

The EU and China

Avoiding a New Cold War

Edited by Thomas Meyer and
José Luís de Sales Marques

Globalisation, Europe, and Multilateralism



The EU and China

This edited book is devoted to an analysis of how the multiple modernities approach might help strengthen the strategic autonomy of the European Union and foster cooperative EU–China relations at a time when some observers believe that a new global cold war may be on the horizon. An international, interdisciplinary team of eminent scholars analyzes both the forces causing dangerous tensions to escalate and those that might stabilize the situation. Whether from China or Europe, the authors largely converge in their diagnoses. To serve its own vital interests, the EU can and must play the role of a politically independent actor, a mediator committed to the preservation of a fair and peaceful rules-based order. To do that, it must first pinpoint the economic and political concerns that it shares with both China and the USA, using them as guidelines in developing its own global strategies. The chapters collected in this volume try to shed light on that endeavor. Additionally, several aim to clarify China’s true intentions in international politics, beyond the rhetoric of conflict in which all parties presently engage. What role does Asia’s leading power actually aspire to play in world politics?

The book will be of interest to students of history, international relations, international political economy, European and Chinese studies, and military and security affairs.

Furthermore, its timely subject should stimulate debate among a wider audience of journalists, policy professionals, and politically engaged readers the world over.

Thomas Meyer is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the Technical University of Dortmund, Germany, and former Editor-in-Chief of the monthly political magazine *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*.

José Luís de Sales Marques is President of the Institute of European Studies of Macau (IEEM), Macau.

Globalisation, Europe, Multilateralism Series

Series Editors: Mario TELÒ

Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

LUISS-Guido Carli, Rome, Italy.

Ramona COMAN

Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium.

With the institutional support of the Institut d'études européennes-Université libre de Bruxelles

The series offers an interdisciplinary platform for original peer-reviewed publications on the institutions, norms and practices associated with Globalisation, Multilateralism and the European Union. Each published volume delves into a given dynamic shaping either the global-regional nexus or the role of the EU therein. It offers original insights into: globalisation and its associated governance challenges; the changing forms of multilateral cooperation and the role of transnational networks; the impact of new global powers and the corollary multipolar order; the lessons born from comparative regionalism and interregional partnerships; as well as the distinctive instruments the EU mobilises in its foreign policies and external relations.

International Editorial Board

Amitav ACHARYA, American University,	Washington Leonardo MORLINO, LUISS-Guido Carli, Rome
Shaun BRESLIN, University of Warwick	Tamio NAKAMURA, Waseda University, Tokyo
Marise CREMONA, EUI, Florence	Yaqing QIN, CFAU, Beijing
Louise FAWCETT, University of Oxford	Ummu SALMA BAVA, JNU, New Dehli
Andrew GAMBLE, University of Cambridge	Vivien SCHMIDT, Boston University
Peter J. KATZENSTEIN, Cornell University	Leonard SEABROOKE, Copenhagen Business School
Robert O. KEOHANE, Princeton University	Karen E. SMITH, LSE, London
Christian LEQUESNE, IEP-Paris	Anne WEYEMBERGH, Université libre de Bruxelles
Nicolas LEVRAT, Université de Genève	Michael ZÜRN, WZB, Berlin
Frank MATTHEIS, Université libre de Bruxelles	

Series Manager: *Frederik PONJAERT, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium.*

Theorising the Crises of the European Union

Edited by Nathalie Brack and Seda Gürkan

The Unintended Consequences of Interregionalism

Effects on Regional Actors, Societies and Structures

Edited by Elisa Lopez Lucia and Frank Mattheis

Towards a New Multilateralism

Cultural Divergence and Political Convergence?

Edited by Thomas Meyer, José Luís de Sales Marques, and Mario Telò

Global Networks and European Actors

Navigating and Managing Complexity

Edited by George Christou and Jacob Hasselbalch

European Union Competition Policy versus Industrial Competitiveness

Stringent Regulation and its External Implications

Hikaru Yoshizawa

Value Politics in Japan and Europe

Edited by François Foret and Airo Hino

Assessing EU Leadership in Inter-regional Relations

The Case of the Institutionalisation of ASEAN Disaster Management

Giulia Tercovich

Europe and Japan Cooperation in the Fight against Cross-border Crime

Challenges and Perspectives

Edited by Shin Matsuzawa, Anne Weyembergh and Irene Wieczorek

The Fight Against Child Trafficking

Breaking the Cycle of Structural Violence

Élisa Narminio

Multilateralism Past, Present and Future

A European Perspective

Mario Telò

Understanding the EU's Norm and Policy Diffusion in ASEAN through Trade and Security Cooperation

Normative or Normal Power?

Xuechen Chen

For more information about this series, please visit: www.routledge.com

THE MACAU FORUM ON MULTIPLE MODERNITIES AND MULTILATERAL CONVERGENCES

This edited volume on *The EU and China: Avoiding a New Cold War* is the fifth publication in an ongoing joint research and dialogue project spear-headed by the Institute of European Studies of Macau.

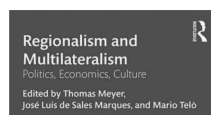
Published within the Routledge “Globalisation, Europe, and Multilateralism” series, each entry associated with the project brings together outstanding international scholars seeking to explore the new forms of multilateral cooperation that have emerged or may emerge in response to the multiple modernities that have taken shape across the world, be it in Europe, Asia, Africa or the Americas.

Previous entries in this ongoing project include:

Thomas Meyer, José Luís de Sales Marques & Mario Telò (eds.)
Towards a New Multilateralism: Cultural Divergence and Political Convergence?
Routledge, 2020.

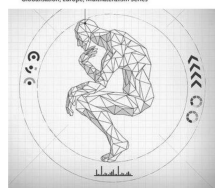


With contributions by: *Joana Castro Pereira, Ding Chun, Susana Ferreira, Renato Flôres, André W. M. Gerrits, Coraline Goron, Pan Jiahua, Eun-Jeung Lee, Thomas Meyer, Deborah Seligsohn, Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Mario Telò, Zhang Xiaotong, Yang Xinran, Qin Yaqing & Michael Zürn*



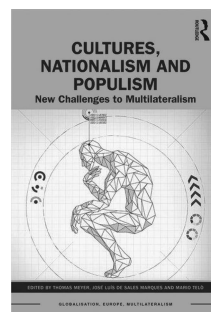
Thomas Meyer, Jose Luis de Sales Marques, & Mario Telò (eds.)
Regionalism and Multilateralism: Politics, Economics, Culture.
Routledge, 2020.

With contributions by: *Ummu Salma Bava, Antonio de Aguilar Patriota, Louise Fawcett, Evi Fitriani, Andrew Gamble, Moonsung Kang, Peter J. Katzenstein, Alexander Libman, Thomas Meyer, Yaqing Qin, Weiqing Song, Mario Telò, & Jianwei Wang*



José Luís de Sales Marques, Thomas Meyer, and Mario Telò, (eds.)
Cultures, Nationalism and Populism: New Challenges to Multilateralism.
Routledge, 2019

With contributions by: *Furio Cerutti, C. K. Martin Chung, Renato G. Flôres, Andrew Gamble, Lewis P. Hinchman, Jr., Yudi Latif, Thomas Meyer, Xinning Song, Mario Telò, & Qin Yaqing*



The EU and China

Avoiding a New Cold War

**Edited by Thomas Meyer and
José Luís de Sales Marques**

Design cover image: © Getty Images

First published 2024

by Routledge

4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2024 selection and editorial matter, Thomas Meyer and José Luís de Sales Marques; individual chapters, the contributors

Published with the financial support of the European Parliament. The views expressed in this report are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Parliament.

The right of Thomas Meyer and José Luís de Sales Marques to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-64188-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-67764-4 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-67767-5 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781032677675

Typeset in Times New Roman

by Apex CoVantage, LLC

COPYRIGHT @ 2023

Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS)

Institute of European Studies of Macau (IEEM)



European Parliament

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES



INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES OF MACAU
澳門歐洲研究學會
INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS EUROPEUS DE MACAU

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of contributors</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>xiv</i>
Introduction	1
THOMAS MEYER	
PART I	
EU/China: the present situation	11
1 Is a cold war between Europe and China inevitable?	13
MARIO TELÒ	
2 A cold war between China and the EU over economic and trade issues can be avoided: status, causes, and prospects	21
CHUN DING	
3 Security and trade: the political economy of cold wars	36
ANDREW GAMBLE	
4 The EU and the cultural dimension of global politics	50
THOMAS MEYER	
PART II	
Objectives and modes of cooperation	75
5 How Europe might prevent a new cold war between the United States and China	77
JIANWEI WANG	

6	G20: a platform for cooperation between China and Europe	92
	GERHARD STAHL	
7	Inclusive multilateralism: cooperation, resilience, and strategic competition	106
	LING WEI	
	<i>Index</i>	127

Illustrations

Figures

2.1	China–EU industry gap changes	25
2.2	GVC position index of the EU, USA, and China, 2007 to 2015	30
2.3	EU’s trade dependency ratio on China and United States, 2011 to 2021	31
6.1	EU–China bilateral trade in goods, 2011 to 2020	101

Tables

2.1	Seven years and 35 rounds of CAI negotiations between China and Europe	23
2.2	EU countermeasures and technical barriers against China since 2016	24
2.3	Top 10 RSCA export products from China and the EU in 2019	29
2.4	Top 10 RSCA export products from China and the EU in 2015	30

Contributors

Chun DING holds the Jean Monnet Professor of Economics at Fudan University, where he is Director of the Center for European Studies and Deputy Dean for the Institute of Belt and Road and Global Governance. He also serves as Vice President of the Chinese Association of European Studies, President of the Shanghai Institute for European Studies, Secretary-General of the Chinese Society for EU Studies, Routine Councilor of the Chinese Society of World Economics, and President of the Chinese Association of Social Security World Study Branch. Professor Ding is a member of both the advisory board of the *Chinese Journal of European Studies* and the editorial board of the *Asia-Pacific Journal of EU Studies*. In Germany and Sweden, respectively, he is a senior researcher in the Center of European Integration Studies (ZEI) at the University of Bonn and a member of the International Academic Board at Centre for European Research at the University of Gothenburg. At the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, he serves on the Global Agenda Council. Professor Ding is the author of more than 160 academic publications. His research and teaching focus on European integration, European economy, and social welfare issues.

Andrew Gamble is Professor of Politics at the University of Sheffield in England and Emeritus Professor of politics at the University of Cambridge. He is a fellow of the British Academy and the Academy of Social Sciences as well as a professorial fellow at the Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute (SPERI). His most recent books are *Crisis without End? The unravelling of western prosperity* (Red Globe Press, 2014) and *Can the Welfare State Survive?* (Polity Press, 2016). Professor Gamble, who served as a joint editor of the journals *Political Quarterly* and *New Political Economy* for over a decade, has published widely on political economy, British politics, and political theory. In 2005, he received the Isaiah Berlin Prize from the UK Political Studies Association for his lifetime contributions to the field.

Thomas Meyer is Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the Technical University of Dortmund and the former editor-in-chief of the monthly magazine *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. He has held visiting professor and guest lecturer positions at numerous universities, particularly in East and South Asia, including Todai University, Tokyo; Beida University, Beijing; and the Indian Institute

of Management, Bangalore. He directed projects for the well-respected German Research Foundation on such topics as political communication in the media (1995–2001) and the theory and practice of social democracy (2002–2006). From 2000 to 2007, he served as Academic Advisor to the European Commission for the Social Sciences, and from 2004 to 2008, he was a member of the GARNET Network of Excellence, funded by the European Commission. Professor Meyer’s research focuses on comparative social democracy, European studies, mass media and politics, religious and political fundamentalism, and the cultural foundations of politics. Among his many books are *The Theory of Social Democracy* (Polity, 2007), *Identity Mania* (Zed, 2001), and *Media Democracy* (Polity, 2002).

Gerhard Stahl, an economist, worked in the German Federal Ministry of Finance and, for years, in leading positions in the EU. He served for more than a decade on the advisory committee of the IFO-Economic Research Institute in Munich and sat on its management board. Stahl held a visiting professorship at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium, and since 2014 has been a visiting professor at Peking University HSBC Business School. He is a member of the Scientific Council of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS); the Institute of Public Finance, a worldwide scientific association of economists specializing in public finance; and the Frankfurt-based Monetary Workshop, which promotes scientific exchanges between economists working mainly in the financial and banking sectors. Professor Stahl has a long list of publications related to economic, financial, European, and international policy issues.

Mario Telò was the Jean Monnet Chair of International Relations at the Université Libre de Bruxelles in Belgium, where he was the coordinator of the Global Europe Multilateralism (GEM) international doctorate program and the past president of the Institute for European Studies. He also taught at the LUISS University and School of Government in Rome and was a visiting professor at numerous institutions worldwide. Prior to his death in the spring of 2023, Dr. Telò served as a consultant to the European Council, European Parliament, and European Commission. He was the author of more than 30 books and over 100 articles, published in seven languages, including *International Relations: A European Perspective* and *Regionalism in Hard Times*.

Jianwei WANG, who earned his BA and MA from Fudan University in Shanghai and his PhD from the University of Michigan, is Distinguished Professor in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at City University of Macau and Charhar Chair Professor at its Charhar Center. He has headed the University of Macau’s Department of Government and Public Administration and directed its Institute of Global and Public Affairs. Previously, Dr. Wang served as Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Department Chair at the University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point and taught in many other prestigious institutions in the United States, Europe, Asia, and China. He has published extensively in the areas of Sino-American relations, Chinese foreign policy, East Asian security affairs, and China–EU relations.

Ling WEI is Professor of International Studies at the University of Business and Economics (UIBE) based in Beijing, China. Before joining the UIBE, she was Professor and Director of Zhou Enlai Diplomatic Studies Center at the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU). Dr. Wei was a visiting scholar at the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), a Fulbright visiting research scholar at Cornell University, and the international chair at LUISS University. She is currently a visiting senior fellow at Freie Universität Berlin. Wei has served on the editorial boards of several Chinese international relations journals, including *Waijiao Pinglun (Foreign Affairs Review)*, *Dongnanya Yanjiu (Southeast Asian Studies)*, and *Yatai Anquan yu Haiyang Yanjiu (Asia-Pacific Security and Maritime Studies)*. Her academic interests include international relations theory, regionalism, and Chinese foreign policy. She has published articles in numerous journals, including *International Affairs*, *The Pacific Review*, *Social Sciences in China*, and *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi (World Economics and Politics)*.

Acknowledgments

This volume is the product of a research conference held at the Institute of European Studies Macau (IEEM) in November of 2022. The conference was conducted jointly by José Luís de Sales Marques, President of the IEEM; Professor Maria João Rodrigues, President of the Brussels-based Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS); and the late Professor Mario Teló of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, who contributed a chapter to this anthology and to whose memory the book is dedicated. After Professor Teló's untimely death, his colleague Frederik Ponjaert provided valuable help in clarifying several aspects of his argument in that chapter. Neither the conference nor the anthology would have been possible without the generous support of the FEPS, the European Parliament, and the Macau Foundation, the main funding mechanism for culture, science, and education of the government of the Macau Special Administrative Region.

The editors wish to thank Beatrice Lam of the IEEM for her indispensable work at every stage in the process of bringing the project to fruition. Professors Lewis and Sandy Hinchman of the USA assisted both the editors and the authors in preparing this volume for publication. Finally, we are grateful to Andrew Taylor at Routledge Press, and the anonymous scholars chosen to review the manuscript for their helpful suggestions.

Foreword

A few years ago, when we decided to launch the series of seminars devoted to multiple modernities and seek to publish the corresponding anthologies (Routledge 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021) as invitations and tools for dialogue among scholars from different countries and political cultures, we never would have imagined that in such a short span of time—less than a single decade—the world would have changed so much. Indisputably, it has become a much darker, more threatening, and more complex place compared to the one we were sailing through in 2016. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, and particularly its public health, economic, political, and social consequences, magnified and accelerated what were then the first unmistakable signs of a major trade dispute and international political and economic competition unfolding between the United States and China. Those disagreements eventually worked to intensify the debate and dialogue over the issues of modernity and the meaning of concepts such as the good society, good governance, and human security, all themes that were addressed in the inaugural issue of the “Multiple Modernities” conference series. The conferences (and anthologies) that followed all centered on cooperative institutional endeavors, especially regionalism and multilateralism, and the obstacles they needed to overcome. Those latter included such phenomena as political and economic competition, cultural divergences, nationalism, and populism. But the authors also sought to highlight areas of common interest and convergence that might potentially counteract or balance the forces of dispersion, decoupling, and disintegration.

However, the geopolitical environment in 2022 turned out to be worse than anticipated. To our great relief, the negative effects of COVID-19 were receding on almost every continent; the endemic, and economic, recovery was finally on the horizon. But Russia’s invasion of Ukraine unleashed a chain of events that made the world worse off than before in every respect. Geopolitical competition has reached levels not seen in decades; the international liberal order is being questioned even from within in matters of free trade and the effectiveness of multilateral institutions. As a result of the war between Russia and Ukraine, the threat of a nuclear escalation of the war cannot be ruled out. Meanwhile, traditionally neutral countries such as Sweden and Finland are hoping to join NATO, and the relationship between China and the USA, plus its closest allies, has quickly evolved from hard-nosed economic competition into assertive strategic rivalry and multidimensional

tensions. The European Union has revised its policies toward China more than once in recent months, and Chinese investment and imports that were once welcome are now looked at with suspicion and reserve. By the same token, the EU's foreign and security policies have been aligned more closely with those of the United States, notwithstanding assertions—or wishful thinking—about European strategic autonomy.

It was under this scenario that Mario Telò proposed the topic “Is a Cold War Between Europe and China Inevitable?” for the Multiple Modernities conference in the autumn of 2022, which was co-organized by the IEEM (Institute of European Studies of Macau) and FEPS (Foundation for European Progressive Studies). Despite being gravely ill, Professor Telò delivered his talk and completed the chapter included in this volume. His lecture inspired the title of this book, which should be regarded at least partly as an homage to his engagement in favor of dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution. Although his efforts on behalf of better China–EU relations were interrupted by his untimely passing, this book will constitute part of his legacy as a scholar.

As my co-editor, Thomas Meyer, argues in his chapter, the displacement of Samuel Huntington's thesis concerning the “clash of civilizations” by the multiple modernities paradigm has had unexpected consequences for the foundations of global politics, since it suggests that there may be an optimal meeting point between persistent cultural divergences and a level of normative convergence required for global cooperation. Accordingly, Meyer calls for the reconstruction of the normative foundations of cooperation in a world of multiple modernities such that they will be accepted and respected by all involved parties in the global arena once more. At a minimum, the principles of human dignity and of good, inclusive governance must be defined clearly and concretely enough that they carry real meaning and weight in international politics, regardless of the cultural backgrounds of the interlocutors.

We are indebted to all the authors who contributed the chapters collected in this volume for their cogent analyses of the forces causing global tensions to escalate and those that might stabilize the current situation. They demonstrate that a new cold war can be avoided, provided that there is enough political wisdom and will to approach conflicting positions with mutual respect and a search for common ground.

José Luís de Sales Marques, President
Institute of European Studies of Macau