



EDITED BY JIANWEI WANG AND WEIQING SONG

CHINA, THE EUROPEAN UNION, AND THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

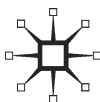


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PREFACE

While on his European tour in March and April 2014, the Chinese president, Xi Jinping, expressed his opinion on cultural difference in his speech on China-EU relations at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium:

The Chinese people are fond of tea and Belgians love beer. To me, the moderate tea drinker and passionate beer lover represent two ways of understanding life and knowing the world, and I find them equally rewarding. When good friends get together, they may want to drink to their hearts content to show their friendship. They may also choose to sit down quietly and drink tea while chatting about their lives.¹

The tyranny of geographical distance is powerful. People living far from each other may appear, behave, and even think differently. Xi's words may inspire those who wish to experience and compare different cultures. The Macao Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China provides a unique situation with regard to cultural differences. Tiny in size, Macao is around 30 square kilometers, and has served as the intersection between East and West for about 400 years. Macao's history as a Portuguese colony led to its position as the only effective entrepôt for exchanging both goods and ideas between China and the West, until the rise of Hong Kong in the mid-nineteenth century.

We, the two editors of this volume, have as residents of Macao the good fortune to be immersed in the amazing synthesis of Chinese and European cultures, found in a wide variety of aspects, from the juxtaposition of very different architectural styles to deliciously hybrid Macanese food. While we enjoy these cultural delights, as specialists in international relations we are also well aware of the real political implications of these differences and the importance of mutual understanding. A lack of such understanding can be serious and significant in the hard reality of international politics.

Today, people can no longer live in isolation, without knowledge of those in other parts of the world. In our era of globalization, different cultures, countries, and peoples are increasingly bound together by irreversible trends and forces. US dominance has been challenged as other powerful entities

emerge, and globalization has triggered a plethora of new issues, particularly that of global governance. China and the European Union (EU) play important roles in both of these trends. The subject area of this edited volume is the interaction between China and the EU in contemporary international relations, focusing on their respective roles and on institutions and issues of global governance.

This edited collection aims to provide cutting-edge analyses on China and the EU, two major world powers, from the perspective of international relations in the arena of global governance. In this, we address both comparative and relational aspects. Global governance is the object to be investigated and also the conceptual tool used for analysis throughout the volume. In comparison to traditional perspectives on international relations, global governance is a more heuristic approach, able to describe and capture the ever-accelerating transformation of current world politics. This book will appeal to scholars and students of international relations, Chinese and European studies, policymakers, and those interested in Sino-European relations in general, Chinese foreign policy, the EU, global governance, and international relations.

The editors are indebted to many individuals who were helpful, in various ways, in the completion of the book. First, we wish to thank the European Union Academic Programme Macao (EUAP Macao), a joint initiative of the EU and the University of Macau, which aims to disseminate knowledge and raise the visibility of the EU in the region. Our gratitude is not only for its generous financial sponsorship but also for its objectives, which inspired and motivated us in our project. We also thank the team of academic colleagues who accepted our invitation, joined us from different parts of the world, and worked together to complete this enterprise. We also wish to thank the group of managers, administrative staff, and graduate assistants at the University of Macau for their indispensable support and assistance, and Rachel Krause and Veronica Goldstein at Palgrave Macmillan for their helpful editorial assistance.

Note

1. https://www.coleurope.eu/sites/default/files/uploads/event/speech_by_xi_jin-ping.pdf, accessed online on August 21, 2015.

INTRODUCTION

NEW PLAYERS AND NEW ORDER OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Jianwei Wang and Weiqing Song

Dramatic Changes of Global Context

The global political system has experienced various ongoing and profound transformations since the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. In general, two themes particularly stand out: the reconfiguration of power relations on a global scale and the accelerated process of globalization, leading to the rise of various global issues, which demand effective solutions that are often beyond the remit of individual states. These two concurrent themes have led to dramatic changes in post-Cold War world politics.

Immediately after the Cold War, nation-states were collectively affected by the unipolar system of the American hyperpower. This unipolar structure is now moving toward a more multipolar system. The United States is still undoubtedly the dominant power, but it has been undergoing a relative decline. Numerous established and emerging powers are increasing in status, such as the traditional Western powers of Germany, the United Kingdom, and France, and also Japan, whose traditional influences and advantages enable them to retain their global position. Russia has inherited much of the power of the former Soviet Union and asserts itself as an important state in the international arena. More noteworthy, a group of non-Western emerging powers from the developing world, including China, India, and Brazil, are also moving up the ranks of the global powers.

This first trend is not unprecedented in history, but the process of globalization and its consequences have brought entirely new experiences and challenges to the contemporary world. Advancements in technology, particularly in communication and transportation, have brought different parts of the world ever closer together, to an unprecedented degree. Instantaneity and deterritorialization have become popular concepts in globalization

studies.¹ Interdependence is now commonplace, as it is part of the ordinary life of tens of millions of people across the world. The processes of globalization have affected security, and the economic, social, and cultural aspects of life, along with local, national, regional, and global systemic tiers. These processes have led to both positive and negative global issues, requiring solutions beyond individual states as the issues themselves are very often beyond state boundaries.

In this global environment, the rise of China and the emergence of the European Union (EU)² as a global power are both extremely important to contemporary international relations. China's growth or, as many analysts argue, its revitalization, represents a major shift in power relations and global geopolitical patterns. Given China's huge population and territory, and its unique history and culture, the effect on the theory and practice of world politics is unusual.³ The EU is the result of an unprecedented integration of European states. It appears to be a conventional organization of international sovereign states, but actually goes much further, as it pools national resources and capabilities. The result is that the EU, similar to many other great powers, is to some extent able to exert influence well beyond its borders.

China and the unique collective of the EU have both begun to assert their respective power in world affairs, and participate in global governance through various transboundary issues. This development deserves particular attention from the academic world, due to its theoretical and political significance. However, the topic of Sino-European relations in global governance is not well studied. Through a serious examination of these new players in the governance of global affairs, we attempt to address this. In essence, we compare both powers, and examine their interactions when facing the same pressing global issues, but we must first discuss the broader context of contemporary world politics, including the rise of China and its increasing international power, the emergence of the EU as a global force, and also the effect of the United States on Sino-European relations.

China's Assertion in the New World Order

By various measures, China is currently a significant global power, politically, economically, and militarily. Its international influence has expanded accordingly, both globally and regionally. In recent years it has searched for an appropriate foreign strategy for developing its external relations in a global sense. Through examining the Chinese leadership's overall strategic position over time, analysts can discern a clear line of evolution in strategic thinking and policy practice. Immediately after the end of the Cold War, the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping offered the widely known "28-Character"

strategy to guide Chinese foreign policy.⁴ Initially, the emphasis was on the principle of *Tao Guang Yang Hui* (to conceal one's capabilities and bide one's time), along with *Jue Bu Dang Tou* (never claim leadership). Since the late 1990s, however, the "conceal" and "bide" principles have been increasingly combined with *You Suo Zuo Wei* (to make a modest contribution). The Chinese government has also frequently articulated the term "responsible great power" within the international community, to express its desire for more active international involvement and participation. The concept of a "peaceful rise" was officially adopted by the Chinese leadership at the beginning of the twenty-first century. From the development of this official strategy, an underlying theme can be identified: China is determined to strengthen its overall capabilities and expand its international influence by adhering to a cautious approach in handling its external relations.

At a practical level, the current Chinese government has defined "four major dimensions" to its comprehensive foreign policy for the new century: great powers as the key, neighboring countries as the priority, developing countries as the basis, and multilateralism as the important venue.⁵ Through this comprehensive approach, China has begun to implement more active policies toward selected states, regions, issues, and venues. Great power diplomacy targets countries with the most power, predominantly in the Western developed world, of which the United States is the most important. Chinese policymakers also identify other major powers, including Japan, Russia, and the three EU member states of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Given their status and influence, relations with these Western powers are crucial to Chinese national interests. However, Chinese leaders admit that difficulties exist in developing relations with most Western powers, due to various differences and divergences. Recently, the concept of "new types of great power relations" has been adopted, emphasizing interaction and cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefits.

Neighborhood diplomacy is another key dimension in China's overall foreign policy. In this, geographically near countries are targeted. The Chinese leadership is determined to construct a favorable environment in its immediate neighborhood. In October 2013, the standing committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) politburo held a Conference on the Diplomatic Work on Neighboring Countries, the first conference to address foreign policy toward neighboring countries. This demonstrates the importance attached to the issue by the Chinese leadership. There is a commitment to promoting friendship and partnership with their neighbors, consolidating friendly relations, and deepening mutually beneficial cooperation with them, thus ensuring that China's development will bring mutual benefits.⁶ China has, however, suffered major obstacles in the smooth implementation of this policy, mainly due to territorial disputes with several neighboring

countries, particularly India, Japan, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Tensions over some of these disputes have in fact intensified in recent years. Analysts have no reason to be optimistic about the possibility of solving these disputes in the foreseeable future. China's neighbor diplomacy is therefore to some extent structurally weakened.

As an alternative, China has attempted to strengthen relations with the wider developing world, focusing on countries that are of strategic significance to its national interests. These include emerging regional powers and regional blocks in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Regarding itself as a major leader of developing countries, China claims its intentions are to increase unity and cooperation with other developing countries, work with them to uphold their legitimate rights and interests, and support efforts to increase their representation and voice in international affairs. As a "reliable friend and sincere partner,"⁷ China has carried out intensive diplomacy on continents near and far, both in groups and bilaterally.

Multilateral diplomacy is also a major focus. The Chinese government has come to realize that its national interests have been increasingly intertwined with the outside world through complex interdependencies. First, a stable and amenable external environment is crucial to China's strategic focus on national development. Second, protection of its ever-growing overseas interests entails direct participation in external coordination. Multilateralism is generally an effective measure for coping with a wide variety of common demands and challenges. The report of the CCP's Eighteenth Plenary Committee explicitly states that such multilateral venues as the United Nations (UN), the Group of 20 (G20), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) are prioritized in China's endeavor to "make the international order and system more just and equitable." China's diplomacy cannot be separated into the four defined areas. Strategic planning and diplomatic practice are instead carried out across the different areas. In this regard, its relationship with Europe is directly connected with its participation in multilateral participation and great power diplomacy.

Sino-EU Relations in a Globalized World

The fundamental shift of great power relations and continuing globalization has led Europe, like other parts of the world, to experience a process of profound changes and readjustments. This process includes drastic changes in social, economic, and demographic patterns; a relative decline of European states in global power status; and the deeper and wider development of European integration. Facing new situations and challenges, European states have attempted to reassert themselves on the world stage,