



**CEU**

*Real Instituto Universitario  
de Estudios Europeos*

*Universidad San Pablo*

**20** ANIVERSARIO

*Centro de Política  
de la Competencia*

**Documento de Trabajo**  
**Serie Política de la Competencia y Regulación**  
Número 62 / 2020

# **The global climate governance: a comparative study between the EU and China**

---

**Cao Hui**

Jean Monet Network EU-China:  
Comparative experiences and  
contributions to global governance  
in the fields of climate change, trade  
and competition

Ref. 587904-EPP-1-2017-1-ES-EPPJMO-NETWORK



**CEU** | *Ediciones*



Co-funded by the  
Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union

**Documento de Trabajo**  
**Política de la Competencia y Regulación**  
Número 62 / 2020

**The global climate governance: a comparative study  
between the EU and China**

---

**Dr. Cao Hui\***

---

\* Professor of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Beijing, China.

El Real Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos de la Universidad CEU San Pablo, Centro Europeo de Excelencia Jean Monnet, es un centro de investigación especializado en la integración europea y otros aspectos de las relaciones internacionales.

Los Documentos de Trabajo dan a conocer los proyectos de investigación originales realizados por los investigadores asociados del Instituto Universitario en los ámbitos histórico-cultural, jurídico-político y socioeconómico de la Unión Europea.

Las opiniones y juicios de los autores no son necesariamente compartidos por el Real Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos.

Los documentos de trabajo están también disponibles en: [www.ideo.ceu.es](http://www.ideo.ceu.es)

Serie *Política de la Competencia y Regulación* Documentos de Trabajo del Real Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos

**The global climate governance: a comparative study between the EU and China**

Cualquier forma de reproducción, distribución, comunicación pública o transformación de esta obra solo puede ser realizada con la autorización de sus titulares, salvo excepción prevista por la ley. Diríjase a CEDRO (Centro Español de Derechos Reprográficos, [www.cedro.org](http://www.cedro.org)) si necesita escanear algún fragmento de esta obra.

© 2020, por Cao Hui

© 2020, por Fundación Universitaria San Pablo CEU

CEU Ediciones

Julián Romea 18, 28003 Madrid

Teléfono: 91 514 05 73, fax: 91 514 04 30

Correo electrónico: [ceuediciones@ceu.es](mailto:ceuediciones@ceu.es)

[www.ceuediciones.es](http://www.ceuediciones.es)

Real Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos

Avda. del Valle 21, 28003 Madrid

[www.ideo.ceu.es](http://www.ideo.ceu.es)

ISBN: 978-84-17385-97-2

Depósito legal: M-26273-2020

Maquetación: Gráficas Vergara, S. A.

# Contenido

- INTRODUCTION..... 5**
  
- 1. THE VIEW OF CHINA TOWARDS GLOBAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE..... 5**
  
- 2. THE VIEW OF THE EU TOWARDS GLOBAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE ..... 7**
  - 2.1. Historical overviews on the EU’s climate change policy ..... 7
  - 2.2. EU on global climate governance ..... 8
  - 2.3. Rationale behind the EU’s role on climate governance ..... 10
  
- 3. THE CONFLICTS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE EU AND CHINA..... 11**
  
- CONCLUSION ..... 12**
  
- REFERENCE ..... 13**



# Introduction

Climate changes have had widespread impacts on human and natural systems.<sup>1</sup> Climate change has become the core issue in the political agenda in the last two decades.<sup>2</sup> The consensus of the international community is to find a solution through collective actions. This is an essential path to deal with global warming. In this regard, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (“UNFCCC”) is the main platform for international negotiations to take place, in order for nations to reach an agreement to carry out collective actions. Nevertheless, differences have appeared regarding the understanding of “who, what, how and which” activities to carry out. The Paris Agreement reached at the end of 2015 has offered a practical and legally-binding platform for global climate governance ever since.

## 1. The view of China towards global climate governance

For years, in accordance with the principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities (“CBDR”) and respective capabilities, the Parties to the UNFCCC have been working on to enhance cooperation and have achieved positive progress in the implementation under the UNFCCC.

Over the past 25 years, China’s position in international climate negotiations has changed steadily. China has fully involved in international climate negotiations since the early 1990s. China’s action demonstrates her stance towards global climate governance. In the course of continuous participation in international climate negotiations, China has gradually formed a basic global climate concept which includes five principles. These principles are: adhere to the CBDR principle, adhere to the basic framework of the UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol, strictly follow the Bali Road Map; adhere to the principle of coordinating issues of mitigation, adaptation, finance and technology; adhere to sustainable development; adhere to the principle that the UN leading climate change negotiations as well as the consensus-style decision-making mechanism.<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese government has changed its position from “being impossible of cutting Green-House Gas (“GHG”) emissions before reaching to the middle-income country”<sup>4</sup> to deliver its “intended national determined contributions” (“INDCs”) in 2015. The commitment on INDCs refers that China’s GHG emission will peak around 2030, and will lower carbon dioxide emissions per unit of gross domestic product (“GDP”) by 60% to 65% as well as increase the forest stock volume by around 4.5 billion cubic meters in 2030 from 2005 levels.<sup>5</sup> As remarks addressed by President Xi Jinping at COP21 in Paris, China believes in “求同存异, 聚同化异”, which means to agree in disagree and to gather common interests in differences. China’s view on global climate governance is that there should be no zero-sum game at international negotiations.

Sophie Kalantzakos argues, “China’s actions on climate change in terms of mitigating greenhouse gas emissions and enhancing climate resilience is not only driven by the domestic needs for sustainable development in ensuring its economic security, energy security, ecological security, food security as well as the safety of people’s life and property and to achieve sustainable development, but also driven by its sense of responsibility to fully engage with global governance, and to forge a community of shared destiny for humankind as well as to promote common development for all human beings.”<sup>6</sup>

The increased willingness of China’s central government and its cooperative capacity are the main factors that make the transition possible. The actions carried out by China’s active participation in the global climate governance are reflected in three aspects. Firstly, in terms of involving with international institutions, China’s position has moved from being suspicious to positively supporting, particularly the

---

1 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2014). p.2; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2010). p. 4.

2 Giddens (2011). p. 3.

3 GOV.cn (2011).The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China (2011). Part 8. para.2.

4 Zhuang (2008). p. 9.

5 UNFCCC (2015a).

6 Kalantzakos (2017). p. 80.

Clean Development Mechanism (“CDM”) of the Kyoto Protocol (“KP”). Until 2015, China has over 270 projects registered under the UNFCCC’s CDM mechanism.<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, in terms of climate finance and technology transfer, China has innovatively proposed to set up a South-to-South Cooperative Mechanism under the United Nations framework which aims to promote financial cooperation and technological diffusion between developing countries. In the COP15 Copenhagen climate conference, the Chinese government claimed that it would not compete with countries from the Alliance of Small Islands States (“AOSIS”) or least developed countries to apply climate funds. On the contrary, China will actively help these countries to develop their actions with her financial support.

During 2010-2012, the Chinese government and companies have invested in more than 100 hydropower stations, solar power stations as well as agricultural pilot projects.<sup>8</sup> In 2014, China committed to mobilize \$5 billion dollars to Caribbean and Latin American countries supporting bilateral cooperation in the section of energy, hi-technology and sustainable development.<sup>9</sup> In 2015, China announced to pool 20-billion-yuan (about 3-billion-U.S. dollars) establishing the “China South-South Climate Cooperation Fund” to help other developing countries combat climate change.<sup>10</sup>

Thirdly, at the domestic level, the results from the international negotiations have positively pushed Chinese internal climate law-making into a fast track. Since 2005, the Chinese government consistently adopted relating policies to control carbon emissions by adjusting the industrial structure and energy mix, improving energy efficiency as well as increasing carbon credits.

To accomplish low carbon goals, China adopted a range of major policy measures to mitigate and adapt to climate change during the 11th Five-Year Plan (2006-2010) period, and has achieved remarkable results. The Outline of the 12<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development released in 2011 which established the policy orientation of promoting green and low-carbon development, and clearly set the objectives and tasks of addressing climate change for the next five years.<sup>11</sup>

The Chinese government constantly sets strong ecological and economic targets by addressing climate change into its mid-and long-term planning for economic and social development as a major issue concerning its overall economic and social development.<sup>12</sup> These policies include, such as, the National Program on Climate Change, the Work Plan for Controlling Greenhouse Gas Emissions during the 12th Five-Year Plan Period, the Comprehensive Work Plan for Energy Conservation and Emission Reduction for the 12th Five Year Plan Period, the 12th Five Year Plan for Energy Conservation and Emission Reduction, the 2014-2015 Action Plan for Energy Conservation, Emission Reduction and Low-Carbon Development, and the National Plan on Climate Change (2014-2020). In 2014, China adopted the “Environmental Protection Act”. The pass of the Act has shown China’s dramatic change in environmental law-making. The Act has set a strict legislative system toward those who pollute the environment.<sup>13</sup>

Besides, China has viciously been promoting renewable energy. China is already the world’s leading country both in energy saving and in the use of new and renewable energy.<sup>14</sup> In 2014, the energy consumption and the emission of carbon dioxide per unit of the GDP decreased by 29.9 percent and 33.8 percent respectively, compared to the 2005 levels.<sup>15</sup> In 2018, China accounted for one-third of global wind power capacity and one-third of global solar PV capacity.<sup>16</sup> According to the International Energy Agency,

7 UNFCCC (2019).

8 China.org.cn (2011).

9 Xinhua Net (2014).

10 China.org.cn (2015a); China Meteorological Administration (2015).

11 China’s National Energy Administration (2012); The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China (2011). Part “Forward”.

12 Cao (2018). p. 4.

13 Chinese Government Legal Information Net (2014).

14 Finamore (2020). p. 4.

15 China.org.cn (2015a); China.org.cn (2015b).

16 Renewable Energy World (2019).

during the period of 2019-2024, China will account for 40% of global renewable capacity expansion over the forecast period. The higher forecast figure for China is because of improved system integration, lower curtailment rates and enhanced competitiveness of both solar PV and onshore wind. It is expected that China will account for almost half of global distributed PV growth, and will overtake the EU to become the world leader in installed capacity as early as 2021.<sup>17</sup>

China has put other enabling policies and measures to support the development of renewable energy. These include ongoing power sector reforms, the construction of the world's largest ultra-high voltage transmission network, promotion of distributed energy and microgrids, support for the development of energy storage technologies, a national carbon market and measures to reduce the country's reliance on coal.<sup>18</sup>

Over the past fifteen years, as solar and wind power have grown exponentially, China has adopted an increasingly ambitious series of renewable energy targets. The country has already exceeded its 2020 installed capacity targets for wind (210 gigawatts, GW) and solar (150 GW). Under the Paris Agreement, China pledged by 2030 to increase the share of non-fossil energy to 20 per cent of its energy mix, reduce its carbon intensity 60 to 65 per cent below its 2005 level.<sup>19</sup>

During the period of 2010-2019, China has committed 758 billion US dollars in renewables capacity (excluding large hydropower), followed far behind by the US at 356 billion USD and Japan at 202 billion USD.<sup>20</sup>

China has not only improved her willingness in GHG emission control, but also increased her internationally cooperative capacity. Since 2017, the Chinese government has taken a series of actions in adjusting the industrial structure, optimizing the energy mix, conserving energy and improving energy efficiency, controlling greenhouse gas emissions from non-energy activities, and increasing carbon sinks, and achieved positive results. In 2018, China's carbon intensity was cumulatively reduced by 45.8 percent compared to 2005, exceeding the target of a 40-45 percent reduction by 2020.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. The view of the EU towards global climate governance

### 2.1. Historical overviews on the EU's climate change policy

The European Union ("EU") did not start to develop its climate change policy until the beginning of 1990s. The European Council for the first time with EU leaders called for "targets and strategies" to be agreed for limiting GHG emissions. Due to the lack of specific distribution of "burden share" and implementing measurement, the Council of Ministers ("the Council") failed to achieve its goal in 1990. Oberthür and Kelly argue that the substantial disagreement persisted on the need and content of common measures to implement the Community's emission stabilization commitment at the European level.<sup>22</sup> In 1992, a proposed CO<sub>2</sub>/energy tax bill by the European Commission to the Council was blocked by the member states on the ground that a fiscal measure requires unanimous agreement of the member states, according to Article 130s of the Treaty establishing the European Community ("EC Treaty"). Although the Council passed the Directive 93/76/EEC ("SAVE") and Decision 93/389/EEC to its member states to establish a programme limiting and monitoring the CO<sub>2</sub> and GHG emissions, these legislations however did not contain commitments for individual Member States.

Not until the preparation for the KP, as a first significant step in June 1996, the EU Council of Environment Ministers established the objective that 'global average temperatures should not exceed two degrees

---

17 International Energy Agency (2019). "Executive Summary", p. 3.

18 Ministry of Ecology and Environment of the People's Republic of China (2019). Part 1-4.

19 Finamore (2020). p. 5.

20 Frankfurt School-UNEP Centre/BNEF (2019). p. 12.

21 Ministry of Ecology and Environment of People of Republic of China (2019), p. 1.

22 Oberthür and Kelly (2008). pp. 39-40.



above pre-industrial level'.<sup>23</sup> Ever since then, this objective has continuously guided EU (external) climate policy. The EU finally agreed on a common proposal that industrialized countries reduce their emissions of the three main GHGs by 15 per cent by 2010. For the first time, the Council has agreed on a “burden sharing agreement” among its 15 Member States.<sup>24</sup>

The KP did not just about establishing a set of targets for industrialized countries to limit and reduce their emissions of a basket of GHGs during the commitment period 2008-2012 compared to 1990, but also to create a number of market –based mechanism for implementing these targets, including international emissions trading, the Clean Development Mechanism (“CDM”) and Joint Implementation (“JI”).<sup>25</sup>

Internally, with the pilot operation of the EU emission trading scheme (“EU-ETS”) in 2005, the EU has pushed its GHG reductions forward into a market-based instrument, and eventually has adopted the Directive 2008/1010/EU. In other words, the EU has been taking its legally binding measures on 20 per cent reduction target even without an international agreement before the Paris Agreement reached in 2015.

The Union has since gradually undertaken a series of steps to design a regional regulatory regime on climate change policy. The 2007/2008 climate/energy package comprises a range of legislative measures that lifts the communitarisation of policies in the field to an unprecedented level. On one hand, the EU is formulating its internal climate policy to achieve a common position; on the other hand, the EU is exerting its influence to other international actors through a marketable instrument, for instance, the EU-ETS.<sup>26</sup>

At the international level, since the 1990s, the EU has been playing an important role trying to reach an international binding agreement to reduce GHG emissions to a certain level. For example, ratifying the KP has challenged major actors’ position in international negotiations and its domestic politics. Following the U.S withdrawal from the KP in 2001, the EU has taken a leading diplomatic role in convincing other actors to ratify the-KP. However, Schunz, Happaerts and Van den Brande point out, “the EU has not always been the effective foreign policy player in the international climate policy arena that it desired to be”.<sup>27</sup> The European Parliament has complained that the Copenhagen Summit in 2009 was a disaster for the EU ‘not speaking in one voice in the international climate negotiation’.<sup>28</sup>

## 2.2. EU on global climate governance

Similar to China, the EU has changed her stance on international climate negotiations. Before 2005, in order to make the deal of the KP, the EU was in support of most of developing countries who firmly stand on CBDR-principle. However, due to the implementation of the EU-ETS in 2005, the EU has shown its ‘polluter paying’ principle for including more sectors into the EU-ETS. The Council approves the revision of EU Directive of setting road tolls for heavy goods vehicles as well as the maritime sector. Ever since then, the EU implements EU-ETS policy internally as well as promotes of reaching a globally legally-binding agreement at international arena by loosening its stance on CBDR principle.<sup>29</sup>

Bergamaschi and Sartori argue, that the establishment of EU’s leadership has been built on raising its CO<sub>2</sub> target and strengthening its norms.<sup>30</sup> The EU seized the “opportunity window” when the U.S withdrew from the KP in 2000, and turned the pressure of implementing the KP into the motive for building internal

---

23 Council of European Union (1996).

24 Council of European Union (1997); Oberthür and Pallemmaerts (eds.) (2010). pp. 30-33.

25 Oberthür and Pallemmaerts (eds.) (2010). pp. 34-35.

26 Cao (2012). Chapter 4.

27 Schunz, Happaerts and Van den Brande (2009). p. 3.

28 European Parliament (2010). p. 1.

29 European Commission (2015). COM (2015) 81 final, pp. 8-9.

30 Bergamaschi and Sartori (2018). p. 4.

institutions and the rule of law regarding climate and energy.<sup>31</sup> Since then, the EU-ETS has become the core of the Union, and furtherly consolidated the climate\energy into EU ideas on global governance.

In terms of climate diplomacy, the EU integrates its internal climate policy into its foreign aid and development policies, and adopts bilateral and multilateral channels under the framework of foreign aid to promote the EU's concept of climate governance through cooperation in climate-related projects. For example, the EU has launched series of multilateral cooperation with international organizations fighting against problems caused by climate change. The international organizations include the food and agriculture organization in the United Nations, the United Nations Environment Programme, the African Union and the Latin American Development Bank etc. For instance, The European Union has committed to joint the UN's Sustainable Energy for ALL initiative ("SE4ALL") to help 500 million people to access sustainable energy by 2030.<sup>32</sup> The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development ("EBRD") has partnered with the EU's Climate Investment Fund ("CIF"), and developed a multilateral banking mechanism that provides grants, low-interest loans, risky mitigation tools and other financial leverage to support local climate change-related projects in developing countries.<sup>33</sup> During the years 2014-2018, the EBRD invested nearly 7.9 billion euros in 183 projects carried out in 34 countries and related to energy sectors.<sup>34</sup> About 84% of the total of these projects are implemented by the EBRD's "Green Economic Transition Approach".<sup>35</sup> By using this approach, EBRD's 107 operations have contributed to a cumulative expected annual emissions reduction of more than 15,000 ktCO<sub>2</sub>e/year.<sup>36</sup> In 2020, the Commission and the EBRD are increasing support for renewables and other green investments in its Partnership countries such as Egypt, Morocco, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. The EU will provide 61.3m in grants to support three EBRD projects to help businesses in these markets invest in energy efficiency, cut emissions, introduce green technologies, support the circular economy as well as improve legal frameworks for clean energy investments.<sup>37</sup>

Although suffered a setback in Copenhagen in 2009, the EU soften its position on emission cutting target internally, and added its desire for a new legally-binding agreement at the international level.<sup>38</sup> The EU-ETS has become the core of EU's climate governance. After the Copenhagen's failure, the EU has vigorously promoted climate diplomacy in its external policies. Non-governmental organizations have also become an instrument for the EU to export its ideology in global climate governance. The report from the International Institute of Sustainable Development points that, "the Cartagena Dialogue for Progressive Action is an example which the EU plays a key role to bridge developing groups and the developed countries, such as parachute groups."<sup>39</sup> Through its climate diplomacy, the EU has successfully regained a leading role in international climate negotiations, and power in agenda-setting. This kind of soft power has helped the EU to materialize the Paris Agreement in COP 21 in 2015.

The new Green Deal will be the core of EU's growth strategy. In 2020, the new European Commission led by Ursula von der Leyen has presented the European Green Deal, which is a roadmap for making EU's economy sustainable by turning climate and environmental challenges into opportunities across all policy areas and making the transition just and inclusive for all.<sup>40</sup>

The European Green Deal covers all sectors of the economy, notably transport, energy, agriculture, buildings, and industries such as steel, cement, ICT, textiles and chemicals.<sup>41</sup> It is "to set into legislation the

---

31 Cao (2012). pp. 104-105.

32 European Commission (2014). p. 6.

33 European Bank for Restructure and Development (2015). p. 7.

34 European Bank for Restructure and Development (2018). p. 6.

35 Ibid.

36 European Bank for Restructure and Development (2018). p. 2.

37 Renew.BIZ (2020).

38 Groen, Niemann and Oberthür (2012). p. 182.

39 International Institute for Sustainable Development (2014).

40 European Commission (2019a). COM (2019) 640 final. pp. 2-3.

41 European Commission (2019b). Press release.

political ambition of being the world's first climate neutral continent by 2050, the Commission will present within 100 days the first 'European Climate Law'. To reach EU's climate and environmental ambition, the Commission will also present the Biodiversity Strategy for 2030, the new Industrial Strategy and Circular Economy Action Plan, the Farm to Fork Strategy for sustainable food and proposals for pollution-free Europe. Work will immediately start for upping Europe's 2030 emissions targets, setting a realistic path to the 2050 goal".<sup>42</sup>

Meeting the objectives of the European Green Deal will require significant investment. Achieving the current 2030 climate and energy targets is estimated to require 260 billion of additional annual investment, representing about 1.5% of 2018 GDP. This investment will need the mobilization of the public and private sectors. The Commission will present in early 2020 a Sustainable Europe Investment Plan to help meeting investment needs. "At least 25% of the EU's long-term budget should be dedicated to climate action, and the European Investment Bank, Europe's climate bank, will provide further support. For the private sector to contribute to financing the green transition, the Commission will present a Green Financing Strategy in 2020."<sup>43</sup>

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic started in March 2020, the EU has launched an ambitious recovery plan. The green investments and transition in the post pandemic era are still sitting as the EU's political priority in the plan.<sup>44</sup>

In brief, the EU's global climate governance could be summarized as that it upholds below two degree C temperature global goal, sets up a legally-binding global emission-cutting agreement, implements the Paris Agreement which staples the INDCs between countries and it should be compatible, adapting a transparent mechanism in surveillance of country's activities relating mitigation and adaptation.

## 2.3. Rationale behind the EU's role on climate governance

The competition of making a standardised policy in the international regime, such as an instrument for market-based emission trading has been a factor for the EU to step forward after signing the KP.<sup>45</sup> However, the pressure of ratifying the KP has pushed the EU's Member States into a fast-track of law-making at the European level. This has a direct impact on Member States' domestic policy making.

At the European level, a legally agreement binding on GHG emissions reduction was preferred by cross parties and countries due to the preparation of the Kyoto COP in 1995 for the first time at the European level. By the time being, the EU internal climate policy making has followed the unique qualified majority voting on co-decision procedure rules, which the EU institutions have abilities to bypass the national legislative procedures, and make the institutionalised framework on climate issues at the European level. The Commission, the Council and the Parliament as well as leading Member States, have been acting entrepreneurs to enlist the climate policy into top political agendas in the sense of speeding up the legislative process.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, the internal financial arrangement and differentiated target-sharing agreement guaranteed that all of Member States are in favour of the legally-binding of GHG emissions reduction. Based on the common position of emissions reduction target, the EU has achieved a leading role in the international climate negotiations since the KP.

At the international level, the rationality of the EU is self-interested and self-driven, but not necessarily be unitary. The EU's interest is based on the perception of an increasing threat caused by the global climate change and the belief in the IPCC scientific reports, the EU and its Member States are in favour of establishing an international cooperation (UNFCCC) on the legally-binding regime (such as the KP). The idea of the KP is that the regime can reduce uncertainties caused by defection (unlimited emissions)

---

42 European Commission (2019c). Press release.

43 Battery 2030 (2019).

44 Von der Leyen (2020).

45 Cao (2012). p. 108.

46 Cao (2012). p. 109.

and asymmetrical problems (monitoring and transparency), and converge the expectation (reducing the GHG emissions). The game theoretical model portrays that the EU's strategic choice on international climate negotiations is more alike Stag Hunt, but not quietly since it is still in the game of KP while the U.S' withdrawal in 2001. With the development of the EU-ETS since 2005, the EU's strategy is more alike of choosing the Prisoners Dilemma, who is insisting on the 'polluter pays' principle rather than upholding the KP's CBDR principle. The EU-wide legally binding on GHG reductions has made the EU and the Member States being in favour of having the compulsory emission reductions target for others under the KP which is based on different historical industrial developing stages. However, the implementation of the EU-ETS has driven the EU to push a market-based instrument combating the GHG emission reduction in the international organisation whoever it comes.<sup>47</sup>

The EU's strategy of being a leader to ratify the KP was a rational behaviour to reach a consensus without an hegemonic power at the international level. Having a flexible mechanism and insisting on the CBDR principle has shown that the EU chooses both stag-hunting and persuasion strategy as a means to convincing its industrial counterparts in the Annex I and developing countries in the Non-Annex I. Besides, the commitments to mobilize financial aids and to provide technological assistance has its strategic importance for the EU's climate diplomacy and economic cooperation with developing countries in future. However, following the implementation of the EU-ETS, the EU is more likely to choose the Prisoners' Dilemma by employing the market-based instrument to including international aviation industry into its emission regulating regime, although it has caused international political and economic disputes, mainly between the U.S, China and Russia.

### 3. The conflicts and cooperation between the EU and China

The main difference between the EU and China is due to their different understandings regarding the CBDR principle. As the Chinese government has stressed, the implementation of the Paris Agreement shall reflect the principle. However, the EU reckons that the Paris Agreement is the first step to reach a global emission-cutting legally-binding agreement. The Agreement has set up a surveillance mechanism to monitor committed countries' mitigation or adaptation activities.<sup>48</sup> The reporting and reviewing system will be adopted by all parties who ratify the Paris Agreement in the near future.<sup>49</sup>

The main conflicts have arisen in the aviation industry in 2009 after EU started to charge non-EU airline companies for carbon emissions, causing a political dispute more than just a climate problem. Not until March 2011, the China Air Transport Association ("CATA") made an official statement to claim that it is against the inclusion of the aviation industry into the EU-ETS.<sup>50</sup> In its statement, CATA claimed that EU's regulation including all flights in and from the EU violates the CBDR principle followed by the international community on the climate change issue. The EU's unilateral action is not only against the rules of the Chicago Convention, but also adds global transaction costs for the aviation industry when combating carbon emission reduction.

The conflict mirrors the different interpretations of the CBDR principle between the EU and China. This divergence is contrary to promote cooperation between both sides.

In line with institutional building, the EU and China have set up a mechanism to communicate. Many climate-related projects have been carried out, such as the establishment of the "China-EU Institute for Clean and Renewable Energy",<sup>51</sup> the "UK-China (Guangdong) Carbon Capture and Storage Centre".<sup>52</sup> The

---

47 Ibid.

48 UNFCCC (2015b). Part III; United Nations (2015). Article 13, pp. 16-17.

49 Pauw, Mbeva and Van Asselt (2019). p. 3.

50 China Aviation and Transport Association (2011).

51 China-EU Institute for Clean and Renewable Energy.

52 UK-China (Guangdong) Carbon Capture and Storage Centre.

EU is helping China to conduct a pilot program which aims to set up a national-wide carbon market. This significant program officially started in 2014, and China announced to start the national carbon market by the end of 2017.<sup>53</sup> The EU-China Joint Statement on Climate Change was delivered in 2015. In 2018, both sides reaffirmed the importance of combatting climate change and welcomed the adoption of the *Leaders' Statement on Climate Change and Clean Energy*,<sup>54</sup> and the *Memorandum of Understanding to Enhance Cooperation on Emissions Trading* between the European Commission and the Ministry of Ecology and Environment of China.<sup>55</sup> They committed to contributing actively to the conclusion of the Paris Agreement Work Programme at COP 24 in Katowice in 2018 in order to ensure full and effective implementation of the Paris Agreement.<sup>56</sup>

## Conclusion

Both China and the EU have been changing their views on global climate governance. China changed her position from “being impossible for China’s cutting GHG emissions before it reaches to the middle-developed country”<sup>57</sup> to deliver its INDCs in 2015. The EU changed her stance from insisting on the CBDR principle to gradually abandoning it, to formulating a legally-binding global agreement, saying the Paris Agreement.

During the certain period of time, the EU and China still coexist with conflicts and cooperation towards global climate governance. Their different interpretations regarding the CBDR principle under the UNFCCC has damaged the mutual trust between them at a certain level. On one hand, like other developed countries, the EU accuses the emerging countries, (including China) for “free riding” of public goods offered by the international climate negotiations; on the other hand, developing countries complain that the developed countries (including the EU) are downplaying their GHG emission cutting target as well as their contribution to climate financing.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, developing countries have stressed that they are short of resources and institutional capacity in order to meet the requirements for implementing the global rules on climate change.

However, in the last decade, the Chinese government has made significant developments regarding its willingness and its cooperative ability.<sup>59</sup> Due to being in different phases in terms of economic development, there remains a certain level of gap between China and the EU’s position in the global climate governance. The EU plays the leading role and has the power of agenda-setting in the global governance process. As a main emerging developing country and one of the biggest polluters, China will continually adapt mitigation and reduction policies addressing on climate change by enhancing mechanisms and capacities to effectively defend against related risks in key sectors, such as industry, agriculture, forestry and water resources. Through implementing proactive national strategies on climate change, promoting carbon emission trading market etc., China is putting its best efforts to gain trust from the international community. In reality, the EU and China will not be able to achieve the goal of decarbonized development in the global climate governance regime, if they don’t establish a solid and progressive cooperation in the future.

---

53 Xinhua Net (2017).

54 EU-China Statement of “Leaders’ Statement on Climate Change and Clean Energy” (2018).

55 MoU (2018).

56 EU-China Joint Statement (2018). p. 9.

57 Zhuang (2008). p. 9.

58 International Institute for Sustainable Development (2009). p. 12.

59 Cao (2015). p. 57.



## Reference

- Battery 2030 (2019). The European Green Deal. 12 December 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://battery2030.eu/news/news-detail/?tarContentId=846662>.
- Bergamaschi, Luca and Sartori, Nicolò (2018). The Geopolitics of Climate A Transatlantic Dialogue. IAI working paper, June.
- China Aviation and Transport Association (2011). CATA's Statement on EU-ETS's inclusion of aviation industry. 21 March 2011 [online]. Available at: <http://news.carnoc.com/list/186/186414.html>.
- China-EU Institute for Clean and Renewable Energy (N.D). About ICARE. [Online]. Available at: [http://icare.hust.edu.cn/English/introduction/About\\_ICARE.htm](http://icare.hust.edu.cn/English/introduction/About_ICARE.htm).
- Cao, Hui (2012). *The European Union's climate change policy: in the nexus of internal policy-making and international negotiations*. December 2012. Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Cao, Hui (2015). China and EU in the global climate governance: idea, action and cooperation. *The Journal of European Studies*, 33(5), pp.50-65.
- Cao, Hui (2018). Guiding climate governance, pushing green development. *Chinese Social Sciences Today* (Chinese version), 31 October 2018. p.4.
- China.org.cn (2011). China's real actions reflects its active role against climate change. 30 November 2011[online]. Available at: [http://www.china.com.cn/international/zhuanti/cop17/2011\\_11/30/content\\_24041229.htm](http://www.china.com.cn/international/zhuanti/cop17/2011_11/30/content_24041229.htm).
- China.org.cn (2015a). China's 20 billion on establishing China Climate South to South Cooperation Fund. 27 September 2015 [online]. Available at: [http://news.china.com.cn/2015-09/27/content\\_36692444.htm](http://news.china.com.cn/2015-09/27/content_36692444.htm).
- China.org.cn (2015b). China made tangible contribution to progress in addressing climate change. 2 December 2015 [online]. Available at: [http://www.china.org.cn/environment/news/2015-12/02/content\\_37212536.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/environment/news/2015-12/02/content_37212536.htm).
- China Meteorological Administration (2015). China to continue to advance intl's climate cooperation: XI. 1 December 2015[online]. Available at: [www.cma.gov.cn/en2014/news/News/201512/t20151201\\_298718.html](http://www.cma.gov.cn/en2014/news/News/201512/t20151201_298718.html).
- China's National Energy Administration (2012). China: 12th Five-Year Plan on Solar Power Development (in Chinese), September 2012 [online]. Available at: <https://policy.asiapacificenergy.org/node/41>.
- Chinese Government Legal Information Net (2014). Law on Environment Protection in The People's Republic of China. Article 31, 25 April 2014 [online]. Available at: [http://www.moj.gov.cn/Department/content/2014-04/25/592\\_201403.html](http://www.moj.gov.cn/Department/content/2014-04/25/592_201403.html).
- Council of the European Union (Environment) (1996). 1956th Council Meeting: Environment. 15 October 1996. 10458/96. Brussels.
- Council of the European Union (1997). Conclusion on Community Strategy on Climate Change. CONS/ENV/97/1, REV 1. Brussels.
- Depledge, Joanna and Yamin, Farhana (2009). The global climate-change regime: a defence. In: Helm, Dieter and Hepburn, Cameron (eds.) *The economics and politics of climate change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- EU-China Joint Statement (2018). Beijing, 16 July 2018 [online]. Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/36165/final-eu-cn-joint-statement-consolidated-text-with-climate-change-clean-energy-annex.pdf>.
- EU-China Joint Statement on "Leaders' Statement on Climate Change and Clean Energy" (2018). Beijing, 16 July 2018 [online]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/clima/sites/clima/files/news/20180713\\_statement\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/clima/sites/clima/files/news/20180713_statement_en.pdf).

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2015). Annual Report 2014 – overview. 14 May 2015 [online]. Available at: <https://www.ebrd.com/publications/annual-report-2014.pdf>.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2018). Energy Sector Strategy 2019-2023” Report. 12 December 2018 [online]. Available at: <https://www.ebrd.com/power-and-energy/ebd-energy-sector-strategy.pdf>.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2018). Thematic Evaluation: Review of the EBRD Energy Sector Strategy (2014-2018)– Management Comments. April 2018 [online]. Available at: <https://www.ebrd.com/documents/evaluation/review-of-energy-sector-strategy-2018.pdf>.

European Commission (2014). 2014 annual report: on the European Union’s development and external assistance policies and their implementation in 2013. Brussels 13 August 2014 [online]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/media/publications/annual\\_report/2013/COM\\_2014\\_537\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/media/publications/annual_report/2013/COM_2014_537_en.pdf).

European Commission (2015). The Paris Protocol – A blueprint for tackling global climate change beyond 2020. Brussels, COM (2015) 81 final. 25 February 2015 [online]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/clima/sites/clima/files/international/paris\\_protocol/docs/swd\\_2015\\_17\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/clima/sites/clima/files/international/paris_protocol/docs/swd_2015_17_en.pdf).

European Commission (2019a). The European Green Deal. Brussels, COM (2019) 640 final. 11 December 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1596443911913&uri=CELEX:52019DC0640#document2>.

European Commission (2019b). The European Green Deal. 12 December 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/eip/agriculture/en/news/european-green-deal>.

European Commission (2019c). The European Green Deal sets out how to make Europe the first climate-neutral continent by 2050, boosting the economy, improving people’s health and quality of life, caring for nature, and leaving no one behind. 11 December 2019 [online]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_19\\_6691](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_19_6691).

European Council and the Council of European Union (2018). Joint statement of the 20th EU-China Summit. 16 July 2018 [online]. Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2018/07/16/joint-statement-of-the-20th-eu-china-summit/>.

European External Actions Service (2015). “Joint statement of the 20th EU-China Summit “, 17 July 2015 [online]. Available at: [https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/china\\_en/48424/Joint%20statement%20of%20the%2020th%20EU-China%20Summit](https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/china_en/48424/Joint%20statement%20of%20the%2020th%20EU-China%20Summit).

European Parliament (2010). Press release on Climate Change: Call for a ‘new climate diplomacy’. Strasbourg. 10 February 2010. EP10-025EN.

Finamore, Barbara A. (2020). China’s Quest for Global Clean Energy Leadership. IAI working paper No.20/05, January 2020.

Frankfurt School-UNEP Centre/BNEF (2019). Global Trends in Renewable Energy Investment 2019. Frankfurt am Main, September 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/29752/GTR2019.pdf>.

Giddens, Anthony (2011). *The Politics of Climate Change* (2nd Edition), Cambridge: Polity Press.

Groen, Lisanne; Niemann, Arne and Oberthür, Sebastian (2012). EU as a Global Leader? The Copenhagen and Cancun UN Climate Change Negotiations”, *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 8(2), pp. 173-191.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2010). *Guidance Note for Lead Authors of the IPCC Fifth Assessment Report on Consistent Treatment of Uncertainties*. Geneva, Switzerland.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2014). *Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report Summary for Policymakers, Contribution of working group II to the fifth assessment report of the intergovernmental panel on climate change*. Cambridge University Press.

- International Energy Agency (2019). Renewables 2019: Market analysis and forecast from 2019 to 2024. October 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://www.iea.org/reports/renewables-2019>.
- International Institute for Sustainable Development (2009). "Earth Negotiation Bulletin: Summary of the Bangkok Climate Change Talks: 28 September – 9 October 2009". 12 October 2009 [online]. Available at: <http://enb.iisd.org/download/pdf/enb12439e.pdf>.
- International Institute for Sustainable Development (2014). Cartagena Dialogue to Accelerate Preparations for Post-2020 Targets. 4 April 2014 [online]. Available at: <http://sdg.iisd.org/news/cartagena-dialogue-to-accelerate-preparations-for-post-2020-targets/>.
- Kalantzakos, Sophia (2017). *The EU, US and China Tackling Climate Change: Policies and Alliances for the Anthropocene*. London: Routledge
- Ministry of Ecology and Environment of People of Republic of China (2019). China's policies and actions addressing on climate change. November 2019 [online]. Available at: <http://english.mee.gov.cn/Resources/Reports/reports/201912/P020191204495763994956.pdf>.
- MoU to Enhance Cooperation on Emission Trading between the European Commission and the Ministry of Ecology and Environment of the People's Republic of China (2018). Beijing, 13 July 2018 [online]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/clima/sites/clima/files/news/20180713\\_mou\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/clima/sites/clima/files/news/20180713_mou_en.pdf).
- Oberthür, Sebastian and Kelly, Claire Roche (2008). EY Leadership in International Climate Policy: Achievements and Challenges. *The International Spectator*, 43(3), September, pp. 35-50.
- Oberthür, Sebastian and Pallemmaert, Marc (eds.) (2010). *The New Climate Policies of the European Union*. April 2010, Brussels: VUB Press.
- Pauw, Peiter; Mbeva, Kennedy and van Asselt, Harro (2019). Subtle differentiation of countries responsibilities under the Paris Agreement. *Palgrave Communication Access*, 5(86), pp. 1-7.
- Renewable Energy World (2019). End of the Year Wrap-Up: Five Figures Show China's Renewable Energy Growth in 2019. *Renewable Energy World*. 1 December 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://www.renewableenergyworld.com/?p=304052>.
- Renews.BIZ (2020). EU, EBRD launch North Africa green finance initiative. 30 June 2020 [online]. Available at: <https://renews.biz/61345/eu-ebrd-launch-north-africa-green-finance-initiative/>.
- Schunz, Simon; Happaerts, Sander and Van den Brande, Karoline (2009). European Union Foreign Policy and Global Climate Change: Towards a Comprehensive European Climate Diplomacy. *Policy Brief*, No. 12. 2009. Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies.
- The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China (2011). China's Policies and Actions for Addressing Climate Change. 22 November 2011 [online]. Available at: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/ztk/dtzt/64/3/Document/1052759/1052759.htm>.
- UK-China (Guangdong) Carbon Capture and Storage Centre (N.D). Background of Centre Establishment. [online]. Available at: <http://www.gdccus.org/en/about.jsp>.
- United Nations (2015). Paris Agreement. December 2015 [online]. Available at: [https://unfccc.int/files/essential\\_background/convention/application/pdf/english\\_paris\\_agreement.pdf](https://unfccc.int/files/essential_background/convention/application/pdf/english_paris_agreement.pdf).
- UNFCCC (2015a). "China submits its Climate Action Plan Ahead of 2015 Paris Agreement", 30 June 2015 [online]. Available at: <https://www4.unfccc.int/sites/submissions/INDC/Published%20Documents/China/1/China's%20INDC%20-%20on%2030%20June%202015.pdf>.
- UNFCCC (2015b). *Adoption of the Paris Agreement*. 12 December 2015. FCCC/CP/2015/L.9/Rev.1. Bonn.
- UNFCCC (2019). "CDM". 29 December 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://cdm.unfccc.int/Projects/projsearch.html>.



Von der Leyen, Ursula (2020). Coronavirus: President von der Leyen outlines EU budget as Marshall Plan for Europe's recovery speech at the European Parliament. 16 April 2020 [online]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/ireland/news/president-von-der-leyen-addresses-european-parliament-on-the-eu-coordinated-action-to-combat-the-coronavirus-pandemic\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/ireland/news/president-von-der-leyen-addresses-european-parliament-on-the-eu-coordinated-action-to-combat-the-coronavirus-pandemic_en).

Xinhua Net (2014). Built a community with a shared future for mankind”, Keynote speech by President Xin Jinping in China-Latin America and the Caribbean Countries Leaders' Meeting in Brasilia. 18 July 2014 [online]. Available at: [http://www.news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2014-07/18/c\\_1111688827.htm](http://www.news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2014-07/18/c_1111688827.htm).

Xinhua Net (2017). National Carbon Emission System starts, what will Chinese carbon market be? 20 December 2017 [online]. Available at: [http://www.xinhuanet.com/2017-12/20/c\\_1122137497.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/2017-12/20/c_1122137497.htm).

Zhuang, Guiyang (2008). International climate governance and China's strategic choice in post-era of the Kyoto Protocol. *World Economics and Politics*, Vol.8, pp. 6-15.

# Números Publicados

## Serie Unión Europea y Relaciones Internacionales

- Nº 1/2000 “La política monetaria única de la Unión Europea”  
Rafael Pampillón Olmedo
- Nº 2/2000 “Nacionalismo e integración”  
Leonardo Caruana de las Cagigas y Eduardo González Calleja
- Nº 1/2001 “Standard and Harmonize: Tax Arbitrage”  
Nohemi Boal Velasco y Mariano González Sánchez
- Nº 2/2001 “Alemania y la ampliación al este: convergencias y divergencias”  
José María Beneyto Pérez
- Nº 3/2001 “Towards a common European diplomacy? Analysis of the European Parliament resolution on establishing a common diplomacy (A5-0210/2000)”  
Belén Becerril Atienza y Gerardo Galeote Quecedo
- Nº 4/2001 “La Política de Inmigración en la Unión Europea”  
Patricia Argerey Vilar
- Nº 1/2002 “ALCA: Adiós al modelo de integración europea?”  
Mario Jaramillo Contreras
- Nº 2/2002 “La crisis de Oriente Medio: Palestina”  
Leonardo Caruana de las Cagigas
- Nº 3/2002 “El establecimiento de una delimitación más precisa de las competencias entre la Unión Europea y los Estados miembros”  
José María Beneyto y Claus Giering
- Nº 4/2002 “La sociedad anónima europea”  
Manuel García Riestra
- Nº 5/2002 “Jerarquía y tipología normativa, procesos legislativos y separación de poderes en la Unión Europea: hacia un modelo más claro y transparente”  
Alberto Gil Ibáñez
- Nº 6/2002 “Análisis de situación y opciones respecto a la posición de las Regiones en el ámbito de la UE. Especial atención al Comité de las Regiones”  
Alberto Gil Ibáñez
- Nº 7/2002 “Die Festlegung einer genaueren Abgrenzung der Kompetenzen zwischen der Europäischen Union und den Mitgliedstaaten”  
José María Beneyto y Claus Giering
- Nº 1/2003 “Un español en Europa. Una aproximación a Juan Luis Vives”  
José Peña González
- Nº 2/2003 “El mercado del arte y los obstáculos fiscales ¿Una asignatura pendiente en la Unión Europea?”  
Pablo Siegrist Ridruejo

- Nº 1/2004 “Evolución en el ámbito del pensamiento de las relaciones España-Europa”  
José Peña González
- Nº 2/2004 “La sociedad europea: un régimen fragmentario con intención armonizadora”  
Alfonso Martínez Echevarría y García de Dueñas
- Nº 3/2004 “Tres operaciones PESD: Bosnia i Herzegovina, Macedonia y República Democrática de Congo”  
Berta Carrión Ramírez
- Nº 4/2004 “Turquía: El largo camino hacia Europa”  
Delia Contreras
- Nº 5/2004 “En el horizonte de la tutela judicial efectiva, el TJCE supera la interpretación restrictiva de la legitimación activa mediante el uso de la cuestión prejudicial y la excepción de ilegalidad”  
Alfonso Rincón García Loygorri
- Nº 1/2005 “The Biret cases: what effects do WTO dispute settlement rulings have in EU law?”  
Adrian Emch
- Nº 2/2005 “Las ofertas públicas de adquisición de títulos desde la perspectiva comunitaria en el marco de la creación de un espacio financiero integrado”  
José María Beneyto y José Puente
- Nº 3/2005 “Las regiones ultraperiféricas de la UE: evolución de las mismas como consecuencia de las políticas específicas aplicadas. Canarias como ejemplo”  
Carlota González Láynez
- Nº 24/2006 “El Imperio Otomano: ¿por tercera vez a las puertas de Viena?”  
Alejandra Arana
- Nº 25/2006 “Bioterrorismo: la amenaza latente”  
Ignacio Ibáñez Ferrándiz
- Nº 26/2006 “Inmigración y redefinición de la identidad europea”  
Diego Acosta Arcarazo
- Nº 27/2007 “Procesos de integración en Sudamérica. Un proyecto más ambicioso: la comunidad sudamericana de naciones”  
Raquel Turienzo Carracedo
- Nº 28/2007 “El poder del derecho en el orden internacional. Estudio crítico de la aplicación de la norma democrática por el Consejo de Seguridad y la Unión Europea”  
Gaspar Atienza Becerril
- Nº 29/2008 “Iraqi Kurdistan: Past, Present and Future. A look at the history, the contemporary situation and the future for the Kurdish parts of Iraq”  
Egil Thorsås
- Nº 30/2008 “Los desafíos de la creciente presencia de China en el continente africano”  
Marisa Caroço Amaro
- Nº 31/2009 “La cooperación al desarrollo: un traje a medida para cada contexto. Las prioridades para la promoción de la buena gobernanza en terceros países: la Unión Europea, los Estados Unidos y la Organización de las Naciones Unidas”  
Anne Van Nistelroo
- Nº 32/2009 “Desafíos y oportunidades en las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y Turquía”  
Manuela Gambino
- Nº 33/2010 “Las relaciones trasatlánticas tras la crisis financiera internacional: oportunidades para la Presidencia Española”  
Román Escolano

- Nº 34/2010 “Los derechos fundamentales en los tratados europeos. Evolución y situación actual”  
Silvia Ortiz Herrera
- Nº 35/2010 “La Unión Europea ante los retos de la democratización en Cuba”  
Delia Contreras
- Nº 36/2010 “La asociación estratégica UE-Brasil. Retórica y pragmatismo en las relaciones Euro-Brasileñas” (Vol 1 y 2)  
Ana Isabel Rodríguez Iglesias
- Nº 37/2011 “China’s foreign policy: A European Perspective”  
Fernando Delage y Gracia Abad
- Nº 38/2011 “China’s Priorities and Strategy in China-EU Relations”  
Chen Zhimin, Dai Bingran, Zhongqi Pan and Ding Chun
- Nº 39/2011 “Motor or Brake for European Policies? Germany’s new role in the EU after the Lisbon-Judgment of its Federal Constitutional Court”  
Ingolf Pernice
- Nº 40/2011 “Back to Square One - the Past, Present and Future of the Simmenthal Mandate”  
Siniša Rodin
- Nº 41/2011 “Lisbon before the Courts: Comparative Perspectives”  
Mattias Wendel
- Nº 42/2011 “The Spanish Constitutional Court, European Law and the constitutional traditions common to the Member States (Art. 6.3 TUE). Lisbon and beyond”  
Antonio López-Pina
- Nº 43/2011 “Women in the Islamic Republic of Iran: The Paradox of less Rights and more Opportunities”  
Désirée Emilie Simonetti
- Nº 44/2011 “China and the Global Political Economy”  
Weiping Huang & Xinning Song
- Nº 45/2011 “Multilateralism and Soft Diplomacy”  
Juliet Lodge and Angela Carpenter
- Nº 46/2011 “FDI and Business Networks: The EU-China Foreign Direct Investment Relationship”  
Jeremy Clegg and Hinrich Voss
- Nº 47/2011 “China within the emerging Asian multilateralism and regionalism. As perceived through a comparison with the European Neighborhood Policy”  
Maria-Eugenia Bardaro & Frederik Ponjaert
- Nº 48/2011 “Multilateralism and global governance”  
Mario Telò
- Nº 49/2011 “EU-China: Bilateral Trade Relations and Business Cooperation”  
Enrique Fanjul
- Nº 50/2011 “Political Dialogue in EU-China Relations”  
José María Beneyto, Alicia Sorroza, Inmaculada Hurtado y Justo Corti
- Nº 51/2011 “La Política Energética Exterior de la Unión Europea. Entre dependencia, seguridad de abastecimiento, mercado y geopolítica”  
Marco Villa
- Nº 52/2011 “Los Inicios del Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior”  
Macarena Esteban Guadalix

- Nº 53/2011 “Holding Europe’s CFSP/CSDP Executive to Account in the Age of the Lisbon Treaty”  
Daniel Thym
- Nº 54/2011 “El conflicto en el Ártico: ¿hacia un tratado internacional?”  
Alberto Trillo Barca
- Nº 55/2012 “Turkey’s Accession to the European Union: Going Nowhere”  
William Chislett
- Nº 56/2012 “Las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y la Federación Rusa en materia de seguridad y defensa Reflexiones al calor del nuevo concepto estratégico de la Alianza Atlántica”  
Jesús Elguea Palacios
- Nº 57/2012 “The Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-2020: A Preliminary analysis of the Spanish position”  
Mario Kölling y Cristina Serrano Leal
- Nº 58/2012 “Preserving Sovereignty, Delaying the Supranational Constitutional Moment? The CJEU as the Anti-Model for regional judiciaries”  
Allan F. Tatham
- Nº 59/2012 “La participación de las Comunidades Autónomas en el diseño y la negociación de la Política de Cohesión para el periodo 2014-2020”  
Mario Kölling y Cristina Serrano Leal
- Nº 60/2012 “El planteamiento de las asociaciones estratégicas: la respuesta europea ante los desafíos que presenta el nuevo orden mundial”  
Javier García Toni
- Nº 61/2012 “La dimensión global del Constitucionalismo Multinivel. Una respuesta legal a los desafíos de la globalización”  
Ingolf Pernice
- Nº 62/2012 “EU External Relations: the Governance Mode of Foreign Policy”  
Gráinne de Búrca
- Nº 63/2012 “La propiedad intelectual en China: cambios y adaptaciones a los cánones internacionales”  
Paula Tallón Queija
- Nº 64/2012 “Contribuciones del presupuesto comunitario a la gobernanza global: claves desde Europa”  
Cristina Serrano Leal
- Nº 65/2013 “Las Relaciones Germano-Estadounidenses entre 1933 y 1945”  
Pablo Guerrero García
- Nº 66/2013 “El futuro de la agricultura europea ante los nuevos desafíos mundiales”  
Marta Llorca Gomis, Raquel Antón Martín, Carmen Durán Vizán,  
Jaime del Olmo Morillo-Velarde
- Nº 67/2013 “¿Cómo será la guerra en el futuro? La perspectiva norteamericana”  
Salvador Sánchez Tapia
- Nº 68/2013 “Políticas y Estrategias de Comunicación de la Comisión Europea”  
Actores y procesos desde que se aprueban hasta que la información llega a la ciudadanía española  
Marta Hernández Ruiz
- Nº 69/2013 “El reglamento europeo de sucesiones. Tribunales competentes y ley aplicable. Excepciones al principio general de unidad de ley”  
Silvia Ortiz Herrera
- Nº 70/2013 “Private Sector Protagonism in U.S. Humanitarian Aid”  
Sarah Elizabeth Capers

- Nº 71/2014 “Integration of Turkish Minorities in Germany”  
Iraia Eizmendi Alonso
- Nº 72/2014 “La imagen de España en el exterior: La Marca España”  
Marta Sabater Ramis
- Nº 73/2014 “Aportaciones del Mercado Interior y la política de competencia europea: lecciones a considerar por otras áreas de integración regional”  
Jerónimo Maillo
- Nº 74/2015 “Las relaciones de la UE con sus socios meridionales a la luz de la Primavera Árabe”  
Paloma Luengos Fernández
- Nº 75/2015 “De Viena a Sarajevo: un estudio del equilibrio de poder en Europa entre 1815 y 1914”  
Álvaro Silva Soto
- Nº 76/2015 “El avance de la ultraderecha en la Unión Europea como consecuencia de la crisis: Una perspectiva del contexto político de Grecia y Francia según la teoría del ‘chivo expiatorio’”  
Eduardo Torrecilla Giménez
- Nº 77/2016 “La influencia de los factores culturales en la internacionalización de la empresa: El caso de España y Alemania”  
Blanca Sánchez Goyenechea
- Nº 78/2016 “La Cooperación Estructurada Permanente como instrumento para una defensa común”  
Elena Martínez Padilla
- Nº 79/2017 “The European refugee crisis and the EU-Turkey deal on migrants and refugees”  
Guido Savasta
- Nº 80/2017 “Brexit:How did the UK get here?”  
Izabela Daleszak
- Nº 81/2017 “Las ONGD españolas: necesidad de adaptación al nuevo contexto para sobrevivir”  
Carmen Moreno Quintero
- Nº 82/2017 “Los nuevos instrumentos y los objetivos de política económica en la UE: efectos de la crisis sobre las desigualdades”  
Miguel Moltó
- Nº 83/2017 “Peace and Reconciliation Processes: The Northern Irish case and its lessons”  
Carlos Johnston Sánchez
- Nº 84/2018 “Cuba en el mundo: el papel de Estados Unidos, la Unión Europea y España”  
Paula Foces Rubio
- Nº 85/2018 “Environmental Protection Efforts and the Threat of Climate Change in the Arctic: Examined Through International Perspectives Including the European Union and the United States of America”  
Kristina Morris
- Nº 86/2018 “La Unión Europea pide la palabra en la (nueva) escena internacional”  
José Martín y Pérez de Nanclares
- Nº 87/2019 “El impacto de la integración regional africana dentro del marco de asociación UE-ACP y su implicación en las relaciones post Cotonú 2020”  
Sandra Moreno Ayala
- Nº 88/2019 “Lucha contra el narcotráfico: un análisis comparativo del PlanColombia y la Iniciativa Mérida”  
Blanca Paniego Gámez
- Nº 89/2019 “Desinformación en la UE: ¿amenaza híbrida o fenómenocomunicativo? Evolución de la estrategia de la UE desde 2015”  
Elena Terán González

- Nº 90/2019 “La influencia del caso Puigdemont en la cooperación judicial penal europea”  
Pablo Rivera Rodríguez
- Nº 91/2020 “Trumping Climate Change: National and International Commitments to Climate Change in the Trump Era”  
Olivia Scotti
- Nº 92/2020 “El impacto social de la innovación tecnológica en Europa”  
Ricardo Palomo-Zurdo, Virginia Rey-Paredes, Milagros Gutiérrez-Fernández, Yakira Fernández-Torres
- Nº 93/2020 “El Reglamento sobre la privacidad y las comunicaciones electrónicas, la asignatura pendiente del Mercado Único Digital”  
Ana Gascón Marcén
- Nº 94/2020 “Referencias al tratamiento constitucional de la Unión Europea en algunos Estados Miembros”  
Rafael Ripoll Navarro
- Nº 95/2020 “La identidad europea, ¿en crisis? Reflexiones en torno a los valores comunes en un entorno de cambio”  
Irene Correas Sosa
- Nº 96/2020 “La configuración de un sistema de partidos propiamente europeo”  
Luis Rodrigo de Castro
- Nº 97/2020 “El Banco Asiático de Inversión en Infraestructura. La participación de Europa y de España”  
Amadeo Jensana Tanehashi
- Nº 98/2020 “Nuevas perspectivas en las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y China”  
Georgina Higuera
- Nº 99/2020 “Inversiones Unión Europea-China: ¿hacia una nueva era?”  
Jerónimo Maillo y Javier Porras
- Nº 100/2020 “40 años de reforma: el papel de China en la comunidad internacional”  
Enrique Fanjul
- Nº 101/2020 “A climate for change in the European Union The current crisis implications for EU climate and energy policies”  
Corina Popa
- Nº 102/2020 “La Cooperación Sur-Sur, entre lo ideal y la realidad. Análisis de los casos de Cuba y Haití”  
María Fernández Sánchez
- Nº 103/2020 “El Derecho Internacional Humanitario después de la II Guerra Mundial”  
Gonzalo del Cura Jiménez

## Serie Política de la Competencia y Regulación

- Nº 1/2001 “El control de concentraciones en España: un nuevo marco legislativo para las empresas”  
José María Beneyto
- Nº 2/2001 “Análisis de los efectos económicos y sobre la competencia de la concentración Endesa-Iberdrola”  
Luis Atienza, Javier de Quinto y Richard Watt
- Nº 3/2001 “Empresas en Participación concentrativas y artículo 81 del Tratado CE: Dos años de aplicación del artículo 2(4) del Reglamento CE de control de las operaciones de concentración”  
Jerónimo Maíllo González-Orús
- Nº 1/2002 “Cinco años de aplicación de la Comunicación de 1996 relativa a la no imposición de multas o a la reducción de su importe en los asuntos relacionados con los acuerdos entre empresas”  
Miguel Ángel Peña Castellet
- Nº 1/2002 “Leniency: la política de exoneración del pago de multas en derecho de la competencia”  
Santiago Illundaín Fontoya
- Nº 3/2002 “Dominancia vs. disminución sustancial de la competencia ¿cuál es el criterio más apropiado?: aspectos jurídicos”  
Mercedes García Pérez
- Nº 4/2002 “Test de dominancia vs. test de reducción de la competencia: aspectos económicos”  
Juan Briones Alonso
- Nº 5/2002 “Telecomunicaciones en España: situación actual y perspectivas”  
Bernardo Pérez de León Ponce
- Nº 6/2002 “El nuevo marco regulatorio europeo de las telecomunicaciones”  
Jerónimo González González y Beatriz Sanz Fernández-Vega
- Nº 1/2003 “Some Simple Graphical Interpretations of the Herfindahl-Hirshman Index and their Implications”  
Richard Watt y Javier De Quinto
- Nº 2/2003 “La Acción de Oro o las privatizaciones en un Mercado Único”  
Pablo Siegrist Ridruejo, Jesús Lavalle Merchán y Emilia Gargallo González
- Nº 3/2003 “El control comunitario de concentraciones de empresas y la invocación de intereses nacionales. Crítica del artículo 21.3 del Reglamento 4064/89”  
Pablo Berenguer O´Shea y Vanessa Pérez Lamas
- Nº 1/2004 “Los puntos de conexión en la Ley 1/2002 de 21 de febrero de coordinación de las competencias del Estado y las Comunidades Autónomas en materia de defensa de la competencia”  
Lucana Estévez Mendoza
- Nº 2/2004 “Los impuestos autonómicos sobre los grandes establecimientos comerciales como ayuda de Estado ilícita ex art. 87 TCE”  
Francisco Marcos
- Nº 1/2005 “Servicios de Interés General y Artículo 86 del Tratado CE: Una Visión Evolutiva”  
Jerónimo Maíllo González-Orús



- Nº 2/2005 “La evaluación de los registros de morosos por el Tribunal de Defensa de la Competencia”  
Alfonso Rincón García Loygorri
- Nº 3/2005 “El código de conducta en materia de fiscalidad de las empresas y su relación con el régimen comunitario de ayudas de Estado”  
Alfonso Lamadrid de Pablo
- Nº 18/2006 “Régimen sancionador y clemencia: comentarios al título quinto del anteproyecto de la ley de defensa de la competencia”  
Miguel Ángel Peña Castellot
- Nº 19/2006 “Un nuevo marco institucional en la defensa de la competencia en España”  
Carlos Padrós Reig
- Nº 20/2006 “Las ayudas públicas y la actividad normativa de los poderes públicos en el anteproyecto de ley de defensa de la competencia de 2006”  
Juan Arpio Santacruz
- Nº 21/2006 “La intervención del Gobierno en el control de concentraciones económicas”  
Albert Sánchez Graells
- Nº 22/2006 “La descentralización administrativa de la aplicación del Derecho de la competencia en España”  
José Antonio Rodríguez Miguez
- Nº 23/2007 “Aplicación por los jueces nacionales de la legislación en materia de competencia en el Proyecto de Ley”  
Juan Manuel Fernández López
- Nº 24/2007 “El tratamiento de las restricciones públicas a la competencia”  
Francisco Marcos Fernández
- Nº 25/2008 “Merger Control in the Pharmaceutical Sector and the Innovation Market Assessment. European Analysis in Practice and differences with the American Approach”  
Teresa Lorca Morales
- Nº 26/2008 “Separación de actividades en el sector eléctrico”  
Joaquín M<sup>a</sup> Nebreda Pérez
- Nº 27/2008 “Arbitraje y defensa de la competencia”  
Antonio Creus Carreras y Josep Maria Juliá Insenser
- Nº 28/2008 “El procedimiento de control de concentraciones y la supervisión por organismos reguladores de las Ofertas Públicas de Adquisición”  
Francisco Marcos Fernández
- Nº 29/2009 “Intervención pública en momentos de crisis: el derecho de ayudas de Estado aplicado a la intervención pública directa en las empresas”  
Pedro Callol y Jorge Manzarbeitia
- Nº 30/2010 “Understanding China’s Competition Law & Policy: Merger Control as a Case Study”  
Jerónimo Maillo
- Nº 31/2012 “Autoridades autonómicas de defensa de la competencia en vías de extinción”  
Francisco Marcos
- Nº 32/2013 “¿Qué es un cártel para la CNC?”  
Alfonso Rincón García-Loygorri

- Nº 33/2013 “Tipología de cárteles duros. Un estudio de los casos resueltos por la CNC”  
Justo Corti Varela
- Nº 34/2013 “Autoridades responsables de la lucha contra los cárteles en España y la Unión Europea”  
José Antonio Rodríguez Miguez
- Nº 35/2013 “Una revisión de la literatura económica sobre el funcionamiento interno de los cárteles y sus efectos económicos”  
María Jesús Arroyo Fernández y Begoña Blasco Torrejón
- Nº 36/2013 “Poderes de Investigación de la Comisión Nacional de la Competencia”  
Alberto Escudero
- Nº 37/2013 “Screening de la autoridad de competencia: Mejores prácticas internacionales”  
María Jesús Arroyo Fernández y Begoña Blasco Torrejón
- Nº 38/2013 “Objetividad, predictibilidad y determinación normativa. Los poderes normativos *ad extra* de las autoridades de defensa de la competencia en el control de los cárteles”  
Carlos Padrós Reig
- Nº 39/2013 “La revisión jurisdiccional de los expedientes sancionadores de cárteles”  
Fernando Díez Estella
- Nº 40/2013 “Programas de recompensas para luchar contra los cárteles en Europa: una comparativa con terceros países”  
Jerónimo Maíllo González-Orús
- Nº 41/2014 “La Criminalización de los Cárteles en la Unión Europea”  
Amparo Lozano Maneiro
- Nº 42/2014 “Posibilidad de sancionar penalmente los cárteles en España, tanto en el presente como en el futuro”  
Álvaro Mendo Estrella
- Nº 43/2014 “La criminalización de los hardcore cartels: reflexiones a partir de la experiencia de EE. UU. y Reino Unido”  
María Gutiérrez Rodríguez
- Nº 44/2014 “La escasez de acciones de daños y perjuicios derivadas de ilícitos antitrust en España, ¿Por qué?”  
Fernando Díez Estella
- Nº 45/2014 “Cuantificación de daños de los cárteles duros. Una visión económica”  
Rodolfo Ramos Melero
- Nº 46/2014 “El procedimiento sancionador en materia de cárteles”  
Alfonso Lamadrid de Pablo y José Luis Buendía Sierra
- Nº 47/2014 “Japanese Cartel Control in Transition”  
Mel Marquis and Tadashi Shiraishi
- Nº 48/2015 “Una evaluación económica de la revisión judicial de las sanciones impuestas por la CNMC por infracciones anticompetitivas”  
Javier García-Verdugo

- Nº 49/2015 “The role of tax incentives on the energy sector under the Climate Change’s challenges  
Pasquale Pistone”  
Iñaki Bilbao
- Nº 50/2015 “Energy taxation and key legal concepts in the EU State aid context: looking for a common  
understanding”  
Marta Villar Ezcurra and Pernille Wegener Jessen
- Nº 51/2015 “Energy taxation and key legal concepts in the EU State aid context: looking for a common  
understanding Energy Tax Incentives and the GBER regime”  
Joachim English
- Nº 52/2016 “The Role of the Polluter Pays Principle and others Key Legal Principles in Energy Taxes, on  
an State aid Context”  
José A. Rozas
- Nº 53/2016 “EU Energy Taxation System & State Aid Control Critical Analysis from Competitiveness  
and Environmental Protection Objectives”  
Jerónimo Maillo, Edoardo Traversa, Justo Corti and Alice Pirlot
- Nº 54/2016 “Energy Taxation and State Aids: Analysis of Comparative Law”  
Marta Villar Ezcurra and Janet Milne
- Nº 55/2016 “Case-Law on the Control of Energy Taxes and Tax Reliefs under European Union Law”  
Álvaro del Blanco, Lorenzo del Federico, Cristina García Herrera, Concetta Ricci, Caterina  
Verrigni and Silvia Giorgi
- Nº 56/2017 “El modelo de negocio de Uber y el sector del transporte urbano de viajeros: implicaciones  
en materia de competencia”  
Ana Goizueta Zubimendi
- Nº 57/2017 “EU Cartel Settlement procedure: an assessment of its results 10 years later”  
Jerónimo Maillo
- Nº 58/2019 “Quo Vadis Global Governance? Assessing China and EU Relations in the New Global  
Economic Order”  
Julia Kreienkamp and Dr Tom Pegram
- Nº 59/2019 “From Source-oriented to Residence-oriented: China’s International Tax Law Reshaped  
by BRI?”  
Jie Wang
- Nº 60/2020 “The EU-China trade partnership from a European tax perspective”  
Elena Masegla Miszczyszyn, Marie Lamensch, Edoardo Traversa, Marta Villar Ezcurra
- Nº 61/2020 “A Study on China’s Measures for the Decoupling of the Economic Growth and the  
Carbon Emission”  
Rao Lei, Gao Min

**Abstract:** By comparing Chinese and European ideas and roles in the process of global climate governance, it is evidenced that both have changed after the ratification of the “Kyoto Protocol”. Although there is a serious divergence between China and the EU regarding their understandings of “the common but differentiated responsibility” principle, the space for cooperation between them is expanding, especially after the signature of the “Paris Agreement”. This result comes not only from China’s persistent improvement of its cooperative willingness and capacity, but also from the EU’s leading role in collaborating with emerging countries like China towards global climate governance, as well as its ambition at the domestic level, established in the European Green Deal.

**Keywords:** global climate governance, European Union, China.

#### Partners of the Jean Monnet Network



Chinese Academy of Social Sciences



Fudan  
University



University College London



Université  
catholique  
de Louvain

Real Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos  
Universidad CEU San Pablo  
Avda. del Valle 21, 28003 Madrid  
Teléfono: 91 514 04 22 | Fax: 91 514 04 28  
idee@ceu.es, [www.ideo.ceu.es](http://www.ideo.ceu.es)

ISBN: 978-84-17385-97-2

