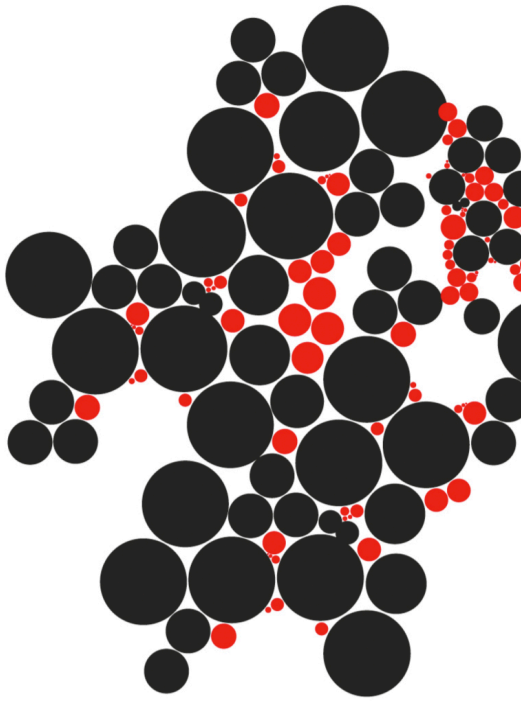


BACHELOR THESIS



EU-China relations between 2001 and 2012:
Towards an all-dimensional strategic
partnership?

**Evaluating the Progress and Change
regarding Environmental Protection
of the Relationship between
European Union and China**

A decorative graphic on the left side of the page. It features two red dots at the top, from which several thin, curved lines extend downwards and outwards, creating a sense of movement or flow.

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Abstract

This thesis implies an analysis on the progress and change of the political relations between the European Union and China concerning the policy area of environmental protection in the period of 2001 to 2012. Hereby it is aimed at answering the main research question: "To what extent did the political relationship between the EU and China regarding the area of environmental protection change between 2001 and 2012?"

Within the theoretical framework it is suggested that there is a shift in high and low politics on the EU-China agenda as well as an influence by spillover-effects within the environmental area. Empirically, the study relies on a literature analysis and a document analysis based on the annual EU-China summits, which will provide background information on the initial set up of the diplomatic relations and the relevant issues in the EU-China dialogue.

It can be concluded that great progress was made in the EU-China relations and that environmental cooperation has been yearly intensified.

It is however, focused on climate change and energy and the realization of action plans does not reflect the discussions entirely. The EU and China have not yet been able to move beyond the stage of dialogue. At least in the area of environmental protection the partnership turns out to be rather extendible and inchoate than strategic and all-dimensional.

It is finally recommended to regard and categorize environmental protection as policy area of new security and to launch EU and Chinese environment representatives serving as mediator and informants.

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III. List of Abbreviations

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
China	The People's Republic of China
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
FS	Fact sheet
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPR	Intellectual property rights
JPS	Joint Press Statement
JS	Joint Statement
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PR	Press Release
PRC	The People's Republic of China
QMV	Qualified majority voting
SME	Small and medium sized enterprise
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyse the diplomatic relations between the European Union (EU) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the period of 2001 to 2012 regarding the policy area of environmental protection. It is aimed at describing how the political relationship between these two actors has changed over time. The central idea is to detect what has altered in the cooperation and how the collaboration on environmental matters has progressed since 2001.

Problem statement

Particularly in non-traditional and modern policy areas, the academic literature expects major problems in EU-China bilateral cooperation due to their variances in their respective international outlook. Möller (2002) argues that approaches to world order issues are mutually contradicting because the EU puts an emphasis on stable democracies whereas the PRC aims at strengthening sovereignty and the interest of its national agenda. He further criticizes that China has a lack of functioning state institutions while the EU has component members surviving as nation-states. Moreover, Sandschneider (2002) explains that relations differ intensively in terms of topics of interest and their discussed intensity. He supposes that diplomatic relations between the EU and China are not as clearly defined as assumed, especially in the process of European integration and newly arising issues like climate change and energy consumption. However, besides the economic interest the EU recognizes that despite the one-child policy China's population is annually growing by 15 million people and gets second in terms of energy consumption. Great impact on energy demand is expected. The European Commission highlights that it will be impossible to handle international issues without taking China's impact on development issues into account due to the country's nuclear power status and its permanent membership of the UN Security Council (UNSC) (El-Agraa, 2007). Hence, China has a significant role concerning global issues.

Since scholars stress difficulties in EU-China relations and since they express a focus on economic-related issues dominating the cooperation, this study aims at finding out how the EU and China cooperate when it comes to environmental concerns. In this respect, Algieri (1999) states that with the expansion of the agenda of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), more and more topics from different policy areas become interrelated. According to the mechanism of spillover-effects, cooperation in one policy area entails cooperation on another issue. It shall hence be observed whether the EU-China relations face spillovers when cooperating on environmental matters. It is suggested that collaboration in one sub-topic of this field is often related to other sub-issues. Reacting on the problem of climate change for instance implicates cooperation on numerous related issues like renewable energies, emission reduction and environmentally friendly production.

When it comes to issues of mutual concern, cooperation is frequently needed in order to tackle them. Topics like climate change; energy technology transfer or river basin management can hardly be handled by the single state. Those issues build the bridge to

the theory of interdependency since they cause reciprocal effects between states.

Structure

Within the purpose of this study it is aimed at answering the main research question:

“To what extent did the political relationship between the EU and China regarding the area of environmental protection change between 2001 and 2012?”

The following chapter represents the theoretical framework introducing the relevant theories, concepts and hypotheses that this study focuses on: environmental protection, high and low policies as part of the interdependency theory and the spillover-effect deriving from the theory of neofunctionalism. After that the methodology of this thesis is described. The research design, a document analysis, is led by three sub-questions that seek to gather information about the initial set up of EU-China relations, the relevant issues regarding environmental matters as well as the progress on environmental policies in the EU-China summits. Consequently, the analysis is divided into three sections analysing the evolvement of the EU-China relations first and then analysing the EU-China summits followed by the findings. Afterwards the conclusion and discussion will be presented providing the answer to the main research question. Finally a section on recommendations about the outcomes and observed cooperation between the EU and China will be given.

2. Theoretical Framework: Theories and Hypotheses

The approaches and the theoretical background information derived from the literature will be used to set the theoretical framework for this study and to develop hypotheses for the analysis. Moreover, the sub-questions will be answered based on discussions of the hypotheses. The theoretical framework thus provides a tool helping to answer the research questions.

2.1 Environmental Protection

To begin with, it is emphasized on the policy area of environmental protection in this study since it is a contemporary issue of international, mutual and persistent concern. Due to the fact that tackling environmental problems requires cooperation (O’Neil, 2009), it results in a certain dependency between states. The attention and discussions of this issue are recently rising and environmental matters also became unavoidable to deal with for the EU and China.

Due to the rising demand of its growing economy the People’s Republic of China is in great need of clean energy technology. The European Union on the other side puts environmental issues like climate change and energy as priority issues and claims to be the leading force in supporting a clean environment (Holzer, Zhang, 2008). The interest of this study is examining the cooperation between these actors in the field of environmental protection.

Umbach (2007) states that China increasingly depends on energy imports from other regions and countries, which has a great impact on both the Chinese and the European foreign policy. The author anticipates a strong and close cooperation between the EU and China getting more complex and multi-layered on the one side but he sees new political and economic points of conflict arising on the other side. Especially in the field of environmental protection, global ambitions of the two entities will overlap creating new cooperation as well as different conflicts. That is the reason why enhanced collaboration is getting increasingly important particularly with regard to global crisis management. Thus, Umbach mentions arising common goals as well as points of conflicts between the EU and China when it comes to the policy area of environmental protection. The Director of the Department of Resource Saving and Environmental Protection of National Development and Reform Commission in China, Zhao Jiarong, promotes common goals of the PRC and the EU regarding environmental protection. China aims at drawing energy-saving experience from collaborating with the EU as well as promoting sustainable development in China. The common goal is to launch environmental projects and capacity building programs, which according to Zhao Jiarong can be achieved in cooperation with the EU (UNEP, n.d.). The EU on the other hand also claims the importance of collaboration with China in order to improve environmental matters such as the over-polluted environment and exhausted energy supplies to China. Another goal from the EU perspective is to persuade the Chinese government to adopt emission targets covering the post-Kyoto Protocol time (College of Europe, 2009). Even though both actors state the importance of cooperation regarding the policy area of environment, it is often claimed in the literature that this goal entails points of conflict.

Scott (2009) argues “the future may lead to tensions between the European commercial interests and environmental concerns” (Scott, 2009, p. 211). He further says that the prioritising of long-term environmental considerations over short-term commercial profit and the great locating of European manufactures in China may be something the EU has to embrace in the long-run but that is of macro-scale of things. Moreover, Fox and Godement (2008) mention an economic tension regarding the issue of environmental protection. Putting China’s interest into perspective, it is argued that the PRC wishes that the European engagement on climate change supports rather than interferes its economic development. It wants the EU to provide the technology and investment needed for its persistent development as well as funding to help out specific Chinese regions suffering from climate change. Despite the mutual interest of enhancing environmental protection, the conditions of cooperation are not ideal due to the conflicting interests between the business and society sector. Holzer and Zhang (2008) illustrate this dilemma:

Table 1: The European perspective

Actor	Interest	Way of reaching interest
Government	Security	Through economic gains and selling of clean energy technology
Business community	Profit	Security of IPR, better conditions for entering Chinese market through trade and investment, abolishment of local content rules

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Civil society (voters)	Social security and welfare (jobs, wages)	No negative influences (welfare losses) due to competition from China
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Table 2: The Chinese perspective

Actor	Interest	Way of reaching interest
Government	Security	Political stability through economic growth and clean energy technology
Business community	Profit	Potentially: compete with EU low-energy technology at international low-carbon market, once China has technology to be internationally competitive
Civil society (voters)	Social security and welfare (jobs, wages)	Same as business

Source: Holzer, Zhang, 2008

Table one and two show that even though having the same overall interests of security, profit and social security, the methods and actions to reach these goals might differ between the two actors.

As Umbach (2007) states, close cooperation between the EU and China is essential and inevitable concerning the field of environment. Policy issues of mutual interest and global concern tend not only to require collaboration but often also entail a certain degree of interdependence between the actors and cooperation in other related policy fields. Hence, the theory of interdependency and spillover-effects will provide the theoretical framework in order to observe the relations regarding this policy area.

2.2 The Theory of Interdependency

Recently many nations adopted sophisticated environmental protection policies with the purpose to reduce emissions and to produce in an environmentally friendly way, to encourage natural resources as well as to promote water and waste management. Simultaneously, states become more and more economically interdependent causing that environmental policies and economic interests are barely manageable in a separate way. In terms of environmental protection, states start to depend on each other (O'Neil, 2009).

As being part of common challenges the issue of environmental protection is generally a concern for all states and the EU-China environmental cooperation is thus part of their interdependency. As Fox and Godement state:

“The challenge now is for both the EU and China to combine the transition to low-carbon economies with measures designed to protect growth in the face of the global economic crisis” (Fox, Godement, 2008, p.10).

There is a strong intertwining between economic and environmental issues in EU-China relations, which shows an indicator supporting the theory of interdependency. The high degree of economic integration through trade and investment is one factor determining

the potential on environmental security between the two actors. In recent years, the collaboration in the connected fields of climate change, energy security and technology as well as economy became a priority issue in EU-China relations (Holzer, Zhang, 2008). This also indicates a strong connection between topics related to environmental protection. Energy security for instance is often linked to other sub-areas of environmental policies like the ecological environment, natural resource management or sustainable production. Hence, it adumbrates certain interdependency within the area of environmental policies.

Definition

To put the approach of interdependency into perspective, it places integration into a wider context concerning increasing international interdependence.

The interdependency theory was initially developed in the 1970s, mostly shaped by Keohane and Nye. They described interdependence as an analytical concept, which in the context of world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects between states or actors in different states. According to them, interdependence simply means mutual dependence that frequently results from international transactions (Keohane, Nye, 2001).

International modernization, especially booming in the post-Second World War period, has stimulated political and economic interdependency at a global level. The enlarged levels of wealth, increases in world trade, technological revolution and a transformation of communication have produced that different parts of the world relate to and communicate with each other. In this respect, international actors use new methods and channels to communicate, negotiate, and pursue their goals and to form relationships, which does not only happen on a governmental level anymore (Nugent, 2006).

High and low policies

Moreover, according to the theory of interdependency, the issues on international agendas have changed. In addition to traditional “high policy” issues meaning topics related to security and defence of a state, the “low policy” themes dominate the agendas. Contrary to the widely expected fact that high and low policies deal with the importance of issues, Nugent (2006) provides a political definition of those two terms.

High political issues refer to policies concerned with the existence and preservation of the state. Those are for instance territorial issues, defence and security policy or balance of power.

In opposition to that, *low policies* deal with wealth and welfare of populations such as trade, monetary issues, stability and environmental protection (Nugent, 2006, p.9). Hence, the terms of high and low policy are not related to any importance of issues. Therefore it is worth clarifying that *low* does not equal less important and that *high policies* do not equal importance.

Topics like climate change and energy deal with stability, the welfare of citizens and the environment. Hence, according to the definition, environmental protection can be categorized as a low policy issue. As it will be described in the next section on spillover effects, environmental matters often require cooperation or support not only from the

economic sector but also within the environmental one. Consequently, tackling environmental problems can be part of low and high policy areas.

High and low policies within the area of environmental protection

As the literature defines, high policies refer to security and balance of power whereas low politics deal with wealth and welfare. Nugent (2006) thus categorizes environmental protection as a low policy issue. This study however focuses on environmental protection and hence, the high and low policy issues within this policy area will be observed. The interdependency theory and high and low politics will therefore be applied to a single policy area. Some sub-issues of this policy area can be applied to the characteristics of high policy issues. Deriving from the theory, I define high and low policy issues within the area of environmental protection as follows:

Sub-topics of environmental protection that affect the defence of a state, that can be related to international security or that deal with balance of power shall be defined as *high policy issues* within this area. Examples would be atomic energy, toxin or biological weapons or environment management at an international level. Those are related to security and the balance of power.

Low politics within the field of environmental protection deal with wealth or with improving the overall welfare of the environment, resources or people. Most sub-topics of this area can be categorized as low politics such as emission reduction, clean energy technology, water pollution or farming.

In virtue of the interdependency theory, there is a shift in the high and low policy topics on international agendas after WWII because high policy issues have been joined by low politics. Concerning the purpose of this study, it shall be observed whether this suggested shift could be detected within the area of environmental protection. It will be shown whether low politics of environmental policies have been added to high ones. Based on the theory, a hypothesis regarding the aim of this study can be formulated:

1. *According to the theory of interdependency, it is likely that there is a shift in high and low policy topics within the policy area of environmental protection on the international agenda of EU-China relations.*

The interdependency theory states that the international system is increasingly multi-layered and interconnected in all kind of issues. This means that states come together in many different ways for many different purposes. Those purposes and the goals the cooperation of states entail are likely to change and develop. The spillover-effect as part of the neofunctionalist theory explains the development in relations and their progress in the goals that the actors are setting.

2.3 The Spillover-Effect

As expected according to the theory of interdependency, high policy issues have been intertwined with low policies and international agendas are increasingly influenced by low policy issues. A potential reason for this change in topics might be the spillover-effect. It states that handling one problem often requires cooperation in a related or different policy field and thus forms the connection to the interdependency theory. Before explaining the spillover-effect, the related theory of neofunctionalism will be explicated.

Neofunctionalism

It has been developed in the late 1950s and neofunctionalists generally believe that progress in one area implicates integration in another area. This means that some conditions and political progresses cause integration between functionality and the structure of authority (Obydenkova, 2011).

According to Schmitter (2005) and Jensen (2000) the theory intersects the assumptions of international relations and comparative politics. Even though it recognizes the importance of national states on the one hand, the main feature of neofunctionalism is that it challenges the conventional idea that the nation-state is the sole actor at the international level. Therefore, the neofunctionalist approach is frequently adopted when analysing the integration of states within the European framework.

However, since 1970, neofunctionalism has been subject to criticism doubting its validity and explanation of political cooperation in the EU. The theory focuses on traditional dynamics like spillover, the formation of coalitions (cultivated spillover), the bureaucratization and depoliticization and the formation of transnational interest groups (Jensen, 2000).

Defining Spillover-effects

In this thesis it will be emphasized on the spillover-effect, a mechanism derived from the neofunctionalist approach, since it can be applied to a broader framework than European integration.

A spillover can be defined as:

“The basic process whereby political co-operation conducted with a specific goal (goals) leads to the adaptation of new goals, which require a further expansion of political co-operation” (Jensen, 2000, p.73).

Spillover-effects thus lead to the adaptability of more goals, which includes that a move towards cooperation in a given policy area influences and stimulates cooperation in either another policy area or related sub-areas. In this respect it can be differentiated between four types of spillover-effects. The two main types are functional and political spillovers.

The *functional spillover* arises from the interconnected nature of modern economies making it difficult to stick the cooperation to one economic sector. Specific areas of

cooperation, by virtue of their function, generate new types of cooperation. For instance abolishing border controls between countries in a particular region will implicate cooperation in related fields like border control, immigration or crimes. If these functions are to be obtained, closer collaboration is required (Jensen, 2000). Hence, a functional spillover-effect takes place.

Turning to *political spillover-effects*, this term applies to integration processes linking explicit topics together for rather political than functional reasons. They encompass that national elites and actors increasingly focus on the international level of activity and decision-making because they realize that a problem cannot be solved at the domestic level. Therefore, expectations and political activities are shifted towards an international level (Niemann, 1998; Nugent, 2006). Environmental protection is an adequate example in this context, since nation states tend to form coalitions and to cooperate when dealing with environmental issues because they cannot be sufficiently tackled at the domestic level.

In addition to the two main spillover-effects, Niemann (1998) mentions the cultivated and induced spillovers, which deal more specifically with the aspect of integration.

In terms of environmental protection, many sub-topics and political as well as technical cooperation is necessary in order to effectively reach common goals. Therefore, it will be focused on functional and political spillover-effects rather than cultivated or induced ones. Since the cultivated and induced effects deal with European integration, they are not appropriate for this study. For this reason, they are laid out in table three but not explained in more detail. The following table illustrates an overview of the different spillover-effects.

Table 3: Four types of spillover-effects

Type of spillover	Emerges through	Leads to / spillover effect
Functional	Interconnected modern economies	Areas of cooperation generate cooperation in other areas
Political	Impossibility of solving problem at domestic level	Political activities shift towards international level
Cultivated	Integrationist pressures by EU institutions	Encouragement of integration process in Europe
Induced	Successful integration and changes in trade pattern	Outsiders stimulated to join integration project (geographical spillover)

Spillover-effects within the area of environmental protection

Since this study observes the evolution and process of environmental policies in the EU-China relations, the mechanism of spillovers shall be applied to this sole policy area.

As stated in the definition, spillover-effects can lead to the adaptability of additional goals to the initial and specific ones and can expand political cooperation. It is expected that with the goal of setting the political framework for environmental protection and

with the evolution of first programs and agreements, additional goals will be adapted and further political cooperation becomes necessary in EU-China relations.

Taking the example of climate change as a sub-topic of environmental matters, it entails several issues such as the sea level rise, greenhouse gases or the urban heat islands (Fischer, 2008). According to the theory, it is likely that setting the overall goal of combatting climate change adds a range of other goals more specifically dealing with the mentioned sub-issues. This could lead to an expansion of the cooperation resulting in new agreements and related initiatives.

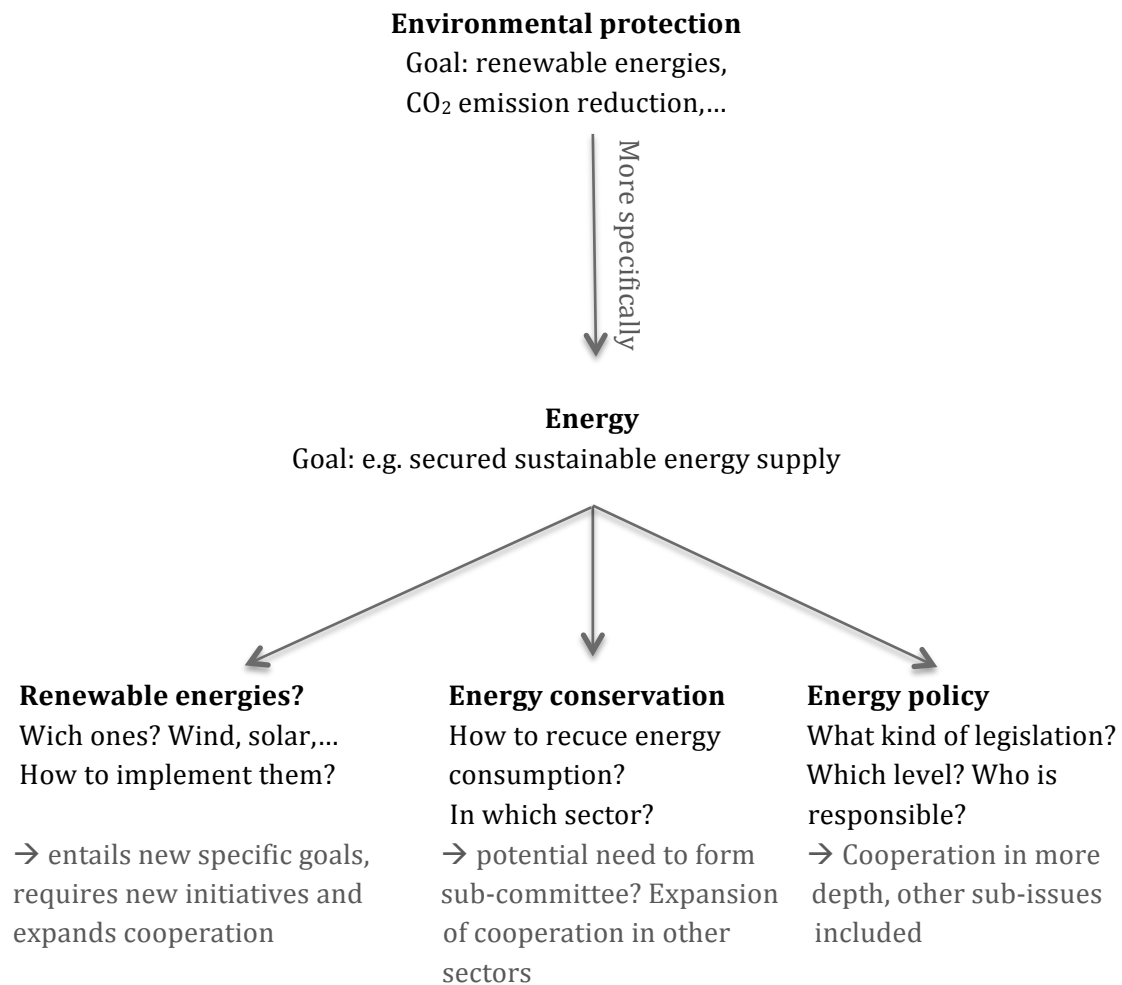
On the other hand, when observing spillover-effects related to environmental protection in EU-China relations, it is suggested that political or functional spillovers as explicated earlier in this section are likely to occur. An example of a political spillover-effect within this area would be if the EU and China decide to widen their bilateral relation and take measures or guidelines initiated by the UN or the Kyoto Protocol. This would indicate an impact of a third or other international actor and relate to a political spillover-effect.

Initiatives on environmental matters that need to be supported by Chinese or European institutions would connect this cooperation with other institutions and thus expand the collaboration. If the program that the EU and China decided to launch needs financial support from the EIB, then an internal functional spillover takes place.

In order to make the mechanism of spillover-effects feasible to the policy area of environmental protection and the cooperation of the EU and China, figure one shall demonstrate how a potential spillover-effect within this area could look like. The example here is the sub-topic energy. One goal regarding the issue of energy can be for instance a secured sustainable energy supply. The next step is to decide how to reach this goal. If renewable energies shall be supported, it is necessary to decide which ones and how. Hence, new more specific goals would arise and cooperation needs to be expanded in so far that certain actors that are affected or that can influence such a program are to be included in the planning. The goal of securing energy supply could also arise the question of how to reduce the current energy demand. This would be energy conservation. The question to deal with is where to start when reducing energy consumption. Here also, cooperation would expand in more detail and sub-committees dealing with this issue in detail could be founded. The third aspect deals with the fact that when implementing energies to reach the goal, it is also necessary to base those on an adequate legislation. New tasks and goals would arise and a spillover towards deeper and more detailed cooperation would take place.

It is to be kept in mind that figure two illustrates a theoretical example of a spillover process in EU-China policy planning on the environmental issue of energy. Energy policies are affected by more factors and contain a wider range of sub-issues than just the three mentioned ones, which depict an example of the energy field.

Figure 1: An example of spillover-effects within the area of environmental protection



Deriving from the mechanisms of spillover-effects, it is expected that those effects can be found in the development and progress of relevant topics in the EU-China dialogue. The agendas might have shifted and topics have been included due to their linkage to other sub-issues. Hence, a third hypothesis can be formulated:

2. According to the mechanism of spillover-effects, it is likely that cooperation conducted with a specific goal in the area of environmental protection generates an expansion of cooperation and leads to adapt new goals within this policy field between the EU and China.

It shall be observed in the analysis whether it is possible to explain a change in the discussed issues of the EU-China summits with the concept of spillover-effects.

3. Research Methodology

This study comprehends a research strategy being of descriptive nature in form of a document analysis. Before explaining the research design, the research objectives will

be described and the research question as well as the three sub-questions will be laid out. In the part on conceptualization the focus of environmental protection will be clarified and the perspective being relevant to the research strategy will be defined.

3.1 Research Objectives

Within the document analysis, the content of the single EU-China summits concerning environmental protection issues will be described. Developments, changes and discussions as well as agreements on topics regarding the policy field will be specified with the aim of describing major changes and trends within the selected timeframe. It will be shown how the focus on different sub-issues changed among the summits and whether a spillover-effect can be observed in this progress.

Scientific and tangible relevance

Wide-ranging research has been demonstrated on the topic of China. Also EU-China relations have been observed, mainly with regard to their economies or the announced strategic partnership. Scholars conducted analyses and comparisons of the EU and China, emphasising China's rapid and extensive economic development or its attitude towards human rights. In existing literature contradictions can be found when talking about the topics on the agenda. It is often stated that the actors started the relations emphasizing on economic benefits and that there was a shift on the agenda towards social and political issues (Dai, 2006). On the other hand, the literature argues that there is no shift in high and low politics at all since the relations between the EU and the PRC are still dominated by economic and trade matters. Fox and Godement (2008) argue that despite Beijing's increasing central role in affecting the global agenda, China's policy towards the EU remains fundamentally economic in nature. Regarding scientific relevance, less research has been conducted on their cooperation regarding environmental protection. This study will explicitly deal with the cooperation on environmental matters, its progress, potential side effects, spillovers and interdependency. The theories initially developed for European integration will be expanded in this context to observe the EU and China's cooperation and relations.

Turning to the tangible relevance of this study, it shall contribute to develop a picture of how two world powers having different values, government forms and economies collaborate on a contemporary, global issue. The economic and political system of China has widely been observed but its characteristics of environmental protection and the potential interdependency with the EU is less known. By analysing the progress and changes with regard to two theories and the policy area of environment, a clear picture of cooperation, points of conflict, potential dependencies and development shall be provided.

3.2 Research Question

The aim is to identify the respect to which the diplomatic relations regarding environmental protection between the EU and China have changed since 2001.

Therefore the area of interest is defined in the following main research question:

To what extent did the political relationship between the EU and China regarding the area of environmental protection change between 2001 and 2012?

In order to address the research question properly and in a structured way, the following three descriptive sub-questions related to the theory lead the document analysis of this paper:

1. How has the diplomatic relationship between the EU and China initially been set up and how has it evolved?
2. What kinds of issues regarding environmental protection are relevant in the EU-China summits?
3. What kind of progress has been made on the discussed topics regarding environmental protection?

3.3 Research Design

As the progress and changes within the development of the EU-China relations will be examined, a correlational design in form of a longitudinal study is suitable for the purpose of this thesis. This research design implies collecting data of the same phenomenon over time, thus changes or variances can be observed (Babbie, 2010). Longitudinal studies generally use records or artifacts to study changes over a specific period of time. Moreover, they have the advantage that they are prevalently more powerful than designs with fewer observations over time (Shadish, Cook, Campbell, 2001). In order to detect shifts or variations within the process of the political relations, the relationship has to be observed over a longer time period. The time dimension in this study will range from the year 2001 until 2012 and includes the analysis of eleven annually published documents. Furthermore, the selected time frame includes the year 2005 being of great interest due to the fact that the strategic partnership between the EU and China has been established in this year. Outcomes will be compared to the hypotheses identified in the theoretical framework; hence, a deductive approach is applied.

Turning to the validity of this research design, non-experimental research generally provides high external validity since it allows generalizing to a whole population or to a broader context. Furthermore, the study consists of a document analysis based on primary sources. Hence, the validity of the data is expected to be pretty fair since the official EU documents will be observed and they provide the direct official outcomes of the external policy making with China.

In addition to that, potential external factors that might have had an impact on the discussed issues or outcomes of the summits shall be taken into account. Examples of those factors can be influential events or happenings of the year that might have affected the diplomatic relations process, like for instance the Tiananmen Square massacre or 9/11.

3.4 Case selection and sampling

The case in this study is the EU-China political relation and the sampling consists of the EU-China annual summits. The EU-China summits are the most suitable base for the document analysis because within the annual summits the leading policy for the cooperation is made. During the summits, all relevant topics are discussed and as the current architecture of the cooperation shows (figure two in the appendix), it forms the top of EU-China cooperative initiatives. Regarding the policy area that is focused on in this study, some specific dialogues and sub-committees have been set up like for instance the EU-China Energy Working Group. It is however not possible to access documents resulting from these sub-committees that would deal with the issues in more depth. No official statements or press releases are published. Therefore, the document analysis will rely on the main instrument, namely the EU-China summits. Every sub-committee, initiative or project regarding environmental issues has been launched within the annual summits. Furthermore, the sub-topics to be discussed in the sub-committees and the ideas for projects and actions are set in the summits as well. Hence, as the official and leading cooperation instrument, the EU-China summits seem to provide a suitable sampling in order to observe the progress of cooperation on environmental issues between the two actors.

3.5 Data collection method and analysis

Within this study, the joint statements and press releases of the EU-China summits will provide the data for the document analysis. The analysis is thus based on qualitative data. The documents contain the discussed issues and outcomes of the annual EU-China summits and can thus be considered as suitable material for the purpose of this study. They are annually published with the exception of the years 2008 and 2011 and derived from the official EU database of external actions. The first EU-China summit took place in 1998 but publications are only available from 2001 onwards. Hence, the fourth until the fourteenth summit will be analysed. A time frame of eleven years and eleven summits is assumed to be appropriate to define trends and changes within this period.

Turning to the actors involved in these summits, the President of the European Commission, the Head of State of the country the summit is held in, the EU High Representative of the CFSP and the Secretary-General of the Council of the EU permanently present the European side. On behalf of China, the Premier of the State Council of China, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Commerce attend the summits.

The mentioned participants are attending every year but it is worth mentioning that the attendance of additional actors varies among the summits.

When analysing the documents, the issues and discussions on environmental matters shall be identified. Those can be compared to the hypotheses found in the theoretical framework. The analysis shall not only show the crucial discussion points and relevant topics but also a development of their presence. It will be seen which topics are included in which years and for how many years. Hence the development and the trends in the

EU – China political relations on environmental protection will be investigated, which allow answering the sub-questions of the main research question.

3.6 Conceptualization

Since the empirical base of this study is not of explanatory nature and since no causal relationship will be examined, this part shall not conceptualize any variables. The section on conceptualization is rather used to clarify what the focus of environmental protection captures and to explicate the perspective from which it is observed and analysed.

When conducting the analysis it is focused on the policy area of environmental protection, for this reason the term will be briefly defined and it will be clarified which sub-topics this field include.

According to the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), environmental protection is defined as:

“Any activity to maintain or restore the quality of environmental media through preventing the emission of pollutants or reducing the presence of polluting substances in environmental media” (OECD, 2003).

It consists of and will be observed by means of changes in consumption patterns, production techniques, protection of environmental facilities, recycling and the prevention of degradation of the landscape and ecosystems.

Sub-topics like climate change, energy, genetic engineering, emission reduction, technology transfer, biodiversity, environmental disasters and farming discussions will be observed in the analysis. Moreover, issues such as toxins, waste and pollution will be included as well in the frame of environmental protection. All topics related to environmental issues will be taken into account in this study.

Turning to the political perspective of this study, relations between states are not only formally established by the governments, but external actors from the economic or academic sectors play a role as well. It is essential to state that this study analyzes the relations of the EU and China from a political perspective. The EU-China summits describe the relations formed by the governments and involved politicians. Thus, external influences are not included in this analysis. *Diplomatic* relations would cover a broader range because they are nowadays no longer restricted to states. Since this study only analyses the EU-China relations formed by politicians, the relations have been termed as *political* rather than diplomatic in this thesis. For the purpose of this study, it is focused on a political point of view because this is what the data allows to. The relations between the EU and China encompass a continuous process in which relations, goals and interests are established and pursued.

4. Description and Analysis: Moving towards an all-dimensional strategic partnership?

In order to provide a clear and appropriate answer to the main research question, the three sub-questions will be answered first. Therefore, the analysis section is divided into two parts dealing with these research questions. Whereas the first section attends to the evolution and current situation of the EU-China diplomatic relations, the document analysis addresses the second and third sub-question referring to issues and developments in cooperation on environmental issues. Both the analytical literature review as well as the document analysis will aim to evaluate the two hypotheses and to confirm or respectively reject the applicability of the interdependency theory and the spillover effects in the case of EU-China environmental cooperation.

4.1 EU-China diplomatic relations

The academic literature helps to reply to the first question asking about how the diplomatic relationship between the EU and China has initially been set up and how it has evolved.

The following part will outline the beginning and the establishment of the diplomatic relations and will illustrate their historical environment and milestones. The part about the status quo on the contrary gives a more precise understanding of how the relations are currently going on and how the two actors establish their “strategic partnership”.

4.1.1 Evolution of the EU-China relations

1975-1999

Diplomatic relations between the European Union and China have been established in 1975 when Christopher Soames was the first European Commissioner visiting Beijing. During the Cold War, European relations to Asia were primarily based on Cold War principles and due to political and ideological restraints at that time, it was the progress of economical and commercial relations that became priority and that stimulated states for cooperation.

Chinese leaders have declared modernization and economic development as their national core interests in 1978 and in May of the same year the first trade agreement between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the People’s Republic of China has been signed.

From the 1980s onwards, the Chinese government began to consider Western Europe as a potential new pole in a future multipolar world order (Casarini, 2006). Consequently, the first political consultations with regard to European political integration took place among the country’s ministers. The People’s Republic joined the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and became a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (El-Agraa, 2007). In 1985, the Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation has been signed setting the framework of the EU-China relations at that time.

As the chronology of EU-China relations (table four in the appendix) shows, the Sino-European contact has been developed under the influence of several remarkable events. The Tiananmen Square events in Beijing happening in 1989 have considerably marked the EU-China relations. As a reaction to the massacre, the European Community (EC) froze the relations, imposed sanctions which happened parallel to those posed by the US and on the EU Council summit in 1989 in Madrid, it was furthermore decided to set up the arms embargo that is valid until today. By now, the established relations do not only concern economic matters anymore. The massacre strongly influenced the relationship and entailed political actions in another sector than just the economic one. This provides an indication for the first political spillover in the EU-China relations.

During post-time of the massacre China made an effort to change its human rights legislation which the EC accepted as justification in order to re-establish the relations with China. In 1992, a new bilateral political dialogue was created. As the first EU member state, Germany formulated a strategy towards Asia in the following year. The "Asien Konzept der Bundesregierung" highlighted the significance of East Asian markets for the EU, which gained statistical support when the trade with East Asia exceeded the EU-US trade for the first time in 1992 (Casarini, 2006).

Regarding the evolution of the EU-China relations, the institutional set up of the EU has been influential as well. Within the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) has been established in the second pillar entailing that decisions in this field will be made on unanimity base. The two instruments "common positions" and "joint action" have been introduced. The Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 added the function of a High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy. Furthermore, voting requirements have been loosened; the qualified majority voting (QMV) for joint actions as well as constructive abstention have been introduced. The aim was to allow member states to abstain from unanimous decisions (Glen, Murgo, 2007). The CFSP has considerably evolved and been integrated in the EU's institutional structure.

The European Commission published its first paper concerning relations to China in 1995. In "A long term policy for China-Europe relations" China's growing importance for the world and for Europe is highlighted. Moreover, the Commission mentions a direct EU policy with the aim to support China's internal and external liberalizing trends as well as the strategy of "constructive engagement" for integrating the People's Republic into the world community (European Commission, 1995). This specific strategy will be up-dated in all following publications (see table four in the appendix) and its purpose is to promote Chinese involvement in the international arena in all dimensions. Hence, the content of the relations broadened and was no longer based on economic issues only. A change in the relevant issues took place as well as a spillover towards other topics. The EU focuses on the transformation process of China, having the conviction that this policy would lead to an adaptation of political liberalization and human rights by the People's Republic. This engagement clearly shows a shift towards different levels. Political intervention, an international level and different dimensions are included in the Commission's long-term policy. This plan involves deeper cooperation than the economic and trade relations and indicates a spillover-effect. Besides that, the EU

noticed that in face of the one-child policy, China's population is growing rapidly and that the country is second in terms of energy consumption. Therefore, it will impact greatly on the energy demand and thus on the physical environment. Hence, the EU regards it as crucial that China plays an essential role in the international policy negotiations on environmental issues. Furthermore, the Commission emphasized that China's nuclear power status and permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) indicates the impossibility of handling international issues without taking China's impact into account. Hence, China is a key player when it comes to global security (El-Agraa, 2007).

In 1998, the political dialogue between the two entities has been broadened and the first EU-China Summit was held, which has intensified the relations to a great extent. The agenda has been extended to security issues, economic and trade concerns, human rights and the inclusion of global issues like illegal immigration and drug traffic. In this context, the symbolic significance of the expanding political dimension has been credited. After the second EU-China summit in 1999 the bilateral agreement on China's potential WTO membership has been signed and the EU financial aid for the state has been added to 70 million by 1999. (Algieri, 1999).

4.1.2 Status quo: a "strategic partnership"?

2000-2012

In 2001, shortly after the second EU-China summit in December 2000, the Commission published a communication called "EU Strategy towards China: Implementation of the 1998 Communication and Future Steps for a more effective EU Policy". One reason for the Commission to push ahead the support for China's WTO membership is the European move towards the Chinese market. A WTO membership would address a shift away from the bilateral towards an international level and hence, it can be related to a political spillover-effect.

This Commission document also includes an economic and trade-oriented policy in order to help the societal transformation process in China (Algieri, 1999). China becomes the 143rd member of the WTO in December 2001 but stays classified as a non-market economy since this status provides the possibility for other countries to impose anti-dumping measure.

The following events that mark the EU-China relations chronology deal to a greater extent with the human rights issue. The promotion of human rights and the rule of law as well as democracy have been stated in the founding treaty of the European Union. Within the Nice Treaty in 2001, these fundamental objectives and the EU's commitment to promote them has been extended to economic, financial and technical areas. Article 181a in the treaty expanded human rights to all parts of the EU external relations:

"Community policy in this area shall contribute to the general objective of developing and consolidating democracy and the rule of law, and to the objective of representing human rights and fundamental freedoms"
(Article 181a, as cited by Glen, Murgo, 2007, p. 334).

When publishing the paper “A maturing partnership: shared interests and challenges in EU-China relations” the Commission became more precise in the human rights topics that have been debated. This paper was specific in demanding an improvement in China’s human rights record, in the progress made in terms of torture, in the use of the death penalty and the protection of minority rights. Moreover, the communication called for a “strategic partnership”:

“It is in the clear interest of the EU and China to work as strategic partners on the international scene. EU and Chinese interests converge on many issues of global governance (...). Through a further reinforcement of their co-operation, the EU and China will be better able to promote these shared visions and interests, and thus to shore up their joint security and other interests in Asia and elsewhere. (...) The EU shall continue to speak out its human rights concerns, and to encourage the rule of law and political reforms in China” (*European Commission, COM (2003) 533 final*).

In EU-Chinese relations the Commission’s policy papers have been kind of unilateral declarations until the Chinese government responded in 2003 by publishing “China’s EU Policy Paper”. In this document, China emphasized that it needs to improve economic ties and to obtain advance technology from the leading nations worldwide. Therefore, enhancing economic and scientific relations with the EU is regarded as a highly strategic long-term objective by the Chinese leadership. They wish the EU to become their largest trading partner.

Since this responding paper has been published eight years after the first Commission paper, some potential reasons for this late reaction shall be suggested. One possible reason is the time-consuming decision making process in Chinese political fields. Secondly, some issues require further clarification from the EU side. A third potential reason for a relatively late response is that China has to oblige a bit in some issues since without the endorsement of the European partner, the accession into the WTO would have been questionable (El-Agraa, 2007).

Within the 6th EU-China Summit in October 2003, the EU and China acknowledges each other as “strategic partners”. A main idea to this partnership is that the cooperation has gained a new strategic importance and status. The declaration of the strategic partnership was stimulated by the central issue of the agreement about China’s participation in the Galileo Global Navigation Satellite System and by the EU’s promise to initiate discussions about a potential lifting of their arms embargo. As mentioned by Casarini, Avery Goldstein states that China’s purpose of the strategic partnership is to enhance attractiveness to other great world powers while keeping flexibility by not aligning with a particular state. This type of partnership gives the Chinese leaders the freedom to express own concerns about the US primacy without alienating America (Casarini, 2006). Hence, Goldstein suggested that China aims at improving its international status and enhancing the emergence of a multipolar world order by corresponding with the EU and in particular its large member states.

In his speech at the Investment and Trade Forum in Brussels, Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao declares that the strategic partnership needs to be comprehensive and entail cooperation in terms of traditional security:

“It is a shared view of the two sides to work for a comprehensive strategic partnership. By “comprehensive”, it means that the cooperation should be all-dimensional, wide-ranging and multilayered. It covers economic, scientific, technological, political and cultural fields, contains both bilateral and multilateral levels, and is conducted by both governments and non-governmental groups. By “strategic”, it means that the cooperation should be long-term and stable, bearing on the larger picture of China-EU relations” (Wen Jiabao, 2004).

In the “China Country Strategy Paper 2002-2006” the Commission mentioned the EU’s support for China’s transformation process that has firstly been discussed within the constructive engagement strategy from 1995. In this paper three major goals from the European side for China’s transformation process are identified. The first aim is to encourage the social and economic reform process, which focuses on the integration in the WTO and the development of human rights resources. Secondly, the EU wants to provide China with expertise on environment and sustainable development issues and the third objective includes the Commission’s support for projects in China fostering the rule of law (Casarini, 2006).

At this point it is worth mentioning that with the aim of China’s WTO integration and its development of human rights, a reform process regarding the social and the economic sector is stimulated. With regard to the theoretical framework of this study, this shows a spillover-effect into different sectors. The cooperation is linked in different issues and dimensions.

The current Commission paper “EU-China: Closer partners, growing responsibilities” firstly mentions frustrations from the European side about China’s slow progress in human rights concerns. Furthermore, it states that the EU expectations are not being met and that the dialogue needs to be more focused (Glen, Murgu, 2007).

When describing the status quo of EU-China relations, besides observing the opinions of both sides on the strategic partnership, it is also worth having a look at the current economic situation. Since the second half of the 1990s exports from China grew by more than 10 per cent. Casarini further argues that China’s active industrial policy has turned the state into a low-cost competitor in high skill industries. He states that a fast growth in skill-intensive imports from China let the EU face a great challenge because it is the reason for EU member states growing trade deficits. In the period of 2000 until 2004 the EU-China trade almost doubled (Casarini, 2006).

Table 5: EU trade with China (in millions of euro)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Average growth 2000-2004 (in %)
Imports	74.4	81.6	89.6	105.4	126.7	+ 14.3
Exports	25.8	30.6	34.9	41.2	48.0	+ 16.9
Balance	- 48.6	- 51.0	- 54.7	- 64.2	- 78.7	

Source: Casarini, 2006

Trade and economy are obviously a dominant topic in EU-China relations from the outset on. Economists criticize that whereas China mainly exports labour intensive goods and mechanical products having little technological background, the EU exports mainly capital-intensive goods like steel and chemicals to China. Over the last few years, China's active industry policy has turned the Republic into a "low-cost competitor in high skilled industries" (Casarini, 2006, p.16). Worth to mention in this context is that the decision of lifting the EU arms embargo has been postponed since 2005 due to the US opposition and China's passing of the anti-secession law.

4.2 Document Analysis: EU-China Summits

Within the analysis of the annual EU-China summits, it will be described which issues regarding environmental protection have been dominant in the discussions since 2001. Furthermore, the development and the progress concerning environmental matters in the EU-China cooperation will be described within the document analysis. Hence it will be replied to the second and third sub-question dealing with relevant issues, high and low policies and the changed and progress in the summits content.

A tabular form of the analysis depicts table six in the appendix.

4th - 9th summit

To begin with the fourth EU-China summit held in 2001 in Brussels, mainly trade issues and China's potential accession in the WTO dominated the agenda.

The topics of environmental protection and energy concerns have been stated within the discussion on sectoral dialogues for the first time. Hence, in the fourth summit environmental protection has been included and the first foundation for further discussion has been set. However, no concrete agreements or statements have been made.

This changed in the fifth summit in 2002, when a special obligation to environmental issues has been stated. China and the EU declared their commitment to the World Summit on Sustainable Development and to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change as well as to the Kyoto Protocol. Those international initiatives shall also provide the framework for EU-China cooperation in terms of environmental matters.

Coming to 2003, it is worth mentioning that the sixth summit was more extensive and that a broader range of issues as well as new ones has been talked about. Within the publication of China's and the EU's first policy papers, an agenda for the future and several common priorities have been identified. No issues dealing with environmental protection are included in this list of priorities.

Besides that, when talking about environmental issues, cooperation on the ecological environment shall be planned. While it was not talked about environmental protection to a great extent, the issue of atomic energy security has been involved in the discussions on security matters. The aim is to deal with atomic energy in a safe way. This issue can be related to environmental matters and is the first sub-topic that can be categorized as a high policy issue.

The sixth summit however, contains a focus on "strengthening the exchange of high-level visits and political dialogue (...) increasing cooperation at a multilateral level" (Sixth China-EU Summit, p. 2). Here, the focus is no longer set on trade relations only. The expansion of the relationship towards a multilateral level indicates a spillover-effect. An additional emphasis on security relationships is mentioned in this context, which highlights a high policy issue.

The joint statement of the seventh summit in 2004 has been supported with a press release called "EU-China summit: new steps in a growing relationship" (Europa Press Releases, 2004). A crucial aspect in this summit is that the EU arms embargo in China has been an issue for the first time. The EU expressed its potential will to "continue to work towards lifting the embargo" (Council of the European Union, p. 2). The actors stated that this consideration is due to the significant development of the EU-China relations in recent time.

Leaders of both sides also endorsed financing agreements for new cooperation projects within the seventh summit. However, none of these projects deals with environmental protection. Hence, it raises the question whether these issues are seriously of as great concern as it is constantly stated in the summits if their initiatives are not financially supported. The importance of tackling environmental concerns has been declared but fiscal support for this field is not provided.

However, in 2004 the shared commitment of environmental issues has been deepened to river basin management, reducing emissions, support for China's introduction of EU emission standards, technology transfer, information and staff exchange. According to the theory, those sub-topics can be categorized as low politics. A planned technology transfer, staff exchange and exchange of information directly links the topic of environmental protection to the economic, academic and societal sector, which shows a functional spillover-effect. Besides that, it is stated that the EU-China development cooperation program notably progressed in the field of environment and sustainable development. It can indeed be observed that the EU-China summits comprehend more and more issues and that remarkable sub-topics in the area of environmental protection have been added to the cooperative framework. Hence, a first spillover within the field of environmental policies can be observed. Since the foundation of environmental considerations in the summits in 2001, a range of sub-issues and deepening within this field followed in this summit in 2004. In this context it is also worth mentioning that the

nowadays highly discussed issue of emissions came relatively late into the EU-China dialogue since it has firstly been mentioned in the seventh summit.

Both sides stress the importance of emphasizing on the UN Millennium Development Goals and that the environment can only be successfully protected if international actors work together in the long run. The UN plays a great role in this context. This awareness within the EU-China summit relates to a shift towards not only the UN but to the whole international arena. Therefore a political spillover-effect within the area of environmental protection can be observed here.

As the seventh summit included a lot of discussion on the selected policy area, the eighth summit dealt with the issue to a rather little extent. During the meeting both sides issued a Joint Declaration on Climate Change, which shall confirm the establishment of a EU-China partnership on climate change. Furthermore, the transfer of low carbon technology and coal technology with the aim of promoting clean energy and sustainable development are part of this Joint Declaration. Following the last summits in which both sides agreed on sticking to the Kyoto Protocol and the UN Development Millennium Goals, this is the first declaration between the EU and China on this issue, which established a partnership on climate change.

All in all, in the summit of 2005 the emphasis was put on trade and technology issues. The Commissioner for trade, Peter Mandelson, published a paper called "Challenges and Opportunities for EU and China in the Age of Globalization".

In the ninth summit in 2006, the leaders confirmed sustainable development as one major issue of their relations. The goal is to build and ensure a resource-efficient and environment-friendly society. The progress on the EU-China Climate Change Partnership has been welcomed and it was approved to work on a further plan covering the period of 2007 until 2010. Here the focus shall be put on reducing the costs of technology and their transfer as well as deployment. The range of discussed environmental issues thus increases and besides the atomic energy security, all of those issues are low politics.

Before continuing with the analysis of the other EU-China summits, table seven shall provide an overview of which initiatives and decisions have been made concerning the policy area during the EU-China summits. The table shows the intermediate progress of initiatives launched the summits.

Table 7: Intermediate progress: Achievements and agreements regarding environmental protection from 2001 until 2006 / 4th-9th EU-China summit

Year	Agreement	Purpose
2005	Issuing of Joint Declaration on Climate Change	Confirming the establishment of a EU-China partnership on climate change
2005	China-EU Dialogue on Energy and Transport Strategies	Strengthen mutual understanding, promote the exchange of information, develop cooperation in this topic

2006	Work plan for climate change partnership in period of 2007-2010	Work positively towards rolling work plan implementing the partnership for the next period
2006	EU-China High Level Working Group on Energy ¹	Meets twice a year, discuss energy cooperation strategy, reviews common projects, define future ones

Even though the discussions in the summits comprehended a wide range of subtopics and agreements in the issue of environmental protection, the table shows that plans that have actually been implemented do not cover all issues discussed. Climate change and energy concerns are covered to a great extent whereas sub-topics like pollution and waste, intensive farming or genetic engineering are completely left out.

10th – 14th summit

Continuing with the tenth summit held in 2007, it has to a great extent been dedicated to the issue of environmental protection including in-depth discussions on a broad sort of sub-topics. Whilst the EU-China relationship has been evaluated in the first part, it was agreed that the new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement should not only cover the full range of relevant topics but also update the 1985 EEC-China Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement. An up-dated overall framework has hence been set.

In terms of environmental protection the two sides stated an emphasis on cooperation in the fields of:

- Sustainable production and consumption
- Pollution control and management
- Natural resource management
- River basin management
- Biodiversity conservation
- International environmental governance
- Emergency response to environmental accidents
- Chemicals management
- Disposal and management of dangerous wastes
- Clean technology transfer.

Thus the topics that have been criticized to be left out until the ninth summit are included in the environmental framework of the EU-China relations by now. From this list, international environmental governance and emergency response to environmental accidents can be defined as high policy issues within the observed policy area since they deal with international security and balance of power.

The leaders still attach great importance to the issue of climate change and state that there is a need of improvement in the cooperation. The working plan on the Climate Change Partnership should now include province-level programs; public awareness and both sides consider technology as a main instrument to address climate change. The connection in this context that the authors in the literature review made can also be

¹ Established in 1996 but firstly referred to in a EU-China summit in 2006

observed in the summit. However, no problems or exploitation is mentioned, just that there is a connection. This connection to the province level, public awareness and technology within the framework of the Climate Change Partnership shows a functional spillover to other related areas within the environmental field.

Within the tenth summit, the EU and China witnessed the signing of a framework loan for China from the European Investment Bank to support projects contributing to the fight against climate change. This framework covers a sum of 500 million euros. The two actors also endorsed a new project concerning the energy issue. It is planned to establish a China-EU Clean Energy Centre but the exact task is not yet defined.

Moreover, for the first time, agricultural concerns and the control of animal diseases are included in the environment discussion in a summit. Therefore, the range of low policy issues extended. Here it is worth mentioning that these issues have simply been mentioned. Concrete action plans do still just cover the areas of climate change, energy, biodiversity and emission reduction. In the implementation of plans, issues like pandemics, environmental disasters, farming and land use as well as genetic engineering like genetic pollution or genetically modified food have not been tackled within the EU-China cooperation on environmental issues.

All in all it can be said that with the identification of common obligations regarding environmental protection, the loan provided by the EU to support China in climate change projects and with the idea of a China-EU Clean Energy Centre, the tenth summit comprehends and shows great development in the policy area.

In 2008, no EU-China summit took place.

The Joint Statement of the eleventh summit in 2009 provides noticeable little input of the discussion and content of the summit. As the EU and China started to set up their “comprehensive strategic partnership” their relations in general dominated the summit. Regarding the issue of environmental protection, the Joint Statement on Europe-China Clean Energy Centre has been signed. It is agreed to address global challenges like climate change.

The twelfth summit took place in the same year and has been lead by discussions about trade, business, finance and science and technology. It is suggested that the recent financial crisis had an influence on the agenda of this EU-China summit. In the beginning the participants stress the urgency of global problems including environmental protection. It is detected that the complex and continuously changing international context requires EU-China relations increasingly transcend their bilateral framework to an international dimension. The actors agree that there is a need to constantly work on the cooperation when it comes to climate change. Financial support by developed countries shall be provided for developing countries and technology shall be supported. The discussions get more technical in terms of climate change and near-zero emission power generation technology through carbon dioxide capture and storage shall be advanced and developed.

The People’s Republic of China set quantified national targets to limit the carbon intensity of its economy, which has been appreciated by the Union. In conclusion of the

twelfth summit it can be stated that the actors are aware of the need to develop cooperation in the area of environmental protection. The need for this is stated in every summit. However, after having declared this need, no tangible ideas or measures have been mentioned and the summit has been clearly dominated by economic and financial matters.

Turning to the thirteenth summit held in 2010, with regard to the 35th anniversary of the EU-China relations the leaders see new phases and new opportunities in the relations. Particular importance in EU-China dialogues is attached to political, economic and trade as well as macro-economy affairs. Furthermore, the actors stipulate that appropriate climate change and energy policies are necessary in order to foster energy efficiency and the green and low-carbon development. The cooperation established under the framework of the EU-China Climate Change Partnership and the Energy Dialogue shall be enhanced and research and development cooperation as well as technologies will be included.

Before examining the current and most recent EU-China summit, it is essential to state that there was no summit held in 2011.

The fourteenth summit thus took place in 2012 in Beijing. In terms of energy policy great progress can be observed within this summit. Regarding environmental protection, it was agreed to convene a EU-China High Level Energy Meeting in which it shall be focused on energy security and energy science and technology. For the first time the actors discussed cooperation in the automotive sector and stressed the necessity of reducing energy consumptions and of developing the electro-mobility. This emphasis on the electro-mobility and automotive sector connects the topic of environmental protection to the economic and technological field, indicating a functional spillover-effect.

Furthermore, the two sides declared to enhance the support for small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) in energy-related innovation. In order to guarantee this support, China has launched a fund for “Science and Technology Cooperation of SMEs in Energy Field”. A common goal that has been arranged is intensifying the cooperation on the EU-China Climate Change Partnership and to transform their economies along a low carbon and green path. Another development that took place under the environmental framework was the plan to establish a new cooperation project focusing on reducing water pollution, heavy metal pollution and on waste policy.

A last point worth mentioning is that the EU and China plan to launch a partnership on sustainable urbanization on the next summit.

It can be observed that several new projects and initiatives have been started within the summit in 2012. Besides that, by adding electro-mobility, the automotive sector, water pollution and waste policy to the agenda of environmental issues, new low politics have entered the dialogue. Table eight depicts the progress made in the policy area of environmental protection from 2007 until 2012.

Table 8: Achievements and agreements regarding environmental protection from 2007 until 2012 / 10th-14th EU-China summit

Year	Agreement	Purpose
2007	EIB witnessed loan to China	To support climate change projects in China
2009	Joint Statement on Europe-China Clean Energy Centre	
2009	China sets quantified national targets on carbon intensity	To limit carbon intensity in own country
2012	EU-China High Level Energy Meeting	In-depth exchanges on energy security and energy science & technology
2012	China fund for Science & Technology Cooperation of SMEs in Energy Field	Deepen cooperation in energy-related R&D and innovation, support for SMEs
2012	Cooperation project on reduction of water pollution and waste policy	Establish a project tackling the problem of waste and pollution
2012	EU-China partnership on sustainable urbanization	Cooperation on urban planning, energy supply for cities and energy demand management

4.3 Results

Within this section the three sub-questions will be answered. The answers are based on both the results derived from the analyses and additionally they will be discussed based on the hypotheses. Hence, the theoretical framework provides support when answering the research questions. After that the hypotheses developed from the theory will be considered and evaluated based on the outcomes of the analyses.

4.3.1 Answering the sub-questions

1. *How has the diplomatic relationship between the EU and China initially been set up and how has it evolved?*

The first part of the analysis describing the evolution and the status quo of the EU-China relations provides an answer for the above-mentioned question. Initially the EU-China relationship has been set up for trade and economic reasons in the post Cold War period. Worth mentioning in this context is that at that time, the European Union was still named European Economic Community which has also been founded for economic reasons in the first place. In the 1980s there were the first considerations of a future world order and the two sides started to take their relationship more serious. In 1989 the Tiananmen Square events remarkably affected the relations as well as the resulting EU arms embargo on China. Both actions caused a break and a loss of trust in the relations. In the 1990s both sides have recognized the growing importance of the EU-

China relations and the Commission focused on China's transformation process, which firstly put political liberalization into perspective.

According to the interdependency theory and the first hypothesis, it is likely that there is a shift in high and low politics on international agendas. In the analysis part on the evolution of the relations and the status quo, there are identifiable shifts in high and low policy issues that help explaining the evolution in general.

The set up of the relations got viable by the first EU-China summit in 1998. The economic relations set up in 1975 began to be multi-layered and thoughtful and the topics on the agenda broadened. There was a slight shift away from economic issues since human rights, democracy and the rule of law played a great role for the European side. In the beginning the EU-China relations have been based on trade and economic advantages, which can be categorized as low politics. The human rights issue build the first bridge towards security and welfare issues. The inclusion of high policy topics happened in 1998 with the first EU-China summit. Here, security issues like illegal migration or drug traffic have been included in the relations. Moreover, due to China's transformation process the relations evolved in a different direction. The EU's support for this process influenced that the relations are no longer only based on economic and trade issues but that they got deepened.

The relations and their set up have been influenced not only by these historical events but have been led by published policy papers of the EU and of China and by the summits containing an increasing range of goals and policy areas. Besides that, a shift from low policy issues towards high politics is recognizable. Compared to the reason for the initial set up of the relations, they have been impacted by the shift towards high politics and hence, the relations broadened and their evolution included high politics, too.

2. What kinds of issues regarding environmental protection are relevant in the EU-China summits?

Relevant sub-issues regarding environmental protection

Within the analysed timeframe, the dialogue on environmental protection has been initiated in 2001 and a commitment towards this issue has annually been stated by the EU and China. By 2003, however, environmental protection was not included in the list on priorities. In 2004 the cooperation on environmental matters has been intensified and besides the commitment towards the Kyoto Protocol and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, a range of sub-issues has been included in the summit discussions: emission reduction, river basin management, technology transfer and staff exchange.

Since 2005, there is an official partnership on climate change between the two actors and as table seven in the analysis shows, the plans and actions regarding this policy field began to develop. Additional sub-topics in this year are clean energy transfer, coal emission technology and energy and transport energies. In 2007, climate change programs at a province level and public awareness have been added to the dialogue. Since 2012, the environmental discussions within the EU-China summits broadened and included the following issues: renewable energies, smart grids, sustainable urbanization, water pollution, waste, science and technology referred to environmental

matters like electro-mobility or the automotive sector. Sub-issues regarding land use, farming, pandemics, genetic engineering, or environmental disasters have not been included in the EU-China discussions on environmental protection

As stated in the answer to the first sub-question, a shift from low to high politics could be observed. Based on the analysis, the theory on high and low politics can give support to answer the second sub-question and to define relevant sub-issues. Therefore, relevant high and low policy issues within the field of environmental protection shall be explained, too.

Relevant high and low policy issues regarding environmental protection

Within the area of environmental protection, some sub-topics could be defined as high policy issues. Since environmental matters are categorized as low politics by definition, most sub-issues are consequently low politics. However, some of them can be applied to the characteristics of high policy issues. Firstly, atomic energy is a sub-topic of the environment and deals with international security and nowadays also with defence of a state. Therefore it can be defined as high policy issue. The same reason applies to biological and toxin weapons. Secondly, international environment management can be related to balance of power on an international level and thus be categorized as high policy issue. Table nine illustrates discussed high and low policy issues of the summits related to environmental protection.

Table 9: High and low policy issues of the EU-China summits related to environmental protection

Summit and year	High policy issues	Low policy issues
6 th , 2003	Atomic energy security	Ecological environment
7 th , 2004	Peaceful use of nuclear energy	Reducing emissions, river basin management
8 th , 2005	-	Clean energy transfer, carbon technology, bio diversity, river basin management
9 th , 2006	Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons	Resource efficiency, climate change related technology, greenhouse gas emissions
10 th , 2007	International environment governance, Emergency response to environmental accidents	Pollution, clean technology, chemicals, disposal and waste, biodiversity conservation, Kyoto Protocol, EU-China Clean Energy Centre
11 th , 2009	-	Climate change in general
12 th , 2009	-	Renewable energy cooperation, clean coal, bio fuel
13 th , 2010	-	Climate change and energy policies, green and low carbon development
14 th , 2012	-	Automotive and electro-mobility

		sector, water pollution, heavy metal pollution
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Most relevant issues regarding environmental protection in the EU-China summits are low politics. They include emission and renewable energy cooperation, environmental technology, river basin management, biodiversity, pollution, waste, automotive and electro-mobility. Relevant high policy topics are related to security and international power management like nuclear energy, toxin and biological weapons, emergency responses and international environmental governance.

3. What kind of progress has been made on the discussed topics regarding environmental protection?

In 2004, a range of sub-issues has firstly been included in the dialogue on environmental protection. Therefore, a progress in the awareness of several topics regarding environmental protection can be observed. Table six in the appendix shows a tabular overview of the progress made.

Regarding the progress on environmental protection within the EU-China summits, a commitment towards that issue has been stated from 2001 on. In 2003, this commitment got a bit more detailed by increasing the cooperation in nuclear energy and ecological protection. However, in the same summit a list of priority issues has been agreed on and a year later in the seventh summit financial support for certain projects has been set up. Environmental issues have neither been included in the priority list nor in the list of fiscally supported subjects. Hence, actually dealing with this policy area developed rather slowly since 2001.

In 2005, the partnership on climate change has officially been established and a financial agreement on China-EU biodiversity and river basin management has been endorsed. In addition to that, the China-EU Dialogue on Energy and Transport Strategies has been launched. The eighth summit therefore shows great progress in environmental matters. Besides that in 2009 a Joint Statement on the Europe-China Clean Energy Centre and quantified national targets on limiting carbon intensity in China have been set. The last two initiatives have been launched in 2012: the EU-China High Level Energy Meeting and a partnership on sustainable urbanization. Considering this and also table seven and eight in the analysis that list the initiatives, it is noticeable that most projects which have actually been introduced deal with energy or climate change. Those issues can be identified as the leading issues in the discussions on environmental protection that get most attention. Regarding the projects and initiatives that have been started, it can be said that all in all great development and progress has been made since 2001.

The second hypothesis and the mechanism of spillover-effects help to illustrate the progress made on the dominating topics of energy and climate change. Due to spillover-effects the cooperation of these issues got intensified and developed in more detail. The cooperation on climate change for instance has been established in 2005. From this cooperation, a work plan resulted which included more and more goals and issues

related to climate change. Financial support from the EIB was needed which depicts a spillover-effect towards the fiscal institution of the EU within the area of environmental protection. Figure three shows that with the initial set up of the climate change cooperation, new goals have been added due to the spillover-effects, which results in new initiatives.

Figure 4: Progress and spillovers in EU-China climate change policies

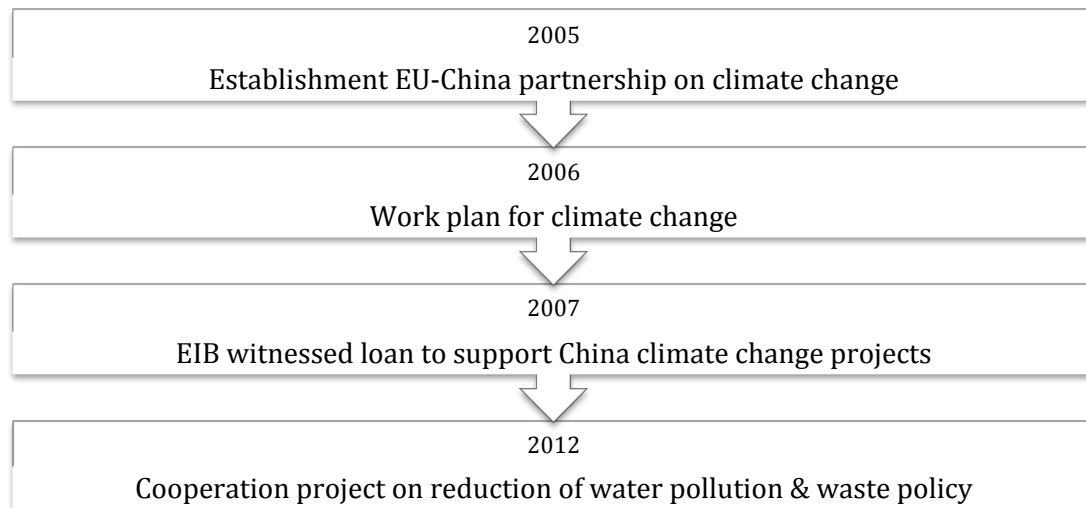
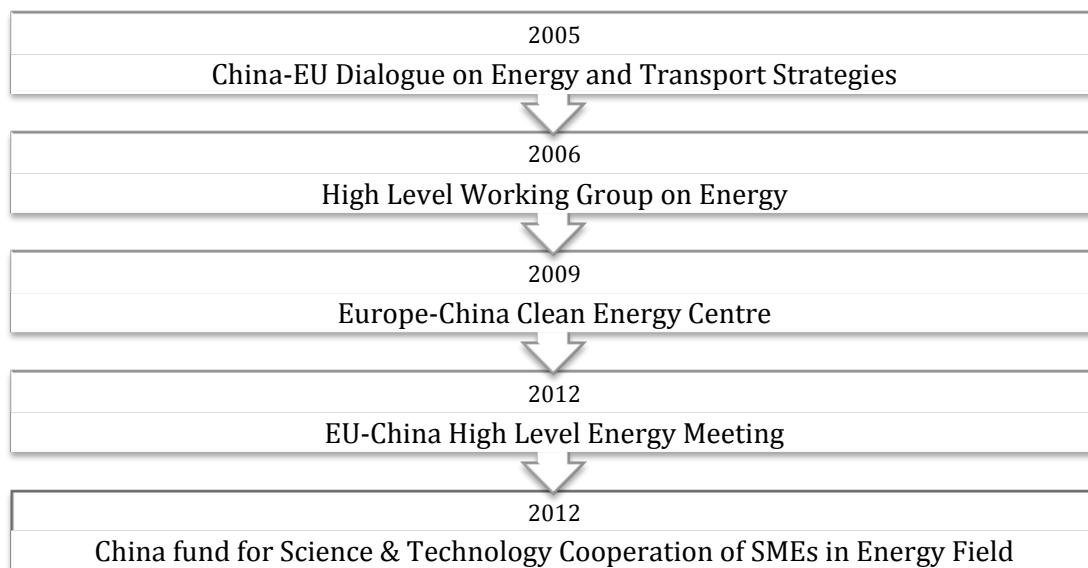


Figure four illustrates the progress for the sub-topic of energy. Here as well it can be observed that with the set up of the dialogue focussing on energy and transport strategies the work on energy get intensified by launching a working group in which it was decided to establish a clean energy centre. There are spillovers within the area of environmental protection and within these two concrete sub-topics. Due to those, the progress within these topics can be reconstructed.

Figure 4: Progress and spillovers in EU-China energy policies



Many sub-issues regarding environmental protection have been discussed but only energy, climate change, waste, water pollution and science and technology have actually been tackled by the implementation of relevant proposals and plans. Many sub-issues have not been addressed or been covered in implemented action plans.

To sum up, it can be stated that the most relevant environmental topics discussed in the EU-China summits are energy supply and climate change. Moreover, the implementation of several initiatives shows that great progress in the policy area of environmental protection has been made since 2001. The Union and China obviously put a lot of commitment to climate change and the energy problem. However, this process does not cover a broad range of sub-topics.

4.3.2 Discussion on the hypotheses

1. *According to the theory of interdependency, it is likely that there is a shift in high and low policy topics within the policy area of environmental protection on the international agenda of EU-China relations.*

Table ten lists the high and low policy issues within the field of environmental protection that have been discussed in the EU-China summits from 2001 until 2012. As stated in the answer to the second sub-question, it becomes clear that most environmental matters can be categorized as low policy issues. The table starts with the year 2003 since the dialogue on environmental matters has firstly comprehended specific sub-issues from this year on. In the summits in 2001 and 2002 commitment towards environmental protection has been stated and no specific issues have been mentioned, hence no high and low politics can be categorized in these two years.

High policy environmental issues have been discussed in the summits in 2003, 2004, 2006 and 2007. In the following years, no high policy issues regarding environmental protection have been included in the dialogues. Hence, within the observed timeframe, there was a balance of high and low policy issues until 2007 but since then the low policy issues dominated the agenda of the EU-China summits on environmental protection. Therefore, a shift from a balance between low and high politics towards low policy issues can be observed, based on the analysis of the summits from 2001 until 2012. This shift can be observed only within the area of environmental issues. Therefore, there is empirical evidence to confirm the first hypothesis.

It is worth mentioning that when applying this hypothesis to a broader context than just environmental issues and testing it based on all discussed topics, it is likely that another shift will be observed.

2. *According to the mechanism of spillover-effects, it is likely that cooperation conducted with a specific goal in the area of environmental protection generates an expansion of cooperation and leads to adapt new goals within this policy field between the EU and China.*

Spillover-effects within EU-China environmental policies

A broad range of issues and concerns has been added to the EU-China agenda on environmental policies in 2004: emission standards, river basin management, technology transfer and staff exchanges. This shows a spillover-effect insofar as that the goal of protecting the environment that started in 2002 by sticking to the UN framework and with a focus on the ecological environment in 2003 got expanded to other sub-areas within the environmental field. EU-China environmental policies implicate new goals and an expansion of the cooperation in this field for the first time. Those consequences are part of the definition on spillover-effects.

The analysis shows that the expansion of sub-issues and new goals within the environmental frame of the EU-China dialogues continued throughout the time. In the tenth summit in 2007 agricultural concerns and the control of animal diseases have firstly been discussed. In the same summit it was also decided to extend to the working plan for climate change towards the provincial level and to focus on public awareness and on technology. The shift towards the province level and the inclusion of more sub-issues within the climate change cooperation depicts a spillover-effect. Figure three and four, illustrated in the response to the third sub-question, show the progress and the spillovers within the area of climate change and energy. Moreover, the progress tables seven and eight in the analysis comprehend the purposes of the single agreements. It can be observed that those purposes got intensified and that they covered a broader range from times to time, thus, the specific goals expanded to new ones. In 2012 for instance, within the High Level Energy Meeting it was decided to cooperate on energy security and technology. In the same year a fund for the more specific cooperation on energy innovation for SMEs has been launched. Hence the goal got more concrete and specific. In response to that, a partnership on sustainable urbanization has been established which emphasizes on energy supply for cities as well as urban areas. Therefore, the purpose of supporting SMEs expanded towards a new goal, namely supporting urban areas. This is an example of a spillover-effect within the environmental policies of the EU and China. At this point it is however worth mentioning that these effects within one environmental field could only be observed for the issues of climate change and energy since those are the only issues where steady progress has been observed. The analysis does not show evidence for spillover-effects within other sub-topics of environmental protection.

The second hypothesis expects spillover-effects within the policy area of environmental protection in EU-China relations. The analysis has shown that those effects could be observed for the sub-areas of climate change and energy supply. Hence, for these two areas the hypothesis can be confirmed, based on the analysis of the EU-China summits.

Besides the spillover-effects within the EU-China environmental policies, some spillovers being related to the area of environmental protection have been detected in the analysis. They shall briefly be explained since they show potential spillovers towards other policy areas.

Spillover-effects related to environmental protection

The first spillover-effect can be detected within the fifth summit in 2002 and a second one within the seventh summit in 2004. In those summits, the UN Millenium Development Goals have been defined as common goals and the importance of international actors, particularly the UN as a whole, has been recognized in order to enhance environmental protection. The EU and China thus stated that the environment cannot be improved by their bilateral agreements only and that a shift towards an international level is necessary. This shows a political spillover-effect.

Within the seventh summit in 2004, another functional spillover-effect can be found. The discussions about environmental protection firstly contain the aim of technology transfer, exchange of information on methodologies and staff exchange. These goals affect the economic, societal and academic sector as shown in figures one and two in the theoretical framework.

Moreover, within the tenth EU-China summit a loan from the EIB has been signed in order to support climate change projects initiated by the EU and China. Thus, a functional spillover took place because the economic and financial sector has been included due to financial support. This observation fits to figure one, which provides an example in the theoretical framework.

In 2012, the China fund for Science and Technology Cooperation of SMEs in Energy Field has been established. This initiative directly links clean energy technology to enterprises and aims at deepening the cooperation and education about the topic of renewable energy. Consequently, the overall topic of environmental protection has been connected to technology, the economic and educational sector. This describes a functional spillover-effect. Another issue found in the twelfth summit supporting this specific spillover is the automotive sector and electro-mobility.

To sum up, the suggestion that environmental protection as specific topic generates cooperation in other policy areas arises. The seventh, tenth and fourteenth EU-China summit show that launched projects for environmental protection have been related to financial and educational matters and thus affected other sectors. Cooperation concerning environmental matters involved cooperation in other, namely financial, economic and technology related topics.

Since the tested hypothesis in this study deals with spillover-effects within one area and since the focus of this study lies on environmental policies, the assumption that cooperation in the area of environmental protection generates cooperation in another policy area shall remain material for a broader-designed follow-up study.

5. Conclusions and discussion

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the progress and change in the EU-China relationship regarding the policy area of environmental protection in the period of 2001 to 2012. Hence, in the following, the main research question: *“To what extent did the*

diplomatic relationship between the EU and China regarding the area of environmental protection change between 2001 and 2012?" will be addressed.

Since 2001, remarkable development and progress in the EU-China cooperation on environmental policies can be determined. From the initiation of the dialogue on environmental matters in the fourth summit, six initiatives, working plans and cooperations have been established since then. Of all goals and plans discussed, the following agreements have actually been implemented and realized:

- 2005: Joint Declaration on Climate Change
- 2005: China-EU Dialogue on Energy and Transport Strategies
- 2006: EU-China High Level Working Group on Energy
- 2009: Joint Statement on Europe-China Clean Energy Centre
- 2012: Cooperation project on reduction of water pollution and waste policy
- 2012: EU-China Partnership on Sustainable Urbanization.

The analysis of the EU-China summits shows that the planned cooperation on environmental protection took form. Compared to the fourth summit in 2001, great progress has been made and extensive dialogues have been held until 2012. There is definitively change in the relations on environmental matters since discussions have been deepened and agreements and policies have been implemented.

From the list of actually realized initiatives it becomes obvious that the sub-topics of climate change, energy and waste and pollution dominate the EU-China discussions on environmental matters. All in all, the analysis has shown that the dialogue on environmental protection broadened and intensified from year to year. The discussions in the summits on sub-issues became more and more intensive. Topics like the automotive sector and the goal to reduce emissions have been talked about. Hereby, common goals and targets have been set. Hence it can be concluded that within the analysed framework, the relations on environmental matters have developed and changed greatly.

It is however essential to mention that the actual realization of plans and agreements do not reflect the content of the discussions. From all the areas and sub-topics that have been part of the goals and discussions, only climate change, energy, waste and water pollution are actually covered in action plans. Most discussed issues are left out.

For this reason, the strategic partnership seems not that strategic when it comes to the field of environmental protection.

Turning to conclude the findings on the hypothesis and theoretical part, the interdependency theory that stated a shift in high and low politics can be confirmed. It can be concluded that the dialogue on environmental matters in EU-China political relations started rather broad by stating a general commitment to that topic in 2001 and 2002. In 2003, certain sub-issues have firstly been added to the discussions so that high and low politics could be categorized. From 2007 onwards, only low politics have been observed within the summits and the issue of environmental protection. High policy

issues have dealt with international security and the balance of power and all other sub-topics have been termed low policies deriving from the definition provided by Nugent.

Coming to spillover-effects, those could be observed within and related to the area of environmental protection. Especially the characteristic of spillovers that new goals are likely to be adapted leading to an expansion of cooperation has been found in this analysis.

5.1 Moving towards an inchoate strategic partnership

With regard to the two hypotheses and the applied theories, the step towards the planned strategic partnership starting in 2003 shows a remarkable change. This strategic partnership entails “all-dimensional, wide-ranging and multi-layered” cooperation (Wen Jiabao, 2004) that aims to cover all policy fields at all levels.

Even though the analysis shows a great progress of the overall development of the EU-China relations, the progress in the specific area of environmental protection lacks realization of the discussions. The analysis of the EU-China summits showed that those are still dominated by economic and trade issues. The cooperation and development in this area is deeper and contains more agreements and attention than the area on environmental protection. It thus seems exaggerated that the partnership can be described as a strategic one on an “all-dimensional and multi-layered” level. Despite the fact that the relations comprehend a wide range of topics, the intensity of the issues and the collaboration among them differs to a great extent. This analysis revealed that the ideas and goals concerning environmental protection are set and that the willingness to realize them is there but that action plans do not cover much about what has been discussed. The EU and China have not yet been able to transform their complete dialogue on environmental protection into systematic cooperation. Some initiatives concerning climate change and energy security have provided a solid base for cooperation. However, in most matters regarding environmental protection, the actors have not been able to move beyond the stage of dialogue. Therefore it can be concluded that at least in the area of environmental protection the partnership is rather inchoate and extendible than strategic.

5.2 Limitations and implications for follow up studies

As the current architecture of the EU-China relations shows (figure two in the appendix), a number of sub-committees and sectoral dialogues deal with the topic of environmental protection in more depth. Those sub-committees resulted from the EU-China summits and aim at tackling specific sub-issues of environmental protection in more detail.

Hence, it cannot be guaranteed whether all action plans regarding EU-China cooperation on environmental matters have been detected in this analysis. Furthermore, analysing the actual development and progress made in those sub-committees like for instance the EU-China High Level Working Group on Energy would offer a deeper insight knowledge of the actions and cooperation. However, no documents are officially published and it was therefore not possible to include them in this Bachelor study.

Moreover, this study is limited to a political focus but for a follow up study it is advised to observe the *diplomatic* relations meaning to include the economic, societal and academic sector in the analysis. This could provide a practical and reality-based view of the EU-China relations.

Another limitation of this study worth mentioning is that only the documents published by the EU have been analysed. Even though those documents form agreements signed by both representatives of the EU and China, it would have been interesting to involve similar documents and material published by the Chinese government for the purpose of this study. Therefore, it is necessary to point out that the outcomes do not only rely on a political dimension and the environmental focus but that they are also to a certain degree limited to the European perspective.

As implications for a follow-up study it is suggested to include publications and documents about the summits published by the Chinese side and to interview people that are directly involved in the EU-China relation building from all sectors. That will provide an overall view connected to reality and not simply political decisions.

6. Recommendations

As observed in the EU-China summits, the dialogue on environmental protection has been initiated in 2001. Albeit the fact that there is continuous cooperation and dialogue on this issue between the EU and the PRC, their opinions on contemporary environmental issues often differ. In 2005 for instance, the EU stressed the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to bring Iran's nuclear power program before the UNSC. China officially expressed its will against this and pressured in collaboration with Russia the condition that the UNSC takes no immediate action (Biscoop, Odgaard, 2006). Another current example is that the Chinese governmental oil company CNOOC plans to buy the Canadian oil and gas company NEXEN in order to safe its energy supply and to be more independent. The planned takeover however still needs to be accepted by the Canadian government, the USA and the EU, which officially doubts about this deal (Spiegel, 2012).

While the EU and China publicly highlight their "strategic partnership" they contradict on issues like the aforementioned example at the same time. This leads to question and doubt the competence of their partnership. In order to foster their partnership and to make it strategic, the two actors should cooperate on an international level and discuss specific topics before disagreeing in public. Concerning environmental matters, it is necessary that the actors strengthen and expand their cooperation projects and launch initiatives explicitly covering their discussed aims and goals. Most of the points such as technology transfer and explicit emission reduction that they agreed on in summits have not been realized by the cooperation projects. The established sub-committees and plans show solid and expandable environment cooperation but there is a need to increase their numbers and to link them to the common goals in this field.

Environmental protection as part of “new security”

In order to realize the proposals enhancing environmental protection, it is suggested to regard the policy area of environmental protection as belonging to the field of “new security”. Security issues have been relevant in all EU-China summits that have been part of this analysis. Besides that, in contrast to the topic of environmental protection, security issues are categorized as high priority topics and they gain much more financial support than other issues (Umbach, 2007). Considering the environment as part of international security also stimulates to regard international and bilateral cooperation no longer as a zero-sum game providing relative gains but to see it as an opportunity of generating win-win situations by cooperating.

EU and China environment representatives in the summits

As the current architecture of the EU-China relations (figure one in the appendix) shows, there are several sectoral dialogues explicitly dealing with energy security or climate change. Within these sub-committees representatives of the relevant field of both sides attend the meetings. However, in order to avoid public disagreement as mentioned in the example above and in order to generate a continuous and precise establishment of cooperation in the area of environmental protection, representatives of this policy field of both sides, the EU and China should attend the annual summits. Such representatives could exemplify the process in China and in the EU and could also inform about decisions and discussions of sub-committees. Hence, coherence between all relevant committees and between the progresses within both areas could be guaranteed. Those representatives can also stimulate the implementation of action plans that exactly tackle the issues and sub-topics that still need progress.

Moreover, it is often criticised in the literature that the institutional set up of the EU, the rotating EU presidency and the complexity of the EU decision making process make it difficult for third countries to understand which person or institution is in charge of certain topics (Algieri, 1999). Therefore, having European and Chinese representatives for environmental matters could also avoid this problem. They could serve as informants and mediators and could enhance cooperation on environmental matters even more. They need to be involved in the annual summits and all relevant sectoral dialogues. Besides that their task would be to report positive and negative developments and to evaluate existing initiatives. Thereby a clear overall picture could be established and the discussed aims in the summits could effectively be realized.

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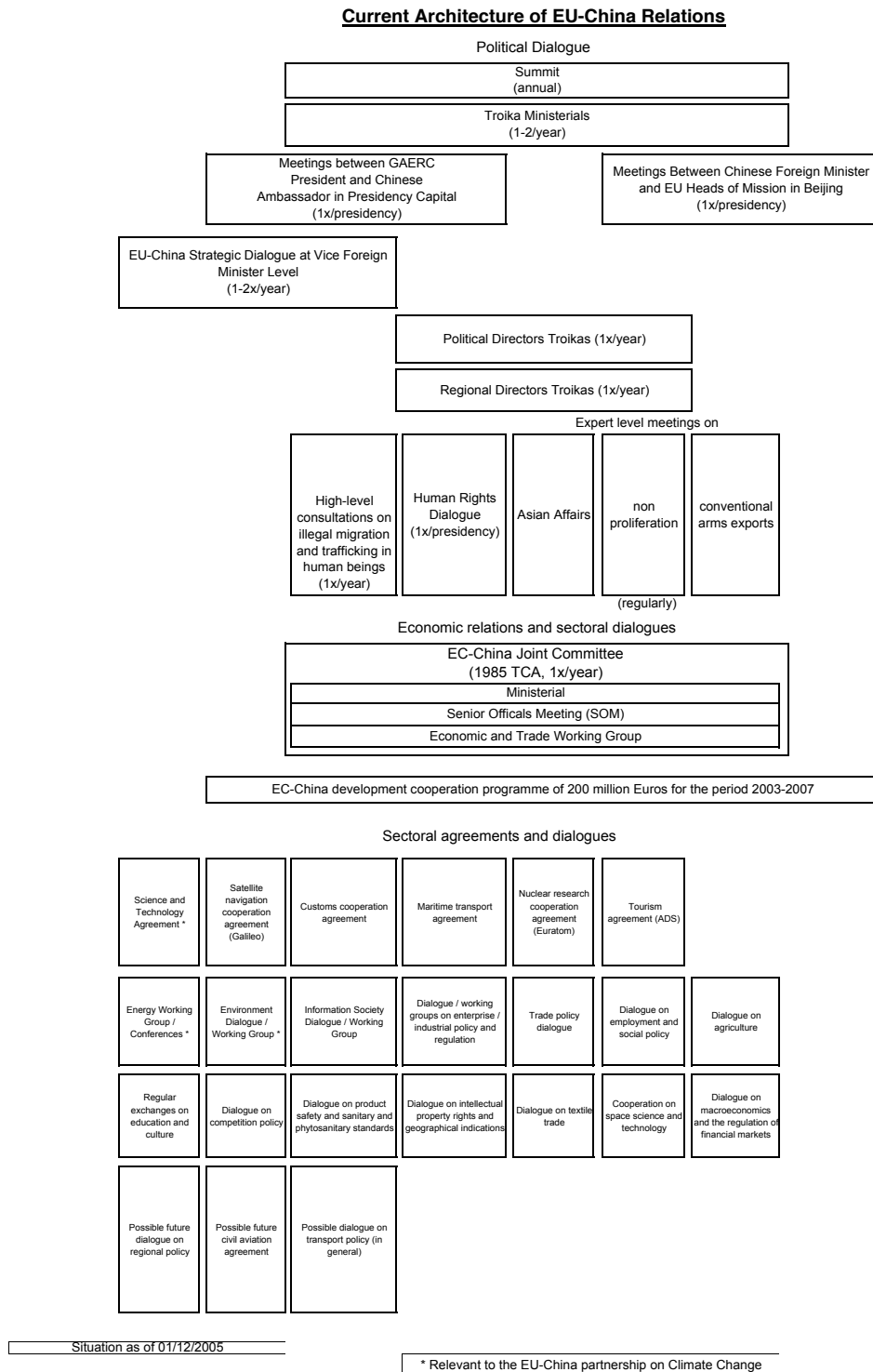
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8. Appendix

Figure 2: Architecture of EU-China Relations (2005)

Source: European Union External Action, 2012



EU-China relations between 2001 and 2012:
From a secondary relationship to a strategic partnership?

Table 4: Chronology of EU-China relations

Chronology EU-China relations		
1975	May	Diplomatic relations established
1978	May	Trade agreement EEC-China signed
1979	February	First visit of EU Commission President in China: Roy Jenkins
	July	First meeting of Joint Committee in Beijing
1984		First political consultations at ministerial level regarding European Political Cooperation
1985	May	Agreement on trade and economic cooperation signed
1988	October	Opening of Delegation of EU Commission in Beijing
1989	June	After Tiananmen incidents: EC freezes relations with China, arms embargo
1990	October	Council and EP decide to re-establish bilateral relations
1992	June	Establishment of a new bilateral political dialogue
1995	July	Publication COM: "A long-term policy for China-Europe relations"
		Launch of a specific dialogue on Human Rights issues
1998	March	Publication COM: "Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China"
	April	1 st EU-China summit, London
1999	December	2 nd EU-China summit, Beijing
2000	May	Bilateral agreement on China's WTO accession signed in Beijing
	October	3 rd EU-China summit, Beijing
2001	September	4 th EU-China summit, Brussels
	October	Human Rights Dialogue, Beijing
	December	China becomes 143 rd Member of the WTO
2002	March	Human Rights Dialogue, Madrid
	September	5 th EU-China summit, Copenhagen
	November	Human Rights Dialogue, Beijing
2003	March	Human Rights Dialogue, Athens
	June	China formally requests MES under EU's anti-dumping
	September	Publication COM: "A maturing partnership: shared interests and challenges in EU-China relations"
	October	6 th EU-China summit, Beijing
	November	Human Rights Dialogue, Beijing
2004	February	Human Right Dialogues, Dublin
	May	Chinese Premier Minister Jiabao visits COM headquarters: new dialogue initiatives signed
	September	Human Rights Dialogue, Beijing
	December	7 th EU-China summit, The Hague
2005	February	Human Rights Dialogue, Luxembourg
	September	8 th EU-China summit, Beijing
	October	Human Rights Dialogue, Beijing
	December	1 st EU-China Strategic Dialogue, London

2006	March	First EU-China bilateral consultations under Climate Changer Partnership, Vienna
	May	Human Rights Dialogue, Vienna
	June	2 nd EU-China Strategic Dialogue
	September	9 th EU-China summit, Helsinki
	October	Human Rights Dialogue, Beijing
	October	Policy paper COM: “EU-China: Closer Partners, growing responsibilities”
2007	May	Human Rights Dialogue, Berlin
	October	Human Rights Dialogue, Beijing
	October	3 rd EU-China Strategic Dialogue
	November	10 th EU-China summit, Beijing
2008	April	1 st EU-China High Level Economic and Trade Dialogue, Beijing
	May	Human Rights Dialogue, Brdo
2009	January	4 th EU-China Strategic Dialogue
	May	2 nd EU-China High Level Economic and Trade Dialogue
	May	11 th EU-China summit, Prague
	May	Human Rights Dialogue, Prague
	November	Human Right Dialogue, Beijing
	November	12 th EU-China summit, Nanjing
	December	5 th EU-China Strategic Dialogue
2010	April	Meeting President van Rompuy and President HU on Nuclear Security Summit, Washington
	May	Celebration of 35 th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the EU and China
	June	29 th EU-China Human Rights Dialogue
	October	13 th EU-China summit, Brussels
2011	October	EU-China summit postponed (due to internal Eurozone meetings)
2012	February	14 th EU-China summit, Beijing
	April	EU-China High Level People to People Dialogue
	May	Human Rights Dialogue, Brussels

Table 6: Tabular analysis of EU-China summits (2001-2012)

Date and summit	Topics discussed	Environmental protection	Developments
05 Sep 2001 4 th summit, Brussels (JPS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taiwan Internat. security Human Rights Environment Trade/WTO Stability/development 	Environment and energy issue shortly mentioned in context of expanding sectoral dialogues	→ Dialogue on environmental issues initiated
24 Sep 2002 5 th summit,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taiwan Human Rights Internat. security 	Agreement on special commitment to environmental issues	→ Reaffirming the commitment towards international

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Copenhagen (JPS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environment • Trade/WTO • Transport • Satellite navigation 	as well as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol	environment initiatives
30 Oct 2003 6 th summit, Beijing (JPS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satellite navigation • Trade/WTO/ industrial policy • Internat. security • Taiwan • Human Rights • Environment • China's reform process • Investment • Science & technology • Aviation relations 	Reaffirmation of commitment to environmental protection, Increased cooperation in protection of ecological environment	→ Environmental protection not in list on common priorities → Nuclear energy and ecological environment protection firstly mentioned → commitment to environmental cooperation stressed again, but no internal development
08 Dec 2004 7 th summit, The Hague (JS, PR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU enlargement • Internat. security • EU arms embargo • Taiwan • Human Rights • Trade relations • Satellite navigation • Aviation agreement • Environmental protection • Iran, Korean Peninsula, Afghanistan 	Environmental protection deepened, new issues included: reduction of emissions, river basin management, technology transfer, staff exchange and projects; Aim is to develop a dynamic partnership on environmental issues	→ Environmental cooperation broadened, new issues included → Support for China introducing EU emission standards
05 Sep 2005 8 th summit, Beijing (JS, Speech)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Science & technology • Energy & transport • Environmental protection • Taiwan • EU arms embargo • Human Right 	Issuing of a Joint Declaration on Climate Change, including new issues of clean energy, transfer of low carbon technology, advanced near zero emissions coal technology, Confirming and reiterating the cooperation on non-proliferation set up in 2004	→ Establishment of partnership on climate change → Endorsing of financing agreement for China-EU bio-diversity and river basin management programme → China-EU Dialogue on Energy and Transport Strategies
11 Sep 2006	• New Partnership	Work plan for	→ Initiating climate

9 th summit, Helsinki (JS, Paper)	and Cooperation Agreement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taiwan • EU arms embargo • Internat. security • UN • Human Rights • Environmental issues • WTO & business • IPR 	partnership on climate change covering period of 2007 – 2010, mention importance of reducing costs for technology and transfer, praise EU-China High Level Working Group on Energy	change partnership for next period
28 Nov 2007 10 th summit, Beijing (JS, Paper)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of EU-China partnership • Taiwan • EU arms embargo • Internat. security • Beijing Olympics • Environmental protection • Trade & economics • Science & technology 	New focuses for environmental protection set, emphasis on climate change, province-level climate change programs and public awareness included in work plan	→ Updated Partnership and Cooperation Agreement → EIB witnessed loan to China to support climate change projects → Endorsed cooperation in establishing a China-EU Clean Energy Centre
2008	No EU-China summit took place		
20 May 2009 11 th summit, Prague (JS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU-China relations in general • Trade • Signing of some agreements 	Idea of clean energy centre has been realized, agreed to continue working on measures for climate change	→ Signing of Joint Statement on Europe-China Clean Energy Centre
30 Nov 2009 12 th summit, Nanjing (JS, Paper)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global problems • Environmental protection • Human rights • Trade • Economy • Financial crisis • WTO 	Technical matters regarding climate change included in discussion, agreement on further cooperation in this area	→ China set quantified national targets to limit carbon intensity → Agreed on further cooperation, no development in areas
06 Oct 2010 13 th summit, Brussels (JS, Paper, FS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 35th anniversary of EU-China relations • Economy • Environmental protection 	Established framework shall be enhanced, focus on renewable energies, smart grids and clean coal technologies	None
2011	No EU-China summit took place		
14 Feb 2012 14 th summit, Beijing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights • Trade & economy • Environmental protection 	Energy security focuses on science and technology as well as automotive	→ EU-China High Level Energy Meeting planned in June → Planned to

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(JPS, FS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Science & technology • Internat. security • G20 • WTO Doha Development Round 	sector with aim of reducing energy emissions and develop electro-mobility, Climate change partnership shall further be intensified	establish new cooperation project on reduction of water pollution and waste → EU-China partnership on sustainable urbanisation
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In brackets: the documents that have been analysed:

JPS: Joint Press Statement

JS: Joint Statement

PR: Press Release

FS: fact sheet