

歐中在亞歐會議的互動— 從國際體制觀之

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摘要

冷戰結束後，歐盟開始調整對亞洲的策略，1995年歐盟首度提出〈中歐關係長期政策〉白皮書。1996年亞歐會議（ASEM）的出現，提供了中、歐雙邊另一個互動平台。在冷戰後新的國際政經格局中，亞歐會議將原本亞、歐都以美國為中心的戰略格局，提供了三者三角關係的另一邊實線關係。中國與歐盟關係透過亞歐會議，所起作用與角色，以及對未來雙邊關係之發展為何，是本文所欲探討的重點。在全球化、區域化浪潮下，本文試從「國際體制」三大學派—權力、利益與認知三種不同面向，針對中國與歐盟在亞歐會議中的關係進行檢視。

關鍵詞：亞歐會議、歐盟、中歐關係、國際體制

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Introduction

Since the establishment of the formal official relationship between China and European Community (former EU) in 1975, there has been the cooperation between China and Europe. While China was under reform, Europe was also in the process of integration. In 1978, Europe and China signed the trade agreement, founded a joint commission on commerce and regularly held the annual meetings. In 1985, the two sides signed the economy and trade agreement. After the Cold War, EU started adjusting its strategy toward Asia. In 1994, EU proposed new strategies in Asia and in 1995, it initially proposed white paper of “A Long Term Policy For China-Europe Relations”¹ which was the first written and complete policy related to EU-China relations. EU-China relationship was thus defined as strategic partnership. Basically, the relationship has been positive for three years. Since EU and China targeted on internal development, comparing with the relationship among U.S., Russia and Japan, EU-China relationship seemed to be insignificant.

ASEM, founded in 1996, provided a platform for direct interactions between EU-China. In the Cold War era, USA is the center of Europe and China. After the cold war, ASEM is became a third channel for interaction among the Triangle of USA, EU, and China. In 2006, the tenth anniversary of ASEM, with regard to the future development of the relationship, Chinese Premier Wen Jia-bao emphasized that ASEM should reinforce the power involved in international issues, facilitate global civilization and cultural diversity, and properly establish the related mechanism for further Euro-Asian cooperation. The 7th ASEM was held in Beijing in October, 2008. It was the

¹ European Commission, “A Long Term Policy for China-Europe Relations”, COM (1995) 279 final.



significant diplomatic issue after the Olympic Games, and it was the first time for ASEM to be held in China. With great expectation, Wen Jia-bao indicated that “he look forward to working with the leaders, reinforcing Asia-Europe strategic interaction, promoting economic cooperation, developing culture and civilization interaction to strengthen new Asia-Europe partnership”.² The function and role of ASEM which has been developed for over ten years on China-EU and their future relationship is the focus of this article.

Due to nation-based human competition and the development of globalization and regionalization, the environment of international relation in the Post-Cold War era is changing. ASEM is a cross-continent international organization, including the participants from EU and ASEAN and other Asian countries. It is the first cross-continent forum in the world. China, one of the most powerful nations in the world, and EU are participants of this meeting and their interaction in the ASEM is particularly important. As a result, this article tries to explore the function and role of ASEM on China and EU from the views of globalization, regionalization and geostrategic relevance. It also examines the China-EU relationship in ASEM by three schools of “international regime” — power-based, interest-based and knowledge-based perspectives. We further study EU-China interaction and future development by the functions of “ASEM”.

I. International regime

In Krasner’s words: Regimes can be defined as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations. Prin-

² Full text of speeches of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao at ASEM 7, 2008-10-25, http://www.asem7.cn/misc/2008-10/25/content_57461.htm.



ciples are beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude. Norms are standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations. Rules are specific prescriptions or proscriptions for action. Decision-making procedures are prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice.³

International regimes are not subnational actors or non-governmental organizations. They are international actors, and sometimes, when formally organized, many of them can be considered intergovernmental organizations. International regimes often form in response to a need to coordinate behavior among countries around an issue. The number of international regimes has increased dramatically since the Second World War, and today regimes cover almost all aspects of international relations that might require coordination among countries, from security issues to trade, finance, information, human rights, the environment, and management of outer space.⁴

Along with various school of international relation, international regime may divide to neorealism- the power-based⁵, neoliberal institutionalism- the interest-based⁶, as well as constructivism- knowledge-based⁷ pers-

³ Stephen D. Krasner, *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 11.

⁴ International regime, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_regime.

⁵ Neorealism or structural realism is a theory of international relations, outlined by Kenneth Waltz in his 1979 book *Theory of International Politics*. Waltz argues in favor of a systemic approach: the international structure acts as a constraint on state behavior, so that only states whose outcomes fall within an expected range survive. This system is similar to a microeconomic model in which firms set prices and quantity based on the market. Neorealism, developed largely within the American political science tradition, seeks to reformulate the classical realist tradition of E. H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau. See Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neorealism_\(international_relations\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neorealism_(international_relations)).

⁶ Neoliberal Institutionalism argues that international institutions play an important role in coordinating international cooperation. Proponents begin with the same assumptions used by realists, except for the following: where realists assume that states focus on relative gains and the potential for conflict, neoliberal institutionalists assume that states concentrate on absolute gains and the prospects for co-



pectives view. The discrimination is approximately as follows: neorealism thought that international regime is the intermediary variable, which only plays the marginal role. Neoliberal institutionalism thinks international regime is the intermediary variable, but sometimes can also play the influential role, it is possible to be the independent variable too. Constructivism thought that international regime is the independent variable, and after establishing, will restrict the behavior of nations. However three big school of viewpoints are not absolutely distinguish right or wrong, only the stress difference. Just as Martha Finnemore says: The influence of international regime to the national behavior is not opposition but supplementary.⁸

II. Foundation and aims of ASEM

operation. Neoliberal institutionalists believe that the potential for conflict is overstated by realists and suggest that there are countervailing forces, such as repeated interactions, that propel states toward cooperation. They regard cheating as the greatest threat to cooperation and anarchy as the lack of organisation to enforce rules against cheating. Institutions are described by neoliberals as 'persistent and connected sets of rules (formal or informal) that prescribe behavioral roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations. Robert Keohane is the scholar most closely identified with neoliberal institutionalism. See R. Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches", *International Studies Quarterly* 32, 1988.

⁷ Constructivist theory rejects the basic assumption of neo-realist theory that the state of anarchy (lack of a higher authority or government) is a structural condition inherent in the system of states. Rather, it argues, in Alexander Wendt's words, that "Anarchy is what states make of it". That is, anarchy is a condition of the system of states because states in some sense 'choose' to make it so. Anarchy is the result of a process that constructs the rules or norms that govern the interaction of states. The condition of the system of states today as self-helpers in the midst of anarchy is a result of the process by which states and the system of states was constructed. It is not an inherent fact of state-to-state relations. Thus, constructivist theory holds that it is possible to change the anarchic nature of the system of states. See Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It", *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992.

⁸ Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 26-27.



ASEM, founded in 1996, is the regional cooperation conference held every two years. It is the platform for the leaders of the nations in Europe and Asia. The participants include 27 nations in EU, EU actor, ASEAN (10 nations), Korea, Japan and China (totally 41 nations and actors). In the future, Russia and New Zealand might join in as the Asian countries. ASEM is an extremely unique cross-regional organization and its participants must be the nations in Asia or Europe. EU participates in as the regional organization which is also remarkable. At the beginning, ASEM was launched by Singapore and its participants included EU, ASEAN, China, Japan and Korea. It was the product of globalization and regionalization too. From the perspective of geostrategic relevance, although it was the forum for cooperation between Europe and Asia countries, it implied the intention to balance the powerful U.S. and three continents. There was the consideration of political and economic development as well as national survival and security.

In the first conference of ASEM in Thailand in 1996, it was indicated that ASEM aimed to maintain and reinforce peace and stability to create the positive conditions for economic and social development. The partnership aimed to strengthen the connection between Asia and Europe and contribute to peace, global stability and propriety. Thus, the conference emphasized the importance of the dialogue between Asia-Europe and other regions. Asia and Europe were both responsible for mutual understanding of the people in two regions.⁹ It demonstrated that new partnership should be developed through dialogue between Europe and Asia.

In 1998, the second ASEM was held in London which validated the principle of ASEM: equal partner relation based; ASEM was based on a gradual development in which mutual understanding was reinforced through

⁹ ASEM Summits, ASEM 1, http://www.aseminfoboard.org/page.phtml?code=Summits_ASEM1.



the dialogue political, economic and other fields were all valued.¹⁰ Noticeably ASEM targeted on political and economic issues through dialogue and non-institutional principle which was reconfirmed in “The Asia-Europe Cooperation Framework” (AECF, 2000)¹¹ passed in the third ASEM in 2000.

In terms of power in “international regime”, in neorealism, the most important objective for states is to survive in an anarchic world and power is the measure to pursue national security. With the concern of survival, states particularly value international power distribution. Interest equals power. When pursuing power, states not only concern about absolute benefits, but also consider the benefits obtained by other countries. Thus, how to prevent other countries from acquiring more benefits is much more important than the domestic benefits.¹² In this sense, power is the only independent variable in international relation and other variables are the reflection of power distribution. Based on equality dialogue and non-institutional principle, ASEM is only the tool for the partners to pursue the benefits. ASEM helps balance the regional power in the international system and is the platform for the participants to pursue maximum national benefits. Since there is no independence or force of constraint involved in ASEM, it can only be regarded as the mediating variable in international relation.¹³

¹⁰ Second Asia-Europe meeting, Chairman’s Statement, London, 3-4 April 1998, http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/asem/asem_summits/asem2.htm.

¹¹ The Asia-Europe Cooperation Framework (AECF) 2000, http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/asem/asem_process/aecf_2000.htm.

¹² Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 1988, pp. 495-502.

¹³ According to John Mearsheimer, “International Regime” refers to the reflection of the nations on international power distribution. Thus, the regime doesn’t individually influence national behavior. See John Mearsheimer, “The Realist Reply,” *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1995, p. 82.



However, from interest perspective of “international regime”, neo-liberal institutionalism accepts international anarchy and state-centrism proposed by neorealism; however, it opposes infinite power transfer and systematic structure suggested by neorealism and further proposes issue-areas perspective — different power structures exist in different issue areas and power transfer in different areas is restricted. ASEM aims to develop new partnership through dialogue and values political, economic and other fields. Thus, although the foundation of ASEM is the mediating variable for the participants, it can still sometimes be significant, such as the concept of regional integration for Asian identification.¹⁴ In terms of multilateral interests of reciprocal favored dialogue in ASEM, as long as there are overlapped interest in Asia-Europe and the cooperation benefits both, the regional cooperation under conditions will be feasible.¹⁵ The functions of ASEM are generated and will facilitate and process. In brief, ASEM sometimes can be regarded as the independent variable.

From knowledge perspective of “international regime” and in terms of regime in constructivism, the knowledge of the national organizations is significant at the beginning of the establishment of “international regime” since the system is based on the mutual cognition of the nations. The construction of the system will be the independent variable to confine the national behavior.¹⁶ The perspective is different from the views of neorealism and neo-liberal institutionalism, and if combines both neorealism and institutionalism. Constructivism explores international relations by citing social inte-

¹⁴ Han Sung-joo, “The future of the World and Asia-Europe Cooperation,” speech delivered at CAEC Tokyo Conference, November 4, 1997.

¹⁵ Robert O. Keohane, “The Demand for International Regimes,” in Stephen D. Kranser ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 141-171.

¹⁶ Andreas Hansenclever, Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 208.



reaction and structural path in social psychology and emphasizes that the relation between the subject and structure is based on mutual influences. Through the dialogues, ASEM intends to maintain peace and stability, create the conditions for economic and social development and strengthen Asia-Europe connection. Thus, the nations in Asia and Europe are responsible for mutual understanding among the people. It demonstrates that the foundation of ASEM, through the dialogues, can lead to the rules and regulations on behaviors for the participants. To some degree, it can confine the participants and become an independent variable.

III. Structure of ASEM

ASEM aims to facilitate mutual understanding and cooperation between Asia and Europe. Politics, economy and social culture are three critical tasks.¹⁷

The activities under the framework of ASEM include conferences of the heads held every two years, regular conferences of the government officials in different fields and levels and interaction and cooperation among independent foundations. Thus, many informal conferences are also involved in the process of ASEM. The conferences of the heads have been held for 6 years. It not only strengthened the affective interaction among the heads of states in Asia and Europe, but also provided the platform for face-to-face dialogue on major issues and diplomatic tasks during the conferences.

Economic structure is the most critical cooperative field in ASEM. Economic cooperation in ASEM is developed in different levels and it is also

¹⁷ EU document on September 2001, "Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships" which suggests political, economic and social tasks in ASEM. http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/china/intro/summit4.htm.



the target of EU in ASEM. Trade policy and aid policy are the important tools for EU to develop EU-Asia relationship. For Asian countries, particularly China, economic cooperation is the priority in ASEM. In the 1st and 2nd ASEM, Chinese Premier Li Peng and Zhu Rong-ji have indicated that economy should be the priority in Asia-Europe cooperation. Economic and trading interaction should also be reinforced. The economic conferences related to ASEM include conferences of ministers of economic affairs, ministers of finance, high-rank officials of trade and investment, ASEM Trust Fund, Trade Facilitation Action Plan (TFAP), The Asia-Europe Investment Promotion Action Plan (IPAP), Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF), etc. Unofficial Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF) has also been held for ten times.¹⁸ The president of AEBF participates in conferences of ministers of economic affairs, ministers of economic affairs as well as AEBF. There is thus positive interaction between unofficial organizations and official ASEM. In the new time with upgrading economic globalization and security, the related economic activities in ASEM, through dialogues or discussion, are not considered the compelling mediating variables. For the nations in Asia-Europe, although it is not compelling, sometimes it can still be the independent variable.

The political structure of ASEM is limited to the official organizations since the political issues are sensitive. Besides, according to the aims and principles of ASEM, political cooperation only refers to political dialogue which cannot be implemented. EU also cannot generate consistent policies on Asia with all participants. Thus, comparing with economic structure, political structure in ASEM is loose. There are only the conferences of Minister of Foreign Affairs and conferences of high-rank officials for provisional is-

¹⁸ The tenth Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF) was held in Helsinki, the capital of Finland in 2006. The topic was “Globalization, Competitiveness and Energy”.



sues. Thus, the political structure of ASEM can only be treated as the mediating variable in international relations.

The foundation of ASEM aims to reinforce the mutual understanding of the people in Europe and China and develop new partnership through the dialogues. In terms of social culture, upon the aims, the activities held and sponsored for years have been significant. The private cultural interactions, such as technology, environmental protection, immigration, justice, movie and national music, to some degree, help reducing the misunderstanding in economic and political dialogues and increase the knowledge exchange of the people in Asia and Europe. This function is so significant that it can be regarded as the independent variable in international relations.

In the 1st and 2nd Asia-Europe conference of the heads, economic issues are the main issues. The funds and plans mentioned above are the keys in the initial conference and practiced afterwards. The proposals and discussions expand in the third Asia-Europe conference of the heads which included the issues of human rights, immigrants, labor-management relation, international crime, environmental protection, etc. The documents signed after the conference refer to the issues related to Middle East, Korean Peninsula, Indo-Pak Situation, anti-terrorism and Weapon of Mass Destruction. In the fourth Asia-Europe conference of the heads, it is proposed to coordinate the policies of the participants in multi-international organizations and UN to find their positions in common. The discussion on anti-terrorism also demonstrates in-depth political dialogues. In the fifth Asia-Europe conference of the heads¹⁹, the discussion also include human rights, immigrants, trade, WTO, crime, environmental protection, anti-terrorism, Middle East, Korean

¹⁹ ASEM 5: The Fifth Asia-Europe Summit Meeting, Hanoi, Vietnam, 2004/10/7-9, http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/asem/asem_summits/asem5/index_sum_concl.htm.



Peninsula, Iran and Iraq and how to effectively carry out Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF). The topic in the sixth Asia-Europe conference of the heads is “global challenge — cooperative solutions”. The leaders in Asia and Europe exchange the visionary strategic dialogues and further explore the solutions for strengthening the economic cooperation. In recent years, the rise of economy in Asia has been discussed in Europe. Some consider that the rise of the power in Asia will be the threat to Europe and some suggest that it is the great opportunity. From the perspective of international regime of power, interest and knowledge, ASEM reveals the characteristics as non-compelling mediating variable and independent variable that the participants make efforts to fulfill the discussion. Economic issues are carried out in the related projects. The funds and influential Asia-Europe Business Forum should be elaborated by three schools in international relations with complementary descriptions instead of confronting positions.

IV. ASEM and EU-China interaction

EU policies do not equal to the policies of 27 participants. Although EU is assigned by the participants, it cannot go beyond its duties. However, it can integrate and influence the participants by EU regular conference system, information exchange and negotiation. EU joins in ASEM as a regional organization and it directly has decisions which lead to influence while ASEAN does not seem to have the same function. The presidents of EU commission and council are the negotiators of ASEM in Europe. EU commission is the one which actually participates in ASEM decision-making. In Asia, the nations in northeast and southeast Asia select the regional negotiators in turn. Thus, EU commission is familiar with the procedure of ASEM and the participants look for direct support from EU commission. The issues



in ASEM concerned by EU include those discussed in the 6 conferences of the heads, from political, economic to social culture fields. Since EU plays an unique role, it can only fulfill foreign functions in the international mechanism such as ASEM.

In 1994 and 2001, EU proposed two documents of Asian policies: “Towards a New Asia strategy”²⁰ and “Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships”²¹ which were the integrated result of the policies in different nations in Europe and could be regarded as the policy of EU. “Towards a New Asia strategy” was proposed before the foundation of ASEM and it targeted on the reinforcement of the political and economic relations with the nations in Asia, promotion of economic and political development in Asia and maintenance the economic position in Asia and the world. The second document was proposed after the foundation of ASEM and it adjusted EU’s strategies toward Asia. It not only included New Zealand and Australia in Asia, but also emphasized the increasing importance of Asia in Europe. EU must reinforce the political and economic cooperation with Asia. The said document functions as the policy criterion for the participants in Asia and Europe.

In order to strengthen the relation with China, in “EU-China Long-term Policies” in 1995, EU suggested that the rise of China has changed the regional and global position of the country. It recognized the importance of China in Europe. China and Europe shared the benefits in terms of global and regional security, global issues, global economic stability and economic competition. Thus, EU must set up specific cooperative projects and policies with China. In 1996, EU established “new strategy of EU on China” which

²⁰ Towards a New Asia strategy, <http://www.bpb.de/files/IL5317.html>.

²¹ “Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships”, <http://www.xs4all.nl/~tni/asem-offdocs/framework.pdf>.



emphasized the overall, long-term and independent characteristics of the policy. In March, 1998, EU further proposed “Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China” which not only stressed high-rank bilateral dialogue and the discussion and cooperation on human rights, but also supported the economic reform in China and its participation in global trade system. In May 2001, EU published “EU Strategy towards China”: Implementation of the 1998 Communication and Future Steps for a more Effective EU Policy²² which not only indicated the implementation of the report in 1998, but also further reaffirmed five objectives of future development: (1) through political dialogue with China, including China in the international society; (2) supporting the reform of open society in China; (3) involving China in global economy; (4) using the cooperative items and resources of EU; (5) increasing the image and reputation of EU in China. In March, 2002, EU proposed “the Country Strategy Paper (CSP) for China”²³ and planned to fulfill the aid with 250 million Euros in 5 years. 50% of the funds would be used to construct and reinforce the system to support China to carry the responsibility in global trade organization and the reform in social security system to reduce the poverty and the side effect of economic reform; 30% of the aids would be used to maintain the development, balance the environmental protection, social development and economic growth in China; 20% would be used to facilitate the legal governance, cultivate democratic and civil society and guarantee economic, social, political and civil rights.

²² European Commission, *EU Strategy towards China: Implementation of the 1998 Communication and Future Steps for a more Effective EU Policy*, COM (2001) 265.

²³ European Commission Approves Country Strategy Paper for China, The Commission on March 1 approved a document on its strategic cooperation toward China during 2002 to 2006. The document, the Country Strategy Paper (CSP) for China, provides an overall framework of relations of EU cooperation with China in the coming five years, it also offers a lawful support for its policy toward China, http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200203/04/eng20020304_91355.shtml.



On April 11, 2002, the European Parliament passed “Report on the Commission communication on an EU Strategy towards China: Implementation of the 1998 Communication and Future Steps for a more Effective EU Policy”²⁴ which indicated Cross-Strait relation and clearly suggested that the European Parliament could not accept that China maintained the right of armed force in Taiwan. It also suggested that Cross-Strait issue should be peacefully solved in the condition of respecting the will and agreement of 23 million people in Taiwan. It also invited Taiwan to participate in ASEM for the re-dialogue between Beijing and Taipei. In September the same year, China and Europe held the fourth EU-China Summit after ASEM held in Copenhagen, Denmark. In September 2003, EU announced “EU-China: Commission adopts new strategy for a maturing partnership”²⁵. On October 13, 2003, the General Affairs council passed another document (A Maturing Partnership — shared interests and challenges in EU-China relations). The above all intended to further reinforce the relation with China in different fields. On October 24, 2006, EU commission published a document related to China and stressed that China has become one of the powerful nations in the world. It was the fourth economic entity and the third export nation in the world. China is also gaining the critical political power. EU must continue developing the strategic partnership with China. The document titled “EU-China: closer partners, growing responsibilities” was the 6th documents on China published by EU commission.²⁶

²⁴ European Commission, *Bulletin of the EU*, 4-2002, Relations with Asia (6/13), point 1.6.74.

²⁵ EU document no. IP/03/1231, September 10, 2003, http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/china/intro/index.htm.

²⁶ “EU-China: closer partners, growing responsibilities,” Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament of 24 October 2006 entitled “EU-China: closer partners, growing responsibilities,” COM (2006) 631, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r14208.htm>.



Although China did not play a significant role in ASEM, the nations in Europe or Asia also expected to include China in this mechanism. China was a great nation and with regard to the land, population, political and economic force in China, the foundation of ASEM would be meaningless without China. For Asia, an equal rival would certainly be EU and for EU, China would be the most competitive rival in Asia. In the initial development of ASEM, China suggested the economic cooperation and was not active. However, due to the change of international society and the progress of ASEM, China gradually valued international multilateral mechanism and actively joined in ASEM. After 911 incident, in the fourth ASEM, China treated political dialogue as the priority which significantly demonstrated that China intended to develop the political relation with European countries. Many issues revealed that there were more and more shared benefits between China and EU, including multilateral international system, maintenance of function and position of EU, etc. With regard to the internal development in China, the nation must cooperate with the international society and it would be a new opportunity to cooperate with EU through ASEM. Thus, on October 13, 2003, China proposed “China’s EU Policy Paper”. The introduction of the document stressed that “EU is the powerful force in the world. Chinese government appreciates the concern of Chinese development by EU and the participants. Chinese government initially constructs the documents with regard to the strategies in EU which aims to demonstrate Chinese policy on EU. We plan the cooperative fields and the related measures in the following five years and reinforce the overall cooperation with EU to promote long-term and stable EU-China relation.²⁷” It indicated Chinese strategic goal to establish overall partnership with EU, including political, economic, educational, cultural, health, social, justice, administration

²⁷ “China’s EU Policy Paper”, <http://www.china-un.ch/eng/ljzg/zgwjzc/t85896.htm>.



and military aspects. The document was proposed during the holding of EU-China Summit. EU minister council also proposed the above document which significantly demonstrated new substantial China-EU relation after ASEM.

At the same time, noticeably, in EU-China Summit and according to the documents proposed by EU and China, we recognize that they were facilitating the relationship through varied methods: the first EU-China Summit was held in London in April 1998; the second was in Beijing in December 1999; the third was in Beijing in October, 2000; the fourth was in Brussels in September 2001; the fifth was in Copenhagen, Denmark in October 2002 after Asia-Europe summit; the sixth was in Beijing in October 2004; the seventh was in Den Haag, Holand in December 2004; the 8th was in Beijing in September 2005; the 9th was in Helsinki, Finland in September 2006; the 10th was in Beijing in November 2007.²⁸ These summits targeted on EU-China strategic partnership. The issues included human rights, WTO, economic cooperation and raise of foreign military sales.²⁹ EU conflicted with China over “The Anti-Concession Law” promulgated by the latter and decided to maintain the arms embargo against the latter. For instance, in the tenth meeting, they not only discussed varied bilateral and international issues, but also reinforced the cooperation, solved the global climatic change, helped the development in Africa, energy safety, Myanmar, Middle East peaceful progress, nuclear expansion in North Korea and Iran, etc. With regard to Kyoto Protocol related to climatic change, since there was significant gap on

²⁸ Brussels stunned as Beijing cancels EU-China summit. Brussels has reacted with astonishment to a decision by China to postpone next week's EU-China summit in retaliation for visits by EU leaders with Tibet's exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/foreign-affairs/brussels-stunned-beijing-cancels-eu-china-summit/article-177550>.

²⁹ EU-China Summit: new steps in a growing relationship, IP/04/1440, 2004/12/6, http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/china/summit_1204/ip04_1440.htm.



the benefits in China and Europe, unfortunately, there was no result. The president of EU, José Manuel Barroso, stressed in the summit that EU and China not only shared the benefits, but also faced the global challenge.

Compare with the six locations of ASEM, Bangkok in 1996, London in 1998, Seoul in 2000, Copenhagen in 2002, Hanoi in 2004, Helsinki in 2006 tended to correspond to the regular EU-China summits. It seemed that EU and China further discussed the issues which were not fulfilled in ASEM after the conference. The documents of EU and China published during this time also responded to each other. In short, in recent years, EU-China Summit could be treated as the extension of ASEM between China and EU with regard to the publication of the policies and documents and the result of the conference. Thus, for EU and China, ASEM gradually turned from mediating variable to independent variable. In other words, it could also be treated as an independent variable.

V. Prospect of EU-China interaction in ASEM:

Conclusion

There are close political, economic and technological relations between China and EU. China grows rapidly during the reform for 30 years and EU should seize the relations with China to avoid losing the benefits. According to the General Administration of Customs of the People's Republic of China in 2008 the trade amount between 27 nations in EU and China reached USD 422 billion which increased by 19.5%. Export amount from EU to China was USD 132.7 billion and import amount from China was USD 292.8 billion (both increased by 19%). Thus, China maintained the position as the second



largest trade partner of EU.³⁰

EU expects that China can play more important role in international affairs; besides, it also indicates that China will confront the powerful U.S. in global affairs in the near future. From the perspective of national strategies, EU, which has been under the shadow of the U.S. for long time, expects to construct closer partnership with China to hold up the U.S.

Since 1996, ASEM has held 7 conferences in 12 years.³¹ ASEM aims to strengthen the connection and dialogue between Asia and Europe which can be responsible for the mutual understanding of the people in two regions. The principle of ASEM is based on a gradual process and the dialogue. It is informal and non-institutional. However, in these years, the participants value the participation in ASEM. For Europe and China, bilateral relation constructed upon the contact with the heads in ASEM and the following summits and the related conferences with different levels and issues are significant. For example, in sixth ASEM Chinese Premier Wen Jia-bao indicated that Asia-Europe should: (1) reinforce the political dialogue to respond to the threat of security; (2) reinforce cultural exchange and maintain peaceful relationship; (3) have close financial cooperation, promote economic balance development; (4) expand dialogue and cooperation and guarantee energy safety; (5) support multilateral trade system and carry out win-win development; (6) encourage corporate participation and cooperative channels; (7) respond to non-traditional security and effectively prevent bird flu; (8) reduce the gap between the cities and villages and carry out econom-

³⁰ General Administration of Customs of the People's Republic of China, <http://www.customs.gov.cn/Default.aspx?tabid=2453&moremoduleid=3760&moretabid=4370>, <http://www.deltwn.ec.europa.eu/upload/rte/eeto-062707-webfile.pdf>.

³¹ The first ASEM was started in Bangkok Thailand in 1996 with a view to redressing the "missing link" between Asia and Europe. The Seventh Asia-Europe Meeting was held in Beijing on 24 and 25 October 2008.



ic balance development. In the past decade Asia and Europe have developed varied cooperation upon mutual respect, equal dialogue and consistent negotiation. The political dialogue deepened and financial connection became close. Social cooperation rapidly expanded and the cultural and personnel exchange were more frequent. ASEM has become the choice of Asia and Europe to strengthen the negotiation and cooperation.³²

The seventh ASEM was held in Beijing on 24 and 25 October 2008. The Summit was attended by the heads of state and government of sixteen Asian and twenty-seven European nations. Chinese Premier Wen Jia-bao indicated that: ASEM should draw serious lessons from the financial crisis and properly handle three relationships. First, the relationship between financial innovation and regulation. Second, the relationship between virtual and real economy. Third, the relationship between savings and consumption. He said that ASEM should see to it that consumption and savings are well-coordinated.³³

According to “Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China”, “Strategies of EU in China” and “China and EU: new strategy for a maturing partnership” of EU and “Chinese policies to EU” of China, we recognize that two parties have the common consensus to reinforce bilateral relation. Comparing with the principles of ASEM (equal partner relation based, reinforcing mutual understanding through the dialogues, value on political, economic and other fields; informal and non-institutional operation), we find that EU and China both recognize that there are too many participants in ASEM and it is difficult to construct multi-relation simply through dialogues.

³² Wen Jia-bao presented a speech in the 6th Asia-Europe conference of the heads: “Reinforcing the cooperation between Asia and Europe to face the challenge”.

³³ Full text of speeches of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao at ASEM7, 2008-10-25, http://www.asem7.cn/misc/2008-10/25/content_57461.htm.



Besides, EU and China consider the direct and substantial relation as the key. After ASEM, the development between China and EU grows rapidly which can be regarded as one of the spillover effects of ASEM. Therefore, the intangible benefit of ASEM on EU-China relation can be treated as the independent variable in international relations.

However, future EU-China relation will develop upon the present base in the trend of globalization and regional competition and the consideration of global and national development strategies. They will closely contact with each other as two powerful entities. Since ASEM aims to reinforce mutual understanding through the dialogues and has non-institutional structure, its burdensome position will turn into the minor role. EU and China strengthen their bilateral relation and hold bilateral summit with ASEM which might not be enough for plenty of future issues related to globalization. Closer contact between EU and China is necessary. In short, with regard to EU-China relation, independent variable position of ASEM will gradually be replaced by mediating variable. With the holding of ASEM, varied substantial EU-China relations are strengthened through EU-China direct relations which will gradually become the independent variable. That means the importance of ASEM will be replaced by EU-China Summit.



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EU-China Interaction in ASEM – From the View of International Regime

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Abstract

After the Cold War, the EU adapted a new strategy toward Asia. In 1995, the EU adapted the white paper policy — “A Long Term Policy For China-Europe Relations”. ASEM, founded in 1996, provided a platform for direct interactions between EU-China. In the new situation of the world, ASEM is creating a third line of interaction between EU and China. The key discussion of this paper will be focused on the roles that EU consists of 27 countries and China play in ASEM and the future development between these two powers. Under globalization and regionalization, this article will approach the international regime issues concerning the interactions between EU and China in ASEM from a power-based, interest-based and knowledge-based perspective.

Keywords: ASEM, EU, EU-China, International Regime

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