欧盟中国商会《周•知》

WEEKLY UPDATES

Special Issue on US Election

What will transatlantic approach on China look like in the years to come?

The world transfixed by the closer-than-expected U.S. presidential fight awaits the next. Votes are still being counted and no winner has been declared yet. More than a day after polls closed, Joe Biden flipped Wisconsin and Michigan and now is taking a slim lead in Georgia and Nevada, which may clear his way to the White House. As of this writing, Biden holds 264 electoral votes vis-a-vis Donald Trump's 214. The magic number is 270.



(Source: The Associated Press, by November 5, 2020)



Whoever wins the U.S. presidential election, U.S.-China trade relations and tech rivalry will stay prioritized and central in the months and years to come and continue to take a toll at a global level. Notwithstanding to contain China's rise becomes a bipartisan policy in the U.S., Trump and Biden will doubtlessly seek different approaches, especially concerning how/whether to get European allies on board.

Overall, a Biden administration is very likely to roll back America's assertive and aggressive approach towards Brussels and European capitals, rekindle the transatlantic bonds and ties, and further align their stances on China regarding trade, tech, and other areas of strategic significance, whilst Trump, if re-elected, is foreseen to continue trampling the U.S.-EU relations in a unilateral and combative way that has already very much upset European

leaders. Under another four Trump years and the signature "America First" doctrine, Washington and Brussels are set to drift further apart.

Rebalancing trade ties with China has been the centerpiece policies of either U.S. or EU. The Trump administration has focuses on tariffs and the repatriation of supply chains, confronting China on subsidies, technology transfer, intellectual property, and state-owned enterprises; It also waged a tech war with China, baring Huawei, Tiktok, and more Chinese companies operating in American soil. In the meantime, Washington imposed sanctions on Chinese entities over human rights-related situations; more recently, the COVID-19 has just sharpened Trump's criticism of China.

Brussels, on the other hand, has not been off the hook yet: President Trump trashed the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Agreement (TTIP) which included the removal of 97% of tariffs. Instead, he hit European steel and aluminum with tariffs and clashed with the EU and European leaders over cars, food, airplanes, tech, and so forth.

Despite the gulf on multilateralism, Paris agreement, Iran nuclear deal, and defense expenses, the sitting U.S. administration and European capitals found certain alignments against China's trade, economic power as well as tech and manufacturing ambition. Over the past few years, the EU has been enhancing its trade defense against China. Investment screening has been tightened and Brussels is planning to put legislative initiatives on the table next year in a bid to tackle "foreign subsidies". Earlier this year, Brussels presented the 5G security toolbox and some member states reportedly banned China's Huawei from 5G business, which CCCEU voices deep concerns.

China policy will remain one of the primary issues of concern to the trans-Atlantic relationship, argued the article titled "Bending over China" published on the website of the think tank Brookings. It said that the task of resembling a coherent agenda to address jointly shared challenges from China will be among the most pressing on the transatlantic agenda over the next four years, no matter who declares victory.

Hypothetically, if Europe had a vote, it would very likely go to Biden. A Biden administration is expected to publicly embrace and restore the transatlantic relations, and systematically lead

to a return to multilateralism. On trade disputes, Mr. Biden would probably keep tensions "more legible, more predictable and more manageable, and both sides are used to dealing with them to a certain degree," according to a <u>report</u> published by the Robert Schuman Foundation.

"From a European perspective, an administration led by Joe Biden would feel very different to a second Trump administration...It would align much more closely with Europeans on a range of issues such as climate change. It would also be much more supportive of the EU than Trump has been," Hans Kundnani, Senior Research Fellow, Europe Programme at the London-based Chatham House, said in a <u>report</u>.

Marianne Schneider-Petsinger, senior research fellow in the US and the Americas Program at Chatham House, <u>pointed out</u>: On the domestic front, the bipartisan consensus that underpinned broad support for globalization and open trade broke down before Trump was elected president...free trade has become politically 'homeless' in the US. She noted: Biden has not set out a standalone plan for US trade policy. Instead, his current (and likely future) approach sees trade policy integrated into a broader foreign policy and domestic agenda.

Should Biden sit in the White House come January next year, the EU and Us are set to reengage and set sail again on multilateralism, climate change, as well as relations with China. For Chinese companies in Europe, the ongoing pandemic, unfolding terrorist attacks and the result of the U.S. presidential election are among key factors that will affect their business environment. The EU's approach towards "strategic sovereignty" and the development of transatlantic relations after the U.S. election will deeply shape their development in the months and years to come.

《周·知》|"若拜登入主白宫,"历史低点"的美欧关系如何生变?

编前语: 美国选情仍极度胶着,目前还没有结果。民主党总统候选人拜登手握 264 张选举人票后,在佐治亚州和内华达州以微弱优势领先,离白宫又近了一步。美国大选及之后的美欧关系,是在欧洲疫情吃紧、安全形势严峻背景下影响欧盟营商环境的又一重要变量,在欧中资企业应高度重视。欧盟主流预测,拜登治下的美国,多边主义或可回潮,跨大西洋伙伴关系有望重回正轨,目前基本停摆的美欧峰会可能被重启。拜登 5 日誓言若胜选,上任首日将重返《巴黎协定》,但欧洲人也担心,2024年后,美国可能宣布再次退出,美欧关系将再次遭遇无序和低潮……本期《周·知》特刊重点关注美国选情、跨大西洋伙伴关系和中美欧关系。感谢阅读本期《周·知》,订阅请致信info@ccceu.eu。祝周末愉快!

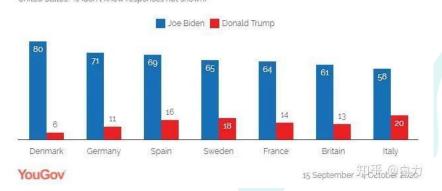
特朗普政府执政的四年,不仅对华关系发生巨变,美欧关系也进入"非盟友"状态。欧盟资料显示,美国和欧共体(欧盟前身)于 1953 年正式建立外交关系;基于 1990 和 1995 年签署的《跨大西洋宣言》和 1995 年《跨大西洋新议程》(Transatlantic Declaration of 1990 and the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA),双方于 1995 正式开始最高级别政治对话机制——美欧峰会。但特朗普任期峰会机制基本停摆,原定 9 月在美国举行的 G7 峰会也被推迟至大选后。

在对华关系上,美国悍然发起贸易战、科技战甚至全方位对抗的"新冷战","脱钩"之势另全球担忧;欧洲则面对传统盟友"践踏"跨大西洋关系,在巴黎气候协议、伊朗核问题、北约军费开支、关税问题和多边主义等方面屡屡"反目"。美国智库布鲁金斯学会的美欧关系观察数据显示,特朗普任下,跨大西洋关系处于历史低点。"有这样的朋友,谁还需要敌人?"2018 年,前欧洲理事会主席图斯克"怒怼"美国总统特朗普言犹在耳。

假设欧洲也可在美国大选中投票,大概率将拥抱一个新的拜登政府。

Europeans overwhelmingly want Joe Biden to beat Donald Trump

And who do you want to win the US presidential election in 2020 and become the next president of the United States? % (don't know responses not shown)



传统上,欧盟期待民主党主政,更有利于双边关系。经历特朗普政府后,欧洲主流更期待美国将有一个民主党总统上台,这将对稳固跨大西洋伙伴关系更有建设性。奥巴马时期,即使有窃听门等事件,双方仍启动了跨大西洋贸易和投资伙伴关系协定(TTIP)谈判,推动了巴黎气候协定和伊朗核协议的签订。

特朗普上任后,就像一只大象闯进瓷器店,大举"美国优先"大旗,摒弃多边主义,给 TTIP 谈 判按下暂停键,退出了《巴黎协定》和伊朗核问题全面协议,支持英国脱欧,和欧盟的摩擦全面升级,大有"化友为敌"趋势.



罗伯特·舒曼基金会(Robert Schuman Foundation)发表报告称,在美欧贸易争端上,拜登可能会将跨大西洋贸易摩擦保持在一个"更清晰、可预测、易于管理,"双方都接受的程度范围内,比如以长达十多年波音/空客补贴贸易争端的模式。

11月5日,拜登在推特上誓言,如果胜选,将在上任首日让美国重新加入巴黎气候协定,这对忙于绿色驱动经济现代化转型的欧盟国家来说,尤其是视巴黎气候协定为政治遗产的法国,无疑是重大利好。

"从欧洲角度来看,由拜登领导的美国政府与第二任特朗普政府感觉截然不同……拜登将在诸如气候变化等系列问题上与欧洲更加紧密和契合。与特朗普政府相比,拜登政府对欧盟支持也更大。"英国皇家国际事务研究所(查塔姆研究所,Chatham House)欧洲项目高级研究员 Hans Kundnani 撰文指出。

该所高级研究员 Marianne Schneider-Petsinger 另外写道,"拜登尚未为美国贸易政策制定独立计划。他可能将贸易政策纳入更广泛的外交政策和国内议程中。作为总统,他只有在国内有足够投资使美国工人和企业在全球范围享有竞争优势时,才会签订新贸易协定。要应对由新冠

肺炎疫情引起的长期公共卫生和经济危机,也将需要大量政治资金。"

可预见的是,如果拜登明年 1 月入主白宫,在特朗普任内基本停摆的美欧峰有望被重启,美欧对话或将重新热络,就盟友关系和多边问题,包括对华关系,再度起航。

【中美欧关系前瞻】

特朗普执政期间,在美国影响下,欧盟一定程度上配合了美方的对华政策:过去四年,美欧在重新制衡对华经济关系、收紧投资审查、5G 安全等问题上一定程度协调了立场。欧盟和美国也有意建立关于中国的对话机制,共同应对中国崛起。

对于在欧中国企业,不断恶化的疫情、严峻的安全形势和美国大选结果是影响其营商环境的几个重要变量。欧盟的"战略自主"战略和大选后的跨大西洋关系发展将为中国企业在欧发展带来深刻影响。

透视美国大选后的中美欧关系,无论谁赢得美国总统大选,中美在贸易、高科技和数字等领域的竞争将在未来很长一段时间仍将成为双边、多边和全球事务重点,对全世界造成重大影响。

布鲁金斯学会网站《倒向中国》的分析文章认为,"无论谁宣布获胜,对华政策将是跨大西洋关系重点之一。在未来四年中,协调美欧议程应对"中国带来的共同挑战"将是跨大西洋议程的紧迫任务。"

尽管美国共和党和民主党有不同主张,但应对或遏制中国崛起已成为两党共识。特朗普和拜登 的区别在于他们将寻求不同的路径,尤其如何看待欧洲盟友的角色上。总体而言,新的拜登政 府将改变特朗普治下的独断、反复或"极限施压"的风格,重振跨大西洋的纽带和关系。

突如其来的新冠肺炎疫情进一步加剧中美欧关系复杂性。疫情全球蔓延,中国采取措施严格防控,有效遏制疫情蔓延,但欧美如今疫情发展都十分令人揪心。

欧洲国家正实施严苛程度仅次年初的"禁足令",寄重望于疫苗战略,但疫情对刚从长达十年的债务危机中艰难恢复的欧洲经济带来重创,对美国亦如此,在全世界需要摈弃偏见和隔阂、合力共同抗疫的艰难时期,美国大选结果无疑举足轻重,也左右了跨大西洋关系对华路径的未来走向。