

FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS BETWEEN CHINA, ROMANIA AND THE EU

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Abstract. The paper presents an analysis on the foreign policy between China, Romania and the EU. That Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) enjoyed central place in the early study of international relations (IR) can be considered as the starting point for understanding the evolution of this major sub-field. Examining the history, conceptual breadth, and recent trends in the study of foreign policy analysis, it is clear that this subfield provides what may be the best conceptual connection to the empirical ground upon which all international relations (IR) theory is based. Foreign policy analysis is characterized by an actor-specific focus, based upon the argument that all that occurs between nations and across nations is grounded in human decision makers acting singly or in groups. What is the foreign policy of China towards Romania, what about the foreign policies of Romania towards China and does the EU have anything to say about this?

Keywords: foreign policy analysis (FPA), international relation (IR), relationship between China, Romania and the EU, sovereignty, strategic position, economical relation

1. Historic perspective

Aristotle, an ancient Greek philosopher, described human as a social animal. Therefore, friendships and relations have existed between humans since the beginning of human creation. As the organization developed in human affairs, relations between people also organized. Foreign policy thus goes back to primitive times. The inception in human affairs of foreign relations and the need for foreign policy to deal with them is as old as the organization of human life in groups. The literature from ancient times, the Bible, the Homeric poems, the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, and many others show an accumulation of experience in dealing with foreigners. The ancient writings (Chinese & Indian) give much evidence of thought concerned with the management of relations between peoples. The paper presents an overview on the foreign policy between China, Romania and the EU.

Although Chinese foreign policy since 1949 has had distinctive characteristics, the forces that shape Beijing's foreign policy and many of its overall goals have been similar to those of other nations. China has sought to protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to achieve independence of action, while interacting with both more powerful and less powerful countries [1]. As with most other nations, Beijing's foreign relations have been conditioned by its historical experiences, nationalism and ideology, and the worldview of its leaders, as well as by the governmental structure and decision-making process [1-3]. At times China's

domestic policies have had wide-ranging ramifications for its foreign policy formulation.

East European nations were the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with China in 1949, following the Soviet Union's lead [4]. In the early 1950s, through the Sino-Soviet alliance, China became an observer in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), and Chinese relations with Eastern Europe included trade and receipt of limited amounts of economic and technical aid. The Sino-Soviet dispute was manifested in China's relations with certain East European countries, especially China's support for Albania's break with the Soviet Union in the late 1950s. After the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s, the only East European nations maintaining significant ties with China until the late 1970s were Albania, Romania, and Yugoslavia. By the late 1980s, however, as Beijing's relations with Moscow improved and relations with governments and parties on the basis of "mutual respect and peaceful coexistence" were renewed, China's ties with the other nations of Eastern Europe also had improved noticeably, to include communist party ties.

After the fall of communism in Europe, China has tried to maintain good diplomatic relations with each state pursuing more economic relations rather than a diplomatic one.

Romanian foreign policy changed drastically after 1949, after the coup of King Michael I a communist party took over, while in the early period Romania was a puppet nation of the USSR, during the 1960's a new communist government

decided to go away from the USSR in terms of foreign policy and seek new allies which wouldn't want to control Romania as masters. Because of similar conflicts between the USSR and China and the USSR and Romania the two states decided to form a bond in which they would go side by side against the threat of the USSR. However things have changed with the Romanian Revolution of 1989, since from 1990's Romania's main foreign policy was to try and be as friendly as it could towards the USA and other major western countries.

2. Developing situation

China has been very constant in its desire of good relations with most of the states and has developed more in countries that support its actions. However in the last 10 years it has avoided Romania because of the fear of some Romanian politicians who believed close ties with China might lead to communism. However the last year has marked significant progress between the two states since some major Chinese companies will open branches in Romania and the Bank of China has also decided to open in Romania.

"Ever since I took over my term in office as president, I have been upholding good political and economic relations with China as one of the principal objectives pursued in our foreign policy, while, over the past years, the Romanian diplomacy has been constantly seeking to strengthen and permanently develop this privileged relationship.

Over the past few years, the potential of the cultural dialogue between our countries has presented new opportunities of communication and co-operation. The increasing number of Romanians who can speak the Chinese language as well as of Chinese who speak Romanian, the frequent cultural exchanges, the launching of books and similar events will constantly grow the level of mutual knowledge of both Romania and China, by that contributing to the consolidation of the friendship of our two peoples.

Our friendship has always been based on mutual respect for respective culture, traditions and aspirations of our peoples. To a great extent, that explains the constant development of the partnership of our countries over almost 60 years of diplomatic relations.

For all these reasons, our relations with China remain one of the heavy duty pillars of our foreign policy. With a view to the importance that China is acquiring in the global relations and economy, we cannot but wish to find in China the same reliable

partner of Romania in respect of both political and economic relations." This is part of a recent speech of the Romanian president Traian Băsescu.

Although Romania has tried for some years now to improve its relations with China, Romania still follows the main directions from the European Union comity.

A vigorous debate is raging on the EU's normative roles in the global context. The EU actively promotes its political values outside of the Union, especially with regard to prospective accession countries [5, 6, 7, 8]. Yet, a normative foreign policy approach encounters considerable challenges when confronted with major powers, such as China and Russia that do not always share the political values promoted by the EU. Attempts at pursuing a normative policy towards these countries often come across as unserious or half-hearted.

The European Union (EU) has recently changed gears in its trade policies towards China. But is it heading in the right direction? In late 2006, the Commission announced a new trade policy strategy that focuses on bilateral trade deals. It aims to achieve better market access for its industries, namely in Asia and especially in China. Commercial policy relations between the EU and China have significantly deteriorated, and EU policy makers have adopted a confrontational approach towards China. The latter is bound to be ineffective and economically and politically counterproductive. Shaping the EU's trade policy towards China in a desirable way requires two preliminary conditions: to have undertaken an assessment of the real role of China in the current world trading system, and to have a sense of the realities of the Chinese economy, its successes as well as its challenges. The resulting picture following such an assessment strongly suggests that the current European fears, generated by Chinese growth, are exaggerated while the benefits from it are underestimated

3. Current situation

In recent years, the EU has actively and self-confidently promoted its political values outside of the EU [9-11]. Normative ness is a key component of the Union's self-identity [1]. However, Brussels has a hard time upholding a consistent normative policy towards major countries like China and Russia without appearing inconsistent or hypocritical. One would be hard-pressed to argue that the current normative approach to China is

working well. In the first European Commission policy paper on China, drafted in 1995, the Commission stated that the EU has a broad strategic interest in China's emergence, identified as assisting China in becoming an integrated part of global affairs, in other words, a stakeholder [1]. In quantitative terms, China's integration into global multilateral structures and participation in world organisations has indeed been remarkable over the past two decades [12]. But has this changed how China thinks of the world and acts? Is the Chinese government today more ready to accept the political values espoused in the EU than it was in 1995?

In my opinion Romania is in a similar position as it was during its 1949 period when it looked towards the USSR to shape its foreign policy, now Romania looks towards the European Union for guidance, not knowing for sure what to do.

Unlike other people, Romanians aren't very critical when it comes to democracy or human rights towards other people so there is no or little public opinion's complex influence on Romanian foreign policy

The politics of many international negotiations can usefully be conceived as a two-level game. At the national level, domestic groups pursue their interests by pressuring the government to adopt favourable policies, and politicians seek power by constructing coalitions among those groups. At the international level, national governments seek to maximize their own ability to satisfy domestic pressures, while minimizing the adverse consequences of foreign developments. Neither of the two games can be ignored by central decision-makers, so long as their countries remain interdependent, yet sovereign.

3.1. Relations between China and the EU

For the EU, China's opening up to the world is a test. Brussels is in the process of conceiving an ambitious and comprehensive foreign policy towards Beijing but, for both internal and external reasons (a lack of general European cohesiveness and the influence of the US), is finding it difficult to fully implement it. Even if there is no necessary contradiction between a strong Euro-Chinese link and the traditional—and vital—transatlantic relationship, a positive triangulation between the EU/US and China would require a politically united EU willing to act as a strategic player in world affairs. In that sense, for the world's largest trading block, the integration of one-fifth of mankind into what we call the mainstream is not only a test but

also an impulse for further political deepening. Europe is being asked to face its historical responsibility, and this task might help focus the Union's energies and divert it from other issues, perhaps more urgent, but certainly less important.

Analysis: A 26-point statement was issued after the 8th EU-China summit in September 2005, reflecting the intensification of the cooperative links between Brussels and Beijing. The recent summit is in continuity with an extremely positive momentum. Following the handover of Hong Kong (1997) and Macao (1999) there are no more substantial disputes between China and Europe; for Beijing and Brussels it is an advantage to be free of any contentious inheritance. China's 2003 EU policy paper insists: 'There is no fundamental conflict of interest between China and the EU and neither side poses a threat to the other'. In the coming years, it will be interesting to observe Beijing's reactions to Turkey as a possible new EU member since Xinjiang's Uyghur issue could directly affect the relationship between the EU and China.

The dialogue between the EU and China took a more concrete turn on occasion of the first summit attended by heads of state and of government in 1998 in London. It was there that all the major themes concerning the bilateral relationship were discussed constructively.

4. Romania as a sovereign nation

Sovereignty is the quality of having supreme, independent authority over a geographic area, such as a territory. It can be found in a power to rule and make law that rests on a political fact for which no purely legal explanation can be provided. In theoretical terms, the idea of "sovereignty", historically, from Socrates to Thomas Hobbes, has always necessitated a moral imperative on the entity exercising it.

For centuries past, the idea that a state could be sovereign was always connected to its ability to guarantee the best interests of its own citizens. Thus, if a state could not act in the best interests of its own citizens, it could not be thought of as a "sovereign" state.

The concept of sovereignty has been discussed, debated and questioned throughout history, from the time of the Romans through to the present day. It has changed in its definition, concept, and application throughout, especially during the Age of Enlightenment. The current notion of state sovereignty is often traced back to the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which, in relation to states,

codified the basic principles:

There are many forces abroad in the world that challenge established models and practices of state sovereignty. These include globalization and internationalization, the emergence of new polities such as the European Union, the reconfiguration of world trade into gigantic trading blocs, the rise of the communications global village, privatization, regionalism, the merger mania among mega corporations, global environmental problems, and so forth. In addition, there are countries that exist but do not function, and those that function and, strictly speaking, do not exist. What context awaits future public servants as they prepare to make their greatest post-graduation impact around eight years from acquiring their degree?

The academic study of sovereignty is undergoing a mini-renaissance. Stimulated by criticisms of classical conceptions of sovereignty in systemic theories of politics, scholars returned to sovereignty as a topic of inquiry in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Their studies are finally bearing fruit. The new conceptions of sovereignty that are emerging and discusses the fundamental nature of sovereignty, reviews the classical perspective on sovereignty, surveys new constructivist alternatives to this classical view, examines important new work on the problematic nature of sovereignty, identifies continua of hierarchic relationships that make sense of the various forms of mixed or restricted sovereignty that we observe in world politics, and argues why it is important to study alternative, hierarchic relationships in international relations. The principal themes throughout are that sovereignty is far more problematic than recognized in the classical model, that important elements of hierarchy exist in the global system, and that both our theories and practice of international politics would be improved by explicitly incorporating variations in hierarchy.

What exactly is the European Union? It certainly bears many of the trappings of sovereignty such as binding legislation, a parliament—albeit weak, a flag, ambassadors (called Delegates), Treaties (called conventions) with other states, and soon a common currency that will relieve many of the member states of their key economic policy instrument. Social and labour policies emerge from Brussels in the name of standardization, and diplomas achieve common recognition. And yet, this is not a state, but an assemblage of states "ruled" mainly by an unelected Commission of bureaucrats. It is true that the term "shared vision"

was used widely when the body was established, largely at the inspiration of M. Monnet, but no one seems to be able to define, in terms of sovereignty, the endpoint of that vision. Perhaps, more strictly speaking, they will not come out and say it—thereby letting the cat out of the bag once and for all. Its political nature is defined more by the secondary implications and consequences of economic, technical, and social standard setting, and the necessities required to achieve the free "seamless" movement of goods, services, capital and labour (which also takes care of that other beloved pillar of sovereignty—immigration). The EU represents the most advanced—and maybe only—form of this nebulous suprapolity, but it must be remembered that it started as an Economic Community—or communities actually.

Westphalian sovereignty is the concept of nation-state sovereignty based on two things: territoriality and the absence of a role for external agents in domestic structures.

Scholars of international relations have identified the modern, Western originated, international system of states, multinational corporations, and organizations, as having begun at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Both the basis and the conclusion of this view have been attacked by some revisionist academics and politicians, with revisionists questioning the significance of the Peace, and some commentators and politicians attacking the Westphalian system of sovereign nation-states.

'...Microstates are becoming increasingly vulnerable to forces outside their control, resulting in their being manipulated by international big business; being open to transit crime such as flows of illegal flight capital and money laundering; and increasingly out-manuevered by larger countries and institutions' [13].

States in hierarchical security relationships spend significantly less on defense relative to GDP than states not in such relationships. In short, hierarchy matters and subordination pays; states appear to trade some portion of their sovereignty for protection from external security threats. Hierarchy is analytically and substantively important but not often acknowledged in international relations. Indeed, the primordial assumption that the international system is anarchic common to nearly all theories of world politics rules out hierarchy as a conceptual possibility

Hierarchy is analytically and substantively important but not often acknowledged in international relations. Indeed, the primordial

assumption that the international system is anarchic common to nearly all theories of world politics rules out hierarchy as a conceptual possibility. The new literature on sovereignty emphasizes deviance from the principle of Westphalian sovereignty and, thus, the practice of anarchy. This focus represents a significant step forward. But, at the same time, this literature does not yet contain the analytic categories and dimensions of variation necessary to move beyond telling anecdotes to reveal just how systematic and important patterns of deviance may be in international politics

Romania began to transition towards democracy and a capitalist market economy. After a decade of post-revolution economic problems, extensive reforms fostered economic recovery and the country joined the European Union on 1 January 2007. Romania is now an upper middle-income country with high human development.

Romania joined NATO on 29 March 2004, and is also a member of the Latin Union, of the Francophone, of the OSCE and of the United Nations. Today, Romania is a unitary semi-presidential republic, in which the executive branch consists of the President and the Government.

So is Romania really a sovereign nation?

Justice and home affairs issues have traditionally been considered an integral part of national sovereignty. However, the process of European integration has created a large frontier-free area within which people can move unhindered by border checks. EU citizens are also free to choose the EU country in which they wish to live and work. Apart from these achievements of the single market, EU citizenship has also gained in importance, with a range of rights now guaranteed to citizens. Furthermore, at this time of globalization, working together is indispensable in order to combat cross-border organized crime and terrorism. These developments have led to the establishment and the gradual intensification at European level of various policy initiatives in the area of justice and home affairs with the growing involvement of EU institutions and the close cooperation of national judicial authorities and police forces. In order to provide citizens with the same high level of safety across the European Union, the Tampere Summit (1999) set the objective of the progressive establishment of an area of freedom, security and justice. This should ensure that people throughout the EU have equal access to justice, can fully exercise their rights, as well as enjoy equal protection from crime. It would

appear that EU citizens are more likely to support the enhancement of EU influence in areas of justice and home affairs where they consider national actions to be somewhat lacking. For this reason, it is particularly interesting to note that respondents primarily cite the necessity for more decision-making at European level concerning issues which currently belong to the intergovernmental third pillar of the European Union's structure (the fight against organized crime and terrorism, as well as against drug abuse). As intergovernmental relations imply a less intensive form of cooperation among Member States than the Community method of the first pillar, the results of the survey would point to the conclusion that citizens would perhaps prefer enhanced cooperation or the extension of the Community method to these issues. The involvement of NATO in military policies Romania respects the decisions of the UN and it cannot VETO any votes; Romania can decide its own laws and taxes and decide its relations with non European states, however it usually decides to adopt the general stance of the EU.

So I will ask again, is Romania a sovereign nation?

In the old sense, no in many ways because "Sovereignty is the quality of having supreme, independent authority over a geographic area, such as a territory. It can be found in a power to rule and make law that rests on a political fact for which no purely legal explanation can be provided."

So it can pass laws, but only if they respect European norms. It has authority, but citizens can go to the European court, which decisions will surpass the Romanian court.

So why is Romania doing this?

"For centuries past, the idea that a state could be sovereign was always connected to its ability to guarantee the best interests of its own citizens. Thus, if a state could not act in the best interests of its own citizens, it could not be thought of as a "sovereign" state."

The best interest of its citizens is to continue adopting European norms. So Romania is enforcing its sovereignty by step by step giving it away.

Also the description of my country should give explanation why Romania is doing this (middle income; medium territory size; medium population size;)-Hierarchy

"Acknowledging the harsh realities now masked by the norm of juridical sovereignty is undoubtedly painful, especially for the subordinate parties whose patina of equality is thereby stripped

away and their subaltern status revealed.”

5. China seeking allies

USA in recent years has tried to isolate China and stop its economic development by making China invest more in its military and less in its development. USA is using Taiwan as bait, former president George Walker Bush, recommended that Taiwan should be given nuclear weapons in the event of an invasion from the mainland. As long as both Taiwan and mainland China would have a weapons race, the USA would be the real winner, since Taiwan could not give up because it would be pushed from the back by the US and China would not give up its unification ideal. Taiwan is not a single case, with the US maintaining a tight grip around China. In the recent years the US has signed several military lease agreements with countries around China, one case being the Philippines which received air carriers at the docks near the South China Sea, territory which is disputed by China and its neighbors.

As China has little options of gaining friends in its vicinity it looks for allies in more distant places such as Africa, South America and Eastern Europe.

Eastern European states are either in a pro Western position or in a pro Russian position, and while Russia is trying to put a smiling face when it comes to Sino-Russian relations, the fact is that it doesn't want to share its influence.

Eastern Europe is the gate towards Western Europe and its ample markets from which China could rake ample profits. A right wing Hungary seems at the moment the biggest supporter of China in eastern Europe, while Bulgaria relies on China for developing its infrastructure and Poland tries to make China forget the last highway incident that stopped Chinese-Polish relations for a number of years.

However significant progress has been made in Chinese-Romanian relations during 2011, because of an increasing effort by Romanian authorities to at least try to reach the relationship between China and Romania during the 1960's if not reach a higher level. China's economic progress and willingness to invest makes Romanian officials less weary of China.

6. Conclusions

So what is the foreign policy of China towards Romania? Well we can safely say that although there were better times, China looks for improvement in the Chinese-Romanian foreign relations, backed not only by a desire to return

things to the way they were, but also because of its continuous foreign policy in which China has invested a lot.

What about the foreign policy of Romania towards China? Sometimes, Romania can be unsure of what its next step should be, since there are a number of options because of its strategic position and because it doesn't have a fully developed economy. While it would like to be great friends with China, the EU recommends a common stance in foreign policy when it comes to major actors.

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