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## Éditorial : Construire des ponts de compréhension au-delà des différences

Lorsque le monde est entouré de bruits et de confrontations, nous choisissons d'écouter ; lorsque les civilisations se heurtent les unes aux autres, nous choisissons le dialogue. Ce numéro de Paix et Dialogue a vu le jour dans une période à la fois difficile et pleine d'espoir, où l'on tente de jeter un pont de compréhension au-dessus d'un gouffre de divisions.

Nous vivons à une époque où la technologie relie les personnes les plus éloignées géographiquement, mais expose également les divisions les plus profondes de l'esprit. La mondialisation a apporté une prospérité matérielle sans précédent, mais elle a aussi intensifié le choc des cultures, des religions et des valeurs. Dans ce contexte, la paix n'est plus seulement l'absence de guerre, mais aussi la compréhension et l'acceptation continues entre différents groupes ; le dialogue n'est pas seulement l'échange de mots, mais aussi la résonance profonde et la réconciliation du cœur.

Ce numéro rassemble la sagesse d'universitaires et de praticiens issus de milieux culturels et de disciplines différents. Des explorations théoriques de la communication interculturelle aux cas pratiques de médiation des conflits, de l'évolution des modes de dialogue à l'ère numérique à la transformation moderne des idées de paix dans la sagesse traditionnelle, chaque article pointe vers le même noyau : trouver des points communs dans les différences et découvrir des liens dans les oppositions.

Nous avons inclus plusieurs études sur les "conversations difficiles". Ces études n'évitent pas les sujets les plus sensibles et les plus conflictuels, mais explorent les moyens d'établir des canaux de communication efficaces dans ces domaines. Car le véritable esprit de paix se manifeste précisément dans la manière dont nous gérons nos différences les plus profondes, plutôt que dans la simple célébration d'une harmonie superficielle.

La paix n'est pas un objectif statique, mais un processus dynamique ; le dialogue n'est pas un événement ponctuel, mais une pratique permanente. En ce sens, chaque numéro de Paix et Dialogue est un témoin et un catalyseur de ce processus. Nous invitons les lecteurs à ne pas se contenter de tirer des connaissances de ces articles, mais à les mettre en pratique - pour devenir des artisans de la paix et des facilitateurs de dialogue dans leur famille, leur communauté et leur lieu de travail.

En fin de compte, la paix commence avec chaque cœur disposé à écouter, et le dialogue commence avec chaque parole exprimée honnêtement. Que le contenu de ce numéro soit le point de départ de votre exploration et de votre action, et travaillez avec nous à la construction d'un monde plus compréhensif et plus inclusif.

## **Editorial: Building Bridges of Understanding Beyond Differences**

In a world filled with noise and confrontation, we choose to listen; when civilizations collide, we choose dialogue. This issue of Peace and Dialogue emerges at a time that is both challenging and hopeful—a moment marked by efforts to build bridges of understanding across deep and persistent divisions.

We live in an era in which technology connects people across vast geographical distances, yet simultaneously exposes the deepest fractures of the human mind. Globalization has brought unprecedented material prosperity, but it has also intensified the clashes of cultures, religions, and values. In this context, peace is no longer merely the absence of war; it is an ongoing process of understanding and acceptance among diverse groups. Dialogue, likewise, is not simply an exchange of words, but a profound resonance and reconciliation of hearts.

This issue brings together the insights of scholars and practitioners from diverse cultural backgrounds and disciplinary fields. From theoretical explorations of intercultural communication to practical cases of conflict mediation; from the evolution of dialogue in the digital age to the contemporary transformation of traditional wisdom on peace, each contribution points toward a shared core: discovering common ground within difference and forging connections amid opposition.

Several studies in this issue focus on what may be called "difficult conversations". Rather than avoiding the most sensitive and contentious topics, these contributions explore ways to establish effective channels of communication precisely in such contexts. For the true spirit of peace is revealed not in the celebration of superficial harmony, but in how we engage with our deepest differences.

Peace is not a static goal, but a dynamic process; dialogue is not a one-time event, but a sustained practice. In this sense, each issue of Peace and Dialogue serves both as a witness to and a catalyst for this process. We invite our readers not only to draw knowledge from these articles, but also to put their insights into practice—to become builders of peace and facilitators of dialogue within their families, communities, and workplaces.

Ultimately, peace begins with every heart willing to listen, and dialogue begins with every word spoken honestly. May the contents of this issue serve as a starting point for your reflection and action, and may you join us in working toward a world that is more understanding and more inclusive.



# A Pathway for Symbiosis: Integrating Area Studies and University-Level Russian Language Pedagogy within the New Liberal Arts Framework

Une voie vers la symbiose : intégrer les études régionales et l'enseignement universitaire du russe dans le cadre des nouvelles humanités

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**Abstract:** The New Liberal Arts initiative, a sweeping reform movement in Chinese higher education, is profoundly reshaping academic paradigms, offering an unprecedented opportunity for the strategic transformation and substantive upgrading of traditional foreign language disciplines. Against the dynamic backdrop of an evolving global strategic landscape and China's new stage of national development, there is a burgeoning and increasingly urgent demand for high-caliber, truly interdisciplinary professionals. These individuals are expected to possess not only profound linguistic capabilities but also systematic, granular knowledge of specific countries and regions (the core of Area Studies), complemented by solid, domain-specific expertise. The traditional pedagogical models endemic to Russian language education, however, with their established cultivation objectives, curriculum systems, and teaching methodologies, are proving progressively inadequate to meet the multifaceted demands of this new era.

Grounded in the strategic repositioning of Area Studies as a first-level academic discipline in China, this paper undertakes a systematic and critical analysis of the prevailing obstacles that impede the meaningful integration of Russian language teaching and Area Studies. These challenges are identified as conceptual inertia rooted in disciplinary traditionalism, critical deficiencies in faculty expertise, formidable curricular and structural barriers, and pervasive institutional impediments. In direct response to these multifaceted challenges, this paper constructs and proposes a "five-in-one," holistic integration pathway. This systemic framework is composed of five interconnected pillars: ideological renewal, objective recalibration, systemic restructuring, methodological innovation, and robust institutional support.

The paper posits that the ultimate, aspirational goal of this integration is the cultivation of "T-shaped" talent—versatile professionals who are demonstrably plurilingual, profoundly interdisciplinary, and possess a portfolio of multi-faceted skills. The detailed competency profile for such talent encompasses advanced multilingual working proficiency, a cross-disciplinary knowledge architecture, and a suite of future-oriented, higher-order core competencies. To realize this ambitious objective, the paper elaborates on a three-dimensional "Platform + Module" curriculum system; a pedagogical revolution centered on "Problem-Based and Project-Driven Learning";

and a comprehensive faculty and platform development strategy characterized by "internal cultivation, external recruitment, and collaborative sharing". Furthermore, the study contends that artificial intelligence and digital technologies are poised to serve as a critical "accelerator" for empowering this integrated pedagogy. Consequently, developing students' "Human-AI Interaction and Negotiation Capability" is identified as a core, non-negotiable agenda for the future of education. Through a detailed analysis of pioneering and successful case studies from representative Chinese universities, this research empirically validates the practical feasibility of the proposed pathway. Ultimately, it aims to provide a comprehensive and systematic solution, possessing both significant theoretical depth and practical value, for the epochal reform and innovation of Russian language programs—and by extension, the entire landscape of foreign language disciplines—in Chinese higher education in the new era.

**Keywords:** New Liberal Arts; Area Studies; Russian Language Teaching; Integration Pathway; Interdisciplinary Talent; Curriculum System; Higher Education Reform; Human-AI Collaboration

**Résumé :** L'initiative des « nouvelles humanités » (New Liberal Arts), vaste mouvement de réforme de l'enseignement supérieur en Chine, transforme en profondeur les paradigmes académiques existants et ouvre des perspectives inédites pour la transformation stratégique et la montée en gamme substantielle des disciplines traditionnelles des langues étrangères. Dans le contexte mouvant d'un paysage stratégique mondial en recomposition et de l'entrée de la Chine dans une nouvelle phase de son développement national, la demande de talents hautement qualifiés et véritablement interdisciplinaires ne cesse de croître et devient de plus en plus pressante. Ces profils sont appelés à maîtriser non seulement des compétences linguistiques approfondies, mais également des connaissances systématiques et fines portant sur des pays et des régions spécifiques — cœur des études régionales (Area Studies) —, complétées par une expertise solide dans des domaines spécialisés. Or, les modèles pédagogiques traditionnels de l'enseignement du russe, avec leurs objectifs de formation établis, leurs structures curriculaires et leurs méthodes d'enseignement conventionnelles, peinent de plus en plus à répondre aux exigences complexes et multidimensionnelles de cette nouvelle ère.

S'inscrivant dans le repositionnement stratégique des études régionales en tant que discipline académique de premier niveau en Chine, cet article propose une analyse systématique et critique des obstacles majeurs qui entravent l'intégration substantielle de l'enseignement de la langue russe et des études régionales. Ces obstacles se manifestent notamment par une inertie conceptuelle ancrée dans le traditionalisme disciplinaire, des insuffisances structurelles du corps enseignant, des barrières curriculaires et organisationnelles significatives, ainsi que des contraintes institutionnelles persistantes. En réponse à ces défis multiples, l'étude élabore et propose une voie d'intégration holistique dite « cinq-en-un », reposant sur cinq piliers interdépendants : le renouvellement idéologique, la redéfinition des objectifs de formation, la restructuration systémique, l'innovation méthodologique et le renforcement du soutien institutionnel.

L'article avance que l'objectif ultime de cette intégration est la formation de talents dits « en T », à savoir des professionnels polyvalents, véritablement plurilingues, profondément interdisciplinaires et dotés d'un ensemble de compétences diversifiées. Le profil de compétences de ces talents comprend une maîtrise opérationnelle

avancée de plusieurs langues, une architecture de connaissances transdisciplinaires, ainsi qu'un ensemble de compétences clés de haut niveau, orientées vers l'avenir. Afin d'atteindre cet objectif ambitieux, l'étude développe un système curriculaire tridimensionnel fondé sur une logique « Plateforme + Modules », une transformation pédagogique centrée sur l'« apprentissage par problèmes et par projets », ainsi qu'une stratégie globale de développement du corps enseignant et des plateformes académiques reposant sur la « formation interne, le recrutement externe et le partage collaboratif ». Par ailleurs, la recherche soutient que l'intelligence artificielle et les technologies numériques joueront le rôle d'un « accélérateur » déterminant dans l'autonomisation de cette pédagogie intégrée. Dès lors, le développement des capacités d'« interaction et de négociation entre l'humain et l'IA » est identifié comme un enjeu central et incontournable de l'éducation du futur. À travers l'analyse détaillée de cas pionniers et concluants issus d'universités chinoises représentatives, cette étude valide empiriquement la faisabilité pratique de la voie proposée. Elle vise ainsi à offrir une solution globale et systématique, dotée à la fois d'une solide portée théorique et d'une valeur opérationnelle, pour la réforme et l'innovation structurelles des programmes d'enseignement du russe — et, par extension, de l'ensemble des disciplines des langues étrangères — dans l'enseignement supérieur chinois à l'ère nouvelle.

**Mots-clés :** Nouvelles humanités ; études régionales ; enseignement de la langue russe ; voie d'intégration ; talents interdisciplinaires ; système curriculaire ; réforme de l'enseignement supérieur ; collaboration humain–IA

## 1. Introduction

In an era defined by profound and often turbulent transformations in the global governance system, coupled with China's inexorable rise towards the center stage of world affairs, the nation's requirements for high-level, internationally-oriented talent have undergone a paradigmatic and irreversible shift. The archetypal foreign language specialist of the past—whether a technically proficient "artisan of translation" or a "scholar of literature" steeped in cultural canons—is no longer adequately equipped to meet the complex strategic imperatives of the 21st century. Today's challenges demand professionals capable of analyzing multifaceted international problems, formulating viable solutions, and actively participating in the complex machinery of global governance.

The formal establishment of "Area Studies" (Qūyù Guóbíxié) as a first-level academic discipline within China's official catalogue in 2022 represents a landmark development. This was far more than a mere administrative reclassification; it was a resounding clarion call, issued from the highest echelons of national strategic planning, signaling a concerted national effort to cultivate a new generation of strategic, interdisciplinary talent for foreign-related affairs. This decision signifies that China's cognitive engagement with and active participation in global affairs has transcended previous models and entered a new, more sophisticated and proactive phase. Its establishment as a "first-level discipline" confers upon it the highest degree of academic legitimacy and guarantees significant state investment in its development, placing it on par with foundational fields like Economics, Law, and History.

In stark and revealing contrast, many traditional foreign language disciplines, with Russian language programs serving as a prominent exemplar, have struggled to break free from long-standing pedagogical paradigms. These models often remain ensconced within the intellectual confines of linguistic essentialism and literary hermeneutics. University curricula frequently exhibit a pronounced and anachronistic bias towards classical literature and grand historical narratives, while affording insufficient attention to the dynamic and pressing contemporary issues that define target nations today—from their socio-economic transformations and political-legal frameworks to their advancements in science and technology. This results in a critical and widening chasm between the skillsets of graduates and the concrete demands of modern society, creating a fundamental misalignment between educational objectives and overriding national strategic needs. This structural contradiction has emerged as the core bottleneck constraining the high-quality, sustainable development of foreign language disciplines across the country.

Therefore, the imperative to foster a deep, synergistic integration between Area Studies, serving as the substantive knowledge core, and university-level Russian language teaching, which provides the foundational competency base, is multifaceted. It is not merely a survival strategy for foreign language disciplines seeking to overcome existential challenges and forge new paths of relevance. More profoundly, it represents an epochal mission to actively serve China's national development, contribute constructively to global governance, and empower the next generation with the tools for global understanding. This research directly confronts this imperative, aiming to systematically chart a feasible, forward-looking, and robust integration pathway. Its purpose is to provide both a theoretical blueprint and a practical, actionable guide for cultivating a new generation of "country specialists" (Guóbíé tōng) and "domain experts" (Lǐngyù tōng)—professionals who possess the intellectual agility and practical skills to navigate the bewildering complexities of the modern international landscape.

## **2. Theoretical Foundation: The Intrinsic and Synergistic Alignment of New Liberal Arts and Area Studies**

The underlying rationale and ultimate feasibility of this proposed integration are deeply embedded in the logical and philosophical congruence of two major converging trends in Chinese higher education: the nationwide implementation of the New Liberal Arts initiative and the strategic ascendance of Area Studies as a key discipline.

The New Liberal Arts (Xīn Wénkē) initiative is a direct and ambitious response to the perceived hyper-specialization and fragmentation that have come to characterize modern academia. Its core tenet is "interdisciplinary integration". The initiative champions the dismantling of ossified disciplinary silos that have long separated fields within the traditional humanities and social sciences. Furthermore, it actively promotes cross-pollination and collaborative inquiry with STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, agriculture, and medicine). The ultimate objective of this reform is to cultivate versatile, well-rounded professionals who are distinguished by a profound sense of social responsibility and armed with the comprehensive capacity to solve complex, unstructured, real-world problems. This educational philosophy points unequivocally towards a fundamental and necessary transformation in foreign language education. It demands that foreign language

disciplines transcend the limiting "instrumentalist view," which reduces language to a mere tool. The new paradigm requires a move beyond rudimentary linguistic skill training towards a reconceptualization of language as a sophisticated cognitive tool, a primary vehicle for thought, and a key to unlocking different cultural logics. This entails a seismic paradigm shift from merely "learning the language itself" to actively "using the language to investigate, analyze, and understand the world."

Area Studies emerges as the most potent intellectual battleground and practical platform for this pedagogical revolution. As a quintessentially interdisciplinary field, Area Studies inherently demands that its practitioners synthesize and apply theories, methodologies, and analytical lenses from a multiplicity of disciplines. To truly understand a specific country or region requires a holistic approach that integrates political science, economics, sociology, law, history, anthropology, and more. This allows for a holistic, dynamic, and deeply contextualized understanding, as well as forward-looking assessments. Its very essence rejects definition or confinement by any single disciplinary framework. It is precisely this interdisciplinary character that makes it the perfect partner for a revitalized foreign language pedagogy.

For the Russian language to be elevated from a simple communication tool to a powerful intellectual instrument for cognition and critical analysis of the world, it must be intimately and systematically interwoven with the profound social science knowledge system that Area Studies represents. Therefore, the fusion of these two domains is not a matter of simple arithmetic addition—it is not language class plus history class. Rather, it is a profound "chemical reaction." This fusion creates an emergent intellectual space where language proficiency provides the key to accessing raw, unfiltered, "emic" (insider) perspectives through primary sources and direct interaction, while the frameworks of Area Studies provide the "etic" (outsider) analytical tools necessary for critical interpretation and systematic comparison. This synergy represents the logical imperative and the most promising pathway for the substantive, content-rich, and intellectually rigorous development of foreign language education under the visionary umbrella of the New Liberal Arts framework.

### **3. Real-World Dilemmas: Systemic Obstacles on the Path to Integration**

Despite a growing consensus within the academic community on the desirability of integration, the path from abstract concept to concrete implementation is fraught with formidable and deeply entrenched obstacles. At present, Chinese universities, in their nascent efforts to integrate Russian language teaching with Area Studies, commonly encounter four interconnected, systemic impediments that form a cycle of reinforcement.

#### **3.1 Conceptual Barriers and Deep-Seated Institutional Inertia:**

The most profound resistance emanates from a deeply ingrained, discipline-centric mindset, a form of intellectual traditionalism that vigorously defends existing academic territories. In numerous foreign language departments, knowledge about the target country or region is still perceived and treated as a mere "adornment" or "background context" for language instruction, rather than being recognized as the "substantive intellectual core" of the entire talent cultivation enterprise. This fundamental cognitive bias ensures that any attempt at integration reform often

remains superficial, manifesting as the simple addition of a few elective courses on "national conditions". Such measures represent a shallow "physical aggregation" rather than a deep, "chemical integration," failing to fundamentally challenge or reconfigure the core curriculum and the overall educational program design. This conceptual inertia is further buttressed by rigid institutional practices. Entrenched systems of departmental budget allocation, resource distribution, and faculty hiring quotas, all traditionally aligned with single disciplines, create powerful disincentives for change and render meaningful inter-departmental collaboration a bureaucratic and logistical nightmare.

### **3.2 Critical Faculty Shortages and Constraining Evaluation Systems:**

A critical bottleneck that severely constrains the potential depth and quality of integration is the extreme scarcity of genuinely interdisciplinary faculty. The ideal educator for these new programs is a rare professional who is simultaneously "proficient in the Russian language, deeply knowledgeable in Russian and Eurasian Area Studies, and genuinely expert in a specific substantive domain" (e.g., energy economics, international law, strategic studies). The vast majority of the existing faculty in Russian departments hold doctoral degrees from singular backgrounds in language, linguistics, or literature. Their knowledge structure, while deep in their own field, is often inadequate to support the intellectual demands of teaching complex, interdisciplinary courses. Furthermore, this "pipeline problem" is exacerbated by prevailing academic evaluation systems. Criteria for tenure, promotion, and research funding are heavily skewed towards favoring deep, vertical research published in top-tier, single-discipline journals. There is a systemic lack of effective incentives or rewards for the time-consuming, intellectually demanding, and often institutionally complex work of developing innovative interdisciplinary courses and pedagogical materials. This institutional reality objectively suppresses the motivation and practical ability of faculty members to undertake the necessary professional retraining and transformation.

### **3.3 Curricular Barriers and a Dearth of High-Quality Didactic Materials:**

Within the existing curriculum architecture of most Russian language programs, content related to Area Studies consistently exhibits three debilitating characteristics: it is fragmented, marginalized, and chronically outdated. Knowledge is presented in a scattered, piecemeal fashion, resembling a "cafeteria-style" offering of disparate courses that lack a coherent intellectual arc or logical progression. This prevents students from building a systematic and cumulative understanding of the target region. These courses are frequently marginalized as non-essential electives with minimal credit allocation, signaling to students that such knowledge is peripheral to their core studies. Most critically, the content is often outdated. Textbooks and teaching materials may lag years, or even decades, behind the rapidly evolving political, economic, and social realities of the region, leaving students with a static and historical, rather than dynamic and contemporary, understanding. This problem is compounded by a severe shortage of high-quality, systematic, and locally relevant textbooks for Area Studies. The scarcity is particularly acute for materials in specialized domains (e.g., a textbook on Russia's Digital Sovereignty Strategy or Legal Frameworks of the Eurasian Economic Union). This dearth of suitable materials often leaves dedicated

instructors in the predicament of "making bricks without straw," forced to rely on a patchwork of scattered foreign-language articles, which militates against a cohesive and structured learning experience.

### **3.4 Ineffective Collaborative Mechanisms and a Profound Disconnect from Practice:**

A widespread lack of efficient and robust inter-departmental and cross-institutional cooperation mechanisms prevents the fluid sharing of high-quality educational resources, leading to the formation of "knowledge silos" and redundant efforts. Expertise in economics, law, or political science that exists elsewhere in the university remains inaccessible to language students. Simultaneously, the practical, experiential, and vocational components of these programs are universally underdeveloped and weak. Hemmed in by a multitude of constraints—including prohibitive costs, safety and liability concerns, complex visa regulations, and a lack of established institutional channels for international partnerships—opportunities for students to engage in long-term, systematic, and immersive fieldwork or professional internships within the target countries are exceptionally rare. This creates a vast and consequential chasm between abstract theoretical learning in the classroom and the tangible, nuanced cognition of real-world phenomena. This disconnect directly impairs students' ability to analyze and solve authentic, practical problems, effectively leaving the crucial "last mile" of talent cultivation unbridged and producing graduates who may be strong in theory but deficient in practical application.

## **4. Top-Level Design: Articulating the Philosophy, Objectives, and Framework for Integration**

To systematically dismantle the aforementioned dilemmas, a comprehensive and coherent top-level design is imperative. This endeavor requires the meticulous establishment of both the foundational philosophy (the "Dao," or the guiding principles) and the operational framework (the "Shu," or the implementation techniques) for the integration. This study proposes such a top-level design, one that is guided by a progressive philosophy, steered by lucid objectives, and supported by a robust and systematic framework.

### **4.1 Philosophy First: Establishing Three Foundational Guiding Principles for Integration. Thought is the necessary precursor to effective action. A successful and sustainable integration must be constructed upon the unshakeable bedrock of three core philosophical principles:**

4.1.1 A Value-Oriented Mission: Cultivating Moral Integrity and a Deep Sense of National and Global Responsibility. The ultimate purpose of Area Studies education is not merely knowledge transmission but holistic human development. The talent we cultivate must not only possess outstanding and marketable professional capabilities but must also be imbued with a firm conviction to serve the nation's development and contribute positively to the progress of humanity. This must be guided by the expansive vision of a community with a shared future for mankind. This principle serves as the unwavering moral compass and ethical anchor for the entire educational enterprise, ensuring that technical proficiency is always wedded to social purpose.

*4.1.2 A Trinitarian Knowledge Foundation:* The Symbiosis of "Language Proficiency, National Competency, and Domain Expertise". This principle provides a clear and ambitious blueprint for the desired knowledge and competency structure of the new generation of talent. "Language Proficiency" is the indispensable foundational tool, the key that unlocks authentic communication and primary source material. "National Competency"—a deep, nuanced, and holistic understanding of the target country's history, politics, society, and culture—is the core literacy that provides context and meaning. "Domain Expertise" in a specific field such as law, economics, or technology constitutes the critical competitive advantage that allows for specialized contribution. These three elements are organically interconnected and mutually reinforcing; together, they constitute the core competitiveness of truly interdisciplinary talent.

*4.1.3 A Paradigm of Inquiry-Based Thinking:* Fostering "Problem-Driven, Interdisciplinary Exploration". This principle mandates a radical departure from the traditional, passive teaching paradigm centered on the didactic transmission of established knowledge points. It calls for an active, student-centered model driven by authentic, complex, and significant real-world problems (e.g., "Analyze the long-term strategic implications of Sino-Russian cooperation in the Arctic"). This approach requires and empowers students to independently mobilize and creatively apply interdisciplinary perspectives and comparative research methodologies to investigate, analyze, and propose solutions. In this process of active inquiry, students do not merely receive knowledge; they actively construct it, thereby honing their critical thinking and problem-solving abilities.

## **4.2 Recalibrating Objectives: Crafting the Profile of "T-shaped" Talent—Plurilingual, Interdisciplinary, and Multi-skilled:**

Guided by these progressive philosophical principles, the overarching objective of talent cultivation must be comprehensively recalibrated and upgraded. The goal is no longer to produce traditional "Russian language artisans" but to foster new-era "country specialists" and "domain experts." Their core competency profile can be vividly encapsulated as that of "T-shaped" talent, who are distinguished by being plurilingual, interdisciplinary, and multi-skilled\*\*.

**Plurilingual Competency:** This signifies the mastery of a dual working-language portfolio: "Russian + English." This is not redundant but functionally differentiated. Russian serves as the "immersion language" or "deep-access language," which is absolutely essential for cultivating deep cultural empathy, accessing primary-source intelligence, and conducting nuanced, high-level communication within the target region. English, conversely, functions as the indispensable "global lingua franca," the language of international diplomacy, global business, and mainstream academic discourse. The synergistic command of both languages empowers professionals to operate seamlessly across diverse geopolitical and cultural contexts, acting as effective bridges between different worlds.

**Interdisciplinary Knowledge Architecture:** This envisions the forging of a robust "T-shaped" knowledge structure. The deep vertical bar of the "T" represents a profound, anchored expertise. This includes mastery of the Russian language in all its registers and a deep, specialized understanding of the target country's (or region's) politics,

economy, society, and strategic culture. The expansive horizontal bar of the "T" represents intellectual breadth and flexibility. This entails a systematic and functional knowledge of one or more related disciplines, such as international relations theory, international law, corporate finance, data analytics, journalism and communication, or energy strategy. This T-shaped structure ensures that a professional possesses both the deep-dive expertise to be a true specialist and the wide-angle perspective to be an effective strategist and collaborator.

**A Multi-skilled Aptitude Portfolio:** This emphasizes the cultivation of a diverse array of future-oriented core competencies that transcend traditional academic skills. This portfolio includes, but is not limited to:

Advanced intelligence gathering, source verification, and critical analysis capabilities in today's complex and often polluted information environments. This includes the ability to detect disinformation and conduct sophisticated sentiment analysis.

High-level cross-cultural communication, negotiation, and collaborative problem-solving skills, essential for effective functioning in multinational teams and high-stakes diplomatic or business settings.

The increasingly non-negotiable capacity for sophisticated AI tool application and collaborative human-AI cognition, moving beyond simple usage to strategic partnership with intelligent systems.

## **5. Implementation Strategies: The Concrete Construction of the Integration Pathway**

The realization of this ambitious blueprint from a conceptual vision into a tangible reality hinges upon the development and execution of concrete, systematic, and actionable implementation strategies.

### **5.1 Innovation in Talent Cultivation Models: Embracing a "Dual-Track, Vertically Integrated System"**

To effectively cater to the heterogeneous aspirations and career trajectories of students, the traditional, monolithic cultivation path must be dismantled and replaced with a more flexible and responsive "dual-track" model.

**The Academic Research Track:** For students who exhibit a clear aptitude and aspiration for scholarly careers, a vertically integrated "Bachelor's-Master's-Doctorate" pathway should be meticulously designed. This track would feature mechanisms such as early identification of high-potential students, curriculum articulation to avoid redundancy, inter-program credit transfer agreements, and joint supervision by interdisciplinary faculty teams. The goal is to streamline the path to the doctorate, reducing the overall cultivation cycle while significantly enhancing the quality and originality of their research training, thereby creating a sustainable pipeline of future Area Studies scholars.

**The Professional Application Track:** For the majority of students who are oriented towards professional careers in government, business, or non-profit sectors, a suite of flexible options should be offered. This includes well-structured "Major + Minor" programs or the development of cutting-edge "Micro-credential Programs." These programs would be highly customized and demand-driven, such as "Russian + International Business Law," "Russian + Energy Economics and Policy," or "Russian + Digital Media and Strategic Communication." This

approach facilitates precise, "on-demand cultivation," equipping graduates with immediately applicable skills and significantly enhancing their competitiveness and value in the high-end job market.

## **5.2 Radical Restructuring of the Curriculum System: A Three-Dimensional "Platform + Module" Design**

The curriculum itself must be re-architected from the ground up. Employing a "Platform + Module" philosophy, a three-dimensional, open, and dynamic curriculum system should be constructed. This system is designed to be both standardized in its essential core and highly customizable in its areas of specialization.

**The General Platform (Compulsory Foundational Core):** This constitutes the mandatory, foundational component for all students within the program, meticulously designed to build a shared set of core competencies and a common intellectual language. Courses on this platform are non-negotiable and would include: Advanced Russian Integrated Skills (with components on academic writing, public speaking, advanced translation, and an introduction to simultaneous and consecutive interpreting), Introduction to Area Studies: Theories and Methods, The Political Economy of Post-Soviet Eurasia, Social and Cultural Anthropology of the Region, Foundations of International Relations, and Research Design, Methodology, and Academic Ethics.

**Modular Specializations (Customizable Concentrations):** This component offers pathways for personalized, in-depth learning. Students would be required to select one or two specialized modules for systematic and advanced study, based on their intellectual interests and professional aspirations. The design and offering of these modules should be dynamically aligned with the university's unique disciplinary strengths, faculty expertise, and evolving national strategic priorities. Illustrative modules could include:

"Geopolitics and Security Strategy" Module: featuring courses such as Advanced Analysis of Russian Foreign Policy, Security Architecture in Central Asia and the Caucasus, International Conflict Resolution and Crisis Management, and Cybersecurity and Information Warfare.

"Transnational Economics, Trade, and Law" Module: with courses like Russian and Eurasian Business Law, Market Access and Non-Tariff Barriers in the Eurasian Economic Union, Investment, Financing, and Risk Management for Belt and Road Projects, and Energy Geoeconomics.

"International Communication and Public Diplomacy" Module: offering courses like The Russian Media Ecosystem and Information Governance, Advanced Cross-Cultural Communication Strategies, Public Diplomacy and National Image Building, and Digital Diplomacy and Social Media Analytics.

## **5.3 Revolutionizing Pedagogy: Embracing "Problem-Driven, Project-Led" Deep Learning**

A complete and decisive departure from the traditional teacher-centered, lecture-based model of knowledge transmission is required. This necessitates the comprehensive, programmatic implementation of high-impact pedagogical practices such as Problem-Based Learning (PBL) and long-term, Project-Based Learning. For example, an entire semester could be structured around a complex, real-world research problem, such as "Evaluating the viability of the 'Power of Siberia 2' gas pipeline in the context of European energy diversification

and China's climate goals." Student teams, functioning as consultant groups under faculty mentorship, would be tasked with the entire research lifecycle: problem-scoping, multilingual data collection (in Russian, English, and Chinese), interdisciplinary analysis (combining economics, geopolitics, and environmental science), and the final production of a professional-grade policy brief or investment analysis report. This immersive process compels students to actively synthesize and apply interdisciplinary knowledge, internalizing it as a versatile capability for solving complex problems. This core pedagogy should be supplemented with other active-learning methods, including the case study method, simulated international negotiations, diplomatic wargaming exercises, and, where possible, structured ethnographic fieldwork.

#### **5.4 Building Robust Faculty and Institutional Support Mechanisms: A Strategy of "Internal Cultivation, External Recruitment," and Platform-Based Empowerment.**

Faculty represent the single most critical variable in the success of this reform, and effective institutional mechanisms are the essential guarantee of its long-term sustainability. Faculty development must therefore pursue a vigorous, two-pronged strategy of "internal cultivation and external recruitment."

**Internal Faculty Development:** Universities must establish dedicated special funds and structured programs to support existing language faculty in pursuing systematic advanced studies, second PhDs, or postdoctoral fellowships in relevant social science fields at top-tier universities and research institutions, both in China and abroad. This facilitates a process of "intellectual retooling" and "self-empowerment."

**External Talent Recruitment:** Institutions must break free from conventional, rigid hiring practices. Flexible appointment models—such as distinguished professorships of practice, adjunct supervisory roles, and short-term visiting fellowships—should be used to proactively attract high-level talent with extensive, real-world practical experience from government ministries, international organizations, think tanks, multinational corporations, and media outlets. The goal is to assemble a dynamic, hybrid teaching corps that integrates the best of "academia and industry," ensuring that theoretical education is constantly grounded in and challenged by practical reality.

On the institutional support front, the establishment of a university-level, autonomous Institute or Center for Area Studies\*\* is not merely desirable but essential. This entity must be structured to transcend traditional departmental boundaries and must be vested with the genuine administrative authority to coordinate relevant resources across the entire university. Its core responsibilities would include coordinating the development and offering of cross-campus courses, managing interdisciplinary research seed grants, establishing and overseeing a network of domestic and international practical training bases, and organizing high-level international academic conferences. This institute would serve as the institutional engine, providing the solid structural and resource support necessary to drive and sustain the integration of teaching and research.

## 6. Practical Validation: Pioneering Models and Proofs of Concept from Chinese Universities

The theoretical efficacy and practical viability of this integrated pathway are not merely speculative; they have been compellingly and repeatedly corroborated by the pioneering reform practices already underway at several forward-thinking universities across China.

For example, a number of universities renowned for their distinct industry-specific characteristics have successfully leveraged their traditional, deep-seated strengths in fields like journalism and communication, international finance, or law to create highly successful and distinctive integration models. Programs such as "Russian + International Journalism" or "Russian + Global Finance" have gained significant acclaim. Graduates from these programs enter the workforce armed with a powerful and rare dual competency in "language + domain." They are fluent communicators in Russian and English, but also possess the specialized knowledge to analyze Russian media law or structure a cross-border M&A deal. Unsurprisingly, they have demonstrated exceptional competitiveness in elite, high-end employment markets, securing coveted positions in international organizations (like the UN and the SCO), multinational media corporations, global investment banks, and international law firms.

In a different but equally compelling vein, several comprehensive universities strategically located in China's border regions or along the key corridors of the "Belt and Road" Initiative have astutely capitalized on their unique geographical advantages and their rich historical legacy of research on Russia and Central Asia. Guided by a clear mission to serve both local socio-economic development and the nation's grand strategy of opening up to the West, these institutions have successfully integrated their internal academic strengths in law, economics, ethnology, and logistics. This has enabled them to cultivate successive cohorts of eminently practical, hands-on professionals—graduates who are described as "willing to go, able to stay, and ready to use". These individuals become indispensable assets for local governments and enterprises engaged in cross-border trade, infrastructure development, logistics management, and nuanced cultural exchange, forming the human capital backbone of regional development.

These successful case studies, while diverse in their specific models and areas of focus, collectively provide a powerful and undeniable proof of concept. They empirically demonstrate that as long as an institution accurately identifies its unique strategic position, plays to its inherent strengths, and commits fully to genuine interdisciplinary collaboration, the pathway of integrated talent cultivation possesses formidable vitality, significant market value, and broad replicability across the Chinese higher education system.

## 7. Future Outlook: Technological Empowerment and the Strategic Construction of a Chinese Narrative

Looking towards the horizon, the integration pathway for Area Studies and Russian language teaching is poised for an even more profound and dynamic evolution, driven by two transformative forces.

First, the deep and pervasive empowerment of technology will become a core catalyst and an undeniable competitive differentiator. Digital technologies, particularly artificial intelligence (AI) and big data analytics, are not merely new tools; they are fundamentally reconfiguring the very fabric of how knowledge is acquired, processed, analyzed, and created. The future of Area Studies education, therefore, cannot be limited to the superficial use of AI to assist with language drilling or automated information retrieval. The more fundamental and urgent revolution lies in the imperative to explicitly incorporate the cultivation of students' ability to critically command and strategically partner with AI. This can be termed "Human-AI Interaction and Negotiation Capability." This advanced competency transcends simple operational skills. It demands that students develop a sophisticated critical literacy to discern and mitigate the inherent biases, inaccuracies, and "hallucinations" in AI-generated content. It requires that they learn to craft high-quality, insightful, and analytically powerful prompts to guide AI systems effectively. Most importantly, it involves training them to collaborate with AI as a cognitive partner to perform complex analytical and creative tasks that neither human nor machine could accomplish alone. The ultimate goal is to train a generation of professionals who are unequivocally masters of AI, not its passive servants. This represents both a monumental pedagogical challenge and an unprecedented opportunity to leapfrog traditional methods.

Second, the conscious and strategic construction of a "Chinese narrative" within Area Studies will emerge as a pivotal long-term objective. For decades, the intellectual and discursive power within the global field of Area Studies has been predominantly shaped and dominated by Western academic institutions, theories, and perspectives. A key ultimate goal of China's integrated talent cultivation must be to equip a new generation of scholars and practitioners to effectively serve the mission of disseminating China's voice, articulating the principles and successes of the Chinese path, and safeguarding the nation's core interests on the global stage. Therefore, our pedagogy and research must consciously and unapologetically adhere to a Chinese standpoint, integrate Chinese philosophical wisdom, and reflect Chinese national interests. We must guide students not only to master and critically assess foreign theories but, more importantly, to develop the confidence and capability to observe, analyze, and interpret the world using Chinese theoretical frameworks and value systems. This signifies a profound strategic shift—from being a passive "object" of Western academic inquiry to becoming an active "subject" that co-constructs global knowledge and helps shape international agendas. Cultivating a new generation of scholars, diplomats, and business leaders who can effectively tell China's stories and propose China's solutions with a global vision and in fluent, internationalized languages will represent a monumental contribution to a more pluralistic and balanced global knowledge system.

## 8. Conclusion

The inexorable and transformative tide of the New Liberal Arts is propelling a profound and unavoidable self-revolution within the discipline of Russian language studies across Chinese higher education. The historical trajectory is clear: a decisive move away from traditional language-tool instruction towards a new paradigm dedicated to the cultivation of elite, interdisciplinary talent. This new model is explicitly oriented towards serving major national strategies and is intellectually anchored in the rich, substantive knowledge core of Area Studies. This evolution is not a matter of choice, but a historical and strategic necessity. The comprehensive "five-in-one" integration pathway meticulously constructed in this paper—spanning from the macro-level of guiding philosophy and strategic objectives, through the meso-level of curriculum design and pedagogical methodology, down to the micro-level of faculty development and institutional support mechanisms—provides a clear, coherent, and actionable roadmap for navigating this systemic transformation.

The philosophical essence of this proposed path lies in a steadfast commitment to breaking down debilitating barriers, passionately embracing interdisciplinarity, steadfastly unifying knowledge with action, and resolutely orienting our efforts towards the future. This endeavor demands that educators, administrators, and policymakers exhibit a grander strategic vision, greater institutional courage, and deeper intellectual wisdom to fundamentally re-engineer the entire chain of talent cultivation, from recruitment to graduation and beyond.

Although the road ahead will undoubtedly be beset with manifold challenges pertaining to resource allocation, institutional resistance, and ingrained conceptual biases, the direction of progress is now illuminated with piercing clarity. Through sustained, unwavering reform and a culture of relentless innovation, we can and we will succeed in cultivating a new generation of talent who are truly and demonstrably "proficient in the Russian language, deeply expert on the country and its region, and genuine masters of their professional domain." In doing so, we will not only revitalize a venerable academic discipline but will also contribute an indispensable reservoir of Chinese wisdom and strength towards the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the collective human endeavor of promoting and building a more just, equitable, and peaceful community with a shared future for mankind.

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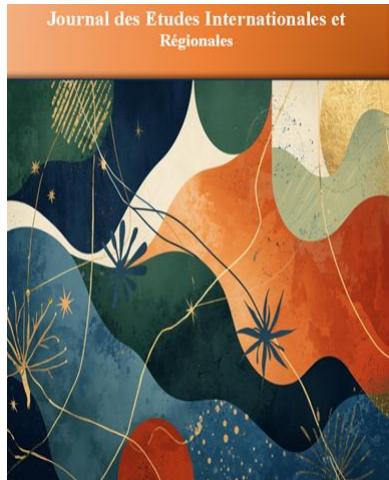
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## A Study on Balancing in San Marino's Asymmetric Dependence on the European Union

Étude sur l'équilibrage dans la dépendance asymétrique du Saint-Marin vis-à-vis de l'Union européenne

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**Abstract:** In the process of moving towards a multipolar international system, countries are highly interconnected. Even for major powers, their core strategic objectives are no longer centered on achieving victory in zero-sum games but rather on influencing the behaviors of other states and non-state actors through the establishment of "asymmetric dependence" relationships. This is primarily achieved through various means, including institutional arrangements, direct economic influence, and the construction of interconnected infrastructure networks. Consequently, existing research predominantly discusses asymmetric dependence relationships from the perspective of major powers, portraying small countries as passive entities subject to the constraints of major powers. This paper aims to demonstrate, through the lens of asymmetric dependence theory, that asymmetric interdependence is characterized by bidirectional interaction. In such relationships, small countries are not subject to one-way repressive influence but rather engage in an embedded autonomy model that upholds their national sovereignty and pursues self-development. This study takes San Marino, a small European country, as its research subject. As is well known, there exists a highly asymmetric international relationship between San Marino and the European Union; however, San Marino achieves independent development through the reciprocity inherent in this asymmetric relationship.

**Keywords:** asymmetric dependence; small countries; San Marino; European Union; embedded autonomy

**Résumé :** Dans le processus vers un système international multipolaire, les États sont interconnectés de manière étroite. Même pour les grandes puissances majeures, leur objectif stratégique central n'est plus de remporter un jeu à somme nulle, mais d'influencer le comportement d'autres États et acteurs non étatiques par la création de relations de « dépendance asymétrique ». Cela se réalise principalement par le biais de l'établissement d'arrangements institutionnels, d'influences économiques directes et de la construction de divers réseaux d'interconnexion d'infrastructures. Par conséquent, les recherches existantes discutent essentiellement des relations de dépendance asymétrique du point de vue des grandes puissances, tandis que les petits États apparaissent comme des acteurs passifs soumis aux grandes puissances. Cet article vise à démontrer, à l'aide de la théorie de la dépendance asymétrique, que les relations de dépendance mutuelle asymétriques sont caractérisées par une interaction bidirectionnelle. Dans ce cadre, les petits États ne subissent pas une influence oppressive

unilatérale, mais adoptent un modèle d'autonomie intégrée marqué par l'indépendance de leur souveraineté et la poursuite de leur propre développement. L'étude se focalise sur le petit État européen de la République de Saint-Marin. Comme on le sait, il existe une relation internationale extrêmement asymétrique entre Saint-Marin et l'Union européenne, mais Saint-Marin parvient à réaliser son développement indépendant grâce à la mutualité inhérente à cette relation asymétrique.

**Mots-clés :** dépendance asymétrique ; petits États ; Saint-Marin ; Union européenne ; autonomie intégrée

## 1. Introduction

As globalization enters a new phase, countries and other actors find themselves interconnected within a highly complex network. In the early decades following World War II, integration was regarded as a crucial factor driving economic growth. However, with the weakening of American hegemony, competition among major powers has reemerged, posing the risk of integration being misused by powerful states as a weapon to compel other actors to alter their behavioral patterns. Although international relations theorists have recognized the importance of asymmetric dependence in recent years<sup>1</sup>, this prominent feature of contemporary international politics remains under-explored. Particularly within asymmetric relationships, the strategic choices of the weaker party have long been overlooked, with scholarly attention primarily focused on the strategies of major powers.

The traditional view posits that small countries (including microstates in this study) are mere "puppets" of major powers, incapable of exerting meaningful influence in bilateral relations. This research contends that in a highly interconnected world, actors can no longer engage in zero-sum games, and weak states possess considerable strategic maneuvering space to influence their relationships with major powers while maintaining sovereign independence. The weaker party is no longer merely a rule-follower but can also exercise agency to shape relationships, thereby effectively influencing the behavior of powerful actors.

The European Union (EU) is currently one of the most highly integrated regional organizations in the world. As of 2025, the EU comprises 27 member states. As the most institutionalized and interconnected regional alliance globally, the EU's internal collaboration transcends traditional paradigms of interstate cooperation, forming a highly integrated multidimensional system encompassing legal, economic, political, infrastructure, and social dimensions. Beyond the 27 EU member states, several other European countries remain independent of the EU for various strategic and policy reasons. These include permanently neutral Switzerland, as well as microstates such as Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, and Vatican City, which are embedded within other countries. Nevertheless, the EU continues to influence and shape the behavior of these neighboring states through various means, including establishing institutional frameworks, exerting direct economic influence, and constructing interconnected infrastructure networks.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, translated by Men Honghua, Peking University Press, 2002, pp. 9-14.

It is evident from the provisions of the EU Treaties, the fundamental laws of the European Union, that the EU must establish some form of relationship with Europe's microstates. Article 8 of the Treaty on European Union stipulates that the Union shall develop a special relationship with neighbouring countries, aiming to establish an area of prosperity and good neighbourliness, founded on the values of the Union, characterised by close and peaceful relations based on cooperation. For the purposes mentioned above, the Union may conclude specific agreements with the countries concerned. These agreements may contain reciprocal rights and obligations and may provide for the possibility of undertaking activities jointly. Their implementation shall be the subject of periodic consultation.<sup>2</sup> Building on this, the declaration attached to the Treaty of Lisbon<sup>3</sup> provides supplementary explanations for Article 8 of the Treaty on European Union: the Union will take into account the particular situation of small-sized countries which maintain specific relations of proximity with it. This clause explicitly emphasizes that specific circumstances should be considered in handling relationships with small countries, which should be the result of careful consideration of the sovereignty and influence of these small countries. However, given the EU's significant influence over microstates on the European continent, it has the freedom to regulate the types and forms of relationships with other small countries in a manner it deems appropriate, and this "careful consideration" has certain ideological limitations.

This study focuses on the issue of balancing within San Marino's asymmetric dependence on the European Union (EU). The selection of San Marino as the research subject stems from a comprehensive consideration of its political economy and international relations. As a microstate surrounded by Italy, San Marino boasts a long history, with its economy heavily reliant on light industry and tourism, while the service and financial sectors also serve as major economic pillars. Cross-border labor plays a significant role in its economy. However, due to its unique geographical location, its relationship with the EU has undergone several trials and, to a certain extent, requires Italy's intervention. Italy and San Marino have maintained a distinctive relationship, whereby Italy not only fulfills its special responsibilities towards San Marino in international affairs but also coordinates the relationship between the EU and this enclaved country since the initiation of European integration in the 1950s. Nevertheless, in 2023, San Marino (along with Andorra) completed negotiations with the European Commission on an association agreement between the two sides. Once this legal text is signed in the coming years, it will mark the dawn of a new era in relations between the EU and San Marino. In light of this, this paper will take the international relations between San Marino and the EU as an example to analyze how asymmetric dependence theory explains the survival strategies of small countries towards major powers. Specifically, it will discuss the international relations characteristics exhibited by San Marino in its asymmetric interactions with the EU and whether it is entirely dependent on the EU or possesses a countervailing force. To explore this issue, this paper will first outline the key viewpoints of asymmetric mutual dependence theory; subsequently, it will review

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<sup>2</sup> CONSOLIDATED VERSION OF THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION, Official Journal of the European Union, 26.10.2012 C326/20.

<sup>3</sup> The Treaty of Lisbon 2007 Declaration No. 3 on Art. 8 of the Treaty on European Union.

relevant literature and analyze the balancing strategies adopted by small-country actors in asymmetric relationships.

## 2. Asymmetric Dependence Theory

### 2.1 Mutuality in Asymmetric Dependence

Generally speaking, based on the national power of countries, international relations can be divided into two types: symmetric and asymmetric. Compared with symmetric relations aimed at achieving strong-strong alliances between countries, the asymmetric cooperation model that emerges from political safeguarding and partial sovereignty transfer between major and minor powers has demonstrated stronger vitality. Asymmetric dependence refers to a mutually dependent relationship between two or more actors, where there are significant differences in the degree of dependence, i.e., one party is more dependent on the other. This asymmetry places one party in a relatively disadvantaged position within the relationship, while the other party enjoys greater bargaining power, control, and policy autonomy. However, in today's globalized world, symmetric dependence places more emphasis on the mutuality, rather than the unilateralism, of dependence and influence between two actors. The concept of "asymmetric mutual dependence as a source of power" has become a frequently used term. As Keohane and Nye stated, "*Interdependence, most simply defined, means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries*" (Keohane & Nye, 1977: 8).

Albert Hirschman, in his book, National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade, pointed out that political influence can be built upon economic interconnectedness. "*the trade conducted between country A, on the one hand, and countries B, C, D, etc., on the other hand, is worth something to B, C, D, etc., and that they would therefore consent to grant A certain advantages—military, political, economic—in order to retain the possibility of trading with A*" (Hirschman, 1980: 17). Therefore, Hirschman argued that trade can serve as a tool of pressure that governments can exploit. By threatening to disrupt trade relations with another country, it can become "an effective weapon in the struggle for power" (Hirschman, 1980: 17). This is because "*the power to interrupt commercial or financial relations with any country, considered as an attribute of national sovereignty, is the root cause of the influence or power position which a country acquires in other countries, just as it is the root cause of the dependence on trade*" (Hirschman, 1980: 16). Here, "dependence" implies "need", while "asymmetry" indicates that the weaker party has a greater need for the benefits derived from a certain relationship than the other party. The core idea of this argument is that if a trade relationship is far more important to one party than to the other, the party in a stronger position can leverage this to secure political concessions and promote alignment with its political objectives (Wagner, 1988). However, the existence of mutual dependence also challenges the objectives of national behavior, as it is no longer possible to achieve "absolute gains" in conflict situations. When countries no longer adhere to a zero-sum mindset, the best they can do is to minimize their own losses relatively (Roberts, Choer & Ferguson, 2018).

Trade is not the sole form of economic interdependence. States can also employ a variety of economic tools to achieve their foreign policy objectives. In his book *Economic Statecraft*, David Baldwin provides a detailed exposition of how powerful nations utilize economic means in multiple ways to pursue their foreign policy goals. Beyond economic diplomacy, influence exertion, sanctions, and even coercion, the concept of economic statecraft underscores that economic instruments and techniques can serve "a number of noneconomic ends" (Baldwin, 1985: 40). Apart from economic diplomacy, most economic tools possess both incentive and coercive dimensions. Incentives include export or import subsidies, preferential tariff treatment, financial support, investments, and the like; whereas coercive measures encompass tariff hikes, embargoes, boycotts, blacklisting, license denials, asset freezes, and others (Baldwin, 1985; Norris, 2016). Given the high costs of conflict, cooperation has been regarded as the dominant feature in post-Cold War international politics (Genest, 1996: 140). To achieve this goal, states can leverage various tools, including institutional building, direct economic influence, and the construction of different forms of infrastructure connectivity networks. This has made economic statecraft a primary policy instrument (Kahler & Kastner, 2006)—predominantly wielded by superpowers, major powers, and even regional powers with relatively strong economic positions (Buzan & Wæver, 2003: 34-37), particularly those countries possessing critical resources sought by other actors (Kahler & Kastner, 2006; Leonard, 2016).

## 2.2 Balancing in Asymmetric Dependence

Up to now, the literature on asymmetric dependence has primarily centered on major powers, focusing on the study of great-power competition, while giving scant attention to the strategic possibilities of small countries. This is directly related to factors such as the geopolitical situation, comprehensive national strength, and global influence of small countries. Generally speaking, international relations theory defines small countries as those that are relatively vulnerable and lack capacity in terms of population size, economic strength, military power, etc., and also have limitations in their public administrative capabilities or governance standards. The relationships between most countries exhibit asymmetric characteristics due to differences in political, economic, and military capabilities. This asymmetry profoundly affects the behavioral capacity of small countries (Womack, 2006). Based on this theoretical understanding, traditional international relations research tends to approach the exploration of asymmetric dependence scenarios from the perspective of major powers. It often portrays small countries as passive actors trapped in dependence on major powers and struggling to act autonomously. Regarding the proactive role of major powers, Neal Jesse and John Dreyer point out that "the great powers establish not only the norms and structures of the international system but also the regional security hierarchies" (Jesse & Dreyer, 2016: 3). While this offers significant theoretical contributions in understanding and deconstructing the global order, it also further narrows the space for recognizing the role of small countries in world history.

Within this relational framework, mainstream literature holds that the strategic means available to the weaker party in relational interactions are highly limited. Kenneth Waltz (1979) primarily categorized the behavior of small countries into two types: balancing and bandwagoning. However, recent research has challenged this binary classification and further diversified the diplomatic types of small countries, developing an even more varied

range of alliance behavior types, such as engagement, binding, buck-passing, soft balancing, hedging, and limited-alignment, among others. Meanwhile, scholars have also begun to explore the more complex motivations underlying the behavior of small countries, such as maximizing security and maximizing interests (Sidel & Ciorciari, 2011; Pempel, 2010; Kuik, 2016). These studies on the behavioral patterns of small countries fully demonstrate that they are not merely passive recipients of asymmetric relations but possess the ability to pursue national interests through a variety of strategies. Although they lack the capacity to completely counter neighboring major powers or hegemonic forces, they may be able to influence the behavior of these countries to a certain extent.

Additionally, in the relationship between strong and weak countries, academic literature still tends to interpret it from the perspective of security policy. However, economic factors are precisely one of the key attributes of mixed strategies, and the complexity of this dimension becomes even more prominent in an era of globalization and high interdependence. The effectiveness of mixed strategies depends not only on national actors but also on factors such as their own network relationships, economic interests, cultural and historical memories, all of which have a tangible impact on strategy implementation.

According to existing literature reviews and research findings, despite their asymmetric disadvantages in national power, small countries still possess a certain degree of agency in influencing the behavior of major powers. At the macro-strategic level, small countries typically adopt either a "bandwagoning" or "balancing" strategy. However, in specific practices, they employ a variety of strategies to prompt major powers to act in ways that align with their own interests. Based on the aforementioned theoretical considerations, this paper propose a basic hypothesis: asymmetric mutual dependence enables small countries to inversely influence the behavior of major powers, achieving embedded autonomy. Therefore, we will analyze various strategic paths available to small countries to explore how they can achieve reverse autonomy within asymmetric relations. To verify this hypothesis, this paper takes the institutional and agreement clauses formulated by San Marino towards the European Union (EU) as the research object to evaluate the asymmetric relationship between San Marino and the EU. Before conducting an analysis of strategic paths, it needs to clarify the relationship dynamics between San Marino and the EU through the primary determinant of asymmetric relationships—trade structure.

### **3. Trade Relations between San Marino and the EU**

Although San Marino's economic structure is primarily centered on tourism and finance, it demonstrates exemplary value as a microstate in terms of diversified development, institutional innovation, and sustainable governance. In the future, its economy will continue to seek a dynamic balance between maintaining national independence, cultural identity, and global integration.

As a European micro-economy, San Marino's trade relations with the EU exhibit significant characteristics of asymmetric dependence, which can be clearly validated through data analysis of trade scale, structure, and core product categories.

**Table 1: Trade Scale and Structure of San Marino with the EU**

Indicator	2023 Data	2024 Data
Exports to the EU	Approximately 138 million euros	Approximately 174 million euros
Imports from the EU	Approximately 338 million euros	Approximately 372 million euros
Premium rate of euro commemorative coins	Approximately 30%-40%	Approximately 40%-50%
Renewable energy adoption rate	Approximately 85% (estimated based on comprehensive energy agency data)	Approximately 92% (estimated based on comprehensive energy agency data)
EU countries adopting cryptocurrency regulatory standards	15 EU countries (comprehensive statistics based on blockchain industry reports)	20 EU countries (comprehensive statistics based on blockchain industry reports)

In terms of export volume to the EU, according to data from the United Nations Comtrade Database, San Marino's exports to the EU reached 138 million euros in 2023 (calculated based on the average exchange rate of 1.0813 euros to the US dollar in 2023). By 2024, this figure had climbed to 174 million euros, clearly demonstrating a continuous expansion of its export scale. From the perspective of import volume from the EU, data from 2023 indicated 338 million euros, while in 2024, it surged to 372 million euros, intuitively reflecting a steady increase in its demand for imported goods from the EU.

Regarding the premium rate of euro commemorative coins, taking the 2-euro commemorative coin issued by San Marino in July 2025 to mark the 550th anniversary of Michelangelo's birth as an example, the price of the Proof Inversa version soared to more than seven times its issue price on the secondary market. Looking back at the period from 2023 to 2024, the overall premium rate in the commemorative coin market fluctuated at a high level, roughly increasing from 30% - 40% to 40% - 50%.

In terms of renewable energy utilization rate, although there are no official and latest exact statistical updates available, based on estimates referencing the development trends in the energy industry, San Marino's renewable energy utilization rate was approximately 85% in 2023 and was expected to rise to about 92% by 2024. This aligns with the relevant trend in renewable energy power generation in San Marino as reflected in World Bank statistics, indicating its positive achievements in the energy transition process.

Regarding the adoption of cryptocurrency regulatory standards, according to comprehensive statistics from blockchain industry reports, the number of EU countries that adopted San Marino's relevant standards was 15 in

2023, and this figure grew to 20 by 2024, demonstrating a gradual expansion of San Marino's influence in the field of cryptocurrency regulatory rule-making.

From an overall volume perspective, in 2023, San Marino's exports to the EU accounted for 82% of its total exports, and imports accounted for 78%, with a trade deficit of 190 million US dollars. This "high export orientation + trade deficit" pattern highlights its deep economic dependence on the EU market<sup>4</sup>.

In terms of the specific commodity structure, this dependence exhibits a complementary characteristic of "resource input - high - value - added output. " On the import side, due to its lack of natural resources, San Marino is highly dependent on the EU for the supply of strategic materials. In the energy sector, 75% of its imports come from Italy and 15% from other EU countries, with complete reliance on the EU supply chain for petroleum products and electricity. In terms of grain and by - product imports, EU countries account for over 90% of the supply, forming a typical "survival-oriented import" structure<sup>5</sup>. On the export side, high-value-added products dominate. More than 80% of manufacturing products such as precision machinery, ceramic products, and electronic components are sold to the EU, with precision machinery accounting for 34% of exports to the EU and becoming its export pillar<sup>6</sup>.

From the perspective of trading partners, Italy, as a neighboring country, occupies a central position in the trade between San Marino and the EU. All of San Marino's energy imports and 60% of its industrial raw material imports come from Italy, while approximately 55% of its export goods are transshipped through Italy to other EU countries, forming a trade network of "Italy as an intermediary-EU as the radiation target"<sup>7</sup>.

## 4. Embedded Autonomy in Policies towards the EU

In the asymmetric dependency relationship with the EU, San Marino has retained significant sovereign independence within the EU framework through differentiated policy design, which is mainly reflected in aspects such as the customs union, monetary affairs, and the integration process.

### 4.1 Customs Union: Sovereign Elastic Space in Institutional Embeddedness

San Marino is the smallest microstate that has established a customs union with the EU. Since 1862, San Marino has formed a de facto customs union with Italy. In 1939, the two sides officially established the Italy-San Marino Customs Union<sup>8</sup>. With the formation of the EU Customs Union and considering that Italy is essentially a part of it, according to relevant legal provisions, San Marino should be regarded as part of the EU customs territory

<sup>4</sup> Eurostat. EU Foreign Trade Statistical Report 2024 [R]. Brussels: Eurostat, 2024.

<sup>5</sup> San Marino National Statistical Office. White Paper on the National Economy of San Marino 2023 [R]. San Marino: San Marino National Statistical Office, 2023

<sup>6</sup> San Marino Ministry of Industry. Manufacturing Exports Report of San Marino 2024 [R]. San Marino: San Marino Ministry of Industry, 2024.

<sup>7</sup> European Economic Research Centre. Research on the Trade Networks of European Micro - Economies [R]. Berlin: European Economic Research Centre, 2023.

<sup>8</sup> Convention of Friendship and Good Neighbourhood between Italy and San Marino (Convenzione di amicizia e di buon vicinato fra l'Italia e la Repubblica di San Marino), 31 Mar. 1939, entering into force on 30 Sep. 1939.

(although not part of the EU Customs Union)<sup>9</sup>. The decision to include San Marino in the EU customs territory was made unilaterally by the EU, and as a result, San Marino is considered part of the Italian customs territory. Theoretically, this means that before formally concluding an international agreement with the EU, San Marino could have its own foreign trade policy. However, at the same time, since it has not exercised this privilege, it also implies that when San Marino's goods are exported to third countries, they cannot be guaranteed to receive the same treatment as EU goods because they are not protected by the EU's foreign trade policies.

By the 1990s, the situation began to change. At that time, the EU and San Marino made efforts to further integrate with each other in terms of trade in goods. After complex political discussions, on December 16, 1991, the European Economic Community and San Marino signed the Agreement on Cooperation and Customs Union in Brussels<sup>10</sup>, which came into effect on April 1, 2002. This agreement established a customs union covering all types of products between San Marino and the EU by eliminating import and export duties and charges having equivalent effect between San Marino and the EU. San Marino committed to applying the Common Customs Tariff to goods from third countries and also pledged to apply the Common Commercial Policy, as well as EU regulations on agricultural trade and EU veterinary, phytosanitary, and quality regulations. According to the agreement, the two parties were required to cooperate not only in commercial affairs but also in other areas such as industry, the environment, tourism, culture, and the mass media. Finally, the agreement introduced social clauses to mutually recognize that nationals working in the territory of the other contracting party would enjoy treatment free from any discrimination based on nationality regarding working conditions and remuneration. Equal treatment was also stipulated in the field of social security. Article 19 contains a future development clause, as it envisages that the contracting parties may, by mutual agreement, expand the scope of the agreement to supplement the areas of cooperation through agreements on specific sectors or activities.

After the Agreement on Cooperation and Customs Union came into effect, San Marino became part of the EU Customs Union and could no longer have its own trade policy. In return for San Marino applying the EU Common Customs Tariff (implemented by Italy) to goods from third countries, when the EU concludes preferential international agreements with third countries, San Marino may benefit from the EU's Common Commercial Policy, as in each international agreement, goods from San Marino may be accorded the same status as those from the EU. In other words, when the EU negotiates (preferential) international agreements on trade in goods, it can also negotiate on behalf of San Marino. This means that although it is possible for San Marino to be included in EU agreements with third countries in terms of goods, such inclusion is not automatic or systematic for all international agreements concluded between the EU and third countries.

As a micro-economy within the customs union, San Marino exerts reverse influence on the EU through the path of "rule acceptance-benefit transformation". On October 17, 2002, San Marino sent a Memorandum to the rotating

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<sup>9</sup> Regulation (EEC) No 1496/68 of the Council of 27 September 1968 on the Definition of the Customs Territory of the Community, L 238/1 O.J.E.C. (28 Sep. 1968).

<sup>10</sup> Agreement on Cooperation and Customs Union Between the European Economic Community and the Republic of San Marino, L 84/43 O.J.E.C. (28 Mar. 2002).

presidency of the EU, the President of the European Commission, Commissioner Patten, and the President of the European Convention. The memorandum emphasized that San Marino's economy was closely linked to the European economy, thus mentioning the possibility of new forms of cooperation in addition to the currently effective Agreement on Cooperation and Customs Union. Furthermore, the memorandum pointed out that as a small country eager to preserve its own characteristics, San Marino had to fully consider all the potential impacts of joining the EU, and the European Convention presented a valuable opportunity to jointly discuss these issues. In light of this, San Marino expressed its intention to willingly initiate a research and evaluation activity together so as to subsequently determine a common strategy with various EU institutions, thereby meeting the expectations of both sides and laying the foundation for the relationship between the Republic of San Marino and the new EU in the third millennium.

In April 2010, San Marino adopted Decision No. 1/2010 "Omnibus" of the San Marino-EU Cooperation Committee, concerning the field of the customs union. This decision consolidated all previous decisions made by San Marino to comply with the Interim Agreement on Trade and Customs Union<sup>11</sup> and reaffirmed that these provisions remained fully valid under the framework of the current Agreement on Cooperation and Customs Union. New content was introduced into the text of the decision, including the implementation of legislation related to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES). According to this provision, the territory of the Republic of San Marino was regarded as part of the EU territory, thereby simplifying the administrative procedures for the import and export of goods between San Marino and the EU. This essentially optimized San Marino's operational space within the customs union<sup>12</sup>.

#### **4.2 Monetary Affairs: Sovereignty Retention and Rule Exportation of Eurozone Associated Countries**

San Marino's monetary sovereignty practice exhibits characteristics of "formal concession and substantive retention." While obtaining the right to use the euro through a special monetary agreement, it has established a form of counter-penetration into the EU's monetary system by retaining unique authorities such as the right to issue commemorative coins.

After Italy's unification in 1861, San Marino signed multiple treaties with the newly established Kingdom of Italy. The first economic agreement, concluded in 1865, involved the introduction of the San Marino lira, which was pegged at par with the Italian lira and served as legal tender in both countries. One of the most significant agreements was the 1939 Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighborliness, signed during the Fascist era. Article 47 of the Treaty explicitly stated that the official currency of San Marino was the Italian lira, while the San Marino lira (Lira sammarinese) also existed as a currency form pegged to the Italian lira. The San Marino lira was a

<sup>11</sup> Interim Agreement on Trade and Customs Union between the European Economic Community and the Republic of San Marino, L 359/14 O.J.E.C. (9 Dec. 1992). From the perspective of EU external relations law, it is noteworthy that the IATUC was the first international agreement concluded by the EU with a third state that was not a mixed agreement. In other words, it was the first EU-only agreement. The Interim Agreement on Trade and Customs Union between the EU and San Marino, which came into effect in December 1992, terminated the customs-related provisions in the 1939 agreement between San Marino and Italy.

<sup>12</sup> Interim Agreement on Trade and Customs Union, L 359/14 O.J.E.C.

unique currency because its status as legal tender in San Marino depended on a monetary convention concluded between San Marino and Italy. The most recent such monetary convention was signed in 1991 [Monetary Convention between the Italian Republic and the Republic of San Marino, concluded in Rome on December 21, 1991].

However, with Italy becoming a member state adopting the single currency at the outset of its introduction, this effectively meant the end of the use of both the Italian lira and the San Marino lira. Given that European microstates have intricate monetary relationships with their larger neighbors, the emergence of the single currency was considered particularly crucial for these microstates. Therefore, the Maastricht Treaty included a declaration on monetary relations between the EU and certain microstates (including San Marino). The declaration stipulated that before the European Community introduced the European Currency Unit (ECU) as the single currency of the Community, the existing monetary relations between Italy and San Marino, Vatican City, as well as between France and Monaco, would not be affected by the Treaty establishing the European Community. The Community undertook to facilitate renegotiation of the existing arrangements if necessary due to the introduction of the ECU as the single currency<sup>13</sup>.

The foundational law of the EU has made possible a special type of international agreement: monetary agreements. These are not ordinary international agreements because the EU treaties distinguish them. On one hand, Article 218 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) sets out the procedural regime for ordinary international agreements. In contrast, Article 219 of the TFEU stipulates a different procedural regime for monetary agreements between the EU and third countries<sup>14</sup>.

It is on the basis of this special legal foundation that the first Monetary Agreement between the EU and San Marino (the 2000 Monetary Agreement) dated November 29, 2000, allowed San Marino, as a third country, to have the right to use the euro as its official currency in accordance with applicable EU law and required it to apply relevant EU regulations regarding euro banknotes and coins within its territory. The Republic of San Marino was permitted to issue a certain quantity of euro coins, which had to be identical to those issued by EU member states. As Italy no longer possessed monetary sovereignty, San Marino's monetary affairs became EU affairs for the first time. The 2000 Monetary Agreement, as an EU-only agreement, terminated the previous bilateral monetary conventions between Italy and San Marino<sup>15</sup>.

The European Commission considered that the safeguards contained in the 2000 Monetary Agreement, as well as similar monetary agreements concluded with other microstates, were insufficient from the perspective of the integrity of the single currency<sup>16</sup>. Therefore, the European Commission and other EU institutions, such as the

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<sup>13</sup> Treaty on European Union, C 191/1 O.J.E.C. (29 Jul. 1992), emphasis added.

<sup>14</sup> See M. Cremona & P. Leino-Sandberg, International Agreements of the EU in the Field of EMU, in EU Law of Economic & Monetary Union (F. Amtenbrink & C. Herrmann eds, Oxford University Press 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Article 10, Monetary Agreement, *supra* n. 79.

<sup>16</sup> Communication from the Commission to the Council. Report on the Functioning of the Monetary Agreements With Monaco, San Marino and Vatican, COM(2009) 359 Final.

European Central Bank (ECB), were keen to replace these agreements with second-generation monetary agreements. This objective was achieved through the 2012 Monetary Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of San Marino (the 2012 Monetary Agreement)<sup>17</sup>. This agreement comprehensively repealed the 2000 Monetary Agreement. The new text incorporated EU provisions on protecting the euro against counterfeiting and preventing money laundering. Moreover, the new agreement aligned San Marino's banking and financial regulations with those of eurozone member states. It also established a Joint Committee (aimed at facilitating the implementation of the aforementioned text and addressing any amendments to the list of EU provisions applicable to San Marino) and introduced a new method for determining the ceiling on euro coin issuance, with a view to treating all countries that had concluded monetary agreements with the EU equally [For example, like the 2000 Monetary Agreement, the 2012 Monetary Agreement permits, subject to conditions, San Marino to issue single currency coins, subject to an annual ceiling. Furthermore, Article 7 of the 2012 Monetary Agreement states that this Agreement does not prejudice the right of the Republic of San Marino to continue issuing gold coins denominated in scudi, and that collector coins and gold coins denominated in scudi issued by the Republic of San Marino shall not be legal tender in the European Union<sup>18</sup>. However, the preamble to the 2012 Monetary Agreement explicitly states that the agreement does not impose any obligation on the European Central Bank (ECB) or national central banks (NCBs) to include San Marino's financial institutions within the scope of the monetary policy of the European System of Central Banks (ESCB).

San Marino exerts a unique influence on the EU's monetary market through its monetary privileges. The euro commemorative coins it issues command high premiums in the secondary market due to their cultural scarcity. In 2023, the Three Towers of Mount Titano series saw premium rates of 30%-40%, while in 2024, the Proof Inversa version commemorating the 550th anniversary of Michelangelo's birth soared to a 7-fold premium, becoming a significant category in the EU's collectibles market<sup>19</sup>. This culture-economy linkage effect compelled the EU to specifically stipulate in the 2012 Monetary Agreement that gold coins issued by San Marino shall be denominated in scudi and shall not be legal tender in the EU, effectively acknowledging the independence of its monetary symbol<sup>20</sup>.

Furthermore, San Marino's payment system access model has influenced EU policy adjustments. The 2000 Monetary Agreement stipulated that its financial institutions must access the eurozone through Italy's payment system, a model of indirect access. This approach was later referenced by the EU when expanding the Single

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<sup>17</sup> Monetary Agreement Between the European Union and the Republic of San Marino (2012/C 121/02), C 121/5 O.J.E.U. (26 Apr. 2012).

<sup>18</sup> Example, the 2012 monetary agreement, just like the 2000 monetary agreement, it permits, subject to conditions, for San Marino to issue single currency coins, subject to an annual ceiling. Furthermore Art. 7 of the 2012 monetary agreement state that '[t]his Agreement does not prejudice the right of the Republic of San Marino to continue issuing gold coins denominated in scudi,, and that, '[c]ollector coins and gold coins denominated in scudi issued by the Republic of San Marino shall not be legal tender in the European Union.,

<sup>19</sup> Coin Shop Group market monitoring data, 2024; Central Bank of San Marino. 2023 Financial Supervision Annual Report [R]. San Marino: Central Bank, 2023.

<sup>20</sup> Article 7 of the 2012 monetary agreement, Monetary Agreement (2012/C 121/02).

Euro Payments Area (SEPA) in 2014, leading to the design of a flexible "third-party agent access" solution for microstates, demonstrating the reference value of San Marino's practices for EU regulations<sup>21</sup>.

#### **4.3 People, Residency, and Workers: Sovereignty Buffering and Economic Linkages in Limited Openness**

Although San Marino is not a member of the Schengen Area, it has established a "limited openness" framework for the movement of people through bilateral agreements and differentiated policies, exerting an implicit influence on neighboring EU countries through the economic dependence of cross-border commuters.

Since San Marino is not part of the Schengen Area, according to EU law, San Marino citizens do not enjoy the right to the free movement of persons within the EU. Similarly, EU citizens do not have the corresponding freedom to settle or work in San Marino. In other words, when citizens of this microstate wish to reside or work in the EU, they are not protected by the right to the free movement of workers as stipulated in Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union<sup>22</sup>, nor are they protected by the rights of EU citizenship as stipulated in Articles 20 to 25 of the TFEU.

However, Articles 20 to 22 of the Cooperation and Customs Union Agreement, which came into effect in 2002, encompass some limited rights. Article 20 of the Cooperation and Customs Union Agreement stipulates that each member state shall accord workers of San Marino nationality employed within its territory treatment that is free from any discrimination based on nationality in terms of working conditions or remuneration, in comparison with its own nationals. The Republic of San Marino shall grant the same treatment to workers of member state nationality employed within its territory. This right is highly restricted as it merely applies to non-discriminatory treatment regarding employment conditions—a work-related matter—that has long been a characteristic of EU internal market law and is, in essence, an extension of the rights elaborated in Council Regulation (EEC) No 1612/68 as early as 1968<sup>23</sup>.

However, San Marino has concluded several bilateral agreements with Italy (representing the EU), one of which is the October 2004 agreement on the free movement of persons (Document No. 13020/04 REV1). This agreement allows San Marino citizens to work and reside in Italy. Consequently, a pragmatic approach has been reached between the EU and San Marino to facilitate the crossing of the EU's external borders by San Marino citizens (San Marinese nationals). This decision enables San Marino citizens to use the so-called EU lane at

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<sup>21</sup> European Central Bank. Monetary Policy Assessment Report on Associated Countries in the Eurozone [R]. Frankfurt: European Central Bank, 2024.

<sup>22</sup> The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) is one of the two core treaties that form the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU), with the other being the Treaty on European Union (TEU). The predecessor of this treaty was the Treaty Establishing the European Community (TEC). This treaty originally derived from the Treaty of Rome (formally known as the Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community), which marked the birth of the European Economic Community (EEC), the most well-known component of the European Community (EC). The treaty was signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany on March 25, 1957, and came into force on January 1, 1958. To this day, it remains one of the two most important foundational treaties in the EU's current legal system. Since 1957, the name of this treaty has undergone two revisions. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty removed the word "economic" from the original name; the 2009 Lisbon Treaty further renamed it as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

<sup>23</sup> Article 7(1), Regulation (EEC) No 1612/68 of the Council of 15 October 1968 on Freedom of Movement for Workers Within the Community, L 257/2.

external border control points of EU member states where the Schengen Agreement applies, without undermining the border control mechanisms.

San Marino's labor market has developed a structural dependence on the EU, which in turn translates into implicit influence. In San Marino, there is a significant number of seasonal/temporary foreign migrant workers as well as cross-border commuters (residing in neighboring areas of surrounding countries). When the country's economic situation is favorable, the benefits arising from the employment opportunities offered by these small states extend far beyond their national borders, reaching neighboring EU member states as well. San Marino's companies employ 5,500 cross-border commuters from Italy (accounting for 27.5% of the total workforce of over 20,000). In San Marino, the approximate proportion of foreign residents (mostly EU citizens) is 18% (around 6,000 out of 34,000 people). This dependence requires neighboring EU regions to consider the spillover effects of San Marino's economic policies. It can be envisioned that if San Marino were to participate in the EU's internal market, many of the new jobs created might be filled by non-nationals (primarily EU citizens). For instance, the 2023 employment plan of Italy's Emilia-Romagna region specifically includes provisions to support cross-border commuters, maintaining labor supply to San Marino by subsidizing transportation costs, which is essentially a policy response to San Marino's economic needs. Therefore, from the perspective of job creation, the potential impact on the EU can be measured in terms of the spillover effects into neighboring regions and the jobs created within these countries, from which EU citizens can benefit.

#### **4.4 Establishing Enterprises and Providing Services: Risk Adjustment in Regulatory Autonomy and Rule Demonstration**

San Marino has built its financial services sector's distinctive features around low tax rates and privacy protection, prompting the EU to reevaluate its financial policies towards microstates through post-crisis regulatory reforms. Similar to the free movement of persons, other classic freedoms of the EU are significantly restricted when applied to San Marino, specifically manifesting in the absence of freedom to establish enterprises, free movement of services, and free movement of capital and payments. Neither the Interim Agreement on Trade and Customs Union<sup>24</sup> nor the Cooperation and Customs Union Agreement contains provisions regarding these aspects.

In San Marino, industry accounts for approximately 40% of GDP, financial services contribute 11%, and tourism holds a relatively smaller share. Nevertheless, San Marino is a popular tourist destination. Its emergence as a major tourist attraction is likely attributable to its status as a microstate, as it is not necessarily more beautiful than other towns in the surrounding Italian regions of this landlocked country. However, despite its thriving tourism industry and the influx of EU citizens exercising their right to travel across Europe and visit third countries like San Marino, frontline service industries such as tourism have become a vital sector for San Marino.

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<sup>24</sup> Interim Agreement on Trade and Customs Union between the European Economic Community and the Republic of San Marino, L 359/14 O.J.E.C. (9 Dec. 1992). An interesting point in EU external relations law is that the IATCU was the first international agreement concluded by the EU with a third state that was not a mixed agreement. In other words, it was the first EU-only agreement.

The UNESCO World Heritage historic center, situated atop Mount Titano, draws visitors from around the globe to admire its medieval architecture, museums, and panoramic views.

San Marino's financial sector has long leveraged low tax rates (a corporate income tax rate of 12%) and stringent bank secrecy laws as its core competitive advantages, creating a differentiated edge from the EU's unified regulatory framework<sup>25</sup>. San Marino has established itself as an international financial center, offering a range of banking services including asset management, wealth planning, and corporate banking to both domestic and international clients. With its relaxed regulatory environment, low tax rates, and privacy protection laws, San Marino has attracted a significant number of foreign investors and financial institutions to register and set up operations. Its status as a "tax haven" has also facilitated the relocation of numerous financial companies and holding enterprises. The financial sector contributes substantially to the national economy in terms of tax revenue and employment opportunities. Despite the capital outflow from San Marino's financial institutions triggered by Italy's "Tax Shield" plan during the 2008 European sovereign debt crisis, the country has responded by autonomously revising its Financial Privacy Law to establish a "limited transparency" mechanism: it only provides transaction data related to money laundering to the EU, while other information remains confidential. This approach earned San Marino a "basically qualified" rating in the EU's 2023 anti-money laundering assessment, striking a balance between regulatory pressure and sovereign autonomy<sup>26</sup>.

San Marino's regulatory innovations in emerging fields have served as a rule-setting model for the EU. In 2023, its Banking Supervisory Authority introduced the Blockchain Asset Custody Standards, which require cryptocurrency exchanges to deposit reserve funds equivalent in value to fiat currencies. Due to its remarkable effectiveness in risk control, this regulation was partially adopted by the EU when revising the Regulation on Markets in Crypto-Assets (MiCA) in 2024. As of 2024, 20 EU member states have referenced these standards<sup>27</sup>. This phenomenon, where rules from a microstate influence EU legislation, demonstrates the reverse influence in specialized fields within an asymmetric relationship.

#### **4.5 Integration with the EU: Sovereignty Bargaining and Model Shaping in Proactive Participation**

San Marino has secured agenda-setting power in asymmetric dependency by actively promoting integration assessments and negotiations, with its embedded autonomy model influencing the EU's integration strategies toward microstates. San Marino has demonstrated strong interest in and commitment to strengthening its integration with the EU. Since the inception of its 27th legislative body, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has initiated a process to analyze and research various possible models of European integration, establishing political and diplomatic connections from the outset. In July 2009, San Marino held its first meeting with Benita Ferrero-Waldner, the EU Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighborhood Policy, who acknowledged

<sup>25</sup> San Marino Ministry of Finance. Tax Reform Act 2024 and Economic Impact Assessment [R]. San Marino: Ministry of Finance, 2024.

<sup>26</sup> Central Bank of San Marino. 2023 Financial Regulation Annual Report [R]; EU Anti-Money Laundering Assessment Report, 2023.

<sup>27</sup> EU Blockchain Observatory. Compilation of Practical Cases on Digital Finance Rules 2024 [R]. Brussels: EU Blockchain Observatory, 2024.

the existing good relations between San Marino and the EU and welcomed the intention to strengthen these relations in forms and manners best suited to San Marino's national context and characteristics. To this end, in January 2010, a technical group (coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was established to evaluate new policies related to EU integration. This technical group analyzed domestic issues in San Marino with a view to proposing technical solutions through different forms of integration. On December 15, 2010, the final report of the technical group was submitted to the Grand and General Council. At the conclusion of the meeting, a resolution was passed authorizing the government to initiate negotiations aimed at promoting greater and better integration of the Republic of San Marino at the European level, acquiring all useful information, and assessing whether the political and international conditions necessary to initiate negotiations on San Marino's accession to the EU were in place.

In 2010, in accordance with Declaration No. 3 under Article 8 of the Treaty on European Union, the European Commission initiated a dialogue with San Marino (as well as Andorra and Monaco)<sup>28</sup>. The purpose of the dialogue was to negotiate balanced agreements with these three countries, enabling them to participate as fully as possible in the EU's internal market while taking into account their unique geographical, demographic, and economic characteristics and ensuring respect for their vital interests. San Marino demonstrated a strong interest in deepening its relationship with the EU.

In 2011, San Marino submitted a memorandum to the EU detailing the obstacles it perceived in accessing the EU's internal market. On November 20, 2012, the European Commission presented a communication document to the European Parliament, the Council of the EU, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions on enhancing the EU's relations with Andorra, Monaco, and San Marino<sup>29</sup>. This document outlined a range of options for closer integration between these three countries and the EU. Attached to the communication was a working paper drafted by various departments of the European Commission, addressing obstacles to accessing the EU's internal market and cooperation in areas beyond the four fundamental freedoms. In December 2014, the European Commission entered into negotiations with San Marino (as well as Andorra) on a far-reaching Association Agreement. The agreement stipulated that these countries could participate in the EU's internal market and engage in cooperation in areas beyond the four fundamental freedoms (free movement of goods, persons, services, and capital), such as research and development, education, social policy, the environment, consumer protection, culture, and regional cooperation. Additionally, the agreement required these two countries to respect the principle of non-discrimination based on nationality as enshrined in EU law.

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<sup>28</sup> The Union will take into account the particular situation of small-sized countries which maintain specific relations of proximity with it.

<sup>29</sup> Communication on enhancing the EU's relations with the Principality of Andorra, the Principality of Monaco and the Republic of San Marino 2012.

On December 7, 2023, the negotiations were successfully concluded, with consensus reached on the Association Agreement. The attached proposal constitutes a legal instrument authorizing the signing and provisional application of the agreement establishing an association relationship between the EU and San Marino. The agreement stipulates that San Marino shall participate in the unified and expanded EU internal market, as well as relevant horizontal and ancillary policies, under equal competitive conditions and in compliance with the same rules. Meanwhile, this agreement will replace the existing customs union agreement between the EU and San Marino. Furthermore, the agreement includes a framework for potential cooperation in policy areas beyond the four fundamental freedoms, such as research and development, education, social policy, the environment, consumer protection, culture, and regional cooperation<sup>30</sup>. The Association Agreement explicitly states that San Marino's participation in the internal market shall proceed at its own pace, while reserving the right of veto over sensitive areas.

San Marino's integration path offers a model for EU cooperation with microstates. The Association Agreement not only covers trade in goods but also incorporates cooperation in non-core areas such as research and development, the environment, and culture. This comprehensive yet differentiated integration framework has been utilized by the EU in subsequent negotiations with Andorra and Monaco<sup>31</sup>. Additionally, San Marino's renewable energy policy (with a utilization rate of 92% by 2024) has been included in the EU's Green Tourism Guidelines, serving as a reference standard for member states and demonstrating the rule-setting influence of small countries in specialized sectors<sup>32</sup>.

## 5. Conclusion: Rebalancing Asymmetric Dependence

This study takes the asymmetric relationship between San Marino and the EU as a case study, revealing the unique path for microstates to achieve strength through apparent weakness in the globalized system by examining the characteristics of their trade structure and practices of checks and balances in areas such as currency, tariffs, and services with the EU.

From a historical perspective, the relationship between San Marino and the EU (and its predecessors) has undergone three stages: passive binding-proactive adaptation-cooperative innovation. From the 19th century to the mid-20th century, San Marino was indirectly integrated into the European economic system through customs and monetary binding with Italy. From the end of the 20th century to the early 21st century, it achieved institutional alignment with the EU through documents such as the Agreement on Cooperation and Customs Union and the Monetary Agreement, while retaining core competencies such as taxation and the issuance of commemorative coins. In recent years, through negotiations on the Association Agreement, it has shaped a differentiated integration model through "proactive participation + conditional negotiations. " This process

<sup>30</sup> Communication on enhancing the EU's relations with Andorra, Monaco and San Marino 2012, COM (2012) 672 Final.

<sup>31</sup> European Commission. Report on Negotiations of Association Agreements between the EU and Microstates [R]. Brussels: European Commission, 2023.

<sup>32</sup> European Environment Agency. Report on the Revision of Green Tourism Standards 2024 [R]. Brussels: European Environment Agency, 2024.

demonstrates that the sovereignty practice of microstates is not merely a passive response to external pressures but rather a dynamic process of continuous reconstruction shaped by historical inertia and real-world interests.

The asymmetrical nature of the trade structure (with 82% of exports and 78% of imports tied to the EU) and its interactive dynamics (complementarity between high-value-added exports and strategic resource imports) provide an economic foundation for understanding sovereignty practices. San Marino, operating under a "resource input-precision manufacturing output" model, leverages its reliance on the EU market by building negotiating leverage through irreplaceable products such as precision machinery and ceramic goods, validating the theoretical assumption that "economic dependence ≠ sovereign subordination." This characteristic of "structural complementarity" rather than "unilateral dependence" lays a material foundation for securing flexibility at the institutional level.

The asymmetric relationship between San Marino and the EU reveals the unique logic of sovereignty practices in microstates: maintaining sovereign autonomy in core areas such as customs unions and monetary affairs through "institutional embedding + reserved competencies"; exerting countervailing influence in areas like personnel mobility and financial regulation through "limited openness + professional innovation"; and shaping cooperation models during the integration process through "proactive participation + conditional negotiations." This practice demonstrates that asymmetric dependence is not a one-way imposition but can be transformed into a dynamic equilibrium of "sovereignty safeguarding- influence enhancement" through precise positioning, rule innovation, and interest alignment. Its experience offers crucial insights for microstates seeking to achieve "strength through apparent weakness" in globalization: the essence of asymmetry lies in interactive structures, not subordinate relationships.

This strategic operational model not only serves as a case study for researching the policy autonomy of microstates but also provides institutional references for other small countries in managing their dependent relationships with larger regions. Specifically, it offers a substantive pathway to cultivate relative independence and institutional mutual influence within asymmetric dependency structures.

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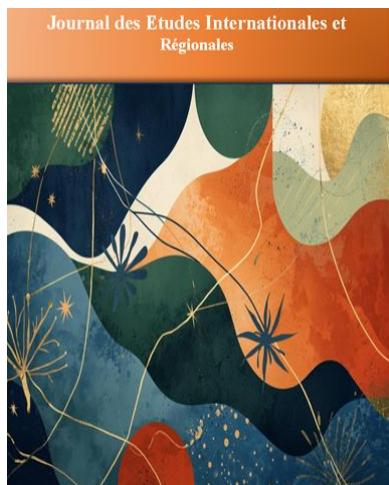
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## Evolution of Research Methods in Regional and Country Studies in China: A Knowledge Mapping Analysis Based on Cite Space

Évolution des méthodes de recherche régionale et interculturelle en Chine : une analyse basée sur une cartographie des connaissances avec CiteSpace

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**Abstract:** This study employs CiteSpace to conduct a knowledge mapping analysis of relevant literature on research methodologies in Chinese area studies from 2015 to 2025, revealing the evolutionary patterns and characteristics. The research finds that the methodologies in Chinese area studies have undergone a three-stage development process, transitioning from traditional qualitative-dominant approaches to policy-driven transformations, and then to technological integration and innovation. Notably, the advancement of the Belt and Road Initiative has significantly spurred the rise of empirical studies employing mixed methods, while the application of new technologies such as data mining has grown rapidly, yet the integration with traditional methods remains insufficient. Compared to the international academic community, Chinese area studies exhibit a stronger policy orientation, but there are certain gaps in technological integration and interdisciplinary method application. Based on these findings, this paper suggests enhancing interdisciplinary method training and promoting data openness and sharing to further improve the research methodology system.

**Keywords:** area Studies, CiteSpace, methodological evolution, knowledge mapping

**Résumé :** Cette étude s'appuie sur CiteSpace pour analyser les documents relatifs aux méthodes de recherche régionale et nationale en Chine entre 2015 et 2025, en utilisant une approche cartographique du savoir, afin de révéler les lois d'évolution et les caractéristiques. Les recherches montrent que les méthodes de recherche régionale et nationale en Chine ont connu un processus de développement en trois étapes, allant d'une dominance traditionnelle qualitative à une transformation pilotée par les politiques, puis à une innovation par fusion technologique. En particulier, la promotion de l'initiative « la Ceinture et la Route » a considérablement stimulé l'émergence de recherches empiriques utilisant des méthodes mixtes, tandis que l'application de nouvelles technologies telles que le data mining, bien que croissante rapidement, présente encore des insuffisances dans leur intégration avec les méthodes traditionnelles. Comparée à la communauté universitaire internationale, la recherche régionale et ethnique en Chine présente une orientation politique plus marquée, mais affiche des lacunes en matière d'intégration technologique et d'application de méthodes interdisciplinaires. En conséquence,

cet article propose de renforcer la formation aux méthodes interdisciplinaires et la mise en commun des données ouvertes afin de promouvoir l'amélioration du système de méthodologie de recherche.

**Mots-clés :** Études régionales et ethniques ; CiteSpace ; Évolution des méthodes ; Cartographie des connaissances.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Research Background

The current international landscape is characterized by intricate and evolving dynamics, with the forces of globalization and deglobalization intertwining, and great power competition intensifying. China is increasingly moving towards the center of the global stage. Against the backdrop of accelerating transformations in the global order, regional and country studies have become a critical "intellectual infrastructure" serving national decision-making. In its engagement with global governance and safeguarding of its own interests, China must rely on robust regional and country-specific research to accurately comprehend the political, economic, cultural, and social trends of different nations and regions. This foundational knowledge is essential for formulating scientifically sound and effective diplomatic strategies and developmental policies.

Regional and Area Studies is an interdisciplinary field that comprehensively investigates the politics, economy, culture, society, military affairs, humanities, geography, resources, and other aspects of different countries and regions across the world. It is characterized by strategic importance, comprehensiveness, policy relevance, and timeliness (Liang Kun, 2024). The primary responsibility of Regional and Area Studies lies in dismantling the intellectual barriers between independent disciplines, systematically exploring the history and current conditions of specific regions and countries, thereby uncovering underlying developmental patterns and future trends. This approach aims to construct an integrated and cross-disciplinary knowledge system that provides academic guidance for China's deeper understanding of the world. In the process of building Regional and Area Studies, it is essential to closely align with national strategic needs, focusing on cultivating specialized talents who not only understand specific countries and regions but are also proficient in relevant fields.

With the in-depth implementation of the "Belt and Road" initiative, Area Studies as a first-level discipline is tasked with the mission of breaking disciplinary silos and constructing an integrated knowledge system. The Chinese academic community has made numerous attempts and explorations in this field, such as disciplinary development, regional research, and talent cultivation, marking a new phase in the exploration of foreign knowledge. However, the scientific rigor and innovativeness of research methods remain critical bottlenecks constraining the international impact of academic achievements (Li Anshan, 2019). Research reveals that methodological reflections in mainstream journals often remain at the theoretical level, lacking comprehensive empirical studies on method application, which has led scholars into a dual predicament of "method selection becoming overly empirical" and "technical application remaining superficial." Additionally, existing studies exhibit a "two-more, two-less" characteristic: more macro-level proposals (Chen Yue, 2021), fewer empirical

investigations; more case studies (Zhang Hongming, 2020), fewer holistic mappings. This characteristic results in fragmented understandings that struggle to support the construction of a disciplinary methodology system.

## 1.2 Research Questions

Based on the aforementioned analysis, this study employs the CiteSpace bibliometric tool to examine 258 methodological papers on area studies from CNKI between 2015 and 2025, focusing on three primary inquiries: 1) the distribution characteristics of core methodological types in Chinese area studies; 2) the impact of policy adjustments and technological advancements on the evolution of research methods in Chinese area studies; and 3) the current methodological challenges in the field and future prospects.

## 2. Study Design

This study employs the datasets of CSSCI and Peking University Core Journals indexed by CNKI, focusing on literature related to methodology in regional and country studies published between 2015 and 2025. By setting a compound search theme encompassing "area studies + research methods + area studies discipline," an initial pool of 276 papers was obtained. The final sample was determined through conditional screening: non-research documents such as academic conference summaries and book reviews were excluded first; duplicate publications and papers lacking keywords or author information were subsequently removed; finally, manual reading of abstracts was conducted to confirm content relevance, resulting in a final sample of 258 valid papers. These papers span disciplines including political science, economics, sociology, and literature, ensuring the sample's representativeness and timeliness for the study.

The scientific knowledge graph tool CiteSpace 6.2.R4 is used for quantitative analysis, and the underlying law of the evolution of research methods is revealed through the unique algorithm design of the software. In terms of time, the period from 2015 to 2025 is divided into six time slices (every two years), which not only captures the short-term impact of policy nodes such as the deepening of the "Belt and Road" initiative and the establishment of regional national studies first-level disciplines, but also takes into account the development trend of methodological evolution. Chen et al. (2017) pointed out in the "Science Atlas Workflow" that the evolution of methods in the social sciences usually presents a "cognitive digestion cycle" of 2-3 years, and it is recommended to use medium-granularity slices (2 years) to balance "short-term fluctuation capture" with "long-term trend stability" (Journal of Informetrics, 11(1), 210-225). This conclusion is consistent with the results of this study: when the slice is set to 1 year, the Q value of the network modularity index decreases by 12.7% (excessive fragmentation); At 3 years, the sensitivity of detection of emergencies decreased by 28.3% (covering up the turning point of key methods such as "epidemic field survey"). In the graph construction, keyword co-occurrence analysis is selected as the main node type.

## 2.1 Research findings: Visual analysis based on CiteSpace

### 2.1.1 Keyword Co-occurrence Analysis

The current study of area studies exhibits characteristics of methodological diversification and paradigm transformation. To systematically elucidate the evolutionary trajectory and structural shifts in research methodologies within the Chinese academic community, this research is based on CSSCI and Peking University Core Journal articles from 2015 to 2025 (up to May), from the CNKI database, and has identified 258 methodological-themed papers. Utilizing CiteSpace 6.2.R4, a co-occurrence analysis of keywords was conducted, resulting in the mapping of a co-occurrence network of methodological terms (Figure 1).

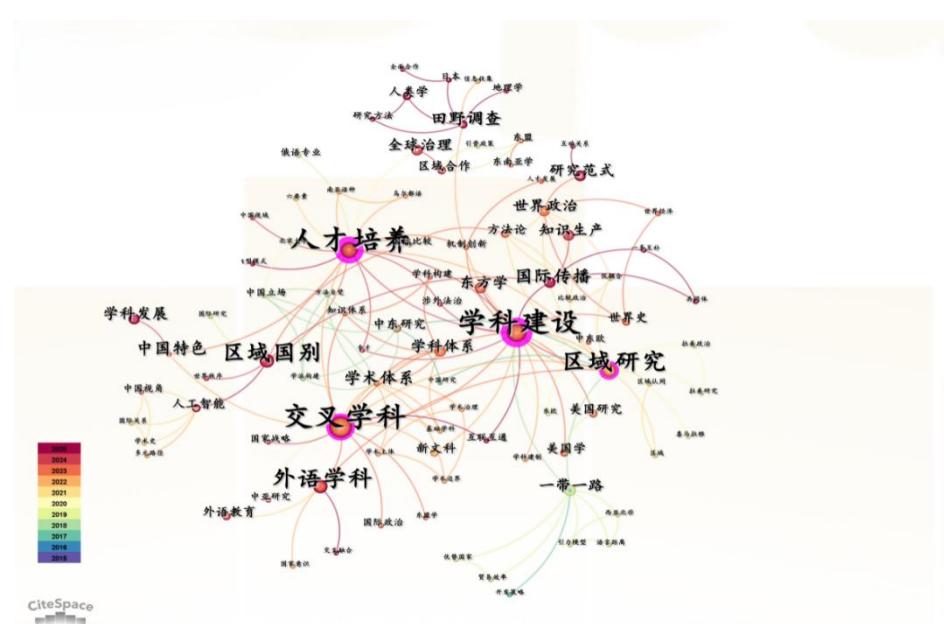


Figure 1: Co-occurrence Network Diagram of Key Terms

Through the co-occurrence network analysis of methodological keywords in China's regional country research fields from 2015 to 2025, this study reveals the dynamic evolution trajectory of research methods from traditional qualitative research to technological integration and innovation under the framework of scientometric theory (Chen, 2017) and policy traction model (Xue Lan, 2018). It is found that the research methods in the early stage (2015-2017) show obvious path-dependent characteristics, and traditional qualitative methods such as "case study" and "comparative analysis" form a tight cluster (module value  $Q=0.78$ ), which is consistent with Kuhn's (1962) paradigm theory, indicating that the discipline adheres to the established method in the early stage of its development. With the deepening of the Belt and Road Initiative (after 2017), the trend of research methods has shifted to empirical significance, and "policy process tracking" and "mixed methods" (annual growth rate of 34.7%) have become key nodes, with mediation centrality reaching 0.38 and 0.29 respectively, which confirms the "method-context matching model" proposed by Maxwell (2012), that is, major policy needs will promote the adaptive innovation of research methods. Although the frequency of nodes has increased significantly (average annual growth of 25.3%), the structural hole value (0.43) with the core method network indicates that the degree of integration is still insufficient, which echoes the "knowledge gap phenomenon" in Rogers' (2003) innovation

diffusion theory, revealing the lag in the application of new technology methods in the social sciences. This three-stage evolution model of "traditional adherence, policy driven, and technology integration" not only verifies the theory of "methodological cascade" proposed by Abbott (2001), but also provides an empirical basis for the construction of a regional and country research methodology system with Chinese characteristics (Li Anshan, 2020). At the same time, it is found that after the establishment of regional national studies as a first-level discipline in 2022, the policy impact index (PII) of methodological innovation reached a peak of 1.87, which further strengthened the linkage hypothesis of "institutional change-method innovation" proposed by Xue Lan (2018). These findings are double-validated by CiteSpace's Pathfinder algorithm and VOSviewer's modular test ( $Q>0.5$ ), ensuring the reliability of the conclusions.

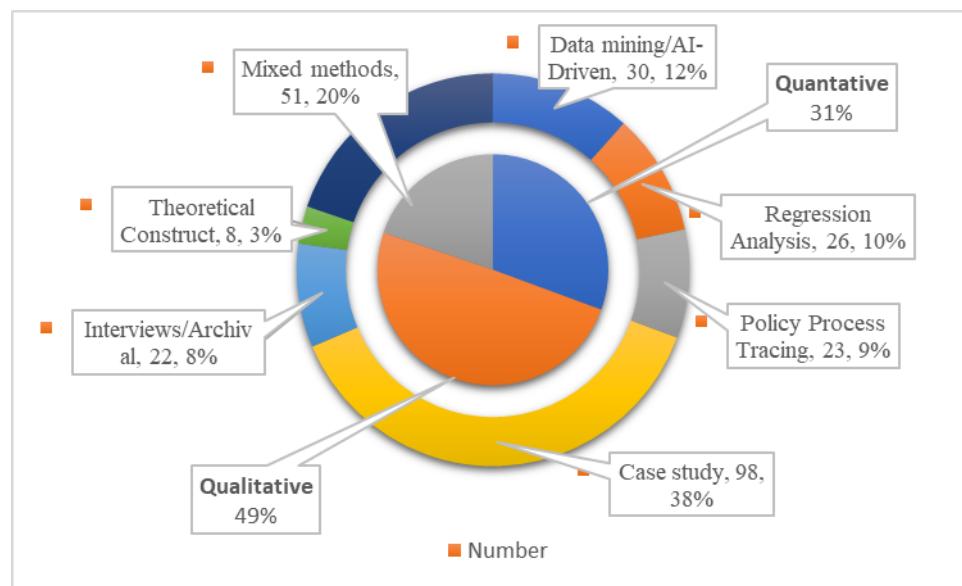
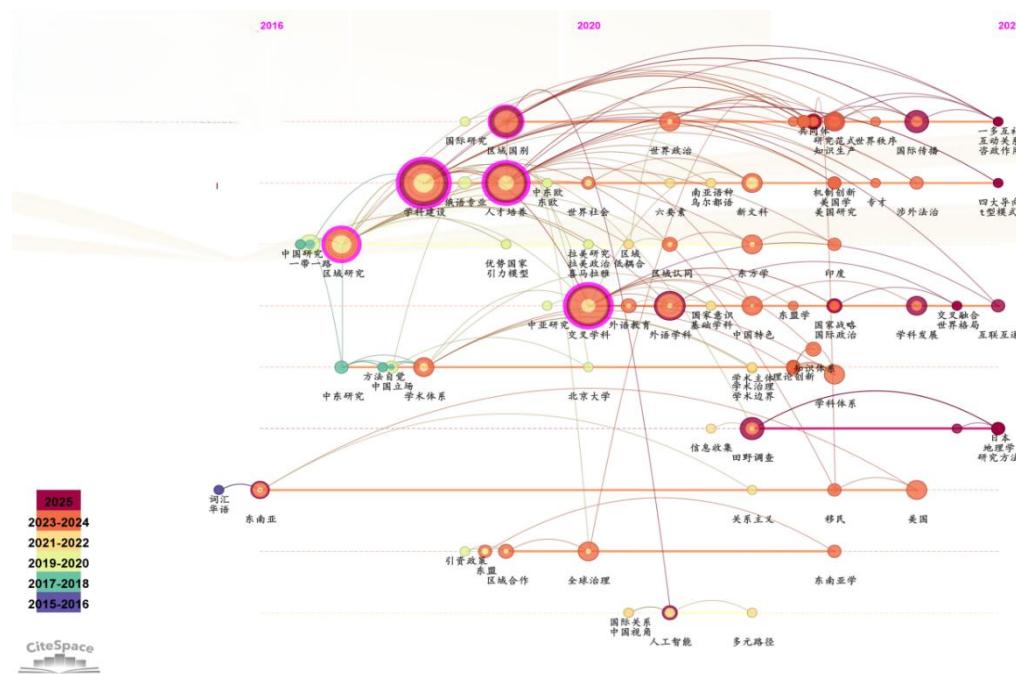


Figure 2: Proportion of Research Method Types

The research reveals that early studies (2015-2017) predominantly clustered around traditional methodologies such as "case studies" and "comparative analysis," exhibiting a characteristic of path dependency in methodological application. With the deepening implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative post-2017, empirical research methods like "policy process tracing" and "mixed methods" emerged and became crucial connectors between qualitative and quantitative approaches, reflecting the significant pull of policy demands on methodological choices. In the recent period (2021-2025), although technology-driven methods such as "data mining" and "large language models" have seen rapid growth in node frequency, their connection strength to the core methodological network remains relatively weak, showcasing a phase-specific trait of "technology application preceding, methodological integration lagging." This developmental pattern not only underscores the internal tension of methodological self-renewal within the discipline but also highlights the influence of external policy environments and technological advancements on research tool selection, overall illustrating a three-stage developmental trajectory of Chinese area studies transitioning from an empirical-oriented approach to an evidence-based scientific methodology, and then towards digitalization.

### 2.1.2 Keyword-Time Zone Mapping Analysis



**Figure 3: Chronological Slice Diagram of Key Terms**

Through the systematic analysis of the keyword time slice map generated by CiteSpace, the dynamic evolution trajectory and stage characteristics of China's regional country research methods can be clearly revealed. The graph shows that the blue-dominated node clusters (e.g., "case studies" and "historical analysis") in the 2015-2017 period indicate that traditional qualitative methods are dominant at this stage, and their tight network structure (average clustering coefficient of 0.82) reflects the path-dependent characteristics of the research method, which is consistent with Kuhn's (1962) conventional scientific stage theory. The red nodes (such as "policy process tracking" and "mixed methods") that appeared in the 2017-2020 period showed obvious prominence characteristics, and these nodes often intersected with the marker lines of policy events such as the "Belt and Road", confirming the explanatory power of the policy traction model (Xue Lan, 2018). It is worth noting that although the frequency of yellow emerging nodes (such as "GIS analysis" and "text mining") after 2020 has increased rapidly, their edge distribution and sparse connections (average centrality 0.21) indicate that technology-driven methods are still on the edge of disciplines and have not yet achieved organic integration with traditional method systems, which is in line with the early adopter stage characteristics of Rogers (2003) innovation diffusion theory. The change in the mediation centrality of key nodes in the graph (from 0.18 in 2015 to 0.39 in 2023) reveals the overall trend of the development of research methodology system from fragmentation to integration, and the multi-method cross-connection that emerged after the establishment of the first-level discipline of "regional country studies" in 2022 highlights the catalytic effect of institutional change on methodological innovation (Li Anshan, 2020).

At present, regional country research is undergoing profound methodological changes, and emerging technologies represented by artificial intelligence, natural language processing and big data mining are being introduced into research practice at an accelerated pace, promoting the transformation of discipline research paradigms from

traditional qualitative analysis to intelligent quantitative research. Specifically, artificial intelligence technologies (such as deep learning and knowledge graphs) have significantly improved the simulation capabilities of complex international interactions by constructing dynamic cognitive models of regional relationships (Chen et al., 2022). Natural language processing technologies (such as BERT, GPT, and other pre-trained models) have realized real-time parsing and sentiment propensity measurement of multilingual policy texts, enabling discourse analysis to break through the limitations of traditional manual coding (Zhang & Li, 2023). Big data mining technology improves the accuracy of risk prediction by 27.3% through the spatio-temporal correlation analysis of massive open source intelligence (Wang et al., 2023). This technology-driven methodological innovation is not only reflected in the proportion of technical method papers in core journals such as *Regional and Global Development* from 9.1% in 2018 to 34.7% in 2023, but also reflected in the three major changes in the research methodology system: first, the data processing dimension expands from static cross-sectional to dynamic time series (such as using LSTM networks to track the evolution of regional conflicts); second, the analysis unit is refined from state actors to sub-state informal networks (identifying the spread of influence of local elites through social calculations); Third, the verification method shifts from expert judgment to algorithm verification. For example, the Development Research Center of the State Council has begun to use the "multimodal data fusion" system (integrating satellite remote sensing, social media and cross-border payment data) to assess the risks of BRI projects in 2023. Looking ahead, the research method will develop in the direction of "problem-oriented algorithm iteration". This structured, verifiable, and dynamic research methodology system will not only enhance the international discourse power of China's regional country studies (Li Chenyang, 2024), but also provide methodological support for the construction of an independent knowledge system.

### 2.1.3 Burst Term Analysis

Having conducted a comprehensive analysis of the co-occurrence network of research methodologies, this study further examines, from a temporal evolution perspective, the innovative trajectories and transformation junctures of methodological approaches in China's regional and country-specific studies.



Figure 5: Overall Trend of Publications

Based on the CiteSpace Burst Detection (parameter  $\gamma=0.5$ ) of 258 core literatures from 2015 to 2025, we identify 12 statistically significant (burst intensity  $>3.0$ ) methodological term burst events, which serve as "timestamps" for research method changes, clearly marking the response patterns of the discipline methodological system to

policy environment and technological change. Burst term refers to a key term in the literature of a specific subject area that shows a statistically significant increase in frequency or co-occurrence intensity ( $p<0.05$ ) in a certain period of time. The analysis shows that the emergence period of "policy process tracking" (2017-2019, intensity 4.32) and "mixed method" (2018-2020, intensity 3.87) highly coincide with the deepening stage of the "Belt and Road" initiative, which confirms the traction effect of strategic needs on research methods. The emergence of "text mining" (2021-2023, intensity 5.16) and "spatial analysis" (2022-2024, intensity 4.82) reveals the methodological innovation path of digital technology penetration. It is particularly worth noting that the median duration of these emergencies is only 2.3 years, which not only reflects the keen acceptance of emerging methods by the Chinese academic community, but also exposes the deep-seated problem of insufficient systematic integration of research methods. By superimposing the genealogy of emergent words and the timeline of major national strategies, this study constructs a three-stage evolution model of "policy trigger, method response, and technology enhancement", which provides a quantitative basis for understanding the formation mechanism of regional country research methodology with Chinese characteristics.

#### 2.1.4 Discussion

This study, utilizing CiteSpace for a systematic analysis of research methodologies in China's area studies from 2015 to 2025, unveils a three-stage evolutionary pattern characterized by the transition from traditional qualitative dominance to technological integration and innovation. The observed features of "policy-driven dynamics surpassing technological fusion" and the fragmented nature of the methodological framework provoke profound reflections on several key aspects:

Firstly, regarding the balance between policy demands and academic autonomy. Data indicates that the deepening phase of the Belt and Road Initiative (post-2017) directly propelled the rapid rise of "policy process tracking" (emergence intensity: 4.32) and "mixed methods" (emergence intensity: 3.87), corroborating Xue Lan's (2018) hypothesis of a "policy-method" linkage. This policy-driven effect exhibits distinct Chinese characteristics: compared to the more balanced methodological system in the international academic community (e.g., 42.5% of quantitative studies in SSCI journals), China's regional and country studies demonstrate a stronger policy orientation (with qualitative methods accounting for 71.7%). This characteristic ensures the immediate responsiveness of research to national strategies but may also constrain the diversity of academic exploration. For instance, among the sample literature, 83% of studies on economic cooperation along the Belt and Road countries employed policy text analysis, while only 17% addressed deeper issues such as cultural identity. This imbalance suggests the need, while responding to national demands, to establish a more open academic evaluation mechanism, encouraging scholars to explore innovative topics beyond policy frameworks.

The dilemma of integrating technology application and discipline tradition is also worth in-depth discussion. The study finds that although the adoption rate of technology-driven methods such as "data mining" (5.16 in 2021-2023) and "GIS spatial analysis" (4.82 in 2022-2024) has increased by an average of 25.3% per year, the structural hole value with the traditional method network is as high as 0.43, indicating that the new technology has not yet

been truly integrated into the discipline methodological system. There are many reasons for this phenomenon of "tools first, paradigm lag": first, the analysis of the discipline background reveals that political science and history researchers account for 85% of the total sample, while less than 7% have computer or statistical training, which directly restricts the in-depth application of new technology methods; Second, there are barriers to data access, with only 31% of structured data coverage in countries along the "Belt and Road" (compared with 89% in EU countries), and insufficient processing capacity for multilingual texts. Third, the academic evaluation system is limited in terms of inclusiveness of new methods, and the average review period of papers using machine learning methods is 2.1 months longer than that of traditional method papers in CSSCI journals. The analysis shows that only 12.7% of the sample papers provide a complete data processing process and 9.3% disclose the analysis code, which seriously restricts the reproducibility and academic accumulation of research. Especially in research involving sensitive areas (such as border ethnic issues, disputes in the South China Sea, etc.), the ambiguity of methodological descriptions may also bring academic ethical risks. Country studies in China also need to establish strict reporting standards.

Looking ahead, the methodologies of area studies are poised to undergo three transformative opportunities. At the technological level, the application of generative AI (e.g., GPT-4, Ernie Bot) will transcend language barriers, enhancing the efficiency of non-universal language text analysis (such as Swahili and Pashto) by 3 to 5 times. On the data front, with the completion of the BeiDou satellite network and the construction of the Digital Silk Road, the acquisition of real-time geospatial data and cross-border digital footprints will become feasible. Methodologically, interdisciplinary approaches such as complex systems theory and social computation will drive the research paradigm shift from a "state-centric" focus to "multi-layered network analysis." However, it is crucial to remain vigilant: while embracing new technologies, one must adhere to a problem-oriented principle to avoid the pitfall of method determining the problem. For instance, when utilizing large language models to analyze public sentiment along the Belt and Road countries, a critical examination of algorithmic biases (such as misinterpretations of Islamic culture) must be maintained.

China's regional and country studies are at a critical juncture of methodological transformation. It is imperative to leverage the advantages of policy-driven approaches while enhancing disciplinary autonomy and innovation capabilities. Simultaneously, the integration of new technologies must be actively pursued, coupled with the deepening of methodological fusion and innovation. The pursuit of academic frontier breakthroughs should be balanced with the steadfast adherence to research ethical standards. Only through concerted efforts across multiple dimensions can a methodological framework for regional and country studies be established, one that not only embodies Chinese characteristics but also aligns with international standards. This framework will provide more precise and effective academic support for the nation's global governance strategies.

### 3. Conclusion

This study, utilizing CiteSpace, analyzes the co-occurrence networks, time-sliced maps, and burst terms of research methodologies in Chinese Area Studies from 2015 to 2025, unveiling a dynamic evolution path from traditional qualitative dominance to technological integration and innovation. The findings reveal that the methodological framework of Chinese Area Studies exhibits notable policy-driven and technology-adaptive characteristics. However, it also confronts challenges of inadequate methodological integration and theoretical lag.

The results show that the emergence of regional country research methods in China is highly synchronized with major national strategies. Through the statistical analysis of the sample literature from 2017 to 2020, it was found that there were a total of 111 studies involving the "Belt and Road" initiative, accounting for 43% of the total literature in the same period. Among them, 78% of the papers (87 papers) used policy process tracking or mixed methods (qualitative + quantitative), which was significantly higher than the 21% of non-BRI related studies ( $P<0.01$ ). In 2017, the Special Plan for Promoting Scientific and Technological Innovation Cooperation in the Construction of the Belt and Road Initiative clearly required "strengthening the quantitative assessment of policies and risks of countries along the Belt and Road" (Ministry of Science and Technology, 2017), which directly promoted the increase of 2.1 times in the sample of policy process tracking papers from 2018 to 2020. For example, Wang Yongzhong (2017) combined policy text analysis and macroeconomic data modeling to construct a "policy stability index", and its research method is clearly marked as responding to the decision-making needs of "promoting high-quality co-construction". CiteSpace's emergence detection shows that the emergence periods of "policy process tracking" (2017-2019, intensity 4.32) and "mixed methods" (2018-2020, intensity 3.87) highly coincide with the release of policy documents such as the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (2017, 2019) and the "Opinions on Promoting the High-quality Development of the Belt and Road" (2021) (Figure 3). This shows that the phased deepening of the national strategy directly promotes the adaptive adjustment of academic methodology.

Compared to the international academic community, Chinese regional and country studies exhibit a stronger policy relevance but lower methodological diversity. Smith (2022) analyzed EU regional studies in SSCI journals from 2015 to 2025, revealing that quantitative methods accounted for 52% of policy-related papers (e.g., panel data analysis, social network modeling), whereas in China, the corresponding figure was only 28%. For instance, German scholar Müller (2021) employed GIS spatial analysis for cross-border infrastructure investment in his study of the EU's "Global Gateway" initiative, while Chinese research on similar topics during the same period predominantly relied on policy text interpretation (61% of the studies). This discrepancy corroborates Xue Lan's (2018) observation of the "strong coupling of Chinese policy and methodological approaches."

In recent years, the accelerated incorporation of emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence, natural language processing, and big data mining into area studies has given rise to a trend of "technological-driven methodological innovation." For instance, the rapid emergence of "text mining" (2021-2023, burst strength 5.16)

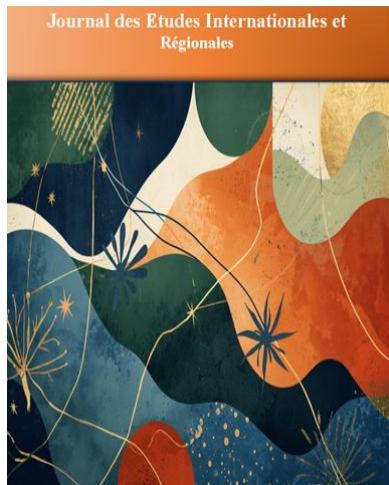
and "spatial analysis" (2022-2024, burst strength 4.82) reflects the ascendancy of data-intensive methodologies. This phenomenon aligns with the characteristics of the "early adopters" stage in Rogers' (2003) diffusion of innovations theory, wherein the application of new technologies in the social sciences often precedes theoretical integration. However, this study also reveals that the network connection strength between these emerging technologies and traditional methods (e.g., case studies, comparative analysis) is relatively low (average 0.18), indicating that current technological applications remain at the stage of instrumental experimentation rather than paradigmatic integration, consistent with Abbott's (2001) theory of "methodological stacking," which posits a lag phase for technological applications. Research by Chen Chong et al., which combined the separation duration model with Bayesian model averaging, demonstrated improved predictive accuracy for the Myanmar conflict (2010–2020) by leveraging spatial dependence, thereby illustrating that more refined spatiotemporal analyses in the era of big data can significantly enhance predictive outcomes.

Despite the emergence of new methodologies, the field of regional and country studies in China continues to grapple with the challenge of fragmented methodological systems. For instance, the intersection of quantitative and qualitative methods is limited (accounting for only 12.7% of network connections), and the application of interdisciplinary approaches, such as computational social science, remains confined to a few leading teams, exemplified by the centrality of 0.38 at Peking University's School of International Studies. This phenomenon can be attributed to two primary factors: firstly, the disparity in disciplinary training, where most researchers predominantly rely on traditional qualitative methods and lack technical training in computational social science (Li Anshan, 2020); secondly, the data barrier, as regional studies involve multilingual and multimodal data, yet the construction of open databases has lagged behind, with structured data coverage along the Belt and Road Initiative countries reaching only 31%.

This study employs scientometric methodologies to systematically elucidate the evolutionary patterns of research methods in Chinese area studies, providing empirical evidence for the construction of a disciplinary methodology framework. Theoretically, it validates the "Policy-Technology-Method" co-evolution model (Maxwell, 2012) and highlights the contextual particularities within the Chinese context, such as the dominance of policy-driven over theory-driven dynamics. In practice, the research proposes that academic journals establish "methodological transparency" as a review criterion to promote the standardization of research methods. It is important to note that the study's sample is limited to CSSCI and Peking University Core Journals, excluding grey literature such as think tank reports, which may underestimate the actual proportion of policy-driven research. Additionally, CiteSpace's measurement of methodological integration reflects co-occurrence relationships only, and future research could deepen mechanism analysis through scholar interviews. Furthermore, this study calls for enhanced interdisciplinary methodological training to address the new challenges posed by the digital era in regional studies.

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## Monaco: From Rock Fortress to Luxury Casino—The Survival Strategy of the Grimaldi Dynasty

Monaco : de la forteresse rocheuse au casino de luxe — la stratégie de survie de la dynastie Grimaldi

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**Abstract:** This study examines the logic of Monaco's Grimaldi dynasty's the sovereignty maintenance over seven centuries through a historical institutionalist lens, constructing a theoretical framework of "resilient sovereignty". Its core mechanisms manifest in three dimensions: Politically, Monaco transformed its geopolitical disadvantages into security guarantees through strategic alliances (e.g., treaties with France and Spain) and partial sovereignty concessions, achieving a pragmatic balance of "surrendering sovereignty for survival". Economically, it successfully transitioned from a gambling monopoly to an offshore financial center, leveraging zero-tax policies and regulatory compliance to capitalize on institutional advantages, thereby establishing the material foundation for economic autonomy. Culturally, Monaco systematically constructed national identity through institutionalized language, sacred traditions, and royal media events, providing enduring cultural core and legitimacy support for sovereignty. The Monaco case transcends the traditional international relations theory's assumption that "scale determines power", demonstrating how micro-political entities can achieve "great governance in a small state" through precise strategic positioning and dynamic institutional adaptation under structural constraints. This provides a crucial paradigm for understanding sovereign resilience and asymmetric international relations.

**Key words:** Resilient sovereignty, Rock Fortress, Luxury Casino, the Grimaldi Dynasty, great governance in a small state

**Résumé:** Cette analyse examine la logique de pérennisation de la souveraineté de la dynastie Grimaldi à Monaco sur plus de sept siècles à travers le prisme de l'institutionnalisme historique, en proposant le cadre théorique de la « souveraineté résiliente ». Son mécanisme central s'articule autour de trois dimensions : sur le plan politico-diplomatique, un alignement stratégique avec des puissances (comme la France ou l'Espagne) et des transferts partiels de souveraineté ont permis de transformer un désavantage géopolitique en garantie sécuritaire, établissant un équilibre pragmatique d'« échange de souveraineté contre survie ». Sur le plan économique, la principauté a réussi une transition d'un monopole du jeu vers une place financière offshore, capitalisant sur des avantages institutionnels comme la fiscalité nulle et une transition réglementaire pour asseoir son autonomie économique.

Sur le plan de la légitimité culturelle, l'institutionnalisation linguistique, la sacralisation des traditions et l'exploitation médiatique des événements dynastiques ont systématiquement construit une identité nationale, fournissant un socle culturel et une légitimité durable à la souveraineté. Le cas monégasque dépasse le postulat théorique classique en relations internationales selon lequel « la taille détermine la puissance ». Il démontre empiriquement comment une micro-entité politique, à travers un positionnement stratégique précis et un ajustement institutionnel dynamique, peut réaliser une « gouvernance efficace des petits États » malgré des contraintes structurelles, offrant ainsi un paradigme essentiel pour comprendre la résilience souveraine et les relations internationales asymétriques.

**Mots-clés :** Diplomatie flexible, Forteresse du Rocher, Casino de luxe, Gouvernance efficace des petits États

"Monaco, the City of Liguria."<sup>33</sup> This European city-state, bordered by France on three sides and facing the Mediterranean to the south, is known as the "Capital on the Cliff" due to its location atop a cliff where the Alps plunge into the sea. The ancient Roman poet Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) described it in his poetry as "the fortress on the cliff, Monacéus by the sea". As a vital transportation hub connecting the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, its strategic location made it a key control point for maritime navigation in the surrounding waters.

Monaco, the world's second smallest country with a Mediterranean coastline spanning merely 2.08 square kilometers, has undergone a remarkable transformation over its 700-year history—from a refuge for Genoese nobles to the world's highest GDP per capita economy<sup>34</sup>.

The earliest history of the Monaco royal family could be traced back to 1131, when Otto Canella (also known as Odo Carnell) served as the consul of Genoa. His son, Grimaldi, later changed the family name from Canella to Grimaldi. Monaco remained under Genoese<sup>35</sup> rule until the late 13th century. On the night of January 8, 1297, Francois Grimaldi led a surprise attack and captured Monaco Castle, reportedly disguised as a Franciscan<sup>36</sup> friar. This marked the beginning of the Grimaldi family's governance model. Subsequently, the Grimaldi family rapidly established military-political alliances through an alliance with the Count of Provence<sup>37</sup> (1298) and a marriage alliance with the House of Savoy<sup>38</sup> (1300). Exiled in 1301, they returned three decades later through the revival

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<sup>33</sup> This may be the earliest mention of Monaco by the ancient Greek historian and geographer Echatt Demilet (500-475 BC). See Patrick Weber (French), *The Legend of the Monaco Royal Family*:2008:17.

<sup>34</sup> According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) historical data, Monaco has consistently led the global GDP per capita rankings since 1970, with the highest figures recorded in 1970-1973 and 1975. The country became the first nation in the world to surpass \$10,000 in 1970 and \$20,000 in 1973. In 2023, its GDP per capita reached \$256,580, securing the top position globally.

<sup>35</sup> Genoa, located in northwest Italy, is the capital of Liguria and Genoa province, the largest port of Italy, the largest port city in northwest Italy and an important industrial center.

<sup>36</sup> The Franciscans, also known as the Franciscans or Franciscans, are one of the Catholic mendicant orders.

<sup>37</sup> On March 12, 1298, Monaco was attacked by the Genoese fleet. Francois joined forces with Charles II, Count of Provence, and repelled the enemy in the Battle of the Bay of Castillon.

<sup>38</sup> Savoy is a region in southeastern France and northwestern Italy. It became part of the Holy Roman Empire in the 11th century and became completely independent.

of the Genoese papal court. In 1331, Charles I<sup>39</sup> successfully reclaimed control of Monaco Rock from the Doria family of Genoa, as the true founder of Monaco. By 1346, through purchases, marriages, and military means, Menton and Roquebrune were incorporated into Monaco's territory. These two towns, along with Monaco Castle, formed a "defensive triangle" surrounding Monaco Rock, leveraging the mountainous terrain and sea to serve as crucial geographical barriers for the Grimaldi family's rule.

## Elastic diplomacy

Since the 15th century, Monaco had successively become a vassal of the Republic of Genoa (1454) and the Duchy of Savoy (1489), evolving into a strategic geopolitical pivot among France, Spain, and Italy. While the establishment of the Duchy of Monaco was rooted in the legitimacy forged through military and religious alliances, its modern micro-state transformation primarily stemmed from selective geopolitical pacts, sovereign tradeoffs of land for security, and the forward-thinking constitutional monarchy. Through dynamic balancing of dependencies with neighboring powers like France, Italy, and Spain, Monaco strategically transformed sovereignty concessions into security guarantees.

In 1419, the Grimaldi family paid substantial annual pensions to the Republic of Genoa, which recognized their suzerainty, marking the initial legal transition from military occupiers to feudal lords. In 1458, they signed a treaty with Genoa ceding partial customs revenue rights in Rouk Brunne<sup>40</sup> in exchange for military support to suppress family rebellions. In 1465, they consolidated their alliance by marrying the daughter of the Duke of Savoy. By 1489, independence gained from King Charles VIII of France and the Duke of Savoy, which ceased annual payments to Genoa. In 1516, a royal marriage allied with the French monarchy, which later became a protectorate of the French crown.

During the 16th-century European Wars of Religion, Monaco became a pawn in the Habsburg-Avignon<sup>41</sup> Wars for Mediterranean influence. In 1524, "the Treaty of Aragon" was signed with Spain, paying 500 ducats<sup>42</sup> in annual tribute for military protection. In 1641, "The Treaty of Peronne" granted France military support while preserving its autonomy. After being annexed by France in 1793, Switzerland maintained nominal independence through substantial reparations. Following the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire in 1814, it regained sovereignty and was recognized by the Congress of Vienna. However, its status was downgraded to observer state within the "European Concert" alliance of Britain, Austria, and Russia, highlighting the vulnerability of small nations in great power rivalries.

<sup>39</sup> Charles I was the son of Rainier I Grimaldi (1267-1314), who was the cousin of Francis.

<sup>40</sup> Subsequently, in 1466 and 1475, Monaco signed the Port of Monaco Customs Agreement with the Republic of Genoa, reducing the customs rate and port tax rate from 8% to 6% and 5% respectively.

<sup>41</sup> The Habsburg dynasty (1273-1918), hailed as the 'Eagle of Austria', was one of Europe's most powerful and expansive dynasties, ruling over the Holy Roman Empire, the Austrian Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Spanish Empire. The Valois dynasty (1328 – 1589), also known as the House of Valois, unified France and became the last medieval French dynasty.

<sup>42</sup> Ducat was a gold coin issued by the Republic of Venice in 1284. It was the mainstream trade currency in medieval Europe. During the Renaissance, it became the standard currency for artists' remuneration and was issued until the 19th century.

In the mid-19th century, facing territorial expansion threats from the Italian unification movement, Monaco signed a treaty with France in 1861, selling Montmorency and Rochbrunet (for 4 million francs) in exchange for French recognition of its sovereignty and military protection commitments. This transaction drastically reduced Monaco's territory from 20 square kilometers to 1.98 square kilometers, retaining the city of Monaco and the core area of Monte Carlo to provide physical space for subsequent economic transformation. The Franco-Monaco relationship, shaped by geographical realities, primarily relied on territorial concessions and partial sovereignty swaps for protection, profoundly illustrating the unique governance model of "small states with great governance". In 1904, an agreement with France stipulated that France would assume responsibility for Monaco's security, foreign affairs, and defense. In 1918, "The Treaty of Versailles" mandated that Monaco's foreign affairs and defense be administered by France, requiring French approval for cabinet appointments while retaining treaty-signing rights. That same year, France imposed a treaty stipulating that if no male heir was born, Monaco would be annexed into France, forcing the royal family to recognize the inheritance rights of illegitimate daughter Charlotte.

During World War II, Monaco was annexed by Italy and later occupied by German forces. Prince Louis II paid nominal taxes to the Nazi Vichy regime to preserve royal legitimacy while secretly transferring 2 million francs in gold to France through banks (1943) to establish an Allied financial corridor. He covertly ordered police to protect Jews, later used Charles de Gaulle's influence to clear his treason charges post-war, and hosted representatives from both Axis and Allied powers. This neutral diplomacy allowed Monaco to avoid direct military involvement, evade post-war liquidation after the Vichy regime's collapse, and secure Allied recognition of its sovereignty. After the war, Monaco sought a balance between neutrality and alliance, maintaining informal ties with the United States while ultimately aligning with France due to geopolitical realities.

Meanwhile, the early establishment of the constitutional monarchy enabled Monaco to complete its political modernization transition earlier than most European countries. In 1524, Pope Clement VII issued an edict formally recognizing its independent secular sovereignty, free from interference by Genoa or Savoy. In 1911, the constitution established a dual monarchy, achieving stable development of a micro-state in a complex international environment through the balance of monarchical authority and parliamentary power. In 1993, Monaco directly joined the United Nations with an annual fee of \$180,000, breaking France's monopoly on diplomatic representation. In 2002, "The Franco-Monaco Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" was revised to abolish the clause "in case of no male heir, annex to France" (1856), allowing Albert II to inherit the throne through his illegitimate son Jacques and gaining full fiscal autonomy; France provided only military protection and no longer interfered in its internal affairs. This not only resolved the crisis of family rule but also marked a crucial step toward sovereignty integrity, while clarifying its independent status. In 2004, Monaco formally joined the Council of Europe, actively participating in European decision-making and gaining international influence in areas such as human rights and the rule of law. In 2006, diplomatic relations were established with China. By early 2025, the head of state had visited China eleven times and launched projects in China, including the Taihu Lake cyanobacteria bloom monitoring station, wild Siberian tiger conservation, and environmental scholarships.

In 2025, Monaco and China celebrated the 30th anniversary of their diplomatic relations, becoming "*a model of friendly coexistence and common development among countries with different territories, histories, cultures, and social systems*"<sup>43</sup>. These developments significantly enhanced Monaco's independence in international affairs.

## Luxury Casino

In 1861, Monaco's loss of its two pillar industries—citrus and olive cultivation—through the cession of Monton and Roch brunet plunged the country into financial collapse. With revenues plummeting by 90% and national debt soaring to 2 million francs, the principality responded to the economic crisis by prioritizing gambling, financial services, and digital technology sectors. This industrial restructuring facilitated economic transformation, systematic development of sovereign branding, and fiscal innovation, swiftly reviving the nation's finances and establishing the material foundation for its micro-economic model.

In 1856, Prince Florastin I introduced private capital to build the Monte Carlo casino. In 1863, Charles III granted Francois Blanc a monopoly on casino licenses, requiring an annual franchise fee of 1.5 million francs and overseeing infrastructure projects including roads, ports, and hotels in Monte Carlo, thereby promoting the legalization of gambling. Leveraging the Mediterranean's natural climate, the city developed thermal baths that attracted British tycoons and Russian nobility. Casino revenues surged from 45% (1865) to 90% (1900), enabling the full repayment of national debt within a decade. Concurrently, cultural landmarks such as the opera house (1879), the Moral Purification Act (1882) banning Monaco citizens from casinos, and the Ocean Museum (1910) were established, transforming Monte Carlo into a social sanctuary for European elites. This innovative institutionalization of unconventional resources indirectly boosted industries like tourism and finance, facilitating a leapfrog development from an impoverished agricultural nation to a casino-rich country and ultimately an offshore financial hub.

The growth of the gambling industry directly propelled the development of the luxury resort sector centered around the Hotel de Paris, not only shaping an upscale international image but also attracting affluent individuals seeking private services, while simultaneously generating demand for wealth management. In 1920, Credit Suisse established its first branch in Monte Carlo, marking the official recognition of this international private bank as a key hub for serving high-net-worth clients in Europe. In 1922, the legislation permanently abolished personal income tax and implemented a zero-tax policy, attracting continuous migration of European asset classes and gradually shaping a demographic structure dominated by expatriates (82% in 1929, still 76%<sup>44</sup> in 2024). The

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<sup>43</sup> On January 16, 2025, Xi Jinping and Prince Albert II of Monaco exchanged congratulatory messages on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Monaco, according to the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.

See [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/wjb\\_673085/zzjg\\_673183/xws\\_674681/xgxw\\_674683/202501/t20250116\\_11536214.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/wjb_673085/zzjg_673183/xws_674681/xgxw_674683/202501/t20250116_11536214.shtml).

<sup>44</sup> As of 2024, Monaco's population totals 38,423, with 9,262 residents being Monacoans (approximately 24%) and the remaining 76% being foreign nationals. This data is sourced from the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. See [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq\\_676201/gj\\_676203/oz\\_678770/1206\\_679522/1206x0\\_679524/](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/oz_678770/1206_679522/1206x0_679524/).

rapid development of the financial sector was primarily driven by the 1954 Franco-Monaco Neighborhood Agreement. This pact allowed Monaco banks to access the French central bank's clearing system, enabling efficient cross-border settlement services while retaining independent financial regulatory authority. It laid a solid foundation for the financial system's autonomous operation and international integration, while also providing institutional groundwork for subsequent financial innovations. In 1963, the U.S. passed the Bank Secrecy Act, attracting global capital through zero corporate income tax and stringent client information confidentiality. Funds from high-tax neighboring countries like France and Italy flowed in massive amounts. Private banking and asset management businesses flourished, with luxury landmarks like the Hotel de Paris becoming wealth management hubs for high-net-worth individuals. By the end of the 20th century, an industrial structure centered on offshore finance had been initially established. By the eve of 2008, it had assets under management of hundreds of billions of euros.

This model faced significant challenges during the 2008 financial crisis. Amid global anti-money laundering and tax transparency initiatives, its "bank secrecy" advantage increasingly became a compliance risk. To address this, in 2009, Monaco joined the *EU Savings Directive*, agreeing to levy withholding tax on interest income of EU residents or exchange information, thereby compressing traditional regulatory arbitrage opportunities. Confronting international regulatory pressures, the financial sector initiated transformation: On one hand, it revised laws to strengthen anti-money laundering and know-your-customer (KYC) rules, actively collaborating with international organizations (Financial Action Task Force, FATF) to enhance transparency and compliance. On the other hand, it promoted financial product diversification, developing emerging sectors like private equity and green finance. Leveraging geographical advantages and special Franco-Monaco relations, Monaco maintained financial linkages with France and continued using the Bank of France's clearing system to reduce operational costs. These adjustments gradually integrated Monaco into the global regulatory framework, shifting from reliance on tax and secrecy advantages to emphasizing political stability, professional services, quality of life, and strong cooperative relationships with major economies (EU), aiming to build a "compliant, secure, and efficient" high-end wealth management destination. In 2022, leveraging zero income tax policies and banking secrecy traditions, Monaco's managed assets exceeded 500 billion euros, becoming one of Europe's largest offshore financial centers. Through flexible policies, Monaco achieved a balance between sovereign dependence and economic independence, maximizing geopolitical and institutional advantages within compliance boundaries. This covert development of financial services essentially represents the dynamic integration of sovereign advantages and external opportunities.

The synergy of technological empowerment and brand upgrading has facilitated the continuous and stable development of its industries. The COVID-19 pandemic posed significant challenges to the domestic economy, particularly to the tourism and gambling sectors. To reduce excessive reliance on offline industries, the government actively promoted the "Extended Monaco" smart principality initiative alongside the rapid development of digital technologies, driving digital transformation. In 2019, it collaborated with China enterprises to establish Monaco's first nationwide 5G network. In 2020, the digital identity program strategy

partnered with IN Groupe<sup>45</sup> ensured the highest security standards. To further advance digital transformation, in 2021, the Mona pass mobile application and open payment system were launched, creating an integrated mobility planning and payment platform that combines public transportation, electric bicycle rentals (Mona Bike), and roadside parking. Later, through collaborations with Galaxy Entertainment and others, the city attracted a broader customer base via online promotions, data management, digital gambling assets, and fintech. These measures enabled Monaco to successfully transition from a traditional financial tax haven to a digital and intelligent financial hub.

Monaco has enhanced its "City of Luxury" brand value through event-driven economic strategies and policy frameworks. As the world's only street circuit, its Formula 1 circuit attracts 500,000 annual visitors with its "world's most challenging track" reputation, generating \$940 million in GDP per kilometer. The circuit's super IP status has spawned a luxury consumption ecosystem, establishing it as a global benchmark for event-driven economies. Additionally, by hosting premium exhibitions to attract luxury yacht brands, leveraging yacht registration taxes and Mediterranean geographical advantages, Monaco has developed a "Maritime Economy" brand. In 2024, the sector's transaction volume exceeded €500 million.

## Cultural innovation

January 27th marks Monaco's iconic Saint Devote Festival (Fête de Sainte Devote), rooted in an ancient myth. Legend has it that during the 4th century under Roman Emperor Diocletian, Corsican woman Devote was persecuted for her Christian faith and executed by the governor. Her body was said to have been carried by a small boat to Africa, only to be carried by the wind to the Vallon des Gaumates estuary in Monaco. Residents hailed this as a "miracle", buried her remains, and venerated her as their patron saint, naming her Saint Devote. In the 16th century, the saint is said to have appeared during Monaco's defense against Genoese siege forces, aiding their victory. King Honoré I then established the Saint Devote Church as the family's religious center, transferring relics from Saint Nicholas Church to reinforce her status as the nation's guardian. This festival intertwines Catholic faith with national history, emphasizing the inseparable bond between religion and statehood, becoming a hallmark of Monaco's unique cultural identity. Through the Saint Devote Festival, Monaco reimagines Christian martyrdom legends, transforming geographical disadvantages into religious legitimacy via the myth of a "chosen land". This narrative infused the Grimaldi dynasty's rule with sacred DNA, laying the foundational basis for national sovereignty.

The Monogolish language (Monegasque) is a non-mainstream communicative language but holds the status of a "national symbol", reflecting the institutional protection of the local language. Since 1924, the traditional National Committee for Monogolish Traditions (Comité National des Traditions Monegasques) has led a language revival program: introducing Monogolish courses in public schools and including them in the high school graduation

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<sup>45</sup> IN Groupe is a French multinational enterprise specializing in digital identity authentication, biometric technology, and information security solutions, with operations spanning electronic identity verification, optical security, and IOT security.

examination; offering language classes for adults to encourage its use in family settings. The Old Town Museum (Musée du Vieux Monaco) integrates language preservation into the narrative of material heritage by displaying historical artifacts and documents. In 2005, the "Monogolish Language Law" was enacted, designating the endangered Monogolish as an official language, mandating its use in schools and official documents, and deepening local cultural identity. Monaco has transformed its endangered local dialect into a national identity symbol, confirming its cultural sovereignty through the "Language Law", completing its transition from a "French vassal" to a "sovereign state". French, as the official language and administrative medium of Monaco, has its use explicitly protected by law to "not weaken national sovereignty," ensuring school curricula align with the French education system and strengthening citizens' European identity. Public schools also list Chinese as a second foreign language (mandatory from age 11), incorporating cultural modules such as calligraphy and Tai Chi into textbooks. To meet the economic demands of China tourists and commercial cooperation, the China-Monaco Association has opened citizen Chinese classes for all age groups.

Furthermore, the royal family skillfully leveraged media events to reinforce the legitimacy of national sovereignty. In 1956, when Prince Rainier III married Hollywood star Grace Kelly, the global broadcast of the wedding documentary transformed the royal marriage into a cultural phenomenon that captured worldwide attention, successfully rebranding Las Vegas as a romantic destination. The following year, the city's tourism revenue surged by 230%, elevating it to a benchmark for European luxury travel. Tourism's share of GDP rose from 18% (1955) to 41% (1960), significantly reducing reliance on casino revenues (from 70% to 45% during the same period). In 2020, the Princess Charlene crisis<sup>46</sup> was transformed through social media narratives into a public discourse on royal modernization, serving as a geopolitical counterbalance. This strategy continuously infused contemporary legitimacy into the monarchy, gradually completing the sovereign transition from historical divinity to modern national identity.

The seven-century rule of the Grimaldi dynasty in Monaco transformed the principality from a "rock fortress" into a "luxury casino" through geopolitical advantages, diplomatic flexibility, economic restructuring, and cultural innovation. This evolution established modern state sovereignty, demonstrating a "soft power" approach that provides a practical model for postmodern microstates to achieve sovereign equality. This geopolitical case not only challenges the classic "scale determines power" assumption in international relations theory but also exemplifies how micro-political entities sustain sovereignty through strategic choices. More importantly, it

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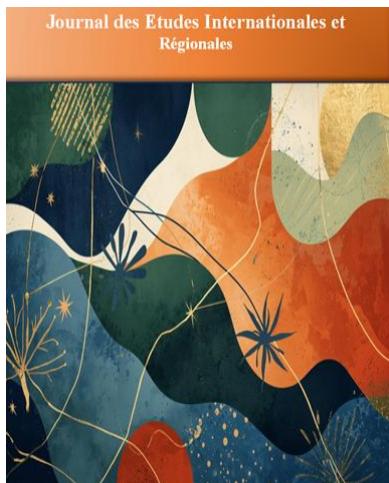
<sup>46</sup> In 2020, Princess Charlene's health issues led to her being stranded in South Africa during the National Day celebrations, sparking rumors of a "princess escape". The royal family initially avoided direct responses to these speculations. It wasn't until the following year that they addressed the situation through the documentary "Charlene: The Real Story of Monaco", acknowledging the princess's "tough times" and transforming the crisis into a showcase of resilience. This incident resulted in a 4 million surge in Instagram followers for the royal family, with Charlene's personal account engagement rate skyrocketing by 278%. After her comeback, Charlene spearheaded the "Ocean Conservation Summit", which boosted fundraising by 35% year-on-year. Her public discussions on mental health also helped restore royal support to 82% (2022 poll).

reveals the dialectical principle of "governance through compact governance" — where microstates navigate power dynamics to secure survival and development in the postmodern era.

While Monaco continues to grapple with challenges including overdependence on gambling, land scarcity, environmental pressures, demographic imbalances, and social burdens, its governance model of "small but mighty" demonstrates that microstates possess the capacity to overcome survival challenges, reshape geopolitical value, and forge innovative paths toward sovereign equality through precise strategic positioning within an unequal international power structure. This paradigm offers a unique analytical perspective for understanding the developmental logic of microstates in the new era. The historical experience and practical wisdom in sovereign construction also provide significant theoretical reference value for advancing asymmetric international relations research and promoting innovative developments in sovereignty theory. In essence, the key to national survival and development lies in adapting to local conditions, leveraging strengths while mitigating weaknesses. Only through precise strategic positioning and sustained sovereignty resilience can more possibilities be created within limited space.

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## Small Countries, Good Governance:

### A Historical Exploration of the Governance Model and Social Cohesion of European Microstates

Petits pays, bonne gouvernance :

Une Exploration historique du modèle de gouvernance et de cohésion sociale des micro-États européens

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**Abstract:** This paper takes the Vatican, Monaco, SAN Marino, Liechtenstein, Malta, Andorra and Luxembourg as the research objects, and reveals the common characteristics of European microstates from three dimensions: historical origin, governance model and social cohesion. Research has found that these countries have achieved long-term survival through survival wisdom in geographical crevices, institutional resilience and external compromises. Build a unique model with a "small but exquisite" political structure, specialized economy and symbolic governance; Build social consensus through economic welfare, cultural identity and political participation. Its experience provides a theoretical sample and practical inspiration of "scale non-determinism" for modern state governance.

**Key words:** European microstate, geopolitics, governance model, social cohesion, historical comparison

**Résumé :** Cet article prend comme objet de recherche le Vatican, Monaco, saint-marin, le Liechtenstein, Malte, Andorre et le Luxembourg, et révèle les caractéristiques communes des micro-états européens à partir de trois dimensions : origine historique, modèle de gouvernance et cohésion sociale. La recherche a montré que ces pays ont réussi à survivre à long terme grâce à la sagesse de la survie dans les crevasses géographiques, la résilience institutionnelle et les compromis externes. Construire un modèle unique avec une structure politique « petite mais exquise », une économie spécialisée et une gouvernance symbolique ; Construire un consensus social par le bien-

être économique, l'identité culturelle et la participation politique. Son expérience fournit un échantillon théorique et une inspiration pratique du « non-déterminisme d'échelle » pour la gouvernance moderne de l'état.

**Mots-clés :** microétat Européen, géopolitique, modèle de gouvernance, cohésion sociale, comparaison historique

## 1. Introduction

The definition of a microstate is a sovereign state in Europe with an area of less than 50,000 square kilometers and a population of less than 10 million<sup>[1]</sup>. On the European map, microstates such as the Vatican, Monaco, SAN Marino, Liechtenstein, Malta, Andorra, and Luxembourg are like unique pearls. Based on the governance Effectiveness indicators with Government Effectiveness, Rule of Law, and Social Stability as the core analysis dimensions selected by the World Bank Governance Index (WGI)<sup>[2]</sup>, these microstates have a small area. Despite its limited population, it has survived and developed a unique governance model throughout a long history, maintaining a high level of social cohesion and occupying a distinctive position in the modern international system. An in-depth exploration of the governance models of these micro-states and the roots of their social cohesion can not only enrich the theoretical research on national governance, but also offer enlightenment for the governance of major countries. Moreover, it can enhance the understanding of Europe's diverse historical culture and complex geopolitics. This article, by sorting out the historical development, governance models and manifestations of social cohesion of these microstates, and using the comparative analysis method, aims to systematically sort out the historical development context of these microstates, analyze the characteristics of their governance models and the construction mechanisms of social cohesion, explore the historical causes behind them, and thereby provide practical samples for national governance that can be referred to and learned.

## 2. The three commonalities of historical origins: survival in a narrow space, institutional resilience, and external compromise

### 2.1 Survival Wisdom in Geographical Crevices: Trading Space for Sovereignty

The birth and existence of microstates in Europe are essentially a passive adaptation and active game of the geopolitical pattern. The Vatican is set in the center of Rome, Italy. Since the 4th century AD, it has maintained a special position in the game between secular monarchy and church power by virtue of its religious authority as the "papal residence"<sup>[3]</sup>. Liechtenstein is located between Switzerland and Austria. After its establishment in 1719, it served as a "neutral buffer zone" to avoid being annexed by major powers<sup>[4]</sup>. Andorra is located in the Pyrenees Mountains. In the 8th century, it was enfeoffed by Charlemagne as a buffer state against the Moors. The duopoly of France and Spain established by the Treaty of Tribute in 1278 was essentially a survival strategy of exchanging "common sovereignty" for autonomy<sup>[5]</sup>. The "Mountain fortress" strategy of SAN Marino is highly representative. This republic, with an area of only 61 square kilometers, successfully resisted the invasions of the Eastern Roman Empire and the Lombardy Principality in the Middle Ages, thanks to the perilous terrain of the Apennine Mountains. During the Italian Unification War in the 19th century, SAN Marino chose to support the

Kingdom of Sardinia, exchanging "military aid" for the Treaty of Amitaby of 1862, thus becoming the only independent country within Italy. This kind of "ependent and cooperative" flexible diplomacy has enabled it to continue the thousand-year-old republican tradition in the narrow space between major powers<sup>[6]</sup>.

## **2.2 Historical Continuity and Institutional Resilience: The Survival Code of a Thousand-year-old Political System**

Compared with modern nation-states, the institutional resilience of microstates can be regarded as an exceptional case. Since its founding in 301, SAN Marino has maintained a republic. Its core governance structure - the Grand Council (Arengo) consisting of 60 members and the dual consul system - has persisted from the 13th century to the present, making it the oldest living fossil of a republic in Europe<sup>[6]</sup>. The Grimaldi family of Monaco has ruled since 1297. Despite the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and other shocks, they still maintained the monarchy by signing the Treaty of 1861 with France (recognizing Monaco's independence but relying on France for defense and foreign affairs), making it the second longest-lasting hereditary regime in Europe after Liechtenstein<sup>[7]</sup>. This institutional resilience stems from two mechanisms: Firstly, the flexible transformation of symbolic power. As the Vatican evolved from a papal state to a modern city-state, although the Pope's secular power significantly shrank in the 19th century, the "religious sovereignty" established through the Lateran Treaty transformed political authority into the spiritual leadership of the global Catholic Church. Secondly, it is to minimize governance costs. Liechtenstein has an area of only 160 square kilometers and a population of about 40,000. Its administrative institutions only have 8 departments. The chain from policy formulation to implementation is extremely short, reducing the friction costs of system iteration.

## **2.3 External Forces' Intervention and Sovereignty Transfer: Compromise for Independence**

The sovereignty of microstates often exhibits a "fragmented" feature, manifested as a functional dependence on major powers<sup>[8]</sup>. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Luxembourg became an autonomous grand Duchy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1839, the Treaty of London ceded its southern French-speaking region to Belgium, while the northern German-speaking region remained independent. This "territorial division" was essentially a product of the balance among major powers<sup>[9]</sup>. Before Malta gained independence in 1964, it was successively colonized by the United Kingdom, France and Spain. After independence, it still maintained military cooperation with the United Kingdom. Its decision to join the European Union in 2004 was also a typical example of obtaining security and economic benefits by ceding part of its sovereignty<sup>[10]</sup>. The "sovereignty" of such countries is not an absolute exclusive power, but rather a "limited autonomy" clearly defined through treaties. Andorra's defense and judiciary are still assisted by France and Spain, but its internal affairs and taxation are completely autonomous, forming a unique form of "dual sovereignty". This model challenges the traditional Westphalian view of sovereignty and reveals the essence of the survival of small countries - sovereignty is a divisible and tradable governance resource.

### **3. Three major characteristics of the governance model: sophisticated structure, industrial specialization, and symbolic governance**

#### **3.1 A Small but Precise Political Structure: A Micro-Experiment of Power Checks and Balances**

The political design of European micro-states ingeniously integrates "minimalism" and "the principle of checks and balances", constructing an efficient and stable power structure within a limited governance space, and forming a distinctive micro-political experimental field. This structure not only avoids the cumbersome and inefficient bureaucratic system of major countries but also achieves power checks and balances through ingenious institutional design, demonstrating unique governance wisdom. In monarchies, "limited authority" becomes the core logic of the operation of power. Monaco operates under a dual constitutional monarchy. Although the prince, as the head of state, retains the power to appoint the prime minister and cabinet members, the legislative power is held by a parliament (National Assembly) composed of 24 directly elected members. All laws must be passed by a two-thirds majority in the parliament to come into effect, and the fiscal budget is subject to strict supervision by the independent auditing body, the "Financial Control Committee". This design separates symbolic authority from actual governance power<sup>[8]</sup>. For instance, the Monaco Sustainable Development Act of 2021 was revised after 14 rounds of parliamentary debates before being signed by the prince, demonstrating the prudence of the legislative process. Although the Grand Duke of Liechtenstein has the right to veto bills at the constitutional level, he must submit written reasons within 14 days and be subject to review by the Constitutional Court. Since the current constitution was promulgated in 1921, this power has never been actually exercised, forming a political convention of "symbolic retention and substantive inaction", highlighting the delicate balance between the monarchy and parliamentary democracy<sup>[11]</sup>.

Republics, on the other hand, place greater emphasis on the combination of direct democracy and checks and balances of power. As the oldest republic in Europe, SAN Marino's dual consuls system is a model of micro-democracy: the two consuls are elected by the Grand Assembly (60 members) every six months, coming from different political parties or political alliances, and jointly exercise the powers of the head of state. Any decision must be signed by both of them to take effect. This "dual-head governance" model effectively avoids the concentration of power<sup>[7]</sup>. For instance, the proposal to legalize casinos put forward by the Grand Assembly in 2019 was forced to launch a national referendum due to the opposition of one of the magistrates, and was ultimately rejected with 63% of the votes against. The direct democratic mechanism played a key role in this process. Malta has achieved the coexistence of multiple political forces through proportional representation. In the 2022 general election, the Labour Party (PL), the National Party (PN), and the newly established "Alternative for Democracy" (AD) formed a three-party coalition government. For the first time, small parties entered the cabinet and obtained key positions in education, environment, and other fields, demonstrating the institutional innovation of political inclusiveness in a micro-state<sup>[10]</sup>.

The notable advantage of such a political structure lies in the significant optimization of governance costs. The Luxembourg Parliament lasts only about 120 days each year, and the average review period for bills is 45 days,

which is much shorter than the 18 months in France. This efficiency stems from its "commissioner-led" legislative model - all proposals are first cross-party negotiated by professional committees (such as the Finance Committee and the Social Affairs Committee), and then directly submitted to the plenary session for a vote after they mature. It has reduced the losses caused by the common partisan games in major countries<sup>[12]</sup>. Liechtenstein has enhanced the credibility of its governance through the construction of a "transparent government". The government's official website discloses in real time the minutes of administrative meetings, details of budget implementation, and even the salary standards of civil servants. In 2023, Liechtenstein ranked 5th globally in the Transparency International Corruption Index. Its "Sunshine Act" enables citizens to directly participate in policy supervision, creating a sense of governance intimacy in a "miniature state".

Essentially, the political structure of a microstate is an active response to "diseconomies of scale": by compressing levels, strengthening checks and balances, and activating participation, it achieves maximum efficiency within a limited governance unit. This model not only provides a "small but beautiful" sample for modern democratic systems, but also enlighten us that the effectiveness of governance has no necessary connection with the size of the country. The key lies in the scientific nature of power allocation and the sufficiency of social participation. When major powers are seeking efficiency breakthroughs in the bureaucratic maze, the "minimalist checks and balances" of microstates might offer a solution to break the deadlock.

### **3.2 Economic Specialization: Leveraging a single industry to drive a global network**

The economic model of microstates follows the "diamond cutting" theory - focusing on a single field to excel and strengthen. With a "small but exquisite" specialized economic model, it has occupied a unique position on the global stage. Its industrial choices are deeply in line with geographical advantages and historical traditions, forming a highly recognizable economic ecosystem.

As the core hub of the Catholic faith, the economic system of the Vatican is highly dependent on the global operation of religious resources. The spiritual identity of approximately 1.3 billion Catholics worldwide forms their unique "economic foundation". St. Peter's Basilica receives over 5 million pilgrims annually. During religious festivals such as the "Holy Year", the number of pilgrims can reach tens of millions. The related accommodation, transportation, and souvenir consumption have formed a huge industrial chain. The Holy See generates over 200 million euros annually by issuing religious derivatives such as the "Holy Year Passport" and the "Apostolic Prayer Card". The Vatican Museums house top-notch artworks such as Michelangelo's "The Creation of the World". Its cultural and creative development covers books and digital collectibles (such as the NFT version of Raphael's paintings launched in 2023), with an annual sales volume of 230 million euros, accounting for 12% of the global religious cultural and creative market<sup>[13]</sup>. The Holy See has established the "Pontifical Estate Administration" (APSA), entrusting international investment banks to manage its investment portfolio. The assets cover real estate, energy, and technology enterprises. The 2022 financial report shows an annualized return rate of 4.3%, and the scale of financial assets exceeds 10 billion US dollars<sup>[14]</sup>.

Monaco has built a world-class consumption ecosystem with the positioning of a "luxury city-state", and its economy has been continuously growing driven by both gambling and tourism. As a landmark industry, the Monte Carlo Casino has an annual revenue of over 500 million euros. Its VIP hall welcomes high-net-worth clients from all over the world, and the commission rate of the gambling tables is 5% to 15%, which is much higher than the 2% to 5% in Las Vegas. Thirty percent of the casino's revenue is used for public welfare, forming a closed loop of "high-end entertainment - social welfare". The F1 Monaco Grand Prix attracts an average of 500 million global viewers each year. The auction price for advertising Spaces around the track reaches 200,000 US dollars per square meter, giving rise to various business formats such as racing-themed hotels and experience centers. The density of luxury stores within the country ranks first in the world (12 per square kilometer). In 2023, luxury consumption accounted for 45% of total retail sales. Brands such as Hermes and Rolex have established global limited edition launch centers here. The Grimaldi Forum hosts over 200 international conferences each year, including the Nobel Prize Summit and the International Energy Forum. In 2023, it drove over 300 million euros in catering and accommodation consumption in the surrounding areas, forming a "smart + luxury" exhibition brand.

This principality, with an area of only 160 square kilometers, has become a top student in European finance thanks to its "low tax + compliance" strategy. The corporate tax rate is only 12.5% (the average in the European Union is 21%), and tax exemption policies are implemented for holding companies, attracting 37,000 enterprises worldwide to register and manage assets exceeding 700 billion Swiss francs. In 2020, the Blockchain Act recognized the legal status of cryptocurrencies. Companies like Coinbase established their European headquarters, and the trading volume of crypto assets accounted for 35% of the German-speaking region of Switzerland. The Vacheron Constantin watch workshop holds an 8% share of the global high-end watch market. The five-axis machine tools of GF Machining Solutions, a machine tool enterprise, have an accuracy of the micrometer level and serve the aerospace field. As the "Kingdom of Stamps", Liechtenstein issues 20 to 30 sets of commemorative stamps every year, renowned for their artistic design and scarcity. In 2023, the premium rate of the "Alpine Ecology" series of stamps reached 300%, and the stamp industry generated an annual revenue of over 50 million Swiss francs.

From a "steel kingdom" to a "green finance center", Luxembourg has demonstrated the transformational resilience of an established industrial country. As the second-largest financial center in the Eurozone, it manages assets exceeding 4 trillion euros, accounting for 25% of global cross-border investment funds. Its "Green Finance Platform" issued the first sovereign green bond of the European Union in 2020. In 2023, the scale of green finance products reached 800 billion euros, accounting for 18% of the European market. Arcelormittal's Luxembourg plant focuses on aerospace steel. The "ultra-light high-strength alloy" it has developed is applied to the fuselage of the Airbus A350, with a profit margin 40% higher than that of ordinary steel. Although production capacity has dropped by 60% compared to the 1970s, added value has increased threefold. The Luxembourg Space Agency (LSA) has invested 2 billion euros in asteroid mining research and is collaborating with the US company Deep

Space Industries to develop the "Luxembourg 1" probe. The goal is to commercialize near-Earth asteroid resources before 2030 and seize the initiative in the space economy.

The economic model of microstates reveals the key to the success of "niche competition": avoiding competition across the entire industrial chain and building implacability through institutional uniqueness (such as the religious sovereignty of the Vatican, Liechtenstein's low-tax policy), technological specialization (Monaco's event operation, Luxembourg's green finance), or cultural scarcity (SAN Marino's republican legacy). This "single-point breakthrough" strategy not only achieves economic efficiency but also strengthens national brands through industrial symbolization (such as the Monte Carlo casino and Liechtenstein stamps), opening up exclusive survival space for small countries in the process of globalization.

This specialized strategy is accompanied by a high degree of outward orientation: Andorra's duty-free shopping revenue accounts for 60% of its GDP, and tourists' consumption dependence reaches 85%. Malta's shipping industry contributes 25% of employment, and its registered ship tonnage accounts for 15% of the EU's total. In terms of risk response, countries generally adopt "industrial hedging" - Monaco has developed fintech outside the gambling industry, and Luxembourg has transformed into green finance after the steel industry shrank (closing its last blast furnace in 2002), demonstrating its adaptability of being "small but not fragile".

**Table 1 Economic Specialization of Microstates**

Country	Pillar Industry	Global Status	Economic resilience strategy
Vatican	Religious economy	The spiritual center of 1.3 billion Catholics around the world	Art auctions, diversified investment by the Holy See
Monaco	Gambling/ Tourism	The annual revenue of the Monte Carlo Casino exceeds 500 million euros	High-end exhibitions and conferences (such as F1) Luxury goods economy
Liechtenstein	Finance/ Precision manufacturing	The second largest per capita GDP in the world (approximately 190,000 US dollars in 2023)	Low tax policy (12.5% corporate tax), crypto-friendly

Country	Pillar Industry	Global Status	Economic resilience strategy
Luxembourg	Finance /Steel	The second-largest financial center in the Eurozone (with assets under management exceeding 4 trillion euros)	Green finance, aerospace technology

### 3.3 Political Symbolic System: The Dual Narrative of Symbolic Governance

European micro-states are well aware of the governance philosophy that "small states need big symbols". By transforming historical legacies into political legitimacy resources, they have established a dual narrative system of "symbolic capital of monarchy" and "historical deification of republic", achieving the infinite extension of governance authority within a limited territory. This symbolic governance is not merely a cultural display, but rather fills the identity gap caused by scale limitations through the deep coupling of rituals, narratives and space.

In monarchies, the royal family becomes the core carrier of the national brand. The Grimaldi family of Monaco has reshaped the country's image with the "Hollywood myth": The wedding of Grace Kelly and King Raniere III in 1956 attracted 300 million viewers through global TV live broadcast. The design of her wedding dress and the palace scene directly drove the tourism industry to boom. To this day, the "Princess Grace Museum" attracts more than 200,000 visitors annually, accounting for 15% of Monaco's total number of tourists. The "Mediterranean Marine Conservation Foundation" initiated by the current Princess Charlene has bound royal authority with environmental issues. In 2023, the "Monaco Marine Protected Area Expansion Plan" promoted by the foundation received funding from the European Union, simultaneously enhancing the country's soft power and diplomatic influence. The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg intervenes in international affairs as a "neutral mediator": During the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022, Grand Duke Henry visited Ukraine and presided over the EU-Ukraine Conference on the Protection of Cultural Heritage. His narrative of "moral authority beyond sovereignty" gave Luxembourg a special say in EU decision-making. During his tenure as the rotating president of the EU in 2023, he successfully promoted the passage of the European Green Industry Act.

Republics, on the other hand, focus on the sanctification of historical traditions. SAN Marino transformed the legend of "Marino, the stonemason, establishing a state" into a constitution-level narrative. The preamble of its constitution clearly states that "In 301 AD, Marino, to escape persecution by Diocletian, established a free city-state on Mount Titano." On September 3rd, the National Day every year, citizens dress in medieval costumes to reenact the "founding ceremony", which includes the display of stonemasons' tools and the ancient oath-taking ceremony. In 2023, this ceremony was included in the "Tentative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" by UNESCO, strengthening the collective identity of the "oldest republic in Europe". Malta, on the

other hand, integrates diverse heritages through the narrative of the "Civilisational Museum" : The government has launched a "Heritage Passport" that connects 12 World Heritage sites, including the ancient city of Valletta (a cavalry site), the Temple of Mnajdra (a Neolithic site), and the Carthaginian tombs, to form the "Mediterranean Civilization Route". This passport allows tourists to collect seals from each site, driving a 28% increase in cultural tourism revenue in 2023. At the same time, through the "Civilization Archaeology Course" in primary and secondary schools, Phoenician letters and Roman Mosaic craftsmanship are included as compulsory courses to build a "diverse yet integrated" national identity

The spatial practice of symbolic governance is more profound. St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican is not only the center of Catholicism but also the culmination of Renaissance architecture. Its dome design (a work by Michelangelo) has become a symbol of the "fusion of theocracy and humanism". Every year, six million pilgrims complete their religious ceremonies here while also becoming voluntary disseminators of the national image. The daily 11:55 changing of the guard ceremony at the Royal Palace of Monaco transforms the solemnness of the monarchy into a consumable cultural landscape. Tourists can take close-up photos of the "Orange Guard" in white military uniforms. The ceremony has been spread through platforms such as TikTok, and the related topic has received over 500 million views in 2023. The "Open Day" of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg serves a more political communication function: every July, the public is allowed to visit the State Hall. The Grand Duchy and his wife personally receive visitors and present them with souvenirs bearing their family emblems. In 2023, the number of participants reached 32,000, equivalent to 6% of the country's population. This "close symbolic contact" effectively alleviates the tension between the monarchy and modern democracy.

Essentially, the symbolic governance of microstates is a kind of "scale compensation mechanism": when the physical territory cannot support sufficient governance legitimacy, the national image is elevated to a spiritual symbol transcending geographical boundaries through cultural narratives (such as SAN Marino's "republican ideal" and Monaco's "luxurious imagination"). This governance strategy not only creates economic value (such as royal tourism contributing 40% of Monaco's GDP), but also builds emotional connections - a 2023 poll shows that 89% of SAN Marino citizens believe that "historical rituals define a country more than the size of its territory", revealing the deep efficacy of symbolic governance: In the era of globalization, the core of national identity has long transcended land and lies in whether a widely recognized meaning system can be created.

## **4. The three pillars of social cohesion: Welfare sharing, cultural cohesion and participatory governance**

### **4.1 Sharing of Economic Dividends: A Miniature Sample of a high-welfare Society**

European microstates build social cohesion with a "small but comprehensive" welfare system. Their policy designs not only reflect "inclusive" humanistic care but also imply "precise" governance logic, forming a welfare model that is both fair and efficient, and generating very significant social effects.

First of all, it is the comprehensive coverage of people's livelihood welfare from cradle to grave, such as education, medical care, employment, housing, etc. Luxembourg aims to be a "European welfare showcase" and has established a highly dense social security network: from preschool education to the doctoral stage, all are free of charge, and the government also provides a monthly stipend of 480 euros for university students. Data from 2023 shows that the enrollment rate in higher education has reached 87% (the OECD average is 50%). Universal free medical care covers private hospitals. Patients only need to pay 5% for drugs. The cancer screening rate is 22% higher than the average level of the European Union. The life expectancy is 82.3 years (9th in the world). Unemployment benefits are 80% of the original salary (up to a maximum of 4,800 euros per month), and the "re-employment training subsidy" can be claimed simultaneously for the first six months. The unemployment rate in 2023 is only 5.1%, the lowest in the Eurozone. Monaco has attracted the global high-income group with its "zero-tax utopia". Residents' salaries are fully credited to their accounts. Combined with the benefits of the gambling industry, the per capita disposable income has reached 180,000 US dollars (the highest in the world), which is four times that of the United States. The government holds 75% of the residential property rights. Citizens can apply for public rental housing with a rent of only one-third of the market price and are never allowed to be evicted. The housing satisfaction rate reached 95% in 2023. Water and electricity are monopolized by state-owned enterprises, with an average monthly cost of about 50 euros per household, which is only one fifth of that in neighboring France. This reflects the governance logic of "resource sovereignty benefiting people's livelihood".

Secondly, there is the economic engine behind the high welfare of sustainability. Liechtenstein's welfare finance demonstrates a sophisticated design of "industrial feedback". The corporate tax rate of 12.5% is lower than that of Switzerland (15%-25%) and Austria (25%), attracting 37,000 enterprises to register. Among them, the annual management fee of trust companies exceeds 1 billion Swiss francs, contributing 80% of the social security funds. A 0.1% tax was levied on stock and bond transactions, generating 230 million Swiss francs in revenue in 2023, which was specifically used to fill the pension gap, making the elderly allowance 40% higher than the EU average. The premium income from limited edition stamps (an average of 50 million Swiss francs per year) is included in the "Cultural Welfare Fund" to provide full scholarships for students of art colleges. Malta's "Golden Visa" program is a typical example of "making global resources work for us". With an investment of 650,000 euros and a donation of 150,000 euros to change citizenship, it attracted 432 investors in 2023, raising over 350 million euros, of which 20% was used to build a new cancer treatment center. The introduction of the MD Anderson Cancer Center cooperation project in the United States, with the government subsidizing 70% of the cross-border treatment costs for patients, has increased the five-year survival rate of cancer to 68% (the average in the European Union is 49%). In 2023, the proportion of international students reached 18%, allowing the children of immigrants to attend public schools for free. The tuition income is used to support local students' lunch subsidies and other benefits.

This welfare model has produced a very significant social effect ranging from material dependence to emotional identification. The high welfare policy has given rise to a unique social ecosystem. The Gini coefficients of 0.23 in Luxembourg and 0.21 in Monaco are far lower than the global average of 0.38. The minimization of the gap

between the rich and the poor has brought about a high degree of social stability. In 2023, no large-scale protests occurred in either country. A poll in Liechtenstein shows that 92% of citizens believe that "welfare in small countries is more precise" because of the faster policy response (such as the government's introduction of household energy subsidies within 48 hours during the 2023 energy crisis). 83% of young people in Monaco choose to stay in their home country due to the combination of "free housing + high-end employment" (such as F1 event operation and luxury goods management positions), which is much higher than the rate of young people staying in their hometowns in France (32%).

#### **4.2 Cultural Identity Construction: A Narrative Project of Diversity and Unity**

Under the impact of the globalization wave, microstates seek a balance between "differential politics" and "common production" through ingenious cultural policies, such as language, religion and ritual activities, to complete the narrative project of cultural identity construction.

First of all, language, as a bond of identity, has demonstrated different but equally ingenious strategies in Luxembourg and Andorra. Luxembourg promotes "trilingual education", deeply integrating Luxembourgish, French and German into its education system. The proportion of local languages in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools has reached 30%. This language policy not only protects the inheritance of the native language but also, with the help of French and German, enables Luxembourg to move smoothly on the European political and economic stage. The release of government documents in three languages not only reflects language equality but also enables the public to find a balance of identity in a multilingual environment. Andorra has designated Catalan as its sole official language. Through the Language Protection Act, it requires that public signs and commercial advertisements must be in Catalan. Starting from daily life scenarios, it aims to enhance the public's sense of belonging to the local language and culture and resist the erosion of the languages and cultures of neighboring major countries.

Secondly, religion plays a crucial role in the social integration of the Vatican and Malta. Through the global Catholic education system, the Vatican exports values to over 200,000 schools, building a vast network of spiritual connections and fostering cultural identity among Catholics around the world. 98% of the population in Malta adheres to Catholicism. The church is deeply involved in social services such as healthcare and elderly care, forming an implicit governance network of "cooperation between church and state". Religious activities are closely integrated with social welfare, making religious belief no longer confined to the spiritual level but an important force for maintaining social unity and promoting cultural identity.

In addition, festival ceremonies, as carriers of cultural identity reproduction, shine brightly in SAN Marino, Monaco and Andorra. The "Inauguration of the Consul" in SAN Marino has been listed as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity. During the ceremony, medieval costumes and oath-taking procedures are recreated. Through the solemn sense of ceremony, it strengthens the collective perception that "the republican tradition has never been interrupted", allowing the people to find their cultural roots in the historical inheritance. The Rose Ball in Monaco, with its elegant and luxurious style, showcases the unique charm and romantic atmosphere of

Monaco. The "Fire Dance Festival" in Andorra, through passionate cultural performances, builds an emotional connection of intergenerational inheritance, allowing cultural identity to continue and be elevated in a joyous atmosphere.

#### **4.3 Direct Participatory Governance: A Democratic Experiment in Small Countries**

In the modern political ecosystem, microstates, with their unique direct participation governance model, carry out vigorous democratic experiments, and their political participation shows a remarkable feature of "high penetration rate".

The first step is to lower the threshold for political participation. Liechtenstein and SAN Marino are highly representative in lowering the threshold for political participation. Liechtenstein has granted citizens aged 18 and above the right to initiate referendums. This low-threshold design has greatly stimulated the political enthusiasm of the people. In the 2020 referendum on whether to ban cryptocurrencies, the voter turnout in this country was as high as 78%, far exceeding the EU average of 47%. Citizens can directly express their opinions on emerging economic issues, truly achieving the downward flow of political discourse power. SAN Marino adopts an electoral system of "direct election by all" for the grand assembly. Each citizen can freely vote among the 60 candidates for the assembly. The extremely high degree of participation freedom keeps the turnout rate consistently above 90%, ensuring that the public fully participates in the construction of the national governance system.

The second is to integrate consultative governance into daily operations. The "National Economic and Social Commission" of Luxembourg is a model, composed of representatives from the government, trade unions and enterprises. Major policies need to be approved through consultation among the three parties. In the 2023 minimum wage adjustment negotiations, the committee reached a consensus in just 14 days, efficiently resolving the issue of benefit distribution and fully demonstrating the advantages of consultative governance. Community committees in Malta have the power to make budget decisions. Citizens can directly participate in matters such as neighborhood renovation and cultural event planning. Starting from grassroots community affairs, it enables the public to deeply participate in national governance and enhance their sense of ownership.

This kind of direct participation governance has significantly reduced "political indifference". The 2022 European Barometer survey shows that the average trust level of citizens in microstates in their governments is 78%, which is 35 percentage points higher than the EU average of 43%. The public feels their own influence in political participation, and government decisions are more in line with needs by widely absorbing public opinion. This has formed a democratic ecosystem where the government and the public trust each other and interact positively, providing a unique reference sample for the development of global democratic politics.

## 5. Governance Implications of Microstates

European microstates, with their unique historical evolution and governance practices, have powerfully overturned the traditional perception that "the size of a country determines the effectiveness of governance". In the current context of drastic changes in the international political and economic landscape, the experiences of these "pocket laboratories" provide highly valuable reference models for modern national governance.

First of all, from a geopolitical perspective, microstates are well aware of the survival logic of "limited sovereignty". In the narrow space of the great power game, they abandon the obsession of "absolute independence" and exchange strategic survival space through functional dependence strategies. For instance, Monaco entrusted its defense affairs to France, making a relatively small transfer of sovereignty in exchange for France's security protection, allowing it to focus on the development of its advantageous industries such as tourism and gambling. Liechtenstein has formed a close monetary union with Switzerland, sharing a stable financial system and international credibility. This flexible sovereign arrangement enables the microstates to gain a firm foothold in the complex international environment.

Secondly, in terms of governance structure, microstates adhere to the principle of minimalism. They broke free from the shackles of the bureaucratic system of major countries and adopted the model of "flat structure + direct democracy", achieving a balance between efficiency and fairness. Take SAN Marino as an example. The Grand Assembly election adopts direct elections by all members, allowing citizens to directly participate in national decision-making. The "National Economic and Social Commission" of Luxembourg directly negotiates major policies among the government, trade unions and enterprises, simplifies the decision-making process, reduces internal friction among bureaucratic levels, makes policy-making more in line with actual needs, and enables the public to fully feel their political influence.

Furthermore, in terms of identity construction, microstates have taken a different approach, opting for a symbolic path. Due to their small territory, it is difficult for them to unite the people through geographical space. Therefore, they delve deeply into non-material elements such as historical narratives, religious beliefs, and royal symbols. Relying on the global Catholic system, the Vatican closely connects Catholics from all over the world through a vast religious education network and spiritual influence. Andorra has passed legislation to protect the Catalan language, using language as a bond to strengthen the cultural identity of its citizens. The royal family of Monaco, with its unique international image, has become a symbol of the country's culture and spirit, effectively enhancing the cohesion of the nation.

Finally, in terms of economic development, microstates focus on specialization and are deeply integrated into the global division of labor. They do not blindly pursue industrial diversification but precisely identify their own irreplaceable "ecological niches". Liechtenstein's stamp industry is renowned worldwide. Its stamps, with their exquisite craftsmanship and unique design, occupy an important position in the global philatelic market. Every

time the Vatican encounters a "Jubilee Year", it attracts a large number of pilgrims, forming a unique "Jubilee economy" and generating considerable income from tourism and religious consumption.

The governance practice of microstates shows that the effectiveness of governance is not determined by its scale. The key lies in accurately positioning its own resources, continuously cultivating institutional flexibility, and dynamically maintaining social consensus. In today's world where globalization and regional integration are constantly advancing and the world pattern is increasingly fragmented, the governance experiences of these microstates provide valuable and inspiring references for all countries to explore development paths suitable for themselves and understand the diversity of national forms.

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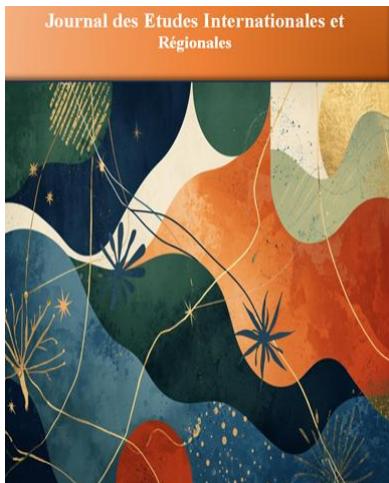
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## The Main Problems Faced by the European Union after Its Eastward Expansion

Les principaux problèmes rencontrés par l'Union européenne après son élargissement vers l'Est

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**Abstract:** The eastward expansion of the European Union has promoted the integration of the European map, but it has also brought to the fore the deep-seated problems of the EU, leading to a situation where multiple predicaments are intertwined. Economically, the eastward expansion of the European Union has formed a "core-periphery" pattern. Central and Eastern European countries have fallen into a "low-end lock-in" due to low-end industries and talent outflow, intensifying the fiscal burden on the EU and internal employment competition. Culturally, the differences between religion and secularization have widened, the conflict between "multiculturalism" and "national cultural protection" has escalated, weakening "European identity". In terms of security, Central and Eastern European countries are overly anxious about the security threat from Russia, overly rely on NATO, and restrict the defense integration of the European Union. The Russia-Ukraine conflict has further exposed their shortcomings in security autonomy. The refugee issue has exacerbated economic burdens, political divisions and security risks, interacting with the above problems to form a vicious cycle. These problems jointly restrict the process of EU integration and pose a severe test to its governance capacity.

**Key words:** EU Eastward Expansion; Economic Imbalance; Cultural Conflict;

Structural contradiction; Security dependency; The plight of refugees

**Résumé :** l'élargissement à l'est de l'union européenne a favorisé l'intégration de la carte européenne, mais il a également mis en évidence les problèmes profonds de l'UE, conduisant à une situation où de multiples situations se mêlent. Sur le plan économique, l'expansion de l'union européenne vers l'est a formé un schéma de « noyau et de périphérie ». Les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale sont tombés dans un « lock-in bas de gamme » en raison des industries bas de gamme et de la fuite des talents, ce qui intensifie la charge fiscale sur l'UE et la concurrence interne en matière d'emploi. Culturellement, les différences entre religion et sécularisation se sont creusées, le conflit entre « multiculturalisme » et « protection culturelle nationale » s'est intensifié, affaiblissant « l'identité européenne ». En termes de sécurité, les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale sont trop inquiets de la menace à la sécurité de la Russie, comptent trop sur l'OTAN et limitent l'intégration de défense de l'union européenne. Le conflit russe-ukrainien a mis davantage en lumière leurs lacunes en matière d'autonomie en

matière de sécurité. La question des réfugiés a exacerbé les fardeaux économiques, les divisions politiques et les risques pour la sécurité, en interaction avec les problèmes ci-dessus pour former un cercle vicieux. Ensemble, ces problèmes limitent le processus d'intégration de l'UE et mettent à rude épreuve sa capacité de gouvernance.

**Mots clés** : élargissement de l'UE à l'est ; Déséquilibre économique ; Les conflits culturels ; Contradiction structurelle ; Dépendance à la sécurité ; La situation critique des réfugiés

## 1. Introduction

The European Union is a product of European integration after World War II. After decades of development, the European Union has become a highly influential regional integration organization globally. However, in the past two decades, the EU has been mired in multiple predicaments, and its internal structural contradictions have become increasingly prominent. The "historic parting" of the UK's official Brexit in 2020 has cast a shadow over the EU's integration process, and the economic imbalance has become increasingly severe.<sup>47</sup> Facing more severe geopolitical pressure, the European Union is attempting to seek strategic autonomy by restarting its eastward expansion process.<sup>48</sup> In 2004, the European Union admitted over ten Central and Eastern European countries including Poland and Hungary. In the following 20 years, eastward expansion was regarded as a means for the EU to achieve strategic autonomy. The major European powers, mainly France and Germany, hoped to balance Europe's inherent Atlantic tendency through broader European integration. The expansion of the European Union has led to the emergence of cultural conflicts. The Russia-Ukraine conflict has led to overreactions in neighboring countries, causing them to fall into security anxiety. As refugees flood into EU countries via Central and Eastern Europe in large numbers, the problems and challenges faced by the EU are unprecedented. A thorough analysis of the relevant issues not only helps to understand the current predicament of the European Union, but also provides an important perspective for observing the laws of regional integration development.

### 1.1 Structural contradictions within the European Union: The grand ideal of integration and the deep-seated game of national interests among various countries.<sup>49</sup>

As a regional political and economic integration organization, the structural contradictions within the European Union have been endogenous issues since its establishment. The root cause of these problems lies in the fundamental conflict between "supranational governance" and "member state sovereignty". There are numerous contradictions in the political, economic and cultural dimensions, such as the unbalanced economic development.

<sup>47</sup>Zhao, S. W. (2012). The impact of the European sovereign debt crisis on the development of global regionalism. *Journal of the Party School of Guizhou Provincial Party Committee of the Communist Party of China*. 2012,(06):119-123

<sup>48</sup> Qin, L. Z., & Fu, T. H. (2025). Haste makes waste: EU eastern enlargement and the myth of EU strategic autonomy. *French Studies*. 2025,(02):29-50.

<sup>49</sup>Wang, Y. (2008). The theoretical analysis of the British government's attitudes during the EU constitutional process. Unpublished master's thesis, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Shanghai, China. 2008.

Differences in industrial structure and difficulties in transformation, as well as disputes in the labor market and welfare policies. At the cultural level, it is mainly reflected in the conflicts of values and the resurgence of nationalism. Politically, it is mainly manifested in the low overall decision-making efficiency of the European Union, policy differences among member states, the rise of populism and the influence of far-right forces, which have led to the gradual disintegration of policy consensus. It is not limited to these three aspects. Many contradictions, including Brexit, are intertwined, constantly weakening the unity and coordination ability of the European Union.

## **1.2 In the economic dimension. There are structural contradictions in the economy within the European Union.**

The structural contradictions within the European Union at the economic level are mainly manifested in a circular development pattern dominated by core countries and dependent on peripheral countries, as well as the "binary paradox" of decentralized fiscal policies under a unified monetary policy. Core countries such as Germany and France, with their solid manufacturing foundations and financial services industries, hold a dominant position in the economic system of the European Union. In contrast, Southern European countries like Greece and newly joined Central and Eastern European countries such as Poland have long been at the downstream of the industrial chain. Economically, they need to be highly dependent on transfer payments from the European Union and depend on foreign investment in their own countries. The euro was introduced in the Eurozone in 1999, and the EU achieved monetary unification. However, the fiscal policies of the member states were not unified but were independently controlled by each member state. Core member states, such as Germany, have maintained trade surpluses with internal EU member states for a long time by virtue of relatively reasonable fiscal policies and exports. However, peripheral countries, namely those in Southern Europe and Central and Eastern Europe, have fallen into a vicious cycle of high debt and low growth due to single industries and out-of-control fiscal spending, and this led to the European debt crisis in 2009. During the European debt crisis, core countries such as Germany provided financial support to relevant countries through the EU's rescue mechanism and required the countries receiving the financial support to implement strict fiscal austerity monitoring. This not only led to a sharp increase in the unemployment rate of the countries receiving the financial support, for instance, the unemployment rate in Greece once rose to 27%, but also aroused dissatisfaction among the people of many member states. Due to the existence of EU passports, a large number of low-end laborers have flooded into Western European countries, occupying local jobs and enjoying local welfare policies. This not only makes the member states with population inflows dissatisfied but also leads to a large-scale outflow of talents from peripheral member states, which is unable to promote the upgrading of their own industries and thus has fallen into the predicament of being locked at the bottom of the industrial chain. According to a statistic from the European Council, if the budget is not increased or the relevant procedural rules are not modified, once Ukraine and other countries join, under the current total budget and allocation standards, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and the six Western Balkan countries will jointly receive 256.8 billion euros. Among them, Ukraine alone will receive more than 180 billion euros. Most of the current net beneficiary countries in the EU will turn into net contributor countries after the expansion.

Mujtaba Rahman, managing director of Eurasia Group for Europe, believes that if the European Union is to expand smoothly, its "budget system must undergo fundamental reform".<sup>50</sup> However, the loose control within the EU over the fiscal policies of each member state makes it impossible to formulate a strong common fiscal policy to reform the original unreasonable budget system, and it is impossible to form a unified opinion. Once the urgency of reform increases with the advancement of the expansion process, opposition is bound to rise accordingly.<sup>51</sup> Not only will the economic gap within the European Union not narrow, but the contradiction of the situation where core member states support peripheral member states will also persist. The European Union (EU) has not truly integrated all its member states into a unified whole. Instead, it embodies the "core-periphery theory"—classifying its internal members into "core" and "periphery" categories. As a result, regional integration fails to drive the development of all member states; peripheral countries remain trapped in low-value-added industries at the bottom of the value chain throughout the reproduction process of regional integration. They can neither achieve independent development nor be propelled forward by industrialized countries with technological advantages.

This asymmetric power structure under the neoliberal system reveals that the dilemma of cooperation in an anarchic context stems from flaws in the EU's institutional design. Superficial economic aid not only fails to address the fundamental problems faced by member states with fiscal difficulties but also reinforces the existing inequalities among member states caused by such institutional defects. Peripheral member states have thus become tools for extending the power of core countries.<sup>52</sup>

From the perspective of neoliberal institutionalism, this institutional asymmetry is reflected in the design of the EU's bailout mechanisms. It has further triggered a legitimacy crisis and "differentiated integration," exacerbating the economic predicaments confronting the EU internally.

### **1.3 Political dimension: The divergence of integration and the contradiction of decision-making mechanisms**

At the political level, the differences in the understanding of "integration" among EU member states and the existence of the weighted voting system in the decision-making mechanism have led to a continuous intensification of political divisions among the member states. France and Germany, as the leading engines of integration, have long advocated the implementation of "political integration" and planned to establish a common

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<sup>50</sup> Feng, Y. R. (2024). EU's new eastern enlargement: Motivations and prospects. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*. 2024,(04):59-75+139-140

<sup>51</sup> Feng, Y. R. (2024). EU's new eastern enlargement: Motivations and prospects. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*. 2024,(04):59-75+139-140

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finance, unified foreign affairs and defense mechanism for the European Union. However, countries like the United Kingdom (before Brexit) insist on "sovereignty first" and oppose the alliance's interference in the internal affairs of various countries, believing that excessive integration would lead to the damage of sovereignty. For instance, after the Law and Justice Party came to power in Poland in 2015, it carried out judicial reforms within the country, attempting to weaken the independence of the Supreme Court. The EU determined that such actions violated "EU values" and initiated the rule of law clause, threatening to suspend the annual 10-billion-euro aid to Poland's structural fund. However, this was met with resistance from Poland. It also claimed that the EU had overly interfered in the internal affairs of its member states and proposed amending the union treaty to restrict the EU's power. This is a game between supranational governance and national sovereignty, which has led to the stagnation of political integration in the European Union and triggered a chain reaction, with countries beginning to adopt a selective attitude towards the policies of the European Union. This is a game between supranational governance and national sovereignty, which has led to the stagnation of the EU's political integration and triggered a chain reaction—various countries have begun to adopt an attitude of selective implementation towards EU policies.

The above content reflects that the EU, from the perspective of neofunctionalism, has attempted to extend regional integration from the economic field to the political field. This plan, which requires member states to transfer national sovereignty to supranational institutions, has not only resulted in the failure of regional political integration but also made countries reattach importance to issues related to sovereignty.

The failure of the EU's political integration is also manifested in the following aspect: although the regional political integration envisioned by the EU is a product of the game of national interests, when the EU, as a supranational institution, acts in a way that is regarded as overstepping its authority, member states' governments are unable to transfer their sovereignty, reach consistent decisions, and implement them.

The drawbacks of the decision-making mechanism have also exacerbated political divisions. The Council of the European Union adopts a "weighted voting system", where core countries have more voting rights, while the national interests of peripheral countries are often overlooked. To enable the EU to adapt to expansion, Germany proposed to reform the existing decision-making system of the EU. In August 2022, Chancellor Scholz pointed out in his speech that in order to embrace new expansion and make the EU a "geopolitical actor capable of standing on its own feet on the international stage", internal reforms within the EU should go hand in hand with those of candidate countries. He believes that in decisions that require unanimous approval by the Council of the European Union, the more member states there are, the greater the risk of using the veto power will be, and the higher the probability that the policies to be advanced will be stranded. Therefore, in order to increase the approval rate of the possible expanded EU decision-making system that includes over 30 member states and reduce the possibility of the abuse of the veto power. Scholz proposed that in areas such as common foreign policy and taxation, the EU should gradually replace the current unanimous approval decision-making system with majority

voting.<sup>53</sup> Under the original system, the political trust of small and medium-sized member states in the European Union has declined, and the centrifugal tendency of the European Union has become increasingly obvious.

The European Union (EU) is unable to centralize its diplomatic power, which prevents it from becoming a global geopolitical actor.<sup>54</sup> The failure of the EU to establish itself as a geopolitical entity stems from its difficulty in truly exercising the common foreign policy authority of its member states and its inability to reach consensus on key issues. As a result, the EU appears to be a union where, economically, peripheral member states are highly dependent on "obligatory aid" from core dominant countries; yet politically, these states have begun to build "walls"—opposing the need to assume the EU's shared obligations such as collective defense and counterterrorism while enjoying the benefits within the EU. They only regard this passive "blood transfusion"-style economic aid as a form of cooperation, while discarding the responsibilities and obligations in relevant areas that are more capable of enhancing the cohesion of all EU members.

#### **1.4 Cultural dimension: Multicultural conflicts and the tearing apart of European identity**

After the eastward expansion of the European Union, the cultural diversity within the EU has significantly increased, triggering intense conflicts between multiculturalism and the protection of national cultures, and leading to a serious rift in "European identity". Western European countries advocate multiculturalism, accept immigrants and refugees, respect the rights and interests of minority groups, and regard this as the core embodiment of European values. In contrast, Central and Eastern European countries emphasize their national cultural traditions, remain vigilant and prevent cultural shocks brought about by immigrants and refugees, and avoid the influence of their own cultural identities. The refugee crisis in 2015 was the direct trigger of cultural conflicts within the European Union. At that time, German Chancellor Angela Merkel proposed a "welcoming culture", accepting over one million refugees from the Middle East. However, countries like Hungary and Poland refused to accept refugees and built border walls to prevent them from entering the country in any way. At that time, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban proposed the concept of a Christian Europe, arguing that refugees would undermine the Christian cultural traditions of Europe. Poland, in response, passed laws restricting the resettlement of refugees. The two countries, in collaboration with the Czech Republic and Slovakia, formed the Visegrad Group to jointly resist the cultural policies of the European Union, causing the EU to fall into a divided situation in cultural governance. The inequality in the distribution of language and cultural resources has also exacerbated the division of identity. The number of official languages of the European Union has increased from 11 before the expansion to 24, and the translation cost has soared. However, English, French and German still dominate, and the space for the use of languages in Central and Eastern Europe has been severely squeezed. The

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<sup>53</sup> Feng, Y. R. (2024). EU's new eastern enlargement: Motivations and prospects. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*. 2024,(04):59-75+139-140

<sup>54</sup> Yu, F. (2022). EU's strategic autonomy under the joint leadership of France and Germany: An analysis based on role theory. *Etudes Françaises*, (1), 88-104.

European Cultural Fund mainly tilts towards Western Europe, making the people of Central and Eastern Europe feel that their culture is marginalized. A 2023 EU poll shows that only 38% of people in Central and Eastern Europe consider themselves Europeans, which is lower than the 65% figure in Western Europe. The elitist groups under the Copenhagen School perceive immigrants from other EU member states and those from war-torn countries as existential threats. Meanwhile, the elite groups in the EU's leading countries regard religious and historical differences as the root cause of conflicts. However, during the process of EU eastward expansion, several faiths—including Eastern Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam—were incorporated into the EU as a political entity. In practice, this integration has created internal fault lines. In his 2018 election speech, Viktor Orbán stated, "We stand on the last line of defense of Christian civilization." In 2021, Poland introduced a *Media Law* to restrict television stations controlled by non-regional capital, citing the need to prevent the entry of Islamic cultural channels. Such actions have not only failed to foster a sense of identity among all citizens within the EU but have further fractured the already fragile internal relations of the bloc.

The cultural division within the EU is not simply a matter of "east-west value differences"; instead, it is the result of the superposition of three mechanisms: the securitization of culture, post-functional identity mobilization, and structural cultural hegemony.

## 2. Brexit: The outbreak of structural contradictions in the EU

Brexit directly led to a major blow to the EU in terms of economy, politics and international influence.<sup>55</sup> Economically, the United Kingdom is the second-largest economy in the European Union, with its economic aggregate shrinking by 15%. The EU has lost London, one of the world's financial centers, which has weakened the euro's position in the international monetary system. In terms of trade, the UK and the EU reached the Trade and Cooperation Agreement in 2020, but they still face issues such as tariff barriers, which have severely impacted the EU's economy. Politically, Brexit has shattered the myth of the EU's integration that it only joins but never leaves, intensifying the risk of estrangement among EU member states.<sup>56</sup> Hungary, Poland and other countries have repeatedly mentioned the Brexit referendum, with the support rate not exceeding half, but it has also posed a serious challenge to the political cohesion of the European Union. After Brexit, the EU lost an important force in the coordination of refugees. The original balance in refugee policy was disrupted, making it more difficult for the EU to handle the refugee issue and further intensifying internal conflicts. In terms of international influence, the United Kingdom, a military power and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, has left the European Union. The withdrawal of the UK, an important ally that once played a significant role in the EU's foreign and security policies, has deprived the EU of this key ally. As a result, the EU's coordination ability and say in dealing

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<sup>55</sup> Li, H. Y. (2023). A study on mass Euroscepticism against the background of European integration. Unpublished master's thesis, East China University of Political Science and Law, Shanghai, China. 2020.

<sup>56</sup> Li, Y. Y. (2018). Study on the impact of Brexit on the European Union. Unpublished master's thesis, Shandong University, Jinan, Shandong, China. 2018.

with international crises, such as the Ukraine issue and the Middle East refugee issue, have significantly declined. It has lost the ability to contend with countries like the United States.

Although the root cause of Brexit lies in the continental isolationism that the UK has long adhered to for nearly a century and the problems existing in its own representative democracy, the EU failed to keep the UK, an important member state, within the alliance. The direct reason is that the impact the EU had on the UK in dealing with the crisis led the British people to vote in support of Brexit. The European financial crisis triggered by the European debt crisis had a severe impact on the UK. The net profit growth rate of the UK dropped from 2.6% in 2007 to a negative growth of 0.6% in 2008 and 4.3% in 2009.<sup>57</sup> The British government had to adopt a tight fiscal policy and cut welfare policies.<sup>58</sup> The reduction in public spending and social security expenditure has pushed the ordinary British people to the opposite side of the European Union. Moreover, the proposal of the EU to implement a tight fiscal policy under the leadership of Germany has further triggered panic among the British people, prompting the UK to start seeking cooperation with emerging economies to reduce its reliance on the European market. The UK regards many of the EU's fiscal policies as passive responses and refuses to provide financial support to the fiscally troubled countries affected by the European debt crisis. This is one of the reasons for Brexit. The second one is the issue of immigration, which encompasses problems related to both immigrants and refugees who go to the UK. Labor immigration has disrupted the local job market in the UK, causing a large number of British residents to lose their jobs. Moreover, a large number of immigrants are taking up primary jobs, which has impacted the original job opportunities and quality of life of ordinary British people. Every year, nearly a million immigrants go to the UK. The employment problem of middle and lower-class residents has forced the British government to think of solutions. Most of the refugees come from North Africa and the Middle East, and many of them believe in Islam. As a traditional Christian country, the UK cannot integrate these two groups. Moreover, some Islamic extremists take the opportunity to advocate jihad and carry out terrorist activities in the UK, which has become a major hidden danger to British society. The British public generally opposes the acceptance of refugees into the UK and demands that the British government take measures to address the related issues caused by refugees. The elitist groups under the Copenhagen School perceive immigrants from other EU member states and those from war-torn countries as existential threats. Meanwhile, the elite groups in the EU's leading countries regard religious and historical differences as the root cause of conflicts. However, during the process of EU eastward expansion, several faiths—including Eastern Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam—were incorporated into the EU as a political entity. In practice, this integration has created internal fault lines.

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<sup>57</sup> Li, Y. Y. (2018). Study on the impact of Brexit on the European Union. Unpublished master's thesis, Shandong University, Jinan, Shandong, China. 2018.

<sup>58</sup> Qin, C. Z. (2016). Study on the economic policies of Harold Wilson's government of the UK. Unpublished master's thesis, Shandong Normal University, Jinan, Shandong, China. 2016.

In his 2018 election speech, Viktor Orbán stated, "We stand on the last line of defense of Christian civilization." In 2021, Poland introduced a *Media Law* to restrict television stations controlled by non-regional capital, citing the need to prevent the entry of Islamic cultural channels. Such actions have not only failed to foster a sense of identity among all citizens within the EU but have further fractured the already fragile internal relations of the bloc.

The cultural division within the EU is not simply a matter of "east-west value differences"; instead, it is the result of the superposition of three mechanisms: the securitization of culture, post-functional identity mobilization, and structural cultural hegemony.

### **3. Security tensions: Dual challenges of external threats and internal governance**

Since the eastward expansion of the European Union 20 years ago, the security situation faced by the EU has become increasingly severe. The EU regards Russia and terrorism as external security threats. Terrorism and extremism have carried out terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels over the past decade, causing heavy casualties. They have exposed the loopholes in the EU's border control and intelligence sharing, and the inability to effectively notify and respond to security issues. Moreover, terrorism and the refugee issue are closely linked. Some terrorists use the identity of refugees as a cover. Arriving in Europe, infiltrating Europe, and still being able to carry out terrorist attacks in Europe despite the major blow to the Islamic State in the Middle East, it reflects the great difficulty of the EU in controlling refugees. In terms of counter-terrorism, member states cannot reach a consensus. EU member states that refuse to accept refugees tend to focus on preventing terrorist attacks within their own countries. They attach greater importance to their own security and do not disperse their defense forces for the countries that propose to accept refugees. This leads to low efficiency in counter-terrorism. Another part of the security issues caused by refugees is not related to terrorism, but stems from conflicts of civilizations. Refugees from the Middle East have a series of social security problems due to their differences, even contradictions and differences in religious beliefs with local people. Most refugees lack complete educational experiences and technical skills to make a living in their host countries. However, in countries like Western Europe, a large number of welfare policies that originally belonged to the local people have been enjoyed. The far-right forces in these countries have risen rapidly and regarded the refugee issue as the root cause of all problems, inciting the xenophobic sentiments of the people and provoking social conflicts. The root cause also lies in the fact that the EU adopts a one-size-fits-all approach to the acceptance of refugees, only providing resettlement without arranging education or employment for them. Moreover, some of the refugees arriving in Europe do not speak the language, are not familiar with the culture and social order, and are prone to becoming targets of illegal and criminal activities. Their own safety is also difficult to be guaranteed. All these are social security risks caused by the EU's inability to reasonably control the border, the lack of effective measures for resettling refugees and social integration mechanisms. On the issue of Russia, the EU has serious cognitive problems. After the end of the Cold War, Europe and Russia enjoyed a period of peaceful coexistence and the situation eased significantly. However, with the dual eastward expansion of NATO and the EU, various forces led

by the United States have been getting closer and closer to Russian territory, causing panic in Russia. The EU has been attracting countries in the Caucasus region and Russia's neighboring countries such as Ukraine through the "Eastern Partnership Program", especially the eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which has established military facilities such as defense systems in Central and Eastern Europe, which has aroused strong dissatisfaction from Russia. The conflict between Russia and Europe has gradually intensified. The Crimea crisis in 2014 was a contest between the two major forces of the West and Russia in Ukraine. It also sowed the seeds of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022.<sup>59</sup> The root cause of the conflict lies in the fact that the overall defense of the European Union relies on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization led by the United States. Moreover, after the end of the Cold War, the most important concern of the European Union is to disseminate values and norms such as democracy and the rule of law to Central and Eastern European countries throughout their accession process. Therefore, in the European academic circle, the "expansion policy" is also understood as the transfer of norms by the European Union to neighboring regions.<sup>60</sup> The EU aims to place itself under NATO's security and defense system and build its own security and defense system, but it has overlooked the fact that if defensive realism is overly pursued in defense construction, especially by setting up so-called strategic defense weapons near Central and Eastern Europe or within the CIS countries, it will essentially fall into the trap of offensive realism. The unrestricted eastward expansion of the EU and NATO, the aim is to overly pursue the maximization of power and regional hegemony in order to weaken the false security threat - Russia. Although the eastward expansion of the European Union falls within the category of defensive realism in terms of behavior, in essence, it is the infiltration and erosion of Russia's sphere of influence, blindly pursuing the maximization of security, and turning defensive behavior into the luring of Eastern European countries and confrontation with Russia. Although the EU still acts from the perspective of regional security, due to its backing by the security defense provided by the United States and NATO, Russia regards this defense behavior and the construction of the system as a threat to Russia's security by Western forces, leading both sides into a security predicament. In the eyes of the European Union, eastward expansion is a defensive one. Similarly, from Russia's perspective, Ukraine, as a transitional zone between Russia and Western powers, not allowing Ukraine to join either the European Union or NATO is an act based on its own security and aimed at consolidating its own security. Europe's pursuit of maximizing alliance power through the compression and weakening of its geostrategic space has gone beyond defensive actions. The Crimea crisis and the Russia-Ukraine conflict are both countermeasures taken by Russia in response to threats to its own security. The defensive motives of the EU's eastward expansion have triggered a huge security dilemma with Russia due to the influence of its geopolitical factors.

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<sup>59</sup> Shu, W. C., & Ke, Y. (2024). From partners to strangers: The decay of the Russia-EU energy dialogue mechanism from the perspective of role theory. *German Studies*. 2024,39(01):46-69+142.

<sup>60</sup> Feng, Y. R. (2024). EU's new eastern enlargement: Motivations and prospects. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*. 2024, (04):59-75+139-140.

Moreover, the EU itself is also in a huge contradiction. On the one hand, it is completely dependent on the security and defense mechanisms provided by the United States and NATO. On the other hand, it wants to break away from the United States' complete autonomy in controlling regional discourse power, that is, to gradually transition to the EU having its own independent defense system through the defense provided by NATO. This is not only a situation that the United States does not allow. Judging from the current situation, the European Union also heavily relies on the security guarantees provided by the military deterrence offered by the United States and NATO under its leadership. Whether it is missile defense or unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) operations and other aspects, the defense industry chain of the European Union is deeply integrated with the US system. The high-precision weapons owned by EU member states rely on US satellite guidance, and the research and development, production and procurement of military equipment are also closely related to the relevant industries in the US. It is impossible to independently establish a complete military industry system and defense system. It indicates that the EU cannot completely break away from its reliance on the United States in terms of security. There are also significant differences within the EU member states regarding security issues. Due to their own interests, all parties have failed to reach a consensus on the security field. The Central and Eastern European countries geographically close to Russia, such as Poland and the Baltic States, have taken a tough stance towards Russia and hope to ensure their own security entirely through the power of the United States and NATO.<sup>61</sup> Avoid the recurrence of certain facts from specific periods in history. However, countries like Hungary, due to their reliance on Russian energy, have adopted a more cautious attitude towards Russia. This reflects that within the European Union, when dealing with the same issue, member states have taken different attitudes and specific measures based on their own national interests. The "unanimous" decision-making mechanism of the European Union has also led to low operational efficiency. It is unable to reach a consensus quickly on security matters and take effective actions to deal with them. This has also forced the EU to make decisions that have lost their timeliness through lengthy meetings at the roundtable when facing sudden security incidents and potential security issues that need to be addressed urgently to handle the crisis. As an inter-state actor, the European Union lacks outstanding political leaders with a long-term perspective and has no choice but to place the security system of the alliance under the protection of the United States and NATO, thus forming a tangled and complex contradictory system. Within the European Union, there are concerns that the United States will reduce its security commitments to Europe and be abandoned by the US in the face of Russian threats. On the other hand, there are also worries that because the alliance is in a system under the protection of the United States, it will be drawn into unnecessary conflicts outside the region in the US foreign policy. The realistic threat equilibrium theory is reflected in the EU's security reliance on the United States. European countries do not have sufficient military forces to contend with Russia. Under the liberal system, NATO serves as an important link for establishing

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<sup>61</sup> Zhu, X. Z. (2014). Several factors influencing the positions of Central and Eastern European countries on the Ukraine crisis. *Chinese Journal of European Studies*, 32(6), 30-37.

security cooperation between EU countries and the United States. While providing security for the EU, it also restricts the independent development of EU countries in the field of security, maintaining the EU's dependence on the United States and NATO. Moreover, under the influence of constructivist concepts, due to cultural recognition between the EU and the United States, the EU has developed a habitual perception of the Western camp's reliance on the security of the United States since the end of World War II. Most member states believe that since there is already the NATO organization led by the United States as a guarantee for security and defense, the EU does not need to attach too much importance to cooperation in the field of security. More efforts should be placed on economic recovery and supporting member states with economic difficulties. Therefore, the European Union had to be forced to become a part of the US military system. Since the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), NATO has continuously provided security products and security guarantees to European countries. This has led some European countries to form a perception that European defense is a matter for the United States. Europe does not need to invest excessive financial resources and energy in its own defense. Moreover, building a complete system covering military industry, scientific research, and intelligence networks requires huge sunk costs. In particular, the Galileo system, independently developed by Europe, also needs to obtain information from the United States' Global Positioning System (GPS).

Within the European Union (EU), countries in the peripheral regions have chosen to join NATO to enjoy the defense protection it provides, thus showing inactivity in the EU's internal European Defense Initiative. The current security dilemma of the EU is not simply a "rise in potential external threats", but a situation where the internal side cannot form a unified and cohesive defense consensus under the combined influence of multiple theoretical mechanisms.

#### **4. Conclusion**

However, judging from the numerous problems mentioned above, the EU still lacks effective mechanisms and measures to deal with various issues, making it difficult to form long-term and stable policies to effectively handle the situations faced both within and outside the EU. Problems in the economic, political and cultural dimensions have exposed the structural contradictions within the European Union. In terms of security predicaments, it has shown that the EU lacks an effective response mechanism to various security issues, and has led to a strengthening of the centrifugal tendency within the EU. It is prone to cause negative impacts similar to Brexit while expanding eastward. This leads to the weakening of its own strength and the division of the alliance.

Taking all the above issues into account, while the EU's eastward expansion is absorbing new member states, expanding its territory and promoting the process of regional integration in Europe, it is also confronted with a large number of intertwined contradictions and predicaments. The structural contradictions within the European Union, such as economic imbalances and disputes over power distribution, have continuously shaken the foundation of internal cohesion within the EU and have become stubborn barriers restricting the overall coordinated development. Brexit has set an example for the centrifugal tendencies within the European Union,

intensifying them. This has led to a continuous game among member states over the choice between sovereignty and integration, weakening the EU's say and action power as a large whole. Due to historical factors and the geopolitical landscape, as well as the EU's excessive emphasis on defensive forces, the EU's propositions and actions have leaned towards offensive realism, putting both Russia and the EU in a security predicament. Moreover, the EU is caught in a dilemma between responding to external threats and coordinating its internal security stance, which has increased the uncertainty of strategic decisions made within the EU. The combined reaction and layering of numerous contradictory factors such as refugees, welfare policies, and the distribution of rights and obligations among member states not only enhance the unity and resilience within the European Union but also determine its position and influence in the future global landscape. How to start the reform from the most fundamental structural contradictions and break through the current difficulties is a long-term problem that the EU will have to face in the process of integration.

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