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InBev-Baillet Latour Chair of EU-China Relations, College of Europe,  
Department of EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies, Dijver 11,  
BE-8000 Bruges, Fax +32-50-477250, [www.coleurope.eu](http://www.coleurope.eu)

Editorial board:

Professor Jing Men: [jing.men@coleurope.eu](mailto:jing.men@coleurope.eu), Tel. +32-50-477258

Veronika Orbetsova: [veronika.orbetsova@coleurope.eu](mailto:veronika.orbetsova@coleurope.eu), Tel. +32-50-477257

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**InBev-Baillet Latour Chair of  
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VISION**

Ambassador Viorel Isticioaia Budura \*

The recent three years have vividly shown the growing significance of the EU-China partnership as one of the most important in the world today and have highlighted our unprecedented level of interdependence. Expanded cooperation and interaction in dealing with the challenges they face proved that the EU and China can be part of their respective solutions, and indicated that internal developments in the EU or in China have a direct bearing on the interests of the other.

In retrospect, it can be assessed that the bilateral relation has come a long way since the first EC-China Trade and Co-operation Agreement was signed in 1985 and since the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership was agreed in 2003.

At the same time, the expectations are higher from both sides and there is a strong willingness to explore ways to take advantage of the partnership's full potential and strengthen it by addressing the key political, economic and trade-related priorities together.

***Relationship taken forward in important areas***

In a process fully reflecting the scope of the interdependence and interaction between European and Chinese economies and interests and as a result of increasing engagement, the recent years have witnessed the establishment of the three major pillars<sup>1</sup> of the Strategic Partnership.

The high level political dialogue continues to play a leading role in the complex process of the agenda setting and in providing overall guidance for the relationship: the 13<sup>th</sup> EU-China Summit in 2010 (the first post-Lisbon Summit with China) was followed by a series of meaningful political contacts – the official visit of President Van Rompuy in May 2011, and the 14<sup>th</sup> EU-China Summit in Beijing in February 2012. Three key catchwords emerged from the discussions – interdependence, confidence and cooperation – which were incorporated into the main agreements.

In September this year, President of the European Council Van Rompuy and President of the European Commission Barroso welcomed Prime Minister Wen Jiabao who travelled to Brussels to attend the 15<sup>th</sup> EU-China Summit, despite the preparations for the leadership change in China. This was perceived as a powerful expression of the great importance that China attaches to its relations with the EU.

Both Summits held this year provided unmatched opportunities for dense and constructive discussions covering the strategic partnership as well

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\*Ambassador Viorel Isticioaia Budura is the Managing Director for Asia and Pacific at the European External Action Service (EEAS).

<sup>1</sup> The three pillars refer to political, economic and trade, as well as people-to-people contacts.

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as domestic, economic and international issues of mutual interest, and represented further consolidation of the foundation of bilateral relations.

The three rounds of High Level Strategic Dialogues, held annually since 2010 by HRVP Catherine Ashton and State Counsellor Dai Bingguo, generated a direct contribution to the political pillar, and played a distinct role in setting the foreign policy agenda of mutual interest and promoting consultations and a more coordinated approach on international peace and security.

The rapid development of EU-China trade and economic relations speaks volumes about the shared economic interests as they are embodied in the second pillar of the Strategic Partnership which offers a platform for the High-Level Economic and Trade Dialogue. The economic and financial crises highlight the great degree of interdependence between the EU and China which goes beyond trade-related areas and reflects the expansion of common interests. This is proven by more than fifty ongoing dialogues held at different levels, offering opportunities to tackle issues ranging from taxation and fishery to environment and climate change.

In bilateral and public settings, China constantly expresses a clear message of support for European integration and of confidence in the EU's capacity to efficiently address the sovereign debt crisis. Deeply aware of the convergent interests, China made contributions to support the stability of the EU markets and of the euro.

Other important steps taken this year include the launching of the Partnership on Sustainable Urbanisation and High-Level Energy Conference during a visit to Brussels by Vice Premier Li Keqiang in May 2012. The two sides agreed to develop projects with a wide coverage which would allow the European and Chinese partners to identify and channel common ideas from various areas into joint actions. In the meantime, the first steps were taken in setting a dialogue on cyber issues and towards an investment agreement.

It is worth mentioning the common focus on exploring the synergies identified in the EU's 2020 Strategy and China's 12th Five Year Plan. The two frameworks outline development strategies with broadly similar ideas and policies and with emphasis on a more qualitative growth and on energy efficiency technologies.

The third pillar of the EU-China Strategic Partnership was set up this year, fully taking into account the strong need to foster better understanding and the convergence of views on joint challenges. The 14<sup>th</sup> Summit in February this year demonstrated the mutual commitment for a consolidated, coherent and long-term positive engagement and decided to establish the High-Level Dialogue on People-to-People Exchanges, launched in April 2012.

The abovementioned developments obviously outline a wider bilateral agenda and signal an opportunity to open a new chapter in the EU-China relationship, to be shaped and written in cooperation with the incoming new generation of Chinese leaders. The EU and China will need to continue focusing on the pursuit of their mutual interests and benefits, while addressing the existing 'irritants' and concerns.

In the framework of bilateral dialogues, it is constantly acknowledged that, in important areas including human rights, arms embargo, and market economy status for China, the two sides have different views and there are

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gaps in perception. The focus on a positive agenda has helped avoid the negative impact on the promotion of shared interests. Both sides agreed, as mature partners, to address these issues with a view to narrow their differences, in the spirit of mutual respect, and to seek ways of building mutual confidence.

***Meaningful institutional developments – stronger focus on China***

On both sides, political and bureaucratic cooperation mechanisms at various levels are now part of an institutional routine, encompassing a whole range of governance-related policy areas. Against the background of rapidly evolving EU-China relations, it is worth noting that the role assumed by High Representative Catherine Ashton, the establishment of the EEAS and its full functioning, have allowed the implementation of a better coordinated and more consistent EU policy towards China.

The closer consultation and cooperation between the European Parliament, the EU Member States, and various services of the European Commission make it possible for these institutions to reach a substantial balance in the advancement of EU-China relations. The wide range of changes both inside the EU and China and in the world calls for a reorientation of the relationship, based on the ideas developed in successive discussions at the EU level on Strategic Partners Concept since 2010. In a very timely manner, on 19 October this year, the European Council discussed EU-China relations and, as reported to the media by President Herman Van Rompuy, looked at the long term partnership and “exchanged views on how to engage constructively with the new Chinese Leadership”.

***EU-China in a fast changing world***

In a shifting international environment with an accelerated pace of change, the EU and China are legitimate and credible partners. The political consultations during the Summits and the High Level Strategic Dialogue have secured an active and forward-looking bilateral engagement in the foreign affairs realm. The EU acknowledged China's increased influence as a player in economic and trade issues and as a partner in diplomatic and security affairs, which can play an important role in rebalancing international financial flows and in the emerging Asian regional architecture.

Meaningful examples of substantial diplomatic and operational engagement (such as the cooperation in fighting against piracy in Atalanta Operation or in the negotiations on the Iran nuclear programme) prove that there is scope for working together further in areas such as conflict prevention, non-proliferation, energy security, and cyber security. The two sides advanced the coordination in some multilateral frameworks by discussing the G20 governance and the follow-up to Los Cabos, climate change as well as the outcomes of Rio+20. We consult and cooperate more on regional issues, concerning, for example, North Africa or the Middle East.

Given the EU's more visible and active presence in Asia, the bilateral dialogue and cooperation with China are now substantially enhanced on issues of common interest such as regional security and stability, making use of multilateral settings such as ASEAN Regional Forum and supporting the

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dynamic and open character of the East Asian Architecture. In its successful accession to the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, the EU benefited from China's support and we look forward to a similar positive approach regarding the EU's future participation in the East Asia Summit.

The 9<sup>th</sup> Asia-Europe Summit, taking place in Laos in early November, has a broad agenda for discussions on regional and international affairs and may provide a relevant platform for further dialogue and cooperation between China and the EU and EU Member States. The focus on future Europe-Asia cooperation will allow us to work together towards global economic and financial stability in support of growth and restoring global confidence.

**Conclusion**

As we move towards the end of another year for EU-China bilateral relations, I am very much inclined to think that beyond the official discourse, the EU and EU Member States, the Chinese leaders and the Chinese people have acquired a deeper understanding of the need to further explore the real meaning of what we call the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership.

In doing so, at this important stage in our relationship and facing the multiple challenges in a changing world, it would be a rewarding endeavour to try to reach out and benefit from the experience and the knowledge amassed in various parts of our societies, in business communities and professional organisations, in think-tanks and universities. All these potential stakeholders can join us in building stronger and wider channels of cooperation and in pursuing an ambitious and positive approach to the future of the EU-China Strategic Partnership as a way to achieve shared prosperity and progress.



## THE EU-CHINA PARTNERSHIP ON URBANISATION: A NEW PATH FOR COOPERATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Alexandra Sombsthay\*

Cities, for better or for worse, have been deeply involved in developing the main characteristics of civilisation – literacy, government, high art, commerce and technology. Urban areas have been focal points for action and ideas, and gateways for trade and migration: the future of humanity is urban.

The first wave of urbanisation took place in North America and Europe over the course of two centuries, seeing urban areas increase from 10 to 52 percent, and the urban population increase from 15 to 423 million.

The huge growth of urban population in the developing world is part of a second wave of demographic, economic and urban transitions, much bigger and faster than the first. Developing countries will have 80 per cent of the world's urban population by 2030. By then, almost seven out of every ten urban inhabitants in the world will live in Africa and in Asia.

### ***China is leading the race, by far.***

Initially, urbanisation was praised for the benefits it created for the citizens. People tend to go where jobs are created, and jobs follow investment and economic activities.

We now witness increasing difficulties to meet the demands of the growing population, especially in developing countries. It must be acknowledged that the benefits of urbanisation are not equally enjoyed by all segments of the population. Those who traditionally face social and economic exclusion – women and ethnic minorities, for example – are left out. Equally, our immediate environment is suffering from the increasing pressure of urban areas. Given the rapid development of urbanisation, we have little time to take the right decisions. Cities are where solutions must be found, as only local stakeholders will be in an adequate position to make the right choice.

The accelerating urbanisation is a significant development in China. It has huge impact on millions of Chinese people who continue to be attracted by the opportunities and lifestyles in big cities. Urbanisation in China has also affected Europe due to the unsustainability of rapidly increasing energy demands.

Urbanisation has become so important in China's internal debate that the 12<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan (FYP) has dedicated a stand-alone chapter to urbanisation challenges. Today, Chinese officials acknowledge that the assumptions laid out in the 12<sup>th</sup> FYP are already outdated, since the symbolic 50 percent threshold of urban citizens has already been crossed in 2011, three years ahead of the foreseen date.

China's main urbanisation challenges can be outlined in five areas:

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\* Mrs Alexandra Sombsthay is a Policy Officer of DG Energy, European Commission.



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- urban agglomeration (the creation of medium-sized cities surrounding bigger cities, rural desertification problems and the abandonment of farmland),
- migration from rural areas to the cities, affecting one third of the urban population, who do not have access to social benefits, health care, education and vocational training,
- appropriate urban infrastructures for energy, transportation, communication, waste and sanitation, building design, and green technology,
- delivery of efficient and affordable public services in the urban settings, and
- adequate city management, including financial sustainability, urban sustainability, low-carbon strategies, and ICT city management.

These challenging goals drive the EU and China to jointly develop adequate solutions and create new opportunities for political and commercial cooperation.

Improvements in the functionality and attractiveness of Chinese cities, together with more efficient use of energy in urban settings, are common goals for both parties. Furthermore, the volume and innovative nature of the urban investments that are necessary to achieve China's urbanisation objectives make this area a highly interesting emerging market.

On 14 February 2012, at the 14<sup>th</sup> EU-China Summit held in Beijing, leaders from both sides endorsed the EU-China Partnership on Sustainable Urbanisation. Several months later, the Declaration setting up the Partnership was signed in Brussels on 3 May, on the occasion of Chinese Vice Premier Li Keqiang's visit to President Barroso. The Partnership is an overarching instrument, which is conceived to support China and the EU to achieve the above mentioned objectives. It is not intended to start anew, but to build on existing and planned cooperation activities, while fostering new developments and realising synergies and extra added value. It will be steered through an annual Urbanisation Forum, which will report to the annual EU-China Summit. The endorsement and support granted at central government level will empower China's national bodies, cities, regions and business representatives to engage with partners in the EU.

China has huge investment requirements in local infrastructure and social services. But above all, China is developing a long-term vision for its new and existing cities. The European model of dense cities, which is less demanding in terms of use of natural resources, and is well-organised to support economic activity and quality of life, has been widely recognised by Chinese experts as preferable to the sprawling conurbations found in other parts of the world.

The Partnership aims at sharing with local Chinese stakeholders the rationale behind the development of our cities, the technological and governance infrastructures that allow them to function, and the experiences of our process of urbanisation.



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### ***Concretely, how is the Partnership expected to work?***

The Partnership is led by the European Commission on the EU side and by the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) on the Chinese side. On the EU side, participation from the EU Member States, EU institutions, local stakeholders, research community and private enterprises is encouraged. On the Chinese side, participation from the following ministries has been agreed upon: Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural development (MoHURD), Ministry of Commerce (MofCom), Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT), Ministry of Science and Technology (MoST), the Ministry of Environment Protection, the National Natural Science Foundation of China (NSFC) and State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council (SASAC), as well as participation from the China Association of Mayors.

A Secretariat of the Partnership will be created in Beijing to steer the day-to-day activities, while the European Commission is about to launch a tender (EC-LINK) that will support relevant activities.

### ***Which projects are already in the pipeline?***

Since the signature of the Declaration, projects have been flourishing at all levels. At the EU Member States' level, several initiatives are already contributing to the Partnership including the ones driven by Germany and France.

On the research side, several projects are building up the Science and Technology (S&T) pillar of the Partnership, notably the project URBACHINA – "Sustainable Urbanisation in China: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, Mega-trends towards 2050". URBACHINA is managed by a consortium of 11 leading Chinese and European research institutions (project funded under FP7). It focuses on the analysis of China's urbanisation trends and on the definition of possible future scenarios with reference to concepts of sustainability. The first Sino-European Scientific Conference on Urbanisation will be held in Beijing in the first quarter of 2013.

Private initiatives led by EU and Chinese businesses are getting formally recognised. The most striking example is, without a doubt, the Sustainable Urbanisation Park (SUP), a project supported by the EU Chamber of Commerce in Beijing. It will showcase the application of European and Chinese products and designs in order to promote and encourage further advancements towards sustainable urbanisation. In early October 2012, it won the Golden Awards for Planning in the "12th Chinese Habitat Classic Architectural Planning & Design Program Award Contest", promoted by China Academy of Architects (affiliated to Ministry of Housing and Urban Rural Development), amidst 700 competitors demonstrating the relevance of EU-China cooperation.

On the political side, the holding of the first EU-China Mayors Forum in Brussels on 19-20 September was an important milestone: it gathered more than 600 participants including 28 European and Chinese Mayors, representatives of 50 other cities and regions, and many more stakeholders and individual experts, for a two-day exchange on the challenges and opportunities for cooperation in sustainable urban development. Qiu Baoxing,

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Vice-Minister for Housing and Urban-Rural Development, stated that China is to invest more than 10 trillion RMB (circa 1 trillion EUR) in green transport connecting smaller-sized cities, in public welfare and social protection (including green social housing), in resilience of cities and disaster management, highlighting the accuracy of the EU-China Partnership on Urbanisation. Besides, the Ministry of Housing informed that it is currently planning to develop more than 100 greenfield 'satellite eco-cities', with more than 250,000 people in each.

At the Forum, Fourteen Chinese Mayors signed the "EU-China Mayors Charter" with an equivalent number of EU counterparts. This is a breakthrough that paves the way for more Chinese cities to join the Charter in the close future and interact directly with their local European counterparts.

Last but not least, it is important to mention that the College of Europe is currently entering into a discussion with the China Academy of Governance to set up a training program for Mayors and Executive officers in municipalities. This program, backed by two major academic institutions, is to provide the policy decision-makers with the appropriate tools to deepen mutual understanding.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, it is fair to stress the EU-China Partnership on Sustainable Urbanisation as a genuine living instrument which aims at supporting cities' transition towards a sustainable path. The Partnership benefits from the formal political support from both sides at the highest level, enabling the business as well as the research community to make the best use of it. It has already, in just a few months' time, demonstrated its capacity to generate mutually beneficial cooperation projects, targeting the inhabitants of the cities.



## BOOK REVIEW

**Li Zhang, *News Media and EU-China Relations*, Palgrave  
Macmillan series in International Political Communication,  
230 pg., Hardback**

Veronika Orbetsova \*

In the era of globalisation where international order and foreign relations are no longer uniquely determined by 'hard power' and where governments are but one of the international actors, perceptions and those who are able to influence them play a crucial role in internal affairs, external relations and even world governance. A country's image and 'soft power' in general do indeed matter for its relations on bilateral, regional and multilateral levels. In this context, media, and more specifically news media, is not merely a vehicle of 'soft power' but rather a salient factor influencing external relations and actively participating in the construction of perceptions. If one aims at a deeper understanding of the relationship between partners who are geographically, culturally and politically far from each other such as the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the European Union (EU), it is indispensable to examine how news media and foreign policy interact with each other.

In her book, Li Zhang offers an interesting analysis of the EU-PRC relationship in the post-Cold War era, seen through the prism of the interconnections between news media and external policy. The book explores the different links that exist between the concepts of 'soft power', 'country branding' and media coverage while examining the existing research on media-policy interconnections in international relations. Li Zhang conducts her study both at a 'macro' level, dealing with overall external policy, and at a 'micro' level, concentrating on a specific field of EU-PRC relations: human rights.

Zhang represents the changing image of the PRC in the EU through a chronological approach which allows her to assess the thematic shift in the news stories. Thus the image of a problematic China where human rights are systematically violated and society is collapsing is replaced by the image of an economically prosperous country. The analysis of the EU news coverage of the major Chinese newspaper, the People's Daily, leads her to the conclusion that the EU is represented in a threefold manner as an integrated power (with a lot of emphasis being put on political integration), a comprehensive partner and a global actor.

In an original way, Zhang's work combines an empirical study, based on interviews with relevant stakeholders (officials and journalists from both

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\* Veronika Orbetsova is the Research Assistant for the InBev-Baillet Latour Chair of European Union-China Relations at the College of Europe since August 2012.

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sides), and a theoretical discussion of two opposite hypotheses on the media-foreign policy relationship: the 'CNN effect' and the 'indexing hypothesis'. The former holds that the decision-making process in the external policy agenda and the changing 'country brand' are driven by media coverage, whereas the latter argues that government policy shapes media coverage and the changing country images are driven by major developments in the EU-PRC partnership. After a detailed investigation at both macro- and micro-levels, Li Zhang concludes that her empirical studies have proved the 'CNN effect' applicable to the interaction at the macro-level between the EU media and the EU external policy-making whereas the 'indexing hypothesis' is more adapted to both the media-foreign policy relationship in the PRC (even though Chinese media has relatively more autonomy when reporting about the EU) and to the micro-level in the EU.

In the eyes of the reviewer, several remarks and concerns on the conduct of the empirical research remain.

One may argue that the conclusions concerning the interactions between European media and EU policy towards the PRC represent only partial reality since the news media horizon in the EU is very large. The focus on three newspapers (The Financial Times, The International Herald Tribune and The Economist), which are all edited in English and concentrate mainly on economic issues, draws an incomplete picture of the EU-PRC partnership in its bilateral and multilateral aspects. The decision-making process on foreign policy in the EU is very complex as it involves actors at different levels and is constantly readapting. One of the main drivers of its transformation is the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) which resulted not only in a reshuffle of responsibilities between different EU institutions, but also in a gradual transfer of competences from the Member States (MS) to the EEAS (and different Directorates General in the European Commission). However, treating these on-going processes as if they are already completed may lead to inaccurate assumptions: the EU is not homogeneous; it is composed of the MS, the interests of which are not always convergent. The PRC is very well aware of the challenges facing European integration and has been adapting its foreign policy accordingly. The country-image and perceptions of individual MS in Chinese media do differ as they also depend on the bilateral relationship between the given MS and the PRC. Nor are they identical with the perceptions of the EU as a whole but they do interfere with the latter. Thus, it is important to consider the EU both as a whole unified block and as an assembly of MS.

Furthermore, not only officials in the MS, but also EU officials have received information and continue consulting major national news media, which undeniably participate in the construction of an image of the PRC. It is therefore, in the opinion of the reviewer, insufficient to argue that the study of the three above quoted newspapers is representative and allows conclusions to be drawn with regards to the influence and image-building power of European news media.

As Zhang clarifies from the very beginning, the study focuses on three of the twelve possible interactions between the four actors: EU media, PRC media, EU institutions, PRC government. Thus, interesting interactions such as

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the PRC state-media relations or the interaction between Chinese and European media are to be further explored.

As a whole, this book makes a great contribution not only to the study of the development of the EU-PRC relationship, but also to the overall understanding of the models of interrelations between news media and policy-making. Li Zhang has indeed done valuable research on the news coverage of the PRC in the EU and the vice versa. The opaque nature of the decision-making process in the PRC and the close connections between news media and government structures in the PRC make detailed study of EU's representations of and policy towards the PRC even more worthwhile.



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## EU-CHINA RELATIONS IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

On 26 October 2012, the InBev-Baillet Latour Chair for European Union-China Relations at the College of Europe in Bruges, together with the King's College in London, organised a one-day workshop on "EU-China Relations in a Globalised World". The workshop gathered experts and scholars from academia and research institutes as well as policy-makers.

The workshop, hosted by Prof. Men Jing and Dr. Ramon Pacheco-Pardo, was very well received by the participants who engaged in a lively debate. Three panels were organised to discuss in detail the following topics: "EU-China bilateral relations"; "the EU, China and multilateral governance"; "the EU, China and the world".

In order to provide the reader with a better idea of the workshop, we have summarised the speeches in accordance with the order of presentation.

### **First Panel: EU-China Bilateral Relations**

Prof. Yongjin Zhang started the workshop by presenting his paper on "Culture, Knowledge and Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sino-European relations – Reflections on the Legacies of Matteo Ricci". Prof. Zhang underlined the importance of getting back to Matteo Ricci, one of the pioneers of the encounters between Europe and China, because he changed the way Europeans and Chinese perceived the world. In times when nations collapsed and wars ravaged Europe, Ricci argued that notwithstanding the distance, "similarities are very great". While challenging Eurocentrism, he explained that knowledge is enhanced by both transmission and exchange. Ricci's efforts were aimed at forging friendship which would then lead to mutual recognition of values. Prof. Zhang argued that Matteo Ricci and the Jesuits pioneered the people-to-people exchanges. Prof. Zhang concluded that contemporary EU-China relations are a continuation of what Matteo Ricci initiated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Dr. David Scott examined the EU-China Strategic Partnership by discussing the trust, dialogue and structures in the bilateral relationship. Dr. Scott indicated that since the establishment of the Strategic Partnership between the EU and China, the High-level Strategic Dialogue (2005), the High-level Economic and Trade Dialogue (2008) and the High-level People-to-People Dialogue (2012) were launched. However, articles in the *People's Daily* stress the 'trust deficit' in the EU-China relationship. Furthermore, according to the Pew Global Attitudes Project global survey (PGAS), the image of China in the EU, on average, deteriorated in 2012. The same survey showed that in 2012 China viewed the USA more favourably than the EU.



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According to Dr. Scott, China considers the EU to be applying double standards to its country: while the EU appears to be hoping for financial assistance and is engaging in a strategic partnership, it is simultaneously exercising an arms embargo and interfering in Chinese internal policy. Moreover, Dr. Scott suggested that the establishment of the Secretariat for Cooperation between China and Central and Eastern Europe might point to a degree of irrelevance of the EU and thus pose a danger to the EU-China relationship. Dr. Scott held that with regards to the future of EU-China relations, not much should be expected from the Strategic Dialogue or in the field of human rights. The Economic and Trade Dialogue needs to be further explored and cooperation on environmental issues to be pushed on bilateral and at international levels. He concluded by stating that the People-to-People Dialogue needs to be solidified in terms of impact and legacy.

Prof. Mike Smith tackled the EU-China economic relations and the limits of economic diplomacy. He pointed out that the latter is a predominant feature of EU-China relations, covering over 75% of interactions, but that the EU-China relationship of economic interdependence is based on asymmetry. Prof. Smith emphasised the need to frame economic diplomacy (including deliberation, representation, communication, negotiation, feedback, adjustment and learning) by studying the process of implementation in Brussels and in Beijing. The EU seems to be having an existential crisis, its credibility as an interlocutor of China being at stake. The EU's economic diplomacy faces difficulties as Member States have diverging interests, inter-institutional struggles between DG TRADE and the EEAS persist and the interests of public and private sectors do not coincide. According to Prof. Smith, the EU has to reconcile different aims of economic diplomacy: defending EU interests and promoting EU actorness and legitimacy while containing rising powers and contributing to global and regional governance.

The EU-China partnership in climate change was closely examined by Prof. Jing Men. The partnership enhances common multilateral objectives which in turn have benefited the global combat against climate change. It is a means to increase cooperation, complementarity and consensus in environmental negotiations. The partnership also helps indirectly readjust China's position on climate change. Prof. Men pointed out that several dialogues are related to the efforts to limit climate change: the Energy Dialogue (1994), the Dialogue on Environmental Issues (1996) and the EU-China Partnership on Climate Change (2005). The EU and China signed a Joint Declaration on Climate Change – although differences remain, in particular concerning targets and responsibilities. China defends the idea of common but differentiated responsibility as well as flexible and non-binding targets at an international level. Prof. Men mentioned the 2008 EU decision to implement the ETS system on aviation and explained that this met strong opposition from China. The latter interprets the action as an EU attempt to unilaterally impose a framework and thus make a decision on who is to pay for climate change. Prof. Men further noted that China expected to be well received at the Conference in Copenhagen, but the lack of preparation and experience in climate change negotiations had the opposite effect. Since



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then the Chinese negotiating method has significantly improved and even though China's position has not changed dramatically, the Chinese have learned to be more cooperative and less confrontational. Prof. Men concluded by arguing that despite differences the partnership on climate change remains a very important initiative and a mechanism which helps promote bilateral cooperation.

***Second Panel: the EU, China and Multilateral Governance: Seeing Eye to Eye?***

Dr. Ramon Pacheco-Pardo looked into the EU-China relations on financial governance. If before the crisis the EU prioritised self-regulation and free operations on the market, after the crisis the EU puts more emphasis on stability and coordination. In China stability continues to be the principle of domestic financial governance but the norms of governance have changed with the crisis – market operations are freer, many licences are given to companies to operate on the Chinese market. Dr. Pacheco-Pardo remarked that in the pre-crisis period the framework of global financial governance was mainly set by the EU and the USA. China started getting involved after the Asian crisis of 1997 and is now actively participating through the G20 and other financial institutions. In 2009 China joined the Basel Committee on banking supervision. The EU-China financial cooperation, Dr. Pacheco-Pardo explained, is regulated by the EU-China Economic and Trade Dialogue and a number of sectorial dialogues. The EU and China started negotiating a Bilateral Investment Agreement which aims at guaranteeing equal access of European firms to the Chinese market. Lastly, Dr. Pacheco-Pardo summarised that the EU and China converge in their preference for stability and regulations at a global level. He, however, stressed that divergences persist: China is rather reluctant to involve the private sector.

Dr. David Kerr and Xu Yanzhou jointly presented their paper entitled, "Europe, China and Security: Is there Evidence of Normative Convergence?". Dr. Kerr explained that the security interdependence between China and the EU has risen dramatically. Both China and the EU favour resolution of disputes by measures short of force but they continue to differ on norms. The two case studies of international conflicts, on Sudan and South-Sudan and on the Iranian nuclear programme, allowed Dr. Kerr and Ms. Xu to draw relevant conclusions on the perceptions of international responsibility to intervene, appropriate response to a security crisis and acceptable degree of intervention. Ms. Xu noted that China has its own interpretation of international responsibility which depends on an instrumental calculation of political and economic national interests but also takes into account China's ambition to become a regional leader. Dr. Kerr further added that China's decision to interfere depends on the endorsement of intervention by regional and international organisations such as the UN, the African Union or the IAEA; the degree of convergence of Chinese and EU interests; and China's strategic policy of 'triangularisation' or balancing between Russia and the USA. China never exercised a veto if Russia was not going to do so, Dr. Kerr underlined.

Rod Wye focused on respect, trust and normalcy in the EU-China relationship and their interactions in international institutions. Mr. Wye noted

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that China was not completely involved in setting up the international institutions; the country has become a more responsible global player and has started developing its own parallel set of institutions in East Asia. According to Mr Wye, the EU and the West should be ready to concede more to China. He further stressed that since Europe is miles away from China and values and norms differ considerably, political trust and normalcy are even more necessary. "Our challenge is to treat China as a more normal partner," he stated. Mr. Wye, however, commented that questions on how to deal with norm-breakers in international organisations remain unanswered.

***Third Panel: the EU, China and the World: Cooperation or Competition?***

Dr. Patryk Pawlak focused on the implications of the EU-China relations for network diplomacy in the Asia Pacific. Dr. Pawlak developed his analysis of the EU-China relations around the concepts of 'network power' and 'network diplomacy'. According to Dr. Pawlak, the concept of 'network diplomacy' is very useful to analyse situations where both competition and cooperation pre-exist. EU-China relations represent such a case since trade relations between the two parties are well developed and at the same time competition exists. Dr. Pawlak explained that the EU has developed a network of free trade agreements with countries in Asia. China is not lagging behind and is better rooted in the region than we would think, he added. China has established different bilateral and regional free trade agreements with countries in East Asia, offering support and assistance without preconditions. Dr. Pawlak warned that the EU should be ready to address negative externalities. He, however, suggested that this situation offers the EU an opportunity to become a balancing power in the region and to support ASEAN countries in working with China. In this way the EU could contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the region.

The Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership was examined by Dr. Gonzalo Pozo-Martin through the prism of the shift in international relations. The EU-Russia strategic partnership was proclaimed in April 1996, one of its main goals being economic integration. In 2001 China and Russia signed the Treaty of Good-Neighbourliness and Friendly cooperation. Dr. Pozo-Martin explained that the Sino-Russian relationship has been deepening hand in hand with the rise of China, but he further questioned the depth of these relations. As Dr. Pozo-Martin remarked, Russia has a very weak hand compared to China and Russia's foreign policy-making towards China is led by the fear of becoming the junior partner. Chinese companies favour integration of the energy market and they are very keen on buying from Russian authorities, whereas Russia sees trade and economic relations and energy policy as a way to develop its own political autonomy. Dr. Pozo-Martin concluded by arguing that it is rather unlikely that the EU is going to play a role as a coordinator of the Russia-China relationship.

The last paper of the conference, presented by Dr. Christopher Alden and Laura Barber, examined the trilateral relationship between China, Europe and Africa. Dr. Alden noted that China has laid a strong infrastructure in Africa where traditionally the EU has a strong influence. The EU's ambitions to leverage cooperation with China and make sure that China will be sacralised

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to the practice of development aid in Africa led to the establishment of a trilateral EU, China and Africa dialogue and cooperation partnership in 2008. However, limitations exist to the EU-China initiatives to foster African development as they undermine one of the key principles of development policy - African ownership. Dr. Alden clarified that during the economic crisis China accelerated its loans to Africa, becoming one of the main economic leaders on the ground. China presented its financial support based on mutual benefits and partnership, rather than on what is considered as being an asymmetrical donor-recipient approach. According to Dr. Alden, there is resistance by both Africa and China to the trilateral cooperation. He further argued that if there is convergence of practices, it is the EU that converges towards Chinese practices in Africa. This is why infrastructure is more and more a part of the EU-African relationship.

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## CALL FOR PAPERS

## THE EU AND THE EMERGING POWERS

The Center for European Studies of the Université catholique de Louvain, the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies of the University of Leuven, the College of Europe, the Department of Political Sciences of Ghent University, the Department of Political Science of the University of Liège, the Institute for European Studies of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, the Institute for European Studies of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, the Institute for European studies of the Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis invite experts to contribute a paper focusing on the relations between the European Union and emerging powers with regard to different issues in economic, security, environmental and energy as well as human rights policy.

The papers will be presented at an International Conference that will take place at the European Parliament on 29 and 30 April 2013. **Deadline for Submission of Paper Proposals: 15 November 2012**

***Proposed Paper Topics***

The following is a tentative list of subjects on which we solicit papers:

- Economy and development: papers on global economic governance should cover EU relations within a multi-polar global trading and financial system as well as the adaptation of EU development policies to this new context. They will cover issues such as trade and development policies in the EU and emerging powers, the role of the EU and emerging powers in the post-Doha WTO, the economic diplomacy of the EU vis-à-vis emerging powers, or the reform of international monetary and financial system seen by the EU and the various emerging powers.
- Environment and energy: papers will examine global governance issues on energy and the environment. They will analyse the differences and similarities between the EU and the emerging powers in their approaches to and positions on current environmental and energy problems, challenges for European climate and environmental diplomacy, the changes provoked by emerging powers and their effect on EU energy and environment policies, as well as prospects for future global environmental governance in the context of changing power equilibria.
- Security: papers will focus on global security, looking at how the rise of emerging powers affects the traditional European network of alliances (notably the transatlantic link), the strategies of the EU and largest EU Member States in the different regions of the world and at the global level.
- Human rights, democracy and rule of law: papers will focus on these three core values that are regularly discussed in international fora. They will address the soft power capacity of the EU to influence global

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governance on these issues and how this influence might be challenged or supported by emerging powers. They will also compare the European definitions and understanding of the rule of law, democracy and human rights with those of emerging powers and consider the impact of diverging considerations on bilateral and multilateral dialogues.

**Who can apply?**

Papers are solicited from experts from the academic world, the European institutions, ministries as well as policy analysts from think tanks and researchers from public or private research institutes. PhD students are also eligible to apply.

**Submission of proposals**

Proposals for papers should not exceed 300 words. They should be registered on the conference website: [http://www.iee-fusl.eu/emerging\\_powers.html](http://www.iee-fusl.eu/emerging_powers.html)

Deadline for proposal submissions: 15 November 2012.

The proposals will be reviewed and selected. Selection decisions will be made by 5 January 2013.

First full drafts of papers are to be delivered by 15 April 2013. Papers are expected to be between 8000-10000 words including references, excluding annexes.

**Conference**

The authors will be invited to present their paper at a conference at the European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium on 29 and 30 April 2013.

**Publication**

Some of the papers will be selected and published in edited volumes.

**Funding**

Limited funding will be provided to researchers who come from universities that cannot ensure financial support to their researchers.

**Project leaders**

Professor Dr. Jean-Christophe Defraigne, Professor of International Political Economy, Institute for European Studies of the Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis and Louvain School of Management.

Mr. Pierre Defraigne, Executive Director of the Madariaga-College of Europe Foundation, Brussels.

Professor Dr. Tom Delreux, Associate Professor of European Union Politics and Institutions, Center for European Studies, Université catholique de Louvain.

Professor Dr. Jing Men, InBev-Baillet-Latour Chair of European Union-China Relations, College of Europe, Bruges.

Professor Dr. Sebastian Oberthür, Academic Director of the Institute for European Studies, Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

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Professor Dr. Jan Orbie, Senior Lecturer and Co-Director of the Centre for European Studies, Ghent University.

Professor Dr. Sebastian Santander, Professor of International Relations and Director of the Political Science and International Relations unit, University of Liège.

Professor Dr. Mario Telo, Professor of Political Science and Vice-President of the Institute for European Studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles.

Professor Dr. Jan Wouters, Jean Monnet Chair EU and Global Governance, Professor of International Law and Law of International Organizations, Director of Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies and Director of Institute for International Law, University of Leuven.

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***Further inquiries***

[eu-emerging-powers-2013@fusl.ac.be](mailto:eu-emerging-powers-2013@fusl.ac.be)