

Open Strategic Autonomy in EU Trade Policy

This book analyses whether the recent reorientation of EU trade policy towards stronger enforcement and more robust representation of interests, resulting in a series of new or amended legislative tools, is in conformity with the EU's international commitments, particularly WTO, FTA, environmental, and general international law, and with its multilateralist stance and underlying constitutional obligations. The analysis is also set against the consequences that would flow from within the EU legal order, providing readers with a comprehensive view of the external and internal constraints on trade policy that the EU should respect, as well as the leeway it enjoys. In case of potential tensions, it submits changes that would better balance the EU's new ambitions and international obligations. Furthermore, the book looks beyond the possible legal repercussions to consider the broader political implications of these instruments on the credibility of the EU's commitment to multilateralism and international law.

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Preface

The EU of the 2020s is beset by a number of challenges. High among them, however, is the place of the EU in the wider world. Since its birth, the EU has been seen as part of a broader process of globalization that includes the internationalization of law itself. The opening of national law to the law of the EU could thus be conceptualized as a broader opening of European states to international legal obligations, which EU law might underpin and support.

What, however, does EU law do in an increasingly *closed* world? The rise of China and the seeming return of geopolitical 'blocks' increasingly threaten the integrity of the international legal order and the multilateral institutions which underpin it. This is most marked in the area of trade policy, where decades of openness seem to be coming to an abrupt close, and where a historical pioneer of global free trade, the United States, has been accused of domestic protectionism. In response, the EU has seen a need to take a more sovereigntist stance not just in trade policy but in a host of other areas, often grouped together under the infamous term 'strategic autonomy'. The Union has entered a brave new world, in which it must use (and potentially misuse) legal tools to level the competitive playing field.

This book, written by Cornelia Furculita and Wolfgang Weiß, is devoted to understanding how EU trade law and policy are adapting to this world. As the book charts, the EU faces a fundamental dilemma. On the one hand, it must meet the new geopolitical reality and its associated challenges (particularly to the EU's environmental and social objectives). On the other, it must not lose its fundamental 'DNA' in the process, namely its commitment to respect international law (a commitment embedded in the Treaty itself). EU trade law and policy must thus chart an increasingly narrow path.

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xviii PREFACE

Furculita and Weiß's book takes great care in leading us along precisely this path, assessing the compatibility of important new EU initiatives developed in the name of strategic autonomy with a complex web of international trade obligations. It is therefore not only a book with useful scholarly lessons but a wonderful resource for practitioners interested both in important recent EU initiatives (such as on procurement and sustainability) and in specialized fields of law such as competition, dispute resolution, and, of course, trade. The book is not afraid to make strong normative conclusions, pointing to important inconsistencies between EU legislative initiatives and commitments embedded in international and EU constitutional law (with clear ideas on how to remedy them, drawing on public international law scholarship). As a book tackling one of the Union's (and world's) foremost challenges, it deserves to be widely read. We are delighted to welcome it to the *Cambridge Studies in European Law and Policy* series.

Mark Dawson Laurence Gormley Jo Shaw



Abbreviations

AA Association Agreement

AB Appellate Body

ACI Anti-Coercion Instrument ADA Anti-Dumping Agreement

AG Advocate General

AJIL American Journal of International Law

ASCM Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BASR Basic Anti-Subsidy Regulation BTA Border Tariff Adjustment CARIFORUM The Caribbean Forum

CBAM Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism
CBDR Common But Differentiated Responsibilities

CEPR Centre for Economic Policy Research

CETA EU-Canada Trade Agreement

CJEU Court of Justice of the European Union

CMLRev Common Market Law Review

CPTPP Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-

Pacific Partnership

CTEI Centre for Trade and Economic Integration

CTEO Chief Trade Enforcement Officer

DAG Domestic Advisory Group

DG Director General

DSB Dispute Settlement Body

DSU Dispute Settlement Understanding

ECT Treaty Establishing the European Community

EEA European Economic Area

EECT Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community

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XX LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EFARev European Foreign Affairs Review EC European Communities

ECHR European Convention on Human Rights

EEA The Agreement on the European Economic Area

EEC European Economic Community
EFTA European Free Trade Association
EJIL The European Journal of International Law

ELJ European Law Journal
ELRev European Law Review
EP European Parliament

EPA Economic Partnership Agreement

EPRS European Parliamentary Research Service

ETS Emissions Trading System

EU European Union

EUI European University Institute
EU-UA AA EU-Ukraine Association Agreement
EuZW Europäische Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsrecht

FSR Foreign Subsidies Regulation

FTA Free Trade Agreement

GATS General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GBER General Block Exemption Regulation

GC General Court GHG Greenhouse Gas

GPA Agreement on Government Procurement
GSP Generalized Scheme of Preferences
GTCJ Global Trade and Customs Journal
ICJ International Court of Justice

ICLQ International & Comparative Law Quarterly
IELP International Economic Law and Policy
ILC International Law Commission
ILO International Labour Organization
ILSA International Law Students Association

INTA European Parliament Committee on International Trade

IPI International Procurement Instrument

JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies

JEPA EU-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement

JEPP Journal of European Public Policy
JEI Journal of European Integration
JIEL Journal of International Economic Law
JWIT Journal of World Investment & Trade



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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JWT Journal of World Trade LDC Least Developed Country

LIEI Legal Issues of Economic Integration

LSE London School of Economics and Political Science

MAS Mutually Agreed Solution MFN Most Favored Nation

MPIA Multi-Party Interim Appeal Arbitration Arrangement

NAFTA North American Free Trade Agreement

NAP No Appeal Pact

NDC Nationally Determined Contribution

NT National Treatment

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation

and Development

OJ Official Journal

PCIJ Permanent Court of International Justice

QMV Qualified Majority Vote

RCEP Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership RSCAS Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies SAA Stabilisation and Association Agreement

SDT Special and Differential Treatment
SIDS Small Island Developing States
SME Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise

TBT Technical Barriers to Trade

TCA Trade and Cooperation Agreement

TEU Treaty on European Union

TFEU Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union TRIPS Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual

Property Rights

TSD Trade and Sustainable Development

UN United Nations

UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNFCCC United Nations Framework Convention on

Climate Change

USMCA United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement VCLT Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties

WP Working Party

WTI World Trade Institute
WTO World Trade Organization

WTRev World Trade Review

ZEuS Zeitschrift fuer Europarechtliche Studien