

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Tables.....	ix
Abbreviations	x
 Chapter 1. Introduction	 1
1.1. Research Background and Purpose	1
1.2. Research Questions and Hypotheses	5
1.3. Methodologies	9
1.4. Research Framework	10
 Chapter 2. State-of-the-Art and Theoretical Relevance to the EU-China Economic Diplomacy: An Overview of Literature and Conceptual Framework.....	 13
2.1. Theoretical Evolution of Economic Diplomacy and Regionalism Diplomacy	13
2.2. Realism in Hans J. Morgenthau: How was Realism Discarded by Nations?	14
2.3. Asymmetrical Interdependence and Institutional Balancing: Kydd's Rational Approach and Buttkus's Causal Mechanism Model	17
2.4. The Theory of Comparative Advantage	20
2.4.1. Background and Significance of Comparative Advantage Theory	20
2.4.2. Empirical Observation between the EU and China	21
2.5. Summary	22
 Chapter 3. Progress and Developments in EU-China Relations in a Historical Context: Changing Perceptions of Mutual Interests and Conflicts?	 25
3.1 Introduction	25
3.2 Building of Relations (1975-1989): Background Analysis	27
3.3 Relationship Reconstruction (1990-2002): Policy Perception Analysis	30
3.4 Relationship Peak (2003-2012): Towards a Strategic Partnership	32
3.5 Relationship Transformation (2013-2019): Variables Analysis of Systemic	

Competition	37
3.6 Now and Then: High Dependence with (Permanent) Deficits	42
3.7 Strategic Partnership versus Systemic Competition: Entering the EU-China Mistrust Relationship	44
3.8 Analysis of Interviews	46
3.8.1. Background and Description of Questions	46
3.8.2. Analysis of the Responses of Interviewees	48
3.9 Summary: The EU's Diversification Strategy with China	55
Chapter 4. Macro-Level Analysis of the Economic Diplomacy Strategy between the EU and China: Limitations, Opportunities and Interconnectedness of the Global Gateway (GG), Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI)	59
4.1 Overview of Literature, Theoretical Implications and Practical Experiences	60
4.2 Basic Background of Selected Cases: GG and BRI	65
4.3 Basic Background of the EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment	67
4.4 The EU's GG versus China's BRI: Strategic Competition of Bilateral Economic Diplomacy	69
4.4.1. Policy Origin and Theoretical Implications	69
4.4.2. Policy Tools, Status and Limitations	71
4.4.3. Strategic Vision of China's BRI: Can the EU Catch Up?	74
4.4.4. GG as an EU's Strategic Tool for Economic Security Autonomy	77
4.5 Limitations of the Bilateral Economic Diplomacy Strategies between the EU and China	78
4.5.1. Explanation of Selected Cases	80
4.5.1.1. The BRI Case: China's Relational Power versus the EU's Normative Power	80
4.5.1.2. EU-level Response to BRI	81
4.5.1.3. Response of EU Members and Strategic Adjustment of the EU and China under BRI	83
4.5.2. The Case of CAI: A Milestone or Dead End of Economic and Trading Cooperation for the EU and China?	84

4.6	Summary: Business Deal versus Political Wins?	86
Chapter 5. Micro-Level Analysis of EU Member States in Shifting EU-China Relations from Aspects of Interdependence and Partnership: The Case of Germany, Italy and Greece		
89		
5.1.	Germany and China	89
5.1.1.	The Developments and Evolution of Germany's Policy toward China in Historical Perspective	90
5.1.2.	Changes and Continuity in German-Chinese Policy	93
5.1.3.	Spiral Equilibrium Theory and Germany's China Strategy Paper in 2023	98
5.1.4.	The Impact of the Russian-Ukrainian War on Germany's Relations with China: Economic Prioritization of Wandel durch Handel vs. Political Difference	101
5.1.5.	Analysis of Interviews	106
5.1.5.1	Basic Background and Descriptions of Questions	106
5.1.5.2	Analysis of the Responses of Interviewees	109
5.1.6.	Summary: Continuity of Germany's Economic Diplomacy with China	117
5.2.	Italy and China	118
5.2.1.	Italy's China Policy toward China in the Cold War Era: Balance of Engagement within the Circumstances of East-West Conflicts.....	118
5.2.2.	Italy's Policy towards China in the Evolution of Domestic Debates and Embrace of the BRI (1990-2019): Threat or Opportunity?.....	120
5.2.3.	The Shifting Strategy of Italian Economic Diplomacy with China in the Era of Mario Draghi and Giorgia Meloni (2020-2024): From Enthusiasm to Pragmatism?.....	126
5.2.4.	Analysis of Interviews	129
5.2.4.1	Background and Description of Questions	129
5.2.4.2	Analysis of the Responses of Interviewees	130
5.2.5.	Summary: Continuity of Italy's Economic Diplomacy with China	132
5.3.	Greece and China	134
5.3.1.	Bilateral Relations in a Historical Context: From Embrace to Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	134
5.3.2.	Greece and the 17+1 Format: Implications of China's BRI Strategy	137

5.3.3. The Shift from the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership to Cautious Policy: Reassessing Bilateral Relations	140
5.3.4. China-Greece Relations in the Context of the Russia-Ukraine War: Limitations or Expansion of Economic Interdependence?.....	143
5.3.4.1 Strategy Implications for Greece	143
5.3.4.2 The Impact of the war on China, the EU and Greece	145
5.3.5. Analysis of Interviews	148
5.3.5.1 Background and Description of Questions	148
5.3.5.2 Analysis of the Responses of Interviewees	149
5.3.6. Summary: Continuity of China's Economic Diplomacy to Greece.....	152
Chapter 6. Conclusions	153
6.1. Research Findings and Reevaluation of Theory.....	153
6.2. Answers to Research Questions	156
6.3. Comparative Research Results	158
 Bibliography	 165
Appendix 1 List of Interviewees	190
Appendix 2 Interview Questions: the EU and China	193
Appendix 3 Interview Questions: Germany, the EU, and China	196
Appendix 4 Interview Questions: Italy, the EU, and China.....	199
Appendix 5 Interview Questions: Greece, the EU, and China	202
Appendix 6 Interview Questions of Chinese Experts (中國專家部分).....	205