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The European Union and China: Adversaries or Allies

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Abstract

Historically Europe and China have caused great changes in the world, both with and against each other. Should one look at the landscape of the world today, they would clearly see the influence of Europe and China. It is undeniable that these states have enormous potential, and will make a global difference in the near future. However their recently acquired Partnership lacks clarity on both sides despite its paramount importance.

The following is a study to answer the question “What is the Sino-EU relationship?” and “How will it affect the changing world?” Using an examination of their histories, perceptions, foreign policies, differences of concepts, and view of each other, this study will analyze the current situation and provide predictions for the coming years.

MUTUAL HISTORY

In order to understand the relevance of contemporary events, one must understand the social and political contexts of the past. This is a brief overview of the history that Europe and China have shared together. It begins with a look at the pre-modern history before communism. Then it shifts to the maturing relationship between Europe and China and finally it ends with more recent events.

Initial contact. European and Chinese relations commenced in the Ming dynasty. (1368-1644).¹ By this period, China had already interacted with other parts of the world. Buddhism and Islam were present during the Tang Dynasty, and foreigners were welcomed to the capital.² After a period of Isolation, China reopened to the world under the Manchu (1644-1912) and Western education, religion, and science was allowed.³ Europeans were allowed to trade in specific and predefined locations, including Canton, along the southern coast.⁴ Demand grew for silk and tea, and the Europeans wanted more locations to trade. Eventually, China allowed the outsiders to trade with more freedom once respects were paid. The abundance of natural resources led to a lack of demand from China. Most trades were conducted for silver and gold, until the British started bringing Opium.⁵

¹ Lam, Willy Wo. "Xi Jinping and the Closing of the Chinese Mind." In *Chinese Politics in the Era of Xi Jinping: Renaissance, Reform, or Retrogression ?* Routledge, 2015. P 72

² Ibid

³ "CHINA: The 1500's to the 1900's." FamousLives.com. Accessed October 24, 2015. <http://www.famouslives.com/china1500's-1900.html>.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

The Opium Wars (1839-60) were the initiation of the so called “Century of Humiliation for China.”⁶ The Chinese government banned it, but corruption was everywhere. One official eventually burned 20,000 cases in Canton in 1839.⁷ The British sent in military that would destroy its Chinese counterpart, and the Chinese yielded in three years.⁸ As a result, Britain acquired multiple foreign concessions including Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Nanking.⁹ The second war resulted in more treaty ports, extraterritoriality, economic control, and concessions from China.¹⁰

Late 1800s. This resulted in Chinese resentment of the West and the spurring of nationalism towards the late 1800s. The Society of the Righteous Fists was a nationalistic martial arts group that conducted attacks against Europeans, and eventually lost to them.¹¹ The resulting treaty, the Peace of Peking, was one of the Unequal Treaties that the West designed against China.¹²

Reform. The domination of the West led some Chinese to embrace European ideals, blended with their own culture.¹³ After losing to Japan, a country that had adopted the West, a movement was created that led to Emperor Guangxu’s Hundred Day Reform that centered on European norms.¹⁴ One follower was the future Republic of China leader, Sun Yat Sen.¹⁵

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

⁸ "China and the West: Imperialism, Opium, and Self-Strengthening (1800-1921)." Asia for Educators. 2009. Accessed November 20, 2015. http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/kpct/kp_imperialism.htm.

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ "CHINA: The 1500

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

¹³ Lam, P 72

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

The last mutual event before Communism's isolation was a reaction to the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty allowed Germany, a former ally, to claim Chinese territory taken by the Japanese.¹⁶ The May Fourth Movement was a youth political revolt that would lead to nationalism and communism.¹⁷

The Modern Era begins when members of Europe, including the United Kingdom and Denmark, commenced relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC).¹⁸ However at this point they were only 'distant neighbors.'¹⁹ China, wanting to rejoin the world, became increasingly interested in Europe during the 1970s.²⁰ Europe could be a buffer against the unfriendly Russia, and it would create a new market for all involved. In 1975, Christopher Soames, Vice President of the Commission of the EC went to China.²¹

The First Trade Agreement came in 1978 and was followed by a political dialogue, (1984) an Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation, (1985) an EU Representative in Beijing

¹⁶ "China in the 20th Century." *Kings College History Department*. Kings College, 2010. Web. 20 Oct. 2015.

¹⁷ Larus, Elizabeth Freund. *Politics and Society In Contemporary China*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012. P 32

¹⁸ Gill, Bates, and Melissa Murphy. "China-Europe Relations Implications and Policy Responses for the United States." 2008, 1-47. Accessed October 5, 2015. <http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/080507-gill-chinaeuropereleations-web.pdf>. P 17

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Bindi, Federiga. *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Ed. i ..* Washington: Brookings Institution, 2012. Print.P 281

²¹ Ibid

(1988) and Eventually the First Annual summit in 1998.²² These helped to initiate the periodic dialogues between each state.²³

Maturing Relations. The first document was a European Union (EU) paper called A Long Term Policy for China–Europe Relations (1995) and began conversations on some of their common interests, including” non-proliferation, environment, global economic stability”²⁴ After one more policy journal on China, the EU made “A Maturing Partnership” (2003) which was a discussion of their mutual ideas of short and long term problems.²⁵ China responded with the ‘White Paper’ which expanded on the idea of strategic and cooperative platforms on security. It was written with the “Maturing Partnership” paper’s ideas in mind, and was the first foreign policy paper published by the PRC.²⁶ The next policy journal would set the stage for their modern relationship.

Strategic Partnership. The European Commission published “EU Engagement with China Goals” (2003) which began the Strategic Partnership. It came soon after the United States (US) declared war on Iraq.²⁷ China and the EU viewed themselves as partners with similar interests. The next two years, sometimes called the ‘Honeymoon Phase’, of their relationship saw “the increasing maturity and growing strategic nature of the partnership.”²⁸

²² Laursen, Finn. "The EU's Strategic Partnerships: The Case of EU-China Relations." 2011. Accessed October 12, 2015. http://www.euce.org/eusa/2011/papers/4k_laursen.pdf. P 10

²³ Bindi, 286

²⁴ Laursen. P 12

²⁵ Scott, David. "China and the EU: A Strategic Axis for the Twenty-First Century?" *International Relations* 21, no. 23 (2007): 23-45. Accessed October 17, 2015. <http://www.d-scott.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/China-EU-axis.pdf>. P 27

²⁶ Men, Jing. "Chinese Perceptions of the European Union: A Review of Leading Chinese Journals." *European Law Journal* 12.6 (2006): 788-806. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 20 Oct. 2015. P 804

²⁸ Scott, China 3

2006 and 2007 saw new European leaders that acted less cooperatively with China. The EU lowered its aid in 2007 for human rights issues, Angela Merkel met with the Dalai Lama, and some leaders did not attend the Opening Ceremony for the Beijing Olympics.²⁹ Both sides began to want to see actual results from the relationship. “It is possible that the coming years will prove to be a window of opportunity for some new thinking in China-Europe relations”

³⁰ It should be noted that a great number of leading EU politicians visited China in these years.³¹

2008 saw the American Recession and increasing interdependence, which will be discussed later in this essay. 2010 saw converging interests once again. The EU recognized that it needed to act more strategically and with ‘synergy’.³² At the 2010 Summit, both sides stated how they wanted to be closer, but did not know how to define their Strategic Partnership. At this point, both had recognized each other’s differences, had pragmatic solutions, and talked about their common interests.³³

The most recent years have seen a Bilateral Investment Agreement (2013) and the first “White Paper” on military (May 2015).³⁴ This paper discussed the Chinese readiness to build up military. President Xi Jinping was the first head of state to go to the EU in 2014.³⁵ In,

²⁹ Gill 19

³⁰ *ibid*

³¹ *Ibid*

³² Laursen 5

³³ *Ibid*

³⁴ Burnay, Matthieu, Kolja Raube, and Jan Wouters. "China's Foreign Policy and External Relations." *European Parliament External Policies Department*, 2015. Accessed October 13, 2015. Academic Search Complete.

³⁵ Fallon, Theresa. "China's Pivot to Europe." *The Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy* 36 (2014): 175-82. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 20 Oct. 2015.

2014 the PRC released its first paper in over a decade, which described their relationship and interests in very positive ways.³⁶

In review, both Europe and China were able to form a complex and potentially powerful partnership despite having many recent historical grievances. Chinese foreign minister Yang Jiechi said there were no “outstanding historical issues.”³⁷ All recent issues have been addressed with pragmatism, and each side is aware of their differences and capabilities.

EU CHINA PERSPECTIVES

The next study is centered on how China and the EU view themselves, the world, and each other. It will examine their perceptions of their role in the world, their own domestic problems, and their goals.

EU Self-View. Europe sees itself as a global Role Model and as a spreader of norms. It embraces the ideas from the Enlightenment, including democracy, liberalism, and rationalism. Politically it is a blend of national and supranational authority, and economically it is capitalist. It values and promotes soft power strategy and the use of multilateralism and International Organizations.³⁸ It would much rather spread its influence using its economy and culture than its military.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Gill 19

³⁸ Scott, D. A. "Multipolarity, Multilateralism and Beyond ...? EU- China Understandings of the International System." *International Relations*, 2013, 44.

³⁹ Nathan, Andrew J., and Andrew Scobell. *China's Search for Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Europe is not certain of what it wants to be. It does not know if it should promote its interests or its beliefs, its economy or its social platform.⁴⁰ Domestically it is unsure if it wants to enlarge and/or integrate more.⁴¹ The EU believes it is a normative power, but in recent times it has fluctuated.⁴²

Domestic Problems. The EU faces a number of Domestic Problems that it must address in the coming years. First are the recently added member states in East and South East Europe. They bring increased crime, the citizens emigrate to the North and West in large numbers, and there are many new opinions and voices in the EU government.⁴³ This leads to 'lowest common denominator' foreign policy where propositions are 'watered down' by the time they pass legislation.⁴⁴

Economics Since 2008 Europe has been in a Eurozone Crisis which has halted its economic development, especially in South and Eastern European countries. In 2015 the EU had to decide if it should bailout the economically collapsing Greece, or push austerity measures. Portugal, Ireland, Italy, and Spain (PIIGS) are in similar situations.

Militarily the EU is underwhelming. The attempt at remedying the Balkan Wars revealed that the EU needed US military assistance. There is lack of support within the member states

⁴⁰ Laursen 23

⁴¹ Men, China 6

⁴² Laursen 23

⁴³ Men, Jing. "EU-China Relations: Problems and Promises." *Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series* 8, no. 13 (2008). Accessed November 5, 2015. Academic Search Complete.

⁴⁴ Ibid

and many would rather the US handle security threats.⁴⁵ Without a military the EU lacks the option of making power moves.⁴⁶

European Goals for the future likely include:

1. Find Cohesion, Cooperation and Consistency with other member states.⁴⁷

2. Make International Organizations more attractive.

3. Develop a Future Mindset instead of looking to the past

4. Become more attractive Economically⁴⁸

5. Develop more thought out Foreign Policy Actions⁴⁹

6. Develop Hard Power Capability

EU World View Europe views the world as one that will become multipolar and Multilateral. It feels that every state should become a part of, and respect the authority of International Organizations. It believes in a capitalistic world economy, and that everyone can learn from Democracy and Liberalism.⁵⁰

EU View of China Lastly is the EU opinion of China. The EU has recently viewed China in a way that may have been wishful thinking.⁵¹ Recently it has become disappointed by China's handling of domestic affairs. The European Parliament is uncertain about the

⁴⁵ Narramore, Terry. "China and Europe: Engagement, Multipolarity and Strategy." *The Pacific Review*, 2008, 87-108.

⁴⁶ Scott, China 18

⁴⁷ Bindi 303

⁴⁸ Bindi 336

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Scott, Multipolarity 14

⁵¹ Narramore

intentions of the PRC.⁵² The European Union's goals in China are to possibly make it more Western and to embrace Western ideas in the social, economic, and political contexts⁵³

Chinese Philosophy One important aspect to consider about China is its moral philosophy. China has, for the greater part of its history, valued Confucian tenants of society. These include proper conduct, the importance of hard work and achievement, an innate sense of right and wrong, and the idea of a hierarchy within relationships. Specifically, peasants were viewed in a better light than in Europe.⁵⁴ These ideas have survived until today.

PRC Self View China sees itself as a developing country, but almost developed country. It wants to keep this perspective to foster relations with other developing states.⁵⁵ It also carries a Victim Mentality that has persevered since the Century of Humiliation. China believes that the world owes it something. Historically China was a center for culture, intelligence, and success and it would like to reclaim this image.⁵⁶ The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) holds a grasp over the political structure and there is a great sense of nationalism.

⁵² Bindi 286

⁵³ Narramore 10

⁵⁴ Larus 18

⁵⁵ Burnay 21

⁵⁶ Reiterer, Michael. "The Role of Culture in EU-China Relations." *EUROPEAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS REVIEW* 19.3/1 (2014): 135-53. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 18 Oct. 2015.

PRC Domestic Problems China faces a number of domestic problems. There is a decline of the CCP in public opinion and anti-government protests are happening more often.⁵⁷

Demographically China will soon have a ‘graying of the population’ as some EU countries will have too. This will result in a lack of ability to pay for the elder, and revered, generations.⁵⁸ There also exists endemic corruption that happens at high level government.⁵⁹ Enlarging income inequality, pollution, ethnic conflict, reliance on exports, and a general lack of rights and democracy are other concerns.⁶⁰

PRC Global Role China is playing an interesting role on the world stage. It sees itself as a power pole in Asia that is very traditional and looks at the world in a Realist lens.⁶¹ It also has promised to ‘never act as a hegemon’, and wants to be viewed as a peaceful neighbor.⁶²

Chinese goals for the future likely include:

1. Reestablish precolonial renown⁶³
2. Become legitimized in the eyes of its peers
3. Retain Growth Rate
4. Ensure Party Survival

⁵⁷ Larus 430

⁵⁸ ibis 428

⁵⁹ ibis

⁶⁰ Burnay 13

⁶¹ Womack, Brantly. "Asymmetry Theory and China's Concept of Multipolarity." *Journal of Contemporary China* 13, no. 39 (2004): 351-66. Accessed November 5, 2015.

<http://people.virginia.edu/~bw9c/Publications/ArticlesandChapters/2004b.pdf>.

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Sautenet, Antoine. "The Current Status and Prospects of the ‘Strategic Partnership’ between the EU and China: Towards the Conclusion of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement." *European Law Journal* 13.6 (2007): 699-731. Web. 20 Oct. 2015.

5. Peaceful Transition as Global Power
6. Retain Ability to conduct Power Politics ⁶⁴
7. Acquire Territory
8. Decide How to interact with international Organizations ⁶⁵

PRC World View China used to view the world in a Zero-Sum way, and as a realist ⁶⁶ Now its rhetoric suggest it views the world in a Positive-Sum game. ⁶⁷ The PRC views the world as multipolar, and that International Organizations are a means to an end, although it does support the authority of most Organizations. ⁶⁸ However they also respect global sovereignty and state equality. ⁶⁹

PRC View of EU Europe is no longer as easy to deal with as China once thought. ⁷⁰ The East believes that Europe's ascension would make the world more peaceful for China to play a major role in. ⁷¹ It would help to distribute power away from the US. Europe also a large market for goods, a source of technology, and a forum where it can promote its interests. ⁷² If Europe is trying to Westernize China, it may undermine China's will to cooperate. ⁷³ Lastly, China sees Europe as a role model for peaceful development, and as a militarily weak power.

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⁶⁴ Scott, Multipolarity 14

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Men, China 2

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Scott, China 13

⁶⁹ Men, China 3

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Men, China 18

⁷² Narramore 4

⁷³ Scott, China 6

⁷⁴ Narramore 8

FOREIGN POLICY

The following section is an examination of General Chinese Foreign Policy. It will continue with EU and PRC policy with the United States, East Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. A review of a possible trilateral Relationship between the EU, PRC, and US is reviewed

PRC Foreign Policy. Modern Chinese foreign policy does not have much ideology in it thanks to Deng Xiaoping.⁷⁵ This helped to make it more attractive to other countries. One of its current strategies is one of Reassurance.⁷⁶ China wants to avoid provoking the US and to cooperate with International Organizations. It also upholds Deng's 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.⁷⁷

One should note that China is becoming increasingly assertive. President Xi has stated that "no Chinese core interest will be lost."⁷⁸ Similarly to the EU, China is uncertain of what it wants to achieve internationally. "It is torn between being assertive or using soft power, cooperating or taking advantage of the International Organizations, being a regional or global power, and being Bilateral or Multilateral".⁷⁹ It follows the idea of nonintervention and sovereignty, but it lacks a Grand Strategy.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Austermann, Frank. "Political Theory versus Diplomatic Practice Bridging the Sovereignty-Gap of EU-China Relations." *EU External Affairs Review*, 2011. Accessed October 5, 2015. http://www.global-europe.org/articles_pdf/6452994-austermann_eu_review_july_2011.pdf.

⁷⁶ Narramore 4

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Lam 193

⁷⁹ Burnay 5

⁸⁰ Lam 235

PRC and US. In relations with the United States, bilateral talks are primarily strategic.⁸¹ The US is seemingly trying to ‘hedge’ China’s rise with power politics that counter China’s intention to be peaceful.⁸² The PRC does not intend to simply accept the norms of American hard power.⁸³

EU and US. The relationship between Europe and the United States is increasingly strained. Europe does not want to be ‘marginalized’ by the United States.⁸⁴ It feels that it is almost at the same level of prestige as the US, unlike in the 20th century.⁸⁵ ⁸⁶While in the Cold War common issues helped them to overcome differences, the Post-Cold war has seen less cooperation.⁸⁷ That isn’t to say the US and EU are divided. These countries have deep historical, political, and social ties.

Trilateral “A trilateral organization would ‘define’ the system because all three control most of the world’s economic, military, and political influence.”⁸⁸ A number of sources agree that trilateral talks between the EU, PRC, and US would stabilize the world. Each has an economist interest at stake, they all would like China to have more responsibility, and there would likely be more global security.⁸⁹ The problem lies in the differences of opinions in the US-EU relationship. The EU would have to negotiate talks between the US and PRC. Unfortunately Fallon does not believe that the EU can currently play this role.⁹⁰

⁸¹ Narramore 3

⁸² Ibis 16

⁸³ Scott, 14

⁸⁴ Men, China 11

⁸⁵ *ibid*

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

⁸⁸ Scott, China 14

⁸⁹ Gill 51

⁹⁰ Fallon 4

Tibet. China is in a territorial dispute with Tibet, which it sees as part of its territory. The receiving of the Dalai Lama by European leaders has been a thorn in their relationship. China sees the EU concern over Tibet to be one of intervention and a lack of respect.⁹¹

Taiwan. Taiwan is also seen as a PRC territory. The EU supports the policy of One China and that Taiwan is under PRC sovereignty.⁹² Europe did this to bolster relations with the PRC, but at the expense of their normative behavior on liberalism.⁹³ Europe would like to see the two countries solve the problem diplomatically and without conflict.⁹⁴

South China Sea. China has claimed a large swatch of maritime territory under its Nine Dashed Line. The PRC has constructed drilling platforms, and a man-made island at Fiery Cross Reef. China is very much against these actions being brought to the UN.⁹⁵

North Korea. The EU and China have previously conducted the Six Party Talks with North Korea.⁹⁶ Both are becoming increasingly impatient with the regime, with China actively speaking against the nuclear test in 2013.⁹⁷ It is likely that China wants to keep the status quo, but try to tweak the government to the PRC's advantage

Central Europe China has been "securing market access, technology transfer, and optimization of supply networks."⁹⁸ The Chinese are likely fostering positive opinions in

⁹¹ Pan, Zhongqi. "Managing the Conceptual Gap on Sovereignty in China–EU Relations." *Asia Europe Journal*, 2010, 227-43.

⁹² Pan 13)

⁹³ Gill 32

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ (Burnay 32

⁹⁶ Burnay 26

⁹⁷ Godement 9

⁹⁸ Roskin, Michael G. "China." In *Countries and Concepts: An Introduction to Comparative Politics*, 262-315. 16th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 2013.

Eastern Europe in an attempt to change the general EU opinion of it. Eastern countries may vote in China's favor in the EU Council

Ukraine In context to the recent revolution, China is not getting involved.⁹⁹ This revolution reminds China of the Tiananmen Protests. The EU and PRC have different opinions on the matter, with China favoring the view of Russia.¹⁰⁰

Eastern Europe and Caucasus China is increasing its investments in Eastern Europe to develop positive feelings as previously described.¹⁰¹ There exists a Special Economic Zone in Belarus called the China-Belarus Industrial Park.¹⁰² In the Caucasus, China is building Trade Infrastructure for its New Silk Road.

Russia Despite trust problems and historical conflict, Russia and the PRC have begun a strategic partnership as well.¹⁰³ China have been winning contracts on Russian gas and minerals This is something the EU should pay attention to should the PRC decide to focus on that relationship more. Russian experts predict a transition towards Chinese relations in the coming years.¹⁰⁴

Syria China does not agree with the United States and European Union about the fate of Syria. It has used its UN Veto power three times on measures used to harm Syria.¹⁰⁵ It does not want to intervene on another states sovereignty. However it is prepared to work with the West in light of different circumstances, such as control by the Islamic State.

⁹⁹ Burnay 10

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Ibid 46

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Ibid 42

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Godement 15

Iran President Rouhani immediately initiated conversation with China after his election in 2013 ¹⁰⁶ China is interested in the energy that Iran can offer. Politically, the PRC does not want to take a side in the world debate over Iran. It does not want to cause friction with the US and does not want to get involved in the battle for dominance between Iran and Saudi Arabia ¹⁰⁷

Africa In general, the PRC does not believe in the ‘good governance’ that the EU stresses in Africa. ¹⁰⁸ The Chinese are ‘indifferent to EU demands of human rights as precondition for aid.’ ¹⁰⁹ The EU does not appreciate China’s indiscriminate over whom it sells weapons and gives aid to. ¹¹⁰

Sudan and South Sudan China is the main investor in South Sudan Energy, which is by far the African state’s primary source of income. ¹¹¹ Beijing is not getting involved in the political conflict there because it is aware of the influence of the United States behind the scenes. ¹¹²

STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

This Study is a review of the base of the modern relationship between Europe and China in regards to its Strategic Partnership. It will begin with a discussion of what the goals and

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Godement 3

¹⁰⁸ Pan 14

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ Godement 6

¹¹² Ibid

opinions of the Chinese and Europeans are. Following this is the structure of the Partnership, including what it encompasses. Lastly are issues to address within it, and its possible future

The Goals of the Strategic Partnership naturally vary between the powers.¹¹³ Europe wanted to use it as a means for extending its soft power influence by attaching to a global pole. China aimed to guarantee its place atop the new and emerging world.¹¹⁴ Both sides wanted a range of bilateral negotiations to smooth the process.¹¹⁵ Lastly, they aimed to create a system of multilateralism that would displace the current balance of power.¹¹⁶

Similarities Within their framework, both sides understand the importance of soft power in the new system, the influence of public diplomacy on soft power, and the importance of words and strategic ambiguity.¹¹⁷ They also have similar solutions to problems including climate change, economic development and international security.¹¹⁸ Chen Bo stated that the sides have similar goals of maintaining global peace and stability, in facing challenges brought by globalization, in reforming the United Nations and in anti-terrorism”¹¹⁹

EU Perspective At the beginning, the EU was very optimistic but has since then become cautiously aware of the relationships limitations.¹²⁰ The Europeans have lost

¹¹³ Men, Jing. "Is There a Strategic Partnership between the EU and China?" Lecture, College of Europe, January 1, 2013.

¹¹⁴ Fallon 7

¹¹⁵ Men, Is There 9

¹¹⁶ Ibis 10

¹¹⁷ Scott, EU 1

¹¹⁸ Torney, Diarmuid. "Challenges of European Union Climate Diplomacy: The Case of China." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 19 (2014): 119-34. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 20 Oct. 2015.

¹¹⁹ Men, David 3

¹²⁰ Narramore 16

confidence in the system but are reacquiring it. ¹²¹They want China to become more Western and to look at the world through a multilateral lens

Chinese Perspective Wen Jiabao gave his opinions of the Strategic Partnership in 2005. It should be comprehensive in the sense that it “encompasses all dimensions, economic, social, etc.” It should be strategic in the sense that it is “long term and stable’ and goes past ideologies or bad events. Lastly it should be a partnership of mutual benefit and equal say. ¹²²

China has recently started to take control of the partnership because it does not want to wait for Europe to solve its domestic problems. ¹²³China also has a much more optimistic view of the relationship. ¹²⁴

Structure The Partnership has 12 layers which include an annual summit, 5 ministerial levels, 9 administrative levels, and Political, Cooperation, and Sector Dialogues. ¹²⁵ The Sector dialogues speed the other ones up and are very encompassing. ¹²⁶There are more than 50 of them and they provide very specific communications. Some examples are civil aviation, trade policy, nuclear energy, food safety, etc. ¹²⁷

¹²¹ Men, David 1

¹²² Scott, China 5

¹²³ Fallon 7

¹²⁴ Men, Jing. "David Kerr and Liu Fei (eds.), The International Politics of EU-China Relations." *East Asia*, 2009, 167-70.

¹²⁵ Scott, China 8

¹²⁶ Bindi 283

¹²⁷ Berkofsky, Alex. "EU-China Relations: Rhetoric v. (a Very Different) Reality." Center for Strategic and International Studies. January 18, 2015. Accessed November 10, 2015.

CSIS Director Robin Niblett - "China's decentralized and incrementalism system of government appears to mesh well with the EU's own decentralized and consensual forms of internal coordination"¹²⁸The EU system co-aligns with Chinese view of long term actions.¹²⁹

Security Most security discussions are bilaterally with the individual member state and the PRC. Because of differences of opinion on intervention, both sides have tabled some talks for the UN, such as Syria.¹³⁰The security discussions revolve around non-proliferation, arms control, peacekeeping, terrorism, and joint military exercises.¹³¹ Most policies in these are mutually agreed upon. A problem is the amount of rhetoric against the actual actions committed by each side.

Education The Partnership has provided opportunity for tens of thousands of students on each continent. There are more than 30,000 scholarships for Chinese students to travel to Europe.¹³² Out of the 210 Confucius Institutes, 26 are in Europe, and there are more than 20 centers for European Studies in China¹³³

Exchanges In 2011 more than 4 million Chinese tourists were in Europe and this number has climbed.¹³⁴There are 70 direct flights daily and the traffic increased by more than 10 times between 2003-13. This helps to increase the understanding of one another.¹³⁵

Technology China has made many bilateral agreements on Satellite and Tech plans.¹³⁶ In 2009, 30% of technology imports were from the EU. China is mainly interested in dual use

¹²⁸ Scott, China 8

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Gill 26

¹³¹ "The EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership: Working for You." November 6, 2013. Accessed November 30, 2015. http://eeas.europa.eu/china/docs/20131106_eu-china_factsheet_en.pdf.

¹³² Gill 41

¹³³ Men, China 1

¹³⁴ Comprehensive 4

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶ Gill 34

technologies and space technology.¹³⁷ They have been working on a Dragon Satellite program, and until recently, worked on a Galileo program which would rival GPS.¹³⁸ China has also acquired a surprising amount of military technology from individual states in the EU. These include warship engines, sonar, surface to air missiles, anti-submarine helicopters, and early warning systems from Germany, France, and the United Kingdom.¹³⁹

Energy The EU and China have a dialogue on Energy and Transportation strategies. It includes topics about clean coal, peaceful nuclear energy, energy regulation and efficiency, renewable energy, and natural gas.¹⁴⁰ Additionally is an Urbanization Partnership which will help the PRC handle the hundreds of millions expected to move into the cities in the coming years. This agreement encompasses infrastructure, water and waste, quality of life, and lowering energy usage.¹⁴¹

Food Both sides have experienced hunger problems in their recent history and work together to avoid this. The Cooperation in Agriculture Agreement will help to find ways to yield more nutritious food more quickly and with less resources.¹⁴² There also exists a Letter of Intent on Research and innovation Cooperation in Food, Agriculture, and Biotechnology (2013)¹⁴³

Things to Address The vagueness that comes when the sides are formulating policy. The ambiguity has enabled both sides to not confront issues between them.¹⁴⁴ A lack of clarity means that there are no clear cut concerns and interests.¹⁴⁵ Another problem is the lack of

¹³⁷ Ibid 38

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Fallon 2

¹⁴⁰ Gill 38

¹⁴¹ Comprehensive 5

¹⁴² Fallon 4

¹⁴³ ibid

¹⁴⁴ Narramore 9

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

action on both sides. ¹⁴⁶ One scholar believes that China is only ‘window shopping’ to get support on issues they decide they want help on. He continues to criticize the Chinese by saying that they have not come through on promises such as military transparency and sales policies ¹⁴⁷

Positives Multiple scholars agreed that even though there are faults in the relationship, the structure will help to ease any issue.

“Despite frictions, the amount of mechanisms and constant conversations in flow stabilize the relationship.” ¹⁴⁸

“Nevertheless, the trend, structures and strategic designs continue to strengthen between the EU and China.” ¹⁴⁹

Future Both EU and China are taking positive steps to address these problems and to bolster the relationship. ¹⁵⁰ Both sides can recognize the misunderstandings between them and actively and rationally address them. They each are interested in continuing this relationship and are acting cautiously optimistic. ¹⁵¹ Economics represent the base of the partnership, and so this must be addressed with priority. ¹⁵²

TRADE

¹⁴⁶ Berkofsky 4

¹⁴⁷ Berkofsky 5

¹⁴⁸ Bindi 287

¹⁴⁹ Scott, China 18

¹⁵⁰ Men, EU-China 11

¹⁵¹ Ibid

¹⁵² Ibid

This section will help to put into perspective the economic connection between the two powers. It is a continuation of the last section on the Strategic Partnership, but in economic terms. It begins with basic stats about each country, expands to their mutual statistics, then continues with problems, recent events, and a future outlook.

EU Basic Information

An interesting thing about the EU market is that the member states work with each other as well as competitively.¹⁵³ States may conduct bilateral talks with a powerful state such as China, and may use the EU to conduct policy for them. Europe has good technology, skilled labor, international experience, and high standards.¹⁵⁴ As for weaknesses, Europe has a strong currency, which is bad for trade with export-oriented China, lack of EU diplomatic support, and a dependency on raw materials.¹⁵⁵ China offers to the EU a large and growing market with access to raw materials and low cost labor.¹⁵⁶

PRC Basic Information

China has experienced an unprecedented growth since the economic changes in the 1980s. Most of this has been due to increased domestic demand from the newly emerging middle class.¹⁵⁷ China is export oriented and makes “machinery products, textiles and clothing, and other manufacture products such as personal and household goods”¹⁵⁸ The Renminbi is tied indirectly, but strongly, to the dollar.¹⁵⁹

Mutual Trade Information

The economic relationship between the EU and China has improved with age. Between 2002 and 2012, trade grew from 125 to 434 billion dollars.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ Pan 6

¹⁵⁴ EU-China Relations 2

¹⁵⁵ Ibis 3

¹⁵⁶ ibis 5

¹⁵⁷ Larus 427

¹⁵⁸ EU-China Relations 9

¹⁵⁹ Gill 24

¹⁶⁰ Casarini, Nicola. "The EU-China Partnership: 10 Years On." *ISSUE Brief*, no. 35 (2013): 1-4. Accessed October 13, 2015. http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Brief_35_EU-China_partnership.pdf.

At the same time, EU debt to China increased 100 billion dollars.¹⁶¹ The following are basic statistics from 2009-2013:

I. Trade (EU-China Relations 8)

- a. EU is China's top trading partner €429 billion / 13.4% of total share
- b. China is EU second trading partner €428 billion / 12.5%

II. Trade in goods (EU-China Relations 9)

- a. EU exports to China 2013: €148.3 billion (+80% compared to 2009)
- b. EU imports from China 2013: €280.1 billion (+30% compared to 2009)

III. Trade in services(EU-China Relations 10)

- a. EU services exports to China 2013: €32.2 billion (+71% compared to 2009)
- b. EU services imports from China 2013: €20.6 billion (+47% compared to 2009)

IV. Foreign Direct Investment(EU-China Relations 12)

- a. EU outward investment to China 2013: €8.2 billion (+1% compared to 2009)
- b. China inward investment to EU 2013: €1.1 billion (+110% compared to 2009)

Problems and Frictions Aside from the normal routine problems that come with trade, the two powers have experienced larger issues that have ramifications today.

WTO China was allowed into the WTO in 2001. This moment made China feel more respected by its global neighbors. Today, in 2015, China remains in the WTO but not as a

¹⁶¹ Zhang, Xiaotong. "EU-China Economic Diplomacy: When Economics Meets Politics." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 19 (2014): 57-76. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 20 Oct. 2015.

World Market Economy. ¹⁶²Disputes between the powers has prevented this from changing. The EU feels that China is conducting unfair trade policies with dumping and subsidies. The PC feels that the EU is practicing protectionism and that it is being discriminated against. ¹⁶³

Requirements for WME: ¹⁶⁴

- i. continued reform of the Chinese financial sector;
- ii. effective enforcement of company law and international accounting standards;
- iii. implementation of market economy principles;
- iv. avoidance of governmental interference in the decision-making of companies;;
- v. increasing transparency

Intellectual Property Rights Out of 10 businesses that the EU has in China, 7 have made complaints about violations to Intellectual Property Rights. It could have cost upwards of 20% of Multinational Corporation Revenue. Europe is becoming increasingly frustrated and impatient at the consistency of Chinese apathy in remedying it. ¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Gill 26

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ EU-China Relations 16

¹⁶⁵ Gill 24

Health and Safety The EU has claimed that 500 million Euros of goods a day do not meet the import standards. China once again claims that this is an excuse to discriminate against them with protectionism. ¹⁶⁶

Foreigner Problems China displays a sense of favoritism against the Europeans. Many Europeans do not want to enter certain markets in China. ¹⁶⁷ This is because some sectors, like banking and construction, essentially own a monopoly on the market. ¹⁶⁸ Foreigners are only allowed to purchase 50% of stocks in certain companies as well. Lastly, Europeans are not allowed to hire Chinese Lawyers, or to earn Chinese qualifications. ¹⁶⁹

Recent Events Several events have occurred in the last decade that have shifted relations between the two, in both positive and negative ways.

Embargo in 2004, France and Germany wanted to get rid of an arms Embargo from Tiananmen to improve relations with their new partner. ¹⁷⁰ The benefits of removing it included balancing the trade deficit, more trade benefits, leveraging of arms against RU monopoly in China, and recognition of China's status. ¹⁷¹ It failed because new leaders emerged in Europe that were not in favor of it. Additionally, the US put a lot of pressure on its Western counterpart to not go through with it. China had recently enacted an anti-secession law directed against Taiwan. Successful US lobbying, indecision, and human rights issues led to its failure. ¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ EU-China Relations 22

¹⁶⁸ Burnay 19

¹⁶⁹ Larus 414

¹⁷⁰ Gill 32

¹⁷¹ Narramore 8

¹⁷² Men, EU-China 7

Results This proved that the EU was unable to give a single unitary answer, and therefore would not be a strict Chinese ally.¹⁷³ Additionally it made the PRC distrust the EU and, once again, made the PRC feel discriminated against. Ultimately China shifted its attention back to the individual member states.¹⁷⁴

Textile The Textile Dispute began shortly after the failure of the arms embargo lift. There existed a 40 year quota on Chinese imports into Europe.¹⁷⁵ The month it was removed, textile imports increased by 80% in some places.¹⁷⁶ It was immediately met with resistance. Peter Mandelson, Trade Commissioner for the EU left trade possibility open so that the Chinese wouldn't get upset. The solution had certain restrictions but it was a very successful cooperation and negotiation.¹⁷⁷

Eurozone Crisis The Great Recession of 2008 had devastating effects in Europe. China was able to buy Euro bonds, and helped to bail EU businesses out.¹⁷⁸ The PRC continued by purchasing risky bonds from Greece, Portugal, and Ireland. Throughout the situation, the Chinese remained optimistic and helpful.¹⁷⁹ The Chinese would like the world to move off the dollar and towards the Euro.¹⁸⁰

Future There are a number of possible routes that could happen in the coming years.

¹⁷³ Fallon 2

¹⁷⁴ Narramore 8

¹⁷⁵ Men, EU-China 8

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ Men, EU-China 8

¹⁷⁸ Casarini 8

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

Economic Silk Road China has put a lot of finances and time into the development of a New Silk Road that would go from China to Lyon.¹⁸¹ This would help relations with the entirety of Europe as well as helping to solve China's energy security problem.¹⁸²

Free Trade Agreement President Xi Jinping is pushing hard for the development of Free Trade Agreement. The EU has made these agreements with other entities, such as Japan and ASEAN, and China would like one as well.¹⁸³ Europe is uncertain of this however. The EU Chamber of Commerce is making an Investment Deal instead because of overcapacity and recently slow trade.¹⁸⁴ Hu Jintao stressed that 'reform and opening up constitute the most salient feature of the new period.'¹⁸⁵ The problem lies in how quickly China wants to open to the world market. Short term opening would be a problem, but long term would be mutually beneficial.¹⁸⁶

Embargo Lift Europe has mentioned lifting the embargo a number of times since 2005. It is willing to do it as long as China gives proof that it has improved its internal human rights, and that it eases security issues with Taiwan.¹⁸⁷

MULTIPOLARISM/MULTILATERALISM

The following is an examination of the intentions and strategies of the EU and PRC based off their use of the words 'multipolarism' and 'multilateralism'. This study provides a usable

¹⁸¹ Fallon 5

¹⁸² Burnay 44

¹⁸³ Fallon 7

¹⁸⁴ Fallon 7

¹⁸⁵ Men, EU-China 10

¹⁸⁶ Fallon 7

¹⁸⁷ Laursen 19

definition for each word, as well as each state's use of each word. After is an examination of the changing meaning of each word, and the consequences of that idea.

General Definition – Multipolarity describes how the International Community interacts.¹⁸⁸

It tells which important spheres of influence are where and who has the most power. It is based off realism, and is centered on power politics.¹⁸⁹

General Definition – Multilateralism is a process where a number of international actors work cooperatively to handle issues.¹⁹⁰ It could be called a liberal functionalist perspective.

John Ruggie describes it as a coordination of “behavior among three or more states on the basis of generalized principles of conduct.”¹⁹¹

Discursive Power The theory of constructivism exists today, which has allowed for theorists to view the world in different ways.¹⁹² One such way is the meaning of words. Everything must be taken into a social context and different backgrounds and interest will result in a different usage of rhetoric.¹⁹³ Discursive power can help analysts to understand this. The way each state talks gives a glimpse into how they see themselves, and the world.

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Multipolarism-EU Generally speaking, Europe does not like to use the word Multipolarity.

It does not want to be seen as a multipolar threat to the US.¹⁹⁵ Some Ministers, including

Peter Mandelson and José Barroso, have mentioned multipolarism in talks.¹⁹⁶ This is

¹⁸⁸ Scott, Multipolarity 2

¹⁸⁹ Scott, China 14

¹⁹⁰ Scott, Multipolarity 1

¹⁹¹ Ibid 2

¹⁹² Ibid 3

¹⁹³ Ibid 13

¹⁹⁴ Ibid 3

¹⁹⁵ Ibid 12

¹⁹⁶ Ibid 6

normally used only to describe the emerging world, but it is still valuable to note. Europeans believe that Multipolarism is founded on ‘rivalry and competition’ and eventually lead to competition, land grabbing, and violence.¹⁹⁷

Multipolarism-PRC The concept of *Duojihua* is something that the Chinese have pushed very hard over the years.¹⁹⁸ Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Yunling, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, and many others have stressed the importance of China in the ‘irreversible’ trend of multipolarism.¹⁹⁹ The Poles in their world are, as named by Huan Xiang in 1986, the US, PRC, Europe, USSR, and Japan.²⁰⁰ These hold true today as well.

Chinese believe in different forms of Multipolarism. First is fan ba, which is the concept of anti-hegemony. Multipolarism, to the Chinese is inherently against hegemony.²⁰¹ They also think that it is a trend that cannot be avoided in history, and that the Great Recession helped enable the new multipolar world.²⁰² China sees itself deciding between strategic Multipolarity, military and economic hard power, or Normative Multipolarity, soft power and International law²⁰³

Multilateralism-EU In its very core, the EU is a multilateral organization. The Treaty of Lisbon confirms this with its intention of spreading Multilateralism.²⁰⁴ Multiple high officials have promoted the use of the word in their strategic dialogues, including Javier Solana, José

¹⁹⁷ Ibid 6

¹⁹⁸ Scott, David. "EU-China Discourse on Multipolarity and Multilateralism: Mutual Interaction?" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2014. Accessed September 27, 2015. Academic Search Complete.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid 7

²⁰⁰ Womack 2

²⁰¹ Scott, Multipolarity 2

²⁰² Ibid 8

²⁰³ Ibid 14

²⁰⁴ Scott, EU 4

Barroso, and Benita Ferrero-Waldner. It is likely the best way for the EU to influence the world, through its soft power and International Organization influence, and it has experience with the former U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavian states. ²⁰⁵Europe cannot play the power politics game without military, so it uses multilateralism instead

“Never has the world needed effective multilateralism more than today ... multilateralism is the only effective approach” – Benita Ferrero Waldner ²⁰⁶

Multilateralism – PRC The Chinese were extremely suspicious of multilateralism (duobian zhuyi) and International Organizations at first. They had experienced European control before and it had severely damage them. Now, they see it as a positive thing and intend to follow the EU’s steps towards it. ²⁰⁷ It will provide means to counter US hegemony and ‘gunboat policy’ of using economic, military, and technological power to control. The Chinese use it Instrumentally, and not Normatively like the Europeans however. ²⁰⁸

China’s Changing Views Over the last decade, China has been using multilateralism more often and multipolarism less often. The Chinese are very deliberate in their English wordings, therefor this likely has insightful meaning. The People’s Daily magazine called for a ‘turn to multilateralism’ ²⁰⁹Experts see it as a means to increase China’s international renown and soft power. Pan Zhongqi stated that the change from ‘bilateral to multilateral was change of PRC view of the world and itself.’ ²¹⁰

China now has three versions of multilateralism. ²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Scott, Multipolarity 14

²⁰⁶ Ibid 6

²⁰⁷ Men, EU-China 4

²⁰⁸ Scott, Multipolarity 1

²⁰⁹ Ibid 9

²¹⁰ ibid

²¹¹ Ibid 11

Selective Multilateralism is using it only as a strategy or tactic when it benefits the PRC. It is very realist. Multilateralism Regionalism uses it as a constructivist would, and with normative behavior. The last is Globalism Multilateralism which is complete trust in International Organizations and diplomacy.²¹² By continually talking about Multilateralism, China will likely shift from the first towards the third

Current Word Usage Today multilateralism is the one that is generally used while multipolarism is not.²¹³ Multipolarism does not show up in any of the joint summits.²¹⁴ China does use multipolarism in agreements with other states, but not with the EU.

New Definitions Both Multipolarism and Multilateralism are insufficient definitions for the contemporary world. The existence of the complicated EU, non-state actors, and international Organizations takes credit away from Multipolarity.²¹⁵ Multilateralism may be agreed upon by the EU and PRC but they clearly have very different concepts of it.

State Socializing “Psychological dynamics of self-attribution, self-persuasion and internalization may then root such multilateralism language (and multilateralism policies) in norms of belief.”²¹⁶ Essentially when two states come into contact they leave their perceptions of the world on the other. Scott argues that this has happened with China and the EU on the concept of multilateralism. The EU has persistently used the word multilateralism enough that China has picked up on it.²¹⁷ Multilateralism ‘resonates’ with Confucianism and has helped to change Chinese views of the world, itself, and what its goals are.²¹⁸

²¹² Men, Jing. "EU-China Relations and Diplomacy: Introductory Note." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 19 (2014): . *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 20 Oct. 2015.

²¹³ Scott, Multipolarity 12

²¹⁴ *ibid*

²¹⁵ *Ibid* 14

²¹⁶ *Ibid* 12

²¹⁷ *ibid*13

²¹⁸ *ibid*

SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty is a concept, like multilateralism, that the EU and China do not share a similar idea of. This section will give an examination of how each of them views the concept, as well as changing attitudes and relevance to their Strategic Partnership

Misunderstandings The EU and China misunderstand the idea of sovereignty “with regard to the basic definition, fundamental traits, comparative relevance in international system, and practical efficacy in national foreign policy.”²¹⁹ This misunderstanding is the root of many divergences of opinion, such as the spread of democracy, human rights, and humanitarian aid.

²²⁰This extends to issues such as Taiwan, Tibet, Africa, Iran, and the arms embargo.²²¹

Sovereignty-PRC Also called Zhuquan, the idea of sovereignty is new to the Chinese.²²²

They believe in it so strongly that they won’t make any concessions on it.²²³ It is the foundation of their foreign policy, and they hold onto it so as not to repeat the 19th century.

Mao implemented noninterference and territorial integrity while Deng used it to develop the economy.²²⁴ The 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have clear values of Chinese sovereignty.

The Chinese interpret sovereignty in 4 ways:²²⁵

1. It is an entitled right.

²¹⁹ Pan 10

²²⁰ Ibid 1

²²¹ Ibid 12

²²² Austermann 2

²²³ Godement, Francois. "THE END OF NON-INTERFERENCE?" 2013. Accessed November 10, 2015. http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/China_Analysis_The_End_of_Non_interference_October2013.pdf.

²²⁴ Ibid 8

²²⁵ Pan 3

- a. It means territorial integrity, noninterference, independence, and equality for all states
2. It is inseparable and non-transferable
3. It is a guiding principle for International Relations
4. It directs the foreign policy of the PRC

Sovereignty-EU Europeans created and used the concept of sovereignty that China uses today for hundreds of years. It was established during the Peace of Westphalia (1648) when the modern nation state was created. However the Europeans did not treat other countries, including China, the same as they did with each other. It was subjective, and when the European Sovereignty began to lose strength, former colonies took advantage of the situation to gain independence. ²²⁶

Modern EU sovereignty is blurry. Following the World Wars, Europe decided to rethink about politics. To them, sovereignty led to nationalism which led to war. ²²⁷ Today Europe has moved far beyond the Westphalian Sovereignty. It ‘floats’ between sovereign and post-sovereign ²²⁸ Integration has removed a lot of sovereign power from the hands of the state governments, but most of the sensitive issues are remain under each nation’s control. ²²⁹

The European interpretation of sovereignty in the same 4 ways as China: ²³⁰

1. It is an accountability, not a right
 - a. Governments are sovereign because citizens allow it
 - b. Governments must protect rights of citizens
 - c. Basis for EU opinion on intervention

²²⁶ Pan 7

²²⁷ Ibid 5

²²⁸ Austermann 2

²²⁹ Ibid 6

²³⁰ Pan 7

2. It is 'relative and transferable'²³¹
3. Is less effective at organizing the International Community
4. It is used by EU internationally and domestically
 - a. Bargaining chip²³²

PRC Adaptation The PRC may be changing its perceptions of sovereignty as the years continue.²³³ It now plays a role in International Organizations, adhering to their rules. It also deals with non-sovereign Taiwan bilaterally, and interferes with some states as well including Sudan and Libya. Lastly, China views some states as 'more sovereign' namely the economically advanced ones.²³⁴

Strategic Partnership The gap between definitions of sovereignty has caused friction between the powers, but it is more a problem in theory than in practice. EU does not interfere with Tibet, Taiwan, or Xinjiang and China does not take action against EU Intervention.²³⁵ Both agree that the UN should handle global problems and that the economic foundation is far more important than political squabbles.

Human Rights

This section is a very brief review of the human rights differences between Europe and China. In light of the last section, each state's opinion may make more sense

²³¹ Ibid 8

²³² Ibid 9

²³³ Austermann 10

²³⁴ Austermann 10

²³⁵ Austermann 15

Human Rights – EU The European Union sees the protection of human rights as a form of legitimacy for a government.²³⁶ The fact that China has human rights violations, namely with ethnic and religious minorities in Tibet and Xinjiang, is problematic for the European mind. The European Union has stated that it will not act out against China with kinetic force to prevent violations, but also wants tangible results.²³⁷ The EU will only act through negotiation, but is getting frustrated with the ‘diplomatic fluff’ that China gives back.²³⁸ The EU has a Human Rights: Micro-Projects Program where half a million Euros are sent to NGO’s and academic institutions in China for Human Rights.²³⁹

Human Rights-PRC China sees the constant beratement of EU member states and the EU as a whole as a direct confrontation with its sovereign authority. Because sovereignty is such a sensitive subject, the Chinese remain very defensive over discussion about Taiwan, Xinjiang, and Tibet. China has not signed the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.²⁴⁰

Violations in 2010²⁴¹

- I. Human rights defenders were detained
- II. Torture
- III. Education through labor
- IV. Suppression of news, publications,

²³⁶ Austermann 11

²³⁷ Scott, China 6

²³⁸ Laursen 20

²³⁹ Scott, China 6

²⁴⁰ Fallon 2

²⁴¹ Laursen 22

- V. Death penalty
- VI. Unfair trails
- VII. Lack of religious freedom
- VIII. Minority rights

ANALYSIS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FACTORS

This begins the ending sections of this paper. Within it are a collection of positive and negative factors for EU-PRC in their partnership and their world view. It will also elaborate on modern frictions and potential problems.

Negative Factors – Partnership The Partnership is affected by the differences in their political regimes and value system.²⁴² One such example is the difference on intervention. The EU adherence to US policy in certain areas is particularly encumbering in EU and PRC Dialogues. The best example for this being the Arms Embargo. Additionally, both sides are uncertain of what role they want to play in the new international system. They both have felt discriminated against by the other as well.

An important idea to note is that EU and the PRC are at different stages of their development. The EU has dealt with sovereignty, capitalism, and democracy for hundreds of years and as a result can invest in political freedoms and rights.²⁴³ China, on the other hand, has to focus on economic rights of its citizens such as food and water security. Lastly, Europe is pushing liberal values on China when the latter is not ready for it yet

²⁴² Berkofsky 4

²⁴³ Men, EU-China 10

Negative Factors – World View The Sino-European world view does have some issues that need to be recognized. The first is the ambiguity on Multilateralism and Multipolarity.²⁴⁴ One official word should be used to clarify potentially dangerous misunderstandings. There is also a difference in recognizing and applying sovereignty in the rest of the world. Lastly, Europeans and Chinese have very different ways of interacting with their neighbors. “Whereas the Europeans emphasize an institutional mode of governance, the Asians rely on an inclusive network of cultural and ethical governance”²⁴⁵

Positive Factors – Partnership Both the EU and the PRC have similar objectives in their relationship, even if they do not communicate it well. Some of these include counterterrorism, global peace, economic stability, remedying globalization.²⁴⁶ Both are very rational, pragmatic, and have an in depth understanding of what challenges the other faces.²⁴⁷ The Structure of the Partnership itself is a benefit as well, as it helps dissolve problems along quick and comprehensive sectoral routes.²⁴⁸ Finally, there are no major issues that could bring them to war.²⁴⁹

Positive Factors – World View Both sides appear to be coming together on the idea of multilateralism. At the very least they have mutual support of it, if perhaps not the same idea.²⁵⁰ Both sides would like to work to change the balance of power away from American unilateral power politics.²⁵¹ Both sides support international economic governance as well as the survival of the Euro as a currency.²⁵² They both agree on climate change and its effects

²⁴⁴ Narramore 104

²⁴⁵ Men, David 3

²⁴⁶ ibid

²⁴⁷ Austermann 15

²⁴⁸ Casarini 2

²⁴⁹ ibid

²⁵⁰ Narramore 103

²⁵¹ Men, China 2

²⁵² Casarini 2

on the world, even if China is making extremely slow environmental progress compared to Europe.²⁵³ Lastly, the different forms of governance mentioned as a negative factor is also a positive. EU and PRC are able to mix and match these systems together to get a more comprehensive system than either one alone.²⁵⁴

Modern Frictions China is story sore about the European Union decision to side with the United States and to keep the arms embargo on. China needs to be coaxed back before it feels the EU will stand on its own without the US. For the past decade, China has been striving to be recognized as a World Market Economy so that it feels respected by its peers. Many of the European complaints are along trade lines as well. The EU is displeased with Chinese trade practices including dumping, subsidies, and purposely depreciating the Renminbi. Additionally is the lack of intellectual property right enforcement and unfair competition that China offers. Lastly are China's bad track records with Humanitarian Rights including Lhasa, Xinjiang, and Taiwan.²⁵⁵

Potential Problems Both sides could face problems during development in the coming years. The European Union has potential but it will need to integrate more, and smoothly too.²⁵⁶ The last enlargement showed how problematic new integration can be. China needs to keep up economic growth and assertiveness or else the Communist Party may lose legitimacy in the eyes of its people. The development of democratic or liberal norms may work against the government.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Men, Is There 10

²⁵⁴ Men, David 3

²⁵⁵ Pan 6

²⁵⁶ Scott, China 16

²⁵⁷ Ibid 17

One problem that many theorists have debated is the idea that China has a hidden agenda that it may make clear on day. Scott thinks that anything from China that is written in English is written that way on purpose.²⁵⁸ Chinese true intentions may only be known to them. Are they serious about multilateralism, or only using it to take advantage of the international system? Do they actually intend to peacefully rise, or simply earn friends through soft power on the way?

Potential Future

This last section uses the information presented throughout the studies to predict the possible future between Europe and China. It will include the potential future for each state, their partnership, a trilateral dialogue. It will conclude with points that should be addressed

Europe will likely continue its path towards integration. The original six members (Italy, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands) are extremely interdependent and the rest are increasingly as well. Scott describes its integration as ‘irreversible’²⁵⁹ Austermann believes that relinquishing sovereignty “seems to be a pragmatic choice for the future EU.”²⁶⁰ Should Europe integrate more, France and Germany will have a greater voice internationally. Weaker states will also have more influence

China will begin to reform its policies both internationally and domestically. China has integrated into the world economy enough to feel state socialism affect its perceptions of

²⁵⁸ Multipolarity 1

²⁵⁹ Scott, China 5

²⁶⁰ Austermann 6

itself.²⁶¹ “Chinese society has become more open, eager to take information from the outside”²⁶² China will continually learn from Europe how to be a soft-power in the modern world. At the same time, China will continue to crackdown on domestic insurrection and will remain assertive in its territorial claims.

Domestically China may start to embrace democratic values. The last attempt at revolution was Emperor Guangxu in the late 1800’s.²⁶³ The PRC is increasingly liberal and constructivist.²⁶⁴ In 1987, China enacted an Organic Law of Village Elections that allowed villages to choose their chief and committees.²⁶⁵ Hu Jintao mentioned democracy more than 60 times in the Seventeenth Party Congress (2007) and also stated that ‘there is no modernization without democracy.’²⁶⁶ Premier Wen also said that China needs science and democracy in order to modernize.²⁶⁷ In 2013, China released ‘The Decision’ which said that the PRC will try to find better balance between communism and capitalism, and that the market will run its course as the state helps it along.²⁶⁸ Lastly, and maybe most importantly, if china does embrace democracy it will be a new creation. This will not resemble the liberal EU democracy based on civil rights and freedom, but one based on Chinese history and culture.²⁶⁹

²⁶¹ "EU-CHINA RELATIONS 2015 AND BEYOND." *Business Europe*, 2015, 1-28. Accessed September 27, 2015. <https://www.businesseurope.eu/sites/buseur/files/media/imported/2015-00194-E.pdf>.

²⁶² Men, David 2

²⁶³ "Hundred Days of Reform | Chinese History." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. April 16, 2014. Accessed December 2, 2015. <http://www.britannica.com/event/Hundred-Days-of-Reform>.

²⁶⁴ Men, China 2

²⁶⁵ Larus 435)

²⁶⁶ Ibid 436)

²⁶⁷ Li, Albert. "Beyond Competition: Past, Present and Future on EU-China Science and Technology Collaboration." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 19 (2014): 97-117. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 20 Oct. 2015.

²⁶⁸ EU-China Relations 17

²⁶⁹ Larus 437

Strategic Partnership

Every year the Strategic Partnership becomes more and more in depth. It will develop into a more concrete and defined coalition with reciprocity and equality.²⁷⁰ There exists mutual understanding as well constructivist ideas that each states actions and words are a product of their culture. Discursive Power is bringing different concepts closer together which increases the Partnership's potential. Europe should allow China to continue making its International Organizations, like the Asian Infrastructure and Investment and promote regional integration.²⁷¹ Bank Because of their actions to improve international stability, food security, and technology transfer, the PRC and EU are finally past a simply economic partnership.²⁷²

David Kerr suggests five points the partner should look at going into the future. Each point can be related to regionalism and globalization. How the EU and PRC handle this will dictate future direction of the world.

David Kerr Five Structural Factors for Future Partnership²⁷³

- I. Interdependence and Competition
- II. "Contrast between European structuralism and Asian Organicism, and civil society"
- III. "The restructuring of post-Cold War Eurasian security on the basis of regional cores and inter-regional vulnerability"
- IV. Politics of Central Eurasia and Russia

²⁷⁰ Men, Is There 15

²⁷¹ Burnay 12

²⁷² Fallon 7

²⁷³ Men, David 4

V. EU and PRC Region states versus US Global State

Trade Trade remains the backbone of the EU-PRC relationship.²⁷⁴ Both sides would benefit from a development of their economic interdependence. It is completely feasible for a Bilateral Trade/Investment Agreement to be made in the next decade. This will solidify relations and give a boost to their economies. The New Silk Road will promote infrastructure development around the world and increase both parties' relations with Central Asian States.²⁷⁵ Finally, the trade embargo has a chance to be lifted in the near future should China begin reforming. Laursen argues that "in principle it should be lifted" and that it has long term benefits for both the EU and PRC.²⁷⁶

Military A dialogue between the future EU military force and PLA force will occur.²⁷⁷ It is currently bilateral but eventual integration will likely yield to a military force. Increased support for China in Comprehensive System of Personnel Development missions. Increased joint military actions including humanitarian and assertive missions²⁷⁸

Trilateral Relations One of the reasons for Europe and China to make the Strategic Partnership was to balance out the unilateralism of the United States. Men states that EU and PRC can use their rising power momentum to quickly make the world multipolar.²⁷⁹ They

²⁷⁴ Casarini 3

²⁷⁵ Laursen 19

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Casarini 5

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Men, China 15

should try to convince the US that balancing out is its best course of action and then make agreements towards the new world order.²⁸⁰ This new world order may be described as Eastphalian, non-intervention and sovereignty.²⁸¹

Issues to Address Potential future problems, that may have been mentioned before, are the risk of the CCP collapsing under the weight of capitalism/democracy.²⁸² China could also be undermining the European Union by deliberately conducting bilateral relations with individual member states. China also may be working on a secret agenda that may come at the European Union's expense.²⁸³ The lack of political cohesion in the EU could undermine everything the organization has worked for this last decade.²⁸⁴ The Eurozone Crisis, Lack of agreement, and rotating Council Presidencies all threaten the stability of the Union. Finally, the EU has no leveraging ability against the US or China.²⁸⁵ Should they come to war, the EU will be in a tough position.

CONCLUSION

²⁸⁰ Narramore 4

²⁸¹ Burnay 21

²⁸² Scott, China 18

²⁸³ Scott, Multipolarity 1

²⁸⁴ Scott, China 18

²⁸⁵ Scott, EU 7

The European Union and People's Republic of China are simply the contemporary entities of powerful and historical societies that have existed other side of the globe for thousands of years. For most of their existences they have dominated the global system and that has not changed with the recent Golden Age of the United States. Despite multiple wars, unfair treatment, shady dealings, racism, and different ideologies, China and Europe's relationship has never been better. This relationship, built on economics, culture, and respect for international norms, will dictate the unprecedented New World Order.

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