China and the EU Enhanced Cooperation in the Global Governance Reform

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Abstract: The world situation is undergoing unprecedented changes since the Cold War. Deep-seated and common problems urgently need to be solved. Global governance reform is imperative. At this critical stage, China and the EU need to strengthen cooperation in global governance and jointly meet challenges so as to achieve mutual benefit and win-win results. This is not only related to the development of China-EU itself, but also the stability of the global governance order. Global governance reform focuses on three issues: world economic rules system reform; international macroeconomic coordination mechanism reform and global public goods supply system reform. In these three areas, China and the EU have a huge space for cooperation, can produce more effective governance rules through the interaction of the ASEM and “the Belt and Road Initiative”. Also, they can complement each other in structural reforms, increase the possibility of success of their respective reform. The strengthening of cooperation between China and the EU on climate governance is an important guarantee for the effective implementation of the Paris Agreement.

Introduction

Currently the traditional global governance model cannot adapt to the new situation and new requirement of the development of the international society, and it desperately needs a reform. Brexit and Trump's victory in the US presidential election reflected that people of major countries in the world are longing for change. It has been over 8 years since the financial crisis, and the world economy has not risen from the valley bottom on the whole (IMF predicted that in 2016 the world economy would speed up by 3.1%). From 1990 to 2007, world economic growth reached 3.74%, but the middle-low income community did not get the bonus they deserve. In the meantime, technologies including Big Data, Internet of Things, Artificial Intelligence and Intelligent Manufacturing, etc. are constantly making major breakthroughs, but they did not change the plight of continuous deceleration of global labor productivity increase®. Deglobalization, trade protectionism and Populism are springing up, and globalization is entering a new developmental stage.

The continuous turbulence in Middle East, the lingering refugee crisis and the debt crisis which may break out at any time are all warning the world that the profound and common issues faced by the whole world are in desperate need of solutions. There are

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® The BIS data indicates that if the annual average global labor productivity between 2000 and 2005 is taken as the criterion, the global productivity in 2015 accounts for about 70% of the criterion, and the developed economic entity even declined to 33% of the criterion.
two ways for solutions: the first is a war which may lead to military force or violence in the end just like the previous two world wars. But globalization has interwoven the interests of countries, and it is hard to tell who will benefit from the war. The second way is a reform in which the global governance is especially important, and this is a peaceful way. Through reasonable governance and reform, the world will head for peaceful, mutually beneficial and mutually profitable cooperation. The history of world development is a testament to the correctness of this path.

There are three problems to be solved by the global governance reform: the first is the reform of world economic rule system; the second is the reform of the international macroeconomic coordination mechanism; the third is the reform of global public goods supply system. Both China and the EU have tremendous potential for cooperation with regards to these three problems. In the past 20 years, ASEM appeared “loose” in form, and had little in the way of substantive cooperation content, and was more “theoretical”. And the proposal of “The Belt and Road Initiative” suggested by China aims at promoting the development and prosperity of Eurasia by interconnecting and interworking, and is characterized by practicability. Through the combination and mutual complementation of theory and practice, ASEM and the proposal of “The Belt and Road Initiative” will bring in more effective governance rules. The potential interactive and positive spillover effects between two major economic entities such as China and EU is tremendous. As interconnectivity continues to increase, the demand for enhancing the policy coordination is more and more urgent; especially in the aspect of structural reform, the two parties both have great determination to promote the structural reform in their respective fields, and cooperation may increase the probability of successful reforms. For instance, the EU emphasizes the development of medium and small enterprises, and the Chinese market can provide a new chance for these medium and small enterprises. Chinese enterprises are in desperate need of upgrading and transformation, and European enterprises can provide more support. In the aspect of global public goods supply, EU-China cooperation also has great potential. In the climate governance aspect, the EU has made great contribution, and it is the forerunner and practitioner of climate governance rules and it sets an example for the low-carbon transition of China. The enhancement of cooperation between China and the EU in the aspect of climate governance is a significant guarantee of implementation of the Paris Agreement.

1. China and the EU enhance cooperation in governance rules, and put ASEM into practice with the “The Belt and Road Initiative”

Any single country or region can hardly deal with the regional and global challenges, and China and the EU need to sincerely cooperate and jointly solve the globally common problems. At present, the EU Integration is facing unprecedented challenges, and there’re predictions that there might be a possibility of EU disintegration. The failure of referendum for constitution amendment of Italy and the unpredictable prospect of general elections of countries including French, Germany and Holland, etc. all indicate that the forces for anti-globalization, anti-immigration and anti-EU are
rising in Europe. The EU, as a group of most developed countries in the world, and China, as the largest emerging economic entity in the world, both play extremely significant roles in the global governance reform; the enhancement of cooperation in governance between the two parties will be helpful for the stabilization of the international situation as well as for the prosperity of the Eurasia and the whole world. The cooperation between China and the EU is comprehensive in the aspect of global governance, and it includes the cooperation under the UN framework, the cooperation for global economic governance under the Bretton Woods System as well as the one under G20 Framework. In these platforms, both China and the EU have great cooperation opportunities. Among them, if China and the EU can promote the combination and mutual supplement of ASEM and the proposal of “The Belt and Road Initiative”, it would bring about the most direct, effective and prompt result, which is also most unlikely to be hindered.

1.1 The necessity and significance of putting ASEM into practice with the “The Belt and Road Initiative”

Since the 1st Asia-Europe Meeting was held in 1996, ASEM has become a new type of international cooperative communication mechanism with multi levels and multi dimensions between Asia and Europe.① However, after the breakout of the financial crisis in 2008, the vitality and effectiveness of Asia-Europe Meeting has been gradually weakened. It shows that under the background of weakening globalization in a global level, the cooperation between regional levels are facing the dilemma of insufficient global governance.② Firstly, it is the problem of mechanism. There is neither permanent secretariat for ASEM, nor explicit organization charter; the meeting is conducted by forum and conversation; the documents approved by the meeting are not promissory, the proposals passed in the meeting can hardly be executed, and the pragmatic cooperation is hard to achieve.③ Secondly, ASEM are gradually deviating from the original clear development direction and are falling into the dilemma of miscellaneous topics that are hard to be focused. Thirdly, ASEM failed to effectively utilize its own resources and advantages, and it’s gradually losing its voice during the competition of governance mechanism, both global and regional, and it is facing the risk of being marginalized④.

There is no doubt that ASEM is facing some problems. However, under the situation of the beleaguered globalization, the rising of isolationism, populism and conservatism and the necessity of the construction of international order, multilateral platforms such as ASEM shall be constructed as the communication channel to cooperate and discuss the establishment of new global governance order and to

① YU Jianhua: Pragmatic Cooperation and Interconnecting & Interworking: Companion Process Between Europe And Asia Set Sail Again, World Knowledge, 15th Issue of 2016
③ Ditto
provide effective public goods. China has always been a pacesetter and an active participant of ASEM with much advice, and it is a significant driving force of Asia-Europe Cooperation. As a significant economic entity of Asia and Europe, China has extensive cooperation basis with other countries in Asia and Europe. Especially, the “The Belt and Road Initiative” proposed by China will inject new and strong power to the future Asia-Europe Cooperation. The purpose of “The Belt and Road Initiative” is not to confront or compete geopolitically with any power in the world, especially the western countries, instead, its aim is to promote world peace and development and at the same time realize global order and governance. Taking Asia-Europe Meeting into practice based on the “The Belt and Road Initiative” strategy, and promoting the “The Belt and Road Initiative” through ASEM, will bring in multi-win results.

Firstly, ASEM provides existing organization and coordination mechanism for the “The Belt and Road Initiative”. From Asia to Europe, the key constituent parts of the “The Belt and Road Initiative”, including Central Asia, Middle East, North Africa, Europe and Asia, Central and Eastern Europe and others, have formed a large number of regional cooperative mechanisms. However, due to a fragmentation problem, a large transregional cooperation platform which may sufficiently connect all the regional mechanisms is needed, and ASEM is able to play this role.

Secondly, the proposal of “The Belt and Road Initiative” provides effective breakthrough points for ASEM to head for practicality. A problem ASEM confronts is that all kinds of proposals concluded haven’t met suitable projects to be implemented, and there are no special organizations to promote all the member countries to put these proposals into practice. However, the “The Belt and Road Initiative” can become an effective breakthrough point to put ASEM into practice.

Thirdly, it generates new international governance orders. Countries involved in the “The Belt and Road Initiative” and member countries of ASEM are all over the Eurasia. The promotion of the “The Belt and Road Initiative” which involves mechanisms including economy, politics and safety culture, etc., of many regions under ASEM framework will trigger the connection and cooperation integration among different mechanisms and result in new regional cooperation orders. ASEM itself will also have creative institutional arrangements to adapt to the developmental requirements of situations and the requirements of reaching the “The Belt and Road Initiative”. ASEM is an international platform attended by a few developed countries, America not included, and newly-developing economic entities in the world. All countries in the Eurasia, especially China and the EU, can actively cooperate and construct new global governance orders in aspects including finance, economy and trade, safety and others.

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1.2 The feasibility of the “The Belt and Road Initiative” to put ASEM into practice

Firstly, countries involved in “The Belt and Road Initiative” are almost all the member countries of ASEM. ASEM currently has 53 members, and countries involved in “The Belt and Road Initiative” have already completely covered these 53 members. What’s more, as the core member of ASEM, China and the EU are located at the two ends of “The Belt and Road Initiative”. The conformity of members and territory scopes will allow “The Belt and Road Initiative” and ASEM to synergize on a more profound level.

Secondly, the coverage fields of “The Belt and Road Initiative” and ASEM are similar. The cooperation structure of the three pillars, i.e. political dialogues, economic cooperation and sociocultural exchanges, which formed in the development process of ASEM, especially in aspects such as trade, infrastructure construction and accommodation of funds, are in conformity with the “The Belt and Road Initiative”, where the policy, facility, trade, finance and people communication. Many proposals suggested by ASEM are identical to “The Belt and Road Initiative”, but the proposals suggested by ASEM does not have existing plans and strategies to fulfill, thus “The Belt and Road Initiative” can be utilized to implement all the agreements reached by ASEM.

Thirdly, both “The Belt and Road Initiative” and ASEM emphasize the significance of interconnecting. The “The Belt and Road Initiative” devotes itself to the interconnecting of Asia-Europe-Africa continents and the neighboring oceans, the establishment and enhancement of the interconnecting partnership among countries along the route, establishment of comprehensive, multilevel and compound interconnecting, and the realization of diversified, autonomous, balanced and sustainable development. In ASEM 2016 in Mongolia, “With 20 years’ cooperation, Asia and Europe will jointly create a future through interconnecting” was made the theme. All the member countries of ASEM realized the significance of interconnecting, and they treat it as the aim of the future meeting. The essence of “The Belt and Road Initiative” is to promote the development and prosperity of the Eurasia with interconnecting, and this is in conformity with the targets and work contents of ASEM.

1.3 Key Suggestions

First of all, it is necessary to reach a consensus that “The Belt and Road Initiative” will be used to implement the Asia Europe Meeting. “The Belt and Road Initiative” touches on many different aspects of regional cooperative mechanisms, yet does not have a definitive central cooperative mechanism itself; ASEM also has many topics for discussion, though interconnecting and interworking are a standing topic, they are quite different with the “The Belt and Road Initiative”. The “The Belt and Road Initiative” and ASEM need to cooperate with each other, and China, the EU and other
member countries of ASEM need to agree to make the relevant content of the “The Belt and Road Initiative” as the main work and topic of ASEM; China also need to communicate with countries situated along the “The Belt and Road Initiative” to clarify that ASEM is the central multilateral cooperative mechanism of the “The Belt and Road Initiative”.

Secondly, improve the pragmatic mechanism of ASEM. ASEM was denounced in the past and it to a great extent was because there was no substantive content after the meeting and became a meeting for impractical discussion. In order to increase practicality, ASEM shall, based on the agreement of all parties, set out to establish a mechanism to coordinate the normalization of “The Belt and Road Initiative” under ASEM framework, establish “The Belt and Road Initiative” working team, coordinately solve the diversified problems encountered in the interconnecting and interworking of policies, infrastructure construction, currency and trade (liquidity) as well as the interconnecting and interworking of people.

Thirdly, integrate the existing regional cooperative mechanisms involved in the “The Belt and Road Initiative”. Currently a succession of member countries of ASEM have proposed some conceptions and plans, such as policies and plans including “Pan-European transport network”, Eurasian economic union, “road of grassland” and “interconnecting and interworking of ASEAN”, and these plans have crossovers and joins as well as overlaps and conflicts with the “The Belt and Road Initiative”. Therefore, it is necessary to enhance the coordination of the plans and policies of each within ASEM framework. ASEM can become the platform to coordinate all kinds of proposals and plans and it can reduce the transaction cost of the “The Belt and Road Initiative” construction.

2. China and the EU Enhance Macroeconomic Policy Coordination and Jointly Promote Structural Reform

As early as 2009, in order to cope with international financial crisis, China and the EU have issued a joint declaration to emphasize the enhancement of macroeconomic policy coordination, to strive to overcome the financial crisis, and to further promote the trade and investment facilitation and liberalization, and it is emphasized that “open, free and fair trade and investment environment as well as the business opportunities therefore created are important methods in coping with global finance and economic crisis”. Over the past years, China and the EU have constantly enhanced the macroeconomic policy coordination and achieved significant results, which play an important role in dealing with the economic crisis and promoting the restoration and development of global economy. Currently, the trend of deglobalization is rising and the promotion of domestic economy becomes a priority option, and some countries may not consider the negative spillover effects toward other countries when they focus on their own economic development. As one of the most significant bilateral economies and trade relations in the world, China and the EU need to continue deepening the macroeconomic policy coordination to achieve
cooperation and mutual benefits, and to set a good example for global development. China and the EU shall highlight the cooperation in structural reform while continuing the coordination on monetary policy and fiscal policy.

2.1 Both China and the EU need to deepen the structural reform to promote the economy

With the proposal of the government of China, the G20 Hangzhou Summit determined 9 priority fields including the promotion of trade and investment liberalization, the promotion of labor market reform and enhancement of structural reform for education degree and skill, etc., emphasized that different members shall promote their respective structural reform coordination, and provided new policy options for remodeling the strong, continuous, balanced and inclusive increase of the global economy. From the perspective of a newly-developing economic entity, during the fast development history in the past, only focusing on the expansion of the aggregate economy while disregarding the improvement of quality; only the expansion of scale was stressed while the structural optimization was not, and it led to the serious inadaptation of the supply system to the aggregate demand, structure and change and the excessively singleness and low end of the supply end. From the perspective of the developed economic entities, structural contradictions appeared in the economy and the high welfare formed for a long time was hard to be adjusted under the situation of severe stalling of economy. The sovereign debt crisis broke out in European countries was just the demonstration of such imbalance of economic structure. The EU and its member countries have been treating the promotion of structural reform as an important task in recent years. The structural reform for the EU is mainly the promotion of establishing a single market, and the key points of structural reform for member countries mainly include employment enhancement, innovation promotion, investment environment improvement and social security efficiency improvement, etc. In recent years China also faced structural problems including excess production capacity, coexistence of skyrocketing property prices and real estate high inventory, outstanding debts of local government and state-owned enterprises, over-rapid rise in production costs, large income gap and regional development imbalance, etc. Therefore, the government of China promotes the structural reform with all its strength, and treats the “de-capacity, de-stocking, de-leveraging, cost reduction and weakness overcoming” as the significant task in the structural reform of the supply side.

2.2 Relevant suggestion on the enhancement of structural reform cooperation between China and the EU

Firstly, jointly object to protectionism and enhance the facilitation and liberalization of investment trade. Currently trade protectionism is rising, and China and the EU should jointly promote trade and investment liberalization and object to trade and

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investment protectionism in any form. Reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, reduce the barriers and limitations on foreign direct investment, implement trade facilitation measures to reduce the border costs and after-border restriction, promote more extensive cross-border coordination, minimize the discriminatory measures toward the third party through multilateral, plurilateral and bilateral agreement and reduce trade and investment barriers. Maintain the transparent, non-discriminatory, open and inclusive multilateral trading system which takes the World Trade Organization as the center and rules as the basis in the global trade.

Secondly, enhance the cooperation in infrastructure construction. China and the EU shall conduct cooperation in the infrastructure, join the “The Belt and Road Initiative” and “Juncker Plan”, improve the quality of public investment and infrastructure investment, enhance the infrastructure investment and guarantee that all kinds of capital can have equitable participation in the infrastructure construction. Improve the supervision and approval efficiency of infrastructure projects and ensure the transparency of bidding process. Reduce systematic safeguards on institutional investors long term financing as well as barriers to supervision, and promote new financing tools①. Enhance the policy coordination in the infrastructure construction field of the “The Belt and Road Initiative”, coordinate relevant infrastructure construction planning and technical standard system, jointly promote the international backbone channel construction and provide more public goods for other countries in the region.

Thirdly, promote labor market cooperation. The G20 Hangzhou summit proposed to create more comprehensive and high-quality employment opportunities for all through uniform measures and comprehensive policies to realize sufficient high production rate employment. Both China and the EU shall coordinate the labor force policy and the population policy, enhance communication, strive to break the labor market segmentation, reduce barriers to employment, encourage the labor mobility and enhance cooperation in vocational education and training. Further simplify the visa application procedures for tourism, business, overseas study, medical services and employment, etc. and shorten the time for visa approval and issuance; implement more convenient visa approval and issuance procedures for qualified applicants; explore and issue electronic visa, increase the term of validity and the issuance of multiple entry visas and prolong the duration of stay of visas②.

Fifthly, promote technical exchange and cooperation. Innovation is a significant driving force to realize powerful, sustainable and balanced increase. China and the EU shall enhance cooperation in technical innovation and institutional innovation and enhance the communication of innovative practice and sharing of intellectual property under certain conditions. As the two parties seek to enhance cooperation in intellectual property protection, the EU shall eliminate the export restriction for

① Ditto
② Research Group of the (Hainan) China Institute for Reform and Development, China-EU Free Trade Zone--2020: Significant options to deepen the China-EU cooperation, June 2016
innovative and high technology to China as soon as possible; reduce and eliminate the technical barrier especially against China①. Enhance international cooperative study between the two parties, enhance the innovation cooperation and communication between research institutions, colleges and universities and the industrial community and jointly promote the sustainable and stable increase of the global economy.

3. EU-China cooperate to provide global public goods and jointly implement Paris Agreement

A significant content in EU-China cooperation for promoting global governance is to jointly strive to provide global public goods. The EU is a significant provider of global public goods, it has made great contribution in fields including international climatic change governance, international peace-keeping and anti-terrorist and foreign aid, etc. Along with the constant increase of national strength, China is increasingly providing public goods for the whole world and demonstrates an image as a great power that is reliable. Under the general background of “deglobalization”, America is maintaining isolationism, and within a certain period of time it will gradually reduce its international liability and reduce the supply of global public goods. The responsibility of China and the EU to provide global public goods increases, and there is tremendous cooperation space in the aspects of anti-terrorism, elimination of poverty and hunger, environmental protection and sanitary safety, etc. Among these, in the aspect of tackling the climate change, the joint effort of China and the EU to guarantee the implementation of the Paris Agreement has great strategic significance.

3.1 The EU-China cooperation for tackling the climate change is the guarantee to implement the Paris Agreement

Controlling global warming, reducing greenhouse gas emissions and coping with the climate change are the public goods with the largest scale in 21st century in the world. For a long time, the EU has been the leader in global climate governance, and it has been playing a significant role in coping with the climate change issue. In recent years, the EU continued its significant role playing in enhancing cooperation with China to jointly promote global climate governance. China is the representative of newly-developing economic entities and developing countries in the global climate change governance, and it is also a major contributor to world greenhouse gas emissions; and its role in the international climate governance is more and more important. In general, the Paris Agreement is also a framework of international agreements including key points and contents such as the supervision and enforcement mechanism of the contribution target, target update mechanism, financial mechanism and capacity building mechanism, etc., and it still needs to be refined and institutionalized. The detailed designs of these mechanisms, such as contents including the targets, modes of execution, measures, tasks and assessment, etc., will all become the focal issues in the international negotiation after the Paris conference.

① Research Group of the (Hainan) China Institute for Reform and Development, China-EU Free Trade Zone--2020: Significant options to deepen the China-EU cooperation, June 2016
Key divergences in the climate negotiation, such as issues including the division of responsibility for southern and northern countries, objective assessment and updating from above to below and capital contribution of developing countries, still exist in the negotiation progress after the Paris conference. Therefore, the Paris Agreement is not the end of the international climate negotiation, but a milestone indicating that the negotiation on the international climate system after 2020 will enter the stage of detail preparation. Besides the international climate negotiation, the deployment of domestic actions in accordance with the contribution objective and active development of international cooperation measures of all countries become the key point of international climate governance in the post-Paris Agreement period. Maybe China and the EU are different in their capability to cope with the climate change, but the meaning of cooperation is to balance the differences in capability and realize joint governance. The enhancement of cooperation between China and the EU in coping with the climate change will be helpful in the early realization of the objective of global carbon emission reduction.

3.2 Suggestion on the cooperation between China and the EU enhance for global climate governance

The cooperation between China and the EU in climate change governance is helpful in the guarantee of the Paris Agreement to take effect, promotion of the implementation of early stage cooperation achievement as well as the promotion of climate cooperation on the local level, technological level, and more specific aspects under the agreement framework. It is important to enhance the cooperation from the following 5 aspects:

Firstly, jointly improve the leadership skills to cope with the climate governance. Since the climate change was listed in the global governance agenda, the EU has always been the most active proponent of global climate change governance, but due to the influence of the trouble faced by European integration and the European debt crisis, it is hard for the EU and its main member countries to continue to lead the global climate change governance. After 2008, the leader status of the EU in the global climate change governance was weakened, and China and America become the main driving force of global climate change governance since the Copenhagen Climate Conference. However, the attitude of Trump, the newly elected president of America, toward the climate change policy is still uncertain. Therefore, as the representative of developed countries, the EU shall assume more responsibilities in the climate change field. China and the EU shall improve the status of climate change in the bilateral relation in the future and enhance the policy coordination and communication, prepare governance objectives and action plans with extensive representativeness, be the first to cooperate, take the lead to act and take the interest of both developed countries and developing ones into consideration.

Secondly, provide more support to the global climate funding. Capital is an important guarantee in the governance of global climate change, and it is also one of the issues
discussed in the climate change governance. The EU is an important provider of global climate change capital, and China, as the largest developing countries in the world, also declared to provide RMB 20 Billion Yuan to establish China’s South-South climate fund. China and the EU shall provide more capital support, especially to those most underdeveloped countries, according to their own capabilities and pursuant to the principle of “common but differentiated”. China and the EU need to enhance the cooperation in climate financing and guide the capital to the climate change field with market mechanism through innovative financial products including green bond, green insurance and environment fund, etc.

Thirdly, enhance the exchanges and cooperation in technology relevant to climate change. Reducing greenhouse gas emission and the effective control of the negative influences that might be brought about by climate change cannot do without the application of advanced emission reduction and adaptive technology. Currently, due to limitations on capital and intellectual property rights, etc. there are many issues existing in the exchange and cooperation of climate change technology, and developing countries cannot get technical assistance from developed countries. China and the EU shall emphasize the exchange and cooperation of energy-saving and emission reduction technology, renewable energy technology and the adaptation to climate change technology in global climate change governance, remove the barriers which restrict technology transfer and development, promote the transfer and development of technology and urge developed countries to provide developing countries with more technologies to slow down and cope with the climate change.

Fourthly, promote the establishment of supervision and assessment mechanisms. Currently there is no suitable supervision mechanism to inspect developed and developing countries for the commitment they made with respect to climate change and there is no reasonable mechanism to supervise and assess the support, transfer and application of capital and technology. China and the EU may enhance communication and cooperation in the supervision and assessment mechanism, and assess the progress, scope and effectiveness of capital, technology, capability establishment.

Fifthly, promote the dissemination of experience. Adaptation to and coping with climate change is continuous and coordinated work. With regards to establishing technology and capabilities which can be replicated, much experience can be spread throughout the world. Especially for the developing countries and the most underdeveloped ones, the promotion of mature experience in climate change governance can help some countries save a lot of resources; meanwhile, it can help developing countries cope with and adapt to climate change with better intentionality and in the right way. China and the EU have accumulated certain experience in coping with and adapting to climate change, and they could try to establish an organization tasked with the dissemination of relevant experience to jointly cope with and adapt to climate change. Since China and the EU are representatives of developing countries and developed ones respectively, their experience is also suitable to be shared by other
developing countries and developed ones.

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