

- **Instructor**

H.W.Houweling, Ph.D.

Political Science Department

University of Amsterdam [ret.]; see for published work, google citations: Henk Houweling

*available :*

on days of instruction in the institute; after my departure by mail :

[hwhouweling@gmail.com](mailto:hwhouweling@gmail.com)

FILE CREATED BY HENK HOUWELING FOR TEACHING ***EU AND THE  
WORLD-III***

AT THE IEEM 2018

# *EU and the World-III*

In this course, classes run from June 4 to  
June 8 June inclusive

Grading :

the grade will be determined by the quality of  
individual class presentations

*The reading matter for each presentation includes, at least, one scholarly article selected by the instructor, and all other sources on the topic you may find useful.*

*YOU WILL NOT BE GRADED ON THE BASIS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY*

*Material for presentations will be sent to each participant's e-mail address*

If you want to see me about presentations, draft papers and or thesis-projects:

*set a date , hour and topic for a meeting in the office  
[hwhouweling@gmail.com]*

After my departure: by email:  
hwhouweling@gmail.com

# Suggested for regular consultation

European Institute for Security Studies Website: [www.iss-eu.org](http://www.iss-eu.org)  
an EU agency under the [Common Foreign and Security Policy](#)

*EISS is an EU agency; plays a policy –supporting role*

Deutsche Welle, at <http://www.dw.de/about-dw/who-we-are/s-3325>  
German Foreign Office, at [http://www.auswaertiges-  
amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Meldungen](http://www.auswaertiges-<br/>amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Meldungen) [ also available in English]

Bruegel at <http://bruegel.org/> ( specializing in economics/Chinese FDI in EU)

EU Observer, at [news-daily@list.euobserver.com](mailto:news-daily@list.euobserver.com)  
*a daily news bulletin + discussion board for citizens and EU –activists*

European Council on Foreign Relations, at <http://ecfr.eu/>

*a pan European network of private individuals and prominent Europeans with the aim to promote Europeanisation*

→ *ECFR has a policy advisory role and PR role , influencing public opinion*

Robert Schuman Foundation: The Letter

<http://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/subscription-newsletter>

*largely a reporting news agency on events in EU; political mission not explicit*

Notre Europe: [www.notre-europe.eu/en](http://www.notre-europe.eu/en)

*a website of the Jacques Delors Institute in Paris*

For research papers: European Council Conclusions, 2003-2013 at

<http://www.european-council.europa.eu/council-meetings/conclusions>

ASIA Times: <http://www.atimes.com/>

*info and views policies and events in Asia*

Global Times: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/>

*Info on and views of CCP*

# Connecting to EU

European Union External Action Service, 2015. *European Neighbourhood Policy*, at [http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/index_en.htm).

EU strategy papers relating to European Neighborhood Program and East European Partnership , at [http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/documents/strategy-papers/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/documents/strategy-papers/index_en.htm)

Website of the Commissioner Hahn: [http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/hahn\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/hahn_en)

Website of DG Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/about/directorate-general/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/about/directorate-general/index_en.htm)

Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/index_en.htm)

European Commission's support to Ukraine (Announcement of 5 March 2014): [MEMO/14/159: European Commission's support to Ukraine](#)

European External Action Service, Delegation of the EU to China, at [https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/china\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/china_en)

European External Action Service, 2014. *Treaties Office database of the EEAS*, at: <http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/default.home.do>

Official Journal of the European Union

- Published daily ; series L ( new legislation) ; series C (information and notices)

European External Action Service, 2014. *Sanctions policy*, [online]. at: [http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/sanctions/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/sanctions/index_en.htm)

*Directory of Community legislation in force*

lists references to the initial texts and to any subsequent amendments, including references to agreements on external relations in which EU is a party

*Official Website of the European Commission* <http://ec.europa.eu/>  
see also [http://www.enpi-info.eu/list\\_projects\\_east.php?](http://www.enpi-info.eu/list_projects_east.php?)

Eurostat at [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Main\\_Page](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Main_Page)

# Journals to be consulted for papers and theses:a selection

- East European Politics, Societies and cultures (before 2011 : Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics)
- Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe
- Southern European Society and Politics
- Perspectives on European Politics & Society
- European Political Science Review
- European Security
- JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies
- Bruegel: <http://bruegel.org/> ( with info on Chinese FDI in EU)
- China Information, at <http://journals.sagepub.com/home/cin#>
- Chinese Journal of International Politics
- CICER =Chinese Institute of Contemporary International Relations, at <http://www.cicir.ac.cn/chinese/>
- Chinese Journal of European Studies, CASS , at [ies.cass.cn/english/cjo/](http://ies.cass.cn/english/cjo/)
- Review of International Political Economy

# Grading

## Grading:

- course grades will be determined solely by the quality INDIVIDUAL presentations and the debate it provokes.
- Presentations have to be based on readings selected by the instructor + sources found to be relevant to the topic.
- Minimal use of power point

# guidelines for presentations

(i) presenters summarize in their ***OWN WORDS*** prescribed literature + other information on the topic they may have collected;

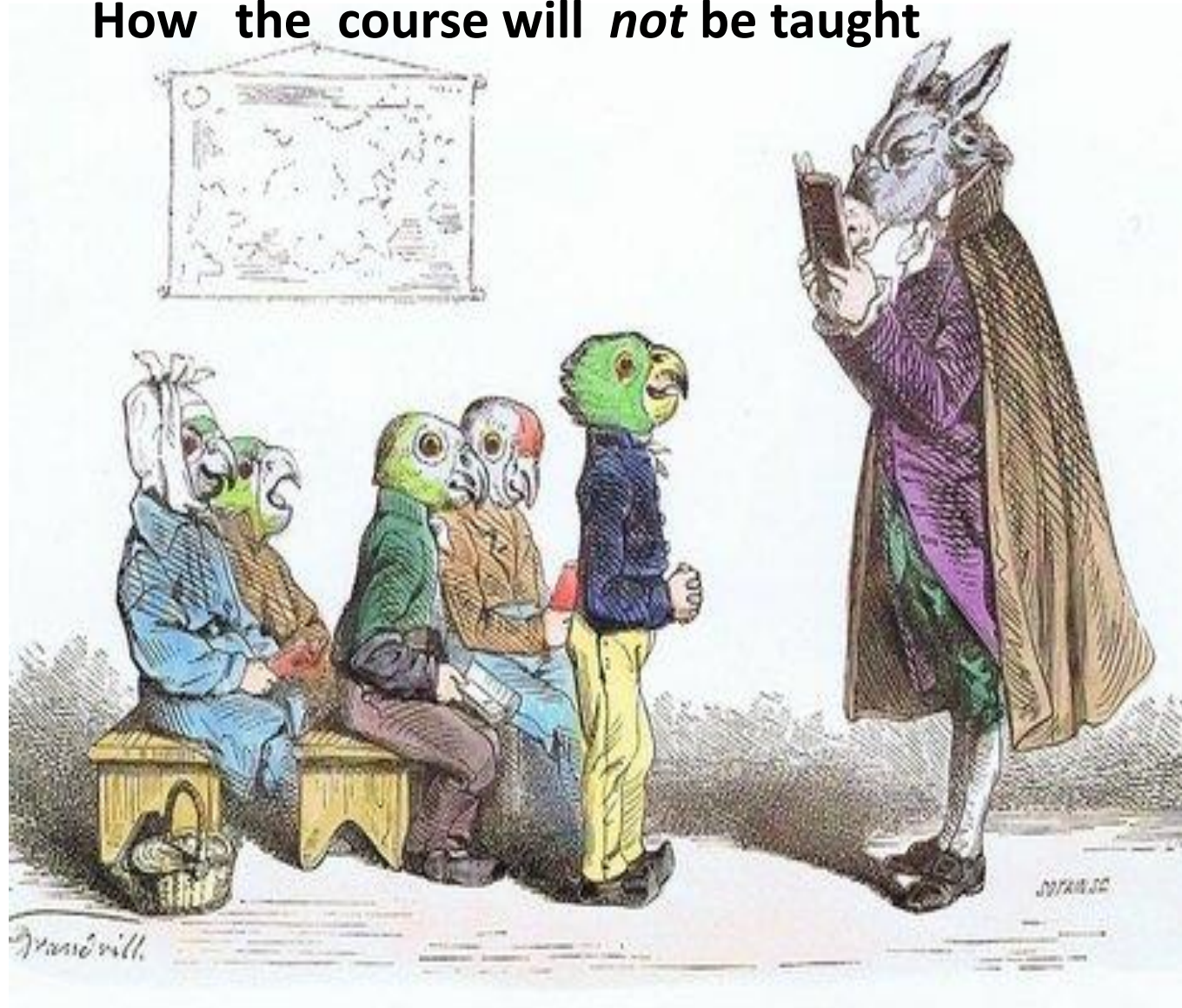
(II) presenters give their ***OWN THOUGHTS*** and remarks about the works under discussion;

- what is the problem statement
- author's approach to the topic
- his or her conclusions, followed by a critical analysis of the work under discussion
- bring into class issues for discussion on topics treated in reading matter or in lectures:

(iii) quotes in power point: between "... " + full source



# How the course will *not* be taught



# Set-up of EU and the World-III

daily class meetings : lectures, individual presentation and discussion

On Monday, we start with an inside look into the EUROPEAN UNION;

- opposition against EU :responding to the penetration of trans-national market forces in national societies and cultures; immigration; income inequality
- without domestic support EU cannot survive ; PRC would lose its largest market and free trade ally
- Brexit increased support for EU and its institutions

Tuesday : EU-US from Atlantic Security to European defense autonomy????;  
EU-US from Atlantic economies to Eurasian transport/investment/trade system;  
> *note the peculiar position of Germany in these domains*

Wednesday : EU-Russia ; Eastern Partnership Program;

Thursday: EU-Russia –Ukraine-NATO ; the energy dimension

Friday: EU in the balance between US-Russia-China : *E.U. player or plaything?*

*See at the end of this series for what is at stake in the survival of the SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET [SEM]*

# Monday class

Topic: the precarious existence of the European Union; what is at stake.

orientation of governments and citizens towards EU and external world varies across countries and populations

→ *No EU-wide shared historical narrative*; few cross border newspapers/readers; [see also Cohesion Monitor Febr 2018

**Nationalists/populists:** oppose EU; undirected anger: not program –driven; why? : immigration ; inequality; penetration of capitalism into areas of life previously closed to market forces;

divided in

(i) the nation as dominant identity: ‘our’ nation - return to idealized past

(ii) religious culture dominant : anti-Islamic religious culture: “Islam does not belong here”

(iii) race dominant : fascists / white supremacists: alternative right

**Trans-nationalists/Europeanists/globalists** ; support EU

multi-layered identity: trans-nationalists are citizens of Germany/Dutch etc, **and** of the EU; favor globalization ; oriented to Europe *and wider world*; work with, profit from, trans-national forces in domestic society; multi-cultural orientation.

→ **Question: what are the social forces setting -off these divisive responses to EU/globalization [ see also reading matter]**

In China: ‘Reform and opening-up a consensus in China despite occasional extreme views’, Xie Wenting (A discussion in China on globalization, socialism, and opening –up (more market), Global Times 2018/2/13 , at <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1089530.shtml>

The dominant member states respond via EU-institutions **to maintain control at home**; pro-EU coalitions may lose that battle; maintaining control:

- Threat of sanction against member states that violate E.U. governance rules[ Visegrad countries] ;
- Reduce immigration by deals with sending states ( Turkey) ; strengthening supervision of national borders along the EU border
- Resist trans-national electoral lists of candidates for the E.U. Parliament
- Budget control: the *Treaty on Stability Coordination and Governance in the economic and monetary union* [ ‘Fiscal Compact’ , 2012]
- Secure independence of judiciary in VISIGRAD states

# Reading matter Monday

*On hollowing out of national parliaments by Single European Market and trans-national capitalism*

-Wolfgang Streeck and Philippe C. Schmitter. From National Corporatism to Transnational Pluralism: Organized Interests in the Single European Market. *Politics & Society* 1991, on line at <http://pas.sagepub.com/content/19/2/133.citation>(online version at <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.87.8852&rep=rep1&type=pdf>)

Wolfgang Streeck. THE POLITICS OF EXIT, A review of Peter Mair, *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy* Verso: London and New York 2013 at <https://newleftreview.org/II/88/wolfgang-streeck-the-politics-of-exit>

-David Autor, David Dorn, Gordon Hanson, Kaveh Majlesi. Importing Political Polarization? The Electoral Consequences of Rising Trade Exposure. National Bureau of Economic Research , Working Paper No. 22637, December 2017, at <https://economics.mit.edu/files/11499>

*On the decline of democratic politics in western democracies*

-Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk “THE DANGER OF DECONSOLIDATION: THE DEMOCRATIC DISCONNECT” , *Journal of Democracy* Volume 27, Number 3 July 2016 , at <https://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/munich-security-report/munich-security-report-2017/>

*Global Times, a voice from China on western electoral democracy*

Democracy: A Western tool for domination

<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1089233.shtml>

*On measuring EU cohesion among member states and citizens*

Josef Janning. CRISIS AND COHESION IN THE EU: A TEN-YEAR REVIEW . European Council on Foreign Relations, February 2018

## Monday Introductions by the following participants

- Zhang Xia [ MIA]: (i) Wolfgang Streeck. THE POLITICS OF EXIT. A review of Peter Mair, *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy* Verso: London and New York 2013, New Left Review 88 July August 2014, 121-129;
- Song Zhongge [ROBIN]: Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk “THE DANGER OF DECONSOLIDATION: THE DEMOCRATIC DISCONNECT” , Journal of Democracy Volume 27, No. 3 July 2016
- Liang Jie [ NINA] :
  - (i) Josef Janning. CRISIS AND COHESION IN THE EU: A TEN-YEAR REVIEW . European Council on Foreign Relations, February 2018
  - (ii) Democracy: A Western tool for domination  
<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1089233.shtml>

## Tuesday class : From Atlantic Security to a European Defense Union??; From Atlantic economy to Eurasian –based *world* trading system

*The next step: from Lisbon Treaty ( CSDP) to an EU Defense Union;*

## Treaty basis:

from: TEU, Article 4.2, quote

“It shall respect their essential State functions, including ensuring the territorial integrity of the State, maintaining law and order and safeguarding national security. In particular, national security remains the sole responsibility of each Member State”.

to: TEU Article 42.6, quote

“Those Member States whose military capabilities fulfill higher criteria and which have made more binding commitments to one another in this area with a view to the most demanding missions shall establish permanent structured cooperation within the Union framework”.

Impediments: disagreements between member states about NATO/US and trust in EU autonomy

Evolution of thought and action about a political-military autonomous Europe since † 1850’s

Institutions are in place, the policies not

Question: Would US announcement to withdraw troops from Europe push leader towards an EU Defense Union? ***Compare with Japan under a similar US announcement for East Asia***

Political disputes with US:

Creating a European Defense Community: US fears European Defense Community weakens NATO; fears that the European Defense Fund “to be a protectionist vehicle for the EU” [ US Ambass to NATO Kay, Bailey Hutchinson ]

Iran ( nuclear deal),

Trade regime: ‘free trade’ between countries or ‘free trade within countries’ first; US trade deficit ;

EU gas supplies by Russian pipelines: US intervention in pipeline disputes

# Tuesday reading matter

[ROBERT CLARK Anglo-French Defence Relations are Crucial for European Defence after Brexit](#)

E- INTERNATIONAL FEB 27 2018 AT [http://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/27/anglo-french-defence-relations-are-crucial-for-european-defence-after-brexite/?utm\\_source=MadMimi&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=Weekly+Roundup+from+E-International+Relations&utm\\_campaign=20180222\\_m144206708\\_Weekly+Roundup+from+E-International+Relations&utm\\_term=Anglo-French+Defence+Relations+are+Crucial+for+European+Defence+after+Brexite](http://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/27/anglo-french-defence-relations-are-crucial-for-european-defence-after-brexite/?utm_source=MadMimi&utm_medium=email&utm_content=Weekly+Roundup+from+E-International+Relations&utm_campaign=20180222_m144206708_Weekly+Roundup+from+E-International+Relations&utm_term=Anglo-French+Defence+Relations+are+Crucial+for+European+Defence+after+Brexite)

REFLECTION PAPER ON THE **FUTURE OF EUROPEAN DEFENCE**, European Commission ,COM(2017) 315 of 7 June 2017

European Commission - Fact Sheet Questions and Answers: the Future of European Defence  
Brussels, 7 June 2017 at [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-17-1517\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-17-1517_en.htm)

Philipp Genschel and Markus . More integration, less federation: the European integration of core state powers. Journal of European Public Policy, 2015, at <https://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/SPS/Profiles/Genschel/2015/Genschel-Jachtenfuchs-2015-JEPP-More-Integration-less-federation.pdf>

Warsaw Summit Communiqué Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Warsaw 8-9 July 2016, at [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_133169.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133169.htm)

Piotr Buras. EUROPE AND ITS DISCONTENTS: POLAND'S COLLISION COURSE WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION; European Council on Foreign Relations , at [http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR230\\_-\\_EUROPE\\_AND\\_ITS\\_DISCONTENTS\\_-\\_POLANDS\\_COLLISION\\_COURSE\\_WITH\\_THE\\_EU\\_.pdf](http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR230_-_EUROPE_AND_ITS_DISCONTENTS_-_POLANDS_COLLISION_COURSE_WITH_THE_EU_.pdf)

Munich Security Report 2017 Post-Truth, Post-West, Post-Order? p. 6-38,  
<https://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/munich-security-report/munich-security-report-2017/>

Munich Security Report 2018, p 1-11  
<https://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/munich-security-report/Will-Trump-rewrite-US-Europe-policy?>

Will Trump rewrite US' Europe policy? Global Times Published: 2017/1/16 23, at <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1029135.shtml>

## Tuesday Introductions by the following participants

**Wen Jing [Bernice]** Anglo-French Defence Relations are Crucial for European Defence after Brexit ROBERT CLARK, E-INTERNATIONAL , FEB 27 2018,

( PLEASE ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INFO ON THE LINKS IN THIS ARTICLE) AT  
[HTTP://WWW.E-IR.INFO/2018/02/27/ANGLO-FRENCH-DEFENCE-RELATIONS-ARE-CRUCIAL-FOR-EUROPEAN-DEFENCE-AFTER-BREXIT/](http://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/27/anglo-french-defence-relations-are-crucial-for-european-defence-after-brexit/)

**LIU YANQING [JASMINE]** Philipp Genschel and Markus . More integration, less federation: the European integration of core state powers. Journal of European Public Policy, 2015, at <https://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/SPS/Profiles/Genschel/2015/Genschel-Jachtenfuchs-2015-JEPP-More-Integration-less-federation.pdf>

**WANG YANYU [ EFFIE]** Piotr Buras. EUROPE AND ITS DISCONTENTS: POLAND'S COLLISION COURSE WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION; European Council on Foreign Relations , at <http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR230 - EUROPE AND ITS DISCONTENTS - POLANDS COLLISION COURSE WITH THE EU .pdf>



# Wednesday EU and Russia

## the Eastern Partnership Program of the EU;

### US – Sweden, Poland, Baltic States: double expansion EU + NATO

Case Study: Ukraine's independent statehood; unanticipated consequences ;  
US push for NATO membership ; Germany resists; US failed in June 2006 to land 200 marines in Feodosiya harbor (Crimea); June 6 Crimea legislature declares Crimea 'NATO-free ; US marines driven back to ship;

### Ukrainian -Polish relations under Poland's conservative government;

### Russian responses after western leaders aimed for NATO membership of Ukraine-Georgia ;

- from 'look-west' towards 'look east' : *a repeating pattern in history of Russian foreign policy*;
  - look East: to China ; to West Asia ; *tactical alliances with Turkey ; Syria; Saudi Arabia [ Aramco IPO?]; Iran;*
- Creating Eurasian Union;
- Russia's support for separatism in Donbas-region; is Russia in control?? : military coup in Luhansk against pro-Russ ruler; [rival militias] ;
- Military modernization, responding to US abandoning ABM-treaty , deploy missile shield; ; Russia's comeback as great power is not due to economic development; Turkey wants to buy Russian missiles, U.S. threatens sanctions on NATO ally;

**Outcomes:** enduring civil war in Ukraine;

# Reading matter Wednesday on Eastern Partnership

## COMMISSION DOCUMENT

COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL *Eastern Partnership 2008*, at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:52008DC0823>

Christoffer Kølvrå. Limits of Attraction: The EU's Eastern Border and the European Neighbourhood Policy. *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, Volume 31 Number 1 February 2017 11– 25

Laura Bla Ukraine's Independence and Its Geostrategic Impact in Eastern Europe. *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*. Vol. 21, Nos. 2–3, 165–181, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0965156X.2013.841797> 16 Dec 2013

David Mandel The conflict in Ukraine. *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, Vol 24:1,(2016) 83-88,

ANDREI ZAGORSKI. "Eastern Partnership from the Russian Perspective "[Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), 2011

Balazs Jarabik and Anais Marin. *Belarus* in: *The Geopolitics of Eurasian Economic Integration*. London School of Economics, May 2014

Mearsheimer. *Why the Ukraine is the West's fault*. *Foreign Affairs*, 93/5, September –October 2014

Poland's Parliament Declares Volyn Massacres 'Genocide,' Ukraine Laments Move  
<https://www.rferl.org/a/poland-parliament-declares-volyn-massacres-/27874252.html>

## Wednesday Introductions by the following participants

**Zhou ZHIBIN** [Jacky]. ANDREI ZAGORSKI. “Eastern Partnership from the Russian Perspective “[Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), 2011 at [http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/ipg/2011-3/05\\_zagorski.pdf](http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/ipg/2011-3/05_zagorski.pdf)

### **WANG YING** [ELLEN]

- (I) Laura Bla. Ukraine’s Independence and Its Geostrategic Impact in Eastern Europe. Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe. Vol. 21, Nos. 2–3, 165–181, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0965156X.2013.841797> 16 Dec 2013
- (II) Poland's Parliament Declares Volyn Massacres ‘Genocide,’ Ukraine Laments Move <https://www.rferl.org/a/poland-parliament-declares-volyn-massacres-/27874252.html>

### **CAO CHENCHEN** [CECILIA].

- (I) Mearsheimer. *Why the Ukraine is the West’s fault*. Foreign Affairs, 93/5, September –October 2014
- (II) Christoffer Kølvråa. Limits of Attraction: The EU’s Eastern Border and the European Neighbourhood Policy. East European Politics and Societies and Cultures, Volume 31 Number 1 February 2017 11– 25

# Thursday class meeting

## 1. Upheaval in world energy markets

-US returns as energy giant : largest producer of oil and gas

## 2. Contradictory social forces released by upheaval

- trade-offs between man-induced part of climate change, fossil energy consumption and economic growth.

*institutional context :*

- (i) capitalist world economy: emerging countries industrialize , still depend most on oil
- (ii) territorial state-system; impact of US shale oil on Saudi Arabia: look out to Russia and China; domestic power concentration by crown prince; China introduces *Petro-Yuan*

*Market failure* : In 1859 Irish physicist Tyndall discovered the heat-trapping property of carbon dioxide; was aware of its consequences; 1958's David Keeling visualized by graphics a time -series on atmospheric measurement of carbon dioxide

*climate change due to emissions is the unwanted, though to be expected, outcome of burning fossil fuel; **environmental risk-taking behavior of western leaders***

unequal distribution of damages of carbon dumping

# Reading matter Thursday

Tyler Priest. The Dilemmas of Oil Empire. The Journal of American History June 2012, pp236-251

European Environmental Agency Report No 23/2017 Renewable energy in Europe – 2017 Update Recent growth and knock-on effects.

Executive summary +Introduction + RES developments in Europe (pp. 5-33)

-

Simone Tagliapietra. Beyond coal: facilitating the transition in Europe Bruegel POLICYBRIEF ISSUE 5 | NOVEMBER 2017

Serik Orazgaliyev. Competition for pipeline export routes in the Caspian region: The new Great Game of the new Silk Road?. CAMBRIDGE JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES 2017, 1 , at <https://doi.org/10.22261/5B75G8>

Anouk Honore. The Dutch gas market; Trials, tribulations and trends. Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2017

## **Thursday Introductions by the following participants**

### **ZHENG YUETING [Yumi]**

Tyler Priest The Dilemmas of Oil Empire. The Journal of American History June 2012, pp236-251

### **WU YIZHEN [Soochie]**

(i) European Environmental Agency Report No 23/2017 Renewable energy in Europe – 2017 Update Recent growth and knock-on effects.

Executive summary +Introduction + RES developments in Europe (pp. 5-33)

(ii) Simone Tagliapietra. Beyond coal: facilitating the transition in Europe Bruegel POLICYBRIEF ISSUE 5 | NOVEMBER 2017

### **LIU YUNHAN [Hannah]**

Serik Orazgaliyev. Competition for pipeline export routes in the Caspian region: The new Great Game of the new Silk Road?. CAMBRIDGE JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES 2017, 1 , at <https://doi.org/10.22261/5B75G8>

# Friday

The European Union in the balance: player or plaything in great power diplomacy between US-Russia and China ?

## new balancing acts:

### global level:

China in Europe

US in Asia; summits US-India

EU In Asia: EU-Indian Relations [https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/factsheet\\_eu\\_india\\_relations.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/factsheet_eu_india_relations.pdf)

Australia aims to join ASEAN , welcomed by Indonesia

### Regional level

Eastern Europe: 16+ 1 program of China; regular presence of European External Action Service (EEAS) officials at the official meetings of the platform and their involvement in drafting the documents.

Russia takes Crimea; US/NATO deployment of troops in Baltic states ; new nuclear arms race?; the comeback of deterrence ,coercion and crisis-bargaining in US diplomacy ; PC sticks to non-first use and minimal deterrence: *no counterforce race with US*

EU membership expansion Balkans; US military presence along Black Sea since the recognition of Kosovo's independent statehood

### EU bargaining tool: access to SEM

The EU has seven percent of the world's population, provides twenty-five percent of the world's GDP; largest market, largest trade power, largest foreign investor; largest provider of foreign aid

EU: fragmented in 28 territorial states in [ shrinking ] area of exclusive national competence ;

China soon to overtake EUROZONE economy;

# Friday Reading matter

## *EU in the world political economy*

- [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/The EU in the world - economy and finance](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/The_EU_in_the_world_-_economy_and_finance) ; Data [Further Eurostat information, Main tables and Database](#).

- Jakub Jakóbowski, Konrad Popławski, Marcin Kaczmarek. The Silk Railroad. The EU-China rail connections: background, actors, interests. OSW Studies , Warsaw 2018
- Alicia García-Herrero, K.C. Kwok, Liu Xiangdong, Tim Summers and Zhang Yansheng .Building a Common Future EU–China Economic Relations to 2025 A Joint Report by Bruegel, Chatham House, 2017
- Aset Ordabayev. The Geopolitics of Transport Corridors in Central Asia. The Institute of World Economics and Politics Astana 2015

[GUSTAV FREDRIKSSON](#), [ALEXANDER ROTH](#) AND [SIMONE TAGLIAPIETRA](#). Still on the road? Assessing Trump's threat to European cars *Just how exposed is Europe's automotive sector to a potential escalation in the EU-US trade war?* Bruegel, at [http://bruegel.org/2018/03/still-on-the-road-assessing-trumps-threat-to-european-cars/?utm\\_content=buffera6a02&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=twitter.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer+\(bruegel\)](http://bruegel.org/2018/03/still-on-the-road-assessing-trumps-threat-to-european-cars/?utm_content=buffera6a02&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer+(bruegel))

## ***EU on political strategy***

- Elements for a new EU strategy on China. JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL Brussels, 22.6.2016 ;
- Noemi Lanna. Europe, Japan and a Rising China: Policies and Prospects. Istituto Affari Internazionali, at <http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaicom1807.pdf>
- Lavrov on Russia's view on post cold war Europe:5 March 2018, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov speaks and takes questions during the forum, Russia – Land of Opportunity, Moscow, March 15, 2018, at [http://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/o-situacii-vokrug-otravlenia-s.skripala-i-ego-doceri-v-velikobritanii/-/asset\\_publisher/milpunj3lj96/content/id/3120578](http://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/o-situacii-vokrug-otravlenia-s.skripala-i-ego-doceri-v-velikobritanii/-/asset_publisher/milpunj3lj96/content/id/3120578)



# Friday Introductions by the following participants

## XIE FA [FLORA]

(i) The EU in the world - economy and finance;

[-http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/The EU in the world - economy and finance](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/The_EU_in_the_world_-_economy_and_finance) ; *Data Further Eurostat information, Main tables and Database*

(ii) Glen S. Fukushima, Golf and Gold. New York Review of Books March 8, 2018 [ on Japan-US relations under Abe-Trump, with implications for EU and PRC], and

## Chang Peiyun [Sybil]

(i) Jakub Jakóbowski, Konrad Popławski, Marcin Kaczmarek. The Silk Railroad. The EU-China rail connections: background, actors, interests. OSW Studies , Warsaw 2018, pp3-33 at

[https://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/studies\\_72\\_silk-railroad\\_net\\_0.pdf](https://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/studies_72_silk-railroad_net_0.pdf)

(II) Noemi Lanna. Europe, Japan and a Rising China: Policies and Prospects. Istituto Affari Internazionali, at

<http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaicom1807.pdf>

(III) Lavrov on Russia's view on post cold war Europe:5 March 201816:47; Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov speaks and takes questions during the forum, Russia – Land of Opportunity, Moscow, March 15, 2018, at

[http://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/o-situacii-vokrug-otravlenia-s.skripala-i-ego-doceri-v-velikobritanii/-/asset\\_publisher/milpunj3lj96/content/id/3120578](http://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/o-situacii-vokrug-otravlenia-s.skripala-i-ego-doceri-v-velikobritanii/-/asset_publisher/milpunj3lj96/content/id/3120578)

# what is at stake in EU survival

- EU has the largest economy in the world
- EU does not have centralized state institutions, except for the ECB
- EU member states have lost control over domestic economy since the formation of the Single European Market [SEM] [ “the 1992 compromise” ]
- EU member states are sovereign in the external domain

***EU is losing support from citizens of member states:***

***SEM has hollowed out capacity of governments to govern national economy***

EU-28 accounted for 22.6 %, the US 22.3 % and China 13.3% (in total 58.2%) of global GDP measured at market exchange rates. In PPP :EU accounted for 17.1% of global GDP in 2014, the US 15.9%, and China 16.6% (IMF World Economic Outlook, April 2016).

According to Eurostat, in 2014 the EU-28 accounted for 15.5% of world imports and exports, the United States 16.6%, and China 13.5%, making together 45.6% of world trade.

- 1) 23 TRILLION \$ (2016) GDP – the largest; over 500 million people , the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest ;
- 2) largest exporter of manufactured good and services ; the biggest export market for about 80 countries
- 3) SEM takes 16% of world imports and exports
- 4) Largest foreign investor

SEM does not have internal borders ( 26.2 TFEU) ***European enterprise is concentrated in SEM***

# What is at stake: SEM INCLUDES CAPITAL – and LABOR MARKETS; FREEDOM TO RESIDE

**art. 45 TFEU , labor ; art. 20-23 TFEU, freedom to reside**

**45.:**

1 EU citizens are entitled to: look for a job in another EU country work there without needing a work permit

2 reside there for that purpose stay there even after employment has finished enjoy equal treatment with nationals in access to employment, working conditions and all other social and tax advantages

See for health & social security ([coordination of social security systems](#)).

also applies to the countries in the European Economic Area (1994) : Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway; Switzerland has bilateral treaties with EU to the same effect; UK unsettled

**20-23:**

- (a) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States;
- (b) the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in their Member State of residence, under the same conditions as nationals of that State;
- (c) protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State;
- (d) right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman,.

# What is at stake

## Socio-Economic reach of SEM

Share in global wealth: 17%

Largest sender and first recipient of FDI worldwide (24.8 per cent of outward FDI stock and 29.7 per cent of inward FDI stock in 2013) (UNCTAD, 2014)

About 30 million jobs depend directly on external trade

China is EU's second-biggest trading partner behind the United States and the EU is China's biggest trading partner; daily turnover: about 1 billion

Average tariff rate of 1.5%; U.S.: 2.81% ; Japan: 2.41% ; Canada : 2.79%; EU protects agriculture , fisheries and textiles; eyeing China, EU leaders want to protect technological advantage ( authority about FDI is moving to Commission level)

Trade in goods balance : surplus of 11 billion € in 2014 rose to 38 billion in 2016; Source; Eurostat, “The international goods trade” March 2017

**REGULATION (EU) 2017/2321 OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2017 amending Regulation (EU) 2016/1036 on protection against dumped imports from countries not members of the European Union and Regulation (EU) 2016/1037 on protection against subsidised imports from countries not members of the Europe**

# What is at stake free movement

- “free movement
- EU workers are entitled to move freely and to take up employment in any other EU country - employment rights, EU workers are generally entitled to equal treatment with national workers in the workplace

entitled to:

- • look for a job in another EU country
- • work there without needing a work permit
- • reside there for that purpose
- • stay there even after employment has finished
- • enjoy equal treatment with nationals in access to employment, working conditions and all other social and tax advantages, including right to education of their children

inactive groups (such as retirees), the right to free movement and residence within the EU is conditional on health insurance and sufficient resources

After five years of continuous legal residence, EU citizens and their family members obtain the right to permanent residence in the host EU country

- 2013 just under 3 percent of EU27 citizens lived in another EU country.

# What EU misses

- European integration interrupts the historical connection between history ,territory and political identity at the state level

## ***Evidence:***

- downgrading the military/national defense connection to state territory in the EU;
- Capitalist industrialization generates a new power-dynamic in the ranking order of states ;

→ the geo-politics and geo-economics of statecraft gain relative to military diploma

→ Russia and America are lagging behind in this transformation [ US is reorienting under Trump]

*During cold war national level identities shifted to Atlantic level*

→ *In post-cold war Europe: economic integration ran and runs far ahead of shifting national identities to the EU level*

*Nationalism justifies discrimination in rights between insider and outsider; SEM did not induce and upward move in identities*

Europeanization of economy not of public debate; no EU narrative; shared past divides

- Few cross border mass media
- Limited Europeanizing of the public debate;
- Is forging a common European identity on top of the national ones an utopia?