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China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI): An Emerging Global Integration?

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Abstract

This paper seeks to explore the potentials as well as challenges of China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) in the context of an emerging ‘global integration’ debate. It aims to identify and discuss how the CAI remains a potential tie in accelerating economic growth between China and the EU. The paper adopts a desk review methodology, drawing on global integration framework to analyze some of the fundamental relevance of the CAI. Alternatively, it argues that the CAI should be strengthened to reinforce bilateral ties in the era of declining multilateralism and offers new insights on the CAI and how it can strengthen mutually beneficial economic growth and international cooperation between China and the EU. The paper provides evidence that expands knowledge on the potentials of the CAI in the context of global integration and in particular, corroborates policymakers’ concerns regarding institutional efficiency and the role of the CAI in fostering economic growth and development. Findings suggest that the CAI could strengthen sustainable development by building institutions (SDG 16.4) and domestic and global revenue mobilization (SDG 17.1). The study identifies and discusses knowledge gaps and sets guidance for future research.

Keywords: The CAI, Global integration, Multilateralism, Development, the EU, China

Introduction

Negotiation between the EU and China on Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) started in 2013. After seven years long negotiation, on December 30, 2020 following a virtual summit, it was declared that both parties have concluded the negotiation in principle (Hu, 2021; Cotula, 2021). The CAI is an ambitious bilateral investment agreement

covering diverse areas including market access, level playing field, sustainable development and dispute settlement (KPMG,2021). On May 20, 2021, the European Parliament passed a resolution to freeze ratification of the CAI in response to Chinese sanctions on European human rights advocates (Koty,2021).

Although the CAI is currently suspended, it is important to pay continuous attention to the treaty so as to have a better understanding of its trajectories especially in recent years when both bilateralism and multilateralism are in a decline and in particular, as several development scholars sought to revisit the prospects as well as constraints of the CAI in integration debate.

Ernst B Haas argued that the term “integration” refers to a process whereby the quality of relations among autonomous social units (kinship groups, tribes, cities, trade unions, trade associations, political parties) changes in such a way as to erode the autonomy of each and make it part of a larger aggregate(Haas,1970). Regional integration since 1945 has been evident both in eastern and western Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and in the Western Hemisphere as a whole(Haas,1970).

In Europe, integration has been evident where regionalism was meant to go beyond trade liberalization through inter-state bargains from the very beginning (Börzel 2013: 504–507; Börzel and Risse,2019:1232).Across Asia, China like other Asian countries has been part of regional integration such as Eurasia integration, the Belt and Road initiative, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Sino-Russian integration etc. Specifically, “regional” integration refers to that process among two or more states on a geographically confined scale, at a level below that of global integration, which sums up such world-wide phenomena as world trade or population movements (Haas,1970).

Global integration, in contrast to regional integration or the integration of structures of authority within a state, refers to processes of integration during which functions are delegated to a new central authority whose decisions are accepted as legitimate by the component members of world society (Hanreider,2021). Global integration often involves economic cooperation or constellation of powerful and leading world economies involving, expertise and knowledge that could be mutually beneficial.

Proponents of global integration argue that global integration leads to more global market opportunity(Haas,1970;Wong et al. 2013; Hanreider,2021), internal and external control mechanisms that acquire increasing importance as forms of global governance(Connelly et al. 2010). Yet there is paucity of scholarly discussion on the CAI as an emerging global integration.

Given the potentials of the CAI and efforts by China to strengthen bilateral ties with the EU, it is striking how little attention is paid to this collaboration in the context of ‘emerging

global integration' debate both in academic and policy circles. To date, less analysis has been devoted to the significant developmental implications of the CAI as a global integration -an important agenda research should investigate, considering global strategic importance of both the EU and China. After all, the basis of integration is to build stronger economic ties, foster mutual cooperation and enhance the achievement of possible development outcomes (Mauri & Sambharya, 2003; Nixon, 2020). This has made the study of the CAI in contexts related to global integration important.

Against this backdrop, the objective of this review is to examine such areas, taking account of existing research, assessing the implications for global integration and future research agenda. The paper aims to identify and discuss knowledge gaps on how the CAI remains a potential treaty in accelerating economic growth between China and the EU and in particular as an emerging global integration. It suggests that the CAI should be strengthened to reinforce bilateral ties in line with SDG: 16- peace and justice strong institution and sets guidance for future research. It makes a contribution, which offers new insights on the CAI and how it can positively impact China and the EU and explores the importance as well as criticisms of the CAI in the context of an emerging 'global integration' debate. This corroborates policymakers' concerns regarding new bilateralism in which China and the EU can act to generate patterns of mutual economic benefits. The rest of the paper is structured as follows; methodology, theoretical framework, European perception of the CAI, the positive impacts of CAI on China and the EU, towards an emerging global integration and conclusion.

Methodology

The paper adopted a desk review methodology, drawing on extant literature including the CAI Agreement text (as of 22 January, 2021), to analyze the main points of the Agreement in relation to China and the EU cooperation. The study provides a deepened exploration building on the most up to date data, in order to understand issues and dynamics in the CAI identify possible gaps and fill such gaps.

The review draws on both positive and negative impacts of the CAI on China and the EU, to show how the CAI could be an emerging global integration in an increasingly declined bilateral and multilateral system. While there is a substantial literature on understanding patterns of China –EU cooperation and in particular the CAI, these often emanate from non-global integration perspective. Hence, our approach is also informed by more applied, yet neglected, scholarship on declining multilateralism at post Brexit Europe, especially in the era

of protectionism, to suggest future directions for the study of possible lifting of the suspension of the CAI and potential transformation of China-EU bilateral relations building on global integration framework.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual frameworks on global integration are diverse. Thus, there are several theoretical perspectives on global integration (Mathisen, 1984; Sachs & Warner, 1996; Hanami, 2002; Iván Francisco & Emili, 2006; Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2018; Nixon, 2020). Contemporary theoretical debates on the global order consider the international system as a complex, anarchical system (Cerny & Prichard, 2017). The global integration perspective suggests that the global system is a constellation of differentiated and interrelated units, operating at a global scale, adopting mutually reinforcing models, hence systemic (Lee & Ruffini, 1999; Hoekman & Javorcik, 2006).

Several empirical and theoretical debates have stressed the importance of global integration (Károlyi & Panis, 2004; Nixon, 2020). In Asia, China has been part of regional integration such as Eurasia integration, the Belt and Road initiative, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Sino-Russian integration etc.

According to Frank Schimmelfennig, the main theories explaining the development of European integration—within the EU—are intergovernmentalism, neofunctionalism, and postfunctionalism (Schimmelfennig, 2021). Intergovernmentalism assumes national governments to be the key actors in regional integration. Governments use regional integration to maximize their national security and economic interests in the context of regional interdependence (Schimmelfennig, 2021). Neofunctionalism refutes government's ability to control the integration process as interest groups such as transnational corporations as well as supranational actors emerge in the integration process and structure it in their own interest (Schimmelfennig, 2021), while postfunctionalism takes a backlash posture regarding integration. The argument is that as regional integration progresses and erodes national sovereignty and community, it creates economic and cultural losers who are mobilized by integration-skeptic parties (Schimmelfennig, 2021). This accounts for the rise of identity-based and populist mass politicization, which constrains regional integration and may even cause disintegration (Schimmelfennig, 2021). This scenario is characteristic of the post Brexit Europe following the rise of new nationalism and populism.

Whereas regional integration theory started with a broad comparative regional and organizational scope in the 1950s and 1960s, it has since focused on European integration and

the European Union (Schimmelfennig, 2021). Global integration, according to Wolfram F. Hanreider involves constellation in which functions are delegated to a new central authority whose decisions are accepted as legitimate by the component members of world society. Through global integration and dialogues, cooperation becomes possible and promotes economic and technological development.

Global integration saves costs and achieves global efficiencies. For example, Dunning (1998), posits that global integration minimizes duplication, thus saves costs through standardization while Chen and Canice (2006) highlight that global integration creates efficiencies due to global economies of scale. Proponents of global integration have supported the essence of complementarity, compatibility, mutuality and compromise among parties often involving socioeconomic and technological convergence (Hanrieder,2014). As a consequence, the complementarity theory of global integration states that global integration is a mutually reinforcing constellation in which countries complement rather than exploit each other. It is mutually beneficial in that parties are technologically, economically and developmentally advanced and the sphere of economic relevance expands beyond regional borders, hence global.

Studies have shown that global integration is important in contexts characterized by mutually reinforcing cooperation (Hanrieder, 2014; Nixon, 2020; González, 2021). In their view, de Lombaerdei and Iapadreei (2008) highlight that until the late 1990s, globalization was still often considered as a synonym of ‘global economic integration’. They cited Brahmhatt (1998:2) who put forward a definition of globalization as “the increasing freedom and ability of individuals and firms to undertake voluntary economic transactions with residents of other countries, a process entailing a growing contestability of national markets by foreign suppliers”.

On an analysis of asymmetry associated with unequal global cooperation between the societies of the global North and South, Haggard (1995) adopted the term “politics of global integration’ to critique unequal trade regime between the developed and developing nations. Jon V. Kofas (2005), identified various forms of inequality linked to global integration in post-world war II America, making a case for ‘independence’ from America.

From an inclusive constellation perspective, Kasimis and Papadopoulos (2018) expressed concern regarding ‘local responses to global integration’. They examined issues of local responses to globalization, homogenization and marginalization processes, with regards to rural areas including social and economic realities among developing societies. Their study examined the nexus between constellation and inclusive development.

Similarly, global integration reinforces integrated systems (Rugman & Verbeke, 2001) including development of inter country systems. Dominant theoretical debates posit that a

nation's socio-economic development is strengthened through bilateral and multilateral ties, and the notion of global cooperation beyond borders, suggesting economic interdependence and mutuality (Ohmae,1995). A mutually interdependent integration implies cross border equal relation and exchange.

In contexts linked to the CAI, there is a body of literature on the various potentials of the CAI including its origin and experiences, adopting various theoretical frameworks to explain and analyze this conundrum (Wu,2016;Lau,2020;Cotula,2021;Koty,2021;Hu,2021).Nonetheless, discussions paying particular attention to the treaty so as to have a better understanding of the CAI in contexts characterized by its positive impact on China and the EU as a global integration have been scant. This dearth of scholarship partly mirrors the concern expressed in the present research.

Hu (2021) found that the CAI delivers on the EU's negotiation mandate. Relatedly, Lau (2020) and Koty(2021) made similar findings, which are consistent with global cooperation and development hypothesis, whereby the constellation of large economies leads to better economic development. However, Koty(2021) argued that nevertheless, regardless of whether or not the CAI is adopted, that skeptics argue that the agreement is not as impactful as its advocates suggest. Despite skeptics, Nixon (2020) found that global integration improves the extent to which reciprocity and bilateral ties are concentrated. In particular, Cotula(2021) reported that the China-EU integration through the CAI is significantly positive.

In line with these theoretical perspectives, the CAI could provide such global integration where China and the EU countries can evolve a "central authority" whose decisions could be accepted as binding and legitimate bilaterally and multilaterally. This constitutes the theoretical basis of the global integration framework and expands the view of the CAI as an emerging global integration. Global integration theories focus not merely on economic ties but on the restructuring of international relations– better identified as 'global ties' – around distinct, multilayered relationships and structures; including various institutions and processes that increasingly strengthen the capacity of states and the interstate system to manage or shape activities in the broader interactions. These processes are the central focus of the CAI initiative, which will not only strengthen socio-political and economic ties rather leads to effective global governance, which has been a major constraint in the global system or what Cerny and Prichard (2017) termed the current 'anarchical' international system.

Importance of the CAI to China and the EU

The CAI has a number of importance particularly as the liberal order is increasingly changing (Amadi, 2020; Sahakyan & Gartner, 2021). Review of contemporary debates on the CAI highlights several importance from various perspectives (Hu, 2021, Gao, 2021; Koty, 2021). Anabel González (2021) made a remarkable observation when she argued that while the CAI is a two-party agreement, other countries will benefit. Going further, she stressed that the CAI's greatest contribution could be a revival of global economic cooperation. Henry Gao(2021) describes the CAI as 'strategic opportunity which meets strategic autonomy'.

A key strategic relevance of the CAI is to reawaken dwindling bilateral ties in contemporary global order. Following the decline of multilateralism and bilateralism at post Brexit Europe and in particular, the rise of protectionism, populism and new nationalism (Papas, 2016; Nye, 2017; Stiglitz, 2018), bilateral ties have been largely limited to European countries and often sharply biased at creating new global and regional blocs. New cooperation in the era of changing world order as Sahakyan and Gartner (2021) argued is important. Such bilateral cooperation has made the CAI inevitable.

Promotion of Sustainable development is another importance of the CAI. Essentially, a bilateral tie such as the CAI strengthens strong institution in line with SDG: 16.4- peace and justice strong institution. Such institutions could be strengthened through bilateral investment agreement covering diverse areas including market access, level playing field, sustainable development and dispute settlement (KPMG,2021). Beyond this, the sustainable development potentials of the CAI has been variously discussed. For instance, Cotula(2021:4) argued that in its preamble, the CAI refers to human rights, sustainable development, climate change, responsible business conduct, and 'high levels of environmental and labour rights' protection'. Similarly, Hu(2021)demonstrates that the CAI has significant sustainable development components.

Thus, the CAI could strengthen domestic and global revenue mobilization (SDG 17.1) through bilateral investment agreement. The agreement is expected to provide more investment opportunities in the following sectors: Manufacturing, Automative, Financial services, Business services, Health (private hospital), R&D, Telecom/Cloud services, Computer services, International maritime transport, Air transport-related services, Environmental services, Construction services (KPMG,2021:3).Similarly, Benedetta Gatti (2021) highlights that the CAI aims to replace and renew the existing Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) between EU and China and create a new agreement to harmonize investment ratio between EU countries and China. Further, KPMG (2021:3) argued that 'from a business perspective, the EU-

China CAI would have a significant impact on market access, the ‘level playing field’, cross-border M&A, R&D and sustainable development’.Hu(2021:1) considers how the Agreement could lift the barriers to market access that European businesses have been confronted with, advances the EU’s WTO reform agenda on a number of procedural requirements in a WTO-plus manner, and locks in the European Union’s values under international commitments on sustainable development.

As Hu (2021) suggests, the treaty lifts the barriers to market access that European businesses have been confronted with, advances the EU’s WTO reform agenda on a number of procedural requirements in a WTO-plus manner, and locks in the European Union’s values under international commitments on sustainable development. For instance, Hu (2021:5) identified a key market liberalization potential of the CAI stressing that ‘the EU is said to be content with having achieved “far-reaching” exclusive market access commitments in manufacturing, including telecom equipment (equity caps apply), that China has not granted to any other trading partners, including the US”. In addition, Cotula(2021:2)stressed that “while most investment treaties focus on investment protection and investor–state dispute settlement (ISDS), the CAI primarily covers issues such as market access terms, prohibition of forced technology transfers, non-discrimination by state owned enterprises and regulatory bodies, and transparency in economic governance, including subsidies”.Hu (2021:6) argued that “the CAI provides the EU with exclusive access to the manufacturing sector of new energy vehicles (NEV). This is a high commitment for market liberalization because China has been the world’s largest NEV market since 2009, accounting for 55% of global NEV sales with an estimated 1.3 million sales of NEV”.

Similarly, the CAI has global value chains advantage. The term global value chains (GVCs) implies a socio-economic relationship of multiples values. Today, significant parts of the developing world are deeply involved in GVCs, with developing countries’ share in global GVC trade estimated at about 33 percent in 2011 (Kummritz & Quast, 2017).

One of the central arguments for the CAI is to strengthen multilateralism or put differently to redress ‘multipolarism without multilateralism’. According to KPMG (2021:2) ‘the EU-China CAI would strengthen collaboration on both sides, build an open economic order and promote globalization’. Following changes in the international liberal order at post the Brxit referendum, the rise of populism in Europe, increasing protectionism and isolationism, growing concerns on the decline of multilateralism evokes the need for new global integration. The CAI becomes inevitable not only to strengthen multilateralism rather to promote stronger China – EU relationship. Many of the dominant accounts on China-EU relations have tended to

overlook the longer-term significance and role of the CAI in fostering a new global integration in the international order—a gap which extends to its dominant theorizations in both International development corporation literature and in particular international relations(IR).Nixon(2020)points out that global integration [or globalization] has been associated with the most peaceful, prosperous, and poverty-reducing period in modern history. This emphasis on the mutual interconnections between China and EU through the CAI not only underscores some neglected aspects of the changing liberal international order, rather points out the decline of multilateralism in the late 21st century.

This is not to suggest that there are no critical perspectives. For instance, the CAI has met with much criticism, mostly before the provisional agreement text was published on 22 January 2021. This centres on the allegedly ‘recycled’ market access commitments, China’s ongoing human rights violations, or the implications of the transatlantic partnership (Hu,2021:1). Relatedly, Amal (2021) argued that there are several factors hindering the establishment of CAI as many concerns and fears from international society and some of EU countries that CAI would give China more benefit and strategic position in the world order. For instance, it is reported that in Europe, public debates around the CAI have emphasized tensions between ethical principles and economic realities (Beattie,2021).

There are reports of forced labor and the repression of Uyghurs in China’s Xinjiang Region, by EU Parliamentarians and increasing concern about dwindling political space in Hong Kong (Cotula,2021:3). Subsequent sanction on the EU parliamentarians by China has been an issue. Hu (2021:13) argued that ‘to enable the European Parliament to hold a debate on the CAI and for the EU legislative process to move forward, China should lift its sanctions against European parliamentarians expeditiously’.

Towards an Emerging Global Integration?

Understanding the CAI as an emerging global integration is essential to deepen its relevance in contemporary international relations. Cotula (2021:2) observed that as a ‘major China–EU treaty, the CAI provides insights on how major powers are (re)negotiating their relations in this shifting international political economy’. Much of the academic research in Europe is based on regional integration theory examined in various fields, such as international relation, geopolitics, economics, business administration, institutionalist debates etc (Schimmelfennig, 2021).

Following the CAI, recent research on integration tends to shift towards global integration agenda. The successful implementation of the CAI is undoubtedly essential for both China and

the EU. Wolfram F. Hanreider contends that the contemporary world society is a global society and, in fact, is about to transcend its global confines. Koty(2021)highlights that even without the CAI, last year, China surpassed the US to become the EU's largest trade partner, with the two sides registering US\$709 billion in trade in 2020. Yet, in discussions of China's contemporary efforts in the EU tie, scant emphasis has been laid on the CAI as a global integration apparatus including the extent to which private actors—, individual businessmen and entrepreneurs, humanitarian NGOs and donors— infuse meaning to the grand statements about China's tie with EU in the CAI. While the country's investment in development aid is on the increase, there is need to harmonize bilateral ties with the EU.

China's efforts to create global trade relation and investment alliance with the EU is akin to global integration. More broadly, the CAI aims to contribute to the emerging body of literature that critically examines the growing interconnection of China across European politics and will further inspire new inquiries into global integration trends. The potentials of China – EU bilateral ties transcends economic integration as there are much more than what could be learned, beyond economic relationship between the two regions, but also, social, cultural, ecological as well as global political economy of development and issues of contemporary politics between them including global value chains (GVCs) potentials. In a recent study, Nixon (2020) demonstrates the importance of global integration to contain the economic and health fallout and exit the COVID-19 Pandemic crisis.

Our account therefore emphasizes the critical importance of the CAI in evolving a global integration. These should be reframed within the overall reinvigoration of the liberal social order—particularly in internationalization of EU relations — also a new geopolitical strategy that could legitimize global cooperation as a permanent and legitimate feature of liberal politics against protectionism. According to Hu (2021:1) the CAI has market access, 'there is opening up in China's manufacturing sector, including telecoms equipment (subject to equity caps), the CAI has elevated the EU onto an equal footing with the US after the latter obtained bilateral commitments from China in the financial sector under the 2020 US-China Economic and Trade Agreement known as the Phase One Agreement'. Thus, the CAI as an emerging global integration is important in several ways. One is that in the era of globalization, does the suspension of the CAI not suggest de-globalization? The rise of protectionism has been contradictory and exclusionary—whether they relate to trade, political support, migration, agricultural and technological development—protectionism undermines both bilateral and multilateral ties.

Similarly, in the early pre CAI period, China had attempted to extend ties to EU through trade and investment relations. Although China has signed bilateral investment agreements with many EU member states, the CAI is the first such agreement with the EU as a bloc and its scope is more ambitious than many existing treaties(KPMG,2021). The agreement aims to foster cross-border investment and economic ties between China and the EU. China also seeks to use the CAI to boost its outbound investment activities. This has implications for global integration particularly as China's outbound direct investment (ODI) reached USD 2.2 trillion and accounted for 6.4% of the world's total in 2019, it has become an important engine for global cross-border investment (KPMG,2021).

Similarly, since the 2000s, following globalization, China has sought regional presence in Europe, thus China —EU relationship has gradually become important with the CAI. In 2001, China's assent to the WTO became a major building block in the global order, following its economic rise and leading global export growth. China's investment drive in the EU point out the potential of the CAI. The ultimate aim is for China to expand its bilateral relationship with the EU. There is significant room for China and EU to further strengthen their economic ties. In 2019, the combined GDP of China and the EU was USD 30 trillion, accounting for 34% of total global GDP. In comparison, bilateral investment between China and the EU is relatively modest. Based on figures from China's Ministry of Commerce, cumulative investment from the EU to China totaled USD 1,100 billion in 2001-2019; for Chinese investment into the EU, the figure is only USD 940 billion, which is 4.3% of China's total ODI. The EU-China CAI would strengthen collaboration on both sides, build an open economic order and promote globalization (KPMG,2021).

At the same time, as an emerging global integration, *China –EU economic tie* reinforces the liberalization of trade. This is premised on creating and sustaining economic ties— and promoting liberal democratic ideals and particular, China's foreign policy thrust in Europe, and arguably of its economic and political drive as well as state institutions as a whole. In the early post Cold War era, China's engagement with EU countries was both state-led and underpinned by a distinctly “statist” vision of modernization and state-building. But since the rise of China in the late 2000s, bilateral ties—have increasingly become dominant factor.

The relevance of this point for explaining the importance of CAI as an emerging global integration, is to strengthen bilateralism and multilateralism, reconstruction of political character of post Brexit Europe, which appears contradictory to integration — we discuss the relevance of the CAI not only as an emerging global integration involving leading

industrialized nations but also its mutually beneficial potentials; technologically, trade, commerce, industry etc. and in particular as a drive towards reinvigoration of multilateralism.

Taken together, these interwoven contexts help explain, how and why the CAI is essentially an emerging global integration. This also illuminates the potentials of China and the extent to which its leverage in the EU can help evolve a global integration, which could boost global investment.

Conclusion

There are opportunities and challenges related to the CAI for European and Chinese companies in their cooperation and well as deepening relations. Despite constraints, the point this paper has been emphasizing is that there is need for a broader elucidation of the potentials of the CAI from the lens of global integration and what China –EU initiative aims to achieve, which in turn is mutually beneficial to both parties. The paper attempted to bring such debates into scholarly glare as a policy relevant discourse. It explored China’s growing interest for a tie with the EU over the past decades, and the multiple actors and forces shaping the relationship. It attempted to explain how the CAI can work, and strengthen the broader contexts of both China and the EU’s economic development.

Following contemporary global trends in the liberal order especially the decline of multilateralism in Europe, the rise of protectionism, and the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, new geopolitical reconfiguration along global integration lines seems inevitable. The discussion so far, suggests a need for strong and efficient institution to strengthen the CAI. Evidence from the reviewed literature demonstrates that the CAI will not only stimulate economic growth and development complementarity, rather strengthens sustainable development by building institutions (SDG: 16.4) and domestic and global revenue mobilization (SDG: 17.1). Thus, the socio-economic development potentials of the CAI and its mutually reinforcing benefits for both China and the EU, have implications for investment. Above all, the continuous academic dialogues and discourses on themes related to the CAI will be helpful to further develop an in-depth analysis that could stimulate its reemergence.

The paper has demonstrated that CAI can foster global integration and through its robust investment portfolio becomes the basis for a harmonized international economic cooperation. It has put forward an account of global integration that links three important contributions to the CAI scholarship: the global economic transformation thesis, the global investment value chain potentials of the CAI and the global integration account on the complementarity strength of the CAI in the global international system.

Despite the manifold potentials of the CAI, the sanction on the EU parliamentarians by China has been an issue accounting for delay in ratification of the CAI by the EU. It is suggested that China should lift its sanctions against European parliamentarians to enable the European parliament to hold a debate on the CAI and for the EU legislative process to move forward. These are some key issues for further research.

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