First Workshop of the
German-Chinese
Graduate School of
Global Politics

China and Europe in 21st

Century Global Politics:

Partnership, Competition or

Co-Evolution?

School of International Studies Renmin University of China Beijing, China 5 March, 2012 - 6 March, 2012

Joint Event by the Center for Global Politics, Free University Berlin & the School of International Studies, Renmin University of China







Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

Sponsored by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Beijing

#### Words of Welcome-Free University Berlin

Dear Workshop participants,

I am very glad to welcome you to the first Workshop of the Graduate School of Global Politics. And I am proud to announce that this is a fully autonomous seminar: our students conceptualized it; they prepared and organized it – from the very beginning until today. That reflects the capabilities of our students, the potential of our Graduate School, but also the centrality of the Chinese-German and the Chinese-European relations.

China and Europe – their governments, and their societies - are important global players. Against obviously different backgrounds and with different legacies they have to confront joint challenges of the 21st century: global capital flows and their effects on societies, climate change, aging societies (both China and Germany are troubled by this), the opportunities and the risks provided by new technologies, the proliferation prospects of Weapons of Mass Destruction, the role of macro regions (the EU, ASEAN, the Arab League), the meaning of failing or failed states and the limits of external nation- or state-building, the impact of emerging fundamentalisms, the unfulfilled longing of any people for bog narratives, making sense of a fragmented global disorder all these issues urgently require attention, and our two counties, both embedded in a wider context, have to play a vital role here.

So it is encouraging to see that a new generation of scholars is emerging, and that they have started to address these issues — by getting involved in good and promising research projects, and also by setting up a vibrant, future-oriented network. This Workshop creates a space for discussion for PhD candidates and recent PhD graduates, for senior graduate students, and for

young professionals with a Europe-China research focus from all over the world.

The topics of this Workshop are quite relevant – high and "low" politics are debated, as well as energy and environmental issues and the crucial role of culture in global politics. At this Workshop, young professionals will exchange ideas on China-Europe related topics and build friendships across borders.

I am convinced that this Workshop will provide you with further opportunities for your academic career development. So I am looking forward to two days of intense, maybe sometimes heated, and constructive exchanges among all the participants.

Let me, finally, thank Renmin University for hosting and supporting this Workshop, and my friend Professor Chen Yue in particular. Let me also thank Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Beijing for the generous financial support that they have granted to make this Workshop possible.

I wish this Workshop a great success.





Klaus Segbers
Professor for Political Science
Free University Berlin
Director, Center for Global Politics

#### Words of Welcome-Renmin University of China

Dear Workshop Guests,

On the behalf of the School of International Studies, Renmin University, I hereby welcome you to the joint Workshop "China and Europe in 21st Century Global Politics: Partnership, Competition or Co-Evolution?", collaboratively organized with the Center for Global Politics at Free University Berlin and our School.

In recent decades we have witnessed enormous changes of the relations between China and Europe in terms of economy, politics, societies, and cultures. At the same time, China and Europe share a global responsibility to tackle common challenges, such as climate change, economic risks and regional conflicts. It is really crucial to identify the common interests of the two major players in global politics. I sincerely hope that the ideas of the Workshop participants about Sino-European high politics, socio-economic transformation, environmental issues, and culture will be valuable contributions to the academic field and also for real politics.

Renmin University is a leading Chinese institute in Humanities and Social Sciences, and the School of International Studies is an important part of Renmin University's engagement in teaching and research related to political science and international relations. We especially the building of international appreciate collaborations with leading universities overseas. The Center for Global Politics at Free University Berlin, headed by Prof. Klaus Segbers, is an exceptional partner in this respect for the School of International Studies, and this Workshop is the fruit and the proof for our successful cooperation. Meanwhile, we are also very pleased to cooperate with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation to organize this Workshop. I hope that this Workshop will be a key step towards deepening

the cooperation among our three parties in the

future.



Finally, let me express my thanks to all participants for their contributions. I wish this Workshop great success.

Chen Yue

Executive Dean of School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

各位尊敬的来宾:

首先请允许我代表人民大学国际关系学院向来参加本次由柏林自由大学全球政治中心和本院联合主办的学术专题讨论会的来宾致以问候,欢迎大家!

最近几十年,国际关系见证了中国和欧洲在经济,政治,社会和文化等关系上面的巨大变迁,同时中欧双方也在应对诸如气候变化,经济危机和地区冲突等方面带来的挑战上面承担有重要的国际责任。明晰双方的共同利益对中欧两个国际关系上的重要力量极为关键。我期待着来自世界各地的来宾和学者的针对中欧关系的精彩观点,对学术研究或是政策建言,本次学术专题讨论会都将是极具价值的。

中国人民大学是中国顶尖的人文社科学府,国家关系学院在政治科学和国际关系教学科研方面独树一帜,是人民大学重要的学科力量。学院一贯重视与全球领先学府的国际合作,Klaus Segbers 教授领导下的柏林自由大学全球政治中心是国际关系学院重要而出色的合作伙伴,本次学术讨论会就是我们双方紧密合作的果实和见证。同时,我们也对在组织工作中康拉德-阿登纳基金会的合作感到愉快,希望本次学术讨论会是一个契机以进一步加深我们未来的合作。

最后,我向所有的来宾致以问候,同时感谢他们的 精彩发言。希望本次专题讨论会圆满成功。

陈岳

中国人民大学国际关系学院执行院长

#### Words of Welcome-Konrad Adenauer Foundation



Nine years have passed since the launch of an EU-China strategic partnership in 2003. In February 2012, the 14th EU-China Summit took place in Beijing, and in three

years more than 1.8 billion "concerned citizens" will see the 40th anniversary of the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between European countries and China.

The rise of China has been a major focus of worldwide attention for many years and, like other global phenomena, has produced very different reactions and assessments in China and in the West. The often cited success of the People's Republic in economic arenas accompanied by an assumed decline of Western "supremacy" at the same time, has spawned many theories based on the development of China's interaction with other regions, especially the US and Europe.

Claims and assertions about exceptional economic growth in the PRC are not immune to many of the problematic side effects of political modernization and transformation; they have the potential to create serious misunderstandings between China and European nations. Yet, despite these problems there still remains much room for cooperation and mutual understanding; this has opened up for exploration by scholars and practitioners a territory formerly believed to be a barren field.

But all too often we depend on clichés, bias and a traditional world-order we used to take for granted. There is this story told of the man who was found looking under the street lamp for a coin he had dropped. When asked where he had dropped it,

he said "Over there", pointing to the darkness. "Why are you not looking there?" "Because the light is here", he answered. Theoretical patterns and assumptions are like the limited light we throw on data and so called facts in international relations. Mere data are but raw material for understanding; they have to be related and interpreted, otherwise remain the dark area in our story. I believe that especially in Europe/China relations we could often be compared to the man who looked only where the light was: we tend to use ready made theories derived elsewhere instead of building on own experiences, eye-witnessed developments and a productive cross-fertilization of ideas.

The impetus for this Workshop-conference on China and Europe in the 21st century stems from our desire to provide an intercultural forum for an in-depth and people-to-people exchange of Chinese and Western scholars, diplomats and students to learn and discuss their views and perspectives on current and future China/Europe political topics.

I am confident that this meeting will provide an opportunity for its participants to become better informed on the genuine problems of inter-regional relations and cooperation that China/Europe dynamics are presently facing. On behalf of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, I therefore sincerely thank all contributors of this event for their efforts in helping to realize these ambitious goals.

Thomas Awe
Director, Beijing Office,
Konrad Adenauer Foundation, PR China

#### The organizers

#### The Graduate School of Global Politics, Free University Berlin

The Graduate School in Global Politics (GSGP) is the first German-Chinese structured doctoral program in the social sciences. It is based at the Center for Global Politics at Free University Berlin and is run in cooperation with several top-level partner universities in China, notably Renmin University in Beijing. The GSGP attracts students and young researchers from all over the world, especially those with a special research focus on Europe and China. It offers high quality training and supervision from a team of internationally renowned scholars. More information can be found on <a href="http://www.cgp-phd.org/">http://www.cgp-phd.org/</a>.

#### **School of International Studies, Renmin University of China**

The School of International Studies (SIS) of Renmin University of China is one of the best research and teaching institutions in China in Political Science and International Relations. Several research centers with different regional and thematic concentrations are part of the SIS, such as the Centre for European Studies or the Institute of World Socialism Studies. Three B.A., eight M.A. and eight PhD degree programs are offered at the SIS. The SIS is one of the main Chinese partner institutions of the GSGP. More information can be found on <a href="http://english.ruc.edu.cn/en/">http://english.ruc.edu.cn/en/</a>.

#### Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Beijing

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) is one of the political foundations of the Federal Republic of Germany, closely associated with the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). With its activities and projects, the Foundation makes an active and substantial contribution to international cooperation and understanding. It is the fundamental aim of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Regional Programme for China to support the Chinese process of reform, focusing particularly on the transformation of the economy and on reforms related to the rule of law. More information can be found on <a href="https://www.kas.de/china/">https://www.kas.de/china/</a>.

# The Organizing Committee: GSGP PhD students, Free University Berlin



Frauke Austermann, GSGP PhD Student

Li Xinlei, GSGP PhD Student





Wang Xiaoguang, GSGP PhD Student

Ren Lin, GSGP PhD Student



#### **Introduction by the Organizing Committee**

Dear Participants,

We are very proud to present you the first GSGP Workshop for young researchers on Europe-China relations. Please allow us to say a few words on the rationale of the first GSGP Workshop in general and this brochure in particular.

All four of us are part of the first and second run of the Graduate School in Global Politics. Having started the GSGP program in October 2009, we are now at a very advanced stage of our doctoral research. This is why we are eager to present and to discuss our findings with other young researchers in the framework of an own GSGP Workshop. Europe-China relations is the overarching theme that connects our dissertation projects which is why we chose the theme "China and Europe in 21st Century Global Politics: Partnership, Competition or Co-Evolution?".

Europe-China relations is a key topic in contemporary global politics generally. In order to produce high quality research, exchange amongst scholars from both regions, China and Europe, is vital. Moreover, to ensure genuine understanding and excellent research results, such exchange should start at a young age. This is why the first GSGP Workshop will provide a unique forum for young scholars from both China and Europe. They will present and discuss key findings of their research on the role of China and Europe in global politics to their peers, to established experts, and to interested guests.

On the following pages we will provide you with the most important information on the first GSGP Workshop, such as the exact schedule, the list of speakers, the papers to be presented, the venue etc.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to the GSGP, notably the Director, Prof. Segbers, the former GSGP coordinator Dr. Claudia Kissling, and her successor Ms Daniela Schmidt. We are extremely grateful to Prof. Chen Yue and his colleagues from Renmin University for hosting the event at the School of International Studies, as well as to Ms Pan Haiyan for the local organizational support. An event such as the first GSGP Workshop would not be possible without financial assistance. We therefore very much thank the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Beijing for their generous support and the organizational assistance, notably the Director Mr. Thomas Awe and the Project Manager Ms Regina Edelbauer.

We are very much looking forward to meeting you in March.

Yours truly,

The GSGP Workshop's Organizing Committee



Brandenburg Gate, Berlin

# Schedule, Papers and Participants at a Glance

Day 1, 05.03.2012

**15:00-15:30** Opening speeches Prof. Chen Yue, Renmin University Prof. Klaus Segbers, FU Berlin

**15:30-16:00** Keynote speech: Clemens Smolders, EU-Science and Technology Fellowship Program China **16:00-18:00** Expert panel discussion: China and Europe in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Global Politics: Partnership, Competition or Co-Evolution?

Moderator: Prof. Klaus Segbers, FU Berlin Panelists:

- 1. Prof. Pang Zhongying, Renmin University
- 2. Prof. Zhou Hong, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
- 3. Frank Hartmann, German Embassy in Beijing

**18:30** – Dinner at Angel Restaurant (opposite to the School of International Studies)

Day 2, 06.03.2012

Panel 1, 09:00-10:30 High Politics and Diplomacy

Expert and moderator: Dr. Enrico Fardella, Peking University

**09:00-09:15** Anastas Vangeli, Post-Graduate Student Renmin University: *On the Obstacles to Greater Commitment in the Sino-European Relations* 

**09:15-09:30** Frauke Austermann, PhD Candidate, FU Berlin/Renmin University: *The Impact of the European External Action Service on EU-China Relations* 

**09:30-09:45** Song Tianyang, Post-Graduate Student, Renmin University: *China's New Role in the Transformation of Asia-Europe Cooperation: Based on Case Study of the ASEM* 

**09:45-10:00** He Yin, Associate Professor, China Peacekeeping Police Training Center; PhD Student China Foreign Affairs University: *China-EU Cooperation on UN Peacekeeping: Opportunities and Challenges* 

10:00-10:30 Questions and answers

**10:30-10:55** Coffee Break

Panel 2, 11:00-12:15 Socio-Economic Transition

Expert and moderator: Marina Rudyak, German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ China)

**11:00-11:15** Prof.Kim Van der Borght /Dr. Zhang Lei, Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies, Free

University of Brussels (VUB): EU-China Relations in Legal Context in the 21st Century

11:15-11:30 Wang Xiaoguang, PhD Candidate, FU Berlin: The Chinese" Economic Assertiveness" and its Implication to IR Theory

11:30-11:45 Wang Liang, PhD Candidate, Tsinghua University / Shi Wentao, Master Student, Tsinghua University: The Interaction between the European Debt Crisis and the EU Integration

11:45-12:15 Questions and Answers

12:15-14:15 Working Lunch

Panel 3: 14:30-16:10 The Role of Culture

Expert and moderator: Prof. Erik Ringmar, Jiaotong University Shanghai

**14:30-14:45** Julia Soeffner, MA University of Cologne: *Mutual Perception and Soft Power in EU China Relations* 

**14:45-15:00** Wang Xinhe, PhD Candidate, Renmin University: *Sino-EU Relations: Challenges Call for Public Diplomacy* 

**15:00-15:15** Ren Lin, PhD Candidate, FU Berlin: *Western Culture, Eastern Culture and Reconciliation* 

15:15-15:45 Questions and Answers

15:45-16:10 Coffee Break

### Panel 4, 16:15-18:00 Energy and Environmental Issues

Expert and moderator: Prof. Huan Qingzhi, Peking University

**16:15-16:30** Dr. Sigrid Winkler, Institute for European Studies, Free University of Brussels: *What is a Responsible Stakeholder? An EU Assessment of China's Role in the Fight Against Climate Change* 

**16:30-16:45** Sanna Kopra, PhD Candidate, University of Tampere: China's Climate Change Discourse from the Perspective of the English School of International Relations

**16:45-17:00** Jiang Shu, PhD Candidate, Renmin University: *An Gaming Analysis of EU's New Climate Policy* 

17:00-17:15 Li Xinlei, PhD Candidate, FU Berlin: Cognitive Learning and Policy Change: Analyzing Renewable Energy Policy Evolution in China

17:15-17:45 Questions and Answers

17:45-18:00 Closing remarks: Frauke Austermann, GSGP PhD Candidate, FU Berlin/Renmin University

#### **Practical Information**

#### Venue and Workshop Registration

The Workshop will take place in Room 408 of the School of International Studies, Mingde Building (in Mandarin: 明德楼) which is very close to the West Gate of Renmin University (in Mandarin: 人民大学西门, pinyin: Rénmín dàxué xīmén; see map below). On March 5, the first Workshop Day, from 2pm onwards you will find a registration desk in front of the Workshop room. The GSGP organizing committee will welcome you and assist you with the registration. The welcome dinner is placed at Angel Restaurant. The working lunch will be at 12:15-14:15pm. Please ask the GSGP organizing committee for more information.

#### How to get to the Workshop Venue

Below are several options for how to get to the Workshop venue. If you need any assistance, you can always call us under 0086-1590-1427-923 (Frauke Austermann, from the organizing committee) or 0086-1581-0574-210 (Li Xinlei, from the organizing committee).

- (1) If you travel from elsewhere of China to Beijing and you stay in Renmin University's guesthouse or in a hotel nearby, there are three options to get to Renmin University:
- 1. Take the Airport Bus Line 4 which costs about 16 RMB. Get off at the bus stop "Friendship Hotel" (in Mandarin: 友谊宾馆, pinyin: Yǒuyì bīnguǎn), then take a taxi to the East Gate of Renmin University (in Mandarin 人民大学东门, pinyin: Rénmín dàxué dōng mén). The taxi should cost about 10 RMB.
- 2. Alternatively, take the Airport Express subway to San Yuan Qiao station (in Mandarin: 三元桥) for 25 RMB. Get a normal subway ticket for 2 RMB and change to Line 10 in the direction Bagou (in Mandarin: 巴沟). Get off at Haidian Huang Zhuang Station (in Mandarin: 海淀黄庄). Take a taxi for about 10 RMB to the East Gate of Renmin University.
- 3. A third option is to take a taxi all the way from the airport to the East Gate of Renmin University (in Mandarin 人民大学东门, pinyin: Rénmín dàxué dōng mén). The taxi should cost about 120 RMB. For all three options it is a short walk from the East Gate of Renmin University to reach the guesthouse/dormitory of Renmin University. From the guesthouse/dormitory, it takes a 15 minutes walk to get to the School of International Studies which is near the West Gate of Renmin University (see map below).
- (2) If you are already in Beijing, the closest subway station to the Workshop venue is Su Zhou Jie, Line 10 (in Mandarin: 苏州街). Take Exit C and walk down Su Zhou Jie (Suzhou Road) southwards. After about 7 minutes you will reach the West Gate of Renmin University (in Mandarin: 人民大学西门, pinyin: Rénmín dàxué xīmén). Enter the Campus and the School of International Studies will be in the first big building on your left hand side. You can of course also take a taxi to the West Gate of Renmin University but be aware of the busy traffic and the frequent traffic jams. Taking the tube is not only cheaper and better for the environment but also oftentimes the faster way of transportation in Beijing.

Please note that if you enter the Campus by car, you have to pay a fee of 1 RMB to the gate guards. Finally, you can access the website <a href="www.zuoche.com">www.zuoche.com</a>. Here you can check the most accessible public transportation to arrive at Renmin University.

#### **Map of Renmin University of China**



## From the Participants:

#### **Expectations**; Motivations; Research Interests



Julia Soeffner
M.A. in Area Studies China, University of
Cologne, Intern at the DAAD Information
Centre Shanghai

EU-China relations have been developing immensely over the last years, covering a wide range of topics. A traineeship at the European Commission's China Unit increased my enthusiasm in everything related to EU-China relations, especially concerning the role and the importance of cultural exchange and mutual perception. As a European who has lived in China,

I got the chance to experience how certain stereotypes and media images influence the perception that we have about each other and how cultural exchanges can have an impact on this perception. I am looking forward to the GSGP Workshop, to discuss with the other participants, and to learn about different angles and viewpoints on Europe-China relations.

Jiang Shu
PhD Candidate at Renmin University



I attend the GSGP Workshop because I have a great interest in Europe-China relations, especially in the field of energy and climate change. Besides, I had gained academic as well as practical experience, such as through internships in this field. I am looking forward to a warm and competitive negotiating atmosphere during the Workshop.

#### **Song Tianyang**

#### **Post-Graduate Student at Renmin University**

I would like to say that it is a great honor for me to participate in the GSGP Workshop. The reason why I applied to join and to present a paper is that I want to share my ideas about the relationships between Asia and Europe. Through this, I can learn a lot from the other young researchers as well as from the senior scholars and practitioners at the Workshop. What I am planning to present is my Master dissertation and I hope to get high quality feedback that will help me to improve my research.



#### **Anastas Vangeli**

#### Post-Graduate Student at Renmin University

In particular, I am interested in the ways in which Chinese and European elites and media frame the bilateral ties and how they portray the other, and how the broader public discourse affects the orientations of both the domestic and the foreign policies of the authorities in Beijing and in Brussels. At the GSGP Workshop, I expect to gain new insights and up-to-date comments on the state of the Sino-European relationship. I am also looking forward to get ample opportunity to discuss my thoughts, and to receive valuable suggestions on my current work.

Regardless of an author's perspective, be it

historical, economic, or cultural, the Sino-European relationship is a challenging research topic. I have spent a few months as a researcher in Europe, including in Brussels, where China is a hot topic in the research and policy circles. Soon after I moved to Beijing and commenced with my graduate studies at Renmin University, Europe is given due attention as well. Dedicating myself to the study of Sino-European relations was a spontaneous decision.



## Wang Xinhe PhD Candidate at Renmin University

I expect that the GSGP Workshop will help us to understand and to enter the special research circle on Europe-China relations. In this vain, I am looking forward to making friends with people who have the same research interests. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China and EU must play crucial roles respectively, not only for themselves but also for the whole world.

The two powers differ from each other greatly in aspects such as history, culture, values, society etc. Economic relations are nevertheless very close. Also, the respective governments have established a comprehensive strategic partnership. This, however, lacks fair and strong public support. In my opinion, it is time to strengthen the role of public diplomacy, so that one side is able to truly understand and tolerate the other. Therefore, I focus my research on China's public diplomacy with the EU. I hope my findings will offer enriching insights in this matter.