

## THINK TANK REVIEW

**Council Library** 

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The Think Tank Review\* covers articles, published in June, relating to different political and policy topics. (click to share on Twitter).

Following the **European elections**, articles assess the longer-term implications for European democracy and analyse what the elections mean in a deeper sense for the quality of European democracy. They also draw several lessons from the elections, taking into account the fact that the two main European political parties (EPP) and (S&D) lost their joint majority. Publications discuss how 2019 could be the year for a fresh start, since Europe will not be dominated by populist parties, which were contained by the ground taken by the liberals and ecologists. Studies compare the attitudes of citizens in EU countries and find that the EU is rated more positively overall than in 2015.

Regarding the newly adopted **Strategic Agenda**, which sets out the EU's main priorities for the five years ahead, articles suggest how to define Europe's place in an increasingly bipolar world, driven by geostrategic rivalry between the US and China. They also discuss how to avoid protectionism and strengthen Europe's technological, financial and security capacities.

On **Ecofin**, papers analyse specific problems that China and the US pose for Europe's economic sovereignty, and consider how the EU and its member states can better protect Europe's economic sovereignty. Also, they argue that the capital markets union needs to be rebranded and should be given political support at the highest level in order to achieve its objectives.

On **employment and social policy**, publications discuss the challenges that the EU faces in relation to the world of work, and propose that fostering 'economic democracy' should be a cornerstone of social democratic strategy in Europe.

On **foreign affairs**, studies explore the contours of cultural freedom in European foreign policy, its potential and its limitations. Publications note a nascent sense of solidarity and unity among Europeans, who are disposed towards collective action by the EU in the areas of foreign, security

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and defence policy. They also discuss how Europe can regain strategic sovereignty in order to prosper and maintain its independence in a world of geopolitical competition.

On **Brexit**, articles discuss the future of the UK's services trade post-Brexit, since leaving the EU single market in services will increase regulatory costs for trading services. They also look at the naturalisation and (dis)integration of Euro families in Brexiting Britain.

The TTR can be downloaded from Council's Library <u>blog</u>. TTR articles are available via <u>Eureka</u>, the resource discovery service of the Council Libraries.

The next Think Tank Review will be out in September, with papers published in July and August 2019.

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS	4
SECTION 2 - EU POLICIES	8
COMPETITIVENESS (INTERNAL MARKET, INDUSTRY, RESEARCH AND SPACE)	
ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS	
EMPLOYMENT/SOCIAL POLICY/HEALTH AND CONSUMER AFFAIRS	
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES	
GENERAL AFFAIRS	
JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS	
TRANSPORT/TELECOMMUNICATIONS/ENERGY	15
SECTION 3 - FOREIGN AFFAIRS	16
FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY / DEFENCE	16
TRADE	17
DEVELOPMENT	18
AFRICA	18
ASIA-OCEANIA	
MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA (MENA)	19
WESTERN BALKANS	
CHINA	
RUSSIA	
TURKEY	
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	22
SECTION 4 - EU MEMBER STATES	23
GERMANY	23
IRELAND	24
FRANCE	
ITALY	
UNITED KINGDOM	
BREXIT	26
MISCELLANEOUS	27

## **SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS**

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES**

## **Democracy after the European Parliament elections**

by Richard Youngs

As the dust settles from May's European elections and the new Parliament begins its work, the author stands back from immediate political battles and assesses the longer-term implications for European democracy. What do the elections mean in a deeper sense for the quality of European democracy? What do the changes they usher in mean for democracy in a more structural sense? There are no straightforward answers. (8 p.)

### **FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN**

The rise of the populists contained by the ground taken by the Liberals and Ecologists in the European elections

by Corinne Deloy

Several lessons can be drawn from the EP elections: firstly a decline in the vote for the two main European political parties - the European People's Party (EPP) and the Socialists and Democrats (S&D), which together represent 44.2% of the total number of votes in comparison with more than a half five years ago (54%) and 2/3 in 1999. For the first time since the first European election by direct universal suffrage in 1979, the two parties that have reigned together over the Strasbourg assembly for the last 40 years did not win the absolute majority (which is 376 seats). (9 p.)

## FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

## The 2019 European Parliament elections in the Baltic states

by Daunis Auers **▼**@DaunisAuers

The May 2019 EP elections were the fourth in the Baltic states since accession to the EU fifteen years ago. The political cleavages present in many older Western European democracies were largely absent. The campaigning focused on economy, immigration and security issues as well as relations with Russia. Like in prior EP elections rightwing populist and Eurosceptic parties did not manage to achieve a decisive electoral turnout. (14 p.)

# INSTITUT DER DEUTSCHEN WIRTSCHAFT KÖLN (COLOGNE INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH)

2019: Das Jahr für einen Neuanfang in Europa? 2019: The year for a fresh start in Europe?

by Michael Hüther <u>♥@michael\_huether</u>

The good news is that Europe will not be dominated by populist parties. For big tent parties, i.e. the conservative EPP and the social democratic PES, however, results still aren't rosy – they are looking at heavy losses, including the loss of their joint majority. (EN - 12 p./DE - 15 p.)

### **EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

## How to govern a fragmented EU: what Europeans said at the ballot box

by Susi Dennison <u>♥@sd270</u>, Mark Leonard <u>♥@markhleonard</u> and Pawel Zerka <u>♥@PawelZerka</u> et al.

The results of the European election confront EU leaders with a considerable challenge: navigating a new, more fragmented and polarised political environment. (56 p.)

# STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK (GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS)

<u>Die EU-Kommission als sicherheits- und verteidigungspolitische Akteurin: Möglichkeiten,</u> Grenzen und Folgen der Europäisierung des Politikfelds

by Peter Becker and Ronja Kempin <a> @RonjaKempin</a>

The international order is in transition. This calls for the EU to become "capable of world politics", in the words of the outgoing Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker. The EU institutions agree that this can only happen if the Union's security and defence policy is strengthened. In the summer of 2019, the next Commission will be formed. In view of this, it seems urgent to discuss the various options and their implications for the existing forms of cooperation between national and European defence policies. (DE - 8 p.)

### **FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN**

# <u>Juncker or European added value. The positive legacy of the European Commission (2014-2019)</u>

by Ramona Bloj and Cindy Schweitzer

The legacy of President Juncker's mandate remains positive: throughout the numerous crises and geopolitical changes that have taken place since 2014, Europe has continued to make progress and to adopt difficult texts on important subjects. One observes that, over the years, the Commission's proposals have gained in ingenuity with regard to definition of the legal basis: remember the proposals concerning migrant quotas, the creation of a European "Minister" for the economy and finances, or the skill with which it dealt with defence matters, extending to the limits of its powers. (16 p.)

# STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK (GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS)

Mehr als nur eine Personalentscheidung: die nächste EU-Kommission braucht ein gemeinsames politisches Mandat

A redefinition of "Spitzenkandidaten": the next EU Commission needs a common political mandate

by Nicolai von Ondarza **y** <u>@NvOndarza</u>

The mission statement of the political Commission has increasingly proven to be incompatible with the control tasks of the EU's highest executive body. The new Commission will operate in an even more difficult political environment and will itself become more party-politically heterogeneous. Its realignment should therefore also be used as an opportunity to interpret the "Spitzen-kandidaten" principle differently and negotiate a joint political programme for the EU between the Parliament, the Council, and the new Commission. (EN/DE - 8 p.)

## FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

## Einige Risse, aber kein Bruch: Einstellungen zur EU in elf Ländern

by Richard Hilmer and Tomislav Maršic

This study compares the attitudes of citizens in 11 countries towards Europe. There are sometimes clear differences between countries and regions and the kind of Europe people want. Overall, the EU is rated more positively than in 2015. (DE - 35 p.)

#### **BRUEGEL**

# A strategic agenda for the new EU leadership. Memo to the presidents of the European Commission, Council and Parliament

by Maria Demertzis <u>♥@mariademertzis</u>, André Sapir and Guntram Wolff <u>♥@GuntramWolff</u>

The authors suggest inter alia: define Europe's place in an increasingly bipolar world driven by a geostrategic rivalry between the US and China; avoid protectionism and instead strengthen Europe's technological, financial and security capacities; as global warming is a reality there is a need to impose higher prices on greenhouse-gas emissions, minimise the resulting social fallout, ensure border carbon adjustment and globalise the EU's decarbonisation; manage the economy and EU cohesion. The main worry is a deep recession or even a new crisis. (25 p.)

### **FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN**

### From crisis exit to world challenges: the EU's Strategic Agenda 2019

by Éric Maurice <u>▼@er1cmau</u> and Magali Menneteau

At the latest European Council meeting of June, the 28 Heads of State and Government adopted the new Strategic Agenda. This document sets out the main priorities at the time when the newly elected EP is getting ready to sit and discussions on the formation of the next Commission are in hand. The new Strategic Agenda will act as a basis for the work agenda of the next Commission. It constitutes a five-yearly state of play and an indication of the way in which its leaders see the situation. Therefore, this paper compares the Agenda adopted on 20th June with its predecessor, adopted by the European Council in June 2014. (11 p.)

### **EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT THINK TANK**

## Key issues in the European Council. State of play in June 2019

by Suzana Anghel, Izabela Bacian, Ralf Drachenberg et al.

The role of the European Council is to 'provide the Union with the necessary impetus for its development' and to define its 'general political directions and priorities'. This publication aims to provide an overview of the institution's activities on major EU issues. It analyses nine policy areas, explaining the legal and political background and the main priorities and orientations defined by the European Council. It also assesses the results of European Council involvement to date and identifies future challenges in the various policy fields. (72 p.)

### **OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS**

### From enlargement to the unification of Europe

by Srdjan Cvijic @srdjancvijic, Marie Jelenka Kirchner, Iskra Kirova @iskrakirova et al.

The need for the EU's involvement in the Western Balkans, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine has never been more acute. The Commission's structures are not up to the job. The EU needs to boost the tools of the Commission to move the process on from enlargement and move decisively

towards the unification of Europe. This means creating a directorate general that would have the resources to drive forward the accession process with the Western Balkans countries and the ambitious trade and reform agenda in Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova. (22 p.)

### **EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE**

The European Union versus the better regulation agenda: why the outcome depends on a paradigm shift

L'Union européenne à l'épreuve du "Mieux légiférer": de l'urgence de changer de logique pour sauver le projet européen !

by Eric Van den Abeele

This report critically examines progress on the EU's "better regulation agenda". Although originally intended to simplify the EU's legislation and improve its quality, there are suspicions that the agenda has been hijacked to be used as a tool to make companies more competitive. The author argues that this risks further fuelling suspicion of 'technocratic elites' by ordinary Europeans. The report provides an impact assessment of the agenda and evaluates the situation from the perspectives of different stakeholders and offers some recommendations for reform. (EN/FR - 56 p.)

### NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE/IFRI

### Sustaining multilateralism in a multipolar world

by Claire Demesmay **y** <u>@</u>C <u>Demesmay</u> and Barbara Kunz

While international multilateralism is under strain, it is vital for France and Germany to defend it, since it is the most appropriate system foe preserving their interests - particularly in terms of welfare, security, prosperity and environmental protection. In this sense, three political fields are of priority for joint initiatives: trade, conventional arms control and climate change. On these issues, both governments share not only concerns, but also common positions. However, when it comes to concrete measures, they often face differences of interest that are difficult to overcome. (32 p.)

### THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

## **European policy blueprint for countering authoritarian interference in democracies**

by Kristine Berzina <a href="mailto:berz"><u>@kristineberz</u></a>, Nad'a Kovalcikova and David Salvo

In recent years, European nations and institutions are confronting numerous challenges like migration, nationalist extremism, and discontent with the political status quo. They also face challenges from a revanchist Russia that seeks to re-establish influence and to weaken democracy across the continent, and from a rising China that aims to export its model of authoritarianism across the globe. The EU and NATO have expanded their membership, bringing more European citizens into the Euro-Atlantic community, and yet a polarized European society remains ever more susceptible to interference from foreign authoritarian regimes' attempts to undermine Europe's stability, unity, and prosperity. (68 p.)

### **OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS**

# <u>Social media monitoring during elections: cases and best practice to inform electoral observation missions</u>

by Rafael Schmuziger Goldzweig <u>▼@schmuziger</u>, Bruno Lupion <u>▼@blupion</u> and Michael Meyer-Resende

Concern over online interference in elections is now widespread. Yet regulatory and monitoring efforts have lagged behind in addressing the challenges of how public opinion can be manipulated

online, and its impact on elections. This report explains why social media is one of the elements of a democratic, rule of law–based state that observer groups should monitor. (44 p.)

### ATLANTIC COUNCIL

## **Democratic defense against disinformation 2.0**

by Alina Polyakova and Daniel Fried

Social media companies have moved from an initial and unsustainable denial of the problem to a stance of willingness to help deal with it. Collectively, democracies have moved beyond "admiring the problem," meaning a sort of existential despair in the face of a new threat not easily managed. They have now entered a period of "trial and error," in which new ideas and solutions for countering, and building resilience against, disinformation are being tested, though unevenly and with setbacks. Meanwhile, the disinformation challenge has evolved and advanced, as state and nonstate actors deploy new technologies, develop new methods of exploitation, and adapt to responses. (32 p.)

## **SECTION 2 - EU POLICIES**

COMPETITIVENESS (INTERNAL MARKET, INDUSTRY, RESEARCH AND SPACE)

### **EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT THINK TANK**

## How to tackle challenges in a future-oriented EU industrial strategy?

by Julie Pellegrin, Louis Colnot, Francesco Prota et al.

This study provides a critical assessment of the 2017 EU industrial strategy and of the policy measures it comprises. Even though the EU industrial strategy is still a "meta - policy", it successfully promotes a more integrated and innovative approach. However, it should more clearly identify mission-oriented strategic goals and mobilise the necessary effort and means to reach them. (96 p.)

# INSTITUT DER DEUTSCHEN WIRTSCHAFT KÖLN (COLOGNE INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH)

## <u>Cross border services in the internal market: an important contribution to economic and social cohesion</u>

by Manuel Fritsch and Roman Bertenrath

The findings show that the impact of cross border services in the European economy has greatly increased from 2000 to 2014. Cross border services play an important role in all the member states and in labour and knowledge intensive sectors alike. The study also shows the positive connection of cross border services with growth in employment, GDP and with social cohesion indicators. By describing the positive effects of cross border services in the EU the potential risks of overregulation of the European cross border service market can be examined. (43 p.)

## ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

## Tech giants in banking: the implications of a new market power

by Nicola Bilotta and Simone Romano

The gradual penetration of tech giants into banking and financial services is having a wide-ranging impact on the industry. Large technological and non-financial companies can take advantage of a privileged relationship with consumers, previously developed in the course of their commercial and

industrial activities and exploit advanced technical solutions such as data collection – in order to provide financial services. However, risks may arise from cross-sectoral consolidation between the tech and banking industries. Regulators face the task of developing new frameworks to address this challenge. (21 p.)

## **INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES**

### Assessing Europe's space dependency and its implications

by Guilhem Penent

This brief takes a look at our increasing reliance on satellites in the digital era. Space is now vital to civil and defence sectors as well as public and private actors and is projected to be a become a trillion-dollar industry by 2040. This article asks what the repercussions would be in the event of a loss of space assets and asks us to ponder our reliance for a minute. (6 p.)

### **ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS**

## STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK (GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS)

## Divergence and diversity in the Euro area: the case of Germany, France and Italy

by Paweł Tokarski <u>♥ @pawel\_tokarski</u>

This publication contends that the EU's adoption of a common currency was based on the assumption that there would be increasing economic convergence between participating states. But economic performance in these states has actually diverged. In response, this study looks at the three largest economies in the euro area: Germany, France and Italy, and what lies behind the differences in their economic performance; it analyses whether a return to national currencies could support necessary reforms and convergence, and how current economic performance influences debates on euro area reform, and more. (39 p.)

### **BRUEGEL**

### Redefining Europe's economic sovereignty

by Mark Leonard, Jean Pisani-Ferry <u>♥ @pisaniferry</u>, Elina Ribakova <u>♥ @elinaribakova</u> et al.

This contribution delves into the position of the EU in the current global order. China and the US increasingly trying to gain geopolitical advantage using their economic might. The authors examine the specific problems that China and the US pose for European economic sovereignty, and consider how the EU and its member states can better protect European economic sovereignty. (23 p.)

### CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES/EUROPEAN CAPITAL MARKETS INSTITUTE

## Rebranding capital markets union. A market finance action plan

by Karel Lannoo <a href="mailto:weighted-lannoo">weighted-lannoo</a> and Apostolos Thomadakis (rapporteurs)

The report stresses the need for political support at the highest level if capital markets union (CMU) is to achieve its objectives. It recommends focusing action on the core bond and equity markets, and on promoting the participation of individuals in capital markets. This report argues that the continuation of the CMU project should focus on government bond markets; a euro area safe asset; start-ups, high growth companies and SMEs; investment fund markets, disclosure and investor protection and enforcement. (70 p.)

# WIENER INSTITUT FÜR INTERNATIONALE WIRTSCHAFTSVERGLEICHE (THE VIENNA INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC STUDIES)

## Non-performing loans in Central and Southeast Europe

by Alexandra Bykova and Olga Pindyuk

Exploring the determinants of credit risk has gained importance in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, which caused a sharp increase in non-performing loans (NPLs) in Central, East and Southeast Europe. The authors analyse the post-crisis trends in NPLs comparing five Southeast European countries with their peers in Central and Eastern Europe and estimate the effect of key macroeconomic drivers on NPL development in the region. (42 p.)

### **EUROPEAN CAPITAL MARKETS INSTITUTE**

## Sustainability in practice: ratings, research and proprietary models

by Cosmina Amariei <a> @CosminaHERE</a>

This brief focuses on the role of credit rating agencies (CRAs) and sustainability ratings providers (SRPs) as an essential part of the financial ecosystem. Looking at the experience with CRAs, policymakers and stakeholders should reflect in more depth about the optimal market structure for SRPs. There is still quite a significant amount of experimentation in this space. Hence, it might be hazardous to move too quickly on the regulatory side and risk impeding the innovation that is still taking place. Proceeding with caution might be the only 'reasonable' way forward in the new legislative cycle. (11 p.)

### SAFE - SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE FOR FINANCE IN EUROPE

## **Diversity in finance: an overview**

by Reinhard H. Schmidt

This paper provides an overview of the issue of diversity of banking and financial systems and its development over time from a positive and a normative perspective. In other words: how different are banks within a given country and how much do banking systems and entire financial systems differ between countries and regions, and do in-country diversity and between-country diversity change over time, as one would be inclined to expect as a consequence of globalization and increasingly global standards of regulation? (21 p.)

### EMPLOYMENT/SOCIAL POLICY/HEALTH AND CONSUMER AFFAIRS

### **OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS**

### Post-2020 EU Roma strategy: the way forward

by Martina Matarazzo <a href="mailto:Matamissile">Matamissile</a> and Violeta Naydenova

While there have been many achievements since 2011, the EU Roma framework has failed to reach its goals in all policy areas, including combating discrimination. Its objectives were unrealistic and did not consider crucial missing elements. This report recommends the creation of a fully-fledged strategy on Roma and the EU, not just a framework, and how to make future goals more concrete and achievable. (44 p.)

### **EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE**

Convergence to fair wage growth? Evidence from European countries on the link between productivity and real compensation growth, 1970–2017

by Sotiria Theodoropoulou <u>@\_\_Sotiria</u>

This paper addresses the issue of "fair" wage growth over the last few decades. It assesses whether growth in real compensation is systematically associated with labour productivity growth and, if so, whether the two have 'decoupled' in recent years. The paper examines country-specific evidence from 25 member states and finds evidence for a widening of the wage-productivity gap in the 1970s and 1980s which has only been partially closed in recent years. (33 p.)

### **EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE**

The platform economy and social law: key issues in comparative perspective Économie de plateforme et droit social: enjeux prospectifs et approche juridique comparative

by Isabelle Daugareilh, Christophe Degryse and Philippe Pochet **y** <u>@philippepochet</u> (eds.)

This publication brings together two parallel but complementary approaches to the impact of the platform economy on working conditions and social law. The first part of the study shows that the business models of some platforms is a combination of technological disruption and social evasion. The second part confirms that it is in the gaps and ambiguities in social legislation that platforms are trying to legitimise a business model abrogating all social responsibility. (EN - 146 p./FR - 154 p.)

### **FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES**

### European economic democracy: a new path out of the crisis

by Neil Warner, Adriano Cozzolino, Michele Fiorillo et al.

This paper discusses the challenges that the EU faces in relation to economic democracy and work. It looks at the need for political alternatives against the background of the failure of current strategies to tackle the increasing social and economic inequalities. It proposes that fostering 'economic democracy' should be a cornerstone of the social democratic strategy in Europe. Finally, it highlights some initiatives which a progressive European political movement could put on the agenda in order promote social justice and democratic accountability at the work place. (24 p.)

### **EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE**

## Regulating uncertainty: variable work schedules and zero-hour work in EU employment policy

by Agnieszka Piasna

This brief considers what is the scope for addressing the challenges linked to irregular work schedules in EU social and employment policy. It first describes EU competence in the areas of work and employment conditions in order to assess what the EU institutions can de jure do to address irregular work schedules. It then evaluates what the EU can de facto do based on the current direction and agenda of its employment policy. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of two legislative acts at EU level in the areas most pertinent to irregular and variable work schedules, that is working time and employment contracts. (6 p.)

### **EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE**

<u>Socialising the European Semester? Measuring member states' implementation of country-specific recommendations in the social policy field</u>

by Rayan Al-Kadi and Stefan Clauwaert

This working paper surveys the extent to which member states comply with country-specific recommendations (CSRs) relating to social policy. This provides a yardstick by which to measure their compliance with both the European semester and adherence to the principles of the European Pillar of Social Rights. Looking more closely at the implementation of CSRs at the national level will also aid in apportioning responsibility for policies weakening welfare state and social protection. (24 p.)

#### **EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE**

## Legislative implementation of European social partner agreements: challenges and debates

by Jean-Paul Tricart

This paper analyses the development of the interpretation that the Commission has given to the TFEU provision concerning mechanisms for extensions of collective agreements. The paper examines how the Commission has reinterpreted these provision and the challenges this poses for the social partners. (68 p.)

### **ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

## **COLLEGE OF EUROPE**

## <u>EU climate diplomacy vis-à-vis Australia, Brazil and Mexico: engaging difficult partners to enhance global ambition</u>

by Bram De Botselier @bramdebotselier

Since 2015, national governments with less climate friendly agendas have come to power in Australia, Brazil and Mexico. In the run-up to the 2019 COP25 in Santiago de Chile, it is important that these countries remain committed to the global negotiation process. The EU's climate diplomacy should: engage with national governments on some key areas which they are still open to, such as renewable energy in Australia and Brazil and positive spill-overs of public-private cooperation in Mexico; and interact with sub-national governments, which have now often only rhetorically committed to combatting climate change, but lack the capacity to turn these into concrete policy measures. (6 p.)

# INSTITUT PRO EVROPSKOU POLITIKU EUROPEUM (EUROPEUM INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY)

## The European Parliament and climate change: past, present and future

by Kateřina Davidová ¥@k8\_davidova

The EP has thus far played an important role in steering the EU in the direction of bolder climate action and has often been the most progressive force pushing for higher climate ambitions. At the same time, climate change is now advancing at an unprecedented speed. Therefore, the elections in May 2019 were of crucial importance not only for Europe, but also for the whole world, as Europe needs to act as strong global leader in this regard if other countries are to follow. (6 p.)

### **GENERAL AFFAIRS**

### **BRUEGEL**

## Effectiveness of cohesion policy: learning from the project characteristics that produce the best results

by Zsolt Darvas ¥@ZsoltDarvas, Antoine Mathieu Collin, Jan Mazza ¥@jan\_mazza et al.

This study analyses the characteristics of cohesion policy projects that can contribute to successful outcomes. The analysis is based on a literature survey, an econometric analysis and interviews with stakeholders. About two dozen project characteristics are considered, and their association with economic growth is studied using a novel methodology. Based on the findings, the study concludes with recommendations for cohesion policy reform. (114 p.)

### **EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE**

### Paris-proofing the next Multiannual Financial Framework

by Marco Giuli **y** @MarcoGiuli

This paper draws lessons from the current EU budget cycle and investigates how it has hampered, and even undermined climate efforts, including continued support for practices that contribute to global warming. It also takes a closer look at the EC's 2018 MFF proposal and concludes that, although several innovations concerning climate spending were introduced, there's still a considerable risk that the new MFF will turn into a missed opportunity. (18 p.)

## STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK (GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS)

## Ein neuer Haushalt für die EU: die Verhandlungen über den mehrjährigen Finanzrahmen 2021–2027

by Peter Becker

Since the Commission presented its proposal for a pragmatic reform of the EU budget in May 2018, member states are negotiating a comprehensive package. However, cohesion is now disappearing in the coalitions of net contributors and net recipients. The delicate conflict situation makes the course and results of the negotiation process more difficult to predict and the actors less predictable. Due to the growing uncertainty, the expectation that Germany will play a balancing role is growing among all those involved. Many countries hope that Germany, as the strongest economy and the largest net contributor, will devote additional resources to reaching consensus on the new MFF. (DE - 37 p.)

### JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS

## THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

## **Incubating hate: Islamophobia and Gab**

by Samuel C. Woolley, Roya Pakzad @RoyaPak and Nicholas Monaco

The authors provide an overview of Islamophobia online, detailing prior research that describes the integral role that sites like Gab, 8Chan and Voat play in spreading harmful and defamatory content to larger publics on Facebook, Reddit, YouTube, and Twitter. (22 p.)

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES**

## Can regular migration replace irregular migration across the Mediterranean?

by Mikkel Barslund <u>@mBarslund</u>, Mattia Di Salvo <u>@Mattia\_DiSalvo</u> and Lars Ludolph <u>@lars\_ludolph</u>

Irregular migration from Africa across the Mediterranean to the EU has become a central policy issue. Due to this state of affairs, increasing legal access to the EU - for study and work purposes - has re-appeared on the European agenda as one potential way to reduce irregular crossing in the future. This report reviews the evidence bearing on to what extent increasing legal access via labour migration is effective in reducing irregular migration. It concludes that increasing legal pathways for migration from Africa to Europe, in itself, will have only a limited effect on the number of people trying to cross irregularly. (17 p.)

## NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR INTERNATIONALE BETREKKINGEN - CLINGENDAEL (NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

Returns at what cost. The challenges of placing readmissions at the heart of EU migration policies

by Ana Uzelac ¥@Ana Uzelac

This brief looks at the underlying challenges of implementing EU returns agenda from the point of view of both EU and individual member states – and from the point of view of the countries of origin/transit. It does so on the parallel example of two seemingly quite different cases – Senegal and Morocco. These cases despite their seeming differences hold similar valuable lessons about the importance of understanding and taking into account the role of migration in the political economy of the target countries in order to design effective migration management policies – and also understanding the risks and limitations of making returns the symbolic and real spear point of EU migration agenda. (11 p.)

## FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

## EU migration policy towards Libya: a policy of conflicting interests

by Zakariya El Zaidy

The memorandum of understanding contains 12 points that emphasize the need for collective collaboration between Libya and Italy to confront the challenges that threaten the peace, security and stability of both countries and the Mediterranean region as a whole. The EU and several European states, especially Italy, have been working hard to implement policies that ensure less migrants reach Europe. These policies include externalizing border control and supporting tyrannical regimes that block people from leaving their country, regardless of the deteriorating human rights conditions therein. They have also promoted more awareness campaigns to warn migrants on the dangers of leaving North Africa and crossing the Mediterranean Sea into Europe. (21 p.)

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES**

<u>Search and rescue, disembarkation and relocation arrangements in the Mediterranean.</u>
<u>Sailing away from responsibility?</u>

by Sergio Carrera and Roberto Cortinovis

This paper examines how current political controversies surrounding search and rescue and disembarkation in the Mediterranean unfold in a policy context characterised by a 'contained mobility' paradigm. This paper challenges the assumption that national governments and EU

institutions can bypass their rule of law and human rights responsibilities under international maritime, human rights and refugee law, as well as those laid down in EU Treaties and national laws. It argues that despite the many barriers to ensuring effective remedies for the affected individuals, the notion of 'portable justice' has the potential to capture EU and national agent responsibilities and liabilities for human rights violations in the Mediterranean and crimes against humanity in Libya. (51 p.)

## FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

### Irregular migration and smuggling of migrants along the Balkan route: 2011-2017

by Andreas Schloenhardt

The paper identifies, documents and analyses patterns and characteristics of irregular migration in thirteen states along the Balkan route in the period between 2011 and 2017. The author concludes that lack of information, foresight, management and cooperation are the main determinants for the precarious situation. (23 p.)

### **EGMONT - ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

## Radicalization: the origins and limits of a contested concept

by Nadia Fadil <u>Madia Fadil</u>, Martijn de Koning and Francesco Ragazzi <u>Magia Fadil</u>, (eds.)

'Radicalization' has a twisted history. At every turn, it gained a new meaning without shedding the existing one. When the scale of Europeans travelling to Syria was publicly disclosed in early 2013, many were taken by surprise, even in countries like the Netherlands or the UK, which had taken a substantial lead in the field of radicalization studies. (25 p.)

### ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### The European migration crisis: a pendulum between the internal and external dimensions

by Alberto Tagliapietra

After the migration crisis that hit Europe in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, the EU decided to move towards an externalisation approach on the migration phenomenon in order to stop the influx of people headed to the continent before they reach European shores. The first step on this path was the signing of the EU -Turkey agreement. After the success of this accord in reducing the number of arrivals, the EU introduced the migration partnership framework, which fundamentally institutionalised the approach enshrined in the EU -Turkey agreement with five priority countries in Africa – namely, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal. (22 p.)

### TRANSPORT/TELECOMMUNICATIONS/ENERGY

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES**

## The opportunities of the modernisation fund for the energy transition in Central and Eastern Europe

by Mihnea Cătuți ¥@mihneacatuti and Milan Elkerbout ¥@MilanElkerbout

As part of the post-2020 reform of the EU emissions trading system (ETS) for its fourth trading period, a new fund will be established with the purpose of supporting the modernisation of energy systems in Central and Eastern Europe. This paper highlights the opportunities that the EU modernisation fund can represent for the transition to low-carbon energy systems in Central and Eastern Europe by stimulating investments in renewable energy, energy efficiency, energy storage, interconnections and just transition in carbon-dependent regions. If used correctly, this

instrument can represent a key source of financing for large-scale investments that are necessary in a long-term decarbonisation perspective. (8 p.)

# ZENTRUM FÜR EUROPÄISCHE WIRTSCHAFTSFORSCHUNG (CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC RESEARCH)

## Net neutrality regulation: much ado about nothing?

by Ingo Vogelsang

The economics literature on net neutrality (NN) has been largely critical of NN regulation on the basis of theoretical findings that NN violations can be both welfare improving and welfare deteriorating, depending on the circumstances of the case in question. This paper argues that NN regulation is largely ineffective, in particular, when it comes to the prohibition of fast lanes and other quality of service differentiations, and to a lesser extent, when it comes to the zero price rule. NN regulation is effective only in preventing the blocking of specific content and in preventing the favouring of Internet service provider owned content and in preventing some price discriminations. (17 p.)

## **SECTION 3 - FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

### FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY / DEFENCE

## INSTITUT FÜR AUSLANDSBEZIEHUNGEN

## **Cultural freedom in European foreign policy**

by Gijs de Vries

In 2017 EU ministers said that culture is "an essential part of the EU's international relations." But the EU is a new-comer to the field of cultural diplomacy and its policy is still in its infancy, both conceptually and in terms of implementation. Many questions remain unanswered. How to draw the line between cultural relations and public diplomacy on the one hand and propaganda on the other? How to steer clear of neo-colonialism? How to encourage European governments, who are prone to national cultural show-casing, to work together and derive strength from unity? This paper explores some of the contours of this emerging EU policy, its potential as well as its limitations. (116 p.)

## **ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)**

### Towards an EU security community? Public opinion and the EU's role as a security actor

by Matti Pesu <u>♥ @ PesuMatti</u>, Tuomas Iso-Markku and Juha Jokela

The EU's ability to contribute to the security of its citizens forms a key part of a new emerging narrative for the Union. In general, EU citizens are disposed towards collective action by the EU in questions of foreign, security and defence policy. Support for the CFSP and CSDP has remained high and strikingly stable. Moreover, there seems to be a nascent sense of solidarity and unity among Europeans, which may facilitate the EU's agency in these areas. (8 p.)

## **EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

### Strategic sovereignty: how Europe can regain the capacity to act

by Mark Leonard <u>Warkhleonard</u> and Jeremy Shapiro <u>WayShapiro</u> (eds.)

European countries are increasingly vulnerable to external pressure that prevents them from exercising their sovereignty. This vulnerability threatens the EU's security, economic health, and

diplomatic freedom of action, allowing other powers to impose their preferences on it. To prosper and maintain their independence in a world of geopolitical competition, Europeans must address the interlinked security and economic challenges other powerful states present – without withdrawing their support for a rules-based order and the transatlantic alliance. Most fundamentally, the EU needs to learn to think like a geopolitical power. (144 p.)

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM**

## The EU's security Union: a bill of health

by Camino Mortera-Martinez **▼**@CaminoMortera

Following the migration crisis and a string of terrorist attacks in 2015 and 2016, the EU vowed to make the safety of its citizens a primary concern. In 2016, the Commission launched the security union which has had a mixed record. In two years, the EU has achieved more on thorny issues like border controls and counter-terrorism than in the previous decade. It has also led to the EU's actions on security and migration becoming more open and accountable. If the next set of EU leaders want the Union to be a credible security provider and a champion of civil rights, they would be wise to learn from the security union's successes and failures. (16 p.)

### **EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES**

## The poison pill: EU defence on US terms?

by Daniel Fiott **y** @ DanielFiott

It took two letters. One, sent to Brussels on 1 May 2019 by two US undersecretaries, accused the EU of damaging transatlantic cooperation and hindering US access to Europe's defence market through the rules it plans to set for the participation of third states in the European Defence Fund (EDF) and Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO). The other, sent to Washington on 16 May 2019 by the EU, refuted these claims by showing the objective and transparent way in which the EU had established the EDF and PESCO. The brief puts forward some reflections on why the US has decided to formally raise objections about the EDF and PESCO now and the deeper reasons underlying American concerns. (8 p.)

## **ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)**

## The end of nuclear arms control? Implications for the Nordic region

by Tapio Juntunen

The current discussion on the possible repercussions of the INF crisis have largely concentrated either on great power relations or on the level of NATO-Russia relations and the future of the transatlantic ties. This paper aims to broaden the present discussion by reflecting on the potential implications of the negative trends in nuclear weapons politics and arms control from the perspective of the Nordic region. (11 p.)

## **TRADE**

### FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

# Between partnership and punitive tariffs: prospects for a new US-EU trade agreement in the new Congress

by Chris Schwartz **y** @schwartzc

This study suggests there are three possible paths forward. First, the trading partners could remove the most controversial issues from the table and negotiate a narrower agreement prior to the 2020 US national elections. Second, negotiations could stall until after 2020, leaving the

direction to a new Congress and, possibly, a new President. Third, the US and EU could resolve issues piecemeal, relying on a series of bilateral and multilateral agreements rather than a comprehensive trade deal. (23 p.)

### CENTER FOR TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

## Transatlantic policy impacts of the US-EU trade conflict

by Daniel S. Hamilton **▼**@DanSHamilton

Political volatility and economic uncertainty are testing the resilience and strength of the transatlantic economy – still the world's most significant commercial artery in the world and the one most important to both the US and to Europe. Trade tensions between the Trump Administration and the EU were coming to a boil until President Trump and President Jean-Claude Junker declared a "truce" in July 2018. While the two sides have agreed to re-launch bilateral trade negotiations, they have yet to agree on a common agenda, and each has very different goals in mind. (15 p.)

### **DEVELOPMENT**

# DEUTSCHES INSTITUT FÜR ENTWICKLUNGSPOLITIK (GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE)

The Treaty of Aachen: opportunities and challenges for Franco-German cooperation in development policy and beyond

by Laura-Theresa Krüger and Julie Vaillé

Despite the continued high-level commitment to French-German cooperation in development, bilateral cooperation so far remains rather opportunity- than strategy-driven. This discussion paper seeks to analyse the main obstacles and how these play out in practice. (46 p.)

#### **AFRICA**

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES**

## An EU-Africa partnership scheme for human capital formation and skill mobility

by Mikkel Barslund <u>♥@mBarslund</u>, Mattia Di Salvo <u>♥@Mattia DiSalvo</u>, Nadzeya Laurentsyeva et al.

At the moment, the EU lacks a credible long-term programme to engage African countries on migration issues. This paper proposes an ambitious EU-Africa partnership scheme for human capital formation and skill mobility that can be embedded into the current framework for EU-Africa dialogue. The scheme fits in the current legal framework for labour migration into the EU, and should be seen as one element in building a comprehensive forward-looking partnership with Africa for the benefit of all stakeholders involved in both origin and destination countries. (11 p.)

### **INSTITUT MONTAIGNE**

### **Europe-Afrique: partenaires particuliers**

14 kilometres separate Europe from Africa by the Strait of Gibraltar. This geographical proximity goes hand in hand with economic relations, diplomatic exchanges and many common challenges (especially security and climate). The Cotonou agreement, governing the political, economic and financial relations between the EU and 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, expires on February 29, 2020. This raises the question of partnership that both continents want to define for the next 20 years, and the level of ambition for it. The current course of negotiations does not seem to be up to the stakes. (FR - 172 p.)

### INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

## Vers un retour de l'autoritarisme en Afrique?

by Victor Magnani and Thierry Vircoulon

Elections are held regularly in different African countries. Yet democracy does not progress on this continent. Many leaders have passed measures to extend their presence at the head of state and opposition parties are weak. When an alternation occurs at the highest level, this does not mean an improvement in governance. China's push in Africa will not favour the decline of authoritarianism. (FR - 14 p.)

#### **ASIA-OCEANIA**

### **EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES**

### Connecting the dots: challenges to EU connectivity in Central Asia

by Sinikukka Saari 9 @sinikukka

This brief looks into connectivity-related challenges and how they relate to the EU's new Central Asia strategy and its vision of connectivity. This means examining the legacy of Soviet connectivity, the significance of regional informal networks, as well as the impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Russia's Great Eurasian partnership. (8 p.)

### KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

Neuer Präsident in Kasachstan gewählt – Gestalter oder Verwalter? Am 9. Juni 2019 hat Kasachstan seinen zweiten Präsidenten gewählt

by Thomas Helm and Shynggys Ibraimov

The fact that the candidate of the overpowering governing party Nur-Otan, Kassym-Shomart Tokayev, would win the presidential elections in Kazakhstan was clear when he was nominated at the Nur Otan party congress in April 2019. Thus, the election result is less interesting than accompanying circumstances, backgrounds and perspectives, which result from the election on June 9, 2019 for Kazakhstan. (DE - 8 p.)

## MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA (MENA)

### ATLANTIC COUNCIL

## Beyond control: Iran and its opponents locked in a lopsided confrontation

by Borzou Daragahi 💆 @borzou

For much of its four decades, the Islamic Republic of Iran has been blessed with a weak political opposition. While Iran has faced competent and powerful foreign enemies - such as Saddam Hussein's Iraq, the US, and Israel - its Iranian political challengers, both domestically and abroad, have been largely fragmented, unrealistic in their aims, and sometimes as authoritarian as the regime. This paper attempts to sketch out the landscape of the various major political opposition groups, and begin to grapple with the question of why Iran perceives them as such a challenge. (14 p.)

### **FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES**

## **Europe and Iran in a fast-changing Middle East**

by Cornelius Adebahr, Ranj Alaaldin, Riccardo Alcaro ¥@Ric Alcaro et al.

The Trump administration's decision to unilaterally cease compliance with the 2015 nuclear deal and implement a policy of "maximum pressure" towards Iran has scuttled the EU's policy of conditional engagement with Tehran. This report delves into different dimensions of the current rivalries and geopolitical tensions characterising the Middle East, addressing their implications for Europe. The analysis addresses the growing economic hardship in Iran following the re-imposition of US sanctions and the potential and prospects of EU-Iran cooperation in trade and energy domains. (148 p.)

#### ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

## A last line of defence: a strategy for Europe to preserve the Iran nuclear deal

by Riccardo Alcaro <a href="mailto:20ex">2@Ric\_Alcaro</a> and Andrea Dessì

One year since the US's unilateral withdrawal from the joint comprehensive plan of action (JCPOA), the EU-Iran relationship hangs in a balance. Europe's attempts at limiting the impact of renewed US sanctions have thus far had negligible results. Iran has taken note and scaled back compliance with its nuclear obligations. Not all is lost, however. Europe should delegitimise a policy of regime change or destabilisation, facilitate EU-Iran trade, increase assistance to ordinary Iranians, fight against US extra-territorial sanctions, and wage a sustained diplomatic campaign in favour of the JCPOA in Tehran and Washington. (25 p.)

### **WESTERN BALKANS**

## THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

### Russian narrative proxies in the Western Balkans

by Asya Metodieva <u>@AsyaMetodieva</u>

Disinformation has become a label that simplifies the complex interaction between competing narratives, trusted and deceptive sources, and the exposure of the public to a web of realities. This paper seeks to explain the growth of anti-West/pro-Russia narratives in the Western Balkans by looking at the role of local narrative proxies-local state and non-state information agents that willingly promote Russia's interests across the region. (23 p.)

## INSTITUT PRO EVROPSKOU POLITIKU EUROPEUM (EUROPEUM INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY)

### Reconciliation in the Western Balkans: overcoming the past together

by Gentiola Madhi 💆 @GentiolaMadhi, Jana Juzová 💆 @jana juzova, Tomáš Strážay et al.

Two decades after the last armed conflict in the Western Balkans, the reconciliation process in the region is still in its embryonic phase. Reconciliation is considered both a determinant for the democratization process of these countries and a precondition for them to join the EU at a later stage. Moreover, a satisfactory degree of reconciliation is also seen as an essential step which would make European integration a long-term success. (13 p.)

### **KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG**

## Die serbisch-türkischen Beziehungen im Fokus

by Norbert Beckmann-Dierkes and Emma Münch

The visit of Russian President Vladimir Putin to Belgrade in January 2019 included TurkStream. It is a natural gas pipeline that supplies Russian natural gas to Turkey and is expected to become operational also in Serbia by the end of 2020. TurkStream will supply natural gas to Turkey by the end of 2019 and could soon become a successful investment project under Russian leadership with Turkish and Serbian participation. This cooperation between Russia and Turkey, which is otherwise in competition in the Balkans, is a cause for increased attention for the EU. (DE - 5 p.)

### **CHINA**

### **BRUEGEL**

### China and the world trade organisation: towards a better fit

by Petros C. Mavroidis and André Sapir

China's participation in the WTO has been anything but smooth, as its self-proclaimed socialist market economy system has alienated its trading partners. The authors argue that the problems posed by China arise from the fact that, while in the past the GATT/WTO had to address the accession of socialist countries or of big trading nations, it never had to deal with a big, socialist country like China. In order to retain its principles while accommodating China, the WTO needs to translate some of its implicit legal understanding into explicit treaty language. (46 p.)

# ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΊΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ (HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY)

### The embrace between a Russian bear and the panda bear. An emerging Sino-Russian axis

by Jens Bastian

This report argues that the strategic realignment underway between the Kremlin and Beijing is not one of equal partners. Moscow cannot compete with China's sweeping investment efforts and infrastructure projects in the context of the BRI. What is increasingly emerging in this relationship is a junior role for Moscow and senior status for Beijing. The trade balance is heavily tilted in China's favour. Chinese banks are key lenders to Russia. China's BRI is a multi-decade vision, spacing continents and backed up by sheer unlimited financial resources which Russia cannot even contemplate to match. (73 p.)

### **RUSSIA**

## THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

# Russian information warfare in Central and Eastern Europe: strategies, impact, and counter-measures

by Michal Bokša

Russia has not significantly changed its disinformation strategies since the Soviet times. Instead, it tailored them for present-day application. Some societies have higher degree of vulnerability to Russian information warfare, with those of Central and Eastern Europe among the best examples. A commonly cited reason for this is the relative weakness of local civil society, media, and political structures, which lower resilience against foreign influence campaigns. (22 p.)

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES**

## A two-way challenge: enhancing EU cultural cooperation

by Domenico Valenza and Fabienne Bossuyt

At a time of cooling relations, culture is arguably the EU's most powerful instrument to shape positive long-term relations with Russia. This brief proposes that the EU should develop a country-based strategic approach to the role of culture in external relations with Russia. This country-specific strategy should involve Russian public authorities as partners, with a focus on local administrations and higher education institutions, leading to a two-way and mutual approach to cultural relations. This rests on the principle that, without their involvement, EU cultural action in Russia is limited in scope. (16 p.)

### CHATHAM HOUSE - THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## Russia's military posture in the Arctic: managing hard power in a 'low tension' environment

by Mathieu Boulègue <u>▼@matboulegue</u>

This paper focuses on Russia's military posture in the Russian Arctic. It seeks to demystify Moscow's military build-up in the region; it explains that if Moscow is indeed militarizing the Russian Arctic, the military build-up and the Kremlin's intentions are, at least for now, defensive in nature. (46 p.)

### **TURKEY**

# NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR INTERNATIONALE BETREKKINGEN - CLINGENDAEL (NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

### Turkey in Northwestern Syria. Rebuilding empire at the margins

by Erwin van Veen **y** @ErwinVeen and Jan van Leeuwen

This policy brief analyses the official discourse and actual practices of Turkish control and reconstruction in northwestern Syria. It finds that Turkey pursues a strategy that seeks to achieve control and influence through a mix of military occupation and full-scale reconstruction based on the logic of Turkification and the deployment abroad of the domestic apparatus of the Turkish state. The main objective of this strategy is to contain and undo the politico-territorial gains of the Syrian Kurds. In the process, Turkey largely bypasses the Syrian national coalition. (11 p.)

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

### INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM - THE HAGUE

### Siege: the Atomwaffen Division and rising far-right terrorism in the United States

by Jacob Ware **y** @JacobWare95

In the past several years, the US has witnessed a concerning rise in far-right extremism and terrorist violence. Attackers in Oak Creek, Charleston, and Pittsburgh emerged from an increasingly emboldened radical right, which has grown in size and ambition in recent years. The Atomwaffen Division - a small, neo-Nazi terrorist organisation - is part of this movement. This brief tracks the reasons behind the American far-right's rise and increasing turn to terrorism, and warns that the threat is likely to imminently worsen. To illustrate this trend, Atomwaffen's story is applied as a case study. (20 p.)

# STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK (GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS)

<u>Eine Frage der Glaubwürdigkeit: konventionelle und nukleare Sicherheitszusagen der USA</u> in Europa

by Marco Overhaus <u>♥ @ moverhaus</u>

Especially from the perspective of Eastern NATO countries, the American nuclear security commitments are even more credible in the time of Trump than possible European alternatives. (DE - 42 p.)

## **SECTION 4 - EU MEMBER STATES**

### **GERMANY**

## FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

Zeit für ein Update: was die Menschen in Deutschland über Digitalisierung denken

by Stefan Kirchner

After analyzing general perceptions of digitization, this study deepens the evaluations with the two main topics "Digital concerns and data protection "and" Work environment and qualification". (DE - 38 p.)

# ZENTRUM FÜR EUROPÄISCHE WIRTSCHAFTSFORSCHUNG (CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC RESEARCH)

### Digitalization and the future of work: macroeconomic consequences

by Melanie Arntz, Terry Gregory and Ulrich Zierahn

The paper discusses estimates of automation potentials, showing that many estimates are severely upward biased because they ignore that workers in seemingly automatable occupations already take over hard-to-automate tasks. It highlights that these numbers only refer to what theoretically could be automated and that this must not be equated with job-losses or employment effects. It develops scenarios on how digitalization is likely to affect the German labour market in the next five years and derives implications for policy makers on how to shape the future of work. (27 p.)

## FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

<u>Europäische Integration - Sorgen und Erwartungen: Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen</u> <u>Befragung in Deutschland</u>

by Richard Hilmer

The study examines in detail which attitudes citizens in Germany have towards the EU. The result is a clear picture of what people expect and do not expect from the EU. (DE - 21 p.)

### **BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG**

## Populism barometer 2018. Populist attitudes of voters and non-voters in Germany 2018

by Robert Vehrkamp and Wolfgang Merkel

Is populism in Germany a temporary phenomenon or a result of fundamental societal changes? One year after the federal election 2017, an analysis shows that populist attitudes are on the rise -

particularly in the political centre. By addressing issues of social justice, the mainstream parties could counteract this trend. (92 p.)

## AGORA ENERGIEWENDE/AGORA VERKEHRSWENDE

## 15 Eckpunkte für das Klimaschutzgesetz

by Mara Marthe Kleiner ¥@mmkleiner and Carl-Friedrich Elmer ¥@CF Elmer et al.

This publication proposes 15 measures for reducing CO2 emissions in Germany so that the federal government can reach its 2030 targets. The proposals are geared towards the energy, building, transport and industry sectors. Among other measures is a carbon tax on heating oil, natural gas and fuel that redistributes the revenue back to taxpayers. The package of proposals paves the way towards a hydrogen economy and identifies a number of initiatives that the federal government must champion at the EU level. (DE - 40 p.)

#### **IRELAND**

### **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

## Diverse neighbourhoods: an analysis of the residential distribution of immigrants in Ireland

by Éamonn Fahey, Helen Russell @helenrussell32, Frances McGinnity et al.

This research finds that relative to the Irish population, migrants are fairly evenly distributed across neighbourhoods in Ireland. This is positive, as migrant integration is more challenging in places where migrants are segregated from the host population. The study examines where in Ireland migrants live, how segregated they are from the Irish-born population and the types of areas they live in. (96 p.)

### **FRANCE**

### **INSTITUT MONTAIGNE**

### Pour réussir la transition énergétique

Following the 2015 Paris agreement and in line with the European targets for 2020 and 2030, France has proposed its roadmap for energy transition in its multiannual energy program (MEP). In a tense social context where certain energy transition policies have been contested and the timetable for adopting MEP postponed, a review of the first MEP's record is needed in order to assess the relevance of this new programming in terms of ambition, financial and technological resources, timing, social acceptability and economic and commercial balance. (FR - 204 p.)

### **ITALY**

### ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

## <u>Italy's migration policy: a self-defeating approach spells marginalisation in Europe</u>

by Anja Palm ♥@AnjaPalm and Luca Barana ♥@LucaBarana

Migration has dominated Italian politics over the past years. Matteo Salvini, League party leader and present Interior Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, made migration a centrepiece of his tenure. Policy choices, combined with a broader nationalist push and a neglect of careful diplomacy in relations with traditional allies and neighbours, have caused Italy to progressively lose influence and credibility at both the European and multilateral level. It is also a self-defeating approach, given that ultimately Italy will need external support in order to address migratory flows. (6 p.)

### **CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES**

## Who holds Italian government debt? A primer

by Daniel Gros

The debt to GDP ratio of Italy remains at 130% of GDP, the second highest in the euro area. The key issue is not so much the deficit, which has remained below 3% of GDP so far, but the fact that public debt is not falling. The real arbiter of Italian public finances thus remains the financial markets where the Italian Treasury has to sell its debt to finance both the current deficit and the roll-over of past debt coming due. It is crucial for answering two important questions: what is the proportion of 'patient' holders, and those likely to trade frequently? Who would carry the losses should there be a default? (6 p.)

### UNITED KINGDOM

### **INSTITUTE FOR FISCAL STUDIES**

## Living standards, poverty and inequality in the UK: 2019

by Pascale Bourquin, Jonathan Cribb, Tom Waters et al.

This report examines how living standards – most commonly measured by households' incomes – have changed for different groups in the UK, and the consequences that these changes have for income inequality and for measures of deprivation and poverty. It focuses in particular on those people who are poorest in society, with two of our three main chapters focusing on poverty. (90 p.)

## CENTRE FOR CLIMATE CHANGE ECONOMICS AND POLICY

## How to price carbon to reach net-zero emissions in the UK

by Joshua Burke <u>♥@joshburke81</u>, Rebecca Byrnes <u>♥@RebeccaCByrnes</u> and Sam Fankhauser <u>♥@SamFankhauser</u>

This report set out the importance of pricing carbon as a key component of any strategy to reach net-zero emissions in the UK – that is, balancing carbon emissions with carbon removal. (64 p.)

### INSTITUTE FOR GOVERNMENT

## **Becoming Prime Minister**

by Catherine Haddon **▼**@cath\_haddon

There are no official guides to help prepare for the most demanding role in UK politics. This paper addresses that gap. The paper guides an incoming prime minister step-by-step through the challenges of preparation to make a quick and successful start in 10 Downing Street. It will help the next PM to set expectations, make key appointments and understand how government is structured and how to get things done. (18 p.)

### **UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE**

## UK-born children of EU nationals in the UK: historical, national and local perspectives

by Laurence Lessard-Phillips **y**@DrLaurenceLP and Nando Sigona **y**@nandosigona

This research shows that the share of births to at least one EU parent has been increasing since the mid-2000s. In 2016 it was 12% of all births in England and Wales, 13% in Northern Ireland, and 10% in Scotland. The study also shows a change in the main countries of birth of EU parents, where the share of births to mothers and fathers from 2004 accession countries has increased. (21 p.)

### **UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE**

# <u>Parallels and differences between ending Commonwealth and EU citizen free movement rights</u>

by Colin Yeo <u>♥@ColinYeo1</u>, Nando Sigona <u>♥@nandosigona</u> and Marie Godin <u>♥@MarieGodin001</u>

This report finds that the status of EU citizens in the UK presents a similar policy dilemma for the British government today as it did when it the ended Commonwealth immigration in the 1960s and 1970s. When the UK government continued the lawful residence of Commonwealth residents by primary legislation, there was no need for existing residents to apply for a new immigration status. Today, the British government has decided to force UK resident EU citizens who want to remain lawfully in the UK to apply for immigration status. (10 p.)

### **BREXIT**

# WIENER INSTITUT FÜR INTERNATIONALE WIRTSCHAFTSVERGLEICHE (THE VIENNA INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC STUDIES)

### The future of UK services trade post-Brexit: unlikely to be bright

by Olga Pindyuk

Trade in services was overshadowed by trade in goods in the Brexit debate, undeservingly so as services account for almost half of the UK cross-border exports and the EU is a major market for UK services exporters. Leaving the EU Single Market in services will cause increased regulatory costs of trading services and could have significant effects on the volume and composition of UK services exports under any exit deal. (13 p.)

## **INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

### Fertile ground: opportunities and challenges for UK agriculture

by Shanker Singham 3 @ Shanker A Singham

This paper examines the current state of UK agriculture and makes recommendations as to what the long term goals of a UK agricultural policy could be, after the UK leaves the EU, in a way that maximises the potential benefits of a genuinely independent agricultural policy, while minimising the disruptions caused by leaving the EU. (120 p.)

### **EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE**

### The EU's Scottish question

by Fabian Zuleeg **y** <u>@FabianZuleeg</u>

The author examines the effect of Brexit on the independence debate in Scotland, and considers under what circumstances – and conditions – an independent Scotland could join the EU. In the end, if Scotland has become independent in a constitutional manner and is willing to go through the appropriate accession process, follows European principles, and is willing to commit to all the obligations that come with 'regular' EU membership, it would go against EU principles if the EU treats an independent Scotland different from any other accession hopeful. (4 p.)

### **UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE**

## Naturalisation and (dis)integration for Euro families in Brexiting Britain

by Nando Sigona <u>♥ @nandosigona</u> and Marie Godin <u>♥ @MarieGodin001</u>

The share of applications for naturalization by EU27 residents in the UK has increased from 5% in 2007 to 26% in 2017. More than 80,000 EU residents have applied for naturalization since the EU referendum. Many more are still uncertain on their legal status and ponder their options. Attitudes towards naturalization vary significantly among EU nationals, with more well off and educated EU nationals and EU14 citizens displaying more resistance to apply to become British on moral and political grounds. (10 p.)

### **UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE**

### The Brexit scorecard

by Meredith Crowley, David Bailey, Raquel Ortega-Argilés <a> <a href="mailto:gen\_ortegaargiles.">gen\_ortegaargiles.</a> et al.

This report provides an analysis both of the impact of Brexit to date and of what, given what they know now, the future holds. The report rates performance in four areas: the economy and public finances, fairness, openness and control. It also looks at the actual impacts of Brexit to date and the prospects for the future. (43 p.)

## **MISCELLANEOUS**

### LISBON COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS AND SOCIAL RENEWAL

## **Co-creation of public services**

by Francesco Mureddu and David Osimo ¥@osimod

"Co-creation" and "design thinking" are trendy themes – the topic of innumerable conferences and a growing number of academic papers. But how do we turn co-creation into a reality for Europe's 508 million citizens? The authors propose a ten-step roadmap for delivering genuinely user-centric digital government, arguing that it is time to put co-creation at the core of government functioning. (20 p.)

#### **BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG**

# <u>Local infrastructure and economic opportunities: what do Europeans think about their neighbourhood?</u>

by Sylvia Schmidt and Marcus Wortmann

In a recent EUpinions survey, the authors set out to explore what people in Europe think about their neighbourhood, the quality of local infrastructure and of economic opportunities in their area. Overall, the results show a generally high degree of satisfaction with living conditions "on the ground", but satisfaction levels differ for example between respondents living in rural and those living in urban areas. What stands out however is the pessimistic judgement of economic opportunities for young people. (5 p.)

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