

# DIALOG GLOBAL



**German-Chinese  
Intermunicipal Relationships**  
Motives, Structures, Activity Areas

**Study**

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Telephone ++49/228/4460-1600, Fax ++49/228/4460-1601  
info@service-eine-welt.de, www.service-eine-welt.de  
Responsible: Anita Reddy

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Dialog Global

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Number 19

English Version

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Study

Ulrich Held, Rita Merkle

Bonn 2009



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## List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA	German Federal Foreign Office / Auswärtiges Amt
ACJV	All China Youth Federation
BMBF	German Federal Ministry of Education and Research / Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung
BMFSFJ	German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth / Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend
BMJ	German Federal Ministry of Justice / Bundesministerium der Justiz
BMU	German Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety / Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit
BMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development / Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung
C	Contact
Ce	Central Region
Co	Coastal Region
CP	Communist Party
DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the OECD
F	Friendship
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
IJAB	International Youth Service of the Federal Republic of Germany / Fachstelle für Internationale Jugendarbeit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland e.V.
KMK	The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder of the Federal Republic of Germany / Kultusministerkonferenz
NPC	National People's Congress
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
P	Partnership
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRC	People's Republic of China
RF	Regional Friendship (linking municipalities)
RGRE	German Section of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions / Rat der Gemeinden und Regionen Europas
RP	Regional Partnership (linking municipalities)
TCM	Traditional Chinese Medicine



# I. Foreword

**Dear reader,**

We are not indifferent to China. In 2008 it dominated the headlines for many weeks. The Dalai Lama's visit to the Federal Chancellor's Office clouded not only bilateral relations, but also relations within the grand coalition in Berlin. While the suppression of the demonstrations in Lhasa in March gave a boost to criticism of China among the German public, this was moderated by the earthquake in Sichuan in May. Sympathy for and solidarity with the people in need came to dominate public sentiment. The torch run, Olympic values, the blue sky over Beijing – an image projected by a single-party dictatorship, or signs of change? In the future there will be no alternative to engaging with China on political, economic, social and ecological issues. Yet how will we manage to achieve key strategic aims in cooperation with China, while at the same time realising basic values?

The present study illustrates issues of trust-building, cooperation and the balance of interests. It deals with the extremely agile and diverse links between German and Chinese municipalities, which help form the lifeblood of bilateral relations between the two countries, and stabilise them through numerous partnerships and friendships. This study comprises the first comprehensive empirical survey and description of the verifiable intermunicipal relationships between Germany and China. It not only brings to light the pragmatic trend of 'municipal foreign policy' now evident in Germany, but also the close links between German and Chinese self-interests, which are often complementary, as well as the rapprochement being achieved in a spirit of friendship across a diversity of areas and forms of cooperation. The example of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships thus shows us how the development-oriented partnership of the future might look: a fundamentally reciprocal relationship between equals, based on their respective international positioning and development needs, building a bridge of cooperation across cultural and political differences.

Of course there are problems within and between the municipalities involved at the local level. Of course the sometimes difficult wider political climate has its effects on municipalities. This is why the present study goes beyond a mere description of the intermunicipal relationship, and analyses key problems, identifies thematic points of entry linking municipal and national cooperation, and recommends a number of practicable solutions.

The conduct of the study was initiated by the former director of the Service Agency Communities in One World, Ulrich Nitschke, whom I would like to thank very much at this point. Municipal cooperation with anchor countries is a key activity area of the Service Agency. We are always glad to support and advise the municipalities active in this field.



Anita Reddy

Director of the Department for Development Education/  
Service Agency Communities in One World,  
Inwent gGmbH – Capacity Building International, Germany



## II. Introduction

### Questions to be explored, procedure and structure of the study

The present study is based on an empirical survey conducted in selected German municipalities, and aims to provide a qualitative description of the motives, structures and activity areas of German-Chinese<sup>1</sup> intermunicipal relationships. It was commissioned by the Service Agency Communities in One World of Inwent (Capacity Building International, Germany), and implemented with funds of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

The study was prepared during the period from July – October 2008 (the written survey was conducted in July/August, the interviews in September) by Ulrich Held, freelance editor for development cooperation, and Dr. Rita Merkle, sinologist.

### II.1 Questions to be explored

The study seeks to explore two areas. These are first of all the development-policy implications of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships, and secondly the similarities and differences between German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships and 'traditional' municipal partnerships for development.

Development-policy implications: China is one of German development cooperation's key partner countries. Measured by cumulative ODA inputs (the figure for the period from 1981 to 2005/06 was 441 million US\$), China is the third largest recipient of German development cooperation. After Japan, Germany is China's second-largest donor among the OECD states. According to BMZ, China is 'categorised as a so-called anchor country due to its major economic, regional and international importance. These countries play a key role in securing peace and stability and in achieving the Millennium Development Goals.' (www.bmz.de, August 2008). Although China has risen rapidly over the last two decades to become a global economic power with a proven track record of major development success stories, and critics within the academic and political spheres therefore see development cooperation with China as obsolescent, 10% of the population (2005) still suffer extreme poverty, and 12% of them under-nourishment. Furthermore, the rapid urbanisation associated with the economic boom is causing alarming environmental damage and an enormous consumption of resources. These issues are further compounded by significant deficits in respect for human rights and a high rate of corruption. If these problems continue to become worse the consequences will be global, as they impact for instance on climate change or global economic stability. This is why we have a well-founded (self-) interest in continuing official German-Chinese development cooperation in the future in a spirit of trust. This cooperation will focus on dialogue and Technical Cooperation, while Financial Cooperation is planned to be discontinued to make way for a more intensive promotion of public-private partnerships for development.

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<sup>1</sup>The present study covers both the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan, which designates itself the Republic of China. This is because German municipalities also have links in Taiwan. However, whenever we use the term 'China' in the study we are usually referring to the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is only of secondary importance. Where it is important, this is mentioned explicitly.

As things stand the following priority areas of cooperation have been agreed on:

- > environmental policy, protection and sustainable management of natural resources, including environmentally-friendly transport
- > sustainable economic development
- > HIV/AIDS control
- > labour law
- > rule of law dialogue

The close links between urbanisation and China's economic boom, as well as the growing environmental problems, provide very good reasons why development policy should also focus attention on the municipal level. Given the fact that numerous German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships exist, the question arises as to which German municipalities cooperate with Chinese municipalities, how and why they do so, and how these municipal activities are to be assessed from a development-policy perspective. A further interesting question is whether and how the German municipal actors see themselves in this development context.

A further reason for conducting this study focusing on the municipal level in China was the two mega-events – the 2008 Olympic Games and the Expo 2010 world exhibition - which took place or will be taking place in China's cities for the first time. Expo 2010 in Shanghai, whose motto is 'Better City – Better Life', explicitly addresses the elementary theme of sustainable municipal development in China. Furthermore, the concrete municipal change processes unfolding in the run-up to the Olympic Games in 2008 (e.g. as a result of infrastructure development and resettlement) raised issues of sustainable municipal development in China, and of the benefits of the mega-event for such development. Both issues are becoming increasingly important in German-Chinese dialogue today – both in the context of development cooperation, and within the scope of the Federal Foreign Office's bilateral programme 'Germany and China – Moving Ahead Together', which will end up at Expo.

Differences/similarities to municipal partnerships for development: As an anchor country, China occupies a key regional and global political position. As an emerging country, it shares characteristics of both developing and industr-

ialised countries. Our interest here is to determine how this is reflected in the nature of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships, i.e. whether elements of a traditional municipal partnership for development characterized by solidarity and a willingness to help are also present here, or whether these relationships are different. Since there can be no mistaking the fact that German municipalities are strongly committed to building links with China, a further important question underlying the study is: What lessons can we learn from German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships for municipal development cooperation with other countries?

## II.2 Procedure

### The information base

When the study was commenced, the data available on German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships were incomplete:

- > Data entry on intermunicipal relationships in the ‚municipal partnerships database‘ of the German Section of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (RGRE), managed by the German Association of Cities, the only organisation responsible for this Germany-wide, is voluntary. This means first of all that there is an unknown quantity of intermunicipal relationships that are not registered, and secondly that the forms of relationship that are indicated may be out of date.
- > Anyone searching for information on the precise nature of intermunicipal relationships is dependent on the information made publicly accessible by the municipalities themselves. This includes municipal documents that can often only be consulted locally such as council resolutions etc., which would be painstaking to research, as well as the websites of the municipalities, which are easier to research.

Since the time frame of the study was tight, the first step was to sift through all the relevant websites. The latter offer information that varies in terms of how up to date it is, and how much detail it includes. This often seems to suggest more about the work of the press and public relations department of the municipality in question than about its relationships with municipalities in China. Where there is no mention of any relationship with a municipality in China, such a relationship may nevertheless exist (which is often the case). Conversely, where an intermunicipal relationship is described in detail it may long since be dormant, etc.

### Quantitative survey

This heterogeneous information base is the reason why this study began with a written survey. The survey aimed to

obtain comparable and up-to-date information as well as to identify positions on issues of sustainable development from as many German municipalities with links to China as possible, which would then provide a more reliable basis for quantitative and qualitative analysis.

In order to obtain the most authentic impression possible of municipal commitment and the interests determining its actions, the questionnaire asked not only multiple-choice questions, but also quite deliberately open questions on goals, motives and activities.

The questionnaire (see Annex) was produced in agreement and in consultation with the German municipal associations. It was sent to 95 municipalities whose involvement in China was documented. These comprised 75 municipalities listed in the RGRE database, plus a further 20 municipalities identified through internet research in July 2008.<sup>2</sup> The response rate was 39.9% (42 completed questionnaires), which presumably speaks in favour of the strong interest of the surveyed municipalities in their relationships with municipalities in China. Four further responses were excluded from the study, because they indicated either that no relationship with a Chinese municipality had ever existed, or that such a relationship had existed, but no longer did so. Of the 95 municipalities who were sent the questionnaire, 49 did not respond at all.

### Qualitative survey

In order to find out more about processes of change, problems, ways of acting and characteristics of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships, as well as to verify the results of the survey, and enquire about interest in networking, in-depth interviews were conducted with selected municipalities. Guided interviews (see the list of questions in the Annex) were conducted in six municipalities (Ansbach, Berlin, Duisburg, Gladbeck, Magdeburg, and Nuremberg). The aim here was to survey a sample of municipalities in both East and West Germany, both longstanding and recently established intermunicipal relationships, and municipalities with relationships of different kinds (partnership, friendship, regional cooperation).

<sup>2</sup> This research was conducted chiefly through the websites of the federal states, the municipal associations, and the German and Chinese embassies, as well as through the Google search engine.

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### II.3 Structure of the study

Chapter III describes the historical context of intermunicipal relationships in the setting of bilateral German-Chinese relations. Chapter IV then analyses the active municipalities in Germany and China with respect to their specific and joint economic and cultural characteristics, and their number of inhabitants. Chapter V attempts to assign the diverse forms of cooperation to individual, clearly distinguishable categories of intermunicipal relationship.

Chapter VI begins describing the German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships in rich detail, based on the results of the written survey and the interviews. Section VI.1 covers the emergence and goals of the relationships and, as well as providing a historic evaluation of the formalisation of relationships between municipalities, reveals their strikingly pragmatic nature and seeks to explain the absence of motives that are characteristic of traditional partnerships for development. Referring to examples, Section VI.2 describes the activities of intermunicipal relationships in the core areas of business, culture, school and youth exchange, municipal administration, universities/research institutions, health and environment. In each instance it highlights the nature of the tasks performed by the municipal administration or the management of intermunicipal relationships in the core areas, and shows where these tasks touch on the activities of official bilateral cooperation with China. Sections VI.3 and VI.4 describe the actor structures in relation to the goals and key areas of activity, and identify the sources of funding that support the intermunicipal relationships. Section VI.5 looks at sustainable urban development and the dialogues held on this issue between municipalities. Here, potentials for key areas of future cooperation come into focus, as does the modest scope for raising politically sensitive issues on the basis of the mutual trust that has already been established. Section VI.6 continues looking at the theme of sustainable urban development, and identifies the contribution made by intermunicipal relationships in the context of the 2008 Olympic Games and EXPO 2010 in China. Section VI.7 summarises the findings of the survey and the interviews on the strengths, weaknesses and distinguishing features of the intermunicipal relationships. This is followed by a summary of the entire study in Chapter VII.

Finally, Chapter VIII offers recommendations for German municipal actors seeking to establish and maintain a partnership with a municipality in China.

# III. Historical Context of the Emergence of German-Chinese Municipal Partnerships

## III.1 Intermunicipal relationships – a reflection of German foreign-policy trends

International intermunicipal relationships (both within Europe, and between Germany and Africa, Latin America and Asia) reflect the foreign-policy history of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and German Democratic Republic (GDR), and of the reunified Germany. This can be seen from the dates on which the municipal partnerships and friendships were formally established. Furthermore, the geographical radius of action of these intermunicipal relationships has gradually widened since 1949, right up to the present era of globalisation:

- > From the 1950s onward: intermunicipal relationships to promote reconciliation and international understanding, a systemic and inherent component of relations between the FRG and the western allies (entered into voluntarily within the scope of municipal autonomy), and between the GDR and the Warsaw Pact states (entered into in response to state directives).
- > From the 1960s onward: municipal partnerships for development following the decolonisation of Africa (mostly involving West German municipalities), as a result of the stepping-up of North-South dialogue and the launch of official development cooperation. (One special case in the context of the Cold War was the municipal partnerships for development/solidarity with Nicaragua from the 1980s onward.)
- > From the 1970s onward, and gaining momentum from the mid-1980s onward: cross-system German-German, German-Russian intermunicipal relationships within the scope of the *détente* policy during the Cold War.
- > From the early 1990s onward: a growing number of intermunicipal relationships with Eastern and Southern Europe, designed to deepen European integration.

International intermunicipal relationships are thus in the majority of cases an important part of bilateral relations designed to underpin foreign-policy objectives (at least as long as the German municipalities do not issue any politi-

cal declarations that run counter to the foreign policy of the German national government, which happens only very rarely). These relationships have also long since been recognised and acknowledged as such, as the following quote from a member of staff of the German Federal Foreign Office shows: 'International municipal cooperation creates the infrastructure of human relationships on the basis of which government foreign policy can continuously consolidate and develop peace and understanding through dialogue, exchange and cooperation.' (Wendler 1989, p. 138)

## III.2 Three pillars of German-Chinese rapprochement

The appearance and development of German-Chinese inter-municipal relationships follow the trajectory of Germany's foreign-policy orientation and China's gradual open-door policy. Three pillars of German-Chinese rapprochement should be mentioned which form as it were the basic prerequisites for the emergence of German-Chinese inter-municipal relationships.

### III.2.1 Willy Brandt's policy of détente

The Brandt government abandoned the policy based on the so-called Hallstein doctrine, in order to prevent a further ‚drifting apart of the German nation‘ (Winkler 2004, p. 280). From that point on, friendly relations with states maintaining diplomatic relations with the GDR were no longer to be ruled out as a matter of principle. Since the PRC had maintained diplomatic relations with the GDR since it came into existence, Brandt's change of policy for the first time presented an opportunity for rapprochement between the FRG and China. Brandt's policy should also be seen in the wider context of the policy of détente toward the Warsaw Pact states, which was designed to promote peace and security in Europe, which then faced a situation in which the military blocs were armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons.

### III.2.2 China's foreign-policy opening to the West

In the 1960s China increasingly came to perceive the Soviet Union as a threat. Following conflicts over Stalin's political legacy and the leadership of the communist movement, as well as Mao's attempt to develop atomic weapons for China, which was thwarted by Khrushchev, in 1969 there was even a military skirmish at the border river Ussuri. China then turned pointedly toward the USA and Western Europe, and following the foreign-policy isolation of the Cultural Revolution era sought a return to the global political arena (Müller-Hofstede 2007, p. 325f.). This was symbolised by China's joining the United Nations in 1971, which was followed one year later by the establishment of diplomatic relations with the FRG. Under Zhou Enlai Chinese foreign policy thus underwent a radical change of direction: ‚The goal was no longer world revolution, but „peaceful coexistence and the establishment of friendly relations with states of various social systems“.’

#### Box 1

##### Stages of German-Chinese relations

###### a.) prior to the separation of the two Germanies in 1949:

- > 1861: opening of the Prussian consulate general in Shanghai. Beginning of official relations.
- > 1877: opening of the Chinese legation in Berlin
- > 1897 – 1914: occupation of the Jiaozhou coastal strip (Shandong province) by the German Reich.
- > 1900/01: murder of the German legate Baron von Kettler by Chinese members of the so-called ‚Boxer rebellion‘, which was brutally suppressed by European troops as a result.

In the so-called Boxer Protocol the German Reich demanded compensation from the Chinese to the tune of 240 million reichsmarks. These two factors led to a long-lasting loss of German prestige in China.



- > 1918 – 1938: intensification especially of economic relations, until Germany recognised the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in the north-east of China.
- > 1941: diplomatic relations broken off by China. China sides with the allies as it enters the Second World War.

#### b) between the FRG and China

- > From 1949 onward: FRG supports the One China policy, given the background of its own division.
- > 1958-64: The news agencies Xinhua and dpa open their respective offices in Bonn (1958) and Beijing (1964).
- > 1969: The abandonment of the Hallstein doctrine marked by the West German government's new policy toward the East under Willy Brandt clears the path for diplomatic relations.
- > 1972: Communiqué on the opening up of diplomatic relations.
- > 1972 – 75: Visits to China made by German Federal President Walter Scheel and Minister Presidents Franz-Josef Strauss and Helmut Kohl.
- > 1973 – 78: Agreements inter alia on bilateral trade, student exchange, and scientific and technological cooperation.
- > 1979: Prime Minister Hua Guofeng visits Germany as the reform and open-door policy is launched under Deng Xiaoping. An agreement on economic cooperation is concluded.
- > 1982: Launch of development cooperation with China. Establishment of the first German-Chinese city-to-city partnership between Duisburg and Wuhan.
- > 1988: The foreign ministries agree to hold regular consultations on bilateral and international issues. The Goethe Institute opens an office in Beijing, the first foreign cultural representation to do so.
- > 1989: Following the suppression of the student protests in China the FRG, together with the States of the European Community, imposes economic sanctions and freezes top-level contacts.

#### c) between the GDR and China

- > 1949: diplomatic relations between ‚brother states‘ opened up.
- > 1950 – 53: agreements on the exchange of goods, cultural cooperation, technological and scientific cooperation.
- > 1955: Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl in Beijing, signature of the friendship and cooperation treaty. Numerous high-level delegations in the years that followed.
- > 1959: opening of a GDR consulate general in Shanghai.
- > 1960s: good relations broken off in light of the tensions between Moscow and Beijing.
- > 1984 – 87: close relations rapidly resumed through numerous agreements on economics, science, technology and culture, as well as reciprocal visits by the Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang and the Chairman of the Council of State Erich Honecker.

- > 1988: establishment of the first city-to-city partnerships between the GDR and China:  
Leipzig – Nanjing, Rostock – Dalian.
- > 1989/90: GDR provides diplomatic support for the suppression of the student protests in China.

d) between the reunified Germany and China

- > 1990: development cooperation resumed.
- > 1991: Germany's first ever foreign trade deficit with China (figure for 2007: – 24.73 %), prompting the Kohl government to seek a way out of the sanctions policy.
- > 1992: Federal Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel visits China. All sanctions lifted, except for the arms embargo.
- > 1993 – 95: reciprocal visits by the heads of state and chiefs of government.
- > 1994: opening of a DAAD branch office in Beijing.
- > 1995: opening of further consulates general in Munich and Guangzhou
- > 1996: Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel voices criticism of China before the UN Commission on Human Rights. Diplomatic tensions result.
- > 1998: opening of the Chinese-German University College at Tongji University in Shanghai.
- > 1999: Germany the largest European investor in China. By 2004, Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schröder visits China six times.
- > 2000: agreements on a bilateral annual dialogue on the rule of law. Sino-German Centre for Research Promotion begins work.
- > 2002: China outstrips Japan as Germany's main trading partner in Asia.
- > 2003: state visit by Federal President Johannes Rau. Federal Chancellor Schröder presses for a lifting of the arms embargo.
- > 2004: further consulates general opened in Frankfurt am Main and Chengdu.
- > 2005: state visit by President Hu Jintao. Cultural agreement on the opening of more branches of the Goethe Institute in China and two Confucius Institutes at the Free University of Berlin and the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, as well as a Chinese cultural institute in Berlin.
- > 2007: Dalai Lama received by Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel. Diplomatic relations briefly clouded over, dialogue on the rule of law cancelled. Launch of the three-year programme 'Germany and China – Moving Ahead Together'.

*Sources: Friedrich 2007, p. 402 – 417. Gründer 2004, p. 188 -205.*

### III.2.3 China's economic opening to the West

From 1979 onward the diplomatic rapprochement with the West received an enormous boost from Deng Xiaoping's reform and open-door policy, which was designed to integrate China into the global market, and was deepened by growing economic cooperation with the West. The primary aims here were to improve the performance of the Chinese

national economy, and to meet the needs of the poor population, through cooperation with, and the transfer of expertise from, the prosperous industrialised states of the West. The ideological primacy of the class struggle was replaced with the primacy of a pragmatic economic policy that allowed the import of the needed capital and technology from the West. As the economically strongest nation in Western Europe, the FRG became a sought-after partner in China.

#### Box 2

#### China's open-door policy after 1979 – the starting signal for German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships

When Deng Xiaoping abandoned Mao's principle of maintaining an even development of the coastal and inland provinces, it was first of all the economically more advanced coastal region that was gradually opened to foreign investment as a 'window on the outside world'. This was designed to promote export-oriented economic activity, the procurement of foreign exchange through exports and the import of advanced technologies:

- > After 1979/80 five special economic zones were created in Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou in Guangdong province, in Xiamen in Fujian province and in 1988 in Hainan province.
- > In 1984 the 14 coastal cities of Dalian, Qinhuangdao, Tianjin, Yantai, Qingdao, Lianyungang, Nantong, Shanghai, Ningbo, Wenzhou, Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Zhanjiang and Beihai were opened.
- > After 1985 the Yangtze delta, the Pearl River delta, the South Fujian triangle, the Shandong peninsula, the East Liaoning peninsula, and Hebei and Guangxi were declared open economic zones one after another, and together then formed an open economic coastal strip.
- > In 1990 the Pudong zone in Shanghai was developed, and opened up together with a number of cities along the Yangtze.
- > After Deng's 'southern journey' in January/February 1992 the decision was taken to open up a number of cities in border zones, and to further open all the capitals of the provinces and autonomous regions in the interior of the country.

The creation of these economic zones with particularly favourable taxation rates, the gradual improvement of conditions for foreign investment, the creation of legal certainty for foreign businesses, and the fact that wages were in any case low in China triggered an international run on these zones. At the same time, these cities and provinces that had been transformed into economic laboratories, as well as the companies based there, were granted increasing decision-making scope in their economic activities (use of foreign exchange, fees for the allocation of real estate, working conditions,

prices, wages etc.). The cities and provinces thus had the liberty to carefully select and approach western municipalities with a similar economic structure, with their own development interests in mind. And they made use of it. Since the 1980s the German Association of Cities has continuously kept a list of Chinese municipalities officially seeking partners.

The influence of Chinese foreign- and economic-policy priority-setting was also manifested at the level of inter-municipal relationships by the fact that, 10 years after diplomatic relations between the FRG and China had been commenced, the first German-Chinese city-to-city partnership between Duisburg and Wuhan emerged in 1982 (and did so even before the first German-German partnership between Saarlouis and Eisenhüttenstadt emerged in 1986). The first partnerships between the GDR and China followed, though not until 1988, between the twin cities Rostock – Dalian, and Leipzig – Nanjing.

The attention paid by West German politicians to China was based both on China's diplomatic and economic overtures, and on strategic security interests vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. From the Cold War perspective, the enemy of the enemy – i.e. of the USSR – became an important strategic partner for the FRG. This mix of interests led to a situation in which in the first instance conservative politicians such as the Minister President of Bavaria, the Christian Socialist Franz Josef Strauss, became one of China's friends right from the start. In 1975 he made the following statement: 'Any European policy (must) also see in the People's Republic of China a partner who will help maintain the balance' (Paul Fischer 2007).

Regardless of their particular motives, be it to maintain the balance of power between East and West, or be it for economic reasons, those minister presidents who sought links to the Chinese provinces (predominantly, though not exclusively, to those provinces with special economic zones), did pave the way for a deeper bilateral exchange between the two peoples. They smoothed the path for the provincial partnerships established in the 1980s that in turn motivated

actors at the municipal level to establish links in China (with the exception of those few German municipalities which already maintained such links before their federal states).

*The historic basis of China's gradual reform and open-door policy, and Germany's economic and strategic interests in the setting of the Cold War, are reflected to this day in the areas of cooperation and nature of German-Chinese inter-municipal relationships. Building on the initial reciprocal economic goals, efforts made by both sides to get to know each other with due respect have since led to the growth of diverse exchange activities on the political, technical and cultural levels. This exchange promotes both the pragmatic self-interests, and mutual understanding and trust.*

# IV. The German and Chinese Municipalities Linked through Intermunicipal Relationships

## IV.1 The German municipalities with links to municipalities in China

According to the information obtained from the survey and our research, 88 German municipalities maintain links with municipalities in China. These active municipalities are:

- > 45 of Germany's 118 independent towns and cities (including city-states as well as Hanover and Göttingen),
- > 19 of Germany's 313 administrative districts,
- > 23 of Germany's other 1,959 towns and cities,
- > one local authority.

## IV.1.1 Geographical distribution of the German municipalities

71 West German and 17 East German municipalities currently maintain intermunicipal relationships with China. The federal states with the largest number of municipalities involved are Bavaria (22) and North Rhine-Westphalia (21), which alone account for almost half the intermunicipal relationships. Far behind the leaders come Baden-Württemberg (10), Hesse (7), Saxony (6), Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (5), Lower Saxony (4), Rhineland-Palatinate (3) and Thuringia (3). Brandenburg (2), Saxony-Anhalt (1) and Schleswig-Holstein (1) come at last. The municipalities of the Saarland do not maintain any intermunicipal relationships with China.

**Table 1:**

German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships by federal state				
No. of municipalities	German municipality	Chinese municipality (province)	Since	Type <sup>3</sup>
<u>Baden-Württemberg</u> (10 municipalities; 11 relationships,, of which 4 P, 3 F, 4 C))				
1	Amtzell	Taopu (Shanghai)	1994	F
2	Emmendingen	Kaohsiung (Taiwan)	2000	C
3	Friedrichshafen	Nanjing (Jiangsu)	2006	C
4	Heidenheim an der Brenz	Qianjiang (Hubei)	1994	F
5	Konstanz	Suzhou (Jiangsu)	2004	F
6	Ludwigsburg (Kreis)	Yichang (Hubei)	1995	P
7	Mannheim	Zhenjiang (Jiangsu) Qingdao (Shandong)	2004	P C
8	Marbach am Neckar	Tongling (Anhui)	2005	P
9	Rottweil	Huangshi (Hubei)	2004	P
10	Stuttgart	Nanjing (Jiangsu)	1995	K
<u>Bavaria</u> (22 municipalities; 22 relationships, of which 3 P, 13 RP, 3 F, 2 RF, 1 C)				
1	Ansbach	Jingjiang	2004	RP
2	Ansbach (district)	Jingjiang	2004	RP
3	Augsburg	Jinan (Shandong)	2004	P
4	Bad Kissingen	Dongying (Shandong)		C
5	Bayreuth	Shaoxing (Zhejiang)	2005	F
6	Dinkelsbühl	Jingjiang	2004	RP
7	Erlangen	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
8	Erlangen-Höchstadt (district)	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
9	Feuchtwangen	Jingjiang	2004	RP

<sup>3</sup> Types of intermunicipal relationship: P = partnership, F = friendship, C = contact, RP = regional partnership, RF = regional friendship. See Chapter V for definitions of these terms.

10	Freising (district)	Weifang (Shandong)	1987	P
11	Fürth	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
12	Fürth (district)	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
13	Nürnberg	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
14	Nürnberger Land (district)	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
15	Passau	Liuzhou (Guangxi)	2001	P
16	Regensburg	Qingdao (Shandong)	2006	F
17	Rosenheim (district)	Hangzhou (Zhejiang)	2004	RF
18	Roth (district)	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
19	Rothenburg ob der Tauber	Jingjiang	2004	RP
20	Schwabach	Shenzhen (Guangdong)	1997	RP
21	Traunstein (district)	Hangzhou (Zhejiang)	2004	RF
22	Starnberg (district)	Taipei (Taiwan)	1985	F
<u>Berlin</u> (1 municipality; 1 relationship, of which 1 P)				
1	Berlin	Peking	1994	P
<u>Brandenburg</u> (2 municipalities; 2 relationships, of which 1 P, 1 K)				
1	Barnim (district)	Baoji (Shaanxi)	2003	P
2	Oberhavel (district)	Chiavi (Taiwan)	2000	K
<u>Bremen</u> (1 municipality; 2 relationships, of which 1 P, 1 K)				
1	Bremen (Free and Hanseatic City)	Dalian (Liaoning) Shenyang (Liaoning)	1985 2006	P K
<u>Hamburg</u> (1 municipality; 1 relationship, of which 1 P)				
1	Hamburg	Shanghai	1986	P
<u>Hesse</u> (7 municipalities; 9 relationships, of which 4 P, 1 F, 5 K)				
1	Bad Wildungen	Yichun (Heilongjiang)	1988	P
2	Frankfurt a. M.	Guangzhou (Guangdong) Shenzhen (Guangdong) Peking Tianjin	1988 2006 2007 2007	P K K K
3	Hanau	Sanmen	2008	K
4	Obertshausen	Hangzhou	2007	K
5	Offenbach	Yangzhou (Jiangsu)	2004	P
6	Offenbach (district)	Liaocheng (Shandong)	2002	P
7	Weilburg	Lianyungang (Jiangsu)	2003	F

Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania				
(5 municipalities; 6 relationships, of which 4 P, 2 K)				
1	Neubrandenburg	Yangzhou (Jiangsu)	1998	P
2	Ostvorpommern (district)	Nantou (Taiwan)	1997	P
3	Parchim (district)	Yunlin (Taiwan)	1999	P
4	Rostock	Dalian (Liaoning) Hefei (Anhui)	1988	P K
5	Schwerin	Zhengzhou (Henan)	2005	K
Lower Saxony:				
(4 municipalities; 4 relationships, of which 2 P, 1 F, 1 K)				
1	Hannover	Changde (Hunan)	2004	K
2	Oldenburg	Tianjin	2007	P
3	Osnabrück	Hefei (Anhui)	2006	F
4	Wilhelmshaven	Qingdao (Shandong)	1992	P (port partnership)
North Rhine-Westphalia				
(21 municipalities; 26 relationships, of which 13 P, 5 F, 3 RF, 5 K)				
1	Aachen	Ningbo (Zhejiang)	1986	P
2	Bocholt	Wuxi (Jiangsu)	1985	P
3	Bochum	Xuzhou (Jiangsu)	1994	F
4	Bonn	Chengdu (Sichuan)	2000	P (project partnership)
5	Düsseldorf	Chongqing Guangzhou (Guangdong) Shenyang (Liaoning)	2004 2005 1986	P P K
6	Düren	Jinhua (Zhejiang)	2002	P
7	Duisburg	Wuhan (Hubei) Qingdao (Shandong) Changzhou (Jiangsu)	1982 2008 1986	P RF K
8	Dortmund	Xi'an (Shaanxi)	1992	P
9	Essen	Qingdao (Shandong)	2008	RF
10	Gladbeck	Fushun (Liaoning)	1988	P
11	Hagen	Haining (Zhejiang)	2005	K
12	Köln	Peking	1987	P
13	Leverkusen	Wuxi (Jiangsu) Shenyang (Liaoning)	2005	F K
14	Marl	Changzhi (Shanxi)	1993	K
15	Paderborn	Qingdao (Shandong)	2003	F
16	Ratingen	Wuxi/Huishan (Jiangsu)	2007	P
17	Rhein-Kreis-Neuss (district)	Wuxi (Jiangsu)	2000	F
18	Siegen-Wittgenstein (district)	De Yang (Sichuan)	2000	P
19	Sprockhövel	Zaozhuang (Shandong)	1987	F
20	Troisdorf	Nantong (Jiangsu)	1997	F
21	Wuppertal	Qingdao (Shandong)	2008	RF

<u>Rhineland-Palatinate</u>				
(3 municipalities; 3 relationships, of which 1 P, 1 F, 1 K)				
1	Kaiserslautern	Peking/Chaoyang	2005	K
2	Neustadt a.d. Weinstraße	Quanzhou (Fujian)	1995	P
3	Trier	Xiamen (Fujian)	2006	F
<u>Sachsen</u>				
(6 municipalities; 7 relationships, of which 6 P, 1 F)				
1	Annaberg	Kaohsiung (Taiwan)	1993	P
2	Chemnitz	Taiyuan (Shanxi)	2004	P
3	Dresden	Hangzhou (Zhejiang)	2008	P
4	Kamenz (district)	Lucheng (Shanxi)	2000	P
5	Leipzig	Nanjing (Jiangsu)	1988	P
		Chongqing	1998	F
6	Riesa	Suzhou/Wuhzong (Jiangsu)	2004	P
<u>Sachsen-Anhalt</u>				
(1 municipality; 1 relationship, of which 1P)				
1	Magdeburg	Harbin (Heilongjiang)	2008	P
<u>Schleswig-Holstein</u>				
(1 municipality; 1 relationship, of which 1 F)				
1	Kiel	Qingdao (Shandong)	2005	F
<u>Thüringen</u>				
(3 municipalities; 3 relationships, of which 2 P, 1 K)				
1	Erfurt	Xuzhou (Jiangsu)	2005	P
2	Jena	Guangzhou/Panyu (Guangdong)	2003	K
3	Weimar	Jiading/Shanghai	2004	P
Germany as a whole: 88 municipalities; 100 relationships, of which 44 partnerships (P), 13 municipalities in regional partnerships (RP), 16 friendships (F), 5 municipalities in regional friendships (RF), 22 informal contacts (C).				

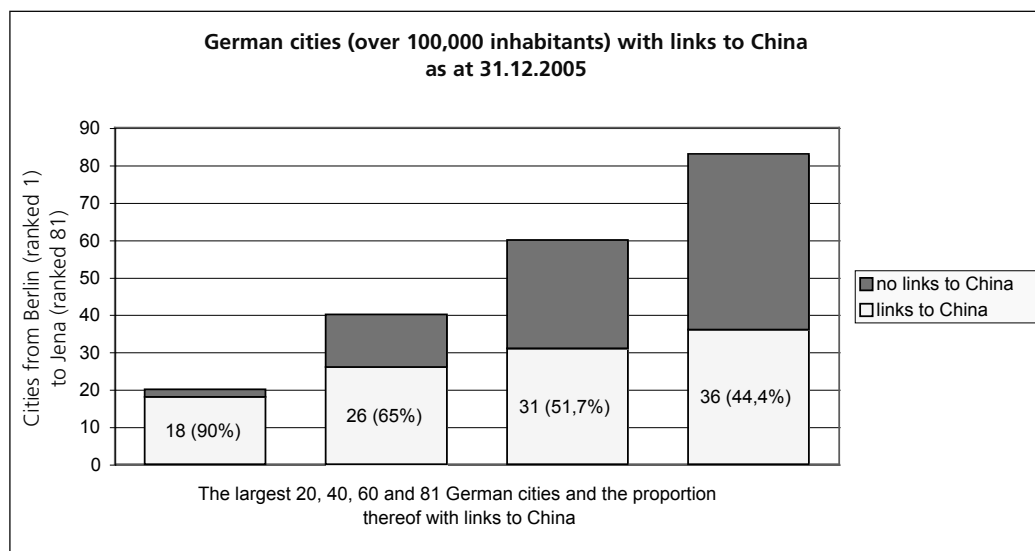
Source: Held/Merkle 2008



## IV.1.2 Number of inhabitants of the German municipalities

It is striking that among Germany's 81 cities (with over 100,000 inhabitants) as a whole, and in particular among the largest of them, there is a high concentration of municipalities with links to China's cities:<sup>4</sup>

Fig. 1: German cities (over 100,000 inhabitants) with links to China



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

Of the 20 largest cities in Germany (3.4 million to 300,000 inhabitants) only Munich and Bielefeld do not maintain any intermunicipal relationships with China (although Munich has indicated its interest in project-based cooperation with China). Only Stuttgart and Hanover maintain just one municipal contact below the level of an intermunicipal friendship. The proportion of municipalities in this group of the 20 largest German cities with links to China is thus 90%.

In the next largest group of 61 cities with between 300,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, a further 18 maintain intermunicipal relationships with China. As the number of inhabitants falls, so too does the number of intermunicipal relationships. Of Germany's 40 largest cities (up to 195,000 inhabitants) 26 (65%) maintain intermunicipal relationships with China. Of the 60 largest (up to 121,000 inhabitants) 31 (51.7%) maintain relationships, and of all 81 German cities 36 (44.4%) do.

Among cities or towns with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants a further 17 such relationships are maintained, and among towns with 10,000 – 50,000 inhabitants a further 15. Only one local authority involved had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. Further German municipalities involved include 19 administrative districts, the smallest of which has 81,000

(Annaberg) and the largest 450,000 inhabitants (Rhine-Neuss district). The total of 88 German municipalities represents just under 22.3 million inhabitants. The average number of inhabitants per German municipality thus works out at 252,900; by German standards this is equivalent to a city or a medium-sized administrative district.

Evidently the larger the German municipality is, the more attractive and feasible a relationship with a municipality in China becomes.

This is due first of all to the fact that German cities are home to a large number of economic, scientific, cultural and other civil society actors with an interest in links to China. They also possess expertise in urban management and urban development that also makes them attractive for Chinese partners.

Secondly it is due to the specific demands entailed by a relationship with a municipality in China. China is a long way away, its culture and mentality are generally unfamiliar, its language is difficult to learn, and only specialists can ever understand its politics or its hierarchical administrative and party structures. A relationship with a municipality in China first of all means significant expenditure from the municipal budget on lively shuttle diplomacy and profes-

<sup>4</sup> Figures on numbers of inhabitants taken from: [www.staedtetag.de](http://www.staedtetag.de) (as at 31.12.2005), and websites of municipalities that are not members of the German Association of Cities (some figures vary, depending on the source).

sional interpreters in order to strike up and maintain the relationship.

A further requirement is investment in possible sector projects. Although these costs can be shared with other interested parties such as business actors, universities, schools etc., and reduced, if not covered in full, by obtaining sponsorship, external funding and donations, the municipality will ultimately have a bill to foot. The work involved for the municipality in mediating between these interested parties, applying for external funding, soliciting sponsorship etc. itself generates costs. In addition to the costs, administrative capacities are also tied up by the organisational work, and expert personnel with international and intercultural experience are required to help build the partnership and conduct negotiations at the working level. It therefore comes as no surprise that it is large municipalities whose administrations today include work units able to devote themselves exclusively to international relations and partnership work, which are in the majority in this field. They are better able to overcome the obstacles to cooperation: the distance, the language barrier, the poorly transparent hierarchies on the Chinese side etc.

### IV.1.3 Political significance of the German municipalities

Equally striking is the concentration of cities with links to China among the federal state capitals and city-states. Only five out of the 16 do not maintain any links in China.

As seats of government with special representative functions, the federal state capitals are often also centres of economic, cultural and scientific activity within the respective federal state (or at least aspire to perform these functions normally associated with a capital). This means they have more to offer than just the mere capability to establish contacts in China through their resources and expertise (see above). As seats of government they also lend an intermunicipal relationship with China an additional symbolic political value. It is therefore to be assumed that intermunicipal relationships with China also provide valuable prestige in Germany.

German federal state capitals and city-states have in the majority of cases entered into relationships with Chinese municipalities which themselves perform capital-city functions: three direct-control municipalities and five provincial capitals. In these cases the political functions of the respective counterparts are similar, as are their economic

**Table 2:**

German federal state capitals and city-states with links to Chinese municipalities				
German city	Position within the structure of the state	Chinese city (province)	Position within the structure of the state	Type of relationship
Berlin	city-state	Peking	direct-controlled municipality	P since 1994
Bremen (Free Hanseatic City)	city-state	Dalian (Liaoning) Shenyang (Liaoning)	sub-provincial city provincial capital	P since 1985 K since 2006
Erfurt	federal state capital	Xuzhou (Jiangsu)	autonomous prefecture	P since 2005
Düsseldorf	federal state capital	Chongqing Guangzhou (Guangdong) Shenyang (Liaoning)	direct-controlled municipality provincial capital provincial capital	P since 2004 P since 2005 K since 1986
Dresden	federal state capital	Hangzhou (Zhejiang)	provincial capital	P since 2008
Hamburg	Stadtstaat	Shanghai	direct-controlled municipality	P since 1986
Hannover	federal state capital	Changde (Hunan)	autonomous prefecture	K since 2004
Kiel	federal state capital	Qingdao (Shandong)	sub-provincial city	F since 2005
Magdeburg	federal state capital	Harbin (Heilongjiang)	sub-provincial city	P since 2008
Schwerin	federal state capital	Zhengzhou (Henan)	provincial capital	K since 2005
Stuttgart	federal state capital	Nanjing (Jiangsu)	provincial capital	K since 1995

Source: Held/Merkle 2008

and cultural profiles. This constellation provides the basis for a relationship.

The close relations with the German federal state governments, most of which are intensively involved in regional partnerships with China (see Table 3), may provide an additional incentive for the federal state capitals here. Bearing in mind the fact that Munich forms an important exception, though, it is important to emphasise the 'may'.

Stronger than the incentive provided by the federal state activities, however, would appear to be the incentive provided by the Chinese cities themselves in terms of their economic and cultural attractiveness. If a Chinese city has a suitable profile, and if a relationship with it is considered compatible with the functions of a capital, then the federal state's regional focuses of cooperation with China play only a secondary role.

**Table 3:**

<b>Regional partnerships of Germany's federal states with China</b>			
<b>Regional contact</b>	<b>German federal state</b>	<b>Chin. province/direct-controlled municipality</b>	<b>Focuses of cooperation schwerpunkte</b>
1	Baden-Württemberg	Jiangsu (1984)	business and science
2	Baden-Württemberg	Liaoning (1986)	business and science
3	Baden-Württemberg	Shanghai (2002)	business and science
4	Bavaria	Shandong (1987)	business and technical cooperation
5	Bavaria	Guangdong (2004)	business, infrastructure, CT, tourism, technology, training, social protection and culture
6	Bremen	Guangdong (2004)	dormant
7	Hesse	Jiangxi (1985)	business, science, culture
8	Hesse	Hunan (1985)	business, science, culture
9	Lower Saxony	Anhui (1984)	science, business, administration and environmental protection
10	North Rhine-Westphalia	Jiangsu (1986)	scholarship programmes for young professionals (foreign trade, mechanical and electrical engineering), university cooperation
11	North Rhine-Westphalia	Shanxi (1984)	mining and mining engineering, environmental protection, industrial cooperation
12	North Rhine-Westphalia	Sichuan (1988)	scholar's programme for professionals from the PRC, industrial cooperation, university cooperation
13	Rhineland-Palatinate	Fujian (1989)	business, science, environmental protection
14	Saxony	Hubei (2008)	business, trade, environmental protection, renewable energy efficiency, education, training
15	Schleswig-Holstein	Zhejiang (1986)	business, trade, science, science, technology, seminars for Chinese professionals
16	Thuringia	Shaanxi (1997)	business, trade, science, exchange of experiences with freedom and democracy since German reunification

#### IV.1.4 Economic significance of the German municipalities

Many of the German municipalities with links to municipalities in China are economically highly prosperous. This enables the municipalities on the one hand to overcome the above-mentioned obstacles to a relationship with a municipality in China. On the other hand it is also an important reason for municipalities to build a relationship with a municipality in China that aims to promote economic prosperity.

The diversity of economic relationships with China is large. A glance at the German locations immediately brings a number of economic sectors into focus: ports as trade hubs (Bremen, Hamburg, Rostock), heavy industry (Duisburg, Bochum, Dortmund, and Gladbeck), chemicals (Leverkusen), tourism (Rosenheim, Traunstein, Eastern Pomerania). The respective Chinese partners have a matching economic profile. It also becomes evident, however, that a number of large German multinational companies (for instance in the automotive industry) have also found their way to China

without municipal support, or with federal or national state support. This means that where business and economic interests are driving intermunicipal relationships, in the majority of cases the locations involved are home to small and medium-sized businesses with the capacity to expand that are seeking production or trading partners, or Chinese markets where they can sell intelligent services, or are seeking to attract Chinese investors and tourists.

A small number of key economic indicators already suggest that overall a large number of major German business locations maintain intermunicipal relationships with China.

Gross value added: Thirty-one German municipalities with links in China are above the national average for gross value added per gainfully employed member of the population (Table 4). All of them are located in Western Germany.

Company-based knowledge-intensive services: This parameter points to the major potentials of the German municipalities in question, especially for transferring expertise;

Table 4:

Gross value added in EUR 1,000 per gainfully employed person (German national average 51.3)		
Municipalities with links in China	Type	Gross value added 2005
Wuppertal	independent municipality	52,9
Ansbach	administrative district	53,3
Nuremberg	independent municipality	53,8
Bochum	independent municipality	53,9
Hanover region	administrative district	54,2
Wilhelmshaven	independent municipality	54,6
Fürth	administrative district	54,6
Rosenheim	administrative district	54,8
Augsburg	independent municipality	55,5
Regensburg	independent municipality	55,5
Schwabach	independent municipality	55,5
Main-Kinzig-Kreis	administrative district	55,5
Cologne	independent municipality	56,3
Ludwigsburg	administrative district	56,7
Erlangen-Höchstadt	administrative district	56,8
Duisburg	independent municipality	56,9
Essen	independent municipality	58,9
Bremen	independent municipality	59,4
Offenbach	administrative district	60,1
Offenbach am Main	independent municipality	62,1
Mannheim	independent municipality	62,7
Stuttgart	independent municipality	63,4
Erlangen	independent municipality	66,6
Freising	administrative district	66,7
Leverkusen	independent municipality	67,5
Starnberg	administrative district	68,0
Fürth	independent municipality	68,9
Rhine-Neuss district	administrative district	69,0
Düsseldorf	independent municipality	71,2
Hamburg	independent municipality	71,5
Frankfurt am Main	independent municipality	75,1

Source: Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning

Chinese partners are strongly interested in such a transfer in many sectors, including management, training and technology.

Forty-five municipalities with links to China are above the national average of 4.8% of employees in knowledge-intensive company-based services (Table 5). In this segment of the economy not only medium-sized and large municipalities in the West, but also 10 East German municipalities show major strengths.

Tourism: In the tourism sector (Table 6), alongside the South German provinces the East German provinces are also gaining ground. This segment of the economy is also where smaller towns and administrative districts have their strengths and competences, which also makes them attractive to Chinese partners, both economically and culturally.

**Table 5:**

**Percentage of workers with compulsory social insurance employed in knowledge-intensive company-based services (German national average 4.8)**

Municipalities with links in China	Type	Company-based services 2005
Trier	independent municipality	4,9
Augsburg	independent municipality	5,0
Erlangen-Höchstadt	administrative district	5,0
Ludwigsburg	administrative district	5,0
Main-Kinzig district	administrative district	5,0
Regensburg	administrative district	5,0
Passau	independent municipality	5,2
Kiel	independent municipality	5,3
Bochum	independent municipality	5,4
Bremerhaven	independent municipality	5,4
Wuppertal	independent municipality	5,5
Mannheim	independent municipality	5,9
Bremen	independent municipality	6,2
Parchim	administrative district	6,2
Paderborn	administrative district	6,3
Rhine-Neuss district	administrative district	6,3
Neustadt an der Weinstraße	independent municipality	6,5
Osnabrück	independent municipality	6,7
Chemnitz	independent municipality	7,0
Dresden	independent municipality	7,0
Erfurt	independent municipality	7,1
Oldenburg (Oldenburg)	independent municipality	7,1
Hanover region	administrative district	7,2
Rostock	independent municipality	7,3
Schwerin	independent municipality	7,4
Dortmund	independent municipality	7,5
Leipzig	independent municipality	7,6
Weimar	independent municipality	7,8
Bonn	independent municipality	7,9
Berlin	independent municipality	8,2
Cologne	independent municipality	8,3
Fürth	independent municipality	8,4
Neubrandenburg	independent municipality	8,4
Aachen	independent municipality	9,1
Offenbach	administrative district	9,1
Magdeburg	independent municipality	9,3
Nuremberg	independent municipality	9,5
Stuttgart	independent municipality	9,8
Hamburg	independent municipality	10,4
Offenbach am Main	independent municipality	11,0
Essen	independent municipality	11,7
Frankfurt am Main	independent municipality	11,9
Düsseldorf	independent municipality	12,3
Leverkusen	independent municipality	17,5

Source: Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning

**Table 6:**

Overnight stays in tourist accommodation per inhabitant (German national average 2.0)		
Municipality	Type	Overnight stays in tourist accommodation 2005
Dresden	independent municipality	6,0
Rostock	independent municipality	6,0
Parchim	administrative district	6,7
Trier	independent municipality	7,1
Passau	independent municipality	7,8
Rosenheim	administrative district	8,1
Weimar	independent municipality	8,4
Annaberg	administrative district	9,7
Traunstein	administrative district	14,7
Bad Kissingen	administrative district	18,4
Eastern Pomerania	administrative district	34,3

Source: Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning

#### IV.1.5 Cultural significance of the German municipalities

Locations that are culturally significant are usually generously endowed with fixed cultural goods (architecture, museums, monuments, theatre, opera etc.), as well as local traditions and the local culture industries.

Some of Germany's best-known culturally significant locations are found among the municipalities with links to China, and their salient aspects are of major interest to Chinese partners: Beethoven in Bonn, Goethe in Frankfurt, Nuremberg's Renaissance art, Hamburg's harbour and its historic warehouse district, the Semper Opera House in Dresden, the Berlin Philharmonic, the Pina Bausch expressive dance theatre in Wuppertal, and Bayreuth's Richard Wagner Festival. Many others could be added to this list. Furthermore, 11 of Germany's 33 UNESCO World Heritage Sites are located in municipalities with links to China.

The German municipalities with links to China represent German culture in its entire breadth. They are able to do so due to the extremely decentralised organisation of Germany's cultural sphere, which possesses riches and tradition across the board, and is admired by the Chinese no less than Germany's economic and technological achievements.

*The German municipalities cooperating with China are of above-average size and economic clout (usually based on small and medium-sized enterprises with the potential to expand), and are also often politically significant and culturally attractive. As such they are especially capable of pursuing a 'municipal foreign policy' to develop their locality. Their attractiveness evidently matches the interests of Chinese cities, which for the most part display structurally similar economic, cultural or political features. The resulting interest in exchange with German municipalities often makes the enormous differences in size between the German and Chinese municipalities almost irrelevant. But not always. It is therefore probably no coincidence that some German municipalities have joined forces within their region in order to present themselves as attractive partners for the Chinese cities that are home to millions.*

## IV.2 The Chinese municipalities with links to municipalities in Germany

China is divided into several administrative and political levels. This complex hierarchy and its complex terminology are explained in the introductory section below, to facilitate a clearer understanding of the analysis based on them.

### IV.2.1 The administrative structures of China

Below the national level there exist five 'local' levels of administration that are in turn sub-divided into a wide range of administrative units. Table 7 shows this five-fold administrative hierarchy and the administrative units that it contains.

Furthermore, special cases exist that complicate the otherwise clear administrative hierarchy. Although every administrative unit is allocated to a clearly defined level, some units enjoy greater decision-making scope than the respective level would allow (e.g. sub-provincial cities, see Table 8). One concrete example is the new Pudong district in Shanghai. Its status as an urban district under the direct-controlled municipality of Shanghai would theoretically place it on the prefecture level. Nevertheless, the prefecture governor has been granted sub-provincial rights.

The Chinese municipalities with links to Germany and their administrative status are shown in Table 8. These include all four direct-controlled municipalities, 42 municipalities at prefecture level, 10 at county level and one at township level.

Table 7:

Administrative structures of the PRC			
Level	Name of level	Type	Number <sup>1</sup>
1	Province level	- Provinces  - Autonomous regions - Direct-controlled municipalities - Special administrative regions (Macao and Hong Kong)	22 with Taiwan 23 5 4 2
2	Prefecture level	- Prefectures - Prefecture-level cities - Autonomous prefectures - Leagues	17 283 30 3
3	County level	- Counties - Autonomous counties - County-level cities - Districts - Banners - Autonomous banners - Forestry areas - Special districts	1464 117 374 852 49 3 1 2
4	Township level	- Towns - Townships - Ethnic townships - Subdistricts - District public offices - Sumu - Ethnic sumu	19522 14677 1092 6152 11 98 1
5	Village level	- Neighbourhoods (in towns), administered by neighbourhood committees - Natural villages, administrative villages and gaqas, administered by village committees	80717

<sup>1</sup> Figures as at 31.12.2005. (see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political\\_divisions\\_of\\_China#cite\\_note-0](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_divisions_of_China#cite_note-0))

Source: Held/Merkle 2008

**Table 8:**

<b>Administrative status of Chinese municipalities (PRC) with links to Germany</b>				
	<b>Administrative status</b>	<b>Chinese municipality</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Linked to (type)</b>
1	<u>Direct-controlled municipality</u> : Administrative units at provincial level directly beneath the central government. Comparable to German city-states.	Chongqing	Chongqing	Düsseldorf (P), Leipzig (F)
2		Peking	Peking	Cologne (P), Berlin (P), Frankfurt a.M. (K)
3		Shanghai	Shanghai	Hamburg (P)
4		Tianjin	Tianjin	Oldenburg (P), Frankfurt a.M. (K)
5	<u>Sub-provincial city</u> (provincial capital): Prefecture-level cities with special status (since 1994, a total of 15 cities) and with extended rights, competences and responsibilities, above all in the spheres of law and economics. Their lord mayor has the same rank as the vice-governor of a province.	Guangzhou	Guangdong	Frankfurt a.M. (P), Düsseldorf (P)
6		Harbin	Heilongjiang	Magdeburg (P)
7		Wuhan	Hubei	Duisburg (P)
8		Nanjing	Jiangsu	Leipzig (P), Friedrichshafen (K), Stuttgart (K)
9		Shenyang	Liaoning	Düsseldorf (K), Bremen (K), Leverkusen (K)
10		Xi'an	Shaanxi	Dortmund (P)
11		Jinan	Shandong	Augsburg (P)
12		Hangzhou	Zhejiang	Rosenheim (Kreis) (RF), Traunstein (Kreis) (RF), Obertshausen (K), Dresden (P)
13	<u>Sub-provincial city</u> (see explanation above)	Shenzhen	Guangdong	Erlangen, Erlangen-Höchststadt, Fürth, Fürth (district), Nuremberg, Nuremberg Land, Roth (district), Schwabach (all RP), Frankfurt a.M. (K)
14		Dalian	Liaoning	Bremen (P), Rostock (P)
15		Qingdao	Shandong	Wilhelmshaven (P), Duisburg (RF), Essen (RF), Wuppertal (RF), Kiel (F), Paderborn (F), Regensburg (F), Mannheim (K)
16		Ningbo	Zhejiang	Aachen (P)
17		Xiamen	Fujian	Trier (F)
18	<u>Prefecture-level city</u> (provincial capital): These units have fully-formed administrative systems (with a parliament and a government).	Hefei	Anhui	Osnabrück (F), Rostock (K)
19		Zhengzhou	Henan	Schwerin (K)
20		Taiyuan	Shanxi	Chemnitz (P)
21	<u>Prefecture-level city</u> (see explanation above)	Chengdu	Sichuan	Bonn (P)
22		Fushun	Liaoning	Gladbeck (P)
23		Baoji	Shaanxi	Barnim (Kreis) (P)
24		Dongying	Shandong	Bad Kissingen (K)



25		Liaocheng	Shandong	Offenbach (district) (P)
26		Weifang	Shandong	Freising (district) (P)
27		Zaozhuang	Shandong	Sprockhövel (F)
28		Changzhi	Shanxi	Marl (K)
29		Jinhua	Zhejiang	Düren (P)
30		Shaoxing	Zhejiang	Bayreuth (F)
31		Tongling	Anhui	Marbach a. Neckar (P)
32		Quanzhou	Fujian	Neustadt a.d. Weinstraße (P)
33		Liuzhou	AR Guangxi	Passau (P)
34		Yichun	Heilongjiang	Bad Wildungen (P)
35		Huangshi	Hubei	Rottweil (P)
36		Yichang	Hubei	Ludwigsburg (district) (P)
37		Changde	Hunan	Hanover (K)
38		Changzhou	Jiangsu	Duisburg (K)
39		Lianyungang	Jiangsu	Weilburg (F)
40		Nantong	Jiangsu	Troisdorf (F)
41		Suzhou	Jiangsu	Konstanz (P)
42		Wuxi	Jiangsu	Rhine-Neuss district (F), Bocholt (F), Leverkusen (F)
43		Xuzhou	Jiangsu	Erfurt (P), Bochum (F)
44		Yangzhou	Jiangsu	Neubrandenburg (P), Offenbach (P)
45		Zhenjiang	Jiangsu	Mannheim (P)
46		De Yang	Sichuan	Siegen-Wittgenstein (district) (P)
47	<u>Prefecture-level city</u>	Sanmen	Zhejiang	Hanau (K)
48	New administrative unit introduced in 1983 alongside conventional counties.	Haining	Zhejiang	Hagen (K)
49	Prefecture-level cities do not possess any ‚administrative hinterland‘; in terms of organisational structure they are equivalent to counties, having their own parliament and their own government.	Qianjiang	Hubei	Heidenheim a.d. Brenz (F)
50		Jingjiang	Jiangsu	Ansbach, Dinkelsbühl, Feuchtwangen, Rotenburg o.d. Tauber, Ansbach (district) (alle RP)
51		Changzhi/Lucheng	Shanxi	Kamenz (district) (P)
52	<u>District</u>	Guangzhou/Panyu	Guangdong	Jena (K)
53	Administrative district subordinate to a city at prefecture level. In terms of administrative structure they correspond to counties and county-level cities.	Suzhou/Wuzhong	Jiangsu	Riesa (P)
54		Wuxi/Huishan	Jiangsu	Ratingen (P)
55		Peking/Chaoyang	Peking	Kaiserslautern (K)
56		Shanghai/Jiading	Shanghai	Weimar (P)
57	<u>Township</u>	Taopu	Shanghai	Amtzell (F)
	The township level is broken down into xiang (rural township) and zhen (urban township, market town) – depending on the degree to which the administrative unit is rural or urban in nature. Townships form the lowest level of the Chinese administrative system (villages are ‚autonomous‘) and also have a government and a parliament.			

Source: Held/Merkle 2008

## IV.2.2 The Political importance and scope of authority of the cities

State and party: Political power in The People's Republic of China is wielded by two elements: the Communist Party (CP) of China and the official, formal organs of the state.

The People's Republic of China is formally organised along centralistic lines. The organs of state leadership reappear at every level, with the exception of the village level. These organs implement the directives of the central government at the respective level.<sup>5</sup> The village level is considered the grass roots level, at which the organs of central leadership such as the National People's Congress (NPC) and the People's Governments are not represented, which also makes it the only level that is very largely autonomous. The comments below therefore relate to the four upper levels of the administration.

The highest organ of the state in the PRC is nominally the NPC. This is China's supreme organ for legislation and representation of the people. The work of the legislative is, however, hampered by the fact that there is no clear separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial branches. This means that sector ministries normally also perform legislative tasks. Furthermore the division of responsibilities among the various ministries of the executive (and their local branches) is also unclear, and there are overlaps. Horizontal coordination between the various authorities is therefore dependent on the individuals concerned and their willingness to perform the tasks of coordination. The judicial power is the weakest organ in China's formal political system. Its institutional framework conditions are still poorly developed, especially at the local level. The respective organs of the state at the provincial, prefecture, county and township level are accountable to the respective local government.

The party permeates the state at all administrative levels, and real political leadership rests with a small circle of party and military leaders. They rally round the Chairman – at the national level currently Hu Jintao – who holds the highest offices within the state, the party and the army. De

facto, the most important decisions are taken in an informal setting. These decisions are then formally approved in the Politbureau or the Central Committee, which are the central decision-making bodies of the party dictatorship. In contrast to western democracies, in the PRC party offices are generally to be considered more important and more powerful than offices of state.

Relationship between the central government and the local levels: The PRC does not operate like a centralised unitary state that can wield its power and control without restriction right down to the lowest level of the administration. Relationships between the central and local levels are defined by vertical and horizontal divisions of responsibility and dependencies.

Since the reform and open-door policy was launched in 1978, and as a result of the freedom of economic decision-making which that entailed, a process of administrative, fiscal and economic decentralisation has unfolded that has given local governments considerable decision-making and administrative scope. The interplay between partial autonomy and control has assumed different forms at the various levels of administration, and involves a large number of exceptions. The provinces have gained responsibility primarily in the education and transport sectors. Special economic zones, economic freedom extending to full planning responsibility for certain metropolitan entities, extended legislative authority for cities at sub-provincial level, and the placement of technology and development zones under local oversight are examples of the complex process of differentiation within the administrative system.

De facto a pseudo-federal system has developed between the provinces and the central government level in which local party cadres pay only limited heed to directives from Beijing. This 'federalism', however, is not institutionalised. There is for instance no standard system for distributing tax revenues between the provinces and the central government, nor is there any compensatory programme to support poorer provinces. The economically prosperous coastal provinces in particular utilise their political negotiating power, turning it not only against the central government

<sup>5</sup> For each level of the administration there are precisely defined levels within the civil service system, which has 15 ranks. A civil servant's rank determines which position the individual will occupy within the system, and how much political power they will have.

level but also against each other. Through the cadre system the central government can nevertheless assert its will if absolutely necessary, though, for instance by transferring members of provincial governments.

Political scientists interpret this relationship between the central and local levels as a ‚negotiation process‘, within which the provinces, while they are becoming more autonomous in terms of economic policy, do not (in most cases) aspire to achieve general political autonomy.<sup>6</sup> The same political scientists assume that this process of reconciling the conflict of interests is taking place mainly between bureaucratic institutions, and involves a system of continuous informal and formalised negotiations between the various hierarchical levels of the state bureaucracy. In recent years, civil society interest groups and private sector actors have also increasingly become involved in this political negotiation process.

Existing systemic and inherent governance problems such as protectionism, lack of transparency and corruption are reinforced at the local level by the close links between economics and politics, and the extensive involvement of party officials in economic and business affairs. There is barely a senior official to be found who is not also found playing a managerial role in local businesses. Central government measures designed to address these problems at the local level often tend to reinforce centralisation once again.

*For German municipalities this means that the Chinese partner structures, despite the clarity of their hierarchy, are also highly untransparent in terms of their scope of responsibility, decision-making and the interest groups involved. The difficulty consists in understanding exactly the structures of responsibility and the (mesh of) interests on the Chinese side, and responding appropriately to them.*

Fields of experimental democracy at the micro level: General, direct and secret elections have been held in villages to elect village committees since the late 1980s, and in neighbourhoods to elect neighbourhood committees since the late 1990s, both of which strengthen political participation beneath the lowest level of the state administration (the township level). Yet rather than performing tasks of self-administration, the committees tend to perform tasks of the state, and in the towns and cities are usually headed by the party secretary. Furthermore, the elections have to be approved by the supraordinate authority, and the scope for co-determining the selection of the candidates is limited. This form of controlled participation and democracy at the micro level, which is designed to increase the legitimacy of the state and strengthen conflict management mechanisms at the local level, certainly harbours the potential to ignite a will to participate at the higher political levels (township and county levels), which might be conducive to democratic elections there. (Heberer 2007, p. 475- 483)

### IV.2.3 The Chinese concept of the ‚city‘

From the above description of the complex administrative structures it becomes clear that the term ‚city‘ carries several meanings in China. It means different things in the politico-administrative context, and in the statistical context.

Politico-administrative meanings: As can be seen in Table 7, ‚cities‘ exist on three different administrative levels.

- > provincial level: so-called direct-controlled municipalities, such as Beijing or Shanghai,
- > prefecture level: prefecture-level cities, such as Xuzhou (partnerships with Erfurt and Bochum) and sub-provincial cities,
- > county level: county-level cities, such as Jingjiang (regional partnerships with the 5 Franconian municipalities Ansbach, Ansbach district, Dinkelsbühl, Feuchtwangen and Rothenburg ob der Tauber), and sub-county cities.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance Goodman, David & Segal, Gerald (eds.): China Deconstructs: Politics, Trade and Regionalism, London, New York: Routledge, 1994; Lieberthal, Kenneth & Lampton, David, Bureaucracy: Politics, and Decision Making in Post-Mao China, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: Univ. of California Press, 1992; or Heilmann, Sebastian: Das politische System der Volksrepublik China, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004.

Territorial and statistical meanings: In Chinese statistics the term ‚city‘ has three different meanings.

*The administrative unit:* The administrative territory of a city encompasses both the city proper and its environs, which include large areas with a rural settlement structure. As a result the population density is usually lower than that of German cities. In this sense the direct-controlled municipalities, the sub-provincial cities and the prefecture-level cities encompass all the counties, county-level cities and districts that fall within their administrative territory. And the sub-prefecture and prefecture cities encompass the sub-prefectures, towns and townships that are subordinate to them. In terms of territory the prefecture-level cities and the direct-controlled municipalities (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Chongqing) are often the size of German Federal states or small European countries.

*The territory that encompasses urban and suburban districts:* The difference between urban and suburban districts is that the latter include not only districts but also townships and towns. However this does not include the sub-prefecture and county cities, because no districts are subordinate to these. This definition is more or less equivalent to the concept of the metropolitan region.

*The city region:* For direct-controlled municipalities, the sub-provincial cities and the prefecture-level cities the city region encompasses the central and adjacent inner suburban districts. For the sub-prefecture and county cities only the central sub-districts are counted. This definition comes closest to that of a city in Western countries. In Chinese statistics we therefore come across data on urban populations that vary according to the definition on which they are based.

### Box 3

#### **Territorial and statistical significance – the examples of Chongqing and Guangzhou**

The direct-controlled municipality of Chongqing is, on the basis of its political boundaries, territorially the largest city in the world. Covering an area of 82,000 sq.km, it is larger than Bavaria and roughly the size of Austria, even though it is comprised predominantly of areas with a rural settlement structure. While the administrative territory of Chongqing was home to 28.2 million inhabitants in 2007, the actual city itself had only 5.42 million and the metropolitan region around 16 million inhabitants.

The sub-provincial city of Guangzhou (= Canton) for instance, which maintains partnerships with Düsseldorf and Frankfurt am Main, covers an area of 7,435sq.km, making it around half the size of the federal state of Schleswig-Holstein. Within its politico-administrative boundaries, though, it has 10.05 million inhabitants, which is 3.5 times as many as Schleswig-Holstein. By contrast, the metropolitan region has only approximately 6.3 million inhabitants.<sup>7</sup>

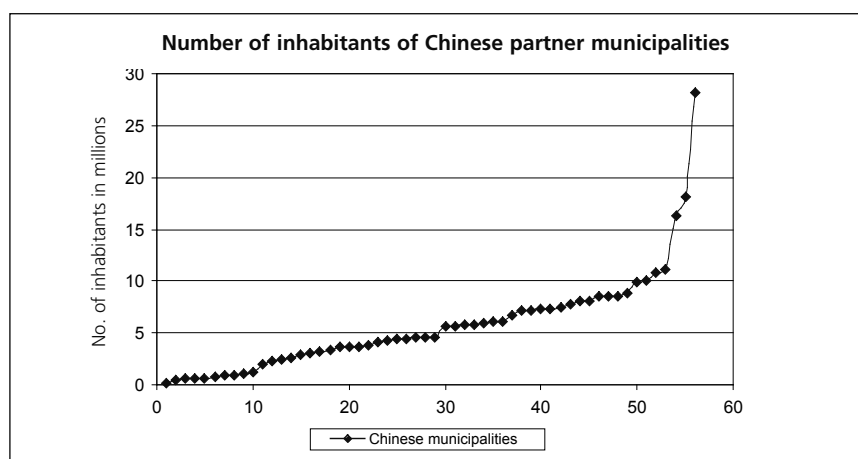
As a rule the data on inhabitants in the official statistics relate to the political units and, in cases where this involves data for metropolitan or urban regions, this is normally made explicit. The latter, however, are usually not published in official statistics that are available on a suprar-regional basis and on the Internet (e.g. statistical yearbooks of a province). Where data of this kind need to be obtained, research in local archives is required.

<sup>7</sup> The above figures for Chongqing and Guangzhou were taken from Wikipedia: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_administrative\\_divisions\\_of\\_Chongqing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_administrative_divisions_of_Chongqing) and <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guangzhou#Population>.

## IV.2.4 Number of inhabitants of the Chinese municipalities

The Chinese partner municipalities usually have a population of one million or more, only eight out of the total of 57 Chinese municipalities (not including Taiwan or the town of Taopu in Shanghai, for which no statistical data could be found) have fewer than 1 million inhabitants, two of which are only slightly below that figure. Three-quarters of the Chinese municipalities have between 1 and 10 million inhabitants, and six of them even have more than 10 million. The four most populous cities are the direct-controlled municipalities Chongqing, Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin (see Figure 2).<sup>8</sup>

Fig. 2: Number of inhabitants of Chinese partner municipalities



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

If we compare for instance the average number of inhabitants of the German partner municipalities (see Section 2.2), i.e. 252,900 inhabitants, with that of the Chinese partner municipalities, i.e. approximately 5,642,400, then it becomes clear that the Chinese municipalities have around 22 times as many inhabitants as the German partner municipalities. However, if we take into account outliers such as Berlin for Germany or Chongqing for China, then this contrast becomes less stark. The statistics vary depending on

the definition of what constitutes a city (administrative unit, metropolitan region, urban zone). For instance, Guangzhou (as a political unit) has 15.4 times as many inhabitants as its German partner city Frankfurt am Main, by contrast to which the metropolitan region has only about 9.6 times as many and the geographical city zone<sup>9</sup>, with its population of 3.2 million, 4.9 times as many inhabitants.

## IV.2.5 Economic status

China's rapid economic development since the reform and open-door policy was launched in 1978 has also created an extreme economic imbalance that is being felt both between urban and rural areas, and between various

provinces and macro regions. To be able to better assess the economic setting of the respective municipalities, in this study the Chinese partner municipalities are in the first instance dealt with in the context of their macro region.

China's economic policy concept is based on the threefold division into the Coastal, Central and Western Regions, as defined in 1987 in the 7th Five-Year Plan (see Map 1). Although further regional development programmes have since been

launched, this regional threefold division continues to play the dominant role in the official Chinese discourse.<sup>10</sup>

There are links to a total of 57 municipalities in the PRC and 5 municipalities in Taiwan (Chiayi, Kaohsiung, Nantou, Taipei, and Yunlin).

Figure 3 and Table 9 show that 39 (i.e. around 68%) of all the municipalities in the PRC with links to Germany are

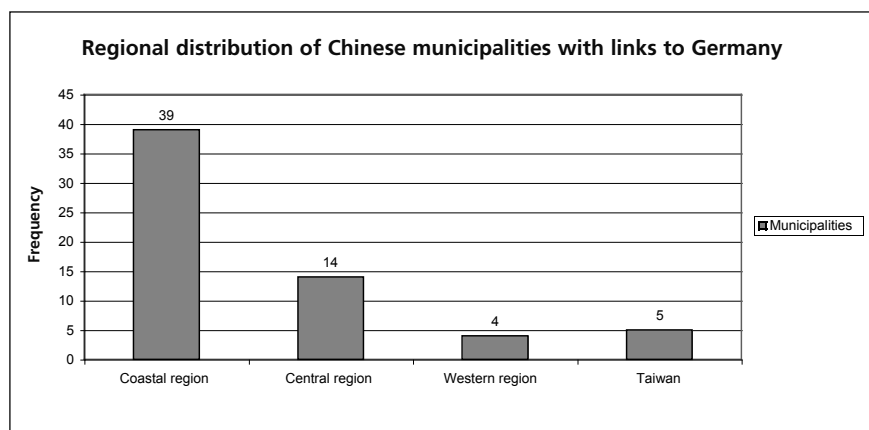
<sup>8</sup> The figures on inhabitants included in the study all relate to the politico-administrative units, since on the Chinese side the partnership agreements were all concluded by these units.

<sup>9</sup> The geographical urban zone does not correspond to the Chinese definition of the city region, but is based on mainstream research in modern urban geography. It was not possible to obtain statistical data on the Chinese city region.

<sup>10</sup> Since 1999 three regional development programmes have been initiated which to some extent deviate from this 'traditional' three-way regionalisation. In 2000 the 'Great Western Development Strategy' was implemented, which in addition to the western region now also includes Guangxi and Inner Mongolia. In 2004 the 'Revitalise Northeast' programme was launched, covering the three traditional heavily industrial provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning. Finally in 2005 the 'Rise of Central China' plan was implemented, which is designed to promote economic development in the central Chinese provinces of Shanxi, Henan, Anhui, Hubei, Hunan, and Jiangxi – but not Heilongjiang, Jilin and Inner Mongolia.

located in the economically advanced Coastal Region, 25% in the less developed Central Region and around 7% in the backward Western Region. Maps 1 and 2 illustrate this distribution, though they do not show the informal contacts due to their lack of permanence.

Fig. 3: Regional distribution of Chinese municipalities with links to Germany



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

The average gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in 2004 for the Coastal Region was 18,217 renminbi (RMB), for the Central Region 9,481 RMB and for the Western Region 7,215 RMB (Fan 2006, p. 714). Average GDP per capita in the Coastal Region was thus 2.5 times that in the Western Region, and 1.9 times higher than that in the Central Region. In the richest ‚province‘ Shanghai this value was even 10 times higher than that in the poorest province of Guizhou. Compared to Anhui, the poorest province with municipalities that maintain partnerships with Germany, this value (in 2007) was 5.5 times higher (see Table 12 in the Annex: average GDP per capita in the provinces).

These macroeconomic income disparities are compounded by disparities between rural and urban areas. In 2004 an urban inhabitant earned on average 3.2 times as much as a rural inhabitant; since the reforms began this gap has continued to widen (Fan 2006, p. 714).

A more detailed description of the specific economic features of the individual partner municipalities would go too far at this point, since the size of Chinese cities alone usually means that each one of them has several key industries. Shanghai for instance is a key location for the textiles industry, but is also important in the chemicals industry, mechanical engineering, precision engineering, electrical engineering, and in iron and steel production. The port of Shanghai is also a transshipment centre of global importance.

The geographical distribution of the Chinese partner municipalities also reflects the development of China’s economic open-door policy. Prior to 1992 – the date of China’s so-called second opening – only Duisburg and Bad Wildungen already had partnerships with Wuhan and Yichun, two cities located in the Central Region. All the other 16 intermunicipal relationships outside of the Coastal region emerged after that. The fact that the focus after 1992 was also clearly on relationships with municipalities in the Coastal region underlines the strong economic interests at work in these municipal relationships. This becomes all the more evident given the fact that municipalities located in the Chinese interior can now be easily reached by air, which means that the issue of accessibility can no longer be applied as a criterion of exclusion.

Five of the Chinese partner municipalities are located in Taiwan; Taipei entered into a friendship agreement with Starnberg very early on in 1985. All the other agreements were concluded between 1997 and 2000, since which there have been no further new agreements. Against the background of the rapid economic opening of the People’s Republic of China, which is also accompanied by an opening in the cultural sphere, it is to be assumed that German municipalities see a relationship with a municipality in the People’s Republic of China as more attractive.

Table 9:

Chinese municipalities by macro region (PRC)						
Coastal Region			Central Region		Western Region	
	Municipality	Province	Municipality	Province	Municipality	Province
1	Peking	Peking	Chongqing	Chongqing	Xi'an	Shaanxi
2	Peking/Chaoyang	Peking	Hefei	Anhui	Baoji	Shaanxi
3	Shanghai	Shanghai	Tongling	Anhui	Chengdu	Sichuan
4	Shanghai/Jiading	Shanghai	Yichun	Heilongjiang	De Yang	Sichuan
5	Tianjin	Tianjin	Harbin	Heilongjiang		
6	Quanzhou	Fujian	Zhengzhou	Henan		
7	Xiamen	Fujian	Huangshi	Hubei		
8	Guangzhou	Guangdong	Qianjiang	Hubei		
9	Shenzhen	Guangdong	Wuhan	Hubei		
10	Guangzhou/Panyu	Guangdong	Yichang	Hubei		
11	Liuzhou	AR Guangxi	Changde	Hunan		
12	Changzhou	Jiangsu	Changzhi	Shanxi		
13	Lianyungang	Jiangsu	Changzhi/Lucheng	Shanxi		
14	Nanjing	Jiangsu	Taiyuan	Shanxi		
15	Nantong	Jiangsu				
16	Suzhou	Jiangsu				
17	Suzhou/Wuzhong	Jiangsu				
18	Wuxi	Jiangsu				
19	Wuxi/Huishan	Jiangsu				
20	Xuzhou	Jiangsu				
21	Yangzhou	Jiangsu				
22	Zhenjiang	Jiangsu				
23	Jingjiang	Jiangsu				
24	Dalian	Liaoning				
25	Fushun	Liaoning				
26	Shenyang	Liaoning				
27	Dongying	Shandong				
28	Jinan	Shandong				
29	Liaocheng	Shandong				
30	Qingdao	Shandong				
31	Weifang	Shandong				
32	Yantai	Shandong				
33	Zaozhuang	Shandong				
34	Taapu	Shanghai				
35	Hangzhou	Zhejiang				
36	Jinhua	Zhejiang				
37	Ningbo	Zhejiang				
38	Shaoxing	Zhejiang				
39	Sanmen	Zhejiang				

Source: Held/Merkle 2008

## IV.2.6 Cultural and historical significance of the Chinese municipalities

China has a written history dating back 2,000 years. The country takes its name from the unified kingdom founded by the state of Qin. This foundation of the unified kingdom marked the beginning of China's imperial period 2,200 years ago, though in the interim there were periods during which the kingdom was divided. While during times of the unified kingdom there was just one, or occasionally two capital cities, in times when then the kingdom was divided several capitals emerged. These centres of state formation were at the same time also ritual and cultural centres. Alongside the 'four ancient capitals' of Beijing, Nanjing, Luoyang and Chang'an (today's Xi'an), the other cities of major interest here are Chengdu and Hangzhou. These cities are all home to major cultural monuments that are renowned throughout the world. With the exception of the economically insignificant Luoyang in the province of Henan, all these cities maintain partnerships with German cities.

Of the 29 UNESCO-listed world cultural heritage sites in China, links are maintained with four of their municipalities. These are the aforementioned cities of Beijing and Xi'an, along with Shenyang (Liaoning province), the former capital of the Manchu rulers who founded the last imperial dynasty of the Qing, and Suzhou (Jiangsu province), which on account of its gardens and canals is also referred to as the Venice of the East.

As well as these historic cultural centres, in the present day Shanghai has emerged as a modern cultural centre. This is where the Chinese film industry had its beginnings, and the city is also home to the Shanghai Museum of Art and History, which owns collections of global significance. Shanghai maintains formal links with two German municipalities: with Hamburg, and the district of Shanghai/Jiading with Weimar.

One Chinese city that is very attractive for German municipalities is Qingdao. Located on the Jiaozhou coastal strip (Shandong province), which the navy of the German Reich occupied as a colony from 1897 to 1914, Qingdao was planned to become a 'German' Hong Kong, a 'model colony' (Gründer 2004, p. 188f.). To this day the traces of this

German influence can still be seen: in the architecture, and as a pseudonym for Chinese beer. The Tsingtao brewery, the largest one in China and one of the largest in the world, has German colonial roots. As a result of this heritage, in conjunction with the economic attractions of this port, which is the third-largest in China, as well as the touristic attractions of its large bay and the fantastic sailing opportunities (which were also used during the Olympic Games), Qingdao maintains intermunicipal relationships with eight German municipalities.

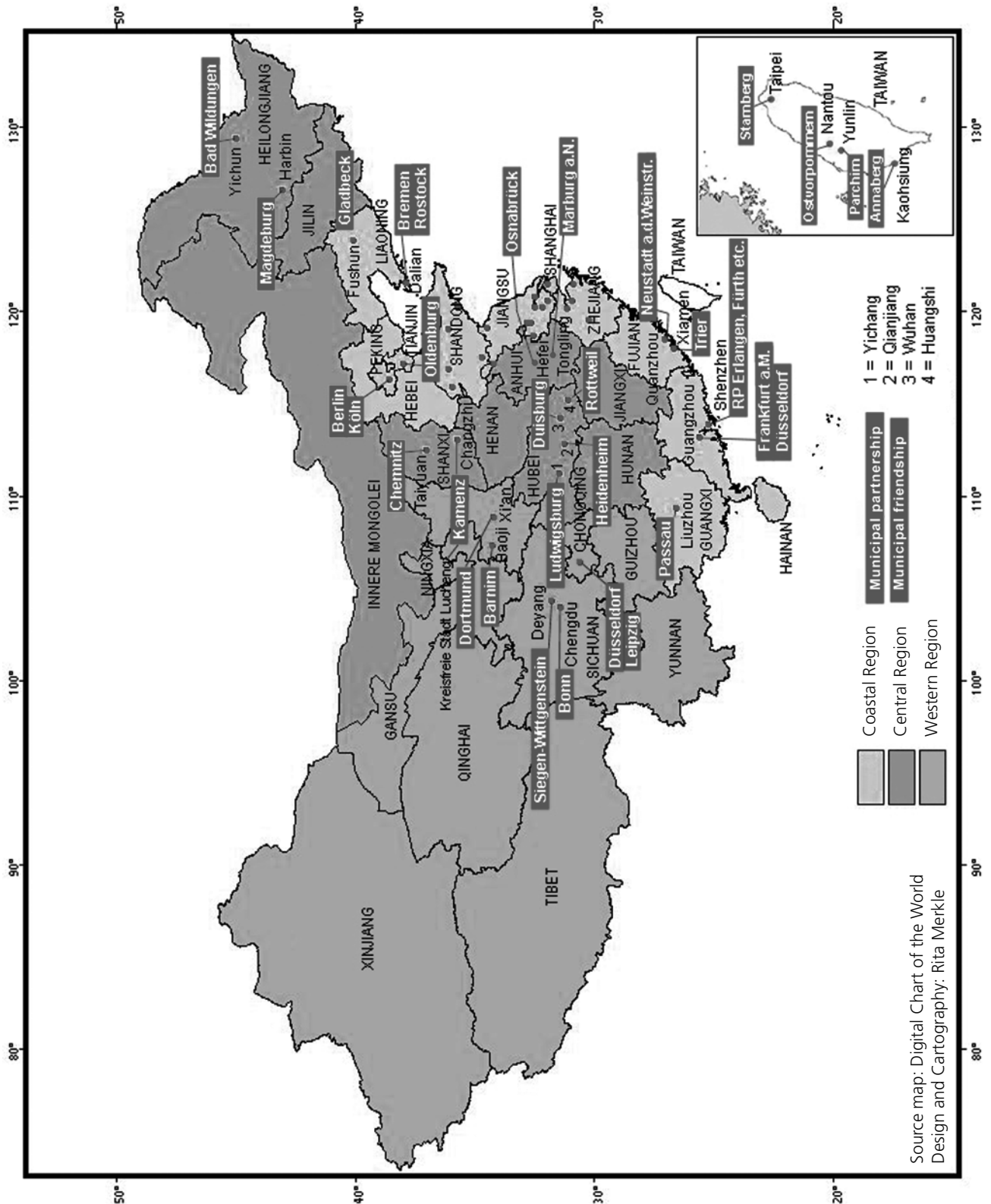
Despite China's enormous geographical dimensions and the regional diversity this entails, vast areas of the country do display very closely related cultural phenomena. This is due primarily to the fact that, although political circumstances did repeatedly cause the country to break up into smaller states over long periods, the notion of national political and cultural unity regularly prevailed. Only recently, with the introduction of reforms and the open-door policy, and under the influence of globalisation, has a new generation of Chinese artists emerged who have broken with the highly homogeneous artistic and literary traditions.



## IV.2.7 Geography<sup>11</sup>

**Map 1: German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships I**

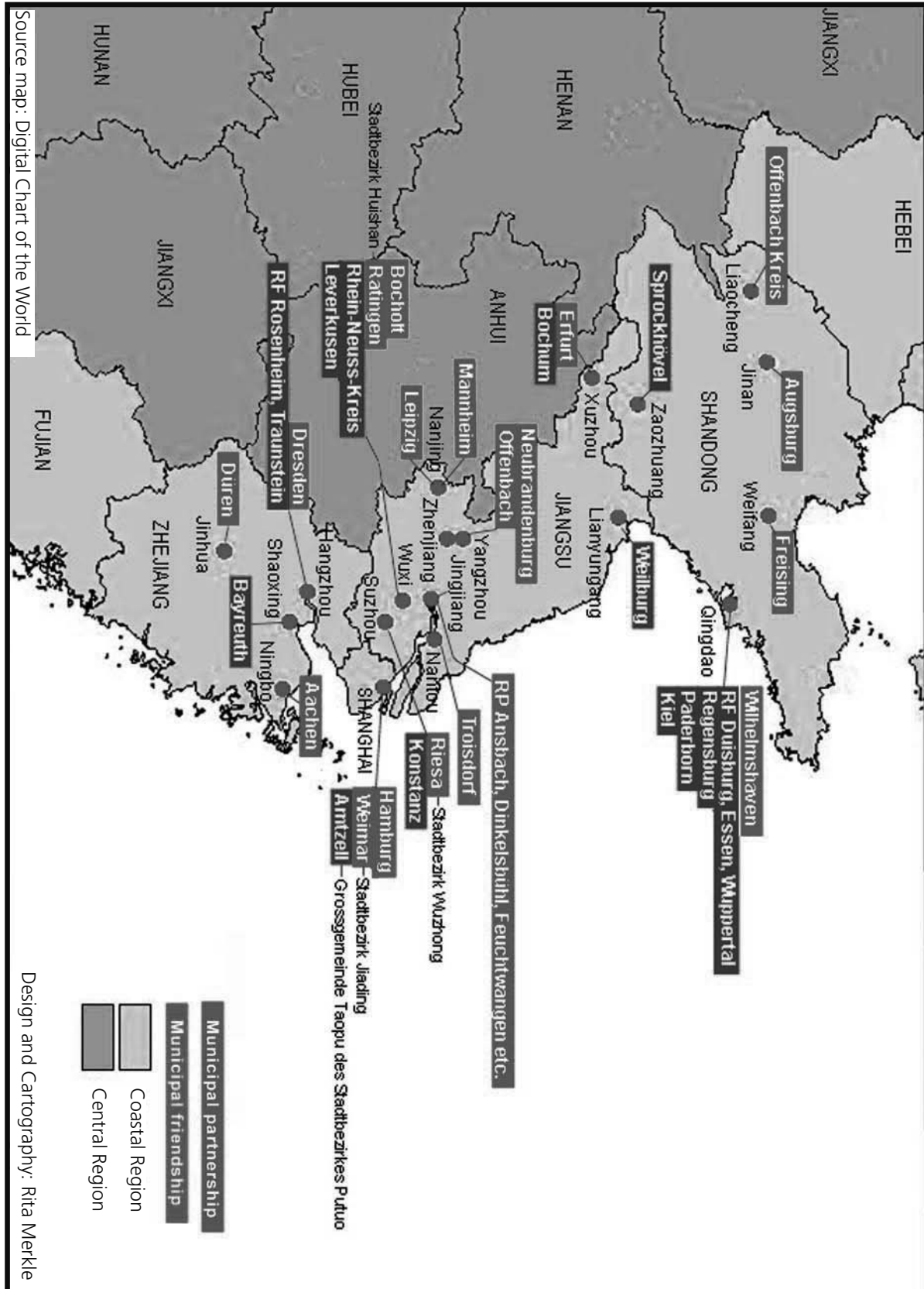
(All China, not including Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang)



<sup>11</sup> For coloured maps see inside back cover.

## Map 2: German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships II

(Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai and Zhejiang)



## V. Typology of the Intermunicipal Relationships

According to the information obtained from the survey and the research conducted within the scope of the present study, there are 88 German municipalities maintaining 100 relationships with municipalities in China. These comprise:

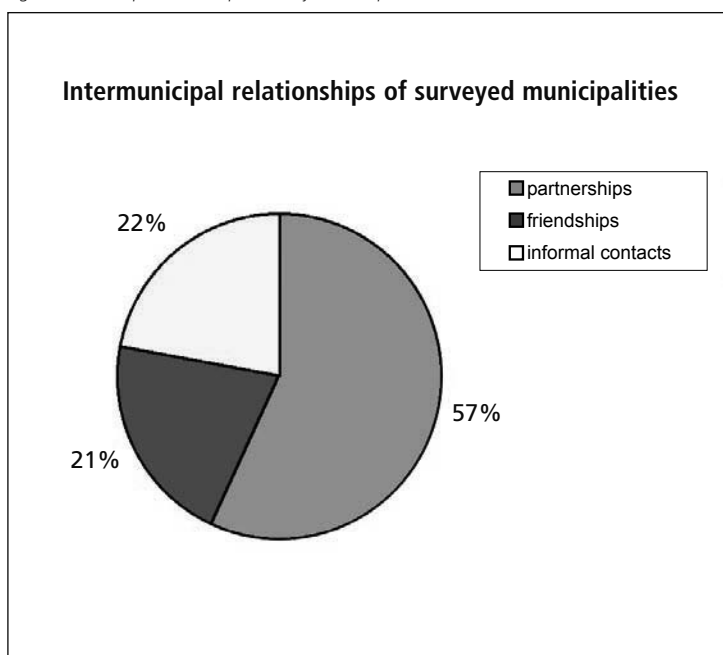
- > 44 intermunicipal partnerships + two regional intermunicipal partnerships (eight municipalities of the metropolitan region of Nuremberg; five municipalities from Western Central Franconia);
- > 16 intermunicipal friendships + two regional intermunicipal friendships (three municipalities from North Rhine-Westphalia; two municipalities from Upper Bavaria);
- > 22 informal intermunicipal contacts.

### V.1 Problems of categorisation

In its central database for intermunicipal relationships in Germany, the RGRE ([www.rgre.de](http://www.rgre.de)) (the German section of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions) distinguishes the following categories:

- > Partnership (P): a relationship that is unlimited in terms of form, duration and activities, and is based on a partnership contract (partnership document).
- > Friendship (F): a link that is based on a formal agreement, but is of limited duration and/or identifies specific projects that constitute the relationship.
- > Contact (C): a link that is not formalised.

Fig. 4: Intermunicipal relationships of surveyed municipalities



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

This categorisation of intermunicipal relationships is not unproblematic:

First of all because the basic legal forms of intermunicipal relationships are far more diverse than the two formal categories of 'partnership' and 'friendship' would suggest. As well as the traditional contracts of partnership or friendship, there are also charters, cooperation agreements, project agreements, joint declarations, memoranda, council resolutions etc., all of which can form the basis for partnerships or friendships. For example, the Hamburg – Shanghai city-to-city partnership is based on memoranda drawn up every two years that detail the current key areas of cooperation. Furthermore, a number of the intermunicipal relationships that show up on the RGRE database with only a 'C' do indeed possess a certain degree of formalisation, for instance in the form of a cooperation agreement, as in the case of Ansbach/Ansbach(district)/Dinkelsbühl/Feuchtwanzen/Rotenburg ob der Tauber – Jingjiang, or the 'letter of intent' to establish a city-to-city partnership that exists between Trier and Xiamen (source: [www.trier.de](http://www.trier.de), Rathaus Zeitung of 10.06.2008).

Secondly it is problematic because the German municipalities define and use the categories of intermunicipal relationship differently. Whereas one municipality chooses to

use the term ‚municipal partnership‘ only where the goal of international understanding is the primary aspect, and refers to all relationships with non-European municipalities that focus on development, economic or other aspects as ‚friendships‘, ‚project partnerships‘ (this is the established practice of Bonn) or ‚cooperation‘, other municipalities use the terms ‚partnership‘ and ‚friendship‘ without any distinction in terms of focal activities, tradition or geography.

Thirdly in the everyday language of municipal officials, as well as in the wording of contractual agreements, no sharp distinction is drawn between the various terms used. The terms ‚friendship‘ and ‚partnership‘ in particular are used in the same breath. The city-to-city partnership between Berlin and Beijing for instance is based on an ‚Agreement on cooperation in a spirit of friendship....‘ (source: <http://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/staedteverbindungen/peking.html>).

Nevertheless, the attempt to draw up a typology of the diverse forms of intermunicipal relationship is helpful. The present study will therefore adopt the RGRE categories with minor modifications.

The RGRE definition of ‚municipal friendships‘ is modified as follows. The term ‚municipal friendship‘ is used here to also include relationships with other formal bases (project partnerships, cooperation agreements, letters of intent) that have selected individual key areas of cooperation and/or are of limited duration.

It also seems appropriate to supplement the existing three categories due to the phenomenon of regional cooperation, which has existed for around 11 years (at least in the field of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships). On the RGRE database, these arrangements have so far been subsumed under the existing categories. In these cases, however, the database is open to being misread. The impression is created, for example, that Nuremberg and Erlangen each have a partnership with Shenzhen, whereas in fact the two have a joint single partnership with that municipality (with only a single contractual agreement). In total eight municipalities of the metropolitan region of Nuremberg are involved (cities of Nuremberg, Erlangen, Fürth and Schwabach as well as the administrative dis-

tricts of Nuremberg Land, Erlangen-Höchstadt, Fürth and Roth). To make this clear a fourth category is introduced in the present study. The initials P = partnership and F = friendship are supplemented with the prefix R wherever a ‚regional‘ cooperation arrangement is being referred to. This is also designed to highlight a trend among those German municipalities that are by direct comparison relatively small, who are making themselves more attractive as partners for China’s rapidly growing cities of a million and more by joining forces at the regional level.

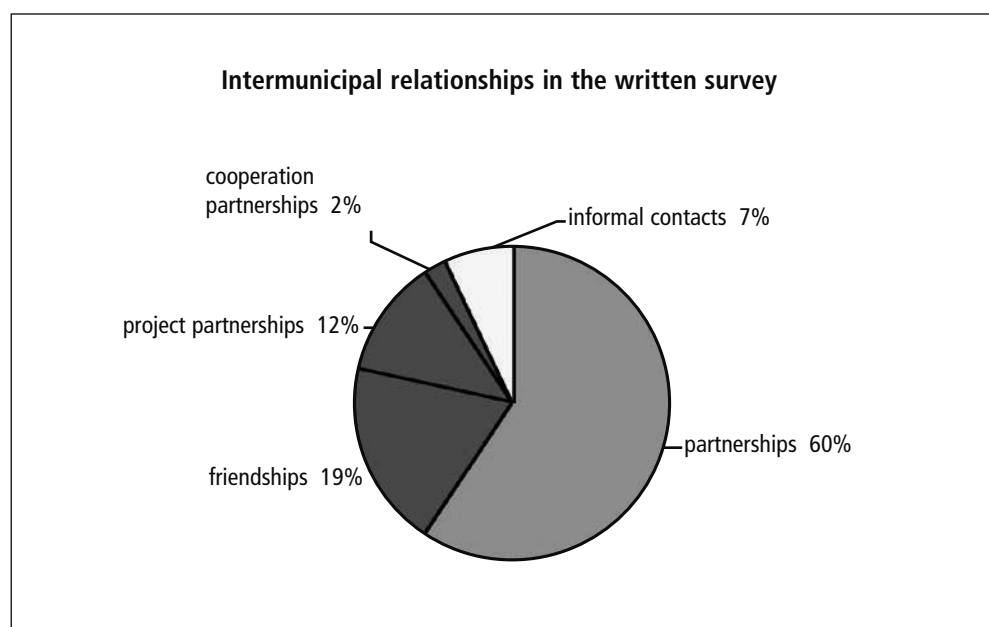
*The categories used in the present study are therefore defined as follows:*

- > *Partnership (P): a relationship that is unlimited in terms of form, duration and activities, and is based on a partnership contract (partnership document; there may also be other contractual bases concerning specific programmes, focuses of cooperation etc. that may also be of limited duration).*
- > *Friendship (F): a link that is based on a formal agreement (various legal forms possible), but is of limited duration and/or identifies specific projects that constitute the relationship. As such this category also includes formal project partnerships and cooperation agreements (which are often precursors of a partnership).*
- > *Regional forms of cooperation that have been formally agreed upon, including partnerships that are unlimited in terms of both content and time (RP), and friendships that are more limited (RF).*
- > *Contact (C): a link that is not formalised.*

Even with new and extended definitions of typologies, however, there will always be borderline cases and exceptions. One example is the project partnership between Bonn and Chengdu, which satisfies the criteria for a ‚municipal partnership‘ and is therefore also referred to here as such.

Typologies have the advantage of making general contexts readily apparent. Like any form of ‚pigeonholing‘, though, applying these categories rigidly will quickly take the user to the limits of what is still factually correct. Ultimately we should share Bettina Ruhe’s verdict (Ruhe 1995, p. 194), when she says that it is not the terms used, but the actual activity areas and radius of action that are definitive of the intermunicipal relationships, and on which we should be focusing.

Fig. 5: Types of intermunicipal relationship in the written survey



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

## V.2 Types of intermunicipal relationship in the written survey

The respondent municipalities (42 in total) answered question 1.3 concerning the type of relationship maintained (see questionnaire in Annex) as follows: 25 municipal partnerships, eight municipal friendships, five project partnerships, one cooperation partnership, and three informal contacts. In most cases respondents ticked a single option, with only one respondent ticking two options (municipal partnership and project partnership).

Municipalities with partnerships in China dominated (60%) the circle of respondents. Comparing this value with the 57% value for partnerships (see Fig. 4) as a proportion of all intermunicipal relationships for all the municipalities surveyed, we see here that the ratio of surveyed partnerships to respondent partnerships is a proportionate one.

According to the definition provided in Section 4.1, the category of friendship covers all formal or contractually-based relationships that are not partnerships. Since one of the respondent municipalities that according to its own definition maintains only one informal contact actually operates on the basis of a letter of intent, this contact is also classed as a friendship in the present study. Altogether friendships account for around 35% of respondent intermunicipal relationships, which is significantly higher than the 21% for friendships as a proportion of all intermunicipal relationships of all surveyed municipalities.

The response rate on informal contacts with municipalities in China, which accounted for only about 5% of the completed questionnaires, is very low, especially by comparison with the 22% figure for informal contacts as a propor-

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tion of the intermunicipal relationships for all the surveyed municipalities. A first conclusion to be drawn from this is that the municipalities in question either did not feel that the survey applied to them, or felt that the effort involved in completing the questionnaire was too high in relation to the importance of the contacts (especially in those cases where the municipality maintains both a partnership and a contact, and therefore had already completed one questionnaire for the partnership). It should also be remembered that wherever intermunicipal contacts have been indicated, this is often attributable to individual actors within the municipality. In other words these contacts are not necessarily perceived and verified as such by the municipal administrations concerned. All in all, the information base on intermunicipal contacts is very shaky.

# VI. Evaluation of the Quantitative and Qualitative Survey

This chapter will present and analyse the results of the survey, based on the structure of the questionnaires distributed. The analysis also takes account of the results of the in-depth interviews, without always mentioning them explicitly. The responses given in the interviews almost always corroborate the results of the written survey, and suggest the analytical options presented below.

## VI.1 Emergence and goals of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships

This section will describe the emergence of intermunicipal relations with China, covering the dates on which formal relations were established, the actor groups involved and the respective initiatives. It will also analyse the concrete goals and ideals of the relationships.

### VI.1.1 Emergence

#### VI.1.1.1 When did the intermunicipal relationships emerge?

For the intermunicipal partnerships and friendships verified within the scope of the present study, the dates on which formal agreements were concluded were obtained in all cases.<sup>12</sup>

When, as in the graphic below, the existing dates of formal agreement are used, this should not be confused with the date of first contact. It is also misleading to assume that a partnership has been preceded only by informal contact. It

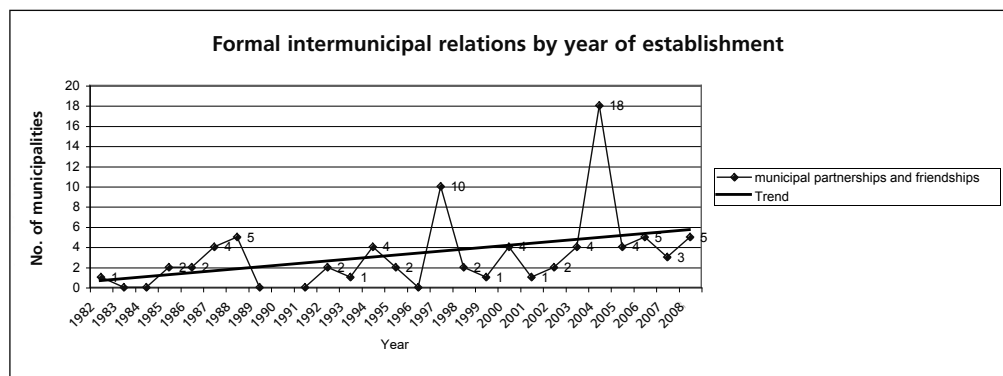
might just as easily be the case that an intermunicipal friendship has been in place for years. Here is an example: (East and West) Berlin's initial contacts with Beijing date back to 1988. Due to the diplomatic silence between Germany and China that arose after the student protests were put down in 1989, this municipal relationship also became dormant. In the early 1990s Berlin and Beijing ventured a new beginning, and in 1994 signed the memorandum on which their partnership today is based (Heinz/Langel 2002, p. 44f.).

This means that the graphic (Fig. 6) provides information on the years in which the municipal partners had the will and optimism to take the important step from being an informal to becoming a formal municipal relationship, or from being a formal friendship to becoming a partnership.

This graphic clearly shows a steady increase in the contractual formalisation of intermunicipal relations up until 1988, which comes to a sudden halt following the suppression of the protests in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989. During the period from 1989 to 1991 no new contractual agreements were signed, and some of the relationships that had been entered into became dormant (such as Bochum – Xuzhou; as well as some that never regained their former vitality, such as Düsseldorf – Shenyang). In the case of Dortmund events delayed the signing of the contractual agreement until 1992. In 1989, although the People's Congress in the future twin city of Xi'an had already agreed to the contract the Dortmund city council issued the following declaration: 'These

events fill us with sorrow and dismay. The political party groups reaffirm their will to enter into partnership with the city of Xi'an. They share the view that they are unable to draw up a formal resolution on this today.' (Collet/Flock/Wunsch 2001, p. 36)

Fig. 6: Formal intermunicipal relations by year of establishment



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

<sup>12</sup> In the responses obtained, dates of first contact between municipalities that later went on to conclude joint agreements are few and far between. It is striking that question 1.2, which concerns the beginning of the inter-municipal relationship, is often answered in the same way as question 1.4, i.e. by giving the date on which the agreement was entered into. Given that this is the case, it is not possible to systematically evaluate the responses to question 1.2, because no additional information can be generated on the duration of activities leading up to the partnership or friendship.

Most of the intermunicipal relationships that had already been entered into by that point survived this crisis.

Other trends in this graphic also suggest possible conclusions with respect to historical events. The brief lull in 1996 might for instance be linked to the bilateral tensions following the appearance of Germany's then Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs; Klaus Kinkel, before the UN Commission on Human Rights, while the relatively steady rise after 2001 might be linked to China's accession to the WTO in that year. These are, however, conjectures that are not clearly implied by the responses.

The high values for the years 1997, 2004 and 2008 are due to the conclusion of regional partnerships and regional friendships:

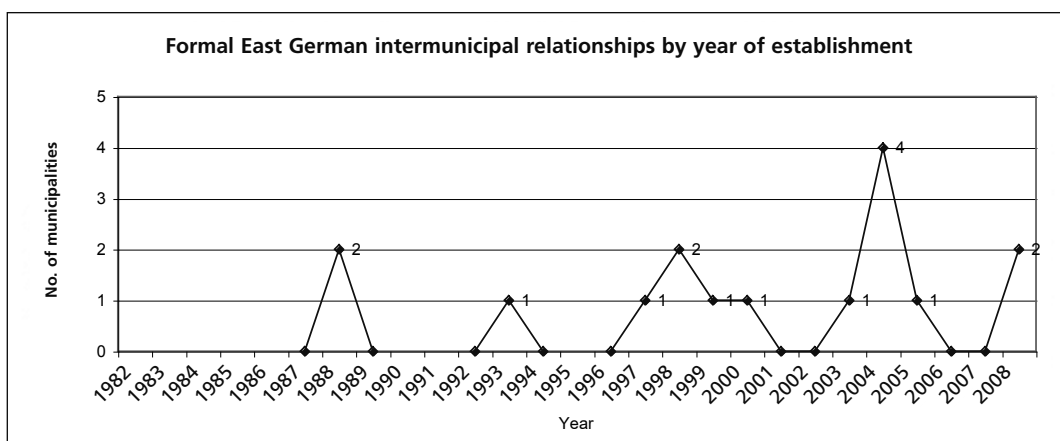
- > In 1997 a total of three agreements were signed, including one between Shenzhen and eight municipalities of the metropolitan region of Nuremberg (Nuremberg, Nuremberg Land, Fürth, Fürth district, Erlangen, Erlangen-Höchstadt district, Roth district, Schwabach).
- > In 2004 13 agreements were signed, including one between Jinjiang and five Franconian municipalities (Ansbach, Ansbach district, Dinkelsbühl, Feuchtwangen, Rothenburg) and one between Hangzhou and the administrative districts of Rosenheim and Traunstein.
- > In 2008 three agreements were signed, including one between Qingdao and three North Rhine-Westphalian municipalities (Essen, Duisburg, Wuppertal).

Throughout the remainder of the graphic one municipality means one partnership or friendship agreement.

In East Germany (Fig. 7) once the transition process got under way during the first half of the 1990s, all energy was channelled into that. Only thereafter did a renewed focus on the advantages of intermunicipal relationships in a globalised world emerge. The example of Magdeburg illustrates this 'new beginning in the age of globalisation' (Stegmann 2008, p. 19).

In 2008 alone this regional capital established three city-to-city partnerships, the last of them with Harbin in northern China.

Fig. 7: Formal East German intermunicipal relationships by year of establishment



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

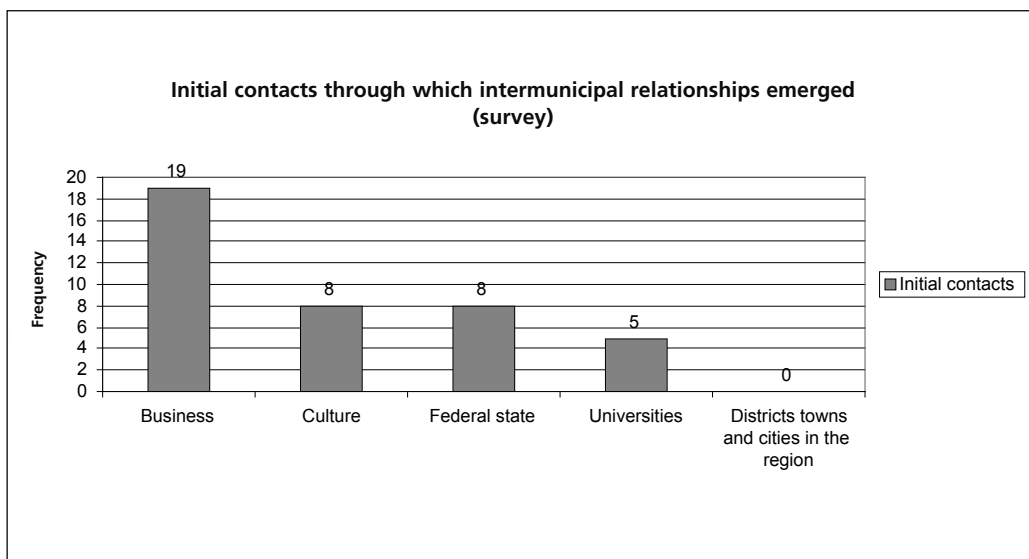
*The trend in agreements concluded clearly shows that apart from the standstill from 1989 – 1991 and the lull in 1996, both caused by political factors, municipal relations with China remain attractive for German municipalities, and are becoming more so. In the 1980s it was almost exclusively large cities (one exception being the small town of Bad Wildungen) in the West that began the process. (Of ten partnerships in the 1980s, only two involved partners in East Germany.) These were followed in the 1990s by large and medium-sized cities, towns and administrative districts, mostly from the West. Only from the mid-1990s onward did East German cities, towns and administrative districts too begin seeking contact with China in slowly growing numbers.*



### VI.1.1.2 Which initial contacts led to the emergence of the intermunicipal relationships?

The survey delivers a clear answer to this question. In the 41 responses to question 1.6a, 31 municipalities ticked the following types of contact (see Fig. 8):

Fig. 8: Initial contacts through which intermunicipal relationships emerged (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

Moreover, further types of contact were also mentioned under the heading 'other contacts': schools (1), Goethe Institute (1), a hospital (1), universities (2), politicians (3), individuals and delegations (4). Respondents also mentioned support received from a federal state, the Chinese Embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation in Beijing. One special case is Leipzig, in which the GDR Council of Ministers issued a directive and mediated the process.

Only eight municipalities mentioned more than one initial contact; the remaining 33 arose from contacts in only one area.

The results show that almost half of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships have arisen through business contacts. This demonstrates the key significance of economic relations for the emergence of intermunicipal relations. The initial economic contacts arose for instance as a result of existing economic cooperation (joint production, trade rela-

tions), contacts established at trade fairs, symposia etc. or through carefully planned journeys by delegations of business representatives from Germany or China. This is the reason why the municipalities involved in a partnership or a friendship often display a similar economic profile to their respective counterparts: as a port and media city (Hamburg

– Shanghai), as a traditional (historic) location for the textile industry (Bocholt – Wuxi), steel production (Duisburg – Wuhan), the timber industry (Bad Wildungen – Yichun) etc..

Less than a quarter of intermunicipal relationships arise from contacts in culture and the arts. The starting point for these relationships is

usually guest appearances/ exhibitions by musicians, actors, dancers, artists and acrobats in the region of the partner municipalities; one example is the project partnership Bonn – Chengdu. Organised cultural visits made by individuals, or municipal/district representatives, can also produce the same result. During a visit to Germany the Chinese minister of culture, Sun Jiazheng, together with his delegation for instance got to know the Lake Chiem area, and as a result initiated a 'partnership of lakes' involving the administrative districts of Traunstein and Rosenheim at Lake Chiem, and Hangzhou at West Lake. These contacts can be initiated or facilitated by professional agencies in the culture sector, travel and tourist agencies, or individuals or civil society organisations with a very strong interest in Chinese culture such as the German-Chinese Friendship Association, which operates in western Germany.

Germany's federal states, almost all of which are involved in regional partnerships in China (exceptions are the East German states Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Mecklenburg-

Western Pomerania, see Table 2) were also instrumental in almost a quarter of initial contacts (Baden-Württemberg having played a role in three cases). Overall, though, it is evident that the regional focuses of the federal states are not reflected systematically in the selection of municipal partners (with the exception of the city-states, of course). In other words even though Hesse maintains a regional partnership with Shanxi, as do Saxony with Hubei and Thuringia with Shaanxi, neither the Hessian, Saxon nor Thuringian municipalities have any preference for the towns and cities of the provinces linked through these partnerships. It is true that the regional partnerships between Bavaria and Guangdong, and between North Rhine-Westphalia and Jiangsu, do show many parallels with the respective intermunicipal relationships, for instance in the partnership established between the metropolitan region of Nuremberg and Shenzhen (Guangdong), or the cooperation between Bocholt and Leverkusen and Wuxi (Jiangsu). Yet these municipalities do not identify the contact provided through the federal state as the path by which the relationship arose. It is rather the case that the federal states on the whole appear to have little influence.

Here, the present authors share the interpretation of one federal state representative operating in China. She said that although it would be a welcome development if municipalities were to get involved in the partner region, the towns and cities were ultimately looking for partners with the right economic or cultural profile, because only with them could they achieve a win-win situation and build a living partnership. Moreover, any form of interference on the part of the federal state would infringe the principle of municipal autonomy, meaning that any overlap between the involvement of the state and its municipalities could only arise where both sides were to discover advantages for themselves.

According to the survey responses, contacts through universities and research institutes account for less than one-eighth of the initial contacts leading to intermunicipal relationships. Having said that, universities are mentioned as intermediaries in two further cases under 'other contacts'. According to the German Rectors' Conference there are 450 stored data sets on German-Chinese university contacts

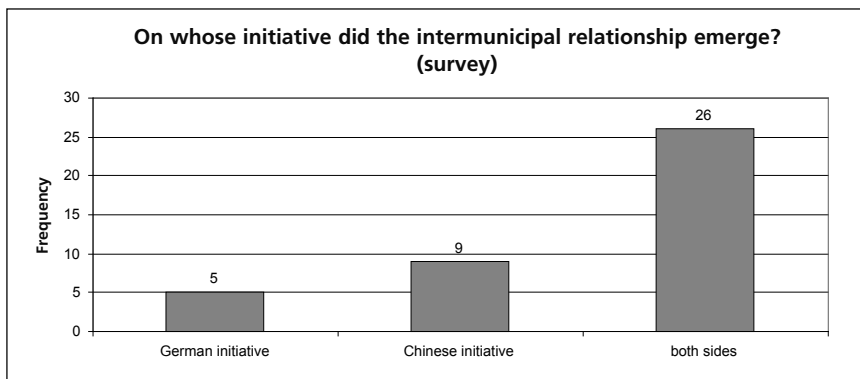
(www.hochschulkom-pass.de, as at: September 2008). In other words the scope of existing inter-university cooperation between Germany and China is enormous, which might lead us to assume that universities in German towns and cities provide key impetus for German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships. However, given the overwhelming scale of this university exchange the question must be raised as to why universities have not provided more initial contacts for German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships. To answer it we would need first of all to subtract those towns, cities and administrative districts that do not have a university or research institute. Secondly, we need to remember that it is not automatically the case that the institutes/faculties involved (which operate autonomously) are in touch with the municipal structures, which they would need to be in order to enable university contacts to 'catch on' at the municipal level. Moreover, university cooperation activities in specialist areas that are not relevant to a municipal public will rarely have any effect on that public. This then leaves the more high-prestige interuniversity relationships involving innovative technologies, improvements in industrial production methods etc. or those individuals or agencies with a talent for networking universities with policymakers who might initiate intermunicipal relationships. Less frequently, but with major potential for German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships, local institutes for sinology/East Asian studies can act as a direct initiator, driving force and advisor to a German municipality.

If we compare this result with the typical initial contacts through which partnerships for development emerge, clear differences become evident. 'Initiatives of political and citizen movements' (Heinz/Langel/Leitermann 2004, p. 24) are only rarely the initial contacts leading to intermunicipal relationships with China, yet they are common in partnerships for development. By contrast, the institutional and private-sector initiatives that are characteristic of these relations with China are something of a rarity in development-oriented partnerships.

### VI.1.1.3 Who took the initiative for the partnership?

Here too the survey shows a clear result. Thirty-eight municipalities answered question 1.6b as follows (see Fig. 9):

Fig. 9: On whose initiative did the intermunicipal relationship emerge? (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

According to the information supplied by German municipalities, two-thirds of intermunicipal relationships emerged as a result of a mutual initiative by the German and Chinese municipality. This question can be construed in two ways, generating two types of response: a material one (answering the question who actually initiated the first contact) and a political one (answering the question who advocated the intermunicipal relationship):

*The material response: Many partnerships arose as a result of mutual initiatives by German and Chinese entrepreneurs, leaders in the cultural sector, policymakers, researchers etc. who already knew each other and who simultaneously initiated and supported an official relationship in the municipalities in Germany and China.*

*The political response: Since many partnerships began many years ago, it is possible that in retrospect less attention is then paid to who exactly sought the first contact – where the circumstances are known and documented at all – and more is paid to whether both sides also welcomed this contact. Responses of this kind demonstrate the level of mutual interest in the intermunicipal relationship.*

Two municipalities ticked two options here. One response that deviated from these options was: ‚due to contacts with the Chamber of Commerce‘ maintained by the German municipality.

The remaining responses show a slight preponderance (four more cases mentioned) of initiatives taken by the Chinese side. This would seem to indicate that the Chinese side made more of an effort to initiate intermunicipal relationships with Germany than vice versa.

This is also vaguely suggested by the CEMR waiting list, which has always shown and continues to show a surplus of Chinese towns and cities hoping to establish a partnership with a German municipality.

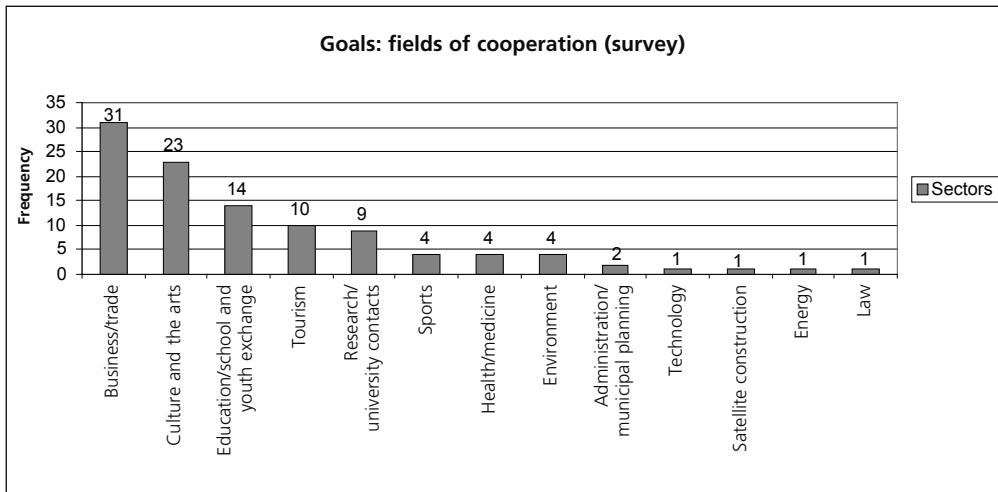
One possible explanation for this is the strategic orientation of Chinese foreign policy toward the West, which aims to promote catch-up development, and in whose wake the Chinese municipalities wish to position themselves in order to enhance their competitiveness. A further factor is the close connection between economics and politics in China, which over the last 30 years has been relaxed only slowly and gradually. Ever since German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships have existed, the will of Chinese municipalities to provide political support for economic contacts with the West has shaped relations for most of the time. In one case known from the survey, in the mid-1990s the Chinese municipality insisted that economic cooperation be complemented by a municipal relationship.

## VI.1.2 Goals

### VI.1.2.1 Goals of the German municipalities

In response to the open question 2.1 ‚Motives and goals of the intermunicipal relationships‘, 39 German municipalities responded by identifying both concrete sectors of cooperation and ideals. The following sectors for exchange were identified:

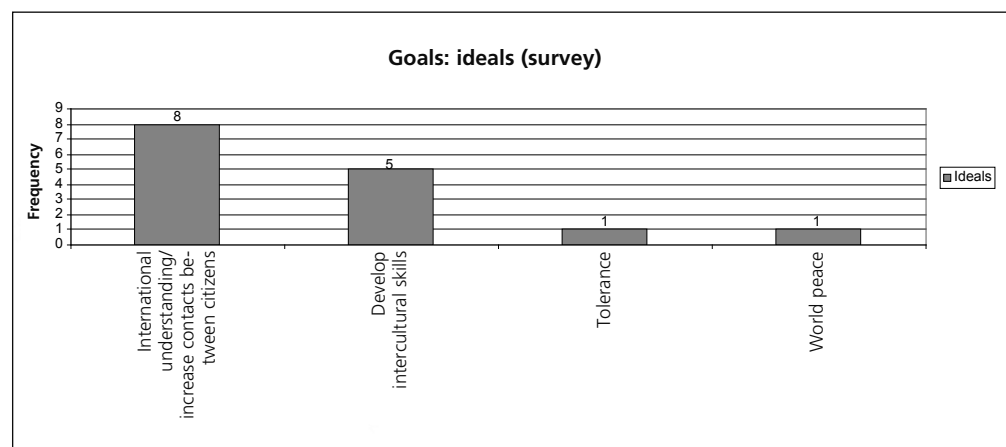
Fig. 10: Goals: fields of cooperation (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

Overall this graphic shows an impressive breadth (which in a few cases, where the intermunicipal relationships were only recently established, has yet to be translated into practice) of sectoral exchange, ranging from economics to the legal sector. As might be expected the key sectors were business (more than three-quarters of responses) and culture/the arts (more than half the responses), followed by education, tourism and research/university contacts. Here the number of intermunicipal relationships with a one-sided orientation toward either culture or business is well balanced, with four cases of each. Where these sectors are identified the objectives of ‚exchange‘ (in all areas), ‚expertise and knowledge transfer‘ and ‚cooperation‘ are also mentioned. This shows a good deal of pragmatism and a focus on benefits in intermunicipal relationships with China. In line with this, one municipality expressed a desire to focus more strongly in the future on ‚project-based activities‘, while another formulated ‚project work with win-win outcomes‘ as the clear objective.

Fig. 11: Objectives: ideals (survey)



Quelle: Held/Merkle 2008

It would, however, be wrong to conclude that this orientation toward concrete benefit excludes the spirit of friend-

ship and partnership. Friendships do grow out of joint economic and research interests, even though the original motive for cooperation was to gain expertise and financial profit. Moreover, the strong environment of culture and education, including cultural, school and youth exchange, indicates (as shown

in Section VI.1.1.2) that in the course of cooperation the initial economic activity becomes increasingly embedded by these other activities. The claim that in intermunicipal relations with China as a whole the cultural programmes simply decorate economic activities does not accurately describe cooperation today. It is rather the case that the activity areas of culture and education, familiar in the context of the traditional municipal partnerships within Europe, implicitly reflect a will to achieve genuine international reconciliation and understanding that is present in German-Chinese intermunicipal relations. This is also reflected by the fact that ideals are also mentioned explicitly as objectives in themselves (Fig. 11).

The striking fact that these ideals are mentioned so infrequently (by only one-third of respondents), however, con-

firms that the aforementioned basic pragmatic understanding remains in place. Where this is the case, the ideals of the West European reconciliation partnerships of the post-Second World War era and the East-West partnerships for détente and rapprochement during and after the Cold War are managed very sparingly.

Nevertheless, concerning the issue of objectives it is disconcerting to note that in intermunicipal relations with a country that is home to 130 million extremely poor people, ideals of poverty reduction and the motive of solidarity in our One World are completely absent - a fact that calls for an explanation. This is due not to any ignorance of China's major social problems, but to the image of China presented by the media, concrete experience with Chinese partners, and the aforementioned orientation toward concrete benefits.

Contradictory and selective image of China: The German public's perception of China is contradictory. On the one hand it is seen in euphoric terms as a land of incredible economic growth, home to booming cities with futuristic architecture, and overflowing with millennia-old cultural riches. China is seen as a market of the future, and as a key partner especially in the economic sector. This positive image is also promoted by those in power in China. On the other hand we see negative headlines – whose historic roots go back to Montesquieu's critique of despotism – on the regime's human rights violations. This is compounded by the more recent fear of China as an economic competitor, in conjunction with accusations of product piracy, among other things. This dominant focus outshadows the situation of poverty endured by rural inhabitants and internal migrants looking for work in the cities. Against the background of China's economic growth since the 1990s, poverty seems difficult to comprehend, leading us to assume that China can solve the problem on its own. All in all, this image of China prompts a response in the German public that includes neither sympathy nor altruism.

Concrete experience in China: When they visit China as a delegation, the German municipal partners get to see little or no rural or urban poverty. On the contrary, they see dynamic economic and urban development from the

perspective of the winners. The offers of cooperation they receive are tantamount to an invitation to the German municipalities to participate in this dynamism, and profit from it for themselves. A cooperation begun on this basis has no particular reason to address issues of traditional development-oriented partnerships. In view of what municipal representatives get to see, some of them consider it presumptuous to seek to 'develop' their partners. When asked about development-policy engagement, they reply by turning the question around: Who is developing whom here? A role is played here by the size of the German municipality in relation to that of the Chinese municipality, the latter usually having several times the number of inhabitants of the former. Actors from Shenzhen for instance (a highly modern, industrialised test-tube city in the Pearl River Delta, Guangdong province) refer affectionately to their twin city of Nuremberg, with its history and its old buildings, as their 'little brother'.

Focus on benefits and pragmatism: Today, municipalities face fierce international competition as they seek to attract economic, research and cultural resources, as well as highly-trained and gainfully employed inhabitants. This is why German municipalities need to position themselves through involvement in international networks and bilateral intermunicipal relationships. This accounts for the current pragmatic trend in German intermunicipal relationships (Buchsteiner/Nover 2008, p. 42), which at the end of the day are now also designed to generate benefits for the municipalities concerned. In the past, the symbolic value of the intermunicipal relationship for reconciliation, understanding and solidarity gave it a sufficient *raison d'être*. Yet experience shows that formally binding municipal partnerships that lack real vitality are a burden on both budgets and personnel. This is why municipalities are cautious with ideals today. The joint project work should first of all demonstrate the productivity of an intermunicipal relationship, and do so for both sides; only when this is the case do further steps toward a more binding relationship appear worth considering.

Nevertheless, cooperation in the fields of health, environment/water, urban planning and education can in practice assume the form of assistance for poverty reduction.

Before we come to Chapter 6, however, we should note that the traditional infrastructural aid measures such as the construction of schools, drilling of wells etc. are not found here. What is rather seen are forms of technical cooperation and the transfer of expertise that in some cases and to some extent generate results similar to modern development cooperation. Without any explicit reference to development being made, this does reflect an understanding of China's development needs – present albeit only in those cases where such needs can be accommodated within the German side's own interest.

*With regard to the motives and objectives of municipal partnerships with China, a pragmatic focus on self-interest outweighs the emphasis on ideals, although the latter do exist. Almost four-fifths of intermunicipal relationships display wide sectoral breadth, and combine economic and research interests with the cooperation goals of traditional municipal partnerships designed to promote international understanding. Traditional charity-based partnerships for development are not found among the intermunicipal relationships with China; on the other hand, certain thematic cooperation objectives do indicate that development-oriented technical cooperation can become or already is a part of the intermunicipal relationship.*

### **VI.1.2.2 Goals of the Chinese municipalities (as seen by the German respondents)**

Question 2.2 of the survey was answered 36 times. In 30 cases objectives and motives identical to those of the German side are ascribed to the Chinese side. On six occasions other aims were ascribed to the Chinese side:

- > Achieving recognition/positioning in the course of the open-door policy: two responses.
- > Transferring expertise: two responses.
- > Establishing contacts in (Western) Europe/ contacts in Western Europe are generally considered positive: two responses.

In two cases economic and cultural exchange are identified as objectives on the German side, while only economic exchange is mentioned on the Chinese side. These may be isolated cases. In an interview one municipality described a converse case: At the beginning of the intermunicipal relationship the German municipality wished to pursue only economic interests, in response to which the Chinese pointed out in no uncertain terms that as far as they were concerned cultural exchange was part of the relationship. Their principle was 'No economic exchange without cultural exchange.'

Respondents ascribed to the Chinese side strategic, foreign-policy motives that go beyond the sectors specified for the German side. Here the difference becomes clear between the autonomous German municipalities, and the Chinese municipalities, whose actions in some spheres are directly attributable to the policy of the Communist Party of China and the higher administrative levels, going as far up as the Government of China. It is not clear from the survey responses whether these strategic objectives are accepted by the German municipalities without question, or with a certain unease at being in some way used by the Chinese side.

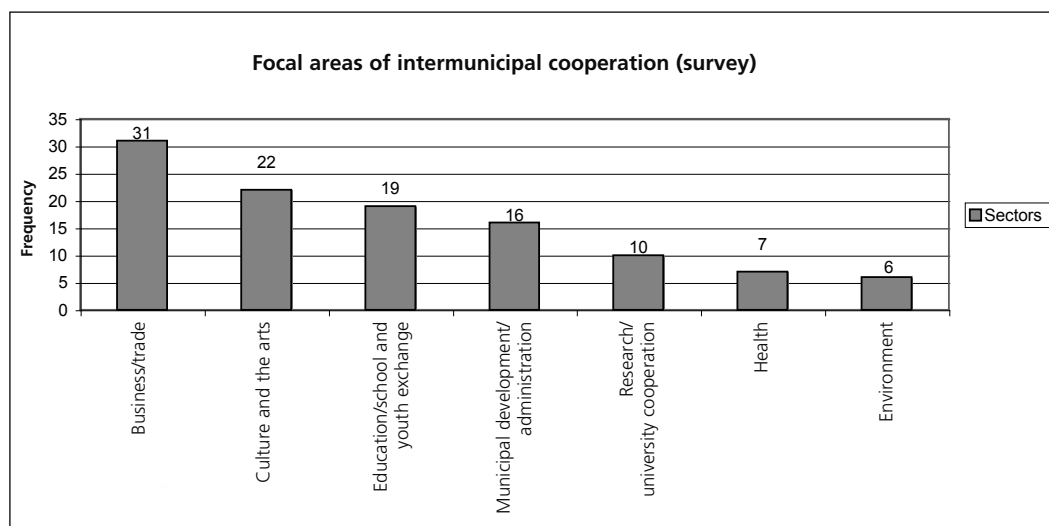
Overall, all the objectives that differ from those ascribed to the German municipalities point to a pragmatic attitude and self-interest on the part of the Chinese side that are on a par with those of the German side.

*The vitality of many intermunicipal relationships results from the complementary pursuit of self-interest in combination with the diverse activities for mutual (cultural) rapprochement. On both sides we see evidence of an instrumental understanding of the intermunicipal relationship, though many actors on both sides also see economic and cultural exchange, and self-interest and international understanding, as two sides of the same coin.*

## VI.2 Activities of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships

Of the 41 responses to question 3.6 of the survey 'Please mark the three most important sectors of cooperation/exchange', the majority ticked three sectors, with only a few respondents ticking two sectors or one. Despite the wording of the question a few municipalities also ticked four sectors. Although strictly speaking this should have been considered an invalid response, these figures were nevertheless included in the total. The responses show the following distribution across the sectors:

Fig. 12: Focal areas of intermunicipal cooperation (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

The following additional focal areas were also mentioned under 'other': tourism (2), sport (1), politics (1), security and the legal system/police (1).

### VI.2.1 Business activity/trade

Economic activities are clearly the main focus of work in intermunicipal relationships, being identified as such by three-quarters of respondent municipalities. This result is congruent with the preponderance of initial business contacts (question 1.6a) and the objective of economic cooperation (question 2.1).

Representation of municipal economic interests in the context of international competition to attract economic resources: German municipalities are political and administrative entities and not businesses, which is why they do not represent the interests of the latter directly, although

they do represent their own interests as municipal locations for business.

As such they seek to persuade companies to locate within their municipality, and to ensure that those companies which have located there prosper. Municipalities aim to create jobs for inhabitants, increase their prosperity and quality of life, and to fill the municipal coffers with corporate tax revenues, which in turn allows investment in attractive urban development, and attracts well-educated, tax-paying inhabitants. Consequently the well-being of companies and that of municipalities is not identical, but the two are closely linked.

Given the growth in global economic networking and in the flexibility of companies over the last 20 years, the competition among municipalities to make themselves a more attractive location has become fiercer and fiercer. The pressure of com-

petition makes it an obvious option, especially for larger municipalities, to pursue an international business-based exchange of experience and systematically seek to promote their own interests on international markets. Municipal partnerships are also used as an instrument for this purpose, which is so key to municipal development.

China's remains economically attractive: When China gradually opened its doors to foreign private enterprise in 1979, the business community and policymakers in Germany (at all levels) developed an enormous interest in the huge Chinese market (measured in terms of the number of inhabitants), with all its desiderata of development and growth potentials. Given the double-digit figures for annual economic growth rates, the interest remains enormous to this day:

- > When the reform and open-door policy was launched China was seen a trading partner and

- > from the mid-1980s onward increasingly (as legal certainty for private investors grew) as a highly attractive production location. (Having said that, some companies have since already relocated their production facilities yet again to even less expensive Asian countries, or back to Germany.)
- > Since the early 1990s foreign companies have also been attracted by the Chinese domestic market (on which the demand for consumer goods continues to grow), which has now been opened to them, and since 1992, when all provincial capitals were opened up, also by the regions beyond the ‚Gold Coast‘, where many economic positions are still vacant.
- > Moreover, as confidence in Chinese business practices grows, German locations are also seeking to attract Chinese investors.

Since former West Germany, and subsequently the reunified Germany, was and is economically highly attractive for China, once diplomatic relations were launched economic cooperation followed a highly positive trajectory. The website of the German Federal Foreign Office describes economic relations as follows: ‚In 1972, German enterprises exported goods for just USD 270 million; today, the figure is USD 45 billion, more than a hundred and fifty times as much. In 1972, Germany imported from China goods worth USD 175 million; in 2006, imports were worth more than USD 80 billion, more than four hundred times as much. Since 2002, China has been Germany’s second biggest export market outside Europe, after the USA and ahead of Japan. (...) Germany is by far China’s largest European trading partner, ranking sixth overall amongst China’s trading partners (and fourth excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan). (...) The principal products sold to China by German companies are machinery and plant, electrical goods and special equipment as well as motor vehicles. The main Chinese exports to Germany are electrical goods, textiles, clothing, machinery and plant. (...) By the end of 2007, German companies had made direct investments totalling some USD 156 billion in China. (...) To promote business with China, German industry and commerce has delegates’ offices in Beijing, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Canton (Guangzhou) (under the

umbrella of the German Chambers of Commerce Abroad run by the Association of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry – DIHT) and there are also representatives of the Federal Office of Foreign Trade (BfAI) in Beijing and Shanghai. They all work closely with the German Embassy in Beijing and the German Consulates-General in Shanghai, Canton (Guangzhou), Chengdu and Hong Kong. German companies in (mainland) China have founded a chamber of industry and commerce which is headed by the delegates of the German business community in Beijing. There is a German Business Association in Hong Kong’. ([www.auswaertigesamt.de/diplo/de/Laenderinformationen/China/Bilateral.html#t3](http://www.auswaertigesamt.de/diplo/de/Laenderinformationen/China/Bilateral.html#t3), as at: July 2008)

Municipal foreign trade promotion and location marketing:

The majority of German-Chinese municipal partnerships are characterised by mutual economic attractiveness. The former Lord Mayor of Duisburg, Josef Krings, describes the situation in 1989 as follows: ‚Economic cooperation can and should be at the forefront of German-Chinese partnerships. The Chinese hope to obtain more direct and rapid access to western expertise from this. In return, our companies in China see these partnerships as a key that can open the doors to sought-after contracts on the Chinese market, which itself needs to catch up. The self-interests converge.’ (Krings 1989, p. 118). Today, municipal and business actors still for instance sometimes refer to the partner municipalities as a ‚bridgehead‘ for conquering the Chinese or German/European market.

The German and Chinese municipalities established their municipal partnerships predominantly on the basis of existing economic contacts (one example being Duisburg – Wuhan) and/or to create new economic contacts (one example being Frankfurt – Guangzhou), with the objective of promoting foreign trade for their respective national companies. The German municipalities help open doors and create a basis of trust from which the business actors profit. This reduces de facto the risks and costs of market entry (Müller 2007, p. 8ff.). Municipal activities in this area include:

- > Creating platforms for business contacts, for example by involving the partner municipality in trade fairs. The Chamber of Industry and



Commerce in the metropolitan region of Nuremberg for instance is represented at the annual China High Tech Fair in Shenzhen, and entrepreneurs from Shenzhen participate in various fairs in Middle Franconia.

Another example is the partnership between Traunstein/Rosenheim and Hangzhou, which enabled the partners from Upper Bavaria to participate in the World Leisure Expo fair in Hangzhou.

- > Preparation and facilitation of trade relations. In 2006 Brilliance, a car manufacturer from Shenyang, a city with links to Bremen, became the first such Chinese company to launch sales in Germany and Europe, through Bremerhaven. Another example is Hamburg. Based on the long tradition of trade between Hamburg and China and the partnership between the two cities (which arose from those trade links), more Chinese goods are traded through the port of Hamburg than through any other European port (the People's Republic of China is Hamburg's main trading partner).
- > Smoothing the path for long-term operations by companies in China through joint ventures, branch offices, agencies, establishment of production facilities. When entering the Chinese market, the Hamburg SunTechnics company for instance selected Shanghai as its location due to the ‚close personal relationships that exist between Hamburg and Shanghai‘ (Müller 2007, p. 8).
- > Organisation of business delegations and business symposia on innovative themes of economic cooperation.
- > Transfer of information on the economic structure, policy and planning of the partner municipality through intensive professional exchange between the municipal administrations.
- > Joint seeking of solutions to problems in the economic sector, where the economic structures of the partner municipalities display similar characteristics, as is often the case (port city, coal and steel industry, tourism etc.).
- > Establishment of municipal liaison offices,

‚German Houses‘ etc. in the Chinese partner municipality. In 2003/4 Erfurt und Xuzhou for instance each opened contact offices in their respective twin city (source: <http://www.erfurt.de>, as at July 2008).

Increasingly, German municipalities are pursuing traditional location marketing in order both to attract Chinese investors and to persuade Chinese companies to locate facilities in their area. They also support the establishment of these facilities. In view of the enormous growth rates of Chinese foreign investment, this is not surprising. The initial contact with Chinese companies is often established via the Chinese partner municipality, or through chambers of commerce or professional business contact agencies such as the Business Europe China Aktiengesellschaft (BED AG) in Duisburg. As a result for instance the municipality of Düsseldorf supports the potential investor in their necessary dealings with the bank, the aliens authority etc. in order to make it as easy as possible for the investor to choose that particular location by providing him or her with comprehensive advisory services.

Chinese companies locate first and foremost in urban centres with well-developed infrastructure such as the Rhine-Main region, Cologne, Düsseldorf, and increasingly also the Ruhr region. Through the political support provided by an intermunicipal relationship investment can also be attracted by smaller towns, such as Weilburg (around 70 small and medium-sized Chinese companies). Another example of this is the imminent purchase of a cargo airport in the rural district of Parchim (facilitated by the regional capital Schwerin) by a logistics company from the Chinese municipality Zhengzhou.

Potential for confusion and problems: The benefits of an intermunicipal relationship for business are particularly striking in the case of China. According to the analysis of Peter W. Fischer, economic motives have become more important ‚particularly as the concept of the municipal partnership has spread into other economic systems and other cultures‘ Fischer 1989, p. 93 f.). Even after 30 years of gradual liberalisation, elements of a centrally planned economy are still palpable in China, and a symbiotic relation-

ship between private economic interests and party officials (Heilmann 2007, p. 191 f.) ensures that cordial relations at the political level, though perhaps not a prerequisite, do make economic cooperation perceptibly easier. The following statement made by a representative of a German municipality makes the point about this role of the intermunicipal relationship quite candidly: ‚Bearing in mind the Chinese structure with respect to the links between politics and business, the economic engagement of ...(German factory; U.H.) in ...(Chinese municipality; U.H.) can be supported.‘ According to one municipal representative, in another intermunicipal relationship in the mid-1990s the Chinese side even insisted on establishing contact between the municipalities in order to support the business contact. In other words the provision of municipal support to small and medium-sized German companies in China to this day fits in well with the Chinese economic structure and mentality, even though this also causes some confusion. This occurs when some Chinese municipalities find to their surprise that although the German municipalities act as promoters of German business interests, de facto they have hardly any influence over them at all.

Nor is the German side immune to confusion, for instance when they look for partners in China with a view to economic cooperation, and then discover that the Chinese municipality first of all defines cultural exchange as a necessary complement to the cooperation. This is because the Chinese side are usually looking for more than just a quick, purely rational business deal. They are also looking for a positive emotional atmosphere, personal relationships and friendship. German municipalities unfamiliar with the Chinese mentality then face not straightforward business deals, but first of all expenditure on cultural exchange and an intensive cultivation of relationships. And this harbours potential conflicts between municipal politicians, as well as between an impatient business community and the municipal administration. The private business side, which sometimes presses vigorously for municipal activities to prepare the way for business deals (Posth 1999, p. 30), do not always appreciate cultural activities, especially when they do not get all the opportunities they had expected within the intermunicipal relationship.

Conversely, German municipalities would sometimes like to see a more vigorous commitment from their companies within the scope of the intermunicipal relationship, or have difficulty in establishing further business contacts once the initial contact has been made. In this connection several municipal representatives pointed out in the in-depth interviews that for broader-based economic cooperation, similar economic structures must be present in both municipalities, otherwise the results of the relationship always fall short of the dreams attached to cooperation with a municipality in China, land of the economic miracle. And even if the economic structure is in place, as already mentioned living business relationships are anything but self-generating. They require long-term engagement and shrewd networking.

The situation becomes particularly problematic when a monocausal intermunicipal relationship based on economic cooperation collapses because the company on which everything rests files for bankruptcy, or changes direction etc. Where a formal basis was established for this intermunicipal relationship such as a partnership, that partnership then continues to exist as a defunct, empty shell.

Regardless of whether the companies are driving the municipality forward or vice versa, the municipalities are seldom able to identify precisely the economic output of individual activities within the scope of the relationship with China. This is because after visits by delegations, trade fairs etc. the German companies, which act autonomously, do not always report back on whether a business deal was struck up as a result, or are not yet able to assess the possible business benefits. Especially in municipalities where the intermunicipal relationship is a matter of political disagreement, the issue of tangible output is a key argument for or against a relationship with China.

Furthermore, small and medium-sized German companies today are also able to achieve entry onto the Chinese market self-reliantly and without political support. On the whole, German companies have now achieved a sound footing in China. The paths and obstacles to market entry have been correspondingly well explored, networks and liaison structures have been put in place on the ground, and a huge amount of advisory literature is available on the market.

And there are an increasing number of private business agencies that steer Chinese investment toward urban centres in Germany with a good infrastructure. Thus in the long run it may transpire that the same transition process which gave rise to the economically-based intermunicipal relationships may also make them obsolete. If the basic motive for companies to become involved in German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships, i.e. to open doors, continues to disappear, then other areas of cooperation will have to gain more weight in the future in order to maintain the vitality of these relationships.

Self-interest and/or strategic instrument for change: Today, the view that economic activities are the driving force behind German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships needs to be reconsidered, and we should look beyond the complementary self-interests. This is necessary first of all because the themes of culture and (school) education now play such a prominent role among both the goals and the focal areas of cooperation that international understanding must now also be clearly acknowledged as a focus of the municipalities, and one that goes beyond self-interest. Secondly, economic activities too can also be construed as work to help promote international understanding. Economic activities take on a strategic political connotation when they are construed as an instrument to promote change that fosters the rule of law, and economic and social liberalism. The use of this argument for economic engagement in China also begs the question of legitimacy, given the political critique that the business actors involved might attach greater importance to economic profit than to democracy and human rights. It is not possible to determine from the survey whether the ‚trade for change‘ view (as for instance explained in the article ‚Why we need Beijing‘ by Gerhard Schröder in DIE ZEIT 30/08, 17.07.2008) is shared by all municipalities engaged in economic cooperation with their Chinese partners.

*In the setting of international economic competition between locations, German municipalities are supporting those of their small and medium-sized companies that are capable of expanding in China by deploying foreign trade promotion instruments,*

*and are seeking to attract Chinese investment by marketing themselves as locations. They enter into intermunicipal relationships in order to politically underpin the economic cooperation – and sometimes for no other reason. This fits in well with the Chinese economic structure and mentality, though it also harbours risks. Not only is it the case that the Chinese partners overestimate the connection between politics and business in Germany; German municipalities too sometimes succumb to the erroneous belief that successful business deals in China are already signed, sealed and quickly delivered by virtue of the partnership agreement. In actual fact these deals require a long-term commitment to personal friendship as well as shrewd networking. Moreover, the German municipalities must be aware that the progressive transition of the Chinese economy and the now well-trodden paths of market entry may make the political support provided by municipalities to German companies in China obsolete, i.e. one basic motive for the intermunicipal relationship may disappear, turning it in the worst case scenario into an empty shell. Many German and Chinese municipalities will avoid this risk because they have promoted and established other forms of cooperation alongside the economic dimension. On the German side, economic cooperation also acquires an additional strategic political connotation, in that it becomes construed as an instrument for promoting structural change in China, fostering the rule of law and democracy.*

## **VI.2.2 Culture and the arts**

The economic dimension of cultural exchange: Having dealt with issues of economic cooperation above, it is important to note right away that cultural exchange also plays various roles with respect to business. An article on the involvement of Oldenburg and Groningen in China explains one aspect of this. It describes how cultural exchange forms a basis ‚for us to find a common language when doing business‘ (China Contact Spezial 08/2007, p. 8). Cultural exchange

should in other words be seen both as a means of promoting, and as a prerequisite for successful economic cooperation. Many actors call for it, though not all of them.

Managed professionally, culture and the arts also form a sector of the economy in themselves (the culture industries), one that is growing rapidly in Germany and is therefore becoming increasingly important for municipalities. Integrating the culture industries sector into an intermunicipal relationship with China (as for instance when the Chinese twin city of the metropolitan region of Nuremberg participates in the ‚culture industries‘ fair there, or designers from Hamburg exhibit their products in Shanghai) will add vitality to it and enable it to prosper further.

Where cultural exchange is so successful that the cultural attractiveness of a city becomes a publicly known fact in the partner country, this will also have a positive effect on tourism (increase in the number of overnight stays etc.) from the partner country. Bonn’s attractiveness to Chinese tourists for instance profits greatly from the city’s most famous son, Ludwig van Beethoven (China Contact Spezial 05/2008, p. 24 - 25). And in Nuremberg too, the numbers of Chinese tourists are increasing. In other words, cultural exchange has both an indirect and a direct economic dimension.

Cultural exchange for international understanding: This does not imply a purely instrumental understanding of cultural exchange for economic objectives, however. Nor is cultural exchange dominated by the economic interests of the culture sector itself. For most German municipalities, cultural exchange is rather an end in itself insofar as it promotes international understanding. Cultural exchange activities revolve around the two sides getting to know and respect each other through the medium of culture and the arts, which in turn reflect the history, society, mentality and outstanding achievements of a nation. This is why cultural exchange is shaped by mutuality of interest and engagement to such a particular degree.

This exchange is also characterised by a high degree of citizen involvement, which in turn deepens and broadens international understanding, insofar as culture is the perceived not as an elite activity or as the product of profes-

sional artistic creation, but as being open to anyone, and is perhaps even performed by amateurs from the twin town or city (school drama group, church choir, music schools, painting academies etc.).

Cultural exchange in practice: Cultural exchange usually involves events. These include art or design exhibitions, or performances of plays, operas, classical concerts, choral works etc., often presented on special festive days (national holidays, partnership jubilees), festivals or trade fairs. The universally comprehensible language of music is often the object of cultural exchange.

Alongside the respective high culture repertoires that are considered national culture (such as the Weimar and Viennese classics), local culture is also part of this exchange. This includes paintings or photographic impressions of the town or city, performances by local artists (such as the youth jazz orchestra from Düren in Jinhua), and traditional culture ranging from the arts and crafts to dances from the region etc. Dortmund for instance is planning a broad presentation of Dortmund culture in the twin city of Xi’an in the spring of 2009.

Here, a number of municipal representatives confirm the existence of a kind of do ut des of cultural diplomacy<sup>13</sup>. If a delegation of German artists travels to China, they will soon be followed by a group of Chinese artists travelling to Germany to present their local culture.

As in all areas of cooperation, the German municipality is there to open doors and act as a mediator in the partner municipality for those German actors interested in cultural exchange with the Chinese municipality.

On their behalf it:

- > establishes contacts,
- > acts as advisor (on cultural sensitivities), supporter and helper (should problems crop up with the authorities for example) and (if necessary) source of ideas,
- > can attempt to positively influence terms for transport, accommodation, use of premises (theatres, concert halls, galleries) etc. for activities in China,

<sup>13</sup> A Latin phrase meaning: ‚I give, so that you may give‘.

- > usually organises or provides assistance with visa issues,
- > may participate financially (or approve applications for support); where this is not possible it may seek to obtain funding from corporate sponsors, foundations or public sources.

For events involving Chinese cultural actors in the partner municipalities in Germany everything is done to ensure that things run smoothly on the ground, and logistical support, premises etc. for the guests are often provided directly in accordance with the hospitality principle. Ceremonial receptions and honours performed by top municipal dignitaries are also laid on. Exceptions to this rule include commercially motivated cultural offerings that do not require this kind of support.

This event-based cultural exchange is also complemented by exchange between artists and performers at the working level. The Thalia Theatre Hamburg and the Shanghai Dramatic Art Theatre for instance hold mutual guest performances under young directors. Another example is the involvement of two professors at the school of performing arts in Frankfurt, who take part in dance workshops run by the Guangzhou ballet.

Here we see the extent to which intermunicipal cultural exchange now goes far beyond the export of museum-based high culture of the past to also embrace contemporary artistic engagement with reality. In other words it involves direct cultural dialogue and intellectual exchange between people. In 1997 for instance the 25th anniversary of the first German-Chinese twinning arrangement between Duisburg and Wuhan was marked in Duisburg by the premiere of a symphony by the world-famous Chinese composer Tan Dun, combining elements of classical and modern, and Asian and European music. In 2006 the regional youth orchestra of North Rhine-Westphalia toured various Chinese cities involved in partnerships to perform a mixture of their classical repertoire with interpretations of traditional Chinese folk songs.

As a permanent sign of cultural exchange in Germany, in Berlin for instance a Chinese garden has been created, in

Bocholt a pagoda has been built on the island in Lake Aa, and Confucius Institutes have been established at the university of Erlangen-Nuremberg and in Duisburg. Conversely, German cities have left lasting signs with their Chinese partners, such as the Frankfurter rose garden in Liu-Hua Lu Park in Guangzhou.

Municipal cultural exchange as a component of foreign cultural policy: Municipal cultural exchange sometimes involves cooperation with the German Embassy in Beijing, as well as with the Goethe Institute and its branch offices in China, because these institutions can provide not only political support but also country-specific expertise, excellent links to the Chinese administration, cultural know-how, and last but not least financial support for exchange projects. Since municipal cultural exchange is also considered a component of foreign cultural policy, which in turn attaches high priority to corporate identity abroad, the Federal Foreign Office has long since sought this cooperation, or at least sought to be kept in the picture as regards municipal activities (Wendler 1989, p. 127 - 138).

*Municipal cultural exchange has an economic dimension (culture industries and tourism), though essentially it aims to promote international understanding. German-Chinese exchange embraces both high culture and regional culture, involves citizen participation, and is geared less toward the export of culture and more toward genuine dialogue. It often revolves around musical performances. As well as individual events, working-level cooperation activities are initiated, organised, provided with administrative support and sponsored, and permanent symbols of cultural exchange are put in place in the partner municipality.*

### VI.2.3 (School) education

Municipal (school) educational cooperation for the most part involves school partnerships and youth exchange activities. Due to the fact that the objective of promoting international understanding dominates here too, it is often classed as cultural exchange.

School partnerships are an integral component of around two-thirds of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships. Across Germany there exist – depending on the source consulted - between 250 (Fuchshuber-Weiß 2007, [http://www.km.bayern.de/blz/eup/02\\_07\\_themenheft/3 .asp](http://www.km.bayern.de/blz/eup/02_07_themenheft/3.asp)) and 144 (Kultusministerkonferenz 2008, p. 23) German-Chinese school partnerships, which have emerged both outside of and within intermunicipal relationships. A number of relevant intermunicipal relationships already encompass several school partnerships. Out of 17 school partnerships in Berlin, 15 are with schools in the twin city of Beijing. The large number of school partnerships reflects an interest in educational policy that also impacts on the curricula in the schools concerned. In 199 German schools learning Chinese is part of the school profile, while in 164 schools in 13 German federal states Chinese is offered either as a regular part of the curriculum or as a voluntary option. And in many German schools that have found partners within the scope of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships Chinese has been made a school subject, in some cases on the initiative of the municipality. Outside of Berlin, Chinese is taught mostly in strong economic regions (North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhine-Main region, and in and around Stuttgart and Munich) (ZEIT 36/07, 30.08.2007). This is also strongly supported by Chinese cultural policy, which organises language courses within the scope of exchange visits (Chinese government programme: ‚One hundred million non-Chinese should learn Chinese‘).

School partnerships – for outgoing school students this means a stay of around two weeks in a host family, participation in the daily life of the school, and getting to know the city and the region not only as a tourist would – both sides see the learning of each other’s languages as an investment in the future:

- > investment in mutual understanding between cultures that see each other as future partners;
- > investment in the development of the school students/young people and promotion of their general education, tolerance and intercultural sensitivity, worldliness and powers of critical reflection on the reality of life in Germany that previously they never questioned;
- > investment in their professional training: The

latter is the case because here the foundation is laid for a long-term interest, which can influence young people’s professional orientation; and this is seen as being especially conducive to career development both in Germany and in China, because it is assumed the (economic, university etc.) cooperation between Germany and China will continue to grow in the long term, creating a demand for individuals with country-specific expertise. Typically, this economic idea is at the back of people’s minds in school partnerships with China, no doubt more strongly so than in the case of school partnerships with France, the UK, Nicaragua or Rwanda.

For most school students in Germany today the school partnership with China is one option among many for travelling abroad, a luxury that is highly sought-after, given China’s exotic status. The headmistress of a school in Ansbach, Elisabeth Fuchshuber-Weiss, describes the added value of exchange with a school in the partner municipality of Jingjiang as follows: ‚What was important to our school students can be seen in the notes they took down. It was the singular details of everyday life in the Chinese host families, the remarkable features of school and the lessons, the diligence and the discipline of their school partners, the exotic beauty of the culture and the crafts, the respect for tradition, the rapid modernisation in an industrialised landscape, the swarming traffic on the roads, the pulsating world of work, and of course the Chinese cuisine and eating habits. They were also impressed by the exceptionally generous hospitality that they encountered, as well as by the harmonious, even serene mood that prevailed whenever they were with their Chinese partners.‘ (Fuchshuber-Weiß 2007, quoted from [www.km.bayern.de/blz/eup/02\\_07\\_themenheft/3.asp](http://www.km.bayern.de/blz/eup/02_07_themenheft/3.asp)). Any negative reservations were quickly abandoned once they met their Chinese partners directly.

Conversely, when Chinese school students come to Germany this is often the only opportunity for them to travel abroad and reach the West, which is so highly esteemed in China. These trips are accordingly highly sought-after and important. It cannot be ruled out that a small number of free-riders with little interest in the municipal or school partnership

**Table 10:**

<b>Chinese language teaching in German schools</b>		
<b>Type of school</b>	<b>Schools with Chinese as part of the curriculum or as an optional extra</b>	<b>Schools with only a partner school</b>
Primary schools	6	-
Secondary modern schools	3	-
Grammar schools	135 (two of which are combined grammar/secondary modern schools)	23
Comprehensive schools	10	2
Vocational schools	5	10
Other	5	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>35</b>

Source: KMK 2008; p. 23

obtain a ticket to the West here. German municipalities seek to prevent this for instance by limiting the number of accompanying persons not employed by the school, or insisting on a minimum number of school students etc.

As well as the usual logistical and administrative support, the German municipalities also provide support in identifying partner schools, both in the German and in the Chinese municipality. When a school partnership has been successfully initiated within the intermunicipal relationship, the municipality itself gradually withdraws from the ongoing activities until such time as the school partnership becomes self-sustaining; it does, however, continue to welcome guests from abroad and remains an important port of call should any problems arise. Moreover the financing of school partnerships, and above all of the high travel costs, is generally an issue on which the municipalities provide advice, or sponsor the activities themselves from their municipal budgets, or provide support in obtaining funds from third parties. Furthermore the municipalities promote the integration of Chinese language teaching into school profiles, thus consolidating international understanding on a long-term basis and improving the career opportunities for the school students. The school exchange activities also include teacher-to-teacher exchange on pedagogic issues and school-related problems (enrolment rates and high school fees in China), which in Hamburg involves teacher exchange. Since the education system falls within the sphere of Germany's federal states, beyond the school partnerships it is essentially only Germany's city-states that become involved in schools policy.

Child and youth exchange: In practice children's and youth exchange, organised by independent child and youth work institutions, churches, sports clubs and municipal social welfare offices, is structured along similar lines to the school partnerships and shares the same or similar motives, effects and objectives. However, it revolves not around the everyday life of the school, but in a wider sense around the life circumstances of the children and adolescents in China and Germany.

Municipal activities appear coherent with and complementary to the youth policy cooperation activities between the German and Chinese national governments. In 2006 the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens and Youth and the All-China Youth Federation signed a cooperation agreement, whereupon the chiefs of state each invited 400 young people from the partner country, marking the launch of a lively process of structured exchange (Jung 2008). So far, this young dialogue has been proceeding along 'pleasingly open lines'. The Chinese side have been addressing problematic issues ranging from the one-child policy, to rural-urban migration by young people and discrimination against girls, to structures for local youth support, and have been eager to hear about experiences with child and youth support in Germany (Kühn 2008).

This structured exchange at the national and municipal levels has very clear development-policy implications. It is painting a picture of China beyond the dazzling economic figures and the architectural façades of the boomtowns, and is helping the Chinese familiarise themselves with youth policy options by studying the example of German structures.

*Children and young people who participate in this exchange (whether through schools or other institutions) get to know and appreciate China as a complex country beyond the headlines. As future ambassadors and multipliers they will be a driving force for international understanding, and later on they will gain opportunities to benefit from the lively exchange between the two countries and advance their careers. The demand on both sides proves that the municipalities are right to build their intermunicipal relationships on this successful and vibrant instrument, for which they also help initiate contacts and provide support to overcome administrative and financial hurdles.*

#### **VI.2.4 Urban development/administration**

When municipalities cooperate in the fields of business, culture and the arts, school and youth exchange, they act to promote the interests of other parties, even though they share those interests. When they cooperate in the field of urban development/administration, however, they are acting in discharge of their own mandate, which is to ensure the sustainability, prosperity and quality of life of their own municipality.

In this area of cooperation the demand on the Chinese side clearly dominates the cooperation. As a representative of one German municipality pertinently emphasised, the Chinese believe they have more to learn from the Germans than vice versa, even in cases where their municipality is several times as large and more modern than the German one. In the survey many German municipalities refer explicitly to the Chinese partners' 'willingness to learn' and their 'gratitude' within the scope of the intermunicipal relationship, not least with respect to the productive exchange on the various municipal competences. Most municipalities probably share the following sentiments expressed by a municipal representative in an in-depth interview: 'The Chinese come to us with their requests, and we respond or try to meet their requests, while at the same time pursuing our own interests.'

Essentially, exchange is possible in all areas of municipal

competence, and takes place accordingly in areas ranging from administrative organisation to the aforementioned areas of economic promotion, culture, youth and children, as well as the sectors of environment and health covered below, through to traffic management, construction, geoinformation and fire protection. Here, rules and experiences are not only exchanged between the municipal administrations, but also communicated to stakeholders in the municipalities for further cooperation. An exchange of personnel sometimes also takes place in these areas, usually in the form of short guest stays, work experience or trainee arrangements. Longer periods of work performed by full employees of the administration are seen by some municipalities in a critical light, however. One argument against longer secondments is the loss of work input incurred by the administration employing the individual. For the staff member concerned there is also a risk with regard to his or her further deployment within the German municipal administration. One argument against accepting Chinese members of staff into the German administration is the limited scope for them to perform work, given the fact that German is the official language. The instruments of this cooperation are therefore usually visits by delegations, tours and workshops. Workshops/seminars are usually organised and paid for by the host municipality on the basis of the hospitality principle. To keep the costs low the speakers are usually staff members of the administration, or are recruited from among the teaching staff of the local university.

Examples of activities:

- > In 2007 the Berlin programme for the rehabilitation of prefabricated buildings within the scope of the European BEEN project was presented at a GTZ event (involving bilateral development cooperation) in Beijing.
- > Hamburg has for instance implemented an exchange of experts on the development and consolidation of geodata between the surveyors' offices and building authorities in Hamburg and Shanghai, and the Hanseatic fire service has advised Shanghai on harbour fire protection issues.
- > Frankfurt has conducted a seminar on municipal financing and administrative reform for a delegation from Guangdong.



In all these cooperation activities there is a need to overcome the systemic hurdle between democratic and communist administrations. One particularly sensitive area is security and police work, in which the city-states are especially active, given their federal-state-level responsibility for security issues. Hamburg for instance conducted an exchange on 'security at major events' in the context of EXPO in Shanghai, and Berlin on averting the risk of terrorism during the Beijing Olympic Games. One 'curiosity' is the support being provided to Shenzhen by its twin city Nuremberg, which has helped supply the police force there with pure thoroughbred dogs to establish a dog handling unit. Cooperation arrangements of this kind have two elementary prerequisites. First of all they require a clear agreement from the outset as to which security measures, according to the German understanding, are conducive to the rule of law and are warranted. Accordingly, issues such as surveillance, torture and human rights have been placed on the agenda. A second prerequisite is a large amount of mutual trust in the fact that the expertise exchanged and the insight gained into internal processes will not be misused.

Beyond the spheres of municipal and federal-state responsibility, a further field of vibrant cooperation between Berlin and Beijing is the legal sector. Three en bloc seminars have now been held at which legal experts from Beijing have received extensive instruction on German notary law. Another area of cooperation between these partners was administrative law. Exchange on these issues necessarily involves discussion of the rule of law and democracy, and this is seen by the municipality of Berlin as a complement to the dialogue on the rule of law launched under Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schröder. This dialogue, pursued under the auspices of the German Federal Ministry of Justice (BMJ) as the only bilateral dialogue of its kind in China, has already produced some results with regard to respect for human rights and private property, and has led to the incorporation of certain standards of German law (civil service law, administrative law, patent law) into Chinese law (Bundesministerium der Justiz 2008). BMJ is kept up to date on Berlin's activities in the legal sector.

In some areas (cooperation in the sectors of law, traffic/transport and environmental rehabilitation), exchange be-

*The demand for cooperation in the sphere of urban development/administration is stronger on the Chinese side than vice versa. This at the same time reflects the Chinese side's respect for German municipalities, as well as the development needs of China's rapidly changing and growing cities as the nation undergoes fundamental economic, political and social transformation. Structured exchange within administrations, pursued largely in the form of visits by delegations and workshops/seminars in both countries, is quenching the Chinese thirst for knowledge in diverse areas ranging from institutional development to traffic planning, to building rehabilitation, and in some cases also the sensitive areas of police work and the law. This inevitably involves the discussion of democracy and the rule of law, and is often a sign of mutual trust. It is directly relevant to development, and can be construed as analogous to Technical Cooperation for development at the municipal level.*

tween municipal administrations touches on focal areas of bilateral German development cooperation with the People's Republic of China. An exchange of information and cooperation with the implementing organisations of German development cooperation takes place either only rarely or not at all, however.

### **VI.2.5 Universities/research institutions**

Cooperation in this sector is pursued by the universities and research institutions themselves on an autonomous basis. The municipalities in which they are located can help them identify research partners in the respective partner municipality. Beyond that the municipalities have little interest (with the exception of the city-states in Germany and the direct-controlled municipalities in China, which enjoy province-level responsibility for university policy), once a university or research institution cooperation arrangement has been established. Politically symbolic support, messages of greeting, receptions, the smooth management of administrative procedures etc. are the usual tasks of the German municipality, which in this context tends to react to the initiatives of other actors rather than taking the initia-

tive itself. By contrast, within the scope of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships university presidents are invited to festive occasions, and (depending on the subject) members of the faculty are invited to seminars and workshops. Cooperation arrangements between German and Chinese universities or research institutions also sometimes lead to intermunicipal relationships (see Section VI.1 .2), although in relation to the enormous scale of such cooperation this amounts to something of a rarity.

Bilateral exchange: The setting for exchange between universities and research institutions within the scope of intermunicipal relationships is provided by the corresponding national sectoral framework for cooperation between Germany and China. Since the government agreement on scientific and technological cooperation was signed in 1978, contacts among researchers, joint project work and institutional partnerships have meshed and grown into a very broad network. The ‚university compass‘ published by the German Rectors‘ Conference contains information on 450 university contacts ([www. hochschulkompass.de](http://www.hochschulkompass.de), September 2008), while the Federal Ministry of Education and Research provides data on 394 university partnerships with China ([www.bmbf.de](http://www.bmbf.de), August 2009). At the government level China is now Germany’s main partner in education and university cooperation (measured both by the number of projects and the volume of funds). Innovative themes covered at this level are climate change and environmental technology, health research, geosciences and marine research. Across the spectrum of university contacts (as well as bilateral national contacts in the research sector), the applied natural sciences and engineering disciplines dominate, along with the economic sciences. This is due above all to the clear orientation of Chinese university policy toward science and technology in the service of the economic boom (Staiger 2007, p. 538f). This asymmetry of university cooperation led Germany’s former Federal President Johannes Rau during a visit to China in 2003 to call for stronger cooperation in the humanities for the benefit of international understanding: ‚So far, university cooperation has involved almost exclusively the natural sciences and technology. Yet Germany and China have great traditions in the humanities. Culture, philosophy and religion are the object of intellectual engagement. A complete understand-

ing of intellectual traditions will also include the humanities. Here in particular the culturally and nationally specific aspects of the respective intellectual traditions come to the fore. This is why in philosophy, culture, religion and art it is particularity and alterity that come into focus. And without a doubt, exchange and dialogue in this area are more difficult than in the natural sciences and technology. Yet this is why dialogue is also so very important.‘ (Rau 2003, quoted from [www.bundespraesident.de](http://www.bundespraesident.de), as at: September 2008)

University and research cooperation arrangements within intermunicipal relationships are a part of the aforementioned dialogue, and share its preponderance of arrangements that aim to promote economic utility and technology transfer. One outstanding example of technological cooperation is that between EADS Astrium in Bremen, the China National Space Administration in Beijing and the Technical University in the twin city of Dalian. Examples of cooperation activities outside of the natural sciences and technology include those involving the colleges for music and art in the twin cities of Frankfurt and Guangzhou, as well as the social sciences institutes at the respective universities. The universities, colleges and research institutes in Hamburg are also involved in cooperation activities in the fields of music, political science and regional science.

In practice, these activities focus on exchange programmes for students, researchers and teachers, as well as joint research projects. Given that English is the working language of the academic disciplines, long-term cooperation at the working level and the exchange of personnel in this sector face far fewer obstacles than cooperation at the level of municipal administrations. Universities sometimes even create joint German-Chinese courses, and whole joint institutes.

Today more than 25,000 Chinese students, for whom study abroad is absolutely essential in order to successfully launch their careers, are studying in Germany, while only about 1,200 German students are studying in China ([http:// de.tongji.edu.cn/de/newshow.-asp?id=95&lid=5](http://de.tongji.edu.cn/de/newshow.-asp?id=95&lid=5)). Chinese make up the largest group of foreign nationals at German universities among undergraduates, postgraduate students and visiting scholars. Though this does not form a direct part of activities within the framework of intermunicipal relation-

ships with China, it is nevertheless a municipal task to provide living space for this large number of Chinese guests.

*The extraordinarily vibrant German-Chinese cooperation in the university and research sector has focused on the natural sciences, the engineering disciplines and the economic sciences, and as such is strongly influenced by China's economic policy and target of catch-up economic development. Cooperation in this sector functions largely autonomously, even where a university partnership is embedded into an intermunicipal relationship. Tasks performed by the municipality include assistance in identifying partner institutions, symbolic political gestures of friendship, and the provision of administrative support and accommodation for Chinese students on request.*

## VI.2.6 Health

In the few intermunicipal relationships that specify health as a focus of cooperation in the survey (fewer than one-fifth), although the hospitals and practices involved do pursue a mutual interest, the desire to acquire new expertise is stronger on the Chinese side (as manifested in the number of visits to Germany by delegations and guest visits).

While the Chinese show a strong interest in modern conventional medicine, surgery, orthopaedics and various treatment methods which they see as being scientifically and technologically highly advanced, their German colleagues pursue further training in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), for which there is a demand in Germany among patients for whom mainstream medicine can do only so much (patients suffering acute pain or chronically ill). Since the most well-known TCM therapy – acupuncture – has since 2007 been included among those pain management therapies supported financially by the German health insurers, TCM has been gaining ground in the German health care system, and exchange with the motherland of this medicine is becoming more attractive to German health care providers.

Occasionally health policy structures (public health, hospital management) and current problems (prevention of communicable diseases such as bird flu) are the subject of dialogue.

Exchange in the health sector also intersects with various other fields of cooperation. These overlaps include the health/environment segment of tourism (Lake Chiem – West Lake partnership, as well as cultural and philosophical dialogue where cooperation focuses on TCM. Health cooperation also overlaps extensively with academic exchange between medical faculties, university hospitals etc.

Municipal cooperation in the health sector, for instance in the intermunicipal relationships between Ludwigsburg (district) – Yichang, Constance – Suzhou, Rottweil – Huangshi, operates through:

- > visits by delegations of doctors and medical personnel;
- > mutual exchange of guest visits, which receive logistical, administrative and/or financial support from the participating municipalities (the precise nature of the support varying from case to case),
- > joint courses and training programmes: examples include a psychotherapeutic training programme within the intermunicipal relationship between Hamburg and Shanghai, a training programme for the visually impaired within the intermunicipal relationship Duisburg and Wuhan, and an adult education course on TCM held in Frankfurt within the scope of the 'China in Town & Guangzhou am Main' programme.

Where exchange in the health sector is in place within the scope of the intermunicipal relationship with China, it is usually the municipalities who helped establish the contacts between the health care providers and facilitate a cooperative relationship between the institutions that then continues to run on an autonomous basis. The municipality does, however continue to provide political prestige and support in the form of receptions etc.

Municipal support is also provided to individual German doctors who travel to China for humanitarian reasons to provide treatment that goes beyond the local state of the art. While on leave, doctors from the Kaiser Wilhelm Hospital in Duisburg have on several occasions performed operations on children with heart conditions in Wuhan and the surrounding region.

Engagement at the municipal level appears congruent with the national-level activities of the Federal Ministry of Health. On the basis of the [bilateral agreement](#) for scientific and technological cooperation, in 1980 an agreement on cooperation in the health sector was entered into by the governments of Germany and China, providing for a general exchange of medical information, the secondment of personnel, reciprocal participation in conferences/symposia, more intensive contacts between health care institutions, and an exchange of experience on medicinal plants. Within this framework, reciprocal guest stays are subsidized financially in accordance with the hospitality principle, which is to say that the country sending the visitors pays for the travel costs, while the hosts meet the costs for board and lodgings, and the programme itself (www.bmg.de under: international health policy).

*Cooperation in the health sector is potentially of mutual interest (TCM for the German side, and the technological cutting edge of conventional modern medicine for the Chinese side), even though here too the demand and the thirst for knowledge on the Chinese side dominates. Delegations and guest stays are the key forms of cooperation that receive political and organisational support from the municipalities. Once this cooperation is firmly established between the respective health care institutions, the arrangement then embarks on an autonomous life of its own. These municipal forms of cooperation complement the bilateral national agreements in the health sector. All in all, the transfer of medical and health policy expertise to China is highly relevant to development and can be construed as a form of technical cooperation. Occasionally it even assumes the form of humanitarian assistance.*

## VI.2.7 Environment

As was evident in the previous sections, environmental cooperation to date has played only a minor role both in the emergence of intermunicipal relationships, and as an objective thereof. As a focus of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships environmental cooperation is also of little significance, yet (as we will see in Section VI.5 below)

it is the key focus of municipal dialogue on sustainable municipal development. We might interpret this as indicating that environmental issues are becoming increasingly significant for intermunicipal relationships, and presumably in the future will become more important not only in dialogue, but also in practice.

A general exchange on environmental issues (such as the environmental seminar held in Frankfurt for a delegation from Guangzhou) is something of a rarity. The main emphasis is usually on issues of water supply/sanitation management; rarely, air quality is also high on the agenda. Both are directly relevant to development policy, and fall under the priority area of 'sustainable natural resource management' in bilateral development cooperation.

Water: In a number of urban agglomerations, numerous developments since the reform and open door policy were put in place have led to a drastic deterioration in water availability in China. Withdrawals from ground and surface water sources have increased sharply as a result of rural exodus, urbanisation and growing urban industrialisation. Waste water quantities have risen correspondingly. The figure for 2005 was more than 52 billion tonnes (BFAI 2007), of which, depending on the source consulted, only half or less than half is treated, the remainder then polluting the ground water. This is compounded by inefficient water use caused by poor water management. In a number of inland provinces (Sichuan, Hebei and Hunan), lakes and rivers are especially heavily contaminated. Given the fact that water quantities are in any case distributed highly unequally, both geographically and across time (more water is available in the South and East of China than in the North and West, and in most provinces 60-80% of rainfall falls in the summer), these circumstances create water shortages in the cities and the regions, which periodically even lead to water rationing for the inhabitants and for industry (Fang Xu 2006, p. 7 - 15). This means that the demand for technical support and advice in the water sector is enormous, and the Chinese side also communicates this strong demand in the context of intermunicipal relationships.

Examples include:

- > Hamburg – Shanghai: Workshops were held on environmental education in Shanghai, and advice was provided by the Hamburg municipal

sanitation agency on water infrastructure in Dongtan Ecocity on the island of Chongming (there are plans to showcase Dongtan as a flagship project at EXPO 2010).

- > Constance – Suzhou: A delegation of experts from Suzhou was provided with information on water clean-up and visited a sewage treatment plant.
- > Lakes partnership Traunstein/Rosenheim – Hangzhou: The objective of the lakes partnership is to soundly manage and preserve Lake Chiem and West Lake, and utilise them for tourism and recreation.

Air pollution/climate protection: This sector barely appears as an area of intermunicipal cooperation. Apart from university projects (such as the Institute of East Asian Studies at the University of Duisburg), the Bonn – Chengdu partnership has made this sector a priority. Environmental engineers from Chengdu took part in a training course over several weeks covering air and water pollution, building rehabilitation, solar energy utilisation and climate protection, the promotion of renewable energies and sustainable urban development. Furthermore, in 2007 a delegation of the City Committee of the National People’s Congress visited the Bonn city administration to find out more about its programme of action for climate protection. And climate protection is also gaining ground in other intermunicipal relationships too. Berlin and Beijing for instance are contemplating a climate partnership, and the 2009 Asia-Pacific Weeks in Berlin will be focusing on ‚Energy and Mobility‘.

In view of the dramatic rise in CO<sub>2</sub>-emissions (China is already the second largest emitter after the USA in absolute terms), and the air pollution in many of China’s cities, both themes have been given a high profile in all the media, both in the context of the international climate negotiations and in the run-up to the Beijing Olympic Games. It is undeniable that as a result they are now on the agenda for intermunicipal dialogue, if they were not already so before. At the national level the attention being focused on these themes could hardly be any greater. The German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development are cooperating alongside each other with China across the disciplines in

the fields of climate protection, energy, sustainable natural resource management and transport.

The cooperation and dialogue activities taking place in the environmental sector are based on the glaring environmental problems for which the Chinese side, in order to solve them, would urgently like to prompt a transfer of expertise and technology from German industry and science, which is well positioned in this area. The German side is motivated both to help improve the environmental situation in China (both for China’s sake and for the sake of the world), and to sell high-quality technology in sewage treatment plants, power plants, solar plants etc.

Although as far as the economic dimension of environmental cooperation is concerned it is a case of Chinese demand meets German supply, German industry is aware of the difficulties. On the one hand the economic situation in China, with its high pressure of competition and low margins, makes investment in waste water treatment and waste gas prevention almost impossible for industry there to finance. On the other hand, although municipalities could probably do so they do not pursue harmonised waste water strategies, do not publish their invitations to tender internationally, and prefer to contract the companies with which they are familiar (BFAI 2007). The setting of an intermunicipal relationship might be the very way to help overcome the aforementioned obstacles, and lead to economic success.

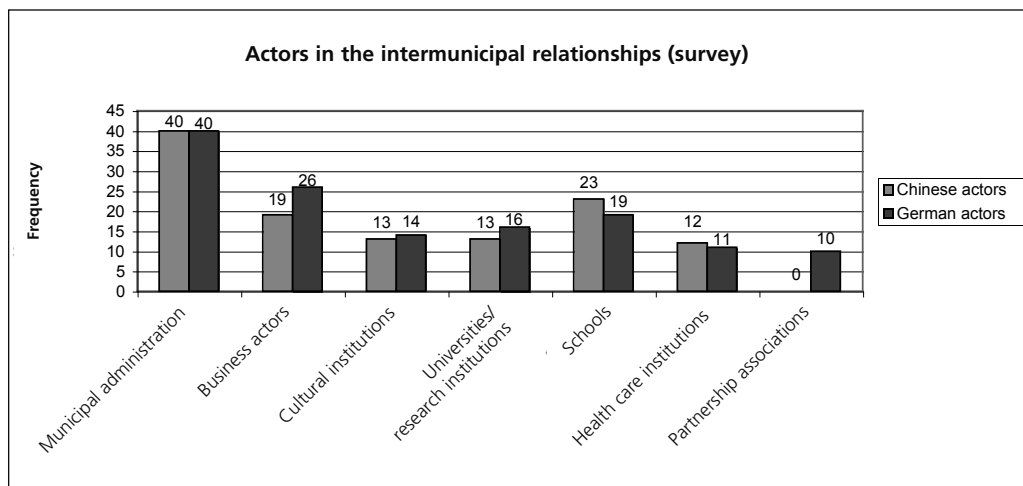
*Water, air and climate protection in China is the focus of intense international attention, and is a field of bilateral cooperation for three German federal ministries. Since German municipalities possess major environmental expertise, and the Chinese partners feel an intense pressure to act here, the environmental sector does hold the potential to become a priority area of German-Chinese intermunicipal cooperation. This in turn would benefit university and economic cooperation, particularly*

*in the fields of water and energy. Existing intermunicipal cooperation activities are directly relevant to urban development in China, and can be described as municipal development cooperation.*

### VI.3 Actors

In a further section of the survey the German municipalities were asked about the actors involved in intermunicipal relationships between China and Germany. The 42 responses to questions 3.1 and 3.3 provided the following information:

Fig. 13: Actors in the intermunicipal relationships (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

Other actors mentioned on the Chinese side were the Senior Expert Service (SES) in Bonn und Duisburg, associations and one chamber of commerce. Further actors identified on the German side were chambers of commerce, Bremer Investitionsgesellschaft, tourism associations, adult education centres, the administrative district of Düsseldorf, foundations, the German-Chinese association, Auslands-gesellschaft Sachsen-Anhalt e.V. and the Duisburg agency Business Europe China.

The actor structure on the German and Chinese sides (as described by the German respondents) is similar. If we look at the data in conjunction with the focal areas of coopera-

tion, a complex picture emerges in which the engagement of the groups of actors involved, and the priority ascribed to the respective groups by the respondents, do not always correspond:

- > Municipal administrations dominate. Where these actors are not mentioned the intermunicipal relationships concerned basically consist only of school or business contacts in which the municipalities themselves have little or no involvement.
- > Business actors and schools are the two second most common actors, with schools coming second second on the Chinese side and business actors coming second on the German side. Here there is a discrepancy with the focal areas of cooperation identified in the survey, in which business clearly

outweighs school partnerships. This might mean first of all that the respondents, given a similar level of engagement by the two sets of actors, attach higher priority to business, or possibly secondly that economic cooperation, unlike school cooperation, does not always live up to its own importance.

- > Cultural institutions

and universities occupy third place with similar values, and health care institutions come in fourth. It is striking that the cultural sector, which is mentioned significantly more often in the key areas of cooperation (Section VI.2), does not dominate here. The data confirm the autonomy of interuniversity relationships, which although they are mentioned here do not form a major area of cooperation from the point of view of the municipalities. A similar picture emerges for health care institutions, which are identified as actors in intermunicipal relationships more frequently than their activities form a focus of cooperation.

- > The results show a glaring discrepancy with regard to partnership associations. While participation by partnership associations in German municipalities (which is the case in only one quarter of intermunicipal relationships) shows a weak institutionalisation within civil society structures, this element is missing entirely on the Chinese side.

Chinese civil society actors: Only seven German municipalities responded to question 3.2 concerning civil society actors in China. In three cases sections of the Chinese municipal administration are mentioned here once again, though these cannot be considered Chinese NGOs. Nor can the Goethe Institute, which is also mentioned here.

The situation is somewhat different with the other actors mentioned: Chinese chamber of commerce, sports association, handicapped association, political foundation (here it is not clear whether the respondent means a German political foundation in China) and trade union. The fact that associations supported by private entrepreneurs, the new urban middle and upper class and the party are (marginally) involved in the intermunicipal relationships can to some extent be interpreted as the outcome of social transformation for greater pluralism. Unlike German groupings of this kind, these Chinese associations should be seen less as watchdogs that are independent of the state or even take a critical stance toward it, and more as affirmative partners that are closely networked with the state and the party. These bodies fundamentally accept the ruling structures, very largely support the policies in place and communicate these or help make them acceptable to the various target groups (Heilmann 2007, p. 192). Trade unions for instance have no right to strike in China (although the number of strikes in China, and their degree of success, are increasing). They do, however, represent social interests within companies and conduct negotiations there in order to resolve disputes and cushion the impacts of structural change on employees.

It is to be assumed that no groupings will be involved in cooperation with German municipalities by the Chinese side that call for revolutionary reforms or suffer dramatically

from the structural change in China. The encounters with Chinese citizens are many and varied, though. They take place in schools and universities, in orchestras and theatres, in companies, in municipal administrations, and most especially in the host families that take in German school students. According to one respondent who gave an in-depth interview anyone is also at liberty outside of the delegation programme to meet and talk to people who have not been preselected in restaurants and bars (language skills permitting).

German civil society actors: Sixteen municipalities identified actors in response to question 3.4 concerning partnership associations. Three mentioned the German-Chinese Association as an association operating Germany-wide to help improve understanding and friendship between the two countries; two mentioned local associations with the same name (‘Neuss German-Chinese Association’ and the ‘Bocholt German-Chinese Association’), three mentioned twin city associations, one partnership board, one partnership forum, one partnership committee etc., all of which aim to directly support twinning arrangements; and finally one respondent mentioned the ‘Franconian Society for the Promotion of German-Chinese Cooperation’, which supports a regional partnership.

Thus institutions and companies far outweigh independent associations born out of pure Chinophilia as actors within intermunicipal relationships. This clearly distinguishes these municipal relationships for instance from traditional development-oriented partnerships as well as typical municipal partnerships designed to promote international understanding, where this ratio between different types of actor is reversed.

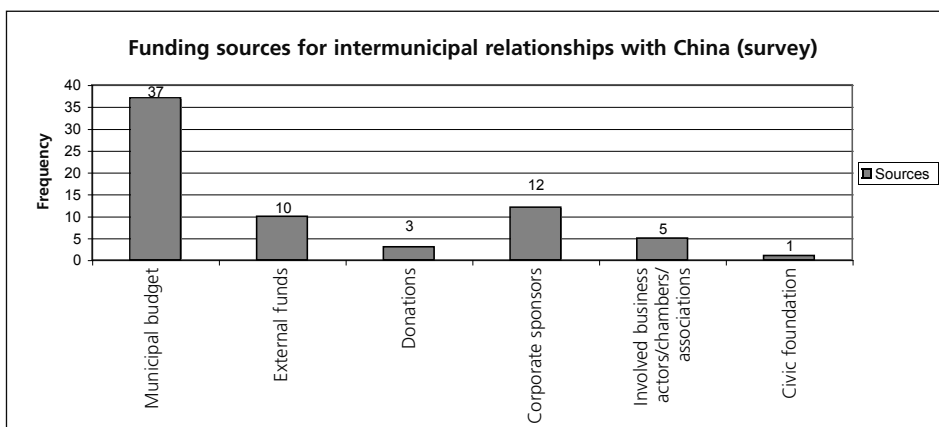
Two responses state that twinning associations that once existed have since been dissolved, thus clearly indicating that long-term commitment to a relationship with China is difficult to mobilise. The language, the distance, the communist system, human rights problems, the different mentality are major obstacles to an honorary engagement that would be sufficient to support a partnership association.

## VI.4. Funding

### VI.4.1 Funding sources in German municipalities

The 40 responses to question 3.7 on sources of funding for intermunicipal relationships generate the following picture (see Fig. 14):

Fig. 14: Funding sources for intermunicipal relationships with China (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

As might be expected, almost all German municipalities draw on their municipal budget to fund their intermunicipal relationships. Three municipalities form an exception to this. Two of them rely solely on funding by business/the chamber of industry and commerce, while one relies exclusively on external funding. The fact that the municipal budget is mentioned much more frequently than other sources of funding gives no indication as to the sum provided from the municipal budget in relation to the monies obtained from the other sources.

Reflecting the fact that the economic interests underlying German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships are usually high, the second most frequently identified source of funding is corporate sponsorship. Furthermore, in five cases business actors were identified (companies, chamber of industry and commerce, business development corporation, tourism association). Nevertheless it is surprising that less than half of intermunicipal relationships, three-quarters of which are based on economic interests, receive sponsorship. As with the actor structure, this too may point to an imbalance between municipal priority setting and actual corporate engagement. Other possible reasons such as a

failure to attract sponsorship etc. would weaken this interpretation, however.

In a few cases donations are identified as sources of funding, and in one case a civic foundation. This is certainly due to the fact that intermunicipal relationships lack entirely the kind of humanitarian character that is suited to appealing for donations. Here it becomes very apparent

that, although major poverty still prevails in many regions of China, German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships are not organised by German municipalities as partnerships for development, nor are they perceived as such by citizens.

External funding is obtained in a quarter of cases, which requires either trained personnel to perform the often complicated and time-consuming

application procedures, or a budget to buy-in such application services performed by agencies.

### VI.4.2 Financial participation by Chinese partners

In 42 completed questionnaires, question 3.8 concerning the assumption of a share of the costs by the Chinese municipality elicited only 28 responses. The low number of responses is no doubt due to the fact that the hospitality principle usually applies, which is to say that travel costs are met by the guest, while costs for overnight accommodation and the programme are met by the host. Comments to this effect were recorded in the questionnaires.

The average value of the responses given was 51.8%. The value ,50%' was selected on 21 occasions here. The value ,more than 75%' was ticked twice (counted as 87.5% for purposes of calculating the average value), 75% was ticked twice, and 25% three times.

The fact that the financial involvement of the municipal partners is well balanced points to the strong mutual interest of the municipalities in China and Germany. If the involvement



were not well balanced, this would cause strain. The uncomfortable feeling of possibly being exploited by the other municipality would go hand in hand with the problematic issue of legitimating why such investments were necessary in the face of too little or no return. It is a distinctive feature of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships that problems of this kind are very largely unknown. This is also due to the fact that the Chinese partner municipalities tend to have greater financial scope compared to German municipalities.

Unlike in traditional development-oriented partnerships, in the case of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships the foreign partners do not seek to meet their development needs free of charge. The financial participation by Chinese municipalities, which is even above average, is seen as very positive by the German side. Not only does it place no pressure on the German municipal budget, it is also perceived as appropriate and allows a spirit of partnership among equals to emerge. These are tangible positives for an intermunicipal relationship with a municipality in China.

## VI.5 Partnership in dialogue

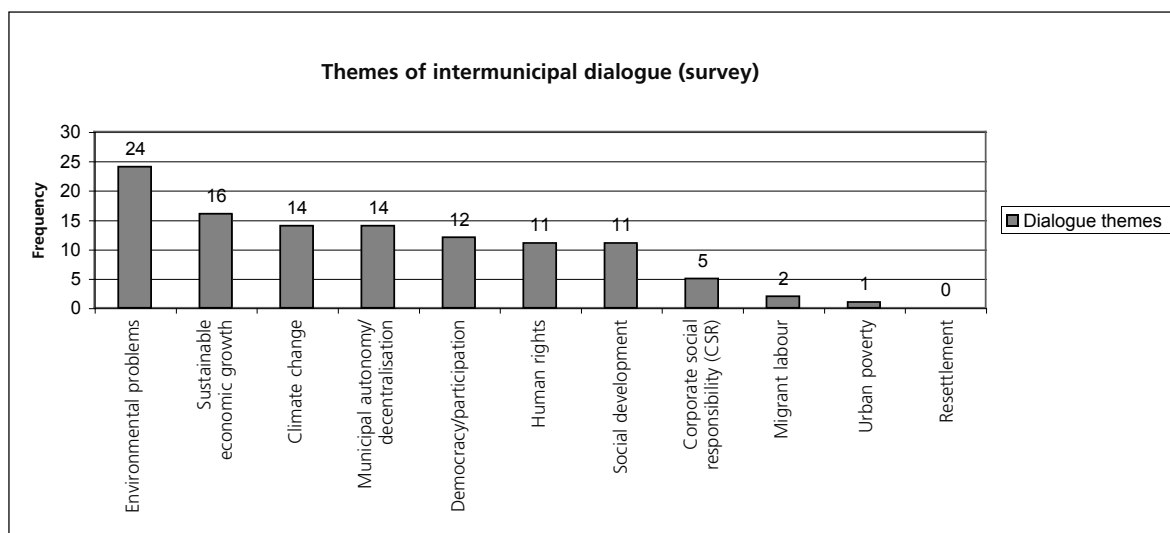
### VI.5.1 Sustainable municipal development issues in dialogue

Of the 42 questionnaires completed, only 27 municipalities responded to question 5.1a concerning themes of sustainable municipal development in dialogue. There may be several reasons for this reticence:

- > Either no dialogue of this kind takes place, which may be due to the fact that too little trust has been established within the intermunicipal relationship, or to the fact that the relationship is geared entirely to the project-based approach.
- > Or it does take place, but is not mentioned, because it is not of an official or institutionalised nature, or because its quality varies from interlocutor to interlocutor in China.

For the 27 municipalities that responded, the themes identified are distributed as shown in Fig. 15:

Fig. 15: Themes of intermunicipal dialogue (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

Even though, as described, over a third of municipalities gave no response to this question, the result of the responses that were given is very clear, at least in parts: The strong emphasis on environmental issues in conjunction with climate comes as a surprise, given that only 6 respondents identified this as a key area of cooperation (question 3.6). With respect to China, however, this theme is the subject of topical public debate.

This was the case in the context of the Olympic Games, which were proclaimed as the Green Games, and is the case in the context of the entire climate protection debate. As described above, the theme is also being fuelled by a confluence of dramatic Chinese environmental problems, and high German standards in environmental engineering and renewables, as well as German economic interests. Municipal dialogue on the environment and climate is also at the same level as bilateral national cooperation, and three German federal ministries are tackling these issues (BMBF, BMU, BMZ). See Section VI.2.7 for further details on this.

In keeping with the strong economic interests that are characteristic of these intermunicipal relationships, sustainable economic growth was frequently identified as a dialogue theme. This gives no indication as to which dimension of sustainable economic growth (economic, ecological or social) the respondents had in mind. It is to be assumed, however, that the environmental issues which are otherwise such a prominent part of dialogue would also play a major role here, whereas the social dimension, which remains politically highly sensitive, is largely taboo. The presence of sustainable economic growth as a theme for dialogue is probably attributable to the joint and general desire to see the German and Chinese economies as a whole, and those of the respective municipalities in particular, prosper on a long-term and environmentally-sound basis. Actual dialogues have, however, only rarely advanced as far as to address the details of environmental standards in production, labour rights, stakeholder participation etc. This is reflected by the fact that only few respondents identified corporate social responsibility (CSR) as a dialogue theme.

Municipal autonomy/decentralisation is a theme that has been important to Chinese municipalities ever since the reforms and open-door policy were first launched in the late 1970s and the decentralisation of the economic system began to unfold. The opening-up of Chinese cities and towns brought growing municipal competences (especially in the economic sector), growing social mobility and plurality, massive changes in scale, development, administrative status etc. All this has led to a growth in municipal self-interests, interests which diverge from those of the central state and the provinces, and which create a situation

of competition with other municipalities. On the German side these issues can be addressed with self-confidence, because German cities and towns are able to look back on a wealth of experience in self-government, in which they can be certain that their Chinese partners will be strongly interested. East German municipalities in particular, with their recent experiences of transition, are very well placed to meet the interests of Chinese partners.

Closely linked to the theme of autonomy and decentralisation are issues of democracy and participation, and consequently also human rights. Given the political system in China and the numerous human rights violations that take place there, sensitivity is called for when dealing with any of these three issues, and the fact that relatively few respondents identified this as an area of dialogue reflects a certain reticence to address the issues in question. The ascription of blame, accusations and criticism by the German side, who would then be claiming the moral high ground, can seriously upset a relationship. Nevertheless this is no reason to give these issues a wide berth for fear of clouding relationships, especially when criticism of Chinese state policy is being voiced in the municipal council or the municipality. The attitude of the Chinese partner municipality should not be equated with that of the Chinese state, and many issues (sometimes surprisingly many) can be discussed more openly at the municipal than at the national level (although geographical and political proximity to Beijing do play a role). Mutual trust and respect for China's huge development achievements as well as the enormous challenges it faces are certainly prerequisites for entering into constructive dialogue here.

The same thing applies to the themes of social development, labour migration, urban poverty and resettlement. China's social development is characterised inter alia by the dramatically unequal distribution of income. This social development has a positive side, which can be seen for instance in the rapidly growing middle class in the cities in the coastal region, who are more prosperous and free than ever before in the People's Republic of China. Yet it also has a negative side characterised by rural poverty, deracinated migrant labourers in the cities, rising unemployment, disenfranchisement caused by resettlement etc. While social development is at least identified as a theme

of dialogue by eleven municipalities, the shadow side of social development is not made an issue. This suggests that it is the enormous social success stories of catch-up economic development that are being discussed, rather than the impacts of the structural change that it entails, which from a development-policy perspective are questionable.

### VI.5.2 Issues not addressed in dialogue

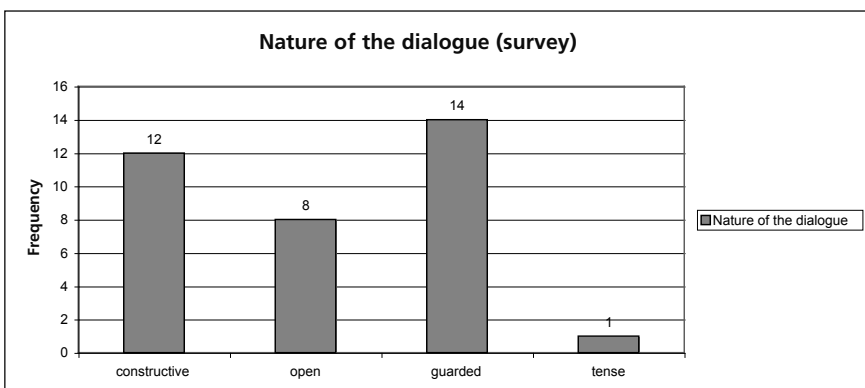
In response to question 5.1 b concerning issues deliberately not addressed, only nine municipalities ticked any issues at all, though a few of them ticked all the boxes for issues on which no dialogue takes place (i.e. all those that they did not tick in response to question 5.1a). In other words the question was often construed not to refer to themes deliberately avoided, but simply to themes on which there is as yet no dialogue. A statistical analysis of the responses would therefore generate no further insights going beyond question 5.1a.

The municipalities' great reserve on this question is probably due in the first instance to the fact that the municipal actors do not wish to show their hand, and secondly – and more crucially – to the fact that they would not wish to exclude any of the dialogue issues indicated. When municipalities such as Frankfurt or Berlin, which maintain mature and highly diverse intermunicipal relationships with China, do not tick any themes here, then this too is a response – a positive response that considers a dialogue on sustainable urban development in all its aspects to be a possibility.

### VI.5.3 Nature of the dialogue

The 27 responses to question 5.2 concerning the nature of the dialogue generate the following picture (see Fig. 16):

Fig. 16: Nature of the dialogue (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

Among the municipalities that responded here, positive assessments (constructive and open) predominate, with 20 such responses being given. Only a single response was negative.

The largest number of responses indicated 'guarded', however, which occurred four times in combination with a positive assessment. Here the fear among German municipalities of affronting Chinese dialogue partners with certain issues and attitudes, or possibly criticism, becomes noticeable. The Chinese side too may have reason to be guarded, especially where the municipal representatives present may have various levels of loyalty to the central state party line.

*Overall the responses indicate that a positive relationship of trust has developed between the municipal partners that leaves much scope for dialogue. They also show, however, that these dialogues sometimes assume the form of a balancing act wherever they touch on negative social development or Chinese reasons of state. The situation is also made more difficult wherever the general political climate between Germany and China is clouded over, or where the degree of openness on the Chinese side is very difficult to assess in the context of the party dictatorship, which is still structured along strictly hierarchical lines, at least formally.*

## **VI.6 German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships and the mega-events 2008 Olympic Games and Expo 2010**

China is attracting the gaze of the global public in a highly ambivalent way. The enormous development success stories and cultural riches call for worldwide admiration. Yet China's growing political and economic clout in the world are already generating conflicting perceptions that oscillate between respect and apprehension. Open dismay and condemnation (chiefly in the democratic industrialised countries) are, however, responses to the dramatic environmental burdens and human rights situation. Against this background, the organisation of mega-events such as the 2008 Olympic Games and Expo 2010 can be seen as a global image offensive designed to present China as a good host and perfect organiser, as a land of the Olympic values of peace and international understanding, and as a country of sustainable solutions for urban development.

For the development of the Chinese cities that are the local organisers these events offer huge opportunities such as development of their infrastructure, enhancement of their image and an increase in tourism. The inhabitants themselves also come to identify more strongly with their city. Yet such events also harbour major risks such as the buildings specially erected for the events falling into everyday disuse, the further falling behind of problematic districts (which may even lead to their demolition, as in the case of the hutongs in the old parts of Beijing in the run-up to the Olympic Games), corruption, social unrest or security problems (Häußermann/Läpple/ Siebel 2008, p. 262 - 267).

Given these opportunities and risks it is understandable that the Chinese municipal actors are tapping into existing experiences and the expertise of municipal partners/friends. At the same time it is also interesting for German municipal partners/friends to see how such mega-events are managed in China with maximum input and perfection, because major events of all kinds – in sports, the arts etc. – are also becoming more important in Germany's urban policy with a view to attracting investment and building an image. This is why the survey on German-Chinese municipal partnerships also questioned respondents on exchange in the setting of mega-events. It emerged that mainly those

German municipalities are involved whose urban partners in China are themselves the organisers of or participants in mega-events.

### **VI.6.1 2008 Olympic Games**

Of the 42 German municipalities taking part, 13 indicated in response to question 4.1 that they had entered into dialogue or cooperation with their municipal partner in the context of the Olympic Games.

It is worth highlighting those intermunicipal relationships that discussed this issue, which is a sensitive one for Germany and China (especially in the wake of the reception of the Dalai Lama by Germany's Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel, the suppression of the protests in Tibet and the public debate on boycotting the games), even though the Chinese partners were not the local organisers of these activities. Ansbach, Augsburg, Leverkusen, Leipzig and Nuremberg for instance within the setting of their relationships discussed aspects of organisation, environmental problems, human rights and future cooperation. To some extent these dialogues clearly demonstrate how open dialogue at municipal level can be, even though relations at the national level may have become strained.

Signs of support for the Olympic Games were also provided by Bocholt, which staged an Olympic car parade, and Leverkusen, which threw an Olympic party. Direct cooperation in the setting of the Olympic Games themselves is confined almost exclusively to the organising cities and their German partners. Here are some examples:

- > Berlin – Beijing: Workshop on preventing the risk of terrorist attacks during the Olympic Games.
- > Kiel – Qingdao: Advice was provided to Qingdao, where the Olympic sailing events were held, by the city of Kiel, which is very experienced in this field. (Other German cities such as Paderborn and Regensburg also dialogued with Qingdao on the organisation of the sailing events.)

One area of intermunicipal cooperation of relevance to social and health policy was also offered by the Paralympic Games. School students from Berlin for instance took part in the Paralympics and produced their own magazine. Furthermore the vice-president of the China Disabled Persons' Federation

visited Augsburg for a lecture on ‚My life as a disabled person in China‘, and invited a disabled person from Augsburg to attend the Paralympic Games in Beijing.

### VI.6.2 Expo 2010

Germany will be represented at Expo 2010 in Shanghai with a pavilion presenting ‚Balancity‘, i.e. typical urban spaces in Germany, showcasing technologies and solutions related to the Expo theme of ‚Better City, Better Life‘. German municipalities will also be represented in the pavilion.

In response to question 4.2 of the survey, 10 municipalities indicated that they have entered into a dialogue on Expo or will be involved in it. Here are some examples:

- > Hamburg – Shanghai: exchange of the theme ‚security at major events‘; advice on water management in the development of Ecocity Dongtan; exhibition of the port city as an urban development project that preserves historic buildings and monuments, adding modern elements to it and revitalising the city.
- > Bremen is organising a special exhibition focusing on sustainable energy management and car sharing.
- > The districts of Traunstein and Rosenheim will take part in Expo if their twin city Hangzhou offers a presentation in Shanghai.  
 Duisburg is considering taking part next year in the German Federal Foreign Office’s bilateral programme ‚Germany and China – Moving Ahead Together‘, which in terms of both timing (having passed through Nanjing in 2007, Chongqing and Guangzhou in 2008, Wuhan and one or two other cities in 2009) and content will lead into Expo.

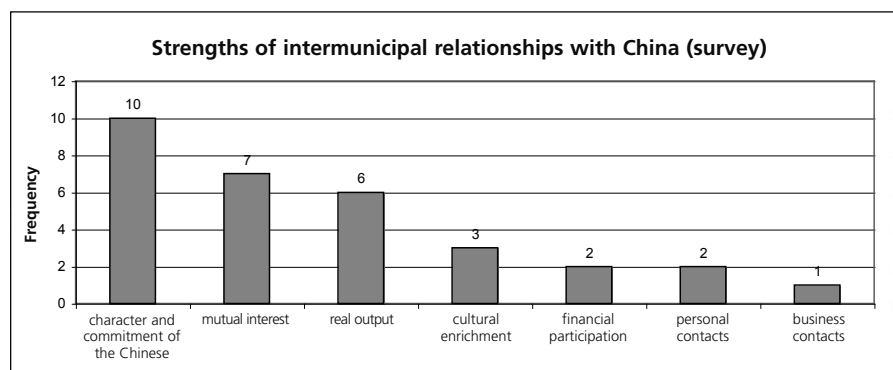
## VI.7 Strengths, weaknesses and distinguishing features of German-Chinese municipal partnerships as seen by the German respondents

### VI.7.1 Strengths and weaknesses

A total of 26 municipalities responded to question 6.1, which was worded as an open question concerning the strengths and weaknesses of intermunicipal relationships with China.

The strengths identified in the responses can be grouped as follows (see Fig. 17):

Fig. 17: Strengths of intermunicipal relationships with China (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

Particularly striking here is the emphasis on the strong commitment of the Chinese side. This is combined with the identification of positive qualities such as reliability, openness, good organisation, a willingness to learn and gratitude. This blend of commitment, reliability and eagerness is not just a matter of the ‚German virtues‘ being identified and positively connoted here. It is rather a credit - and at the same time a challenge - to the German municipalities on account of their expertise. In other words the Chinese are genuinely and seriously interested in what happens in German municipalities and how it works, out of self-interest and in order to serve their desiderata of course. To use a classroom analogy, though, this is not a case of an unwilling student turning up for extra lessons in order to achieve the class objective. This is a student who is already top of the class, and who possesses dizzying potentials to jump grades.

In the second column in Fig. 17 – ‚mutual interest‘ – the German interest now also becomes tangible, which is clearly

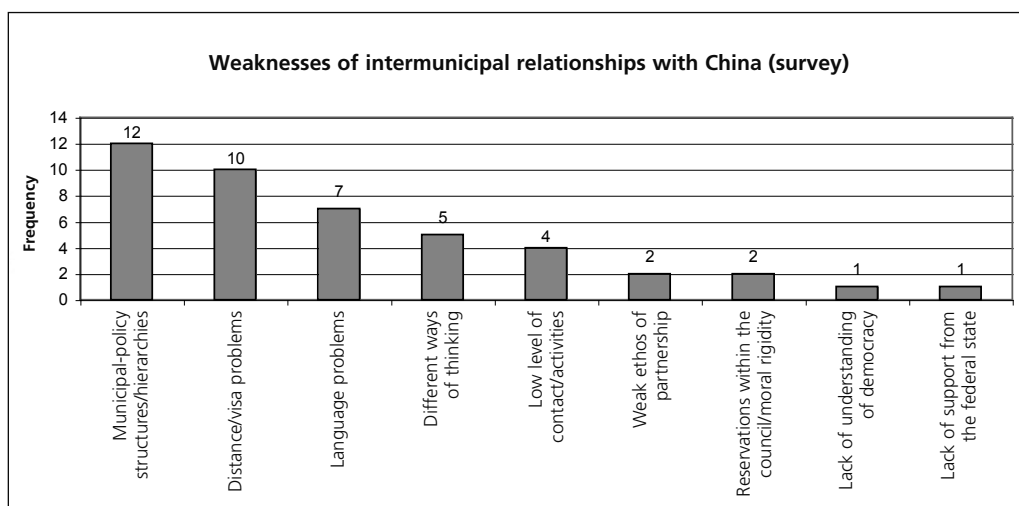
economic as well as cultural, and involves the strategic goal of these interests positioning themselves well in a country that is on the way to becoming a global power. In light of the description of the key areas of cooperation, it is not necessary here to elaborate further on these interests.

Further indication of the pragmatic basic attitude of the German side is provided by the third column ‚real output‘. It is assumed, and positively emphasised, that the German municipality will gain something in return for this relationship, be it in the form of professional cooperation in various areas (business, trade, research, urban development etc.), additional expertise, fascinating insights into or even scope for influencing China’s development at the municipal level.

Sectors such as culture or business are barely mentioned specifically in response to this question concerning strengths. Financial participation by the respective municipalities – understandably so given the budgetary situation of most German municipalities – and personal contacts are also identified as positives.

These strengths contrast with the following weaknesses (see Fig. 18):

Fig. 18: Weaknesses of intermunicipal relationships with China (survey)



Source: Held/Merkle 2008

The first column – ‚municipal policy structures/hierarchies‘ – indicates that the largest problematic factor in intermunicipal relationships with China is the poorly transparent administration, protracted decision-making processes, switches in positions of political authority and responsibility, and the

sheer size (in relation to German municipalities) of Chinese cities. In one instance the problem was raised that relationships are subjected to a superstructure of non-municipal processes, which in turn points to the twin structures of the Communist Party and the state, and the complex negotiatory relationships between the administrative levels. Since only half the respondents identified a weakness here, the problem does not appear to be overwhelming, though nor should it be dismissed as just one person’s opinion. As positive as cooperation and communication are seen to be in terms of commitment and output – they are also sometimes seen as overcomplicated and poorly transparent (problems that are put down to structural reasons).

A constraining factor in terms of both time and money is also the sheer distance between China and Germany. The geographical distance is also compounded by the political distance. It is for instance not only expensive flights but also visa problems (in which context according to respondents Germany pursues more of a restrictive than a laissez-faire policy) that hamper immediate and direct exchange, as well as business relations. Especially in the case of extended guest stays, or attempts to attract investment or economic

activity to Germany, in addition to the visa work permits have to be obtained to which a large number of conditions are attached.

As might be expected, the political and geographical problems are yet further compounded by communication problems. Chinese people who speak German and German people who

speak Chinese are rare, and are confined to (former) students of German or sinology, and migrants. Both in China and in Germany a fluent command of the ‚global language‘ of English – the linguistic common denominator – is found in the majority of cases only among university

graduates. Everyone else has to somehow make do with limited English, which is a major constraint to contact at the level of citizens. Reciprocal guest stays in the respective municipal administrations are also made more difficult by the language barrier. In university, business and cultural exchange activities language is less frequently a problem, however, because the individuals involved are often internationally trained and familiar with English. Nevertheless it would seem highly advisable in the long term to ensure that the language of the partner side is taught more widely in schools – something that is already being promoted by municipalities/the national government in China, as well as the German federal states/municipalities.

Less prominently than one might expect, the next weaknesses identified were different objectives and expectations/ways of thinking. This field is shaped by intercultural differences (and encompasses a large number of values, roles, traditions and historical/political views, as well as holding creative potentials and a number of possible faux pas). Playing it is made even more complicated both by poor language skills and by structurally-induced political obstacles. So it may be that in the case of the aforementioned weaknesses of a political or linguistic nature, intercultural misunderstandings are also playing a role. Intercultural training for outgoing delegations can create understanding here, and smooth the paths over unfamiliar territory.

Respondents from less dynamic intermunicipal relationships or those that are running poorly reported relationships that are still in the start-up phase, a frequency of contact and activity that is too low, and even the suspicion of being used by the Chinese side merely in order to obtain visas to the West, and that all problems within the relationship could and should be solved by the Chinese side. These elements of suspicion may be linked to particular individuals, and if the aforementioned reticence to address problems is playing a role, may be an isolated occurrence. On the other hand the West does indeed present the Chinese with a temptation, and it would be the responsibility of the German side to influence the size, composition and schedule of invited delegations such as to ensure that they

do not become ‚pleasure trips‘ for officials, but serve the interests of the intermunicipal relationship. A lack of dynamism within an intermunicipal relationship can be caused by many human, structural or political factors. Where political consent for the intermunicipal relationship is not in place, its existence as a living relationship is called into question just as much as if it were based monocausally on the interests of only one actor (for instance a joint venture). An intermunicipal relationship with a municipality in China is best infused with vitality when it becomes driven from the top down, but in such a way that all relevant municipal actor groups are involved so that the relationship can be shouldered by as broad a base of actors as possible.

One issue rarely mentioned in the survey, but confirmed in all the interviews, is the opposition to intermunicipal relationships with municipalities in China which is met either within the municipal council or the civic population, and is motivated either by human rights issues or power struggles. This constitutes an internal problem for German municipalities that should not be underestimated. There have already been cases where an intermunicipal relationship with a municipality in China has failed to get past the municipal council<sup>14</sup>, while in other cases municipal leaders and the administration have to work continuously to maintain a constituency and to legitimate individual activities. In such cases, support for the international work of municipalities can be provided by the German Association of Cities or the political foundations. Furthermore, municipalities that can demonstrate clear economic interests and results, or have university actors/schools etc. on their side, who can help develop a more nuanced perspective on China and point to the advantages of the relationship, are able to take the initiative and advance these arguments. Other municipal leaders may be pushed onto the defensive, and allow political gestures (such as the raising of the Tibetan flag during a visit by a Chinese delegation) that can also lead to ill feeling within the intermunicipal relationship. Of course the fact that such political discussions take place within municipalities comes as no surprise when dealing with a country such as China, which is the subject of such controversial debate. Nor is this a bad thing – quite the contrary

<sup>14</sup> In the municipality of Hilden for example the council put an end to the inter-administrative exchange of personnel with Chinese partners that had already been launched. The partnership between the municipality of Halle and Jiaxing, which had been called into question, was criticised and rejected by councillors, who drew attention to China's one-party dictatorship.

in fact, it is most welcome from a democratic point of view. However, moral rigidity on the part of the opposition is as inopportune as the other side ignoring the objections or failing to draw attention to them. A much fairer and often much more convincing approach is to involve the opponents of the intermunicipal relationship early on (which also means including them in delegations), because this allows a balanced, objective discussion that leaves preconceived ideas and party-political manoeuvres behind. The fact that municipal leaders and administrations also maintain scruples in their relationships with Chinese partners is reflected by the fact that a ‚poor understanding of democracy‘ was identified as a weakness in the survey – an invitation to the critics to engage in an open debate.

Only once was the lack of regional or federal state support identified as a weakness. Although this represents the opinion of only one respondent to the survey, it may indicate that smaller municipalities and/or municipalities with less international experience would in some cases appreciate the security and synergies generated by the involvement of bigger players in ongoing activities.

### **VI.7.2 Distinguishing features**

Twenty-nine municipalities responded to question 6.2, which is worded as an open question concerning the specific features of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships that distinguish them from other municipal partnerships.

In some cases the strengths such as mutual interest, and weaknesses such as the enormous distance and language problems, were repeated here. One of these points again underlines the high degree of mutuality of the intermunicipal relationships, which is presumably not the norm (otherwise it would not be mentioned so often). The other underlines the difficulty, despite this strong interest, of developing these civic contacts in the way they can be developed within intermunicipal relationships in Europe.

One municipal representative, showing a lack of illusion, wrote in the survey: ‚Exchange at the civic level (associations etc.) is unrealistic.‘ This is a reference to the aforementioned barriers as well as to the lack of integration of civil society groups in China. The absence of links to the grass roots is thus caused by geographical, linguistic and political factors.

It is, however, also due to the fundamentally pragmatic and project-based structure of relationships with municipalities in China, which are driven less by civil society groups and more by business actors and municipal institutions. As providers of both the initial spark and the main base for the relationship, these contacts are not often found in intra-European or development-oriented intermunicipal relationships.

Some municipalities, however, deny that there is anything at all distinctive about relationships with municipalities in China. This is no doubt due to the fact that the pragmatic core of these relationships has long since given way to the flourishing of what is quintessential in relationships with municipalities of other countries: broad cultural and sporting exchange, and school and youth encounters.

Several respondents refer to the lack of spontaneity, the greater formality of the intermunicipal relationship, and its susceptibility to influence by other political levels including the bilateral ‚climate‘, all of which relates to the problem of municipal policy structures, the business mentality and the specific German-Chinese relationship. The complexity of the administrative system is not such an obstacle in intra-European partnerships as it is in intermunicipal relationships with China. Many municipal actors lack standards of comparison with other emerging and developing countries. It is to be assumed, however, that bureaucracy and lack of transparency in municipal development-oriented partnerships with Africa, Latin America and Asia are perceived less acutely than in China, because on those three continents civil society actors play a greater role as direct partners than administrative officials and politicians. Furthermore, the focus there on projects at the micro level offers few points of contact with supraordinate administrative levels.

And finally, other municipalities point to the enormous differences in size between German and Chinese municipalities. They add that they are accustomed neither to having to assert themselves as the junior partner in a municipal relationship, nor to dealing with the potentials and problems of a city with a population of a million or more.



## VII. Summary

History: The historical preconditions for German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships were on the West German side the beginning of Willy Brandt's policy of détente (1969), and on the Chinese side the political (1971) and economic (1979) opening to the West against the background of China's tensions with the Soviet Union and its urgent domestic development problems. Massive economic interests, strategic considerations regarding the balance of power in the Cold War, as well as curiosity and respect for the culture of the other brought the countries together not only at the level of the national governments, but also at the federal/provincial level and ultimately also at the municipal level. On the East German side a thaw in the chilly relations that had prevailed between the Soviet Union and China for over 20 years first had to come about in the mid-1980s, before intermunicipal relations became conceivable. From 1982 (Duisburg – Wuhan) onward in the FRG and 1988 (Leipzig – Nanjing, Rostock – Dalian) onward in the GDR intermunicipal relationships with China boomed, until the suppression of the student protests in Tiananmen Square in Beijing led to a phase of stagnation. This phase came to an end in the early 1990s in the lee of the improving bilateral relations with Germany, which by then was reunified. Since then, municipal activities between Germany and China have grown continuously, although before also stepping up their search for partners in China the German municipalities in the former GDR first of all underwent a phase of transition, before orienting their foreign activities toward the conditions of globalisation in the second half of the 1990s.

The municipalities: Today there exist 44 municipal partnerships (with a contractual partnership agreement) and two regional municipal partnerships (in which several German municipalities have joined forces in order to increase their scope for action and make themselves attractive for a Chinese municipality – which is usually much larger than they are), as well as 16 municipal friendships (based on various kinds of agreement) and two further regional municipal friendships. In addition there are also at least (the estimated number of unknown cases is high) 23 intermunicipal contacts without any contractual obligations. There are thus a total of 88 German municipalities (verified in this study) that are formally or informally active; 71 of these come from the West (chiefly Bavaria, North Rhine-Westphalia,

Baden-Württemberg) and 17 from the East (chiefly Saxony, Mecklenburg-Eastern Pomerania) of Germany. Included among these are 18 of Germany's 20 largest cities, eleven federal state capitals (including the three city-states), key economic regions such as the Rhine-Ruhr and Rhine-Main regions, eleven UNESCO world heritage sites as well as key locations within the German culture industries and tourist sector. In other words, all in all some of Germany's largest (average number of inhabitants approx. 256,000), best performing and most attractive cities and towns are united here in their commitment to China. On the Chinese side there are 57 cities in the PRC (and 5 cities in Taiwan) with an average number of inhabitants of over 5 million, just under 70% of which are located in the economically well-performing coastal region, which has been especially favoured by the economic reforms. All four direct-controlled municipalities, 12 provincial capitals, three of the four historic capitals as well as the economically and touristically attractive cities of Hangzhou and Qingdao (with a German colonial past) are involved in relationships with municipalities in Germany. In other words, here too we have a who's who of Chinese municipalities. All this points to the strong mutual attraction between the municipalities in the two countries, to the mutual benefits and to the prestige associated with such intermunicipal relationships.

Objectives and ideals: Given the global competition between municipalities to attract business, research activities, cultural resources and human capital, given the tight budgets available to German municipalities, and finally given the experiences with city-to-city partnerships within the European context, relationships with municipalities in China are based largely on pragmatic objectives (with a strong focus on business), while ideals are less important, even though they do exist. Almost four-fifths of the intermunicipal relationships involve a broad range of activities, and combine economic and scientific self-interests – in many cases complementary ones – with cooperation goals that are more typical of traditional development-oriented partnerships for international understanding. On both sides we see evidence of an instrumental understanding of the intermunicipal relationship, although many actors on both sides also see economic and cultural exchange, self-interest and international understanding as two sides of the same coin.

Economic cooperation: The key initiators of intermunicipal relationships are business actors. The main objectives of relationships are economic in nature. Economic cooperation, which is the top priority of German municipalities, in practice involves all the instruments of foreign trade promotion and location marketing. The political support provided for economic cooperation activities of local companies through an intermunicipal relationship is a good match for Chinese economic structures and policy. It does entail risks, however, for instance where the intermunicipal relationship rests monocationally on the shoulders of one company alone, a basis which the municipality can lose as a result of bankruptcy or a change of direction on the part of the company, leaving the relationship behind as an empty shell. A further risk is pressure to seal business deals in ‚China, land of the economic miracle‘, because this generates inappropriate haste, whereas the Chinese mentality attaches importance to establishing an atmosphere of friendship. A third risk is that of failure to pay due regard to the compatibility of the economic structures of the two municipalities. We should therefore note that as well as the major success stories of a number of municipalities in the economic and trade sector (joint ventures, trade and investment flows, establishment of branches etc.), there are sometimes also cases of an imbalance between the top priority attached to economic cooperation, and the actual involvement of businesses within the intermunicipal relationship. Sometimes, alongside the self-interests that come into play, economic cooperation with China at the municipal level is also accorded strategic and political significance, being assigned a conducive role in helping promote the rule of law and social liberalism within the Chinese reform process.

Cultural and school exchange: This area of cooperation - culture/sports, school and youth exchange, i.e. the traditional areas of intra-European relations - is set as a far lower priority than economic cooperation, though in terms of the structure of actors involved is almost on a par with it. This kind of cooperation forms the vital element of an intermunicipal relationship that enables it to take root among the citizens. The goal of international understanding is pursued through the universal language of music, and performances and exhibitions of both high and local culture, and contemporary art. Having said that, fundamental communication

problems, the geographical distance, the flight costs, visa formalities and of course the preselection of interlocutors in China do inhibit and constrain civil society participation and meaningful contacts between citizens. However school and youth exchange, which is personally valuable to those involved and possibly also of professional benefit to them in later life, does produce ‚ambassadors‘ and multipliers who are better able to master these problems and who can take international understanding further forward in the future. It is also appropriate to mention the tangible economic aspects of these areas of cooperation, including the culture industries, which are becoming an increasingly important growth factor for municipalities that generate their image, and the fact that in the long-term the human resources needed for doing business with China are being developed in this sector (also through the teaching of Chinese in German schools). Culture/sport, school and youth exchange with China is conducive to the basic pragmatic orientation of intermunicipal relationships because it helps promote the trust that business relations with China require.

Administrative cooperation: The municipal administrations themselves also offer a broad range of cooperation activities with Chinese partners. Not only are they the main actors and main providers of funding for intermunicipal relationships, not only do they open doors, mediate, provide logistical and administrative support, design programmes, and act as advisors and motivators to the other actors involved. Within the scope of their municipal mandate (administrative management, infrastructure planning, geoinformation, water and power supply, solid waste management, fire protection, economic and cultural promotion, youth welfare, nature protection etc.), and as a result of their tradition of municipal autonomy, in conjunction with the recent experiences of transition (in East Germany), they also possess expertise that is highly sought-after in China. Given the challenges of urban development in China (caused by the enormous pace of urbanisation, coupled with the growing problems of control and the environment), in administrative cooperation it is the demand on the Chinese side that dominates. In isolated cases this kind of cooperation also touches on the sensitive areas of security and law, and is inevitably accompanied by discussion of democracy and the rule of law – which is a sign of mutual

trust. Without a doubt, administrative exchange through workshops and delegations is relevant to the development of the Chinese partner municipalities, and not infrequently assumes the form of technical development cooperation advisory services.

University/research cooperation: The fourth area of cooperation, which was less frequently identified by the survey respondents as the initiator and top priority of the inter-municipal relationships than the previous three, is universities and research institutions. Given the enormous scale of exchange between German and Chinese universities (there are around 400 university partnerships, chiefly in the faculties for the natural, engineering and economic sciences), and the strong research-policy emphasis on bilateral programmes at the national level (by number of projects and volume of funding, China is Germany's main partner in the science and research sector), this relatively low priority is astonishing. This is, however, due to the autonomy of the universities and the themes of scientific exchange, which are rarely a matter of direct interest to the municipalities. University partnerships become key players in intermunicipal relationships for instance where the establishment of joint Sino-German research institutes or long-term personnel exchange programmes leave traces in the life of the municipality concerned. What is advantageous to municipal administrations that manage relationships with municipalities in China is the integration into those relationships of faculties for sinology or East Asian studies. Knowledge and advice from a professional institution can help overcome many obstacles in China, as well as communicate the benefits of the intermunicipal relationship within the German municipality.

Health-sector cooperation: Similarly autonomous, though in some cases also integrated into the intermunicipal relationships, is cooperation in the health sector (e.g. hospital partnerships). It is potentially of mutual interest (TCM for the German side, and conventional cutting-edge technology for the Chinese side), although here too the demand and thirst for knowledge on the Chinese side dominate. The municipal forms of cooperation complement the bilateral national agreements in the health sector. Overall the transfer of medical and health-policy expertise to China is

relevant to development and can be seen as technical cooperation; in some cases it assumes the form of humanitarian assistance directly.

Environmental cooperation: Though not yet a high priority as an area of cooperation, environmental protection and sound natural resource management is by far the most important theme for dialogue, involving actors including not only municipal utilities, but also the private sector (technology transfer) and scientific think-tanks (research and development of appropriate solutions). Municipal themes with a high and promising potential for cooperation for many types of actor in intermunicipal relationships include in particular water treatment, energy efficiency, climate protection and environmental education. German businesses in these environmental sectors, some of which are excellent performers, can in turn profit from the political support provided by municipalities. Municipal environmental cooperation, which is certainly a growth area for the future, is noteworthy because it matches a dramatic need with a high technological capability, i.e. matches supply with demand, and falls directly within a priority area of bilateral development cooperation, which it can helpfully complement.

Dialogue on sustainable municipal development: Outside of the aforementioned areas of cooperation there are no institutionalised dialogues on issues of sustainable municipal development. Issues such as environmental and climate protection, sustainable economic development and municipal autonomy are a relatively high priority (unfortunately many German municipal actors do not provide any information on informal dialogue), although issues that are more sensitive with respect to China's political system such as poverty, human rights, democracy etc. are treated with caution. These latter issues tend to be raised within those intermunicipal relationships where trust has grown, along with a recognition of the fact that a more plain and straightforward language can be spoken and greater openness achieved at the municipal level than at the national level. Sometimes, though, these dialogues are still something of a balancing act, either because the general political climate between Germany and China is too clouded over, or because the degree of openness on the Chinese side is

difficult to assess in the context of the party dictatorship, which is now only formally organised along strictly hierarchical lines. An opportunity to move forward on issues of sustainable municipal development at the level of municipal dialogue was/will be presented by the mega-events of the 2008 Olympic Games and Expo 2010. Here, wherever the Chinese partner was involved in helping organise the Olympic Games or is involved in organising a presentation of its own at Expo 2010 on the theme of 'Better City, Better Life', almost all the corresponding intermunicipal relationships actually were or are involved either in dialogue or cooperation. An extremely helpful and attractive opportunity for German municipalities that have so far exercised reserve with respect to becoming actively involved in these dialogues is offered by the three-year bilateral government programme 'Germany and China – Moving Ahead Together'. This programme is gradually moving through various cities and covering various issues (with the 'German promenades' exhibition for instance presenting possible solutions for urban sustainability), leading up to Expo 2010.

Strengths and weaknesses: The strengths of the relationships with municipalities in China include the strong commitment to the relationship of the Chinese side, which is reciprocated by the German side in the well-founded expectation of achieving real results. In other words the strengths include the strong reciprocity (including the mutual financial self-interests), and the shared pragmatic basic orientation. By contrast, the major constraint from the German perspective is the poor transparency and complexity of the municipal policy structures in China, the distance, the visa problems and the communication problems.

Distinguishing features of relationships with municipalities in China: Intermunicipal relationships with China combine strong German economic interests with an increasing amount of work on international understanding, as well as serving China's specific development needs, primarily in the fields of municipal development, medicine and environmental issues, in the form of expertise and technology transfer. The actors involved are mostly institutions (the municipalities themselves, companies, universities, hospitals, schools). Civil society involvement is moderate

in Germany, and almost non-existent in China. Given the flight costs and communication difficulties, close contacts between citizens – with the exception of school exchange – are difficult and take time to establish. German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships have little in common with conventional partnerships for development, i.e. with their humanitarian motivation, poverty reduction goals and ways of acting (charitable-type institutional basis, funding through donations). The intra-European partnerships for international understanding and détente are also different in that they are oriented toward ideals, and are rooted in civil-society engagement. Relationships with municipalities in China are rather oriented toward the needs of global competition between municipalities as locations, tend to reject a surplus of ideals, focus on realistic cooperation and adjust their work to the concrete desires and interests of the particular actors involved, so that win-win situations emerge wherever possible.

## VIII. Recommendations

- > Municipal engagement in China should be a management-level issue. Without the political support of the municipal management, administrative support for any initiatives will be low, and the integration of local stakeholders difficult. Furthermore, in China a number of doors will remain closed unless political support is in place.
- > When establishing a relationship with a municipality in China it is both fair and eminently conducive to the successful development of the intermunicipal relationship to regularly involve the council and a broad range of municipal actors who can breathe life into it.
- > China experts (sinologists, scholars of East Asian studies, cultural anthropologists, Chinese migrants etc.) can provide valuable support and advice, and not only in problematic situations. It is usually very helpful to involve them.
- > Engagement in China always involves criticism that along with the political circumstances in China also rejects cooperation with the country. Experience shows that many critics moderate their strict moral judgement once they have paid a visit to China and got to know a more complex China with different speeds of development, as well as the hospitality and the actual municipal partners themselves. Taking these critics along on visits made by delegations creates a broader basis for joint debate.
- > Culture and mentality differ fundamentally in China and Germany. Intercultural training measures for outgoing delegations to China should be standard, though these measures often entail costs. At the very least, actors who are unfamiliar with China should receive a detailed briefing from an expert (possible from the municipal administration) before leaving.
- > Anyone seeking quick economic results from an intermunicipal relationship with China will find that in China there can be no economic cooperation without growing friendship and cultural exchange. It is better to take this into account before schedules collapse, and before a situation arises in which unforeseen additional costs and unplanned activities need to be legitimated within the municipality.
- > A relationship with a municipality in China requires intensive, regular management (emails, telephone calls, delegation visits etc.). This is important not least because the pace of change in Chinese municipalities is enormous. Without regular contact it is difficult to respond to new developments and to cooperate on good terms with individuals in key positions, who may very quickly be replaced.
- > A visit to the West is an attractive proposition for Chinese people. When delegations from Chinese partner municipalities visit Germany great care should therefore be taken to ensure that the schedule and the composition of the group are such that as many target-group participants as possible are in fact integrated and able to benefit from the trip.
- > For everyone concerned, school and youth exchange is a personal enrichment, and perhaps also later on an advantage in professional life. This is where real contact between citizens takes place – which in other contexts is more difficult. Young people become ambassadors for international understanding; this stabilises relations with countries – also at the level of active municipalities.
- > The issues of human rights, democracy and participation should not be a taboo in joint dialogue, especially where they are fundamentally important to the actors concerned, or where unmistakable criticism of the intermunicipal relationship is being voiced within the German municipality. In some cases the Chinese municipality proves here to be much more open and willing to engage in dialogue than is sometimes assumed (depending on the individuals involved and their political proximity to the national leadership). Where a sound basis of trust is in place, along with respect both for China's development achievements and for the challenges it faces, dialogue on fundamental political values is possible, and can increase mutual understanding.
- > ‚Join forces!‘ (Burkhard Jung, Lord Mayor of the city of Leipzig). Leaving thoughts of competition behind, and cooperating to build links in China (perhaps in the form of a regional municipal partnership/friendship, or a three-way cooperation arrangement involving a further foreign partner etc.) in cases where the individual municipality would be overstretched, can be the way to build a successful relationship with a municipality in China.
- > Networking the German municipalities that have active contacts in China offers major potential for mutual learning. Without exception, initiatives of this kind are supported by the municipalities involved.
- > Depending on the area of cooperation in question, networking with governmental actors (Goethe Institute, embassy, implementing organisations of German development cooperation) can be conducive and generate synergies.
- > The Service Agency Communities in One World/Inwent - Capacity Building International, Germany offers free advisory services to municipalities active in the international development context.



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## IX.2 Websites

All the websites of the 95 German municipalities to whom the questionnaire was sent, as well as those of the 65 Chinese municipalities involved.

### Government websites:

[www.bundespraesident.de](http://www.bundespraesident.de)

[www.auswaertiges-amt.de](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de)

[www.bmbf.de](http://www.bmbf.de)

[www.bmj.de](http://www.bmj.de)

[www.bmu.de](http://www.bmu.de)

[www.bmz.bund.de](http://www.bmz.bund.de)

### Websites of German federal states:

[www.km.bayern.de/blz/eup/index.asp](http://www.km.bayern.de/blz/eup/index.asp)

### Websites for general research:

[www.rgre.de](http://www.rgre.de)

[www.staedtetag.de](http://www.staedtetag.de)

[www.goethe.de/ins/cn/lp/deindex.htm](http://www.goethe.de/ins/cn/lp/deindex.htm)

[www.hochschulkompass.de](http://www.hochschulkompass.de)

[www.ijab.de](http://www.ijab.de)

[www.wikipedia.de](http://www.wikipedia.de)



# X. Annexes

## X.1 Questionnaire used in the written survey on 'German-Chinese municipal partnerships: motives, structures, activity areas'

1. The partner municipality: emergence and type of the intermunicipal relationship

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1.1 Name of the Chinese municipality

Municipality: \_\_\_\_\_ Province: \_\_\_\_\_

If you have links with more than one Chinese municipality, please confine your remarks in this questionnaire to the municipality specified above.  
For other municipal links with China we have enclosed additional questionnaires. If these are not sufficient, please let us know.

1.2 Date on which the intermunicipal relationship was launched (year):

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1.3. What type of relationship does your municipality have with the Chinese municipality?

Municipal partnership

Project partnership

Municipal friendship

Informal contact

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

---

1.4 What kind of contractual agreement is the partnership currently based on  
(please also indicate date and if appropriate term)?

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1.5 Do you cooperate with the Chinese partner in association with other German municipalities?  
If so, which ones:

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1.6 How did the partnership emerge?

a) through:

- business contacts

- university/research contacts

- cultural contacts

- contacts of neighbouring municipalities

- contacts of the federal state

- other contacts \_\_\_\_\_

b) through the initiative of

- the German partners

- the Chinese partners

- both sides

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1.7 What salient characteristics does the Chinese municipality possess that are comparable to those of your municipality (e.g. port city, montane industrial location etc.)?

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2. Motivation and goals of the intermunicipal relationship

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2.1 What motives and goals do you associate with your partnership?

---

2.2 What motives and goals on the part of the Chinese partners are you aware of?

---

3. Actors and activities of the intermunicipal relationship

---

3.1 Please specify the institutions/actors involved in the intermunicipal relationships in China:

municipal administration  universities/research institutions

business actors  schools

cultural institutions  health institutions

other: \_\_\_\_\_

---

3.2 Does a civil society organisation exist in the Chinese municipality with which you have already cooperated?

If so, what is the name of this organisation?

---

3.3 Please specify the institutions/actors involved in the intermunicipal relationships in Germany:

municipal administration  universities/research institutions

business actors  schools

cultural institutions  health institutions

partnership association:

other: \_\_\_\_\_

---

3.4 If a partnership association exists in your municipality, what is its name?

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3.5 Please specify the key activities of the intermunicipal relationship (including main actors and period of time) over the last 12 months:

---

3.6 Please mark the 3 main sectors of cooperation/exchange:

business/trade

culture/the arts

universities/research

(school) education

health

environment

urban development/administration

other: \_\_\_\_\_

3.7 How is the cooperation funded? Please underline the most important source:

municipal budget  external funds

donations  corporate sponsors

other sources: \_\_\_\_\_

3.8 What share of the costs is met by the Chinese side on average?

More than 75%  75%  50%  25%  Less than 25%

#### 4. Partnership in dialogue: mega-events in China

4.1 Have you discussed the 2008 Olympic Games with your Chinese partners?  
If so, which aspects did you talk about?

4.2 Have you discussed the Expo 2010 world exhibition in Shanghai, whose motto is 'Better City, Better Life', with your Chinese partners? If so, which aspects did you talk about?

4.3 Are there any plans for cooperation on the theme of 'sustainable municipal development' in the context of Expo 2010? If so, what kind of cooperation will that be?

#### 5. Partnership in dialogue: sustainable municipal development

5.1 Do you dialogue with your Chinese partners on the following issues?

a.) Issues:

human rights

democracy/participation

municipal autonomy/decentralisation

social development

urban poverty

migrant labour

resettlement

environmental problems (soil, water, air)

climate change

b) No, I deliberately avoid mentioning them:

sustainable economic growth  |   
corporate social responsibility (CSR)  |

---

5.2 When you do dialogue on one or more of the aforementioned issues, how would you describe the dialogue?

constructive, with a view to future dialogues  guarded   
open  tense, not very helpful

---

5.3 If your experiences with dialogue vary, please specify those issues in connection with which the atmosphere tended to be either positive or negative.

positive: \_\_\_\_\_ negative: \_\_\_\_\_

---

5.4 In which of these areas do you think joint activities with your Chinese partners would be interesting and possible?

---

5.5 Have cooperation projects already been implemented in these areas, or are such projects planned? If so, in which areas?

---

5.6 Where do you see points of entry for cooperation in these areas in the Chinese and German municipalities respectively (e.g. agenda process, urban planning, energy savings programme etc.)?

---

6. Strengths, weaknesses and distinguishing features of the intermunicipal relationship

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6.1 Do you see any specific challenges and constraints for cooperation with your Chinese partners? Please identify the strengths and weaknesses of the work with your partners.

strengths: \_\_\_\_\_ weaknesses: \_\_\_\_\_

---

6.2 By contrast with other partnerships maintained by your municipality, do you see any features of the relationship with the Chinese municipality that are particularly distinctive? If so, what are they?

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## X.2 List of questions for in-depth interviews

The guided interview includes the following questions:

### 1. Objectives of cooperation

1.1 What were your goals when the intermunicipal relationship was launched, and how have they changed in the course of the cooperation (did new ones arise, were some abandoned, weighting of objectives etc.)?

1.2 Which of the original goals were achieved, and which were not? Why?

And how is the achievement/non-achievement of goals measured?

### 2. Role of the municipality in the various activity areas

2.1 Please explain in just a few words how you see the role of your municipality in the various key areas of cooperation with the Chinese partner municipality, or to put the question another way, what does your municipality actually do in the following areas:

a: business/trade?

b: culture/the arts?

c: (school) education?

d: urban development/administration/democratisation?

e: universities/research?

f: environment?

g: health?

### 3. Nature of the intermunicipal relationship

3.1 Are the following statements true? Please explain your answers briefly:

a: Our intermunicipal relationship aims to perform ‚development assistance‘; poverty reduction for the Chinese municipality is the prime goal.

b: Our intermunicipal relationship is primarily about promoting international understanding.

c: In our cooperation with China we strike a balance between ideals and self-interest.

d: In the spirit of municipal ‚development cooperation‘, we perform technical cooperation and transfer expertise, because China’s development is very important for Germany and for the world.

e: Our relationship with the municipality in China is a pragmatic community of interests, designed to produce the maximum benefit for both sides.

f: Our involvement aims to develop and promote the economic interests of local (German) businesses.

### 4. Why China?

4.1 There are a number of attractive emerging countries in the world such as Brazil, South Africa, India and Russia.

Given the choices available, why did you select China for an intermunicipal relationship?

4.2 Relationships with municipalities in China involve a number of obstacles: we are unfamiliar with the language and mentality, the geographical distance could hardly be any greater. Why did these obstacles not deter you from entering into a relationship with a municipality in China?

4.3 China’s political system is a communist dictatorship that also fails at the municipal level to uphold the basic values that are important to us – dignity, human rights, participation. Is this the subject of controversial debate in your municipality? If it is, why do you cooperate with China in spite of this?

### 5. Networking and advice

5.1: Is networking with other German municipalities that maintain relationships with municipalities in China an interesting option for you?

5.2: If you were able to define key themes for a possible network of German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships, what would they be?

5.3: If you were involved in this kind of network, would you welcome development-policy advice and support (on the key theme of ‚sustainable municipal development in China‘)?

### X.3 Tables

**Table 11: Number of inhabitants of Chinese municipalities**

Chinese municipality	No. of inhabitants <sup>1</sup>	Province	Macro region <sup>2</sup>
Changzhi/Lucheng	213950	Shanxi	Ce
Sanmen	414200	Zhejiang	Co
Suzhou/Wuzhong	535000	Jiangsu	Co
Haining	640000	Zhejiang	Co
Jingjiang	660000	Jiangsu	Co
Tongling	731000	Anhui	Ce
Guangzhou/Panyu	947600	Guangdong	Co
Shanghai/Jiading	980100	Shanghai	Co
Qianjiang	1000000	Hubei	Ce
Yichun	1275976	Heilongjiang	Ce
Dongying	1990900	Shandong	Co
Fushun	2260000	Liaoning	Co
Xiamen	2430000	Fujian	Co
Huangshi	2553900	Hubei	Ce
Peking/Chaoyang	2911000	Peking	Co
Zhenjiang	2995600	Jiangsu	Co
Changzhi	3139000	Shanxi	Ce
Taiyuan	3344000	Shanxi	Ce
Liuzhou	3671900	AR Guangxi	Co
Baoji	3695300	Shaanxi	W
Zaozhuang	3719700	Shandong	Co
De Yang	3824000	Sichuan	W
Yichang	4150000	Hubei	Ce
Changzhou	4256900	Jiangsu	Co
Shaoxing	4355000	Zhejiang	Co
Yangzhou	4459100	Jiangsu	Co
Lianyungang	4505200	Jiangsu	Co
Jinhua	4568000	Zhejiang	Co
Hefei	4627400	Anhui	Ce
Ningbo	5604000	Zhejiang	Co
Liaocheng	5664500	Shandong	Co
Wuxi	5841700	Jiangsu	Co
Wuxi/Huishan	5841700	Jiangsu	Co
Changde	6000000	Hunan	Ce
Jinan	6033500	Shandong	Co
Dalian	6080000	Liaoning	Co
Hangzhou	6663000	Zhejiang	Co
Shenyang	7098000	Liaoning	Co
Nanjing	7190600	Jiangsu	Co
Zhengzhou	7243000	Henan	Ce
Nantong	7249300	Jiangsu	Co
Qingdao	7493800	Shandong	Co
Quanzhou	7740000	Fujian	Co
Xi'an	8060000	Shaanxi	W
Suzhou	8098600	Jiangsu	Co
Shenzhen	8464300	Guangdong	Co
Weifang	8550000	Shandong	Co
Wuhan	8580000	Hubei	Ce

Xuzhou	8764800	Jiangsu	Co
Harbin	9874000	Heilongjiang	Ce
Guangzhou	10045800	Guangdong	Co
Chengdu	10820000	Sichuan	W
Tianjin	11150000	Tianjin	Co
Peking	16300000	Peking	Co
Shanghai	18150800	Shanghai	Co
Chongqing	28160000	Chongqing	Ce

<sup>1</sup> In most cases these figures are for 2006 or 2007 (approx. 50% each), though for a total of 8 municipalities it was not possible to find any current figures at all. For one municipality the figure is for 2003, for 2 municipalities 2004 and for 5 municipalities 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Key: Co = Coastal Region, Ce = Central Region, W = Western Region

**Table 12: Average GDP per capita in the provinces (2006) (in RMB)**

	Macro region	Province	Average GDP per capita
1	Co	Shanghai	56.733
2	Co	Beijing	49.505
3	Co	Tianjin	40.961
4	Co	Zhejiang	31.684
5	Co	Jiangsu	28.685
6	Co	Guangdong	28.077
7	Co	Shandong	23.546
8	Co	Liaoning	21.802
9	Co	Fujian	21.152
10	Ce	Innere Mongolei	20.047
11	Co	Hebei	16.894
12	Ce	Heilongjiang	16.268
13	Ce	Jilin	15.625
14	W	Xinjiang	14.871
15	Ce	Shanxi	14.106
16	Ce	Henan	13.279
17	Ce	Hubei	13.169
18	Co	Hainan	12.650
19	Ce	Chongqing	12.437
20	Ce	Hunan	11.830
21	W	Ningxia	11.784
22	W	Shaanxi	11.762
23	W	Qinghai	11.753
24	Ce	Jiangxi	10.679
25	W	Sichuan	10.574
26	W	Tibet	10.396
27	Co	Guangxi	10.240
28	Ce	Anhui	10.044
29	W	Yunnan	8.961
30	W	Gansu	8.749
31	W	Guizhou	5.750

Source: Since the data for the provincial level in Wikipedia normally differ only slightly or not at all from the figures in the statistical yearbooks of the provinces, for simplicity's sake the Wikipedia list was used.

See: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Chinese\\_administrative\\_divisions\\_by\\_GDP\\_per\\_capita](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Chinese_administrative_divisions_by_GDP_per_capita)





# XI. Publications

*The following publications can be ordered free of charge from the Service Agency (unless out of print).  
Most of them can also be downloaded from our website.*

## **Dialog Global – a series published by the Service Agency:**

- booklet 1.: Give me hope Jo'hanna?! Von Rio in die deutschen Kommunen nach Johannesburg – von Schwierigkeiten und Erfolgen der Agenda-Prozesse in Deutschland. October 2002. [out of print]
- booklet 2.: Pressespiegel 2002. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2002. December 2002. [out of print]
- booklet 3.: Globales Handeln lokal verankern. Befragung 2002 der Kommunen und Nichtregierungsorganisationen zum Stand der Lokalen Agenda 21 und der Eine-Welt-Arbeit in Deutschland. January 2003. [out of print]
- booklet 4.: Die Lokale Agenda 21 braucht professionelle Moderation – Eine-Welt-Referenten informieren Moderatoren. Dokumentation einer Informationsveranstaltung am 12.12.2002, Bonn, February 2003. [out of print]
- booklet 5.: Porto Alegres Beteiligungshaushalt – Lernerfahrung für deutsche Kommunen. Dokumentation eines Fachgesprächs vom 19.12.2002, Bonn, February 2003. [out of print]
- booklet 6.: Faires Miteinander. Leitfaden für die interkulturell kompetente Kommune. Bonn, August 2003. Reprinted in July 2006.
- booklet 7.: Hauptstadt des Fairen Handels 2003. Dokumentation des Wettbewerbs. Bonn, February 2004. [out of print]
- booklet 8.: Global vernetzt – lokal aktiv 2004. Der Wettbewerb 2004. Dokumentation. Bonn, July 2004.
- booklet 9.: Partner in alle Richtungen: Gestaltung und Nutzen kommunaler Partnerschaften in der Einen Welt. Ein Praxisleitfaden. Bonn, September 2004. Reprinted in December 2005.
- booklet 10.: Kulturen der Welt vor Ort. Ein Praxisleitfaden. Bonn, August 2004.
- booklet 11.: Es geht! Kommunal nachhaltig handeln. Tipps & Ideen. Bonn, June 2005. Reprinted in July 2006.
- booklet 12.: Globalisierung gestaltet Kommunen – Kommunen gestalten Globalisierung. 9. Bundeskonferenz der Kommunen und Initiativen. Magdeburg 2004. Dokumentation. Bonn, July 2005.
- booklet 13.: Hauptstadt des Fairen Handels 2005. Dokumentation des Wettbewerbs. Bonn, November 2005. [out of print]
- booklet 14.: Zwei Jahre Partnerschaftsinitiative. Two Years of Partnership Initiative. Bonn, January 2007.
- booklet 15.: Globales Handeln lokal verankern. Bundesweite Umfrage 2006. Bonn, February 2007.
- booklet 16.: Globalisierung gestaltet Kommunen – Kommunen gestalten Globalisierung. 10. Bundeskonferenz der Kommunen und Initiativen. Hamburg 2006. Dokumentation. Bonn, August 2007.
- booklet 17.: Hauptstadt des Fairen Handels 2007. Dokumentation des Wettbewerbs. Bonn, November 2007.
- booklet 18.: UN-Millenniumentwicklungsziele – Kommunale Praxisbeispiele im Dialog. Fachkonferenz 2007. Bonn, December 2007.
- booklet 19.: Deutsch-chinesische Kommunalbeziehungen: Motivationen, Strukturen, Aktionsfelder. Bonn, December 2008.

## **Materialreihe – a series published by the Service Agency:**

- No. 1.: Erklärung der Kommunen zum Weltgipfel für Nachhaltige Entwicklung; und: Aufruf von Johannesburg. Autorisierte Übersetzung in Deutsch. [out of print]
- No. 2.: Local Government Declaration To The World Summit On Sustainable Development; and: Johannesburg Call. [out of print]
- No. 3.: Faires Beschaffungswesen. Dokumentation eines Fachgesprächs vom 19.11.2002. [out of print]
- No. 4.: Kommunikationstraining für Eine-Welt-Akteure. Tipps und Anregungen zum erfolgreichen Kommunizieren von Eine-Welt-Themen. Dokumentation einer Veranstaltung vom 13.12.2002. [out of print]
- No. 5.: Maastrichter Erklärung zum Globalen Lernen vom 17.11.2002. [out of print]

- No. 6.: Interkulturelle Gärten. Werkstattgespräch zum Thema "Internationale Gärten in Deutschland" 29./30. November 2002 Berlin. Dokumentation.
- No. 7.: Erstes bundesweites Netzwerktreffen Bürger- und Beteiligungshaushalt. Dokumentation vom 29.09.2003.
- No. 8.: Synergien für kommunale Partnerschaften. Umsetzung der Erklärung der Kommunen zum Weltgipfel für nachhaltige Entwicklung. Dokumentation eines Fachgesprächs vom 29.10.2003.
- No. 9.: Pressespiegel 2003. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2003. [out of print]
- No. 10.: ModeratorInnen-Briefing. Herausforderung Kommune – strategische Zukunftsthemen für ModeratorInnen. December 2003.
- No. 11.: Bonn Action Plan. Bonner Aktionsplan – zur Stärkung kommunaler Partnerschaften. May 2004.
- No. 12.: ModeratorInnen-Briefing. Methoden und Themen – Das Netzwerk „bildet“ sich. September 2004. May 2004. [out of print]
- No. 13.: Pressespiegel 2004. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2004. [out of print]
- No. 14.: Zweites bundesweites Netzwerktreffen Bürger- und Beteiligungshaushalt. Dokumentation vom 12.10.2004.
- No. 15.: ModeratorInnen-Briefing. Thementeams bilden. December 2004.
- No. 16.: Partner schaffen Partnerschaften. Die kommunale Servicestelle – Partnerschaftsinitiative.
- No. 17.: Bürgerhaushalt – Umsetzungsmöglichkeiten und Erfahrungen. Beispiel Schleswig-Holstein.
- No. 18.: Pressespiegel. Medienberichterstattung zur Servicestelle Partnerschaftsinitiative. January-July 2005.
- No. 19.: Pressespiegel 2005. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2005.
- No. 20.: Ein Jahr nach dem Tsunami. Dialogveranstaltung 07.12.2005. Dokumentation.
- No. 21.: Finanzierungsmöglichkeiten kommunaler Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Dokumentation vom 19.06.2006.
- No. 22.: Pressespiegel 2006. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2006.
- No. 23.: Viertes Netzwerktreffen Bürgerhaushalt. Dokumentation vom 18.12.2006.
- No. 24.: Faires Beschaffungswesen in Kommunen und die Kernarbeitsnormen. Rechtswissenschaftliches Gutachten.
- No. 25.: Städte als Partner für nachhaltige Entwicklung – Bilanz und Perspektiven 15 Jahre nach Rio. Sonderausgabe eines Beitrags in: Der Planet der Städte. Germanwatch (eds.). Münster 2007.
- No. 26.: Kommunale Dreieckspartnerschaften. Dokumentation des Auftaktworkshops vom 27.04.2007.
- No. 27.: Pressespiegel 2007. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2007.
- No. 28.: Migration und kommunale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit verbinden. Dokumentation eines Seminars vom 28.08.2007. Bonn, December 2007.
- No. 29.: Die kommunale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit in ausgewählten europäischen Ländern. Fallstudien zu Frankreich, Norwegen und Spanien. Bonn, December 2007.
- No. 30.: Fünftes Netzwerktreffen Bürgerhaushalt. Dokumentation vom 04.12.2007.
- No. 31.: Migration und kommunale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Gutachten zum aktuellen Stand und den Potenzialen des Zusammenwirkens. Bonn, April 2008.
- No. 32.: Kommunale Dreieckspartnerschaften: Studie zur Zusammenarbeit mit Burkina Faso. Bonn, April 2008.
- No. 33.: Kommunale Dreieckspartnerschaften: Stationen des Pilotprojektes 2007. Bonn – Kehl – Ouagadougou. Bonn, April 2008.
- No. 34.: Sechstes Netzwerktreffen Bürgerhaushalt – vom Projekt zum Programm. Dokumentation vom 24.09.2008.
- No. 35.: Pressespiegel 2008. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2008.

### **Leporello – brief information materials prepared by the Service Agency**

- Kommunalpolitik auf neuen Wegen: Der Bürger- und Beteiligungshaushalt. (September 2003) [out of print]
- Gewusst wie: Ressourcen für Nachhaltigkeitsprojekte. (December 2003) [out of print]
- Gesucht, gefunden: ModeratorInnen für kommunale Entscheidungsprozesse. (February 2004) [out of print]
- Servicestelle Partnerschaftsinitiative / Service Agency Partnership Initiative. (September 2005)  
[English and German] [out of print]
- Kulturen der Welt vor Ort. Argumente für eine weltoffene Kommune. (June 2005) [out of print]
- Südafrika 2010 – Deutschland 2006. Kompetenz und Stärkung kommunaler Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung /  
Competence and Strengthening of Local Cooperation and Development (December 2007) [English and German]

### **Other publications of the service agency:**

- Konzeption der Servicestelle [out of print]
- Profil der Servicestelle / Profile Service Agency Communities in One World [English and German]
- Kurzprofil der Servicestelle – Über uns / About us / Qui sommes nous [English, German, French]
- Dokumentationen "Petersberger Gespräch"/"Petersberg Dialogue" am 18.06.2002. [out of print]
- CD-Rom zum bundesweiten Wettbewerb „Global vernetzt – lokal aktiv!“ Präsentation der Wettbewerbssieger und des Konzepts, Bonn 2002. [English and German] [out of print]
- Empfehlungen von Magdeburg. Schlussempfehlungen der 9. Bundeskonferenz der Kommunen und Initiativen.  
Verabschiedet Magdeburg, November 2004
- Empfehlungen von Hamburg. Schlusserklärung der 10. Bundeskonferenz der Kommunen und Initiativen.  
Verabschiedet Hamburg, November 2006
- UN-Millennium-Gates. Acht Tore. Acht Ziele. Flyer zur Ausstellung im Rahmen der Kampagne 2015.
- Evaluation der Servicestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt. Bonn, December 2005.
- No Excuse 2015. Aktiv vor Ort – Kommunen handeln jetzt! UN-Millenniumentwicklungsziele:  
Chancen in den Kommunen nutzen! Bonn, September 2005.
- Infotainment und Bildungsarbeit in Deutschland. Infotainment and Educational Campaigns in Germany.  
Bonn, November 2007.

### **Publications issued in cooperation with the Service Agency:**

- Broschüre: Vom Süden lernen. Porto Alegres Beteiligungshaushalt wird zum Modell für direkte Demokratie. Eds.:  
Servicestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt, Misereor, DGB Bildungswerk, Aachen, Düsseldorf, Bonn, reprinted in 2003.
- Tagungsdokumentation: Agendaprozesse verknüpfen. Die Rolle der Kommunalverwaltungen bei der Sicherung zukunfts-  
fähiger Entwicklung in Zentralamerika und Deutschland. Eds.: InWEnt gGmbH, Abtlg. Demokratieförderung und  
Verwaltungsreformen, Servicestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt. Bonn, 2002. [out of print]
- Gemeinsam empfohlene Indikatoren zur kommunalen Nachhaltigkeit. Unter Mitwirkung der Servicestelle und  
elf weiterer Institutionen entstanden. Bonn, July 2003. [out of print]
- Witzel/Seifried: Das Solarbuch. Fakten, Argumente, Strategien. Energieagentur Regio Freiburg (eds.). Freiburg 2004.  
[Available from bookshops]
- Halbig/Maurer/Nitschke: Nachhaltigkeit messen – Zukunft gestalten. Leitfaden des Pilotprojektes "Kommunen in  
der Welt". Bischöfliches Hilfswerk Misereor e.V. (eds.), Aachen 2004.
- Documentation "Bonn Policy Forum. New Directions in Local Development: Challenges and Perspectives for  
City-to-City-Cooperation." 12-13 December 2003. In Kooperation mit der Abtlg. Demokratieförderung und  
Verwaltungsreformen der InWEnt gGmbH. [in English] [out of print]

- Documentation: Local Renewables 2004. Municipal Leaders' Conference on Renewable Energy Source for the Local Level. Bonn 30-31 May 2004. In cooperation with: Agenda-Transfer bundesweite Servicestelle Lokale Agenda 21. Bonn 2004. [in English] [out of print]
- Genuss mit Zukunft – Francisco Aguilar und sein Bio-Kaffee. dwp eG (eds.), Ravensburg. CD-ROM/DVD. Available: dwp, info@dwp-rv.de
- Mayors's Conference on Early Warning – on the occasion of the Third International Conference on Early Warning in Bonn, 26<sup>th</sup> March 2006. In cooperation with City of Bonn and German Committee for Disaster Reduction/DKKV e.V., Bonn 2006.
- Nach dem Tsunami. Von der Nothilfe zu langfristigen Partnerschaften. In Kooperation mit: Verein zur Förderung der entwicklungspolitischen Publizistik e.V. (eds.), Frankfurt/M., Reihe Dritte Welt-Information. Pädagogik praktisch, Heft 1/2/2006, Frankfurt/M. 2006.
- Buy Fair – Ein Leitfaden für die öffentliche Beschaffung von Produkten aus dem Fairen Handel. In Kooperation mit ICLEI. Freiburg/Bonn 2007.
- Nachhaltigkeit: Das Plus vor Ort. In Kooperation mit Agenda-Transfer. Bonn 2007.
- Nord-Süd-Schulpartnerschaften – wie geht das? Eine Orientierungshilfe. In Kooperation mit: Ministerium für Landwirtschaft, Umwelt und ländliche Räume des Landes Schleswig-Holstein sowie Diakonisches Werk Schleswig-Holstein. Kiel, Rendsburg, Bonn 2007.
- Documentation: Mayors Conference 2008 "Local Action for Biodiversity". Bonn 29. May 2008.
- Flyer: FairTradeTown und Hauptstadt des Fairen Handels. In Kooperation mit TransFair e.V., Cologne and Bonn 2008.

For up-to-date information, dates, activities, hints and background reports, subscribe to the Service Agency's monthly **\*\*\*One World Newsletter\*\*\*** (only available in German). Free of charge!

Visit our website to obtain an order form.

## XII. About Us

### One World Begins at Home

Many German municipalities and local governments are already utilising the potentials which implementing sustainable development strategies and municipal development cooperation holds for their communities and for the entire world. Their activities include school and municipal partnerships, people's and participatory budgets, fair procurement and intercultural capacity building. They know that a commitment to our One World benefits cities, towns and communities in Germany and in partner countries in many ways: business, civil society, and culture and the arts in these localities are now profiting from the 'internationality' which this brings.

The Service Agency Communities in One World supports you, as actors in the administrative, civil society or policymaking spheres, in developing and harnessing these potentials for your locality and for your municipal partners worldwide.

### The Service Agency provides: information, advice, networking and training

Our work covers three key themes for the future of municipalities:

- strengthening and extending intermunicipal partnerships
- intercultural capacity building within German municipalities - cooperation with local diasporas
- fair procurement – helping municipalities develop fair trade

The Service Agency provides municipalities with information, advice, networking and training services on all aspects of these themes.

### We offer not only:

- various publications, such as our Dialog Global and Materialreihe series
- the monthly 'One World Newsletter' [only available in German]
- our extensive website [www.service-eine-welt.de](http://www.service-eine-welt.de). Here you can download the Service Agency's publications. As well as providing you with up-to-date information and numerous links, the site also enables you to make use of our funding advisory service and access our network of facilitators.

### But also:

- personal consultation free of charge, which we are also glad to provide on your premises
- events such as workshops, network meetings and conferences
- competitions and information on how to apply for funding

Your ideas and concepts, your creativity and your staying power are our motivation. Local commitment to our One World pays dividends to everyone concerned. We would be delighted to support you in making your contribution.



### Service Agency Communities in One World

Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 40  
53113 Bonn  
Germany  
Phone: +49 (0)2 28 – 4460 – 1600  
Fax : +49 (0)2 28 – 4460 – 1601  
[www.service-eine-welt.de](http://www.service-eine-welt.de)

## **InWEnt – Qualified to Shape the Future**

InWEnt – Capacity Building International, Germany, is a non-profit organisation with worldwide operations dedicated to human resource development, advanced training, and dialogue. Our capacity building programmes are directed at experts and executives from politics, administration, the business community, and civil society.

### **Our Programmes**

60 percent of all our programmes are implemented at the request of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). In addition, we conduct programmes for other German federal ministries and international organisations. We are also working in cooperation with the German business sector in public private partnership projects that can be designed to incorporate economic, social, and environmental goals.

The programmes for people from developing, transition and industrialised countries are tailored to meet the specific needs of our partners. We offer practice-oriented advanced education and training, dialogue sessions, and e-Learning courses. After the training programmes, our participants continue their dialogue with each other and with InWEnt via active alumni networks.

By offering exchange programmes and arranging scholarship programmes, InWEnt also provides young people from Germany with the opportunity to gain professional experience abroad.

### **Our Offices**

InWEnt gGmbH is headquartered in Bonn. In addition, InWEnt maintains fourteen Regional Centres throughout the German Länder, providing convenient points of contact for all regions. Our foreign operations in Beijing, Cairo, Hanoi, Kiev, Lima, Managua, Manila, Moscow, New Delhi, Pretoria, São Paulo, and Dar es Salaam are usually affiliated with other organisations of German Development Cooperation.



Capacity Building International  
Germany

**InWEnt –  
Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH  
Capacity Building International, Germany**

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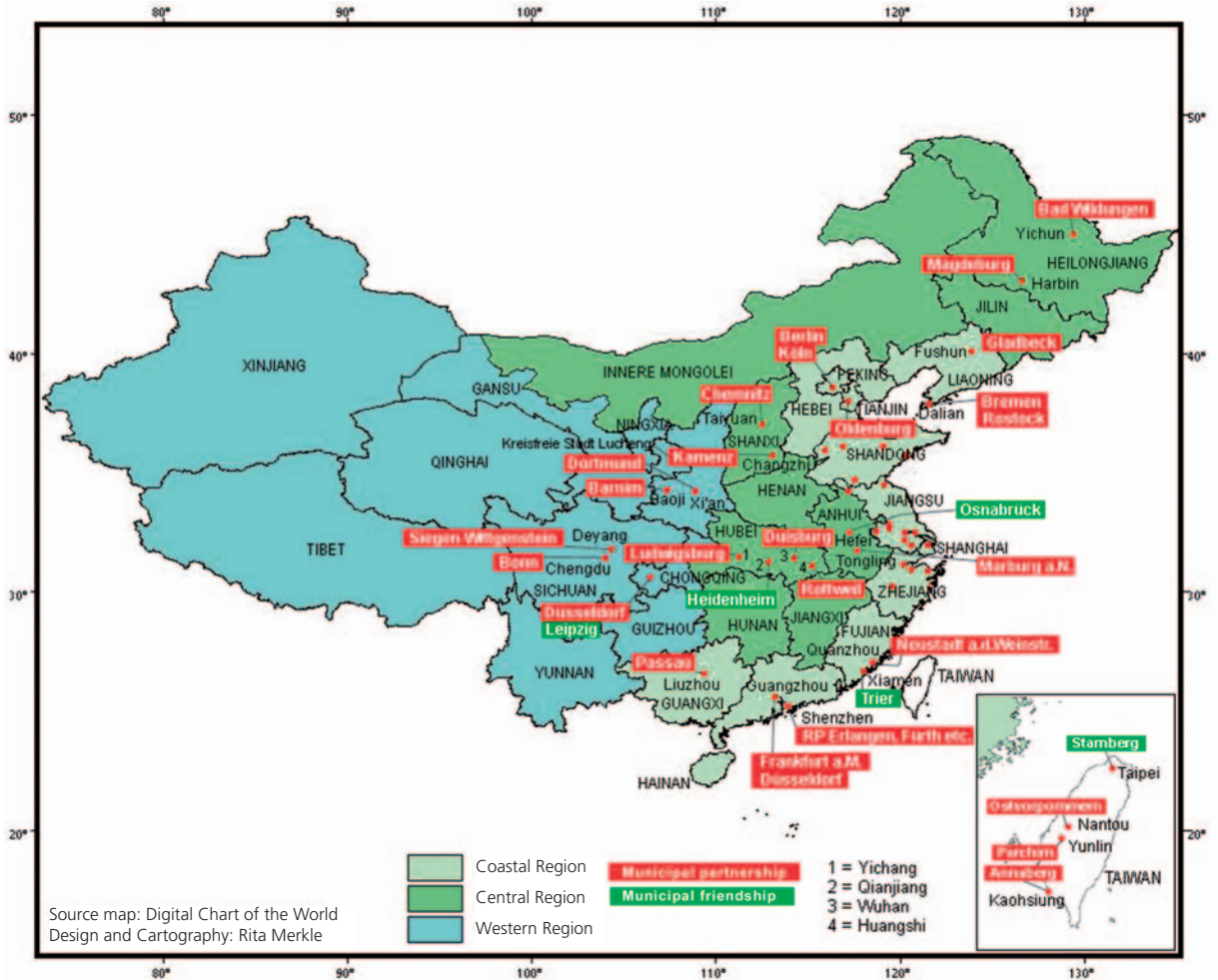
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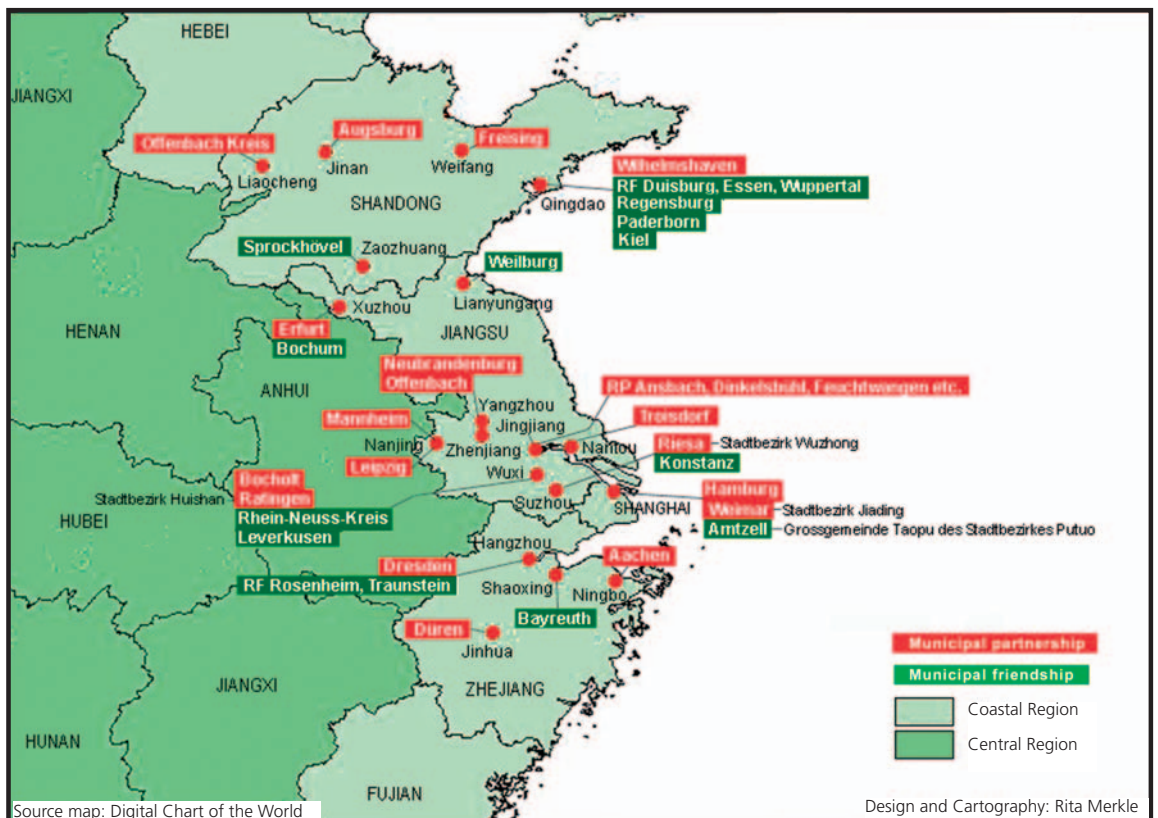
Fax : +49 (0)2 28 – 4460 – 1766

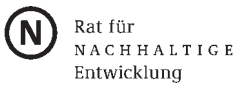
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**German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships I** (All China, not including Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang)



**German-Chinese intermunicipal relationships II** (Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai and Zhejiang)





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