

SOFIA UNIVERSITY "ST. KLIMENT OHRIDSKI"
"FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY"
DEPARTMENT OF "EUROPEAN STUDIES"

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

**IDENTITY AS A FACTOR IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE
EUROPEAN UNION AND CHINA**

**FOR AWARDING THE EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC DEGREE "DOCTOR" IN
PROFESSIONAL FIELD 3.3. POLITICAL SCIENCES (EUROPEAN STUDIES -
POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH OF THE EU - EUROPEAN IDENTITY)**

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The abstract structurally repeats the dissertation.

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INTRODUCTION

The dissertation is presented as part of research related to the role and building of the EU and China as global actors in the changing global international order. This context justifies the relevance of the topic, and the need for the study stems from the lack of comprehensive research related to China in Bulgarian scientific databases, especially over the last 10 years. The People's Republic of China is mainly the subject of philosophical, cultural and linguistic studies by Bulgarian authors. Researchers in the European foreign policy field have touched on various aspects of foreign policy to varying degrees, with studies related to Russia, the USA or specific regions such as the Western Balkans predominating. This requires an attempt to take a more comprehensive look at the EU and China, given the increasing interdependence between them.

In the last decade, the topic of the EU's external orientation has become increasingly important in both scientific and socio-political life. This evolution is clearly noticeable both in the engagement with issues such as: global warming, cybersecurity, refugee problems, and in the creation of the "EU Global Strategy (EUGS)", the creation of the European External Action Service and the High Representative of the Union. To this can be added the building and supplementing of institutions along the lines of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), especially after the period of the emigrant crisis, the crisis in Ukraine in 2014 and the departure of Great Britain.

The need to understand one's own principles, values and mechanisms for expressing them, as well as those of the opposing side, are and will be decisive for mutual existence and will be reflected in the scientific and political sphere. If our values are what we would defend - then we need to know and understand what they are; how to protect them and from whom.

The presented dissertation aims to collect and analyze the various elements that influence the formation of the external activities of the EU and China. This would help to better understand both the actions of the EU and China on the international stage, as well as the ongoing internal processes, and global behavior in other areas such as economics, social and cultural relations with the rest of the world.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The subject of study in this work is European identity, which is examined through the prism of external relations and in particular relations with China. The interdisciplinary nature provides an opportunity to complement the existing literature on the topic, as comparative analysis is combined with that of the foreign policy and identity characteristics of the two subjects.

The research thesis is oriented towards proving the presence of influence or possible future factors that would influence European identity and foreign policy as a result of relations with China as a leading country in international relations, which are in the process of rethinking and rearrangement.

The dissertation sets the following main goals:

The first goal is to analyze the historical development of European and Chinese identity. This goal focuses on understanding how historical events have shaped the identities of the European Union (EU) and China.

The second goal of the study is to trace the different approaches in the formation and implementation of foreign policy. In addition to the institutional characteristics in this area, the relations of the EU and China with third countries, as well as their participation in international organizations, are considered here.

The third goal is aimed at analyzing the relations between the EU and China in recent years with third countries and at tracing the different perceptions towards them.

The indicated research goals are achieved by performing the following tasks:

- To study the theoretical foundations in building European and Chinese identity. Through comparative analysis to highlight and clarify the common elements and those that would be a prerequisite for conflict.
- To analyze the main foreign policy documents, reports, agreements, treaties, strategies, as well as the instruments and institutional framework of the foreign policy of the EU and China.
- To study the relations of the EU and China with third countries in order to complement the analysis of foreign policy by presenting different perspectives from and to the rest of the world.

- To explore the possibility of China becoming a "Significant Other" through analysis of bilateral relations and their relations in international organizations such as the UN, WTO, etc.

The research methods used are:

- Historical analysis - this method is used to trace the development of European and Chinese identity over time. Primary and secondary historical sources are analyzed to understand key events and their impact on identity formation.
- Content analysis - this method is used to analyze official documents, speeches and policy documents from the EU and China. It identifies themes and narratives related to identity and foreign policy.
- Comparative analysis - this method involves comparing the foreign policy strategies of the EU and China. Specific cases related to their approaches to international organizations and bilateral relations are considered.

Limitations of the study:

- The study does not cover an in-depth analysis of relations between the EU and the USA, as well as the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). This is done deliberately to focus on the main themes of the dissertation - identity in the foreign policy of the EU and China. Although these regions and relationships are important, they require separate and in-depth research that goes beyond the scope of this work.

FIRST PART

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF IDENTITY RESEARCH

The first part traces the formation of European and Chinese identity from 1950 to 2000, which is influenced by various historical, political and cultural factors.

At the beginning of this part (section 1.1.1), aspects of the concept of "international order" as originating from Europe are presented. The tracing of different periods is done to show the factors and effects of the emergence of new actors who destabilize and/or significantly rearrange the configurations in an already established order. Concepts are highlighted about how such an emergence of a new player occurs, who would aim to displace the current hegemon, what are the conditions for this to happen. The historical view also aims to identify external factors that have influenced the building of European identity and "order" (they are further examined through the prism of the "significant Other").

Section 1.1.2 analyzes the concepts of world order and its historical development, how the main participants strive for a leading role or how they cope in an international order led by another state. World order refers to the structure and principles that govern international relations. Different theoretical approaches examine world order, including realism, liberalism and constructivism. Some of the main understandings of these approaches are:

- the liberal, dealing with international institutions and the emergence of global governance;
- constructivism, dealing with ideas and ideologies, focusing on the existence (or not) of common global values;
- international political economy, covering production and finance.

According to Kupchan (2014), understanding and managing international change requires not only a look at material forces, but also at the relationships between norms and understandings. For him, the process of hegemonic transition begins when a rising power "seeks to push towards its expanding sphere of influence a set of ordering norms unique to its own cultural, socio-economic and political orientations". Similarly, other authors (Keohane 1984) recognize the importance of ideas, but reduce them to the beliefs of elites about whether support for the hegemon is in their interest or not. Also, transition analyses begin to ask the question: "when and why do 'foreign elites agree with the hegemon's vision of international order'" (Ikenberry and Kupchan 1990). In this sense, of fundamental importance in the transfer of leadership from a dominant military-economic power to the next is whether the process will proceed peacefully or not (Allison 2016; Cox 1987; Gilpin 1981; Kugler and Lemke 1996). It can be said that it is important to trace the national identification of the main powers with the existing order. The aspiring power should

be able to attract a sufficient number of supporters internationally. That is why the national identity of this country should not contradict the identities of possible allies.

Section 1.1.3 examines the role of identity in foreign policy, which is crucial in shaping the foreign policy of states. National identity includes historical, cultural and political aspects that influence foreign policy strategies. The identity of the European Union is formed around values such as multilateralism and protection of human rights, while Chinese identity emphasizes sovereignty and economic development. These differences in identity lead to different foreign policy approaches and strategies that reflect the unique historical and cultural contexts of the EU and China. The theories that highlight the main factors on which identity is built are traced. From the analysis of theoretical approaches, several important elements can be derived, by:

- historical analysis to highlight key events, personalities, documents that have influenced the building of identity in the EU and China;
- comparing political systems, institutions, cultural traditions, which allows identifying similarities and differences between the EU and China in order to show how they interact with the world and what are the effects of these factors on their positioning on the global stage;
- analysis of EU and China relations with their main partners or enemies, as well as analysis of relations between them;
- analysis of the policies they undertake towards each other for the purpose of interaction or protection.

Further in section 1.2.1 of the dissertation, various theoretical concepts of Chinese identity are examined, which are essential for understanding China's foreign policy. Chinese identity is deeply rooted in the country's historical and cultural traditions. It is shaped by China's long history as a civilization and empire, as well as by the influence of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. In the contemporary context, Chinese identity is strongly influenced by the period of the "century of humiliation" (1839-1949), when China was subjected to external interventions and internal turmoil. This period shapes the collective memory and national consciousness of the Chinese people, emphasizing the need for national revival and strengthening of sovereignty. An important aspect of Chinese identity is the concept of the "Chinese dream", introduced by President Xi Jinping, which aims at national revival and turning China into a global power.

Section 1.2.2 traces the historical development of Chinese identity, focusing on key periods and events that have shaped contemporary Chinese self-awareness. The historical development of Chinese identity begins with the ancient dynasties that established the foundations of Chinese culture and statehood. The period of the "century of humiliation" (1839-1949) is particularly significant, as China was subjected to external interventions by Western powers and Japan, leading to loss of territories and sovereignty. This period ends with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, when the party under Mao Zedong's leadership takes power and begins a process of national restoration. Deng Xiaoping's reforms in the 1980s led to economic opening and modernization, further strengthening national identity. In the contemporary context, Chinese identity is strongly influenced by the pursuit of economic development and international recognition, as China seeks to assert its role as a global power. It is precisely such historical events and stages that are characterized as sources of legitimation for Chinese rulers and actions in international relations.

In the first part of the dissertation (section 1.3), the concept of European identity and its significance in the foreign policy of the European Union (EU) is examined. European identity is complex and multifaceted, shaped by the continent's long history, cultural diversity, and processes of European integration. It is based on shared values such as democracy, human rights, rule of law, and social justice. European identity is also linked to the idea of peace and stability, which are fundamental goals of the European project after World War II. The process of European integration, beginning with the European Coal and Steel Community and continuing with the signing of various treaties such as the Maastricht Treaty, plays a key role in building a common European identity. This identity is an important factor in EU foreign policy, determining its foreign policy priorities and strategies. The analysis highlights the idea of the "significant Other," which is often used to denote states or international actors that influence a state's foreign policy decisions and strategies. For example, for the European Union, the significant Other could be the United States, Russia, or China, which play a key role in determining the EU's foreign policy priorities. For China, the significant Other may include the USA, Japan, or India, which are important partners or competitors on the international stage. At the end of the first part, it is summarized that in Europe, the legacy of World War II, the Cold War, and the process of economic and political integration become key in shaping a collective European identity. In China, the ideological framework of the CCP, the experiences of the Cultural Revolution, and the economic reforms after

Mao are key factors in the development of contemporary Chinese identity. These different trajectories leave significant consequences for the foreign policy identities of Europe and China, with Europe today emphasizing multilateralism, human rights, and regional integration, while China focuses on sovereignty, territorial integrity, and economic development. It is precisely these end states of identity, influenced by the historical facts described above, that are traced in the following parts of this dissertation research, in an attempt to find an answer to the question: "Who are we?" through analysis of modern structures, leadership characteristics, and basic methods for expressing identity in international, multilateral and bilateral, global and regional relations.

As an addition to the summary of this chapter, attention is drawn to the fact that the development of the EU, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, is evidence of the need to study the EU, but also foreign policy, as well as the EU's relations with third countries. The complex and sophisticated decision-making procedure, which is the result of centuries-old traditions, should be a motivation for member states to develop and improve their foreign policies, internal to the Union, but also the pursuit of national interest in a global context would be a guarantee for more successful foreign policies for the security and success of the EU.

SECOND PART

2. ANALYSIS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE EU AND CHINA

At the beginning of this part, the concept of regionalism in the context of the EU and China is examined. It analyzes how regional factors influence the foreign policy of the two powers.

Further in 2.1.1, the characteristics of the Asia-Pacific region are analyzed. In 2.1.2, the region around the EU is examined and how it influences the building of the EU as a global actor.

Unlike China, which for most of the time has been surrounded by weaker states that have been strongly influenced by it, Europe does not have this luck even today. It is known that in the history of the continent there has always been an "other/others", most often to the east, but also to the south, who differed culturally, religiously and politically from the European states.

This part examines 4 main elements of China and the EU that influence foreign policy;

EU:

- The external dimension of some internal policies and characteristics:
- Ideas such as the "balance of power" and the effects of Brexit on the functioning of the EU are traced.
- The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) - here the structures and mechanisms available to the EU are examined, mainly considering the period after 2008, while for China the development is mainly traced after Xi Jinping came to power in 2013.
- External action - the mechanisms and activities of the EU in line with the two policies in a large part of the world are examined and described. Attention is paid to the strategies adopted during this period: "The EU Global Strategy"; The EU Strategy for relations with China, where it is mentioned simultaneously as a partner, competitor and systemic rival.

China:

- The external dimension of some internal policies and characteristics:
 - the homogeneity of China;
 - demographics and more specifically the aging population;
 - internal stability and measures taken to maintain internal order;
 - China's centennial strategies;
 - legal view of China's Constitutions.
- Chinese policies and structures related to foreign affairs - here the structures on which the implementation of China's foreign policy depends are examined, as well as the changes that occurred in the governance of the PRC during Xi Jinping's time.
- China's security paradigm - emphasizes the idea of a comprehensive and complete review of China's security, covering all sectors, not just traditional military and political ones.
- External activity - various tactics and strategies used by Chinese rulers to achieve their goals are examined. The "Belt and Road Initiative" is also traced in detail.

Some of the conclusions after the analysis are:

- The foreign policies of the EU and China note the need to build a comprehensive approach to formulating their strategies over the past 15 years.
- It is noticed that China uses historical heritage to legitimize its external activities, while the EU tries to cope with the new reality of being a global actor despite its historical past.
- The two global actors are increasingly taking into account their relations, and the importance of security for internal and external affairs is increasingly recognized.
- Both in the EU and China, a significant strengthening of their foreign policy structures is observed, although the Chinese ones are increasingly centralized and militarized.
- Economic realities - both the EU and China face the dilemma of economic and geopolitical interests.
- The EU continues to be a main defender of human rights, while China continues to proclaim the importance of respecting sovereignty.
- China is increasingly striving for internal security to protect itself from malicious foreign influences.
- Although both sides try to balance their methods of participation in international relations - they have fundamentally different methods for doing so.

THIRD PART

3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The third part of the dissertation focuses on the relationship between the European Union (EU) and China, examining the historical development, current state, and prospects of these relations.

At the beginning of this part, the bilateral relations between the EU and China are examined, including their interactions in international organizations and forums. The ties between the two sides began to develop actively after the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1975. In 1985, the Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement was signed, which laid the foundations for economic ties between the EU and China. Over the following decades, economic relations

deepened, with China becoming one of the EU's largest trading partners. However, relations are not without problems and are often accompanied by trade disputes and political disagreements. Despite existing challenges, both sides have an interest in deepening cooperation. The EU and China work together on a number of global issues, including combating climate change, sustainable development, and international trade. Initiatives such as the "Belt and Road" provide opportunities for further economic cooperation and investment (see: Fig. 1). However, to achieve a sustainable partnership, it is necessary to find solutions to existing disagreements and strengthen mechanisms for dialogue and cooperation.

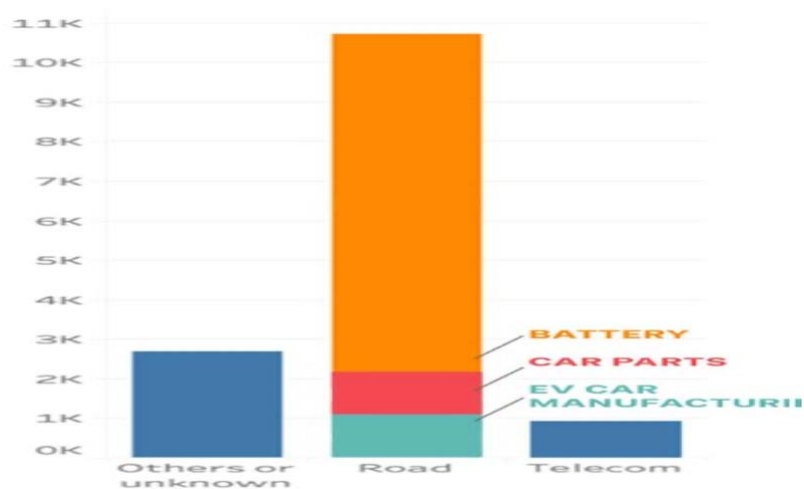


Figure 1. Investments (2023) related to technologies under the Belt and Road Initiative.

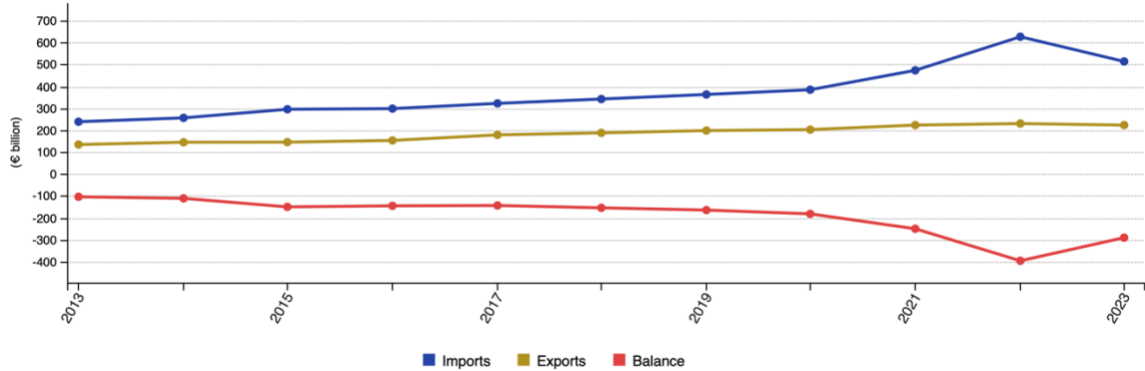
The dissertation traces the measures that the EU takes to deal with some problematic situations in relations with China. The need for diversification in the supply of rare earth minerals is one of the main sectors in which the EU is significantly dependent on the PRC. Various cultural, media and educational tactics that could present difficulties in relations between the EU and China are also traced. Some key moments in EU-China relations in international organizations are also examined:

- The EU criticizes the new national security legislation in Hong Kong, which they say violates the rights and freedoms of Hong Kong residents,
- The EU expresses serious concerns about human rights violations in Tibet and calls on China to comply with international standards,

- The EU imposed sanctions on Chinese officials for human rights violations in Xinjiang, to which China responded with sanctions against members of the European Parliament,
- Another significant dispute is related to the export of rare earth elements from China. The EU, along with other countries, challenges the restrictions imposed by China on the export of these critical materials, which are important for the high-tech industry. China claims that the restrictions are necessary for environmental protection and sustainable development, while the EU claims that they violate international trade rules,
- One of the largest and most significant disputes between China and the EU is related to the import of Chinese photovoltaic panels. The EU imposes anti-dumping and anti-subsidy duties on Chinese PV panels, claiming that Chinese manufacturers receive improper subsidies from the government and sell their products at reduced prices. China challenges these measures and claims that they are politically motivated and violate WTO rules.

The economic relations between the EU and China are characterized by significant trade and investment flows. China is the EU's second-largest trading partner, while the EU is China's largest trading partner. According to the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR, 2023), the volume of bilateral trade reached 586 billion euros in 2022, highlighting the economic interdependence between the two entities. However, this relationship is not without challenges. The EU has expressed concerns about market access, intellectual property rights, and trade imbalance (see: Fig. 2). The Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI), negotiated in 2020, aimed to address some of these issues by providing greater market access for European companies in China and vice versa.

EU trade in goods with China, 2013-2023



Source: Eurostat (online data code: ext_st_eu27_2020sitc)

Fig. 2. Trade imbalance between the EU and China. (Eurostat, 2024)

The dissertation analyzes China's influence in countries such as Serbia and Eastern European countries, and attempts to compare one of the main levers of EU foreign policy - sanctions, by comparing the situation with Russia and possible similar measures aimed at China.

This part traces the EU and China in the Asia-Pacific region and their relations with third countries. It is noted that according to the author, this is one of the most important regions for China, as well as for the EU and the USA, which makes it an extremely important and relevant topic. The complexity of relations, particularly in the South China Sea and Taiwan, is explained. Then, the economic and political relations of the EU and China with countries such as Japan, India and ASEAN are traced, with the author emphasizing the need to strengthen EU efforts in the region.

China's participation in Africa is also analyzed, tracing the growing economic influence on the continent. China's media influence in Africa is also presented. The emphasis on objective reporting is important for both China and Africa. Africa is concerned that Western media often present the continent in a negative light, while Chinese media report news from Africa in a way that presents a more positive image of the continent to the world (Marsh, 2016).

CONCLUSION

Historical Development of Identity:

European Union: European identity was formed after World War II, with the main driver being the desire for peace and stability on the continent. The process of integration, which began with the European Coal and Steel Community and continued with the European Economic Community, is key to building a collective European identity.

China: Chinese identity is deeply rooted in the country's millennial history. The Century of Humiliation and the subsequent economic reforms under Deng Xiaoping play a key role in contemporary Chinese identity, which focuses on sovereignty, territorial integrity, and economic development.

The Influence of the European Union on Chinese Identity Political Aspects

The European Union plays an important role in international politics and is often seen as a model for regional integration. Relations between the EU and China developed slowly during the second half of the 20th century. After the PRC's admission to the WTO and other international organizations, where China seemed to follow Deng Xiaoping's advice of 12 and 24 characters, first learning without "standing out," they began to change over time. There has been an increase in disputes between the EU and China, especially after 2010. Nevertheless, they have become major economic partners, which fits into the context of CCP legitimation based on the country's economic development. The EU and China find common themes such as the environment, and the normative nature of the EU influences the reconsideration of many issues in the CCP regarding China's participation in the world. The EU is often presented as a "normative power" that promotes democratic values, human rights, and the rule of law. These values provoke debates in China about the need for political reforms and democratization. Although the Chinese government often rejects these ideas as "external interference," they still influence public discussions and academic circles. Political interactions between the EU and China also play an important role in shaping Chinese

identity. The EU often criticizes China for human rights violations and lack of democratic reforms. These criticisms provoke a reaction from the Chinese government, which seeks to protect its sovereignty and political system.

Soft power

The EU uses its soft power through cultural and educational programs that promote the exchange of students and academics. These programs create opportunities for Chinese citizens to become familiar with European values and culture, which can lead to changes in their perceptions and identity. The Confucius Institutes in Europe also play a role in cultural exchange and mutual understanding. Cultural exchange between the EU and China leads to greater understanding and acceptance of European values in Chinese society. This, in turn, influences Chinese identity, making it more open. However, the Chinese government strives to preserve traditional Chinese values and culture, leading to a complex process of cultural adaptation and synthesis.

Trade and economic relations

The EU is one of China's largest trading partners. The economic ties between the two countries create interdependence that influences political and social structures in China. European standards and regulations are often perceived as models for Chinese reforms. These links between the two countries are a major driver for the Chinese economy. Trade and investments from the EU contribute to China's modernization and technological advancement, which in turn influences Chinese self-perception as a global economic player.

The EU's influence on Chinese identity is multifaceted and includes economic, political, and cultural aspects. Political interactions and criticisms from the EU provoke reactions from the Chinese government and stimulate changes in China's foreign policy identity. These interactions show that the EU plays an important role in shaping contemporary Chinese identity, contributing to its development and adaptation in the global context. China's influence on European identity. Geopolitical influence: China's rise as a global power prompts a rethinking of the EU's geopolitical strategies. European countries face the challenge of balancing their economic interests with the need to protect democratic values and human rights.

Political dialogue

Interaction with China encourages the EU to develop a more coherent and strategic foreign policy. This includes creating new institutions and mechanisms for managing relations with China, which in turn influences European political identity. Political discourses in Europe also influence the perception of China. European leaders and politicians often express their positions on relations with China, which shapes public opinion and the EU's political priorities. These discourses can range from calls for cooperation to warnings of potential threats.

Economic aspects

Economic interdependence: China is one of the EU's largest trading partners. This economic interdependence creates new forms of economic identity in Europe, promoting innovation and technological exchange. On one hand, they stimulate economic growth and innovation in Europe through investment and trade. On the other hand, they create competition for European companies and raise questions about economic security and sustainability. The EU develops various policies and strategies to manage economic relations with China. This includes measures to protect European companies from unfair competition, as well as initiatives to promote cooperation in areas such as green energy and technology. These policies reflect the EU's desire to maintain its economic identity and competitiveness in the global economy.

Investments and infrastructure
Chinese investments in European infrastructure, such as the Belt and Road Initiative, provoke debates about the economic sovereignty and strategic autonomy of the European Union.

A deeper examination of the EU and China through their different perspectives helps to avoid falling into antagonism, and the perceptions of third countries towards them are important to prevent unnecessary conflicts or to deepen relations with them. However, the author reminds of the term used by Henry Kissinger in "Diplomacy" - "The European Doomsday Machine", describing the period before World War I, when alliances in Europe were so intertwined that it was only a matter of time before this tragedy happened. On the other hand, it is clear that both the EU and China are increasingly integrated, mutually dependent, and possessing levers of influence

against each other. On the other hand, a potential failure of one of the two sides would have a huge negative impact on the other. The author believes that the most important foreign policy role of the EU in the coming years is to balance relations between the US and China, trying to approach diplomatically, because, as shown, China's foreign policy is strongly intertwined between the country's historical experience and the influence of the CCP on public attitudes.

SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS

1. Development of theories in international relations

- The dissertation contributes to the expansion of constructivist approaches through a detailed study of the role of identity in the foreign policy of the EU and China. This includes the integration of cultural and historical factors in the analysis of the foreign policy strategies of major actors. The dissertation expands constructivist theory by introducing cultural and historical factors as key elements in shaping state identity. This allows for a better understanding of the foreign policy strategies of the EU and China, which are based not only on material interests but also on deeply rooted values and beliefs.

- Expanding the theoretical scope through comparative analysis: Through the comparative analysis of European and Chinese identity, the dissertation offers a new perspective in constructivist research. This approach shows how different historical and cultural contexts can shape unique foreign policy actions, which expands the applicability of constructivist theories to different regional discourses.

- Introduction of new conceptual frameworks: The study offers new conceptual frameworks for analyzing identity in foreign policy, which include dynamic processes of interaction between internal and external factors. This contributes to a deeper understanding of how identity is formed and changed in the context of global relationships.

2. Comparative analysis of European and Chinese identity

- Identification of similar and different elements: The dissertation conducts a detailed comparative analysis that identifies both similarities and differences between European and Chinese identity. This analysis reveals how different historical experiences of unification and national identity influence the contemporary foreign policy strategies of the EU and China.

- Influence of historical processes on identity: The study emphasizes the role of key historical events and periods, such as the "Century of Humiliation" for China and post-World War II for the EU, in shaping national identities. This shows how the past continues to influence current foreign policy decisions and strategic orientations. The dissertation shows how colonial heritage

influences the foreign policy of the EU and China, shaping their relations with former colonies and other developing countries. This includes an analysis of postcolonial disagreements and joint initiatives that result from historical ties.

- Analysis of institutional framework and political systems: By comparing the institutional structures of the EU and China, the dissertation analyzes how different political systems support or limit the development of national identity in foreign policy. This aspect contributes to a deeper understanding of the domestic political mechanisms that shape the international behavior of major actors.

3. Identity as a factor in shaping international order

- Influence of national identity on global policies: The dissertation shows how the national identity of the EU and China plays a key role in determining their positions in the international arena. This includes an analysis of how shared values and identities influence the creation and maintenance of international order.

- Shared values and global stability: The study emphasizes the importance of shared values between the EU and China for global stability and cooperation. This includes consideration of initiatives and treaties that demonstrate collective commitment to peace, development and sustainable cooperation.

- Conflicts and cooperation within the international order: The study analyzes how different identities can lead to both conflicts and cooperation in international relations. This includes examples of cooperation between the EU and China on global issues, as well as potential points of tension arising from different national interests and values.

4. Identity as a tool for predicting foreign policy trends

- Development of a model for predicting political actions: The study proposes the development of a model that uses analysis of national identity to predict the foreign policy actions of the EU and China. This model may include factors such as cultural values, historical narratives and institutional frameworks.

- Analysis of future trends and possible scenarios: The dissertation examines potential future trends in EU and Chinese foreign policy based on current changes in their identity. This includes forecasts for policy directions, possible new alliances and challenges that may arise from changing identities.

- Identification of potential conflict points: The study identifies key areas where differences in EU and Chinese identity may lead to conflicts, such as economic competition, technological advancement and strategic interests in Asia and Europe. This allows for the timely development of strategies to overcome these potential contradictions.

5. New empirical data and case studies in the field of international relations

- Presentation of new empirical data: The dissertation includes the collection and analysis of new empirical data related to EU and Chinese foreign policy. These data may include statistical indicators, reports and studies that provide a deeper understanding of interactions.

- Development of new research questions: The dissertation identifies new research questions that can be addressed in future studies based on the obtained empirical data and analyzed cases. This stimulates the development of the field and provides a basis for ongoing academic research. Future research studies that stand out as necessary, relevant and important are: identity as a factor in participation in international organizations and forums; identity as a factor in establishing international alliances and coalitions in the new international order; additional comparative analyses of EU and Chinese participation in Africa, South and Southeast Asia and Central Asia.

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