

Uncovering the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership: A Critical Discourse Analysis of EU-China Joint Press Statements

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the social construction and discursive development of the EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership (CSP) and aims at an improved understanding of the interaction between political language use and social change in EU-China relations. To this end, the thesis undertook a critical discourse analysis, based on Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach, and analysed how EU-China joint press statements, as a particular order of discourse, constitute and reflect the discursive development of the EU-China CSP.

The analysis suggests that classical peace & security topics of the CSP, once dominant themes in EU-China joint press statements, play a decreasing role on the CSP agenda. At the same time, a framework of ‘global challenges’ (including climate change and global economic governance) is discursively constructed in joint press statements as a rising challenge to peace, stability and prosperity. The thesis argues that, through this strategic construction of ‘global challenges’, the representation of the CSP as a peace & security partnership, and thus the foreign policy identity of the EU and China as peace & security actors, is sustained.

Key Words: EU-China relations, comprehensive strategic partnership, critical discourse analysis

Abbreviation List

ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EU	European Union
G20	Group of Twenty Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
JPS	Joint Press Statement
SMEs	Small and medium enterprises
WTO	World Trade Organization

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1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT AND AIM OF RESEARCH

Since its announcement in 2003, the EU-China comprehensive strategic partnership (CSP) has been central to the academic debate on EU-China relations. Problematically though, there is little understanding about how the concept of the CSP as a structuring framework and foreign policy tool functions in the social development of the EU-China bilateral partnership. Both the social construction and the discursive development of the CSP are not yet sufficiently researched to understand the interaction of political language use and social change in the process of EU-China relations.

The thesis aims at addressing this research gap through analysing the ways in which social actors make use of the concept of the CSP to legitimize and represent political activities and (their own) social identities in particular ways. Moreover, the thesis will diachronically analyse the ways in which this discursive construction of the CSP is influenced by social change.

Taking a constructivist viewpoint, the thesis understands the CSP as a social concept which is constantly reconstructed and changed in the process of the partnership's discursive development. Thus, the thesis rejects the need to define the CSP as a static concept, but instead focuses on the importance of understanding the meaning-making process through which the CSP is socially constructed and developed. Against this background, the thesis aims at contributing to an improved understanding of the EU-China CSP by providing an inter-disciplinary analysis which enables to understand the role of social practices in both the textual realization of the CSP as well as within the wider social context.

In order to achieve this goal, the thesis will undertake a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the EU-China joint press statements which are released after each annual EU-China summit meeting. Based on Fairclough's dialectical-relational CDA approach, the thesis will analyse the joint press statement as an *order of discourse* (a particular combination of genre and discursive representations) on three analytical levels: the textual level, the interdiscursive level and the socio-historical level.

In its analytical process, the thesis aims at answering the following research questions:

RESEARCH QUESTION:

How do joint press statements of the EU-China annual summits as a particular *order of discourse* constitute and reflect discursive developments of the EU-China CSP?

SUB-QUESTIONS:

How are the joint press statements as a particular *order of discourse* used strategically by social actors to legitimize and represent political activities and their own social identities in particular ways under the CSP framework?

How do joint press statements as a particular *order of discourse* reflect social change in the discursive developments of the EU-China CSP over its first ten years of existence (2003-2012)?

1.2. DISPOSITION

After chapter I has outlined the aim of the research project, chapter II will present the current state of the art in EU-China relations and identify the research gap which the thesis intends to address. Chapter III will outline the meta-theoretical standpoint of the thesis and subsequently motivate methodological choices, evaluation criteria and ethical considerations. In connection, the fourth chapter will present the analytical model, based on Fairclough's dialectical-relational CDA approach, and operationalize this model in the context of the EU-China CSP. After conducting the analysis in chapter V, the thesis will discuss the findings in chapter VI. Finally, chapter VII will draw a conclusion by answering the research question on the basis of the discussed findings and suggest avenues for further research.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

The following chapter will review current academic debates surrounding the EU-China CSP and subsequently discuss the contribution of this research project to academic literature in this field.

2.1. STATE OF THE ART

In 2003, the European Union presented its European Security Strategy which incorporated a visionary network of strategic partnerships between the EU and major global actors, including Japan, India and China as the three desired partners in Asia (European Council, 2003:15). The document marked the starting point for talks about a strategic partnership between the EU and China which until today has not been formally codified in any bilateral agreement. Instead, the EU-China CSP builds on the framework of the EC-China Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement from 1985. However, with the informal establishment of an EU-China CSP, scholars of international relations have taken an increased interest in analysing Sino-European relations, especially in regard to explaining the emergence and implications of the CSP. For the purpose of providing a structured and comprehensive overview of academic contributions, this section will present three major debates which surround the EU-China CSP: the realist debate, the pragmatist debate and the constructivist

debate. In order to clarify some of the underlying assumptions, these three debates will be loosely linked to theories and concepts of international relations

2.1.1 THE REALIST DEBATE – THE EU-CHINA CSP AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

The realist debate in EU-China relations has revolved around the implications of the CSP for the global balance of power¹. Scholars such as Shambaugh (2004:243) evaluated early developments of the CSP between the EU and China as an emerging axis in international relations and coined the term of a 'honeymoon' period which would precede a potentially strong bilateral axis in the future. Furthermore, Shambaugh (2004:244) understood the emerging axis as a form of balancing effort against the American unilateral behaviour during the Iraq intervention and a response to the weak American support for European diplomatic and multilateral efforts. Thus, China, showing itself supportive to multilateral instruments as the United Nations, appeared as a strong and valuable partner to strengthen an independent EU security approach (Ibid. 247).

However, the EU-China 'honeymoon' was soon declared over (Shambaugh 2007) after tensions in EU-China relations had seemingly increased. Importantly, the European Council failed to win member state support for its Council Conclusion to lift the European arms embargo which had been imposed against China in response to the 1989 events on Tiananmen square and which remained an obstacle to the 'normalisation' of EU-China relations. Casarini (2008) and Narramore (2008) saw the main reason in the failure to lift the arms embargo in the opposition of other regional powers, especially the US. Casarini (2008:78) argues that the EU's attempt to lift the arms embargo has been perceived by the US and Japan as a disturbing factor for the East Asian strategic balance and has been successfully opposed by both actors. This opposition has been in part result of changes in the EU's political structure, such as leadership changes in France and Germany and the accession of 10 more Atlanticist member states in the EU's 2004 enlargement.

For Narramore (2008:87), the failure to lift the arms embargo also demonstrates that the EU-China strategic partnership is not rebalancing against the US, as the EU and USA seem to be 'not so far apart on strategic issues in the Asia-Pacific'. Rather than changing the balance of power vis-à-vis the United States the EU-China CSP is a form of interest bargaining for an extension of economic relations by some European countries (Ibid. 103). However, apart from interest bargaining activities,

¹ According to Jackson and Sorensen (2006:96) the balance of power is 'a system where the conduct of foreign policy is an instrumental activity based on the intelligent calculation of one's power and one's interests as against the power and interests of rivals and competitors'

which the EU is capable of in the absence of security interests in East Asia, the EU-China CSP does not produce relevant effects for the international sphere (Ibid.).

2.1.2. THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST DEBATE – THE EU-CHINA CSP AND IDENTITY

The establishment of the EU-China CSP has also triggered the interest of scholars who highlight the role played by the foreign policy identity of China and the EU in constructing the CSP, such as Scott (2007) and Callahan (2007)

According to Scott (2007:30), both the EU and China understand themselves as ‘emerging powers in the international scene’. Important for China in this regard is its foreign policy concept of ‘multipolarity’, according to which China supports European integration, ‘because it believes a stronger EU will be a significant player on a multipolar world scene alongside China’ (Scott, 2007:19). The EU, with the European Security Strategy as its common strategic vision, has also acquired a rhetoric of understanding itself capable of building relationships with the other great partners, such as China, ‘as a pillar of the organisation of the new world’. Furthermore, Callahan (2007:779) understands the CSP as a project to legitimize the emergent foreign policy identities of China and the EU internally and externally. Accordingly, the CSP crafts the image of ‘Europe as a civilian power, and it helps the PCR to construct a view of China as a non-hegemonic superpower’. Consequently, EU-China relations are understood as being guided by language politics, which symbolically recognize ‘China as a great power [...] and in turn legitimizes the Union as a major global actor’ (Callahan, 2007:784). Another major theme of the EU-China CSP, according to Callahan, is the negative construction of the US as the invisible shared ‘Other’. This ‘American theme’ would come out indirectly in the diplomatic language of the EC policy papers, which draw a multipolar strategic triangle without mentioning the US (Callahan, 2007:804).

While realist observers have stepped back from their initial proclamation of the EU-China strategic partnership as an ‘emerging axis’, Callahan (2007:789) understands the disappointed expectations in EU-China relations an outcome of *altercasting*² practices by the European Union. According to Callahan (Ibid.), Chinese disappointment about the EU’s failure to lift the arms embargo reflect an EU charm offensive that has been ‘too effective’ in the sense that China began to expect more than the friendly gesture of being recognized as a global actor.

² In altercasting, ego tries to induce alter to take on a new identity by treating alter as if it already had that identity. Thus, alter’s identity is a reflection of ego’s practices (Wendt, 1992:421)

2.1.3. THE PRAGMATIST DEBATE – DOES THE EU-CHINA CSP ‘WORK’?

The pragmatist debate³ in EU-China relations revolves around the effectiveness and justification of the CSP, for example with regards to its policy output and strategic convergence and is particularly concerned with the material realization of the partnership. Especially after European leaders openly criticized China for its handling of the Tibetan crisis and its treatment of dissidents, which resulted in the cancellation of the EU-China summit in 2008, pragmatic approaches for evaluating EU-China relations have become increasingly popular. The emerging tensions between the EU and China have led researchers to predict the end of the comprehensive strategic partnership as the *modus operandi* (Li, 2009:254) or to advocate the concentration on more pragmatic cooperation in technical fields such as environmental cooperation (Scott, 2009:212).

In the pragmatic analyses the EU-China CSP is often treated as a subjectively defined concept, which is evaluated on the assumptions and expectations of the researcher. For example, Holslag (2011) defines the EU-China CSP on the basis of five pre-defined features (global, long-term, multidimensional, distinguishable and based on common expectations) and subsequently analyses the partnership's success in terms of policy priorities in joint press statements and policy outputs in selected areas. This way, Holslag (2011:309) demonstrates how the EU-China CSP is 'not materializing – either on paper or in practice'. Taking a similar approach, Men (2012:346) understands the strategic partnership in terms of 'strategic convergence' and concludes that it is yet 'premature to define the partnership as *strategic*, while emphasizing the increasingly diverging interests of both partners. Accordingly, Men (2012:349) evaluates the EU and China as 'mismatched' partners, especially regarding their differing approaches on sovereignty and human rights.

2.2. THESIS CONTRIBUTION

Unlike in realist and pragmatist debates, the thesis is not treating the EU-China CSP as static concept but rather understands the CSP as a structuring framework which is established and developed through social practice and which is subject to social change. Accordingly, the thesis is not primarily concerned with the effectiveness of the CSP in terms of policy output or the CSP's consequences for the global balance of power. Rather, the thesis takes its interest in understanding how the CSP is

³ Pragmatism can be broadly interpreted as 'what works' and has been applied to international relations for the objective of mediating between epistemic debates of positivist and relativist camps (Kaag & Kreps 2012:192). As such, pragmatism claims that truth is known by 'its fruits, not by its roots, (James 1902:20 in Kaag & Kreps 2012:192) and engages in issues of policy and practice.

socially constructed and the ways in which its discursive development reflects social processes in EU-China relations.

The thesis will take a constructivist perspective, which will be elaborated in chapter III. In accordance with this perspective, the thesis takes an interest in the role played by social practices and the identities and interests of social actors and therefore partly builds on the work by Scott (2005) and Callahan (2007). However, other than Scott and Callahan, the thesis emphasizes the role of social practices in the discursive construction of the CSP, including the construction of particular self-representations of social actors. Thus, the thesis contributes to the work of Scott and Callahan by aiming at an understanding of the ways in which the identities of social actors are linguistically realized in the CSP as well as the ways in which they figure in the discursive development of the partnership. Consequently, the thesis does not discuss whether or not the EU-China CSP does exist but rather attempts to understand how its discursive construction develops as a reflection of social change.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The following chapter outlines the meta-theoretical standpoint of this thesis, on basis of which it subsequently motivates methodological choices, evaluation criteria and ethical considerations of the research project.

3.1. META-THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In both its ontological and epistemological stance, this thesis will follow the constructivist approach, which is here understood as a generic term which subsumes both constructivism and social constructionism. As a comprehensive discussion of epistemological and ontological perspectives is beyond the scope of the thesis, the following section bases the presentation of the constructivist approach on the work of Adler (1997) and Burr (2003) and subsequently discusses the implications for the research project.

3.1.1. ONTOLOGY

According to Adler (1997:322) 'constructivism is the view that the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the world'. Consequently, while believing in the existence of a real and accessible world, this world is not only understood as a physical reality but also as a socially emergent one (Ibid.).

Moreover, constructivists believe that the identities, the interests and the behaviour of individuals and social actors are socially constructed by meanings, interpretations and assumptions about the world (Adler, 1997:324). Thus, constructivism understands international relations as being primarily built upon social facts, which are facts only by human agreement (Ibid.,332).

These social facts can be understood as collective knowledge which is institutionalised in social practices (Adler, 1997:327). They are the outcome of interacting individuals who act purposively on the basis of their personal ideas, beliefs, judgements and interpretations (Ibid.). This world of social facts is understood as an intersubjective reality which exists in symbols, practices, institutions and discourses (Ibid.). Consequently, constructivism understands intersubjective meanings as 'real phenomena' which are brought into existence once they are formulated in language (Ibid.). As such, these phenomena are not unreal or illusory as they are no less real for being products of social construction (Burr, 2003:92).

While reality is constructed rather than discovered, these constructs correspond to something real in the world (Andrews, 2012:40). For example, as Karl Popper puts it, god cannot see 'money', but he can see us treating certain material objects as money (as cited in Adler, 1997:328). Both physical and social reality are mediated through social practice, for example linguistic practices. However, social facts (or social reality) refer to the subjective experience of everyday life and ways in which the world is understood rather than to the objective reality of the natural world (Andrews, 2012:40). All together, the importance of constructivism lies in its emphasis on the ontological reality of both physical and social objects which are mediated through social practice (Ibid.).

3.1.2. EPISTEMOLOGY

According to Burr (2003:92) epistemology is understood as the study of 'the nature of knowledge and how we come to know the world of things'.

The epistemic sense of constructivism rests on the notion that 'as soon as we begin to think or talk about the world, we also necessarily begin to represent' (Burr, 2003:92). These representations, which are constructed and reproduced by members of a community through social practice, determine 'social reality', that is the boundaries of what community members consider as the reality (Ibid.).

Consequently, as 'social reality' only exists in form of interpretations, all which the analyst has access to are the representation through which this 'reality' is constructed (Bacchi, 1999:9). Hence, there is 'no direct access' to social reality as there is no interpretation-free reality (Ibid. 49).

However, there is a world beyond discourse that corresponds with the constructed 'social reality' (Adler, 1997:332). For example, conceptual knowledge is not established alone by the power of discourse, but also by social actor's ability to control the social support networks and the material resources of networks (Ibid., 333). Thus, epistemic authority also has a material basis (Ibid.).

Against this background, social constructivism tries to understand how material, subjective and inter-subjective elements interact in socially constructing what members of a particular community perceive as reality (Adler, 1997:330). Moreover, constructivism seeks to analyse and explain the process and dynamics of mutual constitution between agents and structures and how this process affects – and is affected by - the actor's identities and interests (Ibid.).

In order to understand these processes of social construction, constructivism proposes a multi-disciplinary analytical approach which combines both theoretical and empirical methods for analysis (Adler, 1997:335).

3.1.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THESIS

Departing from the above ontological viewpoint, the EU-China comprehensive strategic partnership will be understood as a reality which is socially constructed. As a social fact, this partnership does not exist outside a particular human agreement. More importantly, it exists as an intersubjective understanding which is constructed by meanings, interpretations and assumptions.

Both, the social and the physical reality of the strategic partnership are mediated through social practice, such as linguistic practices. These social practices govern the strategic partnership in its translation from a physical to a social reality and are crucial to understand the meaning-making process of the strategic partnership as well as the role of social identities and interests in this context.

Epistemologically, the EU-China CSP as a social reality can only be accessed through interpretations, for example linguistic representations. However, while being aware that the EU-China CSP does not exist as an interpretation-free reality, the thesis does not understand the partnership as an illusion but rather a 'social reality' as it is both physically and socially consequential.

Against this background, the thesis will take an interest in analysing the social construction and discursive development of the 'EU-China comprehensive strategic partnership' as conceptual knowledge and the role of social identities and interests in this context. Thereby, the thesis will focus on social practices, of which the most accessible are language practices and analyse these both on

the textual and discursive level. In the analysis, the thesis will follow the model of a critical discourse analysis, which will be introduced in the next section.

3.2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) subsumes a variety of approaches towards the analysis of discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009), but remains a heterogeneous movement with little consensus as to who belongs to it (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:60). The approaches are multifarious, derive from different theoretical backgrounds and differ in their use and application of analytical methods (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:5; Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:60).

However, the academic movement shares the understanding that social phenomena are necessarily complex and require a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodological approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:2) To this end, CDA provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social development in different social domains (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:60) which are based on a set of common assumptions (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In the following, this section presents four major theoretical assumptions of CDA and discusses the applicability of the CDA approach for the thesis.

3.2.1. COMMON ASSUMPTIONS IN CDA

I. Discourse is a form of social practice

CDA understands discourse – defined as ‘language use in speech and writing’ – as an important form of social practice which contributes to the constitution of the social world including social identities and social relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). These practices govern the use of linguistic structures for particular areas of social life. As such, it is in part through these practices that social and cultural reproduction and change take place (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:62). Against this background, it is the aim of CDA to shed light on the linguistic-discursive dimension of social and cultural phenomena and processes of change (Ibid.).

II. Discourse is both constitutive and constituted

For CDA analysts, discourse is a form of social practice through which the social world is constituted. Discourse constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:63). Thus, discourse helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and contributes to its transformation (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). Moreover, discourse does not just contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social structures but also reflects them. However, discursive practices are also constituted by other

aspects of the social (e.g. social relations, individual attitudes, and ways of interacting), with which they are in a dialectical relationship. (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:61, Fairclough, 2003:25).

III. Discourse is related to power

Given its constitutive effect on the reproduction and transformation of the social sphere, discourse is so socially consequential that it gives rise to important issues of power (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). CDA analysts claim that discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups and share a common interest in analyzing both the discursive practices which construct representations of the world, social subjects and social relations, including power relations, and the role that these discursive practices play in furthering the interests of particular social groups (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:63). Consequently, the research focus of CDA is to de-mystify ideologies and power through the theoretical and empirical analysis of language use in social interaction (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:3).

IV. Language use should be empirically analysed

According to CDA, social processes are 'inherently and dialectically linked to language (to text and discourse)', which makes it necessary to analyse language on both a theoretical and empirical level (Wodak cited in Kendall, 2007). Thus, the focus on language and the concrete linguistic analysis of language use in social interaction is a crucial element which distinguishes CDA from other forms of discourse analysis (Joergensen & Phillips 2002:62). However, CDA believes that textual analysis alone is insufficient and needs to be combined with a form of social analysis in an interdisciplinary structure in order to understand the mutually constituting effects between texts and social processes.

3.2.2. THESIS APPLICATION

As the thesis aims at understanding the social construction and discursive development of the EU-China CSP, CDA corresponds well to this goal as it provides a theoretical and methodological framework for analysing the use of language as a discursive meaning-making process. The analysis will mainly follow the dialectical-relational approach by Norman Fairclough which equips the thesis with an analytical strategy of combining textual and discursive analysis in an interdisciplinary structure. This particular analytical approach is outlined in detail in chapter IV.

3.3. EVALUATION AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Conventionally, academic research is evaluated along the concepts of reliability, validity and replicability which belong to the positivist and postpositivist tradition and refer to a particular set of assumptions (Taylor, 2001:318). According to these concepts, the quality of research is evaluated

according to its ability to contribute to existing knowledge through revealing enduring features and predictable causal relationships (Ibid., 319).

However, critical discourse analysis as a reflexive research understands all knowledge as situated, contingent and partial (Ibid.). As reality is so inevitably influenced and altered by the representation of the researcher and the research process, the outcome of an analysis is always an interpretation rather than the truth (Ibid.). Following the assumed social embeddedness of science, CDA as a field of research understands itself as dependent on social structures (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:7). Consequently, the analyst cannot take an outside position but instead is an integrated part of the social field. Thus, CDA research is always driven by the analyst's individual political, social or economic motives and cannot take any superior position (Ibid.).

Hence, the analysis cannot be objective in the sense that it never simply describes what is 'there' without being biased by the subjectivity of the analyst (Fairclough, 2003:14). Any analyst follows a personal motivation for asking certain questions which reflect the subjective motivation for the textual analysis (Ibid.). Furthermore, according to Fairclough (2003:14) textual analysis can never be complete or definite. However, CDA does not aim at delivering objective, definite and complete results but rather at enhancing our capacity to understand particular ways in which texts function through combining social theoretical perspectives and insights in textual analysis (Ibid.). Consequently, the textual analysis is inevitably selective as the researcher chooses to employ particular tools for the analysis and disregards others (Fairclough, 2003). At the same time, the analyst focuses on particular elements of the text that are evaluated as relevant for the analysis of specific questions about social processes, but does not to ask other possible questions (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Clearly, these assumptions challenge all three conventional criteria for evaluation, making it necessary to look for alternative ways of assessing the research quality (Taylor, 2001:319). Against this background, the following section will outline the main criterion for the evaluation of CDA research which is considered relevant for the evaluation of the research project: retroductability

3.3.1. RETRODUCTABILITY

CDA aims at adding value to other forms of discourse analysis in its particular concern with enhancing the retroductability of its analysis, which is understood as the level of explicitness, rigour and transparency in the analysis of semiotic material (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:3, Wodak 2011:630). As such, the term combines three elements (explicitness, rigor, transparency) which are emphasized as

quality criteria for the analytical framework as well as the overall investigation of social processes. In order to enhance its retroductability, the thesis will take particular measures towards this goal.

In order to reach a high level of explicitness, the research must be explicit about the nature of one's research perspectives, interests and values (Wodak, 2011). In order to meet this requirement, the thesis attempts to be clear and consistent in elaborating the meta-theoretical considerations which demonstrate the ontological and epistemological standpoint and form subsequent assumptions towards the subject and form of analysis. To enhance its rigour, the analysis should follow a systematic form of investigation. For this purpose, the analysis will clearly outline and consistently follow an analytical model, which is based on Fairclough's dialectical-relational CDA approach and presented in the chapter IV. Finally, the thesis aims at being transparent in its process of operationalizing the analytical framework as well as throughout the analytical process. This also includes a high level of transparency for the selection and analysis of semiotic material, which emphasizes inclusiveness as a measure to minimize the effect of bias and prevent the fallacy of incomplete evidence.

3.4. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

CDA is 'critical' in the sense that it aims at visualizing 'the interconnectedness of things' through critique (Fairclough, 1995:747). According to Van Leeuwen (2006:293) this 'critical' self-understanding implies a commitment to superior ethical standards. Consequently, the ethical commitment is ultimately connected to the above-mentioned quality-criteria and understood and expressed in the analyst's intention to provide the research with a high level of retroductability. By explicitly stating their position, research interests and values, providing a systematic analytical framework and selecting their criteria for analysis as transparent as possible, the analyst can research a social process without feeling the need to apologize for the critical stance of the work (Van Leeuwen, 2006:293).

CHAPTER IV: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The following chapter outlines Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach to CDA and subsequently operationalizes this framework as a three-level analytical model for the analysis of the EU-China CSP in joint press statements.

4.1. THE DIALECTICAL-RELATIONAL APPROACH

Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, as other CDA approaches, aims at transcending the division of social science and linguistics by integrating both disciplines in a multi-disciplinary and

multi-level analysis of discourse (Fairclough, 2003:3). Consequently, he advocates a combination of a textual, discursive and social analysis for investigating the role of language in social processes (Ibid.).

In his approach, Fairclough focuses on analyzing the social practices which govern the use of language (alongside other semiotic modalities). These particular social practices are networked together in what he defines as the *order of discourse*, consisting of genres and discourses (Fairclough, 2008:164). The *order of discourse* mediates as a social practice between language (as a social structure) and the text (as a social event). The *order of discourse* (or better the genre and discourse at work) forms a particular linguistic structure that corresponds to its social setting. As such, discourse and genre are articulated together in the production and reception of a text and shape the way in which language is used socially (Joergensen & Phillips, 2002:72). Thus, the *order of discourse* 'delimits what can be said' (Ibid.).

Genres are particular ways of 'acting and interacting semiotically' (using language) which can be for example an 'interview', an 'advertisement' or a 'news editorial'. (Fairclough, 2008:164). Part of an activity, such as articulating EU-China relations, is to use certain ways of communication, which have particular sets of genres attached to them (Ibid.).

Discourses are particular ways of 'construing aspects of the world semiotically' (representing), which correspond to particular positions and perspectives of social actors (Fairclough, 2008:164). For example, the EU-China CSP is constructed through different discourses which correspond to the positions and perspectives of social actors within the EU-China network (Ibid.).

However, the *order of discourse* is not the only social practice which articulates language. It does so together with other non-discoursal elements (e.g. social relations, persons and the material world) (Fairclough, 2003:25). The relationship between these different elements is dialectical – hence following a dialectical-relational approach. As the *order of discourse* is in a dialectical relationship with other forms of the social, it is also subject to constituting efforts (Ibid.). For example, language users can transform the *order of discourse* by using discourses and genres in novel ways (Ibid.). Consequently, Fairclough's approach is analyzing the significance and consequences of the *order of discourse* for the social processes under investigation. As such, it aims at understanding the ways in which the *order of discourse* constitutes social knowledge, identities and relations between groups as well as understanding the ways in which the *order of discourse* is shaped by language users and its dialectical relationship with other social practices.

Further, the *order of discourse* can be analysed in relation to other texts through the investigation of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. While intertextuality is the presence of actual elements of other

texts within text (e.g. quotations), the interdiscursivity is the particular combination of genre and discourse in relation to other texts (Wodak & Fairclough, 2010:24, Fairclough, 2003:218). Thus, an interdiscursive analysis is the analysis of shifting compositions in the *order of discourse* between related texts (Ibid.). As such, the interdiscursive analysis is used as a tool for analysing spatial and temporal relations between texts and event (Ibid., 22) and subsequently the role of social change (Ibid., 19).

4.2. THREE-LEVEL ANALYTICAL MODEL

Based on the dialectical-relational approach, the thesis will follow an analytical framework which analyses the EU-China CSP in three consecutive steps on a textual (micro) level, an interdiscursive (meso) level and a social (macro) level. This three-level analytical model will be applied to the analysis of EU-China joint press statements (JPS) which texture the CSP in a particular *order of discourse*.

The JPS, being the published outcome of the annual EU-China summits, is a consensus-based document which articulates the EU-China CSP to the outside world and is the main political document within which the social actors with access to the social network of EU-China relations construct the CSP. As the JPS corresponds to a particular network of social practice (that of the EU-China summit), its linguistic elements construct it as an *order of discourse* (Fairclough, 2003) in which meaning-making elements (genre and discourse) are networked in particular ways.

Following the above analytical model, this *order of discourse* will be analysed on three particular levels:

1. as a mediating element in the linguistic construction of the EU-China CSP
2. as an interdiscursive reflection of social change
3. as an element embedded into a socio-historical context

The first part of the analysis focuses on the *order of discourse* as a social practice which structures the linguistic possibilities for social actors to discursively construct the CSP in the text of joint press statements. This part analyses how social actors strategically make use of these structures to legitimize and represent political activity and (their own) social identity as particular elements of the CSP. These meaning-making strategies are demonstrated in the analysis of the 15th EU-China JPS (2012) which is the published outcome of the most recent EU-China summit. The second part of the analysis will be in form of an interdiscursive diachronic analysis and scrutinize all EU-China JPSs since the announcement of the EU-China CSP in 2003. This part focuses on the changes in the *order of discourse* between the individual JPSs with a focus on topics and categories. Finally, the third part of

the analysis will discuss the findings of the previous parts in the context of socio-historical events and uses contextual knowledge to explain discursive developments of the EU-China CSP as an interaction between political language use and social change.

While this framework is based on Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, the thesis will also integrate analytical tools from alternative CDA approaches, such as Theo Van Leeuwen's (2008) tools for analysing legitimation strategies or Teun Van Dijk's (2008) approach to the analysis of topics.

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS

5.1. ANALYSIS - PART I: *ORDER OF DISCOURSE*

The first part of the analysis will analyse the EU-China JPS as a particular *order of discourse* along two discourse-analytical categories: genre and discourse. This part is concerned with the way in which social actors pursue their strategies semiotically and the ways in which their objectives are achieved within the *order of discourse*. The genre analysis will particularly focus on the strategies which social actors pursue to legitimize and organise political activities of the EU-China CSP. The discourse analysis will emphasize strategies of representing the social event and social identities and will pay particular attention to the role of recontextualization principles in this context.

5.1.1. GENRE

According to Fairclough (2010:264), genres are 'ways of acting, of producing social life, in the semiotic mode', for example particular ways of using language as part of a social activity. This section of the analysis focuses on the role of the particular generic structures of joint press statements in the process of text production which govern the ways in which language can be used to produce meaning. Consequently, understanding the ways in which language is used within the structural boundaries of the joint press statement will inform about the strategies which social actors use to make sense of the EU-China CSP, including the particular ways of organising and legitimizing the partnership

As mentioned in Chapter IV, the genre of the EU-China JPS is specific to particular networks of practice. The JPSs are related to a series of annual social events and are structured according to a stable pattern. As such, we can speak of the JPS as a situated genre with a stable generic structure which makes it relevant for an analysis (Fairclough, 2003:72). For analytical purposes, the structure of the JPS can be divided along four main elements of the text: Title – Introductory Paragraph – Leading Paragraphs – Body Paragraphs.

Together, the first three elements (title, introductory paragraph, leading paragraphs) follow an ‘explanatory intention’ which incorporates a particular point of view. As such, they serve the purpose of setting the subsequent body paragraphs, and the document as a whole, in relation to the social context. This is achieved through the recontextualization of one, or a series of, social events in accordance with particular principles that correspond to the generic structures of the JPS. In this process, on an abstract level, these elements provide both the framework and the legitimation for political activities of the EU-China CSP. These political activities are further specified in the body paragraphs.

Against this background, analysing the role of genre in the meaning-making process provides an insight into particular strategies which are used to organise and legitimize the EU-China CSP. This insight can help to better understand the discursive construction of the partnership as well as the interests and intentions of social actors (Fairclough, 2003). The following section will analyse the particular strategies which are used in the 15th JPS to organise and legitimize the EU-China CSP.

5.1.1.1. LEGITIMATION

According to Van Leeuwen (2008:105) the producers of texts use strategies of legitimation to answer the questions ‘Why should we do this?’ or ‘Why should we do it this way?’. The answers to these questions are constructed in language through linguistic social practices (the *order of discourse*), mainly realized in genre (Fairclough, 2003:98). In the following, this section discusses the use of legitimation strategies in the 15th JPS and the way in which they provide the EU-China CSP with purpose and specific legitimation. The section follows the four strategies of legitimation as identified by Van Leeuwen (2008:105) and applies the analytical tools provided by Fairclough (2003:98-99) in order to reveal the linguistic realization of legitimation in the text of the 15th JPS.

Four major categories of legitimation (Van Leeuwen, 2008:105-106):

1. Authorization
2. Rationalisation
3. Moral Evaluation
4. Mythopoesis, Narrative

AUTHORIZATION

According to Van Leeuwen (2008:105) *Authorization* is the ‘legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law and/or persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is

vested'. In the 15th JPS, an authorization of the text is achieved indirectly in two different ways, through the institutional authority of its authors and through the social context of the document.

The introductory paragraph of the 15th JPS (paragraph 1, see annex I) presents a selected number of people who participated in the social event as representatives of particular institutions. The participants are ordered hierarchically according to the institutions' power and relevance. The list of participants is highly exclusive and only allows for the inclusion of the highest-ranked negotiation authority from both sides of the partnership.

Table 1⁴: Participants of the 15th Annual EU-China Summit, as mentioned in the 15th JPS	
Participants: EU	Mr. Herman Van Rompuy - President of the European Council Mr. Jose Manuel Barroso - President of the European Commission Baroness Catherine Ashton - High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (assisting)
Participants: China	Wen Jiabao - Premier of the State Council

The institutional ranking of listed participants shows the social relations of the partnership as an articulation of power. The highest-ranking participating institutions demonstrate the perceived value which the EU and China give the partnership. Thus, the participant list reveals one way in which the social hierarchy of bilateral partners is construed in genre.

Importantly, the mentioned participants act as the main authors, to whom the text implicitly refers to as 'summit leaders'. Thus, the power of the represented institutions reflects the authority which is provided to the social event (the summit) and its textualisation (the JPS). As the participating leaders take direct accountability and responsibility for the content of the text, they legitimize its social and material effects.

Consequently, the text gains much of its authorization through the institutional power of its authors. However, the text is further authorized in paragraphs 4, which is part of the above-described leading paragraphs of the 15th JPS.

Paragraph 4
Summit Leaders ...
Re-confirmed the key role of the annual EU-China summit in providing strategic guidance to bilateral relations, affirmed the important role played by the EU-China High Level Strategic Dialogue, High

⁴ Source: 15th EU-China Joint Press Statement

Level Economic and Trade Dialogue and High Level People-to-people Dialogue, in advancing EU-China relations. They committed further to improve and strengthen these regular mechanisms

In paragraph four the authors evaluate the institutional mechanisms that govern the strategic partnership. Thereby, they give special emphasis to the role of the annual EU-China summit, which has a 'key role [...] in providing strategic guidance to bilateral relations'. The JPS, as the textured outcome of the summit, thus performs a key role in articulating this 'strategic guidance'. It is linguistically constructed as the main platform where the 'strategic guidance' is textually realized as well as a communication channel through which the 'strategic guidance' is articulated to the outside world. Accordingly, further authorization for the text is achieved in the explicit valuation of its authors.

RATIONALISATION

A second legitimation strategy is *Rationalization*, which is understood by Van Leeuwen (2008:106) to achieve legitimation 'by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledges that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity'. Thus, *Rationalization* is used to demonstrate the utility of the institution on the basis of a problem-solution structure. One way of realizing this strategy is through the use of argumentation.

Arguments can be understood as following a distinct generic structure based on the combination of three primary moves: *Grounds*, *Warrants* and *Claims* (Fairclough, 2003:81). The *Grounds* are the premises of the argument; the *Warrant* is what justifies the inference from the *Grounds* to the *Claim* (ibid.). Additionally, *Backing* can be distinguished, which gives support for *Warrants* (ibid.). While *Grounds* and *Claims* structure the argument as a problem-solution approach, *Warrants* and *Backing*, which are often specific to particular discourses, are generally assumed rather than made explicit (ibid.). A closer analysis of the title and paragraph 3 demonstrates how arguments are used to promote a particular political agenda and frame the political action of the CSP.

Title:

Joint Press Communiqué

15th EU-China Summit

Towards a stronger EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership

Grounds: The EU-China CSP exists. The EU-China CSP is not strong enough.

Warrant: The document provides solutions for making the EU-China CSP stronger.

Claim: A stronger EU-China CSP is desirable.

As shown above, *Grounds* and *Claims* structure the argument on the basis of a problem-solution approach. In the title this problem-solution structure is stated implicitly, but becomes more apparent in an analysis of the individual assumptions on which the argument is build:

First, the title provides an existential assumption (*Grounds*): the purpose of the document is based on the existence of an EU-China CSP → the EU-China CSP exists.

Second, the title provides an implicit value assumption (*Claim*): the purpose of the document is based on the desirability of a stronger EU-China CSP → the EU-China CSP is not strong enough, the EU-China CSP should be stronger

Both assumptions (the EU-China CSP exists; the EU-China CSP should be stronger) can be contested from differing viewpoints. However, the title treats both statements as taken-for-granted knowledge and provides a basis on which all other elements of the text need to be understood. As such, the title can be understood as a powerful tool to shape the interdiscursive understandings of 'what is' (existential assumptions) and 'what should be' (value assumption). These assumptions represent the outcome of a discursive struggle and influence the reader's interpretation of the social event. Thus, in presenting the assumptions as factual statements, the title is used as a tool to exercise discursive power with effects on the interpretation of EU-China relations by the document's readership.

Paragraph 3

They welcomed the fact that relations had progressed beyond the bilateral framework and taken on a global dimension. China and the EU, influential in the world scene of the 21st century, were crucial actors in advancing peace, prosperity and stability. Both sides emphasized multilateralism and the central role of the United Nations in international affairs. China and the EU would redouble their joint efforts to tackle global challenges such as the international financial and economic crisis,

sustainable development, environmental protection, climate change, food and water security, energy security and nuclear safety.

Grounds: Global challenges, such as the international financial and economic crisis, sustainable development, environmental protection, climate change, food and water security, energy security and nuclear security will have global negative consequences if they are not tackled.

Warrant: The EU and China have the capabilities to tackle these global challenges.

Backing: China and the EU are influential in the world scene of the 21st century. They were crucial actors in advancing peace, prosperity and stability.

Claim: It is desirable that the EU-China strategic partnership transcends the bilateral framework and takes on a global dimension (so that global challenges can be tackled).

In paragraph 3, *global challenges* are identified to be the reason for concerted action and provide the main basis for the desirability of the EU-China strategic partnership to operate beyond the bilateral framework.

Similar to the argument in the title, a major linguistic strategy in constructing the argument of this paragraph is the use of factual statements which present *Grounds*, *Warrants* and *Backings* as taken-for-granted knowledge. As the factual statements (e.g. the EU and China were crucial in advancing peace) can be contested, we can speak of these statements as propositional assumptions which are signified in the text through the absence of modality and specification (Fairclough, 2003:55). For example, the categorization of policy subjects under *global challenges* is not further explained. Thus, it does not become clear in how far *global challenges* can be distinguished from their implicit Other ('bilateral challenges', 'regional challenges') and why such a distinction would be desirable.

Furthermore, *Warrant* and *Backing* construct the argument analogue to the discourse of China's and the EU's role in the international (global) system. Consequently, *Warrants* and *Backings* in this argument play not only an important role in legitimizing political action, but also provide us with an understanding of how both partners discursively construct their identity and role in the international system. Hence, this form of argumentation also represents a strategy through which social actors realize their identity grammatically.

MORAL EVALUATION

According to Van Leeuwen (2008:106), *Moral Evaluation* is a legitimation strategy which is achieved by 'reference to value systems'. Each social actor subscribes to a particular set of values which creates ideational forces to legitimize political action accordingly. On basis of these value systems, political actors legitimize political activity as a certain moral responsibility or obligation (Fairclough, 2003).

This moral responsibility is continuously re-negotiated through social practice. Thus, social actors negotiate an intersubjective understanding of values and morality and legitimize political activity in accordance with these understandings. The outcome of this process is textually realised in explicit and implicit value assumptions which can be analysed as being particular generic structures (Fairclough, 2003:55-58).

Paragraph 3

- China and the EU, influential in the world scene of the 21st century, were crucial actors in advancing peace, prosperity and stability
- Both sides emphasized multilateralism and the central role of the United Nations in international affairs

Paragraph 7

- Emphasized the importance of promotion and protection of human rights and the rule of law

Value Assumptions in paragraph 3, 7:

Close cooperation between China and the EU is desirable in order to:

- advance global peace, prosperity and stability
- emphasize the role of multilateral approaches for tackling *global challenges*, in particular the values and policy mechanisms represented by the United Nations.
- promote and protect human rights and the rule of law

Moral responsibility derives from:

- The common identification with a particular value system (values)
- The influential position of both actors (power)

- The crucial role of both actors in the past (experience, evaluation)

The above example shows how *Moral Evaluation* strategies legitimize the common political action of the CSP under a distinct and socially constructed ideational framework. Moreover, as *Rationalization*, also *Moral Evaluation* is used strategically by social actors to construct (their own) social identities in particular ways, which will be further discussed in a later section of the analysis.

MYTHOPOESIS

Mythopoesis is 'legitimation conveyed through narrative' (Van Leeuwen, 2008:106). Even though the textual elements of the 15th JPS do not form a narrative in the strict sense, the paragraphs build up a particular picture of the 'Comprehensive Strategic Partnership'. Like the narrative described by Van Leeuwen (2008), the texts can be described to include both the 'moral tale' (action has positive consequences) and the 'cautionary tale' (inaction has negative consequences), leading to the implicit conclusion that the implementation of the political activities is desirable and will have positive social and material effects.

LEGITIMATION STRATEGIES AND THE EU-CHINA CSP

As it was shown above, social actors use different strategies of legitimizing political action under the CSP through social practice. Thereby, they frame political action in terms of legitimation and narrow its scope. However, the distinction between different legitimation strategies may not be as clear-cut as the above analysis presents it. For example, every legitimation strategy includes an element of *Moral Evaluation* in it (Fairclough 2003:100). The strategies for legitimation can thus only be theoretically separated.

Despite these limitations, the analysis demonstrates how language in the JPS is used strategically. It reveals how statements of fact can be pervasively evaluative, but implicitly so. As shown above, the arguments provided in the text are presented in an abstract rather than in an explicit form, making the text more promotional than analytical. Thus, the legitimation strategies used in the first three textual elements (Title, Introductory Paragraph, Leading Paragraphs) mainly aim at persuading the reader that the proposed political activities are in fact desirable and practicable solutions

This form of report can be understood as a hortatory report in which the hortatory element is implicit (Fairclough, 2003:98). A hortatory report depends on assumed, implicit values which form part of the apparent statements of fact (Ibid.). This form of report further prefers the implicitness of factual statements over the articulation of explicit demands and relies on the evaluative capabilities

of their readership for the construction of meaning (Ibid.). Hence, the factual statements which are used strategically can be better understood as a form of metaphor in its wider sense (Ibid.).

5.1.1.2. SCHEMATIC ORGANISATION

According to You, Chen & Hong (2010:599) in CDA, the schematic analysis is targeted at finding out the formal structure of a discourse and demonstrate how the structure helps the discourse. The following section will analyse the schematic organization of political activities in the body paragraphs and discuss how the tool of categorization is used strategically by social actors to construct the CSP in a particular way.

Categories used to divide political activities in the body paragraphs:

Economy, Trade and Investment

Bilateral Cooperation

Peace and Security

Global Issues

The body paragraphs of the 15th JPS structure political activities along four categories: *Economy, Trade & Investment, Bilateral Cooperation, Peace & Security, Global Issues*.

One way of approaching the order in which categories are presented is to view them in terms of a hierarchy of purpose (Fairclough, 2003:71). As the paragraphs of this element can be ordered flexibly by policy makers, the order in which they are represented can be interpreted as the textual realization of a particular political agenda within the CSP. Hence, the generic structure of the document can be understood as an implicit agenda of the strategic partnership that provides an understanding of what the CSP is represented to be.

Thus, it could be said that the emphasis of the EU-China CSP is on *Economy, Trade & Investment*, which is discussed first in the text. Accordingly, *Bilateral Cooperation* and *Peace & Security* concerns are second and third priority of the partnership, while *Global Issues* rank fourth on the agenda. Interestingly, a prioritization of *Economic, Trade & Investment* as well as *Bilateral Cooperation* issues appears to stay in contrast to the emphasis which was given to *global challenges* in legitimizing the

CSP, as *Global Issues* are only dealt with as a fourth and last category. This seemingly paradoxical situation will be further discussed in the course of the analysis.

5.1.2. DISCOURSE

Discourses can be defined and treated in many ways. However, for this analysis the term is treated in accordance with Fairclough (2003:124) as ‘ways of representing aspects of the world’. In their representation, discourses are tied to particular perspectives of the world and thus depend on people’s positions towards the world which are connected to their personal and social identities as well as their social relationships (Ibid.).

Consequently, discourses represent the world as it is seen from particular perspectives. The world they represent is an imaginary of a possible world which differs from the actual world (Ibid.). However, discourses are also tied to projects of changing the (imagined) world in particular directions and compete over representation and meaning-making (Ibid.). Thus, the meaning and effect of words and concepts is dependent on the discourse within which they are understood (Ibid.). Subsequently, discourses and their ability to produce and control meaning-making become subject to social power structures (Ibid.). As a consequence, meaning not only arises from language, but is an outcome of institutional practice, power relations and social positions (Bacchi, 1999:41). However, discourses are not the direct product of intentional manipulation by a few actors, but neither are they trans-historical structures operating outside of human intervention (Ibid.). Rather, in a world constructed in discourse, discursive interventions are possible (Ibid.).

Against this background, the following section will analyse representational meanings in the JPS and look the ways in which they figure in the process of meaning-making. The aim of this section will be to understand how the discourse of the EU-China CSP is constructed in the representations and self-representations of social actors.

5.1.2.1. SELF-REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SOCIAL ACTORS

According to Fairclough (2003:166), ‘the texturing of identity is thoroughly embedded in the texturing of social relations’. As the JPS is a document in which the EU and China as social actors texture their social relations with each other, the text is also a platform on which both actors express and form their social identity. The formation of social identity in text can be analysed by looking at the ways, in which both actors construct themselves, the ‘other’ and social relations through implicit and explicit representation.

These representations can become visible in implicit and explicit evaluation statements, which are based on value assumption about desirability and undesirability of values and action (Fairclough, 2003:109). The desirability of an action can be expressed implicitly in rational statements by for example referring to its usefulness or importance. The box below shows a selection of evaluative statements in the JPS, which demonstrate how China and the EU construct each other's social identity grammatically in the leading paragraphs of the 15th JPS.

Paragraph 3

- China and the EU, influential in the world scene of the 21st century, were crucial actors in advancing peace, prosperity and stability
- Both sides emphasized multilateralism and the central role of the United Nations in international affairs

Paragraph 5

- Emphasized the importance of taking a positive view of each other's development and rendering mutual support.
- The Chinese side reaffirmed its continued support for the European integration process, and expressed confidence that appropriate steps were being taken to tackle the euro area sovereign debt crisis.
- The EU reaffirmed its support for China's peaceful development and its respect for China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and expressed its confidence in China's efforts to maintain sustainable, steady and rapid economic growth.

Paragraph 7

- Emphasized the importance of promotion and protection of human rights and the rule of law

As discussed under *Moral Evaluation* (see above), both actors legitimize political action as a form of moral responsibility, which results from a set of values to which they subscribe as well as the power of both actors to influence the 'world scene'. However, the use of these evaluative statements does not only function as a legitimation strategy but also expresses how both actors represent each other.

For example, in paragraph three, by mutually recognizing each other as ‘influential’ and ‘crucial’ actors in the world system, China and the EU construct an interdiscursive understanding of their individual role in the international system. Hence, both the EU and China as social actors use the JPS to texture their perceived role identity as global actors and justify this identification through mutual recognition. Moreover, the construction of their individual identity brings consequences for the way both actors view their relations, (e.g. moral responsibility to tackle *global challenges*). However, the construction of individual social identities and the CSP have to be viewed as a mutually constitutive process in which evaluative statements respond to both, the CSP discourse as well as the discourses of the EU’s and China’s individual social identity.

In paragraph 3 and 7, both actors subscribe themselves to values as explicit expressions (peace, prosperity) or implicitly through referring to particular institutions (United Nations, Human Rights). Hence, the values which are included in the JPS not only provide the partnership with a moral basis, but also construct the EU and China as ‘moral characters’. Thus, the JPS acts as a platform which both, the EU and China, use to construct their ‘moral character’ in international relations.

The construction of social identity through mutual recognition becomes even more apparent in paragraph 5, in which both actors directly evaluate each other. In this paragraph the EU positively recognizes (supports) China’s ‘peaceful development’ and thus one of the main concepts used by the Chinese government in its own discourse of China’s identity in the international sphere. Thus, the EU, through its recognition of ‘peaceful development’, is further legitimizing this particular element of China’s foreign policy identity. Moreover, the EU gives its support to Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity. As China’s territorial integrity is contested from both outside (border conflicts with neighbouring countries) and within (e.g. Taiwan, Tibet), the EU’s recognition legitimizes the state identity discourse pushed forward by the Chinese government. In return, China positively evaluated the EU’s progress on integration (contested by e.g. its member states), and thus legitimizes the European Union discourse on integration.

All together, the analysis of social actor representations shows that the JPS, in constructing the CSP as a form of social relationship between social actors, includes particular representations of individual identity discourses of both actors. In evaluating their own identity discourses, both partners influence the way in which they view each other and themselves as actors in the international system.

5.1.2.2. REPRESENTATION OF THE SOCIAL EVENT

According to Fairclough (2003:139), in representing a social event, one is incorporating it within the context of another social event, thus recontextualizing it. Consequently, we can speak of representations of social events as recontextualizations. The process of recontextualization follows a set of principles which are tied to the particular networks of social practice (and as such also to the genre particularities). According to these recontextualizing principles, elements of social events are selectively filtered (Ibid.). These principles affect how concretely or abstractly social events are represented, whether and how events are evaluated, explained and the order in which events are represented (Ibid.). In the following, this section of the analysis focuses on three aspects of recontextualization: Abstraction, Absence and Arrangement

ABSTRACTION

Social events can be represented at different levels of abstraction and generalization which result from particular recontextualization principles of the JPS. The document recontextualizes the social event (the EU-China Summit) in particular ways, for example by only presenting the negotiated outcome of a decision-making process while excluding other elements that lead to this particular outcome. These outcomes are presented on a very abstract level, largely excluding contextual information, individual voices as well as specific information and it seems worth considering why. In order to exemplify the level of abstraction in the leading paragraphs of the document, this section will shortly discuss paragraph 2 of the 15th JPS.

Paragraph 2

They (the summit leaders) noted with satisfaction that the EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership had matured and become increasingly rich and multi-dimensional, and was now embodied in wide-ranging cooperation initiatives forged between the two sides.

Paragraph two informs the reader about the positive evaluation of the partnership development by the summit leaders. This positive evaluation is grammatically realized in an explicit value assumption ('with satisfaction') and through the use of indicators for this positive development: maturity, richness, multi-dimensionality, and embodiment. However, none of these indicators are further specified and there are no information provided on how an indicator, such as maturity, is to be evaluated. Consequently, neither the *Claim* nor the *Backing* in this statement are provided with the

necessary contextual information and specification that the reader needs to reconstruct the evaluation process. Consequently, the abstraction of the statement follows a strategy of persuasion which aims at convincing the reader of the correctness of a particular *Claim* (in this case: 'The development of the EU-China CSP is satisfactory').

ABSENCE

Certainly, there are many reasons to exclude information, such as redundancy and irrelevancy. However, the absence of information in a text can also be politically or socially significant. Problematically though, systematic exclusion and the absence of information are difficult to prove in a textual analysis. One way of revealing absences, is to analyse implicit signifiers within the text.

Paragraph 6

Emphasized the importance of accommodating each other's concerns for furthering the overall relationship taking a strategic perspective. They agreed that, where differences remained, these should be discussed and handled in a spirit of mutual respect and equality.

As discussed in above sections, the JPS represents a negotiated text that presents political positions which are agreed upon by the 'summit leaders'. However, the text does not articulate any disagreements between China and the EU, which may still have been expressed during the EU-China annual summit. The only notion on disagreements is provided in paragraph 3 (see above) which states that concerns should be 'accommodated to further the overall partnership'. Consequently, we can assume that 'concerns' do in fact exist, but are deliberately excluded from this document. Thus, issues which have been discussed, but which failed to reach a form of agreement between both parties may be systematically excluded in the process of recontextualising the social event into the framework of the JPS.

ARRANGEMENT

After discussing the exclusion of information, this section will focus on the information which is 'present' in the JPS and particularly emphasize the arrangement of political activities and topics and categories of the body paragraphs in the 15th JPS.

According to Van Dijk's (2010:68), the term *topic* can be understood as a 'semantic macrostructure'. As such, topics are discursive elements which are controlled by social actors and embody the

(subjectively) most important information of a discourse which readers will memorize best (Ibid.). *Categorization* will be understood as a discursive organizing principle which structures *topics* in particular ways. Both topics and categories are more or less explicit expressions of particular discursive representations of a social event and thus connected to discursive power (Ibid.). Accordingly, the inclusion and exclusion of topics and categories is used as a strategically by social actors to construct the CSP as a particular framework for political activity.

Table 3 shows the main topics which are represented in the body paragraphs of the 15th JPS as well as the four categories to which they correspond. The table demonstrates how each paragraph of the body text in the 15th JPS (paragraphs 10-49) corresponds to a particular topic (or an interconnected group of topics).

Economy, Trade & Investment	Bilateral Cooperation	Peace & Security	Global Issues
10. Investment Agreement	21. Research & Innovation	36. Defense & Security	39. G 20
11. Market Economy Status	22. Space Cooperation	37. Regional Issues	40. Global financial stability
12. Anti-Monopoly Law	23. Cyber Issues	38. Disarmament	41. Sustainable economic development
13. IPR	24. Urbanisation		42. WTO
14. Government Procurement	25. Energy		43. Rio +20
15. Export Finance	26. Nuclear Energy		44. Food & water security
16. IPR	27. People Dialogue		45. Environment
17. Geography Indication Protection	28. Migration		46. Climate Change
18. Product Safety	29. Agriculture & Rural Development		47. Civil Aviation
19. Customs Cooperation	30. Employment		48. Emission Trade
20. European Investment Bank	31. Governance		49. The Arctic
	32. Disaster Risk Management		
	33. Transport		
	34. Ocean Affairs		
	35. Development		

As discussed for the schematic organization of the text, the categorization of topics in the JPS provides the reader with an implicit hierarchy of purpose. However, the categories can also be understood as representing the CSP as different forms of partnership: an economic partnership, a security partnership, a global partnership or a partnership of bilateral cooperation. Consequently, the categories articulate competing discursive representations of the CSP.

With only three topics in the category of *Peace & Security*, the box above suggests that traditional security topics play a marginal role in the EU-China CSP. On the other hand, *global challenges* (non-traditional threats to peace and security) are represented by a number of topics on the JPS agenda.

⁵ Source: 15th EU-China Joint Press Statement, own compilation

Most of these topics are part of the category *Global Issues* (environmental security, food & water security, economic stability) while some others are incorporated into *Bilateral Cooperation* (cyber security, energy security). However, as *global challenges* are clearly separated from *Peace & Security* and largely subsumed under *Global Issues*, the categorization articulates well the competing representations of the CSP as a traditional and non-traditional *Peace & Security* partnership.

The competition between the representations of the EU-China CSP will be further discussed in an interdiscursive diachronic analysis which will be the subject of the next section.

5.2. ANALYSIS – PART II: INTERDISCURSIVE DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS

As outlined above, the categories which are used in the body text of the 15th JPS can be understood as the expression of particular discursive representations of the strategic partnership. The following section focuses on the development of these categories in a diachronic analysis of the joint press statements which were released during the time period between 2003 (when the partnership was announced) and 2012. Through this diachronic approach the analysis aims at achieving an understanding of how these categories as distinct representations of the CSP reflect discursive changes in the development of the partnership.

Problematically, the categorization of the body paragraphs has only been introduced in the 15th JPS, which complicates a comparative diachronic analysis in two important ways. First, as shown above, earlier statements include topics other than those of the 15th JPS which were never allocated to one of the four categories (such as the arms embargo). Second, the link between topics and categories is dependent on the context in which topics are discussed. For example, cyber issues could be discussed as a bilateral, a global or a security issue. Thus, the links between topic and category which are established in the 15th JPS are not necessarily stable.

However, in order to partly overcome these limitations, the analysis aims at the transparent use of topics and categories. As discussed above, the body paragraphs of the JPS correspond to particular topics or an inter-connected group of topics. These paragraphs can be subjectively connected to one of the four categories, defined in the 15th JPS.

Table 4 shows the categories and topics which were identified in the body paragraphs of JPS between 2003 and 2012 and which will be used in the comparative analysis. The topics which are indicated in light blue have not been subsumed in any category of the 15th JPS, but were subject of

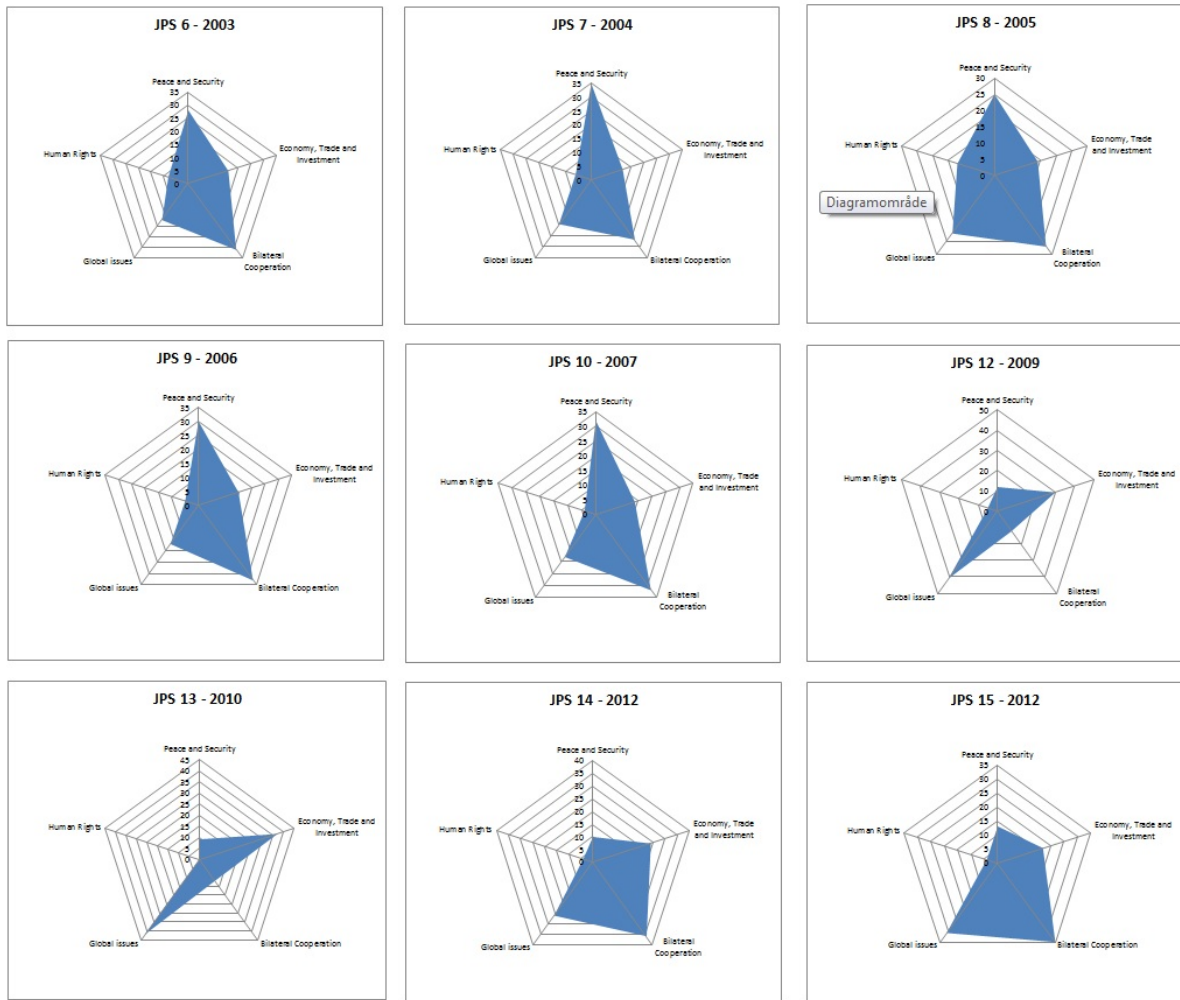
discussion in earlier statements. They have been assigned to one category in accordance with the context in which they are discussed throughout the statements. Furthermore, the table introduces a category for Human Rights, which is discussed as a topic in all statements but the 15th JPS, where it is only referred to in the leading paragraphs.

Table 4⁶: Categories and Topics for the diachronic analysis				
Peace & Security	Economy, Trade & Investment	Bilateral Cooperation	Global Issues	Human Rights
Regional Affairs	Macroeconomic Issues	Science & Technology	G 20	Human Rights
Non-Proliferation	Market Economy Status	Cyber Issues	Global Economic Governance	
United Nations	Competition Policy	Urbanisation	WTO	
Counter-Terrorism	Trade & Investment	Energy	Climate Change	
Arms Embargo	IPR	People-to-People Dialogue	Environment Protection	
Taiwan	Consumer Protection	Mobility & Migration	Civil Aviation	
ASEM	Customs Cooperation	Agriculture & Rural Development	Arctic Affairs	
	Export Credits	Employment & Social Affairs	Water, Food & Nutrition security	
	Government Procurement	Governance & Administration	HIV	
	SMEs	Disaster Risk Management		
	Industrial Policy	Transport		
		Development		
		Ocean Affairs		
		Education & Youth		
		Public Health		
		Cultural Relations		
		Information Society		
		Legal & Judicial Affairs		
		Civil Society		

The following graph demonstrates the representation of the categories in the JPSs in relation to each other (chart 1). For this graph, the analysis calculates the number of words assigned to each individual topic and subsequently each individual category in JPSs between 2003 and 2012 (for a more detailed analysis see annex 2). Even though the number of words does not necessarily indicate the level of depth or quality of the discussion on a particular topic, the number of words will be used as an indicator for the relevance of a topic or category in the annual JPSs. Thus, the word count does not aim at identifying the effectiveness of the EU-China summit in addressing a particular topic, but rather attempts to identify discursive trends in the CSP through analysing the development of topics and categories over the period of ten years.

⁶ Source: EU-China Join Press Statements 2003-2012, own compilation

Chart 1: Development of Categories in EU-China JPSs between 2003 and 2012⁷⁸



⁷ JPS 11 – 2009 has been excluded from the calculation due its low word count

⁸ Source: EU-China Joint Press Statements 2003-2012, own compilation

Table 5: Topics in EU-China JPSs between 2003 and 2012⁹

JPS 6 - 2003	P	JPS 7 - 2004	P	JPS 8 - 2005	P	JPS 9 - 2006	P	JPS 10 - 2007	P	JPS 11 - 2009	P	JPS 12 - 2009	P	JPS 13 - 2010	P	JPS 14 - 2012	P	JPS 15 - 2012	P
Science & Technology	5	Non-proliferation	6	Environment Protection	4	Taiwan	5	Taiwan	3	United Nations	3	Taiwan	6	Trade & Investment	5	People-to-People Dialogue	5	Trade & Investment	10
Industrial Policy	6	Arms Embargo	7	Climate Change	4	Arms Embargo	6	Arms Embargo	4	Regional Affairs	4	Non-proliferation	7	Macroeconomic issues	6	Human Rights	6	Market Economy Status	11
United Nations	8	Taiwan	8	Taiwan	7	Non-Proliferation	7	Non-proliferation	5	Trade & Investment	5	Counter-Terrorism	7	G20	7	Macroeconomic Issues	8	Competition Policy	12
Regional Affairs	8,9	Human Rights	9	Arms Embargo	8	United Nations	8	United Nations	6	WTO	5	Human Rights	8	Climate Change	8	Trade & Investment	9	Trade & Investment	13
Non-proliferation	9	Mobility & Migration	10, 11	Non-proliferation	9	Human Rights	9	United Nations	7	Energy	6	Climate Change	9	Regional Affairs	9	Market Economy Status	10	Government procurement	14
Taiwan	10	Trade & Investment	12	Human Rights	10	Regional Affairs	10-15	Counter-Terrorism	8	Science & Technology	6	Environment Protection	9	Education & Youth	10	IPR	11	Export Credits	15
Human Rights	11	IPR	12	United Nations	11	ASEM	11	Regional Affairs	9-16	SMEs	6	Energy	10, 11			Export Credit	12	IPR	16
Counter-Terrorism	12	WTO	12	Regional Affairs	12	Counter-Terrorism	12	ASEM	17			Regional Affairs	12, 13			Urbanisation	13	Geographical Indications	17
ASEM	13	Market Economy Status	13	Trade & Investment	13	Public Health	13	Beijing Olympics	18			G20	14			Energy	14	Consumer Protection	18
Environment Protection	14	Customs Cooperation	14	Market Economy Status	14	Environment	14	Environmental protection	20			Macroeconomic Issues	15			Science & technology	15	Customs Cooperation	19
Climate Change	14	Energy	14	IPR	15	Climate Change	15	Climate Change	21,22			Trade & Investment	16			SMEs	15	European Investment Bank	20
Mobility & Migration	15, 16	Development	14	Consumer Protection	15	Energy Security	15	Energy	23			WTO	17			Climate Change	16,17	Science & Technology	21,22
Civil Society	16	Science & Technology	15	WTO	16	WTO	16	Trade & Investment	24			SMEs	18			Environment protection	18	Cyber Issues	23
Macroeconomic Issues	17	Macroeconomic Issues	16	Science & Technology	17-19	Market access	17	Market Economy Status	25			Government Procurement	19			Science & Technology	19,2	Urbanisation	24
Trade & Investment	18	IPR	16	Environment Protection	20	Market Economy Status	18	Macroeconomic issues	26,27			IPR	20			Cyber Issues	21	Energy	25,26
WTO	19, 20	Transport	16	Energy	21	IPR	19	Consumer Protection	28			Market Economy Status	21			Education & Youth	22	people-to-people dialogue	27
Macroeconomic Issues	21	Civil Aviation	16	Transport	21	Consumer Protection	20	Agriculture & Rural development	29			Expo Shanghai	22			Mobility & Migration	23, 24	Mobility & Migration	28
Transport	22	Civil Society	16	Education	22	Trade & Investment	21	Competition policy	30			Customs Cooperation	24			EU-China center	25	Agriculture & Rural Development	29
Science & Technology	23	Legal & Judicial Affairs	16	Civil aviation	23, 24	Science & Technology	22,23	Trade and investment	31			Statistical Cooperation	24			G20	27	Employment & Social Affairs	30
Energy	24	Education	17	Mobility & Migration	25	Transport	24	SMEs	32			Consumer Protection	24			WTO	28	Governance & Administration	31
Customs cooperation	25	Development	18	Academic exchange	26	Macroeconomic Issues	25	Science & Technology	33			Civil Aviation	24			United Nations	29	Disaster Risk Management	32
Civil aviation	26	Science & Technology	19			Rural development	26	Energy	34			Cultural Relations	24			Climate Change	30	Transport	33
		Environment Protection	20			Information society	27	Information society	35			Education & Youth	24			Regional Affairs	31	Ocean Affairs	34
		Climate Change	20			Civil aviation	28	Customs cooperation	36			Agriculture & Rural Development	24					Development	35
		HIV	21			Mobility & Migration	29	Transport	37			Academic Exchange	24					Maritime Security	36
		United Nations	22			Education	30	Civil aviation	38									Regional Affairs	37
		Counter-Terrorism	23			Cultural Relations	30	Cultural relations	39									Non-proliferation	38
		Regional conflicts	23			Civil society	30	Public health	40									G20	39
						Academic exchange	30	Employment & Social Affairs	41									Global economic governance	40,41
								Civil Society	42									WTO	42
								Legal & Judicial affairs	43									RIO+20	43
								Mobility & Migration	45									Water, food and nutrition safety	44
								Education & Youth	46									Environment Protection	45
								Development	47									Climate Change	46,48
																		Civil Aviation	47
																		Artic Affairs	49

Legend
Peace & Security
Economy, Trade & Investment
Bilateral Issues
Global Issues

⁹ Source: EU-China Joint Press Statements 2003-2012, own compilation

Chart 1 shows the result of this analysis in form of a radar chart. Every spoke of this chart represents the relative number of words that has been assigned to each of the five categories (for details see annex 2) in joint press statements between 2003 and 2012. The values for each category are plotted along a separate axis that starts in the centre of the chart. Analysed diachronically, the area covered by the data set (blue) shows how the relation between these categories has changed over time.

The pattern indicated by the charts suggests a development of the EU-China CSP in three phases. In the first phase (2003-2007), the categories *Peace & Security* and *Bilateral Issues* mark the highest values. During the second phase (2009-2010), the highest values shift to *Economy, Trade & Investment* and *Global Issues*. This pattern changes again in 2012 when *Bilateral Issues* and *Global Issues* dominate the space. In the third phase, unlike the spoke of *Bilateral Cooperation*, the spoke of *Peace & Security* issues does not recover and remains at a low value. Consequently, the identified phases suggest two drastic shifts in the discursive development of the EU-China CSP.

In order to better understand this development, table 5 demonstrates the ranking of topics and categories in the JPSs. As discussed above, the ranking of topics and categories in the JPSs can be understood as an informal political agenda. Table 5 lists the identified topics in the same order in which they are discussed in each individual JPS between 2003 and 2012 and connects each body paragraph of the JPSs to the topic which it discusses. If a topic is discussed in multiple paragraphs, the topic will appear multiple times on the list, unless it has been discussed over consecutive paragraphs. If a paragraph discusses a group of topics, each topic is mentioned individually. Thus multiple topics can be linked to the same paragraph. All topics are linked to one of the five categories (table 4). The link is visualized through the use of different colours.

Table 5 shows at which point different topics and categories appear in the JPSs. It demonstrates that *Peace & Security* topics have constantly dominated the first paragraphs of the JPSs between the 2003 and 2009, while *Bilateral Cooperation* has mostly been discussed at the end of the document. This pattern changes in 2010, when the *Peace & Security* topics drop to the bottom of the document while *Economy, Trade & Investment* topics are dealt with at the top of three consecutive JPSs between 2010 and 2012. With regards to the charts 1 two interesting observations can be made.

First, the position of a topic (or category) in the document does not stand in correlation to the length at which it is discussed. For Instance, *Bilateral Cooperation*, though showing a high value in the radar chart between 2003 and 2007, they mostly appear in the second half of the document. On the other hand, *Peace & Security* topics are discussed at the top of the JPS in 2009, even though their value in the chart 1 is low for that year.

Second, the decrease of the relative weight of *Peace & Security* topics as demonstrated in chart 1 is accompanied by a drop in the category's position within the JPSs, even though this drop only appears after 2009. As discussed above, both the position of a category and the length at which it is discussed are possible indicators for its relevance in the partnership. Consequently, the analysis suggests that the relevance of *Peace & Security* issues for the EU-China CSP is in decline.

5.3. ANALYSIS – PART III: SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

After the above section illustrated the discursive development of the EU-China CSP, the third part of the analysis will discuss these developments in relation to socio-historical events which could explain the above-described trends in EU-China relations. The discussion is structured along three major subjects: (1) economic development, (2) peace & security issues and (3) public opinion and leadership change

5.3.1. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Since the EU-China CSP has been announced in 2003, high growth rates of the Chinese economy and a growing economic interdependence¹⁰ increased the self-confidence of Chinese authorities

The collapse of Lehman Brothers Holdings in September 2008 marked the beginning of a global financial turmoil which subsequently led to a sovereign debt crisis of the Eurozone which began in December 2009 with the downgrading of the Greek credit rating by the three most well-known rating firms (Mingli, 2010:14-17). During the ongoing sovereign debt crisis, China gained an increasing importance for European economies as both a trading partner and source of investment. In late October 2011, China surpassed the United States as the EU's largest trading partner; accounting for 13.4 per cent of the EU's total trading volume. Furthermore, with its investments in Greek, Spanish or Italian national bonds as well as its contributions to the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) China also became a crucial partner for the EU in the recovery process of the Eurozone (Steinbock, 2011:6-14; Steinbock, 2013:37).

With regards to the above diachronic analysis, the beginning of the global financial turmoil certainly serves as an explanation to the CSP's sudden focus on *Economy Trade & Investment* as well as *Global Issues* (such as global economic governance) in 2009 (see chart 1). Further, the beginning of the European sovereign debt crisis in December 2009 and the crucial role of China in the recovery process might explain why *Trade & Investment* topped the agenda of the JPSs in 2010 and 2012.

¹⁰ the trade volume between the EU and China grew from 125bn US\$ in 2003 to 356bn US\$ in 2007 (Men 2008:20)

However, economic developments alone fail to explain why *Bilateral Cooperation* regains importance in 2012 while *Peace & Security* topics drop to the bottom of the agenda.

5.3.2. PEACE & SECURITY ISSUES

One development which could serve as an explanation to the decline of the Peace & Security dimension in the EU-China CSP is the increasingly contentious nature of *Peace & Security* topics. With China's decision in March 2005 to pass the Anti-Secession Law, which threatened Taiwan with military invasion, prospects to lift the European arms embargo were considerably lowered. As a result, EU-China relations failed to 'normalize' and China felt increasingly discriminated for being treated on one level with Zimbabwe and Myanmar (while no embargo was imposed on North Korea) (Li, 2009:240, Cameron 2009:57). Also in regional affairs, China and the EU could not reach the desired level of cooperation. The EU had become increasingly frustrated with China's policy of non-interference which undermined European sanctions against Iran, Zimbabwe, Sudan or Syria. Further, China's expanding profile in Africa has become a contentious issue for the EU which sees China's no-conditions-attached aid policy to Africa as sabotaging European efforts to promote good governance practices (Li, 2009:239). Finally, the EU proved to be a marginal player in a number of regional affairs, such as in Myanmar or North Korea (Holslag, 2011:303).

The unsuccessful cooperation between the EU and China in the area of Peace & Security may serve as part of the explanation why these topics were either excluded from the CSP agenda or dropped down to the bottom of the JPS between 2009 and 2012. However, issues such as the arms embargo had already been highly contentious before they got excluded from the joint press statements. Thus, even though the increasing problems of cooperation might have contributed to the sharp decline of the *Peace & Security* dimension, they explain little about its timing.

5.3.3. PUBLIC OPINION AND LEADERSHIP CHANGE

In 2008 the European public opinion of China dropped dramatically as a reaction to the Tibetan crisis and China's handling of the political activist Hu Jia¹¹ (Li, 2009:239). This deterioration of the European public opinion had in part been amplified by a growing China-critical civil society in Europe (e.g. human rights groups, environmental movements) as well as a changing European leadership (Vogt, 2012). Especially the China-skeptical Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy (replacing China-fawning Chirac and Schroeder) stressed EU-China relations with their reception of the Dalai Lama and open

¹¹ According to a poll conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project in the aftermath of the Tibetan unrest, 28 % of the respondents in France expressed a favorable opinion of China as compared to 47 % per cent in 2007 (Li 2009:239)

criticism against Chinese authorities in 2008 (Li, 2009:246; Men, 2012:347; Shambaugh, 2007), which led to the cancellation of the EU-China summit in December 2008.

In combination with the economic developments and the increasingly contentious nature of the Peace & Security dimension, the growing tensions between the European and the Chinese leadership in 2008 serve as an explanation for the beginning decline of the *Peace & Security* dimension in the EU-China CSP in 2009. Thus, the analysis of the socio-historical context can provide an understanding of the discursive developments in EU-China relations.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

The above analysis has shown how joint press statements function as a particular *order of discourse* in the meaning-making process of the EU-China CSP. In the first part of the analysis, the thesis reveals how the partnership is strategically constructed as a rational and moral response to *global challenges* and how this construct is realized linguistically in grammatical structures and recontextualization principles. At the same time, the analysis shows how the portrayal of the CSP as a response to *global challenges* is used by social actors to construct their foreign policy identity. However, paradoxically, an analysis of the scheme and topics of the body paragraphs suggests that the partnership focuses mainly on *Economy, Trade & Investment* and *Bilateral Cooperation* instead of on *Peace & Security* or *Global Issues* and thus stands in contrast to the main theme of its legitimation framework.

The second part of the analysis focuses on the discursive development of the partnership over the time period of the past ten years. Its findings suggest that the recontextualization principles of the joint press statements have changed with regards to the inclusion and exclusion of topics. Furthermore, a diachronic analysis of major themes in EU-China JPSs suggests that the relative relevance of *Peace & Security*, a once dominant theme in EU-China relations, is in decline. As the third part of the analysis shows, a number of inter-connected processes in EU-China relations could explain this decline of *Peace & Security* issues on the CSP agenda.

However, a decline of the *Peace & Security* dimension in the CSP also has consequences for the construction of the EU's and China's foreign policy identity as both have been closely linked with each other, as suggested by Scott (2007) and Callahan (2007). As discussed above, the EU-China CSP finds its origins in the European Security Strategy, in which the EU linguistically establishes itself as a 'global actor' who is ready to 'share the responsibility for global security' (European Council, 2003:3). Consequently, the CSP is ultimately linked to the EU's foreign policy identity of a global peace and security actor. This identity finds part of its realization in the EU's web of strategic partnerships with other 'global actors'. Consequently, the EU's foreign policy identity also relies on the ways in which

this identity is reflected in practice in its strategic partnerships. Furthermore, as Callahan (2007) and Scott (2007) suggest, also China's foreign policy identity is closely linked to the way it is reflected by the European Union, especially with regards to its aspired image of a 'non-hegemonic power' in a multipolar system. Consequently, both China and the EU have an interest in linking the legitimation of the CSP with that of their own foreign policy identity as global and responsible peace & security actors. However, the decline of the *Peace & Security* dimension in the JPSs also challenges the representation of the CSP as a *Peace & Security* partnership and with it the articulation of interconnected foreign policy identities.

Against this background, it can be suggested that, in spite of the demonstrated declining *Peace & Security* dimension, the representation of the CSP as a *Peace & Security* partnership is sustained through the discursive construction of the partnership as a response to *global challenges* which are implicitly linked to peace, stability and prosperity. This particular representation is realized in social practice through the use of particular legitimation strategies and recontextualization principles and allows China and the EU to articulate their foreign policy identity as global and responsible peace & security actors in spite of the declining relevance of traditional peace & security issues in the CSP. Thus, in highlighting the role of *global challenges* for the partnership, the EU and China can secure their foreign policy aspirations with a credible framework for the CSP while shifting the focus of the partnership towards a more pragmatic *Bilateral Cooperation*, particularly in the field of *Economy, Trade & Investment*.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

In applying Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach to the analysis of the EU-China CSP, the thesis has shown how the EU-China JPSs, as a particular *order of discourse*, discursively construct the CSP and reflect its discursive development over time. Thereby, the analysis demonstrates how the three-level model of critical discourse analysis can be used to understand the complex structure and development of EU-China relations.

The above analysis shows how an image of the CSP as a rational and moral response to *global challenges* is constructed through particular legitimation strategies, the use of schemata and particular recontextualization principles; and how this image is used by China and the EU to construct each other as global, responsible peace & security actors. Further, a diachronic topical analysis of EU-China JPSs suggests that classical peace & security topics of the CSP, once dominant themes in EU-China joint press statements, play a decreasing role on the CSP agenda. The third part of the analysis explains this discursive development in the context of the partnership's socio-historical development of EU-China relations.

Moreover, as outlined in the discussion, the thesis suggests that, through the strategic discursive construction of *global challenges* in JPSs, the representation of the CSP as a peace & security partnership, and thus the foreign policy identity of the EU and China as peace & security actors, is sustained in spite of the decreasing role of classical *Peace & Security* topics. As such, the discursive construction of *global challenges* as challenges compensates for the exclusion of traditional Peace & Security topics from the EU-China JPSs.

6.1. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The above analysis and discussion demonstrate that CDA is a rewarding method for analysing the social construction of partnership models in international relations, such as the EU-China CSP. However, CDA is a space-consuming method and the analysis had to be limited in accordance with the restricted scope of this thesis. However, a more extensive CDA analysis could further back the findings of this thesis, such as a diachronic comparative study of legitimation strategies. Moreover, in order to better understand the use of CSPs as a foreign policy tool, a comparative analysis of the EU's and China's CSPs with other international partners could provide new insights into the stability of discursive constructions and developments of both CSPs and social identities.

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**COUNCIL OF
THE EUROPEAN UNION**



Brussels, 20 September 2012
14022/12
PRESSE 388

**Joint Press Communiqué
15th EU-China Summit**

Towards a stronger EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership

1. The 15th EU-China Summit was held in Brussels on 20 September 2012. The EU was represented by Mr. Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council and Mr. José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, assisted by the High-Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Baroness Catherine Ashton. Premier Wen Jiabao of the State Council of the People's Republic of China attended on behalf of China.

The EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership

Summit leaders:

2. Reviewed bilateral relations, in particular the important progress since the establishment of EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership in 2003. They noted with satisfaction that the EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership had matured and become increasingly rich and multi-dimensional, and was now embodied in wide-ranging cooperation initiatives forged between the two sides. Both sides were determined to continue to develop the Partnership in the future to further increase its strategic dimension and bring EU-China cooperation to a higher level.
3. Exchanged views on major global and international issues and recognized the growing interaction and interdependence between China and the EU. They welcomed the fact that relations had progressed beyond the bilateral framework and taken on a global dimension. China and the EU, influential in the world scene of the 21st century, were crucial actors in advancing peace, prosperity and stability. Both sides emphasized multilateralism and the central role of the United Nations in international affairs. China and the EU would redouble their joint efforts to tackle global challenges such as the international financial and economic crisis, sustainable development, environmental protection, climate change, food and water security, energy security and nuclear safety.

P R E S S

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4. Re-confirmed the key role of the annual EU-China summit in providing strategic guidance to bilateral relations, affirmed the important role played by the EU-China High Level Strategic Dialogue, High Level Economic and Trade Dialogue and High Level People-to-people Dialogue, in advancing EU-China relations. They committed further to improve and strengthen these regular mechanisms.
5. Emphasized the importance of taking a positive view of each other's development and rendering mutual support. The Chinese side reaffirmed its continued support for the European integration process, and expressed confidence that appropriate steps were being taken to tackle the euro area sovereign debt crisis. The EU reaffirmed its support for China's peaceful development and its respect for China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and expressed its confidence in China's efforts to maintain sustainable, steady and rapid economic growth.
6. Emphasized the importance of accommodating each other's concerns for furthering the overall relationship taking a strategic perspective. They agreed that, where differences remained, these should be discussed and handled in a spirit of mutual respect and equality.
7. Emphasized the importance of promotion and protection of human rights and the rule of law. Both sides looked forward to the strengthening of the EU-China Dialogue and cooperation on human rights based on equality and mutual respect and announced their intention to hold the next round in China. They expressed their readiness to work together for constant progress on the ground. They agreed to hold the next legal seminar in Ireland in October. Both sides confirmed their commitment to cooperate with UN human rights mechanisms.
8. Expressed that efforts should be made actively to seek synergies between China's Twelfth Five Year Plan and the Europe 2020 Strategy with a view to expanding and deepening pragmatic cooperation in various fields.
9. Highlighted their commitment to further tap the potential for EU-China cooperation and agreed to work together to formulate a forward-looking and ambitious EU-China Cooperation Package to provide strategic guidance for an enhanced EU-China comprehensive strategic partnership.

Economy, Trade and Investment

Summit Leaders:

10. Reconfirmed both sides' commitment to launching negotiations of an EU-China Investment Agreement as soon as possible to promote and facilitate investment in both directions, thus resulting in an additional source of growth and employment. Negotiations towards this agreement would include all issues of interest to either side, without prejudice to the final outcome. They agreed to intensify discussions at a technical level in preparation for future negotiations.
11. Stressed that particular importance should be given to working for the resolution of the Market Economy Status (MES) issue in a swift and comprehensive way.
12. Expressed satisfaction with EU-China cooperation in the field of competition policy and welcomed the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the area of anti-monopoly law enforcement.
13. Reaffirmed the importance of trade openness to sustainable economic growth and development. They affirmed the importance of an effective Intellectual Property (IP) system and trade openness to innovation.

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14. Recognized the importance of open and non-discriminatory government procurement policies and agreed to increase exchanges in this field. The EU expressed support to China's accession to the WTO Government Procurement Agreement and encouraged China to accelerate its efforts.
15. Recalled the conclusions of the 14th EU-China Summit on export credits and looked forward to continued discussions in the international working group of major providers of export finance.
16. Welcomed the exchanges of views on intellectual property rights during their annual IP dialogue (18 September, Brussels) and recognized the importance of strengthening cooperation on IP protection and IPR enforcement.
17. Agreed to make joint efforts to conclude an ambitious bilateral agreement on the protection of geographical indications. They noted progress achieved during the latest round of negotiations (13-14 September, Brussels) and would step up EU-China cooperation on counterfeiting in alcoholic beverages.
18. Recognized and welcomed the progress in their cooperation in the non-food consumer product safety area. They emphasized the need to continue this good cooperation in the future.
19. Recognized that customs cooperation plays a significant role in facilitating and securing trade. They called for further intensification of joint efforts on IPR border enforcement, supply chain security, trade facilitation, external trade statistics and the fight against fraud.
20. The Chinese side welcomed the plan of the European Investment Bank to set up an office in China.

Bilateral Cooperation

Summit Leaders:

21. Recognized the mutual benefit of EU-China cooperation in research and innovation and agreed to establish an annual comprehensive Innovation Cooperation Dialogue. They welcomed the signing of a joint declaration outlining the goals and objectives of this new Dialogue. An EU-China Innovation Cooperation Seminar was to be held in November 2012, and the first meeting of the Dialogue was to be held before the 2013 EU-China Summit.
22. Welcomed the inaugural meeting of the EU-China/ESA Dialogue on Space Technology Co-operation and the agreement reached on its terms of reference. They expressed common willingness to enhance cooperation in the field of space technology, and on the civil aspects of their respective Global Navigation Satellite Systems (GNSS) on the basis of the existing framework. In this context they welcomed the signature of the Joint Statement calling for the future establishment of a roadmap identifying cooperation projects and actions of mutual interest.
23. Confirmed the official launch and welcomed the result of the first meeting of the EU-China Cyber Task-Force, and decided to continue exchanges on cyber issues of concern to either side to increase mutual trust and understanding.

24. Underlined the development of the Urbanization Partnership, and welcomed the first Mayors' Forum held on 19-20 September in Brussels. They stressed the need to steer and support peer-to-peer cooperation to promote the development of the EU-China Partnership on Urbanization, in line with its Joint Declaration. Both sides welcomed the EU-China Urbanization Leadership Training Programme to be led by the China Academy of Governance.
25. Welcomed the first High Level Meeting on Energy (HLME) held on 3 May which gathered all institutional stakeholders and deepened the EU-China strategic energy dialogue, covering mutually beneficial cooperation inter alia on energy security and electricity markets and looked forward to its follow-up. The two sides affirmed the importance of all countries playing an active role in international energy governance.
26. Welcomed the opening of discussions in view of a possible EURATOM-China General Agreement.
27. Highlighted the success of the first round of the EU-China High Level People-to-People Dialogue (HPPD), expressed satisfaction with the progress and achievements of "EU-China Year of Intercultural Dialogue" and agreed on a series of follow-up actions in various areas of education, culture, multilingualism and youth.
28. Called for the launch of a comprehensive EU-China Dialogue on Mobility and Migration at appropriate level. Both sides reaffirmed to continue to explore ways of facilitating exchanges for Chinese and EU citizens, including mutual visa exemption for holders of diplomatic passports while strengthening cooperation on illegal migration.
29. Highlighted the EU-China Cooperation Plan in Agriculture and Rural Development agreed in June. Leaders underlined the need to continue efforts to develop relations in key sectors of common interest, such as mutual recognition arrangements for organic agriculture. The two sides emphasized the need to continue taking full advantage of the EU-China Dialogue Mechanism on Agriculture and Rural Development, and enhance and expand pragmatic cooperation in such fields as dairy industry, wine, processing and quality systems.
30. Expressed satisfaction with EU-China cooperation in the field of employment and social affairs, in particular exchanges of policy experience in social security, occupational safety and health, youth employment, inclusive growth models and labour relations. Both sides supported the promotion of the decent work agenda within the framework of ILO. They welcomed the establishment of a cooperation project on occupational safety and health in high risk sectors and continued cooperation on social security, pensions and social inclusion.
31. Noted the joint benefit of further strengthening their cooperation in the field of governance and public administration reform.
32. Highlighted progress in the field of disaster management cooperation and welcomed the launch of the EU-China Disaster Risk Management project underpinned by the creation of the EU-China Institute of Emergency Management. They agreed to intensify their co-operation with a view to promoting and facilitating the delivery of humanitarian aid solely based on the needs of people affected by disasters or crisis, and in accordance with humanitarian principles.

33. Recognized that their dialogue and co-operation on transport policy should become more strategic and expand to new areas. Leaders agreed that EU-China co-operation, including joint projects, should cover five key areas: aviation; railways; new maritime routes; urban mobility and logistics with a view to strengthening cooperation in these areas.
34. Agreed continuously to enhance cooperation in ocean policy based on the Memorandum of Understanding on establishing a High Level Dialogue on an Integrated Approach to Ocean Affairs. To this end, the next High Level Dialogue on an integrated approach to Ocean management which would address areas of common interest, such as ocean spatial planning, marine knowledge, ocean energy and ocean satellite data application and exchange, would be organised before the next EU-China Summit.
35. Took note that EU-China development cooperation has evolved over the past decade, agreed to launch a dialogue to explore new patterns of mutually beneficial cooperation through agreed projects and programmes.

Peace and Security

Summit Leaders:

36. Shared the view that China and the EU should enhance their cooperation in order to promote peace and security, and emphasized the fruitful discussions held in the third Strategic Dialogue on 9 and 10 July. They decided to intensify foreign and security policy dialogue on global and regional issues at all levels. They encouraged regular contacts between special representatives and special envoys. Both sides committed to holding a regular dialogue on defence and security policy, increasing training exchanges and organising a High Level Seminar on Defence and Security in 2013. They affirmed and highlighted the continued good cooperation in the field of crisis management, counter-piracy and maritime security.
37. Discussed international and regional issues as well as recent developments of mutual concern such as the crisis in Syria, the Iranian nuclear issue and the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, Afghanistan, Burma/Myanmar, Sudan and South Sudan, and the situation in their respective neighbourhoods. Both sides looked forward to a successful ASEM Summit in November. They agreed that, in view of the fast changes taking place in today's world, China and the EU should work in closer cooperation regarding regional and global issues.
38. Reaffirmed their commitment to global disarmament, to a robust nuclear non-proliferation regime and to preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems. They insisted on an early start of negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament, the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty, continued cooperation in the field of export controls and prevention of illicit arms trade. They supported an early conclusion of an Arms Trade Treaty within the UN framework.

Global Issues

Summit Leaders:

39. Supported the G20, as the premier forum for international economic cooperation, in playing a greater role in global economic governance. Both sides believed that the G20 members needed to better coordinate their macroeconomic policies to ensure strong, sustainable and balanced growth. In the coming months, the priority should continue to be to restore consumer and investor confidence, promote economic recovery, maintain financial stability, reform international financial institutions and promote employment, especially youth employment. Both sides agreed to intensify communication and coordination and make joint efforts to implement the agreements of the G20 Los Cabos Summit, including the Growth and Jobs Action plan.
40. Agreed to intensify cooperation and coordination with a view to restoring market confidence and fostering financial stability. The two sides stressed their willingness to work together within the G20, IMF and World Bank to improve global economic governance. They reaffirmed their determination to implement all their G20 commitments as scheduled, including in the areas of the global economy, financial regulatory reform, the increase of the IMF resources and the reform on the quota and governance of the IMF. They supported the Financial Stability Board's work on financial regulatory reforms.
41. Agreed that an open trade and investment environment and resistance of all forms of protectionism were necessary to enable sustainable economic recovery. They welcomed the G20's reaffirmation to refrain from and rectify protectionist measures and supported continuous monitoring by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).
42. Underlined the importance of an open, predictable, rules-based, transparent multilateral trading system and committed to ensuring the centrality of the WTO. They reiterated the importance of achieving a successful multilateral conclusion of the Doha Development Agenda in accordance with its mandate and seeking early outcomes on trade facilitation and other issues of concern to developing countries.
43. Highlighted the importance of the outcome of the Rio + 20 conference and emphasized the need to implement the decisions taken without delay, including establishing an Inter-governmental Process on Sustainable Development Goals. They recalled the importance of implementing the green economy policy.
44. Underlined the importance of water, food and nutrition security as a common interest in our environmental and agricultural relations and major global issues. They took note of the interdependence of food and water security issues. Leaders committed to continue bilateral and multilateral efforts to address food and nutrition and water security concerns and welcomed the establishment of the EU-China Water Platform as a sound mechanism for future cooperation on integrated water resources management.
45. They welcomed the progress made in the EU-China environmental dialogue as well as the dialogue on Forest Law Enforcement and Governance, and agreed to step up bilateral cooperation including through cooperation on water pollution, waste policy and heavy metal pollution.

46. Underlined the need for international cooperation in tackling climate change and confirmed their commitment to continue to strengthen the cooperation for the full, effective and sustained implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), its Kyoto Protocol and the relevant decisions of the Conferences of the Parties to the UNFCCC and Meetings of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol including to all the decisions agreed upon in Durban last year, and looked forward to ensure a successful outcome in Doha.
 47. Stressed the importance of tackling international civil aviation emissions, and agreed to cooperate to take action forward in multilateral fora, including the UNFCCC and the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO).
 48. Agreed further to deepen policy dialogue and pragmatic cooperation on tackling climate change as well as promoting low-carbon development under the EU-China Climate Change Partnership. They agreed to enhance practical cooperation on Emission Trading System building on the concrete cooperation initiatives agreed in this area.
 49. Recognized the growing importance of the Arctic, notably in the aspects of climate change, scientific research, environmental protection, sustainable development and maritime transport, and agreed to exchange views on Arctic matters.
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ANNEX II: TOPICS & CATEGORIES OF EU-CHINA JPSs (2003-2012)¹²

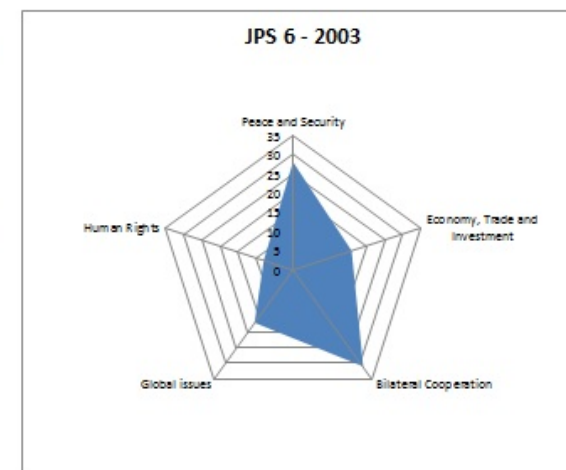
JPS 6 - 2003

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	113	Macroeconomic issues	75	Science & Technology	132	G 20		Human Rights	108
Non-proliferation	43	Market Economy Status		Cyber Issues		Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan	67	Competition Policy		Urbanisation		WTO	108		
United Nations	27	Trade & Investment	22	Energy	64	Climate Change	94		
Arms Embargo		IPR		People-to-People Dialogue		Environmental Protection			
Counter-Terrorism	96	Consumer Protection		Mobility and Migration	147	Civil Aviation	37		
ASEM	40	Customs Cooperation	65	Agriculture and Rural Development		Artic Affairs			
		Export Credits		Employment and Social Affairs		Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement		Governance and Administration		MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs		Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy	59	Transport	45				
		Statistical Cooperation		Development					
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society	37				
				Public Health					
				Cultural Relations					
				Academic Exchange					
				Information Society					
				Legal and Judicial Affairs					
				Education and Youth					
				Other					
sum	386	sum	221	sum	425	sum	239	sum	108

Topic by Paragraph in the 6th JPS	Word Count
5. Science & Technology (GALILEO)	88
6. Industrial Policy	59
7. United Nations	27
8. Regional Affairs	113
9. Non-proliferation	43
10. Taiwan	67
11. Human Rights	108
12. Counter-Terrorism	96
13. ASEM	40
14. Climate Change	94
15. Mobility & Migration	147
16. Civil society	37
17. Macroeconomic issues (Trade balance)	58
18. Trade & Investment (FDI)	22
19, 20. WTO	108
21. Macroeconomic Issues (Global trade balance)	17
22. Transport (Maritime Transport)	45
23. Science & Technology	44
24. Energy (Nuclear Energy)	64
25. Customs cooperation	65
26. Civil Aviation	37
sum	1379

Category	total
Peace & Security	386
Economy, Trade & Investment	221
Bilateral Cooperation	425
Global issues	239
Human Rights	108
sum	1379

Category	relative
Peace and Security	28
Economy, Trade and Investment	16
Bilateral Cooperation	31
Global issues	17
Human Rights	8
sum	100



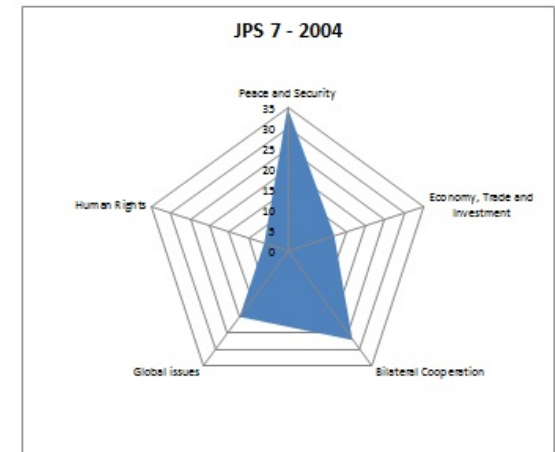
JPS 7 - 2004

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	288	Macroeconomic issues	32	Science & Technology	206	G 20		Human Rights	152
Non-proliferation	76	Market Economy Status	58	Cyber Issues		Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan	48	Competition Policy		Urbanisation		WTO	84		
United Nations	318	Trade & Investment	127	Energy	52	Climate Change	146		
Arms Embargo	122	IPR	70	People-to-People Dialogue		Environmental Protection			
Counter-Terrorism	119	Consumer Protection		Mobility and Migration	140	Civil Aviation	98		
ASEM		Customs Cooperation	37	Agriculture & Rural Development	35	Artic Affairs			
		Export Credits		Employment & Social Affairs	17	Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement		Government & Administration		MDGs, HIV	201		
		SMEs		Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy		Transport	57				
		Statistical Cooperation		Development	66				
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society	47				
				Public Health					
				Cultural Relations					
				Academic Exchange					
				Information Society					
				Legal & Judicial Affairs	44				
				Education & Youth	63				
				Other					
sum	951	sum	324	sum	727	sum	529	sum	152

Topic by Paragraph in the 7th JPS	Word Count
6. Non-proliferation	76
7. Arms Embargo	122
8. Taiwan	48
9. Human Rights	152
10. Mobility & Migration (Illegal Migration)	76
11. Mobility & Migration (Tourism)	64
12. Trade & Investment (Trade restrictions)	127
12. IPR	19
12. WTO	84
13. Market Economy Status	58
14. Customs Cooperation	37
14. Energy (Nuclear Energy)	52
15. Science & Technology (GALILEO)	144
16. Employment & Social Affairs	17
16. Agriculture & Rural Development	35
16. Macroeconomic Issues (Financial Market Regulation)	32
16. IPR	51
16. Transport (Maritime Transport)	57
16. Civil Aviation	98
16. Civil Society	47
16. Legal & Judicial Affairs	44
17. Education & Youth	63
18. Development	66
19. Science & Technology (ITER)	62
20. Climate Change	146
21. HIV	201
22. United Nations	318
23. Counter-Terrorism	119
24. Regional Affairs (Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, DPRK, Myanmar)	288
sum	2683

category	total
Peace & Security	951
Economy, Trade & Investment	324
Bilateral Cooperation	727
Global issues	529
Human Rights	152
sum	2683

categories	relative
Peace & Security	35
Economy, Trade & Investment	12
Bilateral Cooperation	27
Global issues	20
Human Rights	6
sum	100



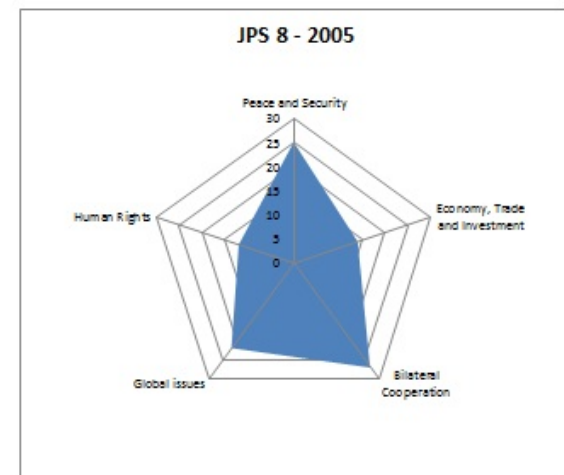
JPS 8 - 2005

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	72	Macroeconomic issues		Science & Technology	162	G 20		Human Rights	152
Non-proliferation	56	Market Economy Status	38	Cyber Issues		Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan	47	Competition Policy		Urbanisation		WTO	40		
United Nations	67	Trade & Investment	48	Energy	21	Climate Change	102		
Arms Embargo	80	IPR	47	People-to-People Dialogue		Environmental Protection	21		
Counter-Terrorism		Consumer Protection	47	Mobility & Migration	48	Civil Aviation	119		
ASEM		Customs Cooperation		Agriculture & Rural Development		Arctic Affairs			
		Export Credits		Employment & Social Affairs		Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement		Governance & Administration		MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs		Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy		Transport	21				
		Statistical Cooperation		Development					
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society					
				Public Health					
				Cultural Relations					
				Academic Exchange	41				
				Information Society					
				Legal & Judicial Affairs					
				Education & Youth	50				
				Other					
sum	322	sum	180	sum	343	sum	282	sum	152

Topic by Paragraph in the 8th JPS	Word Count
4. Climate Change	102
7. Taiwan	47
8. Arms Embargo	80
9. Non-proliferation	56
10. Human Rights	152
11. United Nations	67
12. Regional Affairs	72
13. Trade & Investment	48
14. Market Economy Status	38
15. IPR	47
15. Consumer Protection	47
16. WTO	40
17. Science & Technology	81
18. Science & Technology (GALILEO)	58
19. Science & Technology (ITER)	23
20. Environment Protection (Illegal Logging)	21
21. Energy	21
21. Transport	21
22. Education & Youth	50
24. Civil Aviation	94
25. Civil Aviation (Approved Destination Status)	25
26. Mobility & Migration	48
27. Academic Exchange	41
sum	1279

category	total
Peace & Security	322
Economy, Trade & Investment	180
Bilateral Cooperation	343
Global issues	282
Human Rights	152
sum	1279

category	relative
Peace & Security	25
Economy, Trade & Investment	14
Bilateral Cooperation	27
Global issues	22
Human Rights	12
sum	100



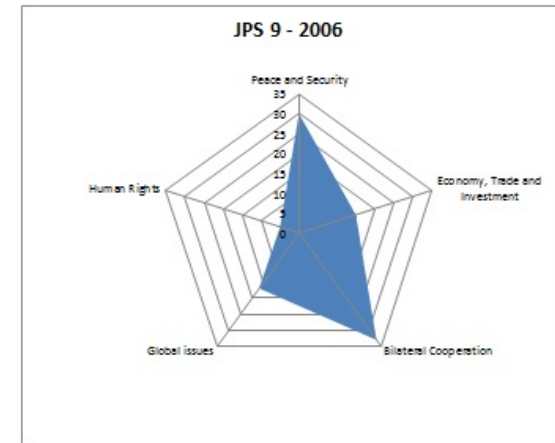
JPS 9 - 2006

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	546	Macroeconomic issues	48	Science & Technology	185	G 20		Human Rights	185
Non-proliferation	110	Market Economy Status	77	Cyber Issues		Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan	46	Competition Policy		Urbanisation		WTO	151		
United Nations	127	Trade & Investment	123	Energy	135	Climate Change	237		
Arms Embargo	80	IPR	133	People-to-People Dialogue		Environmental Protection	107		
Counter-Terrorism	110	Consumer Protection	175	Mobility & Migration	88	Civil Aviation	105		
ASEM	71	Customs Cooperation		Agriculture & Rural Development	77	Artic Affairs			
		Export Credits		Employment & Social Affairs		Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement		Governance & Administration		MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs		Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy		Transport	168				
		Statistical Cooperation		Development					
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society	83				
				Public Health	123				
				Cultural Relations	65				
				Academic Exchange	65				
				Information Society	48				
				Legal & Judicial Affairs					
				Education & Youth	154				
				Other					
sum	1090	sum	556	sum	1191	sum	600	sum	185

Topic by Paragraph in the 9th JPS	Word Count
5. Taiwan	46
6. Arms Embargo	80
7. Non-Proliferation	110
8. United Nations	127
9. Human Rights	185
10. Regional Affairs (Israel)	91
11. Regional Affairs (Israeli-Palestinian Conflict)	47
12. Regional Affairs (Iran)	84
13. Regional Affairs (DPRK)	91
14. Regional Affairs (Sudan)	34
15. Regional Affairs (Africa)	199
15. ASEM	71
17. Counter-Terrorism	110
18. Public Health	123
19. Environment Protection (Illegal Logging)	107
20. Climate Change	237
21. Energy	135
22, 23. WTO	151
24. Trade & Investment (Market Access)	25
25. Market Economy Status	77
26. IPR	133
27. Consumer Protection	175
28. Trade & Investment	98
29. Science & Technology (Galileo, ITER)	185
30. Transport	168
30. Macroeconomic Issues (Financial market regulation)	48
30. Agriculture & Rural Development	77
30. Information society	48
31. Civil aviation	105
32. Mobility & Migration (Visa, Tourism)	88
33. Education	154
34. Cultural Relations	65
35. Civil society	83
36. Academic Exchange	65
sum	3622

category	total
Peace & Security	1090
Economy, Trade & Investment	556
Bilateral Cooperation	1191
Global issues	600
Human Rights	185
sum	3622

category	relative
Peace & Security	30
Economy, Trade & Investment	15
Bilateral Cooperation	33
Global issues	17
Human Rights	5
sum	100



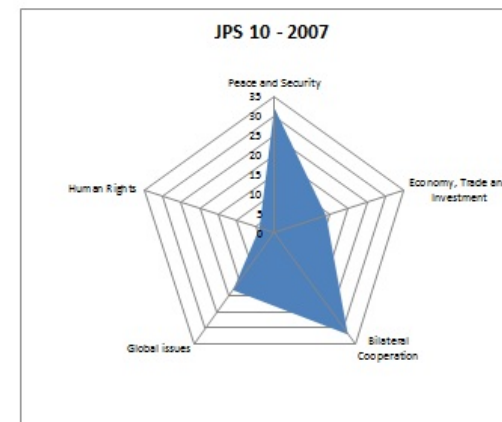
JPS 10 - 2007

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	779	Macroeconomic issues	149	Science & Technology	293	G 20		Human Rights	204
Non-proliferation	61	Market Economy Status	27	Cyber Issues		Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan	82	Competition Policy	71	Urbanisation		WTO			
United Nations	169	Trade & Investment	174	Energy	263	Climate Change	627		
Arms Embargo	80	IPR		People-to-People Dialogue		Environmental Protection	109		
Counter-Terrorism	261	Consumer Protection	67	Mobility & Migration	96	Civil Aviation	140		
ASEM	79	Customs Cooperation	83	Agriculture & Rural Development	51	Arctic Affairs			
		Export Credits		Employment & Social Affairs	152	Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement		Governance & Administration		MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs	77	Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy		Transport	79				
		Statistical Cooperation		Development	52				
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society	82				
				Public Health	121				
				Cultural Relations	102				
				Academic Exchange					
				Information Society	18				
				Legal & Judicial Affairs	29				
				Education & Youth	179				
				Other	14				
sum	1511	sum	648	sum	1531	sum	876	sum	204

Topic by Paragraph in the 10th JPS	Word Count
3. Taiwan	82
4. Arms Embargo	80
5. Non-proliferation	61
6. Human Rights	204
7. United Nations	169
8. Counter-Terrorism	261
9, 10. Regional Affairs (Africa)	251
11. Regional Affairs (Myanmar)	52
12. Regional Affairs (DPRK)	119
13. Regional Affairs (Iran)	94
14. Regional Affairs (Israel-Palestine Conflict)	136
15. Regional Affairs (Kosovo)	20
16. Regional Affairs (ASEAN)	107
17. ASEM	79
18. Other (Beijing Olympics)	14
19, 20. Environmental Protection	109
21, 22. Climate Change	627
23. Energy	196
24. Trade & Investment	114
25. Market Economy Status	27
26, 27. Macroeconomic Issues	149
28. Consumer Protection	67
29. Agriculture & Rural Development	51
30. Competition Policy	71
31. Trade & Investment	60
32. SMEs	77
33, 34. Science & Technology	293
34. Energy (Nuclear Energy)	67
35. Information Society	18
36. Customs Cooperation	83
37. Transport	79
38. Civil Aviation	140
39. Cultural Relations	102
40. Public Health	121
41. Employment & Social Affairs	152
42. Civil Society	82
43. Legal & Judicial Affairs	29
44, 45. Mobility & Migration	96
46. Education & Youth	179
47. Development	52
sum	4770

category	total
Peace & Security	1511
Economy, Trade & Investment	648
Bilateral Cooperation	1531
Global issues	876
Human Rights	204
sum	4770

category	relative
Peace & Security	32
Economy, Trade & Investment	14
Bilateral Cooperation	32
Global issues	18
Human Rights	4
sum	100



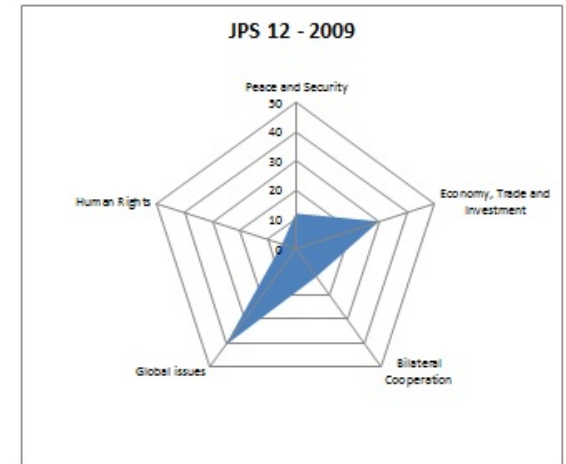
JPS 12 - 2009

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	112	Macroeconomic issues	23	Science & Technology		G 20	249	Human Rights	100
Non-proliferation	97	Market Economy Status	56	Cyber Issues		Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan	20	Competition Policy		Urbanisation		WTO	81		
United Nations		Trade & Investment	85	Energy	60	Climate Change	416		
Arms Embargo		IPR	43	People-to-People Dialogue		Environmental Protection			
Counter-Terrorism		Consumer Protection	33	Mobility & Migration		Civil Aviation	36		
ASEM		Customs Cooperation	77	Agriculture & Rural Development	22	Arctic Affairs			
		Export Credits		Employment & Social Affairs		Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement	68	Governance & Administration		MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs	182	Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy		Transport					
		Statistical Cooperation	22	Development					
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society					
				Public Health					
				Cultural Relations	44				
				Academic Exchange	19				
				Information Society					
				Legal & Judicial Affairs					
				Education & Youth	70				
				Other	12				
sum	229	sum	589	sum	227	sum	782	sum	100

Topic by Paragraph in the 12th JPS	Word Count
6. Taiwan	20
7. Non-proliferation	97
8. Human Rights	100
9, 10. Climate Change	416
10, 11. Energy	60
12. Regional Affairs	67
13. Regional Affairs (Africa)	45
14. G20 (Financial Crisis)	249
15. Macroeconomic Issues	23
16. Trade & Investment	85
17. WTO	81
18. SMEs	182
19. Government Procurement	68
20. IPR	43
21. Market Economy Status	56
22. Other (Expo Shanghai)	12
23. Customs Cooperation	77
24. Statistical Cooperation	22
24. Consumer Protection	33
24. Civil Aviation	36
24. Cultural Relations	44
24. Education	70
24. Rural Development	22
24. Academic Exchange	19
sum	1927

category	total
Peace & Security	229
Economy, Trade & Investment	589
Bilateral Cooperation	227
Global issues	782
Human Rights	100
sum	1927

category	relative
Peace & Security	12
Economy, Trade & Investment	30
Bilateral Cooperation	12
Global issues	41
Human Rights	5
sum	100



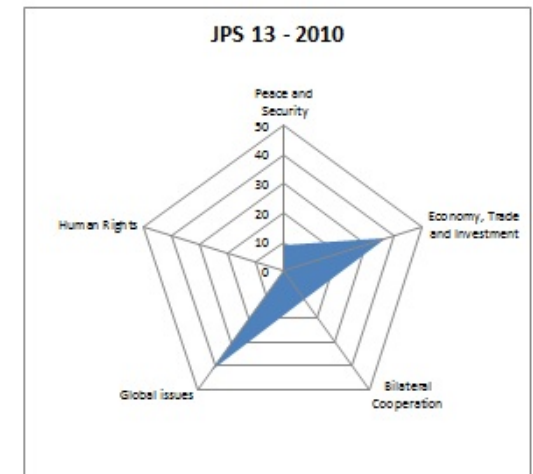
JPS 13 - 2010

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	49	Macroeconomic issues	91	Science & Technology		G 20	101	Human Rights	
Non-proliferation		Market Economy Status		Cyber Issues		Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan		Competition Policy		Urbanisation		WTO			
United Nations		Trade & Investment	115	Energy		Climate Change	129		
Arms Embargo		IPR		People-to-People Dialogue		Environmental Protection			
Counter-Terrorism		Consumer Protection		Mobility & Migration		Civil Aviation			
ASEM		Customs Cooperation		Agriculture & Rural Development		Arctic Affairs			
		Export Credits		Employment & Social Affairs		Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement		Governance & Administration		MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs		Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy		Transport					
		Statistical Cooperation		Development					
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society					
				Public Health					
				Cultural Relations					
				Academic Exchange					
				Information Society					
				Legal & Judicial Affairs					
				Education & Youth	64				
				Other					
sum	49	sum	206	sum	64	sum	230	sum	0

Topic by Paragraph in the 13th JPS	Word Count
5. Trade & Investment	115
6. Macroeconomic Issues	91
7. G20	101
8. Climate Change	129
9. Regional Affairs	49
10. Education & Youth	64
sum	549

category	total
Peace & Security	49
Economy, Trade & Investment	206
Bilateral Cooperation	64
Global issues	230
Human Rights	0
sum	549

category	relative
Peace & Security	9
Economy, Trade & Investment	37
Bilateral Cooperation	12
Global issues	42
Human Rights	0
sum	100



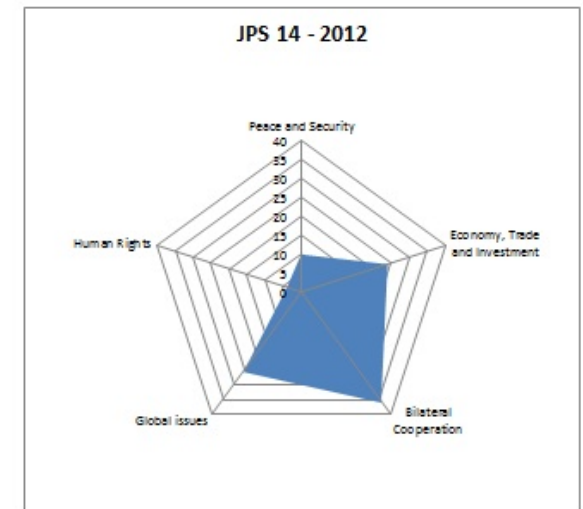
JPS 14 - 2012

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	83	Macroeconomic issues	42	Science & Technology	176	G 20	122	Human Rights	64
Non-proliferation		Market Economy Status	26	Cyber Issues	68	Global Economic Governance			
Taiwan		Competition Policy		Urbanisation	47	WTO	99		
United Nations	86	Trade & Investment	80	Energy	104	Climate Change	155		
Arms Embargo		IPR	157	People-to-People Dialogue	51	Environmental Protection	52		
Counter-Terrorism		Consumer Protection		Mobility & Migration	98	Civil Aviation			
ASEM		Customs Cooperation		Agriculture & Rural Development		Arctic Affairs			
		Export Credits	18	Employment & Social Affairs		Water, Food & Nutrition Security			
		Government Procurement		Governance & Administration		MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs	70	Disaster Risk Management					
		Industrial Policy		Transport					
		Statistical Cooperation		Development					
		Other		Ocean Affairs					
				Civil Society					
				Public Health					
				Cultural Relations					
				Academic Exchange					
				Information Society					
				Legal & Judicial Affairs					
				Education & Youth	29				
				Other	26				
sum	169	sum	393	sum	599	sum	428	sum	64

Topic by Paragraph in the 14th JPS	Word Count
5. People-to-People Dialogue	51
6. Human Rights	64
8. Macroeconomic Issues	42
9. Trade & Investment	80
10. Market Economy Status	26
11. IPR	157
12. Export Credit	18
13. Urbanisation	47
14. Energy	104
15. SMEs	70
16, 17. Climate Change	123
18. Environmental Protection	52
19, 20. Science & Technology	176
21. Cyber Issues	68
22. Education & Youth	29
23. Mobility & Migration (Tourism)	47
24. Mobility & Migration (Illegal Migration)	51
25. Other (EU-China Center)	26
27. G20	122
28. WTO	99
29. United Nations	86
30. Climate Change (International Negotiations)	32
31. Regional Affairs	83
sum	1653

category	total
Peace & Security	169
Economy, Trade & Investment	393
Bilateral Cooperation	599
Global issues	428
Human Rights	64
sum	1653

category	relative
Peace & Security	10
Economy, Trade & Investment	24
Bilateral Cooperation	36
Global issues	26
Human Rights	4
sum	100



JPS 15 - 2012

Peace and Security	Word Count	Economy, Trade and Investment	Word Count	Bilateral Cooperation	Word Count	Global Issues	Word Count	Human Rights	Word Count
Regional Affairs	83	Macroeconomic issues		Science & Technology	147	G 20	103	Human Rights	85
Non-proliferation	78	Market Economy Status	25	Cyber Issues	36	Global Economic Governance	143		
Taiwan		Competition Policy	29	Urbanisation	63	WTO	56		
United Nations		Trade & Investment	95	Energy	73	Climate Change	170		
Arms Embargo		IPR	30	People-to-People Dialogue	46	Environmental Protection	40		
Counter-Terrorism	108	Consumer Protection	68	Mobility & Migration	47	Civil Aviation	30		
ASEM		Customs Cooperation	38	Agriculture & Rural Development	75	Artic Affairs	31		
		Export Credits	28	Employment & Social Affairs	76	Water, Food & Nutrition Security	73		
		Government Procurement	38	Governance & Administration	18	MDGs, HIV			
		SMEs		Disaster Risk Management	67				
		Industrial Policy		Transport					
		Statistical Cooperation		Development	30				
		Other	18	Ocean Affairs	73				
				Civil Society					
				Public Health					
				Cultural Relations					
				Academic Exchange					
				Information Society					
				Legal & Judicial Affairs					
				Education & Youth					
				Other					
sum	269	sum	369	sum	751	sum	646	sum	85

Topic by Paragraph in the 15th JPS	Word Count
10. Trade & Investment (Investment)	67
11. Market Economy Status	25
12. Competition Policy	29
13. Trade & Investment (Trade)	28
14. Government Procurement	38
15. Export Credits	28
16. IPR	30
17. Consumer Protection (Geographical Indications)	41
18. Consumer Protection	27
19. Customs Cooperation	38
20. Other (European Investment Bank)	18
21, 22. Science & Technology	147
23. Cyber Issues	36
24. Urbanisation	63
25, 26. Energy	73
27. People-to-People Dialogue	46
28. Mobility & Migration	47
29. Agriculture & Rural Development	75
30. Employment & Social Affairs	76
31. Governance & Administration	18
32. Disaster Risk Management	67
33. Transport	49
34. Ocean Affairs	73
35. Development	30
36. Counter-Terrorism (Piracy, Maritime security)	108
37. Regional Affairs	83
38. Non-proliferation	78
39. G20	103
40. Global Economic Governance	143
41. WTO	56
42. Climate Change (RIO +20)	42
43. Water, Food & Nutrition Security	73
44. Environmental Protection	40
45. Climate Change	128
46. Civil Aviation	30
47. Artic Affairs	31
48. Human Rights	85
	2169

category	total
Peace & Security	269
Economy, Trade & Investment	369
Bilateral Cooperation	751
Global issues	646
Human Rights	85
sum	2120

category	relative
Peace & Security	13
Economy, Trade & Investment	17
Bilateral Cooperation	35
Global issues	31
Human Rights	4
sum	100

