

GFP 140707/08

CON LINGUA BIFORCUTA (I /II)

Visita della Cancelliera tedesca Merkel in Cina; obiettivo intensificare la cooperazione economica Cina-Germania.

Un recente documento strategico del governo cinese sulle relazioni con la UE propone di rafforzare - oltre alla cooperazione economica - anche la cooperazione politica, con Germania e UE. Obiettivo: spezzare il blocco occidentale, contrastare il tentativo Usa di contenere l'ascesa della Cina e di indebolirla. Il contesto della strategia cinese è dato dal "perno asiatico" (Asia Pivot) americano, il rafforzamento della presenza Usa nell'area Asia-Pacifico, e dal previsto accordo di libero scambio transatlantico Ue-Usa (TTIP) che creerebbe un nuovo blocco economico indebolendo la relativa posizione di forza economica della Cina.

- **Presentato il concetto di una Nuova via della seta**, dallo Xinjiang, nell'Ovest della Cina, ai paesi del Centro Asia, all'Iran, Turchia e infine Europa, **progetto al quale dovrebbe partecipare anche la Russia.**
- Il giornale del PCC, *Global Times*, riferisce che si tratta di **un enorme progetto infrastrutturale** per facilitare lo scambio commerciale, **ma che rappresenta al contempo la creazione di un nuovo contesto politico-culturale tra Asia ed Europa**; l'idea di un'integrazione dell'Eurasia che modificherebbe i rapporti di potenza internazionali (cfr. **Nele Noesselt: Chinas neue EU-Strategie: Aufbau einer strategischen Achse der Weltpolitik? La nuova strategia UE della Cina: costruzione di un asse strategico della politica internazionale? - GIGA Focus Global 4/2014**)
- Secondo il direttore dell'Istituto Mercator per gli studi sulla Cina, **le relazioni tra Germania e Cina diverranno presto molto più conflittuali rispetto al decennio scorso**, anche a causa della **crescente rivalità e tensioni tra Cina e Usa** per il predominio nell'Asia S-orientale.
- **È dubbio che la Germania possa mantenere la vantaggiosa posizione di mediatrice, dovrà schierarsi**, come pure la UE, con conseguenti **scossoni nelle relazioni con la Cina** ...
- **I consiglieri del governo tedesco: rafforzare le relazioni di politica di sicurezza con i paesi dell'Asean**; questo **rafforzerà la posizione tedesco-europea nell'area attorno alla Cina**; si potrebbe **pensare anche a missioni della marina militare.**
- Queste **relazioni potrebbero servire soprattutto in caso di inasprimento dello scontro tra USA e Cina**, Berlino e UE potrebbero esercitare la propria influenza sugli Asean della regione.
- La **commissaria agli Esteri UE**, Catherine Ashton, ha proposto una **cooperazione nel Corno d'Africa con le navi da guerra dei paesi asiatici, tra cui la Cina. La combinazione di cooperazione militare ed economica renderebbe la UE un partner speciale dell'Asia** nel campo della sicurezza. Si potrebbero inviare navi di singoli paesi UE nel Mar di Cina Meridionale, in segno di amicizia con i paesi litoranei.
- I piani di cooperazione politico-militare vanno **di pari passo con forniture di armamenti: tra i 10 maggiori acquirenti di armi tedesche ci sono 3 paesi dell'Asia orientale e S-orientale** (nel 2013 per un valore complessivo di €300mn) sono Indonesia, Singapore e Sud Corea,
- **gli stessi paesi che gli Usa cercano di schierare contro la Cina.**
- **Il rafforzamento delle attività tedesco-europee in S-E Asia è importante anche per la Cina, dato che sull'altro versante gli Usa cercano di utilizzare le proprie relazioni con i paesi Asean per accerchiare la Cina.**
- SWP (Fondazione scienza e politica): **nel 2013, con un volume di \$223,6 MD, la UE è il 3° partner commerciale degli Asean, dopo Cina e Giappone;**
- **nel 2010-2012 la UE è stata il maggior investitore nella regione Asean, con circa \$71MD.**
- **Pr rafforzare le relazioni, a questa relazione economica manca una componente di politica di sicurezza; secondo SWP gli Usa appoggerebbero questo sforzo della UE verso gli Asean.**

Dal 2003, anno di pubblicazione del precedente strategia cinese verso la UE, l'equilibrio di forze

e l'interdipendenza nelle relazioni sino-europee si è spostato a favore della Cina, che è divenuta il maggior creditore degli Usa; ed ha accresciuto in Europa il peso dei suoi investimenti.

- Calcolando il PIL a parità di potere d'acquisto (*dati Banca Mondiale*) **la Cina è già quest'anno la maggiore economia del mondo**;
- dal 2013 è il maggior paese per volume di scambi commerciali, prima degli Usa;
- la sua produzione e export si stanno spostando verso prodotti a maggior valore aggiunto; ad esempio per l'export continua a diminuire la quota dei tessili mentre aumenta quella di macchinari e prodotti elettronici (Germany Trade and Invest, gta);
- **per la Germania è il 3° maggior partner commerciale**, dopo Francia e Olanda, prima degli Usa;
- nel **2014 gli investimenti diretti tedeschi in Cina raggiungeranno i €39MD**, contro i circa **€199 MD negli Usa nel 2012**, calati però del 10% rispetto al 2009.

L'importanza della Cina per i gruppi tedeschi

Es. **Volkswagen**: attiva in Cina dal 1984, dove vi ha creato una joint venture;

- nel **2012** Vw si attesta al primo posto nel mercato cinese dell'auto, con una quota del 20,8%; la Cina è il maggior mercato di sbocco di Vw, e rappresenta circa 1/3 del suo utile complessivo, con un fatturato 2,8 milioni di veicoli;
- per i prossimi 4 anni VW ha piani di investimento in Cina per oltre €18MD;

il mercato cinese offre **prospettive di sviluppo**: mentre in Germania ci sono circa 520 veicoli per 1000 abitanti, in Cina ce ne sono 50.

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Nele Noessel

Il 2 aprile 2014 il governo cinese ha pubblicato il suo **secondo documento politico sulle relazioni con la UE**, in cui si propone una **road map della cooperazione bilaterale per i prossimi 5 anni**. Suo titolo «Approfondimento della Partnership strategica globale tra la Cina e l'UE con l'obiettivo di mutuo vantaggio e cooperazione»

Il primo documento politico sullo stesso tema era stato pubblicato nell'ott. 2003, e doveva valere fino al 2008. Il fatto che gli obiettivi posti (revoca dell'embargo sulle armi, riconoscimento della Cina come economia di mercato, mantenimento del principio di una sola Cina) non fossero ancora stati raggiunti, dal punto di vista del governo cinese non c'erano le premesse per intensificare le relazioni con la UE, e di conseguenza esso ha atteso fino a quest'anno per aggiornarlo.

[in giallo le parti tratte direttamente dal documento originale cinese, tradotto in inglese]

Dallo scoppio della crisi finanziaria nel 2007/2008 l'equilibrio di potenza si è spostato a favore della Cina.

Negli ultimi dieci anni ci sono stati enormi cambiamenti in Cina, Ue e nel mondo; aumentata la multipolarità e la globalizzazione economica, rafforzato l'uso delle IT; cresciuta la forza dei mercati emergenti e dei PVS, e in essa il peso e ruolo della Cina a livello internazionale e regionale; maggiore interdipendenza e intreccio di interessi tra i vari paesi. La Cina rimane un paese in sviluppo, con carenze di equilibrio, coordinamento e sostenibilità.

Essa dispone delle maggiori riserve in divisa, ed è divenuta il maggior creditore degli Usa; ha accresciuto gli investimenti in Europa.

Alla base dell'aggiornamento della strategia cinese verso la UE l'ascesa economica della Cina e il conseguente miglioramento della sua posizione assieme, secondo i cinesi, al **cambiamento di ruolo e funzione della UE negli assetti internazionali**; la Cina assume qui il ruolo di **partner e attore alla pari** della politica internazionale. **La UE - a 28 è la maggiore economica del mondo - si trova di fronte alla sfida più grave dalla fine della Guerra Fredda, e deve affrontare con urgenza una serie di questioni strutturali e sistemiche. Rimane invariato il suo orientamento strategico di integrazione.**

L'alleanza con la UE è presentata come uno dei vari assi strategici della politica internazionale; Cina e UE condividono la necessità di un mondo multipolare.

10 i capitoli in cui è diviso il documento, che si presenta come presa di posizione nella politica internazionale della nuova leadership cinese. Con il presidente Hu Jintao e il primo ministro Wen Jiabao la Cina aveva cercato di entrare attivamente sul palcoscenico internazionale; nel 2002-2012, ma soprattutto nel 2007-2008, aveva assunto una posizione di consapevolezza. **La nuova dirigenza, Xi Jinping e Li Keqiang, senza fratture con la prassi di politica estera del passato, utilizza il documento come riflessione sui mutamenti dello scorso decennio.** La situazione internazionale viene considerata come **opportunità per ridefinire e re-indirizzare le alleanze strategiche**, sia a livello **bilaterale che globale**.

Obiettivo: Costruire un'economia mondiale aperta ... basata sulla armonia, sviluppo pacifico. Si parla di un "nuovo tipo di relazioni tra grandi potenze", ampliamento ad altre potenze del nuovo tipo di "relazioni internazionali" (Cina-Usa) proposto per la prima volta dal presidente Xi Jinping nel 2012 durante la sua visita a Washington. Il documento afferma che **sia la Cina che la UE si trovano in una fase di riforma e ristrutturazione.**

Se da una parte **la Cina rivendica un ruolo regionale crescente**, dall'altra parla delle **enormi sfide socio-economiche interne** che deve affrontare in quanto PVS.

Il documento ascrive alla **UE un ruolo centrale a livello internazionale**, ma al contempo dice che **la UE deve affrontare riforme strutturali soprattutto nel settore finanziario**, il tutto espresso in maniera più conciliante di come espresso **nel 2012 dal direttore della Banca centrale della Cina**

che aveva parlato del **mercato e del sistema finanziario europeo** come di **“enorme fattore di insicurezza”**.

Il documento dichiara che **l'alleanza sino-europea non è da considerare un normale accordo di cooperazione**, ma **una cooperazione tra il maggior paese emergente, la Cina, e un insieme delle maggiori potenze industriali del mondo. Assieme UE e Cina rappresentano 1/3 del commercio mondiale, e ¼ della popolazione. L'interscambio si aggira annualmente sui \$550MD. La UE è il partner commerciale più importante della Cina, la Cina è da 10 anni il secondo maggiore per la UE. 5 milioni di visite ogni anno tra le due parti.**

Il documento afferma che Cina e UE hanno collaborato per affrontare la crisi finanziaria internazionale e promuovere una riforma della governance internazionale. Alla **base del rafforzamento del partenariato strategico è Agenda 2020, varata congiuntamente nel 2013** che identifica **gli interessi di Ue e Cina definendoli complementari**. Quattro i **temi principali: pace e stabilità; crescita; riforme delle strutture nazionali e globali; cooperazione e dialogo tra le varie culture.**

Concretamente: **coordinamento della politica verso le organizzazioni internazionali (Onu); e i forum multilaterali (Asem,¹ e nel G20 per coordinamento macroeconomico);** comune impegno per la **salvaguardia della vittoria della II Guerra mondiale, l'assetto internazionale post-bellico, aiutare l'ONU a mantenere il suo ruolo guida per la pace mondiale; aumentare gli scambi per le attività di peacekeeping dell'Onu.** Tra i temi: gli obiettivi del Millennio per la **riduzione della povertà**; lotta al **terrorismo** e alla **pirateria** (Golfo di Aden davanti alle coste della Somalia); controllo sugli **armamenti e sicurezza nucleare**; questioni di **sicurezza** non tradizionali nello spazio cibernetico.

Si parla di **costruire un dialogo sia tra i governi che tra i partiti e gli organi legislativi**. Vengono stabiliti i limiti che il partner europeo non deve oltrepassare e le **attese: revoca dell'embargo sugli armamenti** che impedisce l'intensificazione della cooperazione per la difesa e la sicurezza, e il **rispetto del principio di “Una sola Cina”**. **Gli scambi tra UE e paesi membri con Taiwan dovrebbero essere strettamente non ufficiali... non consentire a nessun titolo la visita di personaggi politici di Taiwan nella UE e nei suoi paesi membri; non inviare armamenti etc. a Taiwan ...** La Cina incoraggia lo sviluppo di relazioni con la Ue da parte della regione amministrativa speciale di Hongkong e Macao; la Cina apprezza che la UE riconosca il Tibet come parte del territorio della Cina, e che non appoggi la sua indipendenza.

La principale richiesta: **un accordo di libero scambio con la UE; rafforzare il dialogo economico-finanziario e il gruppo di lavoro tra Banca centrale cinese e BCE. Ben vengano le istituzioni finanziarie dei paesi UE per avviare affari in Cina; la Cina incoraggia le assicurazioni cinesi a entrare nel mercato europeo ...**

La **Cina considera positivo che nel recente incontro 2014, la UE abbia preso in considerazione un accordo di libero scambio, pur subordinandolo, ad un accordo per la tutela degli investimenti**. La **televisione di Stato cinese ha osannato la visita in Europa di Xi come importante apertura del dialogo**, e in maggio ha informato di un accordo per facilitazioni doganali. Per un **esponente dell'università Tsinghua la visita in Europa rappresenta l'attuazione della strategia della “nuova via della seta”,** con la quale si potrà creare un comune mercato interregionale, gli interessi economici strategici faranno superare le linee di conflitto politico e i punti di frizione.

Urbanizzazione e sostenibilità dello sviluppo sono punti centrali della nuova politica cinese, che sarà ufficialmente presentata a nov. 2014. **Le riforme economiche del 1978, la “turbo-industrializzazione”, hanno avuto effetti “collaterali” negativi**, riconosciuti in varie istanze ufficiali nel 2012 e 2013. Nel febbraio 2014 il **governo cinese ha lanciato l'allarme per i valori di inquinamento dell'aria a Pechino, moltiplicati quasi di 20 volte (432 microgrammi per m³).** Hanno espresso la loro preoccupazione, nei forum e blog in rete, circa **400 milioni di abitanti del N-E della Cina interessati da problemi sanitari e abbassamento della qualità della vita derivanti da questo inquinamento**; la gente cerca di provvedere da sola con filtri, e finestre migliori, ma il problema rimane.

Nel 2013 l'allarme per il superamento dei livelli di inquinamento consentiti è stato dato raramente e

¹ L'Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) è un forum interregionale, i cui membri sono: la Commissione europea, i 28 membri dell'Unione Europea (UE), i tredici membri dell'Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). È stato ufficialmente istituito nel 1996.

in ritardo ... poco risolte le prescrizioni alle imprese locali per produzione e riduzione di emissioni. Lo stesso **ministero della Sanità calcolava che ci sarà un aumento delle malattie polmonari e ½ milione di morti premature all'anno** dovute all'inquinamento atmosferico.

L'Accademia di Scienze sociali di Shanghai definisce Pechino "quasi inabitabile". [<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2014/02/smog-makes-beijing-barely-suitable-life/>] (12. Mai 2014).

Il problema sta nel fatto che un più severo controllo delle imprese e l'applicazione degli standard ambientali previsti sulla carta potrebbero provocare un conflitto tra lo Stato-partito e le élite economiche, che rappresentano un pilastro portante del sistema politico. Dal 2002 questi "capitalisti rossi" possono entrare nel PCC.

Sulla questione ambientale il governo teme scoppino grosse proteste nelle regioni e città più interessate, e per questo pensa sia necessario porvi mano.

L'urbanizzazione è considerata un modo per migliorare il tenore di vita della popolazione rurale.

Sviluppo sostenibile e tecnologie ambientali rappresentano un terreno di possibile **collaborazione strategica sino-europea**. Al contempo presenta anche un **potenziale di conflitto**: la UE è interessata a vendere tecnologia ambientale, Pechino mette al primo posto il **trasferimento di tecnologie e lo sviluppo di proprie tecnologie**. Si augura continui la **cooperazione nei settori industria, trasporti, scienza e tecnologia, e IT**; continuino gli scambi nei settori **industria auto, efficienza energetica industriale, materie prime, cantieristica e PMI, industria elettronica, aviazione, aerospaziale, energia nucleare ...** **Rafforzare a cooperazione sulla sicurezza energetica, affrontando assieme le sfide della competizione sui prezzi, sicurezza e stabilità dei rifornimenti; rafforzare la cooperazione sulle infrastrutture per il gas naturale.**

Espandere gli scambi di studenti e studiosi; obiettivo per il 202° 300mila persone l'anno; insegnamento del cinese e delle lingue europee. Promuovere e facilitare il turismo; i paesi UE dovrebbero sostenere l'adozione del cinese come lingua ufficiale nell'organizzazione mondiale per il turismo.

Il fatto che, per la prima volta dalla creazione del partenariato sino-europeo, Xi Jinping si sia recato a Bruxelles è considerato come espressione simbolica del sostegno cinese al processo di integrazione europea. **La Cina intende rafforzare la cooperazione con la BEI (Banca Europea di Investimento)**, nei campi in cui essa ha un importante il ruolo, promozione dell'integrazione europea, ripresa economica, cambiamento climatico.

Nell'ultimo decennio sono cambiate e divenute più complesse le relazioni strategiche Cina-UE: oltre alle relazioni con la Commissione ci sono stati **contatti anche con i singoli organismi Ue**, che hanno un maggior peso nei trattati di riforma della UE.

Parallelamente la Cina intrattiene relazioni bilaterali con i paesi membri della UE, e da qualche anno suddivide in subregioni lo spazio UE, a denotazione del realismo e pragmatismo della politica estera cinese.

Nel settembre 2012 è stato **istituito a Pechino un segretariato per le relazioni con i paesi est-europei**, che sono circa 10.

La strategia cinese comprende **nella prassi varianti delle relazioni tra grandi potenze, ad es. con Germania, Francia e GB; le relazioni con paesi e regioni meno sviluppati, S ed Est Europa e con organi e insiemi regionali, come l'eurozona.**

Sulla stampa cinese sono comparse critiche riguardanti la situazione e il futuro delle relazioni sino-europee. Ad es., *Liberation Daily* dice che **sullo sfondo della visita di Xi Jinping ci sono le crescenti tensioni tra i due partner sulle tecnologie del solare, il progetto di accordo di libero scambio Ue-Usa viene percepito come creazione di un nuovo blocco che può essere bilanciato solo con un equivalente accordo Ue-Cina.**

Nella nuova politica verso la UE gli assetti monetari e finanziari assumono una funzione strategica centrale. **La crisi bancaria e finanziaria globale ha conseguenze dirette sulla crescita economica cinese.** L'economia cinese è **finora volta all'export e patisce perciò dei turbamenti che riguardano i suoi mercati.** Pechino cerca di rafforzare il mercato interno, ma i tempi richiesti sono lunghi. Un **calo al 7% della crescita annuale** può essere visto come **effetto di questo progetto e dell'orientamento verso la sostenibilità, sempre che sia il risultato di una manovra statale centralizzata e non un effetto di crisi globali e regionali.**

Ne **2009 il direttore della banca centrale cinese aveva avanzato l'idea di una moneta sovranazionale da istituire sulla base di un paniere di diverse altre divise nazionali, tra le quali**

l'euro e il renminbi.

Il rafforzamento in corso della cooperazione con l'Europa nel settore finanziario è un ulteriore passo verso una maggiore liberalizzazione della divisa cinese.

Nell'aprile 2014, la Banca Centrale cinese e la Bundesbank tedesca hanno siglato un accordo in base al quale Francoforte diventa il primo centro finanziario estero per il commercio al di fuori dell'Asia, tramite il quale possono essere effettuati pagamenti in renminbi.

È in progetto un centro analogo anche a Londra, che però non fa parte dell'area euro.

Questa strategia parallela che guarda all'area dell'euro rivela che da tempo l'Europa a due velocità è divenuta realtà nella prassi di politica estera della Cina, la quale nella sua strategia globale tiene presente l'eterogeneità e pluralità della UE.

Gli Usa rimangono un attore invisibile nelle relazioni sino-europee (vedi "pivot Asia", piano di accordo di libero scambio UE-USA), di cui però tiene conto la Cina nella sua strategia, che pone come obiettivi centrali investimenti, finanza e cooperazione per l'innovazione, obiettivi raggiungibili solo tramite la cooperazione con altri partner. Il che apre alla UE la possibilità di avanzare proprie proposte per la riforma delle sue strutture interne e per gli assetti internazionali. La Cina considera la UE un polo centrale di un sistema multipolare, solo in grado controbilanciare le tendenze unipolari in presenza di diversi poli con un peso pressoché equivalente.

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Mit gespaltener Zunge (I)
07.07.2014
BERLIN/BEIJING

- (Eigener Bericht) – Mit ihrer aktuellen China-Reise **sucht die deutsche Kanzlerin die ohnehin enge deutsch-chinesische Wirtschaftskooperation weiter zu intensivieren. China ist mittlerweile der dritt wichtigste deutsche Handelspartner noch vor den USA und könnte, wie Regierungskreise urteilen, trotz einer aktuellen Stagnation der Geschäfte auf lange Sicht noch größere Bedeutung für die deutsche Exportwirtschaft gewinnen.**
- **Die Investitionen deutscher Unternehmen in der Volksrepublik nehmen ebenfalls zu; der Volkswagen-Konzern, der inzwischen ein Drittel seines Gewinns in China erwirtschaftet, will dort in den nächsten vier Jahren mehr als 18 Milliarden Euro investieren. Die überaus enge Wirtschaftskooperation wird in Beijing mit Plänen verbunden, auch die politische Zusammenarbeit mit Berlin und der EU auszubauen.**
- Dabei spielt eine Rolle, dass **die Vereinigten Staaten sich immer mehr darauf konzentrieren, ihren Rivalen China am Aufstieg zu hindern und die Volksrepublik daher nach Möglichkeit zu schwächen. In Beijing heißt es, durch die Kooperation mit Deutschland könne es eventuell gelingen, den westlichen Block aufzubrechen** und die Eskalation des Konflikts zu verhindern.
- Eine zentrale Rolle bei der aktuellen China-Reise der deutschen Kanzlerin spielt der Ausbau der bilateralen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen. **China boomt nach wie vor, ist letztes Jahr zum Staat mit dem größten Außenhandelsvolumen**

Spürbar nach oben

weltweit geworden – vor den USA – und wird Aus- und Einfuhr auch dieses Jahr weiter steigern. Dabei verschieben sich Produktion und Export des Landes hin zu stets komplexeren Gütern; Ökonomen weisen darauf hin, dass der Anteil etwa von Textilien am chinesischen Export kontinuierlich sinkt, während derjenige von Maschinen und elektronischen Erzeugnissen steigt. „Offensichtlich“ sei es China „gelingen, sich in der internationalen Wertschöpfungskette spürbar nach oben zu arbeiten“, konstatiert die deutsche Außenwirtschaftsagentur Germany Trade and Invest (gtai).

[1]

- Nach Kaufkraftparität wird das Land der Weltbank zufolge wohl noch dieses Jahr zur größten Wirtschaftsnation überhaupt. Für Deutschland ist die Volksrepublik mittlerweile der drittgrößte Außenhandelspartner – nach Frankreich und den Niederlanden, aber deutlich vor den USA.
- Die Direktinvestitionen steigen ebenfalls: 2014 erreichen sie voraussichtlich 39 Milliarden Euro. Das ist zwar noch erheblich weniger als die deutschen Investitionen in den USA, die 2012 rund 199 Milliarden Euro betragen – allerdings mit fallender Tendenz: 2009 hatten sie noch zehn Prozent höher gelegen.

Milliardeninvestitionen

Welche Bedeutung China für einzelne deutsche Spitzenkonzerne einnehmen kann, zeigt plastisch das Beispiel **Volkswagen**.

- VW ist erstmals 1984 mit der Gründung eines Joint Ventures in der Volksrepublik tätig geworden und war dort 2012 mit einem Anteil von 20,8 Prozent am gesamten Pkw-Markt des Landes Marktführer.
- Der deutsche Konzern

verkaufte in China im Geschäftsjahr 2012 rund 2,8 Millionen Fahrzeuge; das Land war damit sein größter Absatzmarkt. In der Volksrepublik erzielte VW zuletzt rund ein Drittel seines globalen Gewinns.

- Gestern hat Kanzlerin Merkel das Volkswagen-Werk im westchinesischen Chengdu besucht. Der Konzern weist darauf hin, dass **das Potenzial des chinesischen Marktes längst noch nicht ausgeschöpft ist.**
- **So heißt es bei Volkswagen: "Auf 1.000 Einwohner (in China, d. Red.) kommen derzeit gerade einmal circa 50 Pkw; in Deutschland 9arden9 rund 520.** Auch das Ersatzteil- und Gebrauchtwagengeschäft sowie Finanzdienstleistungen im Automobilsektor werden in China zukünftig stark an Bedeutung gewinnen."^[2] Der VW-Vorstandsvorsitzende Martin Winterkorn hat angekündigt, die Firma werde bis 2018 über 18 Milliarden Euro in den Ausbau ihrer Produktion in der Volksrepublik investieren.
- An die ungemein umfangreiche und sich immer weiter intensivierende ökonomische Kooperation knüpfen Strategen in Beijing weltpolitische Konzeptionen, die Berlin auf die eine oder andere Art beantworten muss.
- Dies zeigt **das neue Strategiepapier über Chinas Beziehungen zur EU, das die Regierung der Volksrepublik im April dieses Jahres veröffentlicht hat.** Seit der Publikation der vorigen chinesischen EU-Strategie im Jahr 2003 hätten sich „**die Kräftegewichte und Interdependenzen in den sino-europäischen Beziehungen zum Vorteil der chinesischen Seite verschoben**“, heißt es in

Gleichberechtigter Kooperationspartner

einer aktuellen Analyse; **China sei inzwischen “zum wichtigsten Gläubiger der USA avanciert” und in Europa “verstärkt als Investor aktiv geworden“.**

- Beijing wolle auch künftig äußerst eng mit der EU zusammenarbeiten, bemühe sich dabei jedoch um die „die Rolle eines gleichberechtigten Kooperationspartners und aktiven Mitgestalters der Weltpolitik“.
- **Motiviert sei Beijing bei den Plänen zur “Intensivierung der sino-europäischen Partnerschaft” besonders durch den “Ausbau der US-amerikanischen Präsenz im asiatisch-pazifischen Raum (‘pivot to Asia’)” und “das angedachte transatlantische Freihandelsabkommen zwischen der EU und den USA (TTIP)“, das „einen neuen Wirtschaftsblock zementieren“ und damit „Chinas relative ökonomische Machtposition schwächen“ könne, heißt es in der Analyse.[3]**
- In Beijing wird das Konzept einer engen chinesisch-europäischen Kooperation in jüngster Zeit oft mit dem Konzept einer „neuen Seidenstraße“ verbunden. Dieses zielt darauf ab, den Handel sowie eine weitergehende Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Ländern entlang der alten Seidenstraße energisch zu intensivieren; eingebunden werden sollen dabei vom westchinesischen Xinjiang aus zunächst die Staaten Zentralasiens, dann Iran, die Türkei und Europa.
- Auch Russland soll sich beteiligen. Damit werde nicht ein riesiges “Infrastrukturprojekt” zur Erleichterung des Warenaustauschs geplant, sondern die “Herstellung eines neuen politisch-kulturellen Zusammenhangs” zwischen

Die neue Seidenstraße

Asien und Europa, heißt es in einem Bericht, der auf einen Leitartikel der chinesischen Parteizeitung „Global Times“ Bezug nimmt.

- „Langfristig“ stehe wohl „die Vorstellung einer Integration Eurasiens dahinter, die die bestehenden weltpolitischen Gewichte nachhaltig verändern würde“.
- In dem erwähnten Artikel der „Global Times“ wird die Auffassung vertreten, man müsse „erkennen, dass Europa die realistischste Durchbruchsmöglichkeit darstellt, um das größte Hindernis für Chinas Aufstieg zu beseitigen: den Westen“.[4] Damit ist ein politisch-ökonomischer Block aus EU und USA gemeint, der die stärker werdende Volksrepublik als Rivalen betrachtet und sie mit aller Macht zu schwächen sucht.

Zwang zur Positionierung

- **Dass ein ebensolcher Block sich klar abzeichnet, zeigen Stellungnahmen deutscher Experten.** So ist letzte Woche in einer führenden deutschen Tageszeitung ein knapper Beitrag von Sebastian Heilmann veröffentlicht worden, dem Direktor des Mercator Instituts für China-Studien in Berlin.[5] Heilmann vertritt darin die Ansicht, die Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und China würden schon bald „sehr viel konflikthanfälliger ... als in dem vergangenen ‘goldenen Jahrzehnt’ der deutsch-chinesischen Kooperation“ sein. Dies liege unter anderem daran, dass die „Großmachtrivalitäten zwischen China und den Vereinigten Staaten in der asiatisch-pazifischen Region immer offener zutage“ träten: „Die chinesisch-amerikanische Rivalität um die Führungsrolle in Ost- und Südostasien wird sich in den kommenden Jahren verschärfen und damit neue

Koordinaten für alle in der Region aktiven Staaten setzen.“ **Es sei „zweifelhaft, ob Deutschland seine bislang vorteilhafte Mittler- und Nischenposition in der China-Politik“ werde „aufrechterhalten können“; „Deutschland und die EU“ würden sich vermutlich schon bald auf einer Seite „positionieren müssen“.** Heilmann schließt: „**Wir sollten uns auf Erschütterungen im Verhältnis zu China einstellen.**“

Künftige Konflikte

Tatsächlich werden, während die deutsche Kanzlerin in Chengdu und Beijing lobende Worte über die deutsch-chinesische Wirtschaftskooperation spricht, **in Berlin schon längst Vorkehrungen für künftige Konflikte mit China getroffen.** german-foreign-policy.com berichtet am morgigen Dienstag.

Weitere Berichte und Hintergrundinformationen zur deutsch-chinesischen Wirtschaftskooperation finden Sie hier: Nach Osten!, Chinas Boom und die deutschen Reaktionen, Im Dialogmodus, Deutschlands neue Rolle, Exporte in Gefahr und Geschäfte unter Rivalen.

[1] Chinesischer Außenhandel hält Spitzenpositionen. www.gtai.de 16.06.2014.

[2] Markt-Spezial: China. www.volkswagenag.com.

[3] Nele Noesselt: Chinas neue EU-Strategie: Aufbau einer strategischen Achse der Weltpolitik? GIGA Focus Global 4/2014.

[4] Siehe etwa: Mark Siemons: Warum China bald bis Duisburg reicht. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 01.07.2014.

[5] Sebastian Heilmann: Chinesische Erschütterungen. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 04.07.2014.

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MIT GESPALTENER ZUNGE (II)

08.07.2014

BERLIN/BEIJING

- (Eigener Bericht) – **Anlässlich der China-Reise der deutschen Kanzlerin sagen Berliner China-Experten spürbare „Erschütterungen“ in den deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen voraus. Merkel bemüht sich gegenwärtig in der Volksrepublik insbesondere um neue Geschäftschancen für die deutsche Industrie. Vielleicht schon bald sei allerdings mit wachsenden Spannungen zwischen den USA und der Volksrepublik zu rechnen, heißt es in einer aktuellen Stellungnahme des Leiters des Mercator Instituts für China-Studien** in Berlin.
- **Deutschland und die EU müssten sich dann klarer als**

bisher auf einer Seite positionieren.

Regierungsberater schlagen unter anderem vor, die sicherheitspolitischen Beziehungen zu den Ländern des südostasiatischen Staatenbundes ASEAN auszubauen; dies ermögliche eine Stärkung der deutsch-europäischen Position im direkten Umfeld Chinas und könne womöglich mit vorsichtigen Marine-Expeditionen verbunden werden.

- Die Pläne zu einer engeren militärpolitischen Zusammenarbeit gehen mit umfangreichen Rüstungslieferungen einher: Unter den Top 10 der Käufer deutschen Kriegsgeräts finden sich drei Länder Ost- und Südasiens. Sie zählen zu denjenigen Staaten, die Washington gegen die Volksrepublik in Stellung zu bringen sucht.

Erschütterungen

Deutsche China-Experten rechnen mit einer Zuspitzung der Spannungen zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und der Volksrepublik China und sagen voraus, Deutschland werde sich in dem Streit bald "positionieren müssen". Während die deutsche Kanzlerin sich in diesen Tagen in Chengdu und Beijing um neue Geschäftschancen für deutsche Unternehmen bemüht, stellt der Direktor des Mercator Instituts für China-Studien in Berlin, Sebastian Heilmann, eine skeptische Analyse zur Diskussion. Das Verhältnis zwischen Berlin und Beijing werde in naher Zukunft "sehr viel konfliktanfälliger" sein "als in dem vergangenen 'goldenen Jahrzehnt' der deutsch-chinesischen Kooperation", weil die "chinesisch-amerikanische Rivalität um die Führungsrolle in Ost- und Südostasien" sich erkennbar verschärfe, schreibt Heilmann in einem Beitrag für eine führende deutsche Tageszeitung. Wie sich aus dem Beitrag klar ablesen lässt, geht der Autor von einer Positionierung Berlins auf der Seite der USA aus: "Wir sollten uns auf Erschütterungen im Verhältnis zu China einstellen." [1]

Eine sicherheitspolitische Komponente

- Gleichzeitig schlagen Regierungsberater einen Ausbau der deutsch-europäischen Aktivitäten in Südostasien vor. Dies ist insofern auch für die Beziehungen zur Volksrepublik China von Belang, als sich die Vereinigten Staaten im Sinne einer geostrategischen Einkreisung Chinas ebenfalls um eine engere Kooperation mit den Ländern des südostasiatischen

**Staatenbundes ASEAN
bemühen.[2]**

- Bei der Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) heißt es nun, **die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen der EU zu ASEAN seien außergewöhnlich eng: Die EU sei mit einem Handelsvolumen von 223,6 Milliarden US-Dollar im Jahr 2013 ASEANs drittgrößter Handelspartner nach China und Japan;**
- zudem sei sie "mit einem Investitionsvolumen von rund 71 Milliarden Euro in den Jahren 2010-12 ... zugleich der größte Investor in der ASEAN-Region".
- "Diesem enormen wirtschaftlichen Engagement" habe "lange Zeit eine sicherheitspolitische Komponente" zum Ausbau der Beziehungen gefehlt.
- 2007 hätten sich ASEAN und die EU in ihrer "Nürnberger Erklärung" zwar auf engere sicherheitspolitische Konsultationen geeinigt (unter deutscher EU-Ratspräsidentschaft); **konkretere Schritte seien allerdings erst seit 2012 zu verzeichnen.**
- Der SWP zufolge könnten Berlin und Brüssel bei einem weiteren Ausbau ihrer sicherheitspolitischen Aktivitäten im ASEAN-Gebiet auf Zustimmung aus Washington rechnen: "Von einem stärkeren Engagement der EU versprechen sich die USA eine nachhaltige Unterstützung ihrer asienpolitischen Initiativen."[3]
- Zur Anbahnung auch militärpolitischer Kontakte nimmt die SWP vorsichtig **Marineexpeditionen** in den Blick. Die **EU-Außenbeauftragte Catherine Ashton** habe unlängst herausgestellt, **die EU könne bei ihrem Marineeinsatz vor dem Horn von Afrika auf eine "exzellente Zusammenarbeit"**

Freundschaftsbesuche

mit Kriegsschiffen asiatischer Länder, darunter China, verweisen; dabei mache die Kombination militärischer und ökonomischer Maßnahmen im Rahmen der Intervention die EU "zu einem einzigartigen globalen Partner Asiens auf dem Gebiet der Sicherheit". Ashtons Versuche, eine außen- und militärpolitische Kooperation anzubahnen, bieten nach Einschätzung der SWP durchaus Perspektiven. Zwar seien die ASEAN-Mitglieder sehr auf ihre staatliche Souveränität bedacht und stünden Einmischungsversuchen von außen nicht positiv gegenüber; doch sei es durchaus denkbar, "Schiffe einzelner EU-Staaten in die Südchinesische See zu entsenden, damit sie deren Anrainern Freundschaftsbesuche abstatten".[4]

Rüstungsexporte

- Die Bemühungen, trotz südostasiatischer Sensibilitäten auf lange Sicht eine gewisse militärpolitische Kooperation einzuleiten, begleiten den umfangreichen deutschen Rüstungsexport in die ASEAN-Länder. Dies bestätigt der jüngste Rüstungsexportbericht der Bundesregierung, der im Mai veröffentlicht worden ist. Demnach befanden sich unter den Top 10 der Empfänger deutschen Kriegsgeräts im Jahr 2013 drei Staaten Ost- und Südasiens.
- So genehmigte die Bundesregierung die Lieferung von Panzern, Feuerleiteinrichtungen, Kommunikationsgerät und ähnlichem Material im Wert von 300 Millionen Euro an Indonesien.
- Singapur konnte Genehmigungen für mehr als 200 Millionen Euro verzeichnen (Panzer, Marinebedarf),

- **Südkorea** erhielt unter anderem **Panzerteile** und **Flugkörperabwehrsysteme** ebenfalls für mehr als **200 Millionen Euro**. Südostasiatische Staaten gehören schon seit Jahren zu den bedeutendsten Abnehmern deutscher Rüstungsprodukte (german-foreign-policy.com berichtete [5]).
- **Berlin rüstet damit diejenigen Staaten auf, die Washington gegen China in Stellung zu bringen sucht** und mit denen auch die **EU - wenngleich langsam und vorsichtig - militärpolitische Beziehungen aufbauen will**.
- **Die Kontakte - unproblematisch, solange Berlin seine enge Wirtschaftskooperation mit China aufrechterhalten kann - dürften vor allem dann nützlich werden, wenn die Konfrontation zwischen Washington und Beijing sich verschärft und Berlin und die EU über ASEAN in der Region Einfluss ausüben können**.

China zerschlagen

Tatsächlich hat Berlin, während die Bundeskanzlerin in Beijing neue Geschäfte in die Wege leitet und dazu freundliche Worte findet, **harte Konfrontationsszenarien längst im Blick**. Experten haben schon **vor Jahren von einem "Feuerring um China" gesprochen, den der Westen errichte [6]; auch die Möglichkeit einer Eskalation in den Inselstreitigkeiten Ost- und Südostasiens wird nicht ausgeschlossen [7]**. Das **Eskalationspotenzial zeigt exemplarisch eine Rede des chinesischen Exil-Schriftstellers Liao Yiwu aus dem Jahr 2012. Liao, vom Auswärtigen Amt politisch und finanziell unterstützt**, nahm damals den Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels entgegen. In seiner Dankesrede erklärte er, China sei ein "unendlich große(r) Müllhaufen" und ein "diktatorische(s) ... Großreich", in dem "viele Gebiete und Völker zwangshalber aneinandergelockt" seien [*la Cina sarebbe un "enorme mucchio di spazzatura" e un "impero dittatoriale ... " in cui "molti territori e popoli sono costretti a rimanere legati; e dovrà frantumarsi*]; es solle "auseinanderbrechen". Für die Beschimpfung Chinas und den Aufruf zu seiner Zerschlagung erhielt Liao damals starken Beifall von den Anwesenden, darunter Bundespräsident Joachim Gauck.[8]

Weitere Berichte und Hintergrundinformationen zu eventuellen deutsch-chinesischen Konfrontationen finden Sie hier: Ein Feuerring um China, Der wankende Hegemon, Wettrüsten auf See, Dimensionen des Kalten Krieges, China zerschlagen (II), Ein Feuerring um China (II), Die Vorwärtsverteidigung des Westens, Chinas Lebenslinien (I), Konfliktzonen der Zukunft, Die Thukydides-Falle, Deutschland im Inselstreit, In einer bipolaren Welt und Geschäfte unter Rivalen.

[1] Sebastian Heilmann: Chinesische Erschütterungen. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 04.07.2014.

[2] ASEAN gehören Brunei Darussalam, Indonesien, Kambodscha, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, die Philippinen, Singapur, Thailand und Vietnam an.

[3], [4] Gerhard Will: Tough Crossing: Europa und die Konflikte in der Südchinesischen See. SWP-Studien S 10, Juni 2014.

[5] S. dazu Der Zweck der Rüstungsexporte und Panzer für Südostasien.

[6] S. dazu Ein Feuerring um China und Ein Feuerring um China (II).

[7] S. dazu Die Thukydides-Falle und Deutschland im Inselstreit.

[8] S. dazu China zerschlagen (II).
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BEIJING, April 2 (Xinhua) – China on Wednesday issued a policy paper on the European Union (EU). Following is the full text of the policy paper:

CHINA'S POLICY PAPER ON THE EU: DEEPEN THE CHINA-EU COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP FOR MUTUAL BENEFIT AND WIN-WIN COOPERATION

April 2014

Over the past decade since the release of China's first policy paper on the European Union (EU) by the Chinese government in October 2003, the **China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership** has made **important headway**. Guided by the annual China-EU Summit and focusing on the three pillars of political, economic and people-to-people exchanges, China and the EU have promoted all-dimensional, multi-tiered and wide-ranging cooperation to deepen the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. **China is the EU's second largest trading partner. The EU has been China's top trading partner for 10 years. The annual trade volume has exceeded 550 billion US dollars and there have been over 5 million visits between the two sides each year. China and the EU have worked together to tackle the international financial crisis and advance global governance reform**, stepped up communication and coordination on major international and regional issues, and contributed significantly to world peace, development and cooperation. The first China's EU Policy Paper, which has been implemented effectively, has played an important role in guiding the development of China-EU relations.

At a crucial moment when the **China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership enters its second decade**, the Chinese government releases its second EU policy paper to define its EU policy objectives in the new era, **draw a blueprint for China-EU cooperation in the next 5 to 10 years** and facilitate greater progress in China-EU relations based on a review of the achievements in China-EU relations in the past decade and in the context of international and domestic developments.

VII. **Seize the Opportunity to Deepen the China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit and Win-win Cooperation**

In the decade since China issued the first China's EU Policy Paper, **tremendous changes have taken place in China, the EU and the world as a whole. Multi-polarity and economic globalization have deepened**; cultural diversity and IT application have been enhanced; the **overall strength of emerging markets and developing countries has been growing**; countries **have become more interdependent with their interests more intertwined**; and peace, development and win-win cooperation have become the trend of our time. But the world is still far from being tranquil. Destabilizing factors and uncertainties affecting world peace and development are on the rise.

With the significant growth of its overall strength, **China is playing an important role in major international and regional affairs. But China remains a developing country that suffers from severe lack of balance, coordination and sustainability in its development**. On the domestic front, China is committed to comprehensively deepening reform to make the country a moderately prosperous society in all respects. **Internationally, China pursues a greater opening-up** and peaceful development. It works **to build an open world economy** and a new type of international relations featuring **equality, mutual trust, inclusiveness, mutual learning and win-win cooperation**, with a view to contributing more to world peace and common development.

Due to the impact of the international financial crisis, **the EU is facing the most serious challenge since the end of the Cold War and must urgently address a series of deep-seated structural and systemic issues. But its strategic direction of integration remains unchanged**. With the efforts of steady enlargement and accelerated structural reform, the EU has worked hard to advance economic, fiscal, financial and political integration. **A 28-member EU, the biggest economy in the world with strong overall strength**, continues to be a global player of great strategic importance and a key part in the evolving international landscape.

China and the EU, the world's most representative emerging economy and group of developed countries respectively, are two major forces for world peace as they share important strategic consensus on building a multi-polar world. The combined economic aggregate of China and the EU accounts for one third of the world economy, making them

two major markets for common development. Being an important representative of the oriental culture and the cradle of western culture and with **a combined population accounting for a quarter 19ot he world's total**, China and the EU stand as two major civilizations advancing human progress. With **no fundamental conflict of interests**, China and the EU have far more agreement than differences. **Both sides are at a crucial stage of reform and development and China-EU relations face new historic opportunities**. Deepening the China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit and Win-win Cooperation will provide impetus to the development of China and the EU and contribute to peace and prosperity of the world.

II. China's EU Policy in the New Era

The EU is China's important strategic partner in China's efforts to pursue peaceful development and multi-polarity 19ot he world and a key party that China can work with to achieve industrialization, urbanization, IT application and agricultural modernization as well as its „two centenary goals“. To grow China-EU relations is an integral part of China's efforts to build long-term, steady and healthy relations with major powers and a priority in its foreign policy. The Chinese government places **high importance on the status and role 19ot he EU**, and is committed to working with the EU and its member states **to fully implement the China-EU 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation in the course of comprehensive deepening of reform in China and economic recovery in Europe**, build partnerships for peace, growth, reform and civilization and further increase the global impact of China-EU relations.

-- China-EU partnership **for peace**: **China stands ready to work with the EU to bring the two major forces closer to pursue peaceful development in a multi-polar world**, respect and accommodate each other's core interests and major concerns, make the international order and international system more just and equitable, advocate democracy in international relations and create a peaceful, stable, equitable and orderly development environment for all countries.

-- China-EU partnership **for growth**: China stands ready to work with the EU to bring the two major markets closer to build a China-EU community of interests, strengthen the bond of interests between the two sides at the global strategic, regional and bilateral levels, carry out win-win cooperation at higher levels and contribute more to the building of an open world economy.

-- China-EU partnership **for reform**: China stands ready to work **with the EU to better align China's comprehensive deepening of reform with the EU's reform and readjustment**, draw upon each other's reform experience, share reform dividends, jointly improve the ability of reform and governance, and actively participate in the formulation and reform of the rules of global governance.

-- China-EU partnership **for civilization**: China stands ready to work with the EU to bring the two major civilizations in the East and West closer and set an example of different civilizations seeking harmony without uniformity, promoting diversity, learning from each other and enjoying common prosperity.

Given the **differences in history, cultural tradition, political system and stage of economic development** as well as **the increasing competition between China and the EU** in some sectors in recent years, **the two sides have disagreements and frictions** on issues of value such as human rights as well as economic and trade issues. China believes that **these issues should be properly handled through dialogue in the spirit of equality** and mutual respect and encourages the EU to move in the same direction.

III. Cooperation in the **Political Field**

VII. Deepening High-Level Exchanges and Political Dialogue

China will step up high-level exchanges and political dialogue with EU institutions and member states and further improve the structure of all-dimensional, multi-tiered and wide-ranging China-EU dialogue and cooperation. Both sides should give full play to the role of the China-EU Summit in providing political guidance to the China-EU relations, and make use of the China-EU High-Level Strategic Dialogue for communication and coordination over China-EU relations and major international and regional issues of mutual interest.

2. Strengthening Coordination and Cooperation in International Affairs

Strengthen consultation on international affairs, jointly work for political solutions to international and regional hotspot issues and uphold peace and stability.

Commit to jointly upholding the authority 19ot he United Nations (UN), safeguard the victory of WWII and the postwar international order, support the UN in playing its lead role in

upholding world peace, promoting common development and advancing international cooperation, support reforms of the UN and uphold international fairness and justice. **Step up exchange in UN peacekeeping activities** and promote cooperation between the two sides through personnel training and experience sharing.

Deepen exchange and cooperation in the framework of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), promote equality, mutual trust and practical cooperation between Asia and Europe, and enhance the role and influence of ASEM in upholding world peace and regional stability, **promoting world economic recovery and sustainable development and working for solutions to global issues**.

Step up **macroeconomic policy coordination within the G20**, commit to jointly working **for a bigger role of the G20 in international economic and financial affairs** as the premier forum for international economic cooperation. Encourage the G20 to build closer partnerships, **of the 2020 reforms of the international monetary and financial systems**, promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, oppose protectionism and maintain and develop an open world economy.

Commit to **jointly advancing international efforts to attain the Millennium Development Goals, eliminate poverty and achieve sustainable development** with a view to realizing common development and prosperity.

Further strengthen policy dialogue and **practical cooperation on climate change** and promote positive progress in international cooperation on climate change based on the principle of equity, "common but differentiated responsibilities" and the respective capability of the two sides.

Step up **counter-terrorism exchanges** and cooperation based on the principle of mutual respect and equal-footed cooperation, oppose "double standards" on counter-terrorism and work for continued progress in international counter-terrorism cooperation.

Jointly **promote international cooperation in escort missions**, actively carry out cooperation in escort missions for World Food Program vessels, intelligence and personnel information exchanges between escort fleets of the two sides and joint counter-piracy exercises, and jointly safeguard peace in the Gulf of Aden and waters off the Somali coast.

Commit to jointly upholding the authority of the multilateral disarmament regime and support the adoption of a comprehensive and balanced program of work at the Conference on Disarmament at an early date to carry out substantive work as soon as possible. Strengthen international nuclear security. **Work to prevent weaponization and arms race in outer space** and safeguard its peace and security. Step up exchanges and cooperation in the field of non-proliferation and export control.

Strengthen **cybersecurity** dialogue and cooperation and promote the building of a peaceful, secure, open and cooperative cyberspace. Facilitate **practical cooperation between China and the EU in fighting cyber-crimes**, emergency response to cybersecurity incidents and cyber capacity building through platforms such as the China-EU Cyber Taskforce and work together for the formulation of a code of conduct in cyberspace within the UN framework.

3. Enhancing Cooperation and Exchange Between Legislative Bodies and Political Parties

The Chinese side welcomes and supports **more exchanges and cooperation with EU legislative bodies at various levels** and through **multiple channels**, such as regular exchange mechanisms and bilateral friendship groups, on the basis of mutual respect, greater mutual understanding, seeking common ground while shelving differences and developing cooperation.

The Communist **Party of China is ready to further deepen exchanges with political parties of European countries, political groups of the European Parliament and regional organizations of political parties in Europe** in the spirit of "going beyond ideological differences" and pursuing mutual understanding and cooperation", with a view to establishing a multi-tiered and multi-channel mechanism for cooperation and cement the political foundation of China-EU relations.

4. Expanding Defense and Security Cooperation

Step up personnel exchanges at various levels in the defense and security field between China and the EU, expand the area and scope of practical cooperation between the two sides, improve the dialogue mechanism on security policies and create conditions for gradually elevating the level of the dialogue.

The EU should lift its arms embargo on China at an early date.

5. Abiding by the One-China Principle

The Taiwan question concerns China's core interests. **The one-China principle is an important political foundation of China-EU relations.** Properly handling the Taiwan question is **essential** for the long-term and steady development of China-EU relations. The Chinese side appreciates the commitment of the EU and its member states to the one-China principle and **hopes that the EU will respect China's major concerns regarding the Taiwan question, oppose „Taiwan independence”** in any form, support peaceful development of cross-Strait relations and China's peaceful reunification and handle Taiwan-related questions with caution.

-- **Exchanges between the EU and its member states and Taiwan should be strictly limited to nonofficial and people-to-people activities. Political figures of Taiwan should not be allowed to visit the EU or its member states under any pretext,** and the EU and its member states should refrain from having any form of official exchanges or signing any official agreements with the Taiwan authorities.

-- China asks the EU and its member states not to support Taiwan's accession to any international organization whose membership requires statehood.

-- **China asks the EU and its member states not to sell to Taiwan any weapons, or any equipment, materials or technologies that can be used for military purposes** and not to carry out military exchanges or cooperation with Taiwan in any form.

6. Encouraging Hong Kong and Macao's Cooperation with the EU

The central government of China supports and encourages the governments of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) and the Macao SAR in developing mutually beneficial and friendly cooperation with the EU and its member states in accordance with the principle of "one country, two systems" and provisions of the Basic Laws in the two SARs.

7. Properly Handling Tibet-Related Issues

The Chinese side appreciates the position of the **EU and its member states of recognizing Tibet as part of China's territory and not supporting „Tibet independence”.** The EU side should properly handle Tibet-related issues based on the principle of respecting China's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and non-interference in China's internal affairs, **not allow leaders of the Dalai group to visit the EU** or its member states under any capacity or pretext to engage in separatist activities, not arrange any form of contact with officials of the EU or its member states, and not provide any facilitation or support for anti-China separatist activities for "Tibet independence".

8. Continuing to Carry Out Human Rights Dialogue

The Chinese side is **ready to continue human rights dialogue** with the EU based on the principles of mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs, and conduct human rights cooperation within the dialogue framework so as to increase mutual understanding and contribute to the development of China-EU relations and common progress in the human rights cause of China and the EU. **The EU side should attach equal importance to all forms of human rights, including civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights** and the right to development, view China's human rights situation in an objective and fair manner, stop using individual cases to interfere in China's judicial sovereignty and internal affairs, and to create a good atmosphere for human rights dialogue and cooperation between the two sides.

IV. Economic Cooperation and Trade

China views the EU as one of its most important trade and investment partners and hopes that both sides will contribute to the long-term, steady and in-depth development of their economic and trade relationship.

Continue to make use of the China-EU High-Level Economic and Trade Dialogue, the China-EU Economic and Trade Joint Committee and other mechanisms as a platform for policy coordination, promoting cooperation and addressing the concerns of both sides.

Actively advance **negotiations of an investment agreement** between China and the EU and strive to achieve an agreement as soon as possible to facilitate two-way investment. Start as soon as possible **joint feasibility study on a China-EU FTA.**

Enhance exchange and cooperation in the field of competition policy, further substantiate China-EU Competition Policy Dialogue, implement related cooperation document, jointly maintain a market order of fair competition and promote a sound market competition environment.

Actively explore new patterns of mutually beneficial development cooperation between China and

the EU. Step up coordination and work actively for the success of the WTO Doha Round negotiations. The EU should commit to resolving economic and trade frictions with China through dialogue and consultation, act cautiously when resorting to trade remedy measures and create a good trade environment for the two sides. Strengthen cooperation on quality supervision, inspection and quarantine, make use of existing consultation mechanisms to resolve problems in bilateral trade in a timely and appropriate manner. **China will continue to urge the EU to ease its restrictions on and facilitate high-tech product and technology export to China**, so as to release the great potential of bilateral high-tech trade. **Strengthen cooperation in the area of e-commerce between China and the EU.**

Revise and improve the China-EU Customs Agreement and the Strategic Framework for China-EU Customs Cooperation under the guidance of the China-EU Joint Customs Cooperation Committee (JCCC), and intensify bilateral cooperation and multilateral coordination between respective customs authorities on IPR enforcement, supply chain security and facilitation, fighting commercial fraud and promoting trade facilitation.

V. Cooperation on Urbanization

Deepen the China-EU Urbanization Partnership and implement the Joint Declaration on the China-EU Partnership on Urbanization.

Continue to hold the China-EU Urbanization Partnership Forum and carry out exchanges on trends in urban development such as innovation, green city, smart city and cultural aspects.

Intensify cooperation on strategies and policies relevant to the development of urbanization, spatial distribution of urbanization, sustainable development of urban industrial economy, urban public services system, urban infrastructure investment and financing mechanisms, urban housing supply system and patterns, urban energy supply and demand management, urban mobility, public transport and smart transport, urban green buildings, urban ecological protection, environmental protection and treatment, protection of urban historical and cultural features and formation of urban landscape, urban governance, urban-rural integrated development, exchanges and discussions as well as personnel training on urbanization development.

Encourage the governments and enterprises of both sides to provide funding, technology and expertise for relevant programs and broaden the range of exchanges.

VI. Fiscal and Financial Cooperation

Strengthen the China-EU Economic and Financial Dialogue and the Working Group between the People's Bank of China (PBoC) and the European Central Bank (ECB), expand exchanges on macro economic policy, conduct dialogue on government procurement, maintain close communication on international economic and financial hotspot issues and expand practical cooperation in economic and financial fields.

China welcomes financial institutions from EU member states to start business in China under relevant Chinese laws and regulations. China encourages Chinese securities institutions to enter the EU securities market when conditions are ripe and actively supports Chinese enterprises to get finance from the EU securities market. China hopes EU member states will actively open their markets to the Chinese financial sector and support Chinese financial institutions in setting up branches and doing business in the EU.

Continue to enhance cooperation between Chinese and EU insurance sectors, conduct exchanges on insurance business and relevant rules and laws through China-EU Insurance Talks and jointly promote healthy and stable development of Chinese and EU insurance markets.

China consistently supports a stable financial market in both EU member states and the Euro Zone and measures of EU institutions and the European Central Bank to achieve financial stability and tackle the European debt issue. China stands ready to provide necessary support in various ways to the stability of the European financial market.

China attaches great importance to the role that the European Investment Bank (EIB) plays in promoting European integration, economic recovery and efforts to address climate change and **is willing to further strengthen two-way win-win cooperation with the EIB** in tackling climate change, pursuing ecological progress, promoting mutual investment and cooperation in the field of finance.

VII. Cooperation on Industry, Agriculture, Transportation, Science and Technology and Information Technology

Enhance the China-EU Industrial Dialogue and Consultation Mechanism, increase mutual

understanding, resolve differences, expand common ground for mutually beneficial industrial development, and promote sustainable industrial development and industrial prosperity in both China and the EU. **Continue exchanges and cooperation in the automobile industry, industrial energy efficiency, raw materials, ship building and small and medium sized enterprises**, further develop cooperation in the fields of electronic industry, consumer goods, aviation, aerospace and peaceful use of nuclear energy, deepen understanding of each other's policy and exchange related information and development experience.

Give play to the guiding role of the China-EU Dialogue on Agriculture and Rural Development, **achieve fast growth of trade in agricultural products**, promote China-EU cooperation in **pursuing balanced urban and rural development**, protecting and benefiting from agricultural cultural heritage, building the model of environment-friendly agriculture, promoting diversified rural economy and farmers' vocational education, coping with the impact of climate change on agriculture, research on agricultural science and technology, geographical indication and quality and safety of agricultural products.

Continue policy dialogue and communication under the framework of China-EU Maritime Transport Agreement, strengthen coordination and cooperation within the International Maritime Organization (IMO) and other international organizations, deepen and expand exchanges and cooperation on new policies, new technologies and best practices in the fields of logistics, green transportation, road safety, urban traffic management, inland waterway management and information services and so on. Deepen China-EU cooperation and exchanges on civil aviation, properly handle differences through active dialogue, expand and upgrade cooperation on civil aviation and strengthen cooperation between businesses on production, technology, management and training.

Continue to **enhance cooperation on scientific research innovation** within the framework of the China-EU Steering Committee and the China-EU Innovation Cooperation Dialogue. Draw on each other's advantages and achieve mutual benefit in innovation strategy, human resources, technology, research facility, financing and exploitation of research findings.

Continue to deepen scientific and technological cooperation in the field of energy, promote **research cooperation on reducing energy consumption and emissions of small and medium sized enterprises and clean technology**, advance cooperation on the peaceful use of nuclear energy, enhance coordination on the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor Project and other large international science projects, and continue to make use of carbon capture and sequestration technology to achieve near-zero emission in demonstration coal-based power stations.

Attach importance to aerospace cooperation, enhance cooperation in the fields of space technology and its application, space science and civil global navigation satellite systems and finalize an action plan to follow through with China-EU aerospace cooperation.

Encourage the establishment of China-EU technological cooperation network or joint research base and create a China-EU industry alliance on strategic emerging industries such as **renewable energy, digital information, advanced manufacturing, nanotechnology, health and medicine** based on the industrial cluster of the China-EU High-tech Park.

Strengthen China-EU Dialogue on Information Technology, Telecommunication and Information, conduct exchanges and dialogue on related strategies, policies and regulations and actively promote cooperation and exchanges on trade in IT products and industrial technology. Encourage broader exchanges on intellectual property rights and technical standards and continue to raise the level of China-EU cooperation on intellectual property rights. Strengthen China-EU cooperation and exchanges on information security, especially cyber security.

VIII. Climate Change, Energy, Environmental Protection, Water Resources and Maritime Cooperation

Actively promote the climate negotiation and cooperation through ministerial-level dialogue and cooperation mechanisms on climate change and China-EU Partnership on Climate Change. Uphold the principles and articles of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and promote a fair and effective international system. Reinforce pragmatic cooperation on low-carbon development, market schemes, low-carbon urbanization and capacity building.

Bring the China-EU Ministerial Dialogue on Environmental Policy and its coordinators' meetings into full play, enhance cooperation on sustainable development, climate change, atmospheric

pollution, biodiversity and ecosystem conservation and form greater synergy between China' s efforts to pursue ecological progress and EU' s efforts to increase resource efficiency. **Encourage friendly exchanges between Chinese and European non-governmental environmental organizations and businesses of the two sides to enter each other's environmental markets through fair competition.**

Enhance China-EU cooperation on energy security, and jointly cope with the challenges of price competition, supply security and stability, and environmental protection. Conduct China-EU Energy Policy Dialogue, and **deepen cooperation on natural gas infrastructure,** new energy, smart grid, power grid safety regulation and energy strategy modeling.

Leverage the role of China-EU Water Platform, enhance understanding and **cooperation on water resources policy making** and overall management, **share advanced expertise and technologies of water management,** boost the significance and visibility of water resources cooperation under the overall framework of China-EU strategic cooperation, and promote China-EU long-term dialogue and cooperation on water resources, and a joint China-EU response to the global water crisis. Bring into full play the role of **China-EU high-level dialogue on comprehensive marine management, conduct high-level dialogue on maritime affairs,** promote bilateral cooperation in areas of shared interest, and conduct cooperation on comprehensive marine management, marine environment protection, marine science and technology, blue economy, maritime law enforcement and Arctic affairs.

IX. Cooperation in the Fields of Education, Culture, Press, Publication and Youth Exchange

Fully harness the leading role of the China-EU High-Level People-to-People Dialogue and actively promote cooperation in the fields of education, culture, press, publication and youth exchange between China and the EU as well as EU member states.

Expand exchanges between students and scholars and promote friendship and mutual understanding between Chinese and European young students, and **strive to expand the interflow of students between the two sides to 300,000 person times per year by 2020;** enhance **cooperation in the teaching of Chinese and European languages** and training of teachers and continue the China-EU Dialogue on Education Policy; support the establishment of centers for Chinese studies and centers for European national and regional studies by European and Chinese higher learning institutions and make an effort to build the China-EU Platform for Higher Education Cooperation and Exchange; encourage European and Chinese universities to carry out high-quality cooperation in running schools, jointly advance high-level scientific research programs and help high-level talents to emerge.

Follow through on the outcomes of China-EU Year of Intercultural Dialogue, and ensure the long-term effect of cultural cooperation supported by sound institutions. China supports the efforts to strengthen China-EU dialogue on cultural policies as well as experience sharing in cultural industries, heritage preservation and contemporary art.

Promote exchanges and **cooperation in the field of press and publication,** and encourage the media from both sides to enhance mutual understanding so that they can present a comprehensive and objective picture of each other' s politics, economy and culture, produce documentaries and publish books and news articles that reflect each other' s economic development, history, culture and customs, cooperate in making films and TV programs, and jointly hold film and TV exhibitions and festivals and book fairs. Continue to strengthen interactions and exchanges between government departments, support the institutional building and deepening of regular China-EU media exchanges, and carry out cooperation through various channels and in various forms, with a view to creating a favorable public opinion environment for the sound and stable growth of China-EU relations.

Make use of new media tools to expand the China-EU platform of information exchange and enable the public to better understand each other' s policies, ideas, development goals, strategic orientation and cultural achievements. Strengthen youth exchange and consolidate the outcomes of **China-EU Year of Youth** and the **China-EU High-Level People-to-People Dialogue,** improve the **China-EU Youth Policy Dialogue** and the platform for exchanges between youth organizations, encourage youth organizations at all levels from different places of China and the EU to carry out exchange and cooperation, and build a wide-ranging, multi-tiered pattern for China-EU youth exchanges.

Strengthen and expand China-EU consular cooperation, and facilitate the personnel interflow

between the two sides. China hopes that the **EU could take credible steps to protect the safety and lawful rights and interests of Chinese citizens in Europe, and make it easier for Chinese nationals to travel to Europe** by, among other things, streamlining visa, immigration and residence procedures. Push for the **establishment of China-EU tourism cooperation mechanism**, further explore each other's tourism market, maintain exchanges of tourism policies and statistics, and work for the early signing of the Memorandum of Understanding on Bilateral Tourism Cooperation. **The relevant EU member states are urged to speed up the adoption of the Chinese language as an official language of the World Tourism Organization.** Strengthen cooperation on exit and entry administration, exchange between border inspection and immigration departments at airports with direct flight link, joint case investigation and fight against illegal immigration.

X. Social, Health, Judicial and Administrative Cooperation

Enhance China-EU cooperation on **human resources and social security**, expand exchanges on employment, skill development, social security and public administration management, and strengthen coordination on international labor issues.

Support the establishment of the China-EU Public Policy Dialogue, hold the China-EU High-Level Public Policy Forum, invite European political professionals, government officials as well as policy research and consulting personnel to China for exchange and dialogue, and carry out research cooperation on public policy.

Strengthen **China-EU cooperation in old-age care, services for the children and people with disabilities, as well as charity and social assistance**, support EU companies and member states to invest in old-age service industry in China.

Encourage China-EU economic and social exchanges and cooperation, and increase mutual understanding between people from all social sectors in China and the EU.

Enhance China-EU health cooperation, improve information exchange and sharing on major public health incidents, strengthen communication on the technologies for the prevention and control of emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases, and carry out cooperation on laboratory testing, diagnosis and treatment, as well as vaccine development.

Improve the capability for jointly countering global health challenges including antibiotic resistance and tobacco control. Strengthen experience exchange on the reform of the medical and healthcare system, and share experience on medical payment system, health security system and e-health. Enhance international cooperation on **food safety standard** and risk assessment system. Promote China-EU cooperation on traditional Chinese medicine.

China will continue to implement the China-EU legal and judicial cooperation program and expand such cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs, deepen exchanges in judicial reform and other priority areas, explore judicial cooperation in anti-corruption, combating organized transnational crimes, extradition, transfer of sentenced persons and criminal assets recovery, and promote experience sharing on legal supervision.

Advance China-EU **cooperation on police law enforcement, implement the five-year police training cooperation project**, expand exchanges on policing administration, public security management, **law enforcement regulation, criminal investigation technologies** and the fight against organized crimes by organizing training courses, visits and seminars, increase the mutual trust between the two sides, and lay a solid foundation for jointly combating terrorism, economic, cyber and drug-related crimes, organized illegal immigration and other serious organized transnational crimes.

Enhance China-EU cooperation on **disaster prevention and reduction and emergency management**. China is willing to conduct a policy dialogue with the EU to learn about and draw on its experience and resources in the development of emergency management capability and mechanism, and promote the implementation of the China-EU emergency management project and the building of China-EU Emergency Management College.