

제2세션 발제문

Promoting Environmental Cooperation on The City-to-City (C2C) Level: Perspectives of City Diplomacy

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Chinese); 'Beyond History: Non-Traditional Security Cooperation and The Construction of Northeast Asian International Society,' *Journal of Contemporary China* (2013); and 'Problems of Nationalism and Historical Memory in China's Relations with Japan,' *Journal of Historical Sociology* (2012).

City diplomacy as part of public diplomacy has emerged as an important exercise of state's soft power and foreign policy strategies in international relations. This phenomenon reflects the new reality of changing in global landscape and the emerging new approaches to Global Governance that best captured by a 'community of practice' anchored in the joint performance of public engagement with global civil society. The premise of this paper is that city diplomacy can make positive contributions to build a prosperous peace community surrounding the Yellow Sea; and that environmental cooperation on the city-to-city (C2C) level can become a starting point and an important process of city diplomacy. This paper attempts to identify, first, what is city diplomacy and why it is now? It, then, explores the possibility of its practices and viabilities through an examination of cooperation in the area of environment.

City Diplomacy as a New Form of Foreign Policy and Global Governance

City diplomacy is defined as the 'institutions and processes by which cities engage in relations with actors on an international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one other (Van der Pluijm 2007: 11). In other words, it is a way of managing international relations with decentralization, in which cities are the key actors, and on the international stage local governments have become very active. This is because globalization has reduced the capacity of state's policy, leaving space for the city's strategic governance role. As Acuto (2010: 19) argues, 'cities, incapable of military action, are thus, diplomatic actors that rely heavily on the power of association nested in coalition-making and cross-national networking, which they

themselves inspire through catalytic diplomacy.'

Since the last quarter of the 20th century, city diplomacy has gained increasing attention in international society, and the significance is expanding in recent years. The first-ever Chicago Forum on Global Cities was held in Chicago in May 2015. It was launched by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and the Financial Times, which brought civic, business, cultural and academic leaders from London, Beijing, Paris, Dubai, Singapore and beyond to discuss the future of global cities. City diplomacy is also gaining growing attention within China and is becoming important exercises of China's relations with other courtiers. On 15 May 2014, for the first time the concept of 'city diplomacy' was put forward by Chinese President Xi Jinping in his speech marking the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC). The initiative of 'One Belt and One Road' strategy by Chinese government has created even greater potential for cities to play significant roles.

Many people (Zhao et al 2014) believe that city diplomacy as a channel of exchange even between great powers, such as between China and US, can provides opportunities for more meaningful and beneficial interactions. This is because the people-driven city diplomacy is more stable and flexible than high-level political or economic forms of diplomacy. City diplomacy has also made the local partnership such as 'sister cities' and friendship cities' blooming, and some have resulted in real-world benefits, especially in the area of environmental cooperation, such as US Portland's partnership with Chinese city Kunming to share clean technology and green development strategies. Indeed, environmental cooperation is one of the important areas that driving city diplomacy into global significance.

Environmental Cooperation on The C2C Level

The "Climate Leadership Group" (C40) launched in October 2005 through an initiative of the then-Mayor of London Ken Livingstone, is considered as one of the most

successful city diplomacies. The summit gathered 18 'large cities' led by the British capital with the intent of tackling climate change from below. With London acting as a catalyst, the group sought to exercise leadership in reducing emissions and to stimulate both private and governmental action. A year later, building on the momentum it held a four-mayor meeting among of London, Berlin, Moscow, and Beijing (known as M4). The coalition has successfully attempted to start a long-term international collaboration on environmental governance, which expanded to a much wider membership now known as the Climate Leadership Group.

The development illustrates the ability of cities to cut across the multiple layers of global governance by developing transnational linkages between local governments. Cities in this case have been able to constitute 'groups of friends', as well as to interact with international bodies, such as the UN Framework on Climate Change's COP11 and MOP1 rounds in Montreal in December 2005. Thus, the then-Deputy Mayor of London even argued in the first summit, 'leadership from national governments is crucial in tackling climate change, but when it comes to practical action on the ground cities are centre stage.'

Although in terms of scale, they may not have reached global significance, local governments within China and Japan have also played an important role in promoting regional environmental cooperation. The most visible outcome has been the expansion of Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation into the local level, especially under the Environment Model City Project. The Environment Model City Project has been operating since 1998 - in which Chinese cities such as Guiyang, Chongqing and Dalian were selected as model cities, and Japan contributed loans of about 30.7 billion yen to the model city programme. Thus, over the years, alongside central governmental cooperation, Sino-Japanese local initiatives in environmental cooperation have been expanding. By 2003, about 193 Chinese cities from 26 provinces were 'twinning' with Japanese partners as sister / friendship cities - eg., Dalian / Kitakyushu (大连-北九州),

Chongqing / Hiroshima (重庆-广岛), and Shanghai / Yokohama (上海-横浜). Environmental protection often centres on the city-to-city (C2C) projects. Of course, outcomes have varied but the cooperation between Dalian and Kitakyushu has been notably successful, especially under the Kitakyushu Initiatives for a Clean Environment. As a result, Dalian was given a 'global 500 environmental city' award by the UNEP in 2001, and has won many national awards in landscaping, environment improvement, sanitation and housing.

In addition, Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation has involved extensive exchanges of people. For example, in the area of technical cooperation the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has accepted trainees from China; by 2003 fiscal year (FY2003) the total number reached 15,000 trainees. By the same date, the Association for Overseas Technical Scholarship (AOTS) had also accepted more than 22,000 trainees and JICA had sent 5,000 experts to China. There are also many young Japanese volunteers working in China (FASID 2005). Thus, the processes of China Japan environmental cooperation, though largely driven by government high-level initiatives, have evolved on a variety of levels, in which NGOs, civil societies, and local governments have played increasingly important roles.

In conclusion, the cases of global cities environmental governance, and the Environment Model City Project demonstrate, cities are far from being 'below' than any other institutional layer. On the contrary, as the C40 example shows, local actors can become the agenda-setters as states and international organizations do. Moreover, as China-Japan case demonstrates, environmental cooperation has provided opportunities for people to meet, to work together, and to know each other better. People-to-people ties are clearly crucial to the improvement of Sino-Japanese relations. Although their potential has not yet reveal in addition to state-to-state relations. It seems that people from both China and Japan increasingly support this view. In an opinion poll taken in 2009 (supported by China Daily and Genron NPO Japan) about 90 percent of

respondents both in China and Japan believed that civil exchanges were either “important” or “relatively important”. In this context, the civil exchanges made in the area of environmental cooperation have proved extremely valuable in assisting greater mutual understanding. Contact with Japanese experts, visits to Japan, or simply understanding how Japan has responded to the environmental challenges that began to appear in the 1950s and 60s have allowed many Chinese to appreciate the magnitude of the Japanese achievement. They have come to admire the striking cleanliness of Japan, the emphasis on recycling and the environmentally friendly behaviour. Returning from a visit to Japan, China’s environmental industry study group reported:

Japan’s environmental governance is far ahead of ours, and in many respects, we should learn from them... Visiting Japan also gives us hope, since if the Japanese could devote decades to handling their serious industrial pollution problems and achieve such remarkable results, we should also have confidence to tackle the same challenges facing us today.

This is surely a positive image of Japan. Thus, indicating great potentials for cities surrounding the Yellow Sea to initiate and expand city diplomacy in much more positive direction.