethink European nuclear deterrence.

ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

158 Conference on "European Economic Situation and Its Future in the Context of Russia-Ukraine Conflict"

SUN Yawen SUN Yanhong

中文核心期刊 中国人文社会科学核心期刊 中文社会科学引文索引(CSSCI)来源期刊

新洲格克 双月刊 (1983年创刊)

CHINESE JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

主管单位:中国社会科学院

主办单位: 中国社会科学院欧洲研究所

主 编: 冯仲平

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

刊 号: ISSN 1004 - 9789

CN 11 - 4899/C

国内发行: 社会科学文献出版社(邮发代号: 82-165)

国外发行:中国国际图书贸易集团有限公司

国外代号: BM 890

出 版: 社会科学文献出版社

印 刷:三河市龙林印务有限公司

ISSN 1004-9789



定价: 40.00 元