



## THINK TANK REVIEW

**Central Library** 

November 2014 Issue 18

Dear Readers,

Welcome to issue 18 of the Think Tank Review,\* compiled by the EU Council Library. It references papers published in October. As usual, we provide the link to the full text and a short abstract.

In October, EU think tanks were still charting the new institutional landscape. We see joint proposals for strategic orientations, such as in the New Pact for Europe report, and references to 'politics' and 'politicisation' of the EU arena or specifically of the European Commission - although academics also mention its 'presidentialization'.

Some are still measuring the impact of the Spitzenkandidaten, asking to what extent they affected party coalitions at national level. The interplay of the national and EU level, this time in relation to parliaments, was also discussed in the latest TEPSA <u>Newsletter</u>, which lists events and publications by think tanks as well as academic institutions.

In line with the 'wait-and-see' mood, the October European Council was seen as a 'transition' summit, although by no means a low-impact one, by a <u>leading commentator</u>. The same mood obviously facilitates creative speculation, as in the <u>joint paper</u> by the German DGAP and the Polish PISM. The authors ask a counterfactual "what if...?" in various policy areas, including challenging questions such as "what If the British had voted to leave in 1975?" and "what if Yugoslavia had joined the EU?".

Coming back to reality, the section on economics gathers various papers on the response to the crisis, both at the level of specific policies (taxation, labour, welfare) and of governance (banking union, AQR, budget surveillance); others try to draw a balance of austerity policies. Linking he economy to the institutional level, some think tanks explore the notion of 'differentiated integration', seen as failed <u>convergence</u> but also as a possible <u>way forward</u>, both internally and <u>in external relations</u>. Other references from academia on this much-studied concept are <u>here</u>.

In the Regards croisés section, a short paper on the new Belgian government combines a cross-national and cross-partisan perspective, while the Spanish Real Instituto Elcano, in a broader self-reflection exercise, beautifully maps the networks between EU think tanks, tracing how they convey "ideas locales que viajan en inglés". To be read in conjunction with a recent article on think tanks as fora for interest mediation, in the open access Journal of Contemporary European Research. We also look forward to a panel on think tanks at the next International Conference on Public Policy in Milan in July 2015.

<sup>\*</sup> This collection of links and abstracts was compiled by the Central Library of the General Secretariat of the EU Council for information only. The contents linked are the sole responsibility of its authors. Publications linked from this review do not represent the positions, policies, or opinions of the Council of the European Union or the European Council.

The current Review and past issues can be downloaded from our informal <u>blog</u> . As always, feedback is welcome at <u>central.library@consilium.europa.eu</u> .
The next Review will be out in December 2014, with papers published in November.
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## **SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS**

#### **EU** institutions

## Centrum für Europäische Politik (Centre for European Policy)

Die neuen Mehrheitsregeln im Rat ab 1. November 2014: weniger demokratisch und weniger effizient

by Klaus-Dieter Sohn and Sebastian Czuratis October 2014 Link to the article in German

The changes to the calculation of Qualified Majority Voting rules in the Council have made it less democratic, and less efficient, this paper says. The system of differently weighted votes has been replaced by the principle of equal votes: "one country - one vote", which means a reduction in power for citizens of the more populous countries, similar to the changes in the calculations for MEPs per country also introduced in accordance to the Lisbon Treaty, the authors argue.

## **European Policy Centre**

Low key but not low impact: the results of the EU's 'transition' summit

by Janis A. Emmanouilidis <u>@jaemmanouilidis</u> 27 October 2014 Link to the article in English

The European Council Summit of 23-24 October 2014 may have been relatively low key, but many important decisions were made which could encourage historical changes. In this post-summit analysis, Janis Emmanouilidis examines the new climate and energy policy framework for 2020-2030. He highlights the significance of the request from eurozone leaders for a new report on 'better economic governance' by December. The transition in the EU's leadership provides an occasion to analyse the Union's current state and future direction, where he underlines the need to provide a proper response to the damage caused by the crisis and the challenges facing the Union.

#### College of Europe

Defying the Treaty: The influence of the Polish and Lithuanian Council Presidencies on the development of the Eastern Partnership

by Adam Kaznowski October 2014 Link to the article in English

This paper looks at two primary, residual, informal roles of the post-Lisbon rotating Council Presidency, namely agenda-shaping and brokering. It examines the extent to which these informal roles allowed the Polish and Lithuanian Presidencies to influence the development of the Eastern Partnership. The paper argues that the considerable influence of these rotating Presidencies defied the logic of the Lisbon Treaty, suggesting that the 'golden age' of this six-month position, whereby individual Member States pursue foreign policy issues of significant domestic interest at the European level, has not yet passed.

Politicising the Union? The influence of 'leading candidates' for the Commission Presidency

by Aileen Körfer October 2014 Link to the article in English This article investigates to what extent competing 'leading candidates' enhanced the process of deliberation and party contestation and in this way strengthen the role of EP party groups. Through the example of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats and its leading candidate, Martin Schulz, it is shown that the election campaign did strive to be EU-wide. However, Schulz's influence on internal party cohesion and coalition formation remained limited. Therefore the influence of an elected 'leading candidate' is regarded as a symbolic act, which could deepen the relationship between the EP and the Commission as well as strengthen the democratic and political standing of both institutions vis-à-vis the European Council.

### Corporate Europe Observatory / Friends of the Earth Europe

The crusade against 'red tape': How the European Commission and big business push for deregulation

by Rachel Tansey October 2014 Link to the article in English

This article looks at some of the driving forces of deregulation, from big-business associations and ex-EU officials who've gone through the 'revolving door' to business, to the push to keep the particularly 'red tape-phobic' UK in the EU. The first section casts light on the deregulatory initiatives under the Barroso Commission and the second section focuses on the political priorities of the Juncker Commission, and the creation of the First Vice President for Better Regulation.

#### **Fondation Robert Schuman**

The Juncker Commission, the return of politics?

by Charles de Marcilly <u>@Charles2M</u>
27 October 2014
Link to the article in English and in French

The new European Commission is at work since 1 November. This paper brings a general introduction of the Commissioners appointed, many of whom are considered very experienced and possessing strong, varied competences. The author then moves on to an analysis of the innovative matrix organisation and the questions that this new structure raises. Finally, this study recalls the programme described in the roadmap of the members of the College.

## **Corporate Europe Observatory**

Parliament freezes problematic expert groups budget for second time in four years

22 October 2014
Link to the article in English

According to the NGO Corporate Europe Observatory, the Commission's advisory bodies known as Expert Groups remain dominated by corporate interests. The EP having voted to freeze the budget for these groups, the paper suggests four conditions that the Commission should meet in order to have the budget reserve lifted.

#### Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute

Why not solve the democratic deficit within the EU through genuine transnational political conflict?

by Jan Karremans October 2014 Link to the article in English The European elections of 2014 were characterized by a concrete effort to increase public participation to the European political debate. However, the overall electoral turnout remained disappointingly low. Based on data from the 2014 Eurobarometer survey, this paper deals with the problem of the formation of a European electorate and argues that a better representation on the European integration dimension should substantially contribute to the formation of a transnational electorate.

#### **Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute**

What political and institutional evolutions for the EU and the EMU?

by Martina Menghi 30 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> and in <u>French</u>

This paper summarises the debates of the sixth edition of the <u>European Forum of Think Tanks</u>, organised by Notre Europe – Jacques Delors Institute and the Centro Studi sul Federalismo in Turin in September. The discussion gathered 38 participants and focussed on three main issues: competences, institutional reforms and democracy.

### **New Pact for Europe**

Towards a New Pact for Europe. Second report of the New Pact for Europe project

by Janis A. Emmanouilidis (rap.) @jaemmanouilidis
October 2014
Link to the article in English

This report seeks to feed into the discussion about the EU's future as the new leadership team takes charge, particularly on how to make the EU more effective in responding to the challenges Europeans are facing. The report will be discussed among policy-makers, EU experts, stakeholders, and citizens in a majority of Member States, and the outcome of this process will impact the future progress of the New Pact for Europe initiative.

A <u>first report</u> outlining five strategic options for the future of the EU was published in November 2013.

## **EU** politics

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations) / Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

"What if the EU ...?": an exercise in counterfactual thinking to address current dilemmas

by Roderick Parkes <u>@RoderickParkes</u> and Almut Möller (eds.) 7 October 2014
Link to the article in <u>English</u>

Some suggest that European think tanks spend too little time pondering the way things could be, but rather analyse why things happen the way they do. In order to make room in the political science realm for more of the former, these nine essays present a series of creative thought exercises on current political dilemmas where the authors are principally interested in imagining an alternative reality.

## Inštitút pre verejné otázky (Institute for Public Affairs)

Conspiracy theories in Europe: a compilation

9 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> Two and a half years ago, a group of think tanks embarked on a project to develop an effective response to conspiracy theories in Europe. The aim of the project was both to build a stronger understanding of conspiracy theories and to explore how those conspiracy theories that pose a danger to democratic values can be dealt with and, if necessary, short-circuited. This compilation brings together some of the written highlights from the project.

#### **Institute for Public Policy Research**

Continental drift: understanding the growth of euroscepticism

by Glenn Gottfried <u>@GGottfried1</u> October 2014 Link to the article in English

Whether seen in decreasing levels of trust in Europe or belief in its virtues, or in an increasing desire to leave the European project behind altogether, public opinion towards the EU seems to be hardening across the continent, including in the UK. Understanding the factors that underpin and drive these changes is of vital importance, this paper says. Europe has evolved over the past 40 years, from common market to single market to union, and expanded its borders from western Europe into the former communist states of central and eastern Europe. What determined someone's support for Europe in the past may no longer apply now.

## **Banking Union**

#### Tænketanken EUROPA

Dansk nej til bankunionen kan koste milliarder

by Mikkel Høegh <u>@MikkelHoeegh</u>
7 October 2014
Link to the article in Danish

Banking Union can be seen as an insurance scheme, and in this logic, the resulting costs are in effect an insurance premium. Banking Union is, however, a special insurance where Denmark risk having to pay even more if it chooses to stay outside, this paper says. The final bill would depend on what the financial markets believe Denmark should pay. However, there is considerable risk that the bill ends in the tens of billions.

#### Institute of International and European Affairs

Banking Union: progress and prospects

by Pat McArdle 24 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

A comprehensive work-in progress report on Banking Union: on 26 October 2014 with the end of ECB's Comprehensive Balance Sheet Assessment, another step has been accomplished on the way to Banking Union. This report covers the origin of the current banking crisis and of Banking Union as a solution, its blueprint and timing, and its state of play.

#### **Centre for European Policy Studies**

The ECB AQR and the EBA stress test: what will the numbers tell?

by Willem Pieter De Groen and Karel Lannoo 23 October 2014 Link to the article in English This paper was written ahead of the asset quality review (AQR), published on 26 October, thus lagging behind the results as seen throughout the press by now. In pointing out the weaknesses in the process however, it remains relevant after the fact. CEPS also has a post-result analysis that can be found <a href="https://example.com/here">here</a>.

#### **SECTION 2 - ECONOMICS**

## **Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute**

National budgets and European surveillance: shedding light on the debate

by Sofia Fernandes 13 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> and in <u>French</u>

Since 2013, euro-area member states have to submit their budgetary plan for the following year to the Commission by 15 October. This fuels the image of Europe narrowing countries' fiscal sovereignty, even though the Commission has no right to veto or directly modify a national budget. This paper tries to shed light on the rules and procedures that govern fiscal surveillance in the EU and to understand the extent of the European authorities' powers and action in the budgetary sphere.

## Elinkeinoelämän tutkimuslaitos (Research Institute of the Finnish Economy)

Real-time measures of the output gap and fiscal policy stance

by Tuomo Virkola 31 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This paper examines real-time differences in output gap and fiscal stance estimates published by the EC and the IMF, finding that there are statistically significant differences. Fiscal policy rules that target unobserved components are subject to larger cross-institutional differences. As these exante estimates are influential in national policy making and central for the credibility of the new fiscal policy rules in the EU, this is likely to pose challenges.

## Case - Centrum Analiz Społeczno-Ekonomicznych (Center for Social and Economic Research)

2012 Update report to the Study to quantify and analyse the VAT Gap in the EU-27 Member States

by Luca Barbone, Mikhail Bonch-Osmolovsky and Grzegorz Poniatowski October 2014 Link to the article in English

This report provides estimates of the VAT Gap for 26 EU Member States for 2012, as well as revised estimates for the period 2009-2011. It is a follow-up to the report "Study to quantify and analyse the VAT Gap in the EU-27 Member States" published in September 2013. This update incorporates the NACE Rev. 2 classification of economic activities into the calculation of the theoretical liability.

True and false remedies for long time unemployment in Visegrad countries

by Ágota Scharle October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> Two in ten working-age adults have been out of work for over a year in Visegrad economies, and long term joblessness is especially high among the uneducated. The employment disadvantage of uneducated workers tends to be larger here than in Western European countries, and is especially grievous in Hungary, where a relatively large share of the labour force has only completed primary school. Reducing long term unemployment by activating the unemployed, increasing the education level or preventing early retirement could potentially increase the total employment rate by 2 to 3 percentage points in the Visegrad countries, this paper says.

## **Centre for European Policy Studies**

The review of the Europe 2020 Strategy: from austerity to prosperity?

by Andrea Renda 27 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

The future of Europe 2020 lies in its ability to become the protagonist of a new season in EU policy, in which countries can apply for more flexibility only if they can prove both structural reform and good governance, argues the author. By establishing a 'new deal' among member states, an improved Europe 2020 strategy can help Europe to complete its transition from austerity to prosperity. The content of the strategy should be revised to include initiatives on infrastructure, the internal market and administrative capacity at all levels of government. The author sets out a number of policy recommendations to help realise these objectives.

### **Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute**

Promoting structural reforms in the euro area: what for and how?

by Eulalia Rubio 14 October 2014 Link to the article in English and in French

This paper argues that there are three different rationales to promote structural reforms in today's EMU, and discusses which type of policy response would be more appropriate to address each of them.

#### Fundación Alternativas

Las políticas de austeridad: un balance

by Jorge José Hernández Moreno 29 October 2014 Link to the article in Spanish

The crisis in Europe has not been accidental, this paper argues, and it has been caused not by excessive debt, nor by a long term excessive deficit, nor by an excessive dimension of the welfare state in Europe. Undergoing drastic structural adjustment policies, the peripheral countries of the EU have entered a deflationary spiral of plunging domestic demand, that further depresses growth and tax revenues, and becomes the main causal factor in the recession. Austerity thus stops being part of the solution, by preventing the growth that would create the ability to pay off debt and restore market confidence.

## Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln (Cologne Institute for Economic Research)

Differenzierte Integration als Modell für die Zukunft der Europäischen Union?

by Berthold Busch 21 October 2014 Link to the article in German The term "differentiated integration" possesses a myriad of quasi-synonyms that are often being used interchangeably, but that frequently confer slightly different meanings or various degrees of differentiated integration. Apart from the debate about the term itself, this article discusses questions like: what is differentiated integration? Is it a relatively new phenomenon? Why does differentiated integration take the spot of a unitary development of the community acquis of all Member States? While most works regarding differentiated integration have long been descriptive in nature, there are by now analytical writings by sociologists and political scientists available.

## Lisbon Council for Economic Competitiveness and Social Renewal

Two steps to avert another eurozone crisis: a coordinated cut in the tax wedge and smart implementation of the Stability and Growth Pact

by Alessandro Leipold <u>@ALeipold</u> 21 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This article presents two early steps to avert crisis and restore confidence: a coordinated cut in the European tax wedge on labour, and smart implementation of the stability and growth pact in the upcoming European semester. It also analyses the differences between the French and Italian cases, arguing that the two countries are in fundamentally different positions vis-à-vis the Stability and Growth Pact and thus warrant differentiated outcomes under the pact's procedures.

## Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

Monetary disunion: the domestic politics of euroland

by Wolfgang Streeck and Lea Elsässer October 2014 Link to the article in English

Regional disparities within the EU have always been perceived as an impediment to monetary integration. This is why discussions on a joint currency were linked to compensatory payments in the form of regional policy payments. Structural assistance to poor regions and Member States increased sharply at the end of the 1980s. Today, however, fiscal support has to be shared with the new Member States in the East. Moreover, due to the financial crisis, the cheap credit that poor EMU member countries enjoyed as a result of interest rate convergence, is no longer available. The authors predict that in the future, some sort of financial aid will have to be provided by rich member countries to poor ones, if only to prevent a further increase in economic disparities and related political instability.

## **SECTION 3 - EU MEMBER STATES**

## Belgium

## **Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations**

The European Semester in Belgium: a state of play

by Xavier Vanden Bosch <u>@XVandenBosch</u> October 2014 Link to the article in English

Belgium is among the countries that have least obeyed the Commission's Country Specific Recommendations. These CSRs belong to the framework intended to promote greater fiscal discipline, as well as a more proactive adoption of structural reforms to prevent and correct economic imbalances in the eurozone. The author summarizes how Belgium answered to the recommendations and reveals how they have been implemented over the period 2011-2013.

#### Germany

## Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (Social Science Research Center Berlin)

Religion und Bildung Schlaglichter auf eine komplexe Beziehung

by Marcel Helbig and Thorsten Schneider October 2014 Link to the article in German

The "catholic girl from the rural area" is a much-used stereotype in German education research. Religion, socio-economic status, gender, and region; these factors were crucial concerning disadvantages in the education system in the 1960s. However, modern research does not speak of the catholic education deficit any longer. According to some, Muslims have replaced Catholics in that respect. The authors look at a comparative study concerning religion-related education opportunities with regard to the situation in the 1960s. Furthermore, this study takes into account differences in education in light of religion in 19 European countries.

#### Greece

Ελληνικό Ίδρυμα Ευρωπαϊκής και Εξωτερικής Πολιτικής (Hellenic Foundation for European Foreign Policy) / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Greece: light at the end of the tunnel

by Jens Bastian 8 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> Where does Greece stand today, six years after the outbreak of a severe economic crisis, which has led to drastic social repercussions and contributed to major political changes in the country? Key questions are being asked in public debates, and addressed in this paper: If Greece requires a third rescue programme, what compliance requirements should be included, and how would such a programme be financed?

#### Poland

## Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Kabinettswechsel in Polen: ein Zeichen politischer Reife

by Joanna Andrychowicz-Skrzeba, Roland Feicht and Bastian Sendhardt October 2014 Link to the article in German

In Poland, former PM Tusk becoming President of the Council of the EU is seen as a political success for the entire country. His successor, Ewa Kopacz, is expected to largely continue his path with a somewhat stronger focus on social policy issues. 25 years after the democratic transition, a process of democratic consolidation has taken place in Poland. The creation of the government took place in a very calm and unspectacular manner. This normal state is evidence for the political maturity that Poland has gained over the last couple of years.

## Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

Współpraca samorządowa na pograniczu polsko-czeskim

by Adriana Skorupska <u>@AdaSkorupska</u>
October 2014
Link to the article in <u>Polish</u> and in <u>Czech</u>

The Polish-Czech border region has become a model for innovative cross-border cooperation, this paper says. However, there is still untapped potential there. Effective use of new forms of cooperation can increase the chances of development of the region.

#### Romania

#### **Fondation Robert Schuman**

Social Democrat Prime Minister Victor Ponta, favourite in the Presidential election on Romania

by Corinne Deloy 7 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> and in <u>French</u>

A pre-election analysis, to be compared with the ex-post debriefing in:

Surprise en Roumanie où Klaus Johannis remporte l'élection présidentielle

by Corinne Deloy 17 November 2014 Link to the article in <u>French</u>

### **Spain**

#### **Fundación Alternativas**

El impacto de la crisis sobre el tejido social solidario de España: efectos y reacción de las ONGD frente a la crisis

by Kattya Cascante <u>@KCascante</u> and Erika Rodríguez 29 October 2014 Link to the article in Spanish

This report analyses the situation of non-governmental development organizations in Spain, understanding them as part of the framework of political, social, and economic institutions involved in the Spanish policy of international cooperation and development, and as a result, of the involvement of Spanish civil society. The analysis is based on the systemic funding crisis, where the social, the economic and the political models are being transformed. The framework is established by the prolonged difficulties, which can not yet rule out a further escalation of the democratic deficit, inequality and poverty worldwide.

### United Kingdom

## **Policy Exchange**

Electoral omission

by Michael Pinto-Duschinsky 23 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This report highlights how the administration of elections in the UK remains dangerously inefficient and open to fraud and predicts that there will be up to 15.5 million errors on the UK's electoral registers at the time of next year's general election. It recommends the introduction of targets for the maximum number of omissions and errors in the electoral register and annual checks to measure accuracy, along with small council tax rebates to encourage people to complete and return their voter registration forms.

#### **Demos**

"Ensuring fair use of the NHS efficiently and effectively...": do no harm

by Max Wind-Cowie and Claudia Wood October 2014 Link to the article in English

This report examines how to reconcile two objectives; to protect the National Health Services in Britain from misuse and abuse, which is the primary aim of the Government's own proposal, and to give vulnerable people the care they need without spending public money and damaging the public health infrastructure. However there are serious concerns about the cost of implementing an effective system for monitoring access to healthcare in such a way as to improve the recovery of debts for treating non-eligible patients and it is clear that there remain difficult challenges on efficiency, security, and ethics.

#### **Centre for Policy Studies**

The Hartz reforms ... and their lessons for the UK

by Glyn Gaskarth 31 October 2014 Link to the article in English Ten years ago Germany's SPD introduced bold labour market reforms that created 2.5 million new jobs and revived the ailing economy. In the UK however, the Labour party appears unwilling to follow the example of their German counterparts. The author warns that if UK employment success is to continue, politicians must learn from the SPD's example and get serious about labour market reform.

## **Centre for European Reform**

Would Britain's trade be freer outside the EU?

by John Springford 16 October 2014 Link to the article in English

A post-'Brexit' Britain would struggle to make up for foregone trade opportunities with the EU by signing trade agreements with non-European countries, this paper states.

## **SECTION 4 - EU POLICIES**

### Justice and Home Affairs

## **Migration Policy Institute**

Selling visas and citizenship: policy questions from the global boom in investor immigration

by Madeleine Sumption <u>@M Sumption</u> and Kate Hooper October 2014 Link to the article in English

Over the past decade, the number of countries with immigrant investor programs has increased dramatically, with half of EU Member States and several Caribbean nations now using these programs to attract investment. This report examines the increasing mix of players and types of immigrant investor programs, their policy design with regards to cost and residency requirements, benefits, and other considerations.

Competitiveness (Internal Market, Industry, Research and Space)

### **RAND Europe**

The cost of non-Europe in the Single Market: free movement of goods

by Marco Hafner, Enora Robin <u>@EnoraRobin</u> and Stijn Hoorens <u>@StijnHoorens</u> September 2014 Link to the article in English

This report seeks to analyse the costs for citizens, businesses and relevant stake-holders of remaining gaps and barriers in the European Single Market, building on and updating the 1988 Cecchini Report, which quantified its potential benefits. This particular study uses an econometric model to estimate the potential benefits of removing existing barriers to foreign direct investment and non-tariff trade barriers within the EU. The removal of existing trade barriers could boost total intra-EU merchandise exports up to 7% in the long-term. These effects will vary by Member State, and by sector of the internal market.

On this same subject, read also the <u>cost of non-Europe reports</u> prepared by our colleagues at the European Parliament Research Service.

#### Transport/Telecommunications/Energy

#### **Terra Nova**

Une relance européenne par l'investissement : investir dans la transition énergétique

by Pierre Musseau <u>@PierreMusseau</u> 28 October 2014 Link to the article in French

In order to avoid the deflationary spiral or long-term stagnation, the revival of investment at European level is a necessity. Given current budgetary constraints, the lack of room for action in the private sector, and the weakness of public investment, it would be appropriate to focus public instruments with high leverage private investment. This is where the energy transition matrix of the transformation of our economies should be a priority project, according to the author of this paper.

Nouveaux enjeux pour les marchés de gros de l'électricité

by Benjamin Ollivier, Christophe Schramm <u>@ChrSchramm</u>, Esther Jourdan, Jeannou Durtol and Pierre Musseau <u>@PierreMusseau</u> 9 octobre 2014

Link to the article in French

In the context of the debate on the law on the energy transition, this study questions specifically on emerging issues in the wholesale market for electricity in Europe.

# Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych (Center for International Relations) / Europejskie Forum Nowych Idei (European Forum for New Ideas) / Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

The future of Europe: a (no) discrepancy report. Will the growing differences in Europe mar the integration process?

2 October 2014

Link to the article in English and in Polish

After two decades of stability and growth, Europe is today facing new dilemmas. This paper discusses the problems related to energy security, economic growth and competitiveness and tense international situation, both in the East, and the southern dimension of EU foreign policy. These challenges are forcing the EU to conduct real common foreign and security policy and secure energy independence.

#### **Centre for European Policy Studies**

The "unknown knowns" of the global gas market

by Paolo Natali 16 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This paper presents an analysis of the global gas market, offering views on what the most relevant 'unknown knowns' of today look like, and hypotheses about some of the possible game-changing events that the market is likely to face in the short to medium term.

#### **Fundación Alternativas**

La política europea de renovables y su influencia en España y el Reino Unido

by Israel Solorio Sandoval 6 October 2014 Link to the article in Spanish

The development of renewable energies cannot be divorced from their social and environmental objectives to become a goal in itself, this paper says. Highlighting its decentralized nature would prevent another green bubble, as this study proposes.

#### German Marshall Fund of the United States

Bridging energy gaps for greater transatlantic cooperation

by Kristine Berzina @kristineberzins
17 October 2014
Link to the article in English

Energy policies in Europe and North America are in a transition period. They may appear divergent, since North America focuses on energy production and European countries, such as Germany, focus on energy imports, but these policies also reflect greater cooperation between transatlantic partners. The situation in Ukraine has once more raised energy security concerns in Europe and should motivate North American and European partners toward further energy and political cohesion.

Transatlantic energy relations: embracing collective security over parochialism

by Matthew Bryza <u>@BryzaMatthew</u> 17 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This paper examines the possible role energy policy and cooperation will have in collective security. While highlighting various energy-related clashes between Russia and the West, the author cautions against the exploitation of economic parochialism by the US and Europe and instead calls for the establishment of a more collective and productive European energy sector in the face of Russian resistance.

## Latvijas Ārpolitikas institūts (Latvian Institute of International Affairs)

Energy (in)security: challenges and prospects for the European Union and Baltic States

by Martins Hirss and Andris Spruds <u>@AndrisSpruds</u> October 2014 Link to the article in English

As discord between the EU and Russia deepens, EU Member States must pose the question whether Russia will continue to provide sufficient, reliable, consistent, and affordable deliveries of natural gas to Europe. Energy security has once more come to the forefront of EU priorities. This paper presents an overview of the mechanisms that the EU has developed for strengthening energy security for its Member States. It also reviews recent developments in the Baltic States, evaluating the role the EU has played in enhancing energy security.

## Energiewirtschaftliche Institut an der Universität zu Köln (Institute of Energy Economics at the University of Cologne)

An embargo of Russian gas and security of supply in Europe

by Harald Hecking, Christopher John and Florian Weiser 6 October 2014

Link to the article in **English** and to the addendum in **English** 

This paper analyses how an embargo on Russian gas exports would affect the security of gas supply in Europe. Having in mind that in 2013, Russian gas made up more than 30% of Europe's annual gas demand, Russian gas exports are crucial for European security. The analysis is conducted on a country level with a special focus on Germany, but this study is particularly interesting for Central European countries, as they are especially dependent on Russian gas. Therefore, any halt in gas supply in these countries would put them on a challenging course to find substitutes.

## **European Council on Foreign Relations**

Why Europe should support reform of the Ukrainian gas market – or risk a cut-off

by Chi Kong Chyong 13 October 2014 Link to the article in English This paper argues that, in addition to the measures outlined in the newly adopted Energy Security Strategy and in the 2030 framework for climate and energy policies, Europe should press Ukraine for full and strict reform of its energy sector, and the gas sector in particular, which is notorious for its corruption and inefficiency. This would allow Europe to fulfil two important foreign and energy policy objectives: firstly, it would integrate Ukraine into Europe's single gas market and hence bring Ukraine closer to Europe, and secondly, it would help normalise gas relations with Russia. Rather than trying to isolate the Ukrainian economy from that of Russia, Europe should look at ways of diminishing Ukraine's systemic vulnerabilities.

## Employment/Social Policy/Health/Consumer Affairs

## **RAND Europe**

The following four papers are part of a <u>set of reports</u> examining the issue of gender equality in the EU. They relate gender inequality to other indicators such as family situation and socio-economic factors as well as education considerations. The reports find that mothers in western European countries continue to have a lower rate of employment and work less hours. Gender disparities exist especially between parents and non-parents. This interlinks with long-standing social norms that perpetuate gender inequality in employment - the male partner as the sole earner remains the dominant household model across Europe. Women furthermore spend more hours in domestic work, even in cases when the woman is the main or sole earner. Indeed, there is evidence that equal earnings contribute to more equal domestic work contributions. Experiences differ greatly among single parents depending on socio-economic status, age of parents and age of children. It is noteworthy, though, that single parents are most vulnerable to work-life reconciliation challenges. Namely, young mothers and those with young children - especially single mothers - are the least employed parent group. Overall, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland and France are the forerunners concerning childcare and meeting the Barcelona targets.

Gender equality in the workforce: reconciling work, private and family life in Europe

by Melinda Mills, Flavia Tsang, Patrick Präg, Kai Ruggeri <u>@kairuggeri</u>, Celine Miani and Stijn Hoorens <u>@StijnHoorens</u> October 2014

Link to the article in English

Gender inequalities in the school-to-work transition in Europe

by Melinda Mills and Patrick Präg October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

Emerging trends in earnings structures of couples in Europe

by Flavia Tsang, Michael S. Rendall, Charlene Rohr and Stijn Hoorens @StijnHoorens October 2014

Link to the article in English

Single parents and employment in Europe

by Kai Ruggeri <u>@kairuggeri</u> and Chloe E. Bird <u>@ChloeBirdPhD</u>
October 2014
Link to the article in <u>English</u>

#### **World Economic Forum**

The Global Gender Gap Report 2014

28 October 2014
Link to the article in English

This report quantifies the magnitude of gender-based disparities and tracks their progress over time. While no single measure can capture the complete situation, the Global Gender Gap Index presented here seeks to measure one important aspect of gender equality: the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy and politics.

## Svenska institutet för europapolitiska studier (Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies)

EU:s strukturpolitik i Rumänien: Kan den bli en hävstång för romerna?

by Daniel Tarschys October 2014 Link to the article in Swedish

This paper examines whether EU Cohesion Policy can contribute to improving the social and economic situation for the Roma in Romania, so as to better integrate them into society. The analysis shows that while one should not be overly optimistic about the outlook in this regard, a modest positive influence from the Cohesion Policy is nevertheless conceivable.

## Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Contours of a European minimum wage policy

by Thorsten Schulten
October 2014
Link to the article in English

A European minimum wage policy could make an important contribution to reducing poverty and inequality, this paper says. Resulting wage increases would also boost demand considerably, creating new potential for growth, and counteracting current deflationary pressure in Europe. Finally, a European minimum wage policy would be a concrete political project that would put meat on the bones of the idea of a "social Europe" and thereby help the European project regain people's trust.

Mobile Beschäftigung : Aktivitäten und Projekte gewerkschaftlicher und gewerkschaftsnaher Organisationen gegenüber mobilen Beschäftigten in ausgewählten europäischen Staaten

by Stefanie Hähnel October 2014 Link to the article in German

With European employment mobility extending to Central and Eastern Europe, the number of mobile employees has been on the rise. Caused by a lack of knowledge of labour and social law, though, these employees more often than not experience unequal and inferior treatment to domestic workers. Two EU directives ratified in spring 2014 aim at this very awareness raising and access to information. Thereby EU Member States are urged to facilitate access to information for mobile workers. It remains to be seen in how far the implementation of the directives will create structural improvements for mobile workers.

Social Europe as a field of conflict

by Björn Hacker October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> The economic and social policy depredations of austerity have provoked a backlash, and demand for a social dimension to the EU is on the rise beyond the circle of its usual advocates. The crisis of the euro zone makes it clear how inseparable economic, employment, and social policies are. Calls for a social Europe must be exploited politically, this paper says.

#### Environment

### **Centre for European Policy Studies**

The framework for various approaches and the new market mechanism

by Andrei Marcu 3 October 2014 Link to the article in English

The 40th session of the Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice invited submissions on the Framework for Various Approaches (FVA), New Market Mechanism (NMM), and Non Market Approaches (NMA). This document is the submission by the Centre for European Policy Studies in response to that invitation, and covers both FVA and NMM.

The market stability reserve in perspective

by Andrei Marcu 3 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This report examines the Market Stability Reserve (MSR), proposed by the European Commission in January. The MSR would introduce a degree of supply management into the Emissions Trading System (ETS). Drawing on input from ETS-stakeholders, the paper discusses the MSR's rationale and reviews the different options available for its design, governance, and timing, as well as its consequences for the ETS and the EU's climate and energy policy.

### **Institute for European Environmental Policy**

Achieving good environmental status in the Black Sea: scale mismatches in environmental management

by Tim O'Higgins, Andrew Farmer, Georgi Daskalov, Stale Knudsen and Laurence Mee 14 October 2014 Link to the article in English

The Black Sea has suffered severe environmental degradation. Governance of the Black Sea region is complex and results in a series of scale mismatches which constrain management to deliver Good Environment Status as required by the EU Marine Strategy Framework Directive. This paper develops a simple classification of spatial scale mismatches incorporating the driver, pressure, state, welfare, response framework. The scale mismatch classification is applied to two major environmental problems of the Black Sea, eutrophication and small pelagic fisheries. A number of scale mismatches are described and classified and potential solutions are identified.

#### **SECTION 5 - EXTERNAL RELATIONS**

## Geopolitics and Strategy

## **European Council on Foreign Relations**

Rebooting EU foreign policy

by Daniel Levy, François Godement, Kadri Liik <u>@KadriLiik</u>, Mark Leonard, Nick Witney and Vessela Tcherneva <u>@vtcherneva</u>
September 2014
Link to the article in English

Ukraine and the Middle East have underlined how ill-equipped the EU is to respond to foreign policy crises. This paper argues that the EU's new HR Mogherini will have to contend not only with a world in which Europe's weight is greatly diminished, but with a reluctance at the heart of the EU to face reality. The authors argue that the culture of denial is exemplified by cherished EU foreign policy constructs such as "Europe's neighbourhood", "strategic partners", and "the comprehensive approach" which have become a substitute for real strategic thought and have encouraged a lethal complacency about the effectiveness of the EU's external policies.

#### **Fondation Robert Schuman**

The European Neighbourhood Policy put to the test by the Ukrainian crisis

by Gilles Lepesant 6 October 2014 Link to the article in English and in French

One month after the signature of the Eurasian Economic Union between Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus, the EU signed an Association Agreement with Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. The European continent is divided between two regional, competing, and incompatible integration processes. Whatever the conclusion to the Ukraine crisis might be, Russia's goal of strengthening its grip on its "near abroad" is being challenged by its neighbours' attachment to their independence. The situation leads to questions about the purpose of, and means available to, the European Neighbourhood Policy.

## Österreichische Institut für Internationale Politik (Austrian Institute for International Affairs)

Den Staat teilen – eine Gratwanderung zwischen autoritärem Wahnsinn und demokratischer Vernunft

by Vedran Dzihic October 2014 Link to the article in German

This article looks at the negative energy released due to nation state fragmentation. It looks at recent examples from the Ukraine, the Middle East, and former Yugoslavia, and discusses the contradiction between internally and externally initiated democratisation, as well as failure of democratising movements and strong authoritarian patterns.

### Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

Is a new Cold War inevitable? Central European views on rebuilding trust in the Euro-Atlantic region

by Martina Heranová, Zdzisław Lachowski and Raimonds Rublovskis October 2014 Link to the article in English

The origins of the current crisis in relations between Russia and the West run much deeper than just a mere deficit of trust or inadequate communication channels, according to this collection of papers. One of the main conclusions presented is that mutual mistrust itself is not a product of misunderstanding of the motives guiding the other side, but rather it reflects some fundamental differences in values and interests. All of the authors remain concerned about the possibility of the current crisis growing out of control, confronting Central Europe with the threat of a high-speed arms race or direct military conflict with Russia.

### Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)

Hostages to Moscow, clients of Beijing. Security in Central Asia as the role of the West diminishes

by Maciej Falkowski and Józef Lang October 2014 Link to the article in English and in Polish

The end of the Western military presence in Central Asia will mean the West's influence on the security sphere in the region will be marginalised and it will also actually withdraw from the geopolitical rivalry. With regard to the architecture of security, a more active stance from China should not be expected, as it is unwilling to confront Russia, is aware of its own limitations in this sphere, and views the US as its main global rival. In a timeframe of the next few years, Russia's policy will be the decisive factor influencing the security system in the region.

### Security and Defence

## Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

Improving cyber security: NATO and the EU

by Piret Pernik <u>@PiretPernik</u> September 2014 Link to the article in English

The critical infrastructure and essential services on which modern economies depend, rely increasingly on information and communication technologies. Most global, transatlantic and regional international organisations have developed policies and instruments to address the growing sophistication of cyber attacks against critical infrastructures and services. This paper presents a comparative analysis of the approaches of NATO and the EU to cyber security.

#### **Royal United Services Institute**

The threat of ISIS to the UK: RUSI threat assessment

by Raffaello Pantucci and Clare Ellis <u>@cfa\_ellis</u> October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is well financed, well equipped, and brutal. It is also a plausible threat to the UK, this paper says. This briefing provides a view on ISIS and some judgements about its current threat trajectory. It draws on a series of discussions held at RUSI, which involved internal and external expertise, to come to some key judgements on the group. Read also the library's report on the recent <a href="event">event</a> on ISIS and foreign fighters with the EU's Counter-terrorism Coordinator.

### **European Centre for Development Policy Management**

Planting seeds and breaking eggs: EU delegations dealing with peace and security – the Sahel case and beyond

by Damien Helly <u>@DamienHelly</u> and Greta Galeazzi <u>@greta\_gale</u> 3 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

The objective of this paper is to provide the incoming teams in EU institutions with knowledge about the peace and security role of EU delegations, as well as informing a wider readership curious to know more about how the EU deals with the security-development nexus. This note uses evidence based mainly on field missions in the Sahel and hopefully provides knowledge or assumptions of relevance to other EU Delegations in other fragile and conflict contexts.

## **European Council on Foreign Relations**

International justice and the prevention of atrocity

by Anthony Dworkin <u>@AnthonyDworkin</u>
10 October 2014
Link to the article in English

This report argues that European countries must develop better coordinated policies on justice and atrocity prevention. Too often decisions on justice are taken in isolation from wider foreign policy goals. This risks putting courts in a position where they may present an obstacle to peace but it also risks leaving courts isolated as countries fail to support their work in practice.

### **European Union Institute for Security Studies**

*In groups we trust – Implementing Article 44 of the Lisbon Treaty* 

by Thierry Tardy <a href="tel:@thierrytardy">@thierrytardy</a>
7 October 2014
Link to the article in English

In the field of CSDP, some provisions in the Lisbon Treaty are yet to be implemented. Article 44 is one of them. It posits that within the framework of the decisions adopted in accordance with Article 43, the Council may 'entrust the implementation of a task to a group of Member States which are willing and have the necessary capability for such a task'. In this context, the EU and its member states have recently started to look into what Article 44 is – or is not – potentially about. Ideas have been brought to the table from various angles, even in discussions on the response to the Ebola crisis. Yet there are still many unknowns surrounding the purpose, implications and added-value of the Article.

## External economic relations and development

### **Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (German Development Institute)**

Scenarios for increased EU donor coordination: what is the right level of aid coordination?

by Stephan Klingebiel, Pedro Morazán and Mario Negre October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> and in <u>German</u>

The need for more coordination in European development cooperation is acknowledged by most academics and practitioners. This need emerges because there has been a strong increase in the level of fragmentation and proliferation of official development assistance in recent years, despite the calls for stronger harmonisation and division of labour. Over the last 10 years, the EU has invented a number of good technical solutions to overcome the disadvantages of fragmentation. This paper concludes however that the main challenges of inadequate European coordination are not related to technical coordination but to a clear policy commitment and guidance to improve further.

Beyond aid: a conceptual perspective on the transformation of development cooperation

by Janus Heiner, Stephan Klingebiel and Sebastian Paulo 20 October 2014 Link to the article in English

Development cooperation is part of an international system characterised by fragmentation and limitations in global problem solving. Drawing on the term 'beyond aid', this article explores the transformation of development cooperation within this system. It distinguishes four dimensions of beyond aid – actors, finance, regulation and knowledge – where aid loses relevance relative to other fields of international cooperation. Creating links to these beyond aid dimensions is at the core of the transformation of development cooperation.

# Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations / Fundación para las relaciones internacionales y el diálogo exterior (Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue)

Development and the India-EU strategic partnership: missing incentives and divergent identities

by Emma Mawdsley 17 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This paper argues that the EU-Indian strategic partnership is unlikely to leverage significantly enhanced bilateral or trilateral international development cooperation. The EU should instead continue to seek local opportunities for cooperation and explore the potential convergence of development approaches between UK, Germany, The Netherlands and India in order to move closer to South-South cooperation in sectors such as infrastructure or agriculture. There is a risk, however, that it could drive deepening competition instead, and a race to the bottom in terms of environmental and labour standards.

The EU and its partners on development: how strategic on the ground?

by Christine Hackenesch and Clare Castillejo 6 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> Most of the EU's strategic partnerships include dialogues on development, and in some cases commitments to collaboration. This paper examines whether these are reflected in EU-strategic partner interaction on the ground in two developing countries – Nepal and Mozambique. In both countries, the space for EU engagement with strategic partners is highly limited and largely determined by economic, security or political interests.

## **European Centre for Development Policy Management**

EU engagement with the private sector for development: setting up a one-stop-shop?

by Bruce Byiers, Florian Krätke <u>@FKratkeECDPM</u> and Anna Rosengren <u>@AnnaRosengren2</u> 1 October 2014 Link to the article in English

The EC's new communication on engaging the private sector for development is broadly welcomed as ambitious and action oriented, bringing EU strategy up to date with other donor practices. Although focused on the private sector, the proposed actions remain somewhat donor-centric with the private sector and partner countries seen as following a donor-led agenda. The added value of an EU approach appears unconvincing, given the growing range of Member States activities with the private sector. The Communication will be judged on its ability to facilitate local and EU business and jobs, requiring specific capacities and approaches, and coordination among governments, EU delegations, firms and Member States.

What EU comprehensive approach? Challenges for the EU Action Plan and beyond

by Fernanda Faria 17 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This paper contextualizes the EU debate on the Comprehensive Approach, and gives an overview of recent analysis of the challenges it still faces. It also addresses the diverse understanding among EU actors of what is the EU Comprehensive Approach, and how that affects expectations for an Action Plan to provide more clarity on how this is to be implemented. It assesses areas of consensus and key underlying challenges for making progress on those areas.

Strengthening policy coherence for development in Switzerland: the case of food security

by Brecht Lein <u>@Brecht Lein</u>, Quentin de Roquefeuil and Jeske van Seters <u>@JeskeVanSeters</u> 27 October 2014 Link to the article in English

This report focuses on policy coherence for development for Food Security and, although tailored to the Swiss domestic policy context, it offers an overview of the status quo in scientific and policy discussions mainly at the EU and international level. It covers a selection of non-development policy areas with a potentially critical impact on global food prices and/or the food security situation in developing countries. The policy areas under analysis are: domestic support, trade, agricultural investment and speculation in commodity markets and biofuel.

## **European Centre for International Political Economy**

Trans-Pacific partnership: a challenge to Europe

by Matthias Bauer, Fredrik Erixon <u>@FredrikErixon</u>, Martina Ferracane and Hosuk Lee-Makiyama 2014

Link to the article in English

What if the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is not a doomed initiative – and what if it will actually make inroads into modern trade problems? The Asia-Pacific region is now the world's centre of economic gravity holding an increasing share of world production and promising a rapid turn into the world's fastest growing consumer market. TPP will change the competitive relation between European and American firms as far as access to this market is concerned, this paper says.

## **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung**

Free trade agreement between the EU and Vietnam: difficult partnership

by Rabea Brauer <u>@RabeaHanoi</u>, Vu Dang Tuan and Natalie Frey 1 October 2014 Link to the article in English

After Singapore and Malaysia, Vietnam is the third Southeast Asian country aiming for a free trade agreement with the EU. Such an agreement could improve the integration into world trade and positively impact Vietnam's economy. In contrast, critics fear negative effects for the Vietnamese agriculture as well as environmental problems. How could the trade agreement change Vietnam?

## Enlargement

#### **Centre for European Policy Studies**

The EU's enlargement agenda – Credibility at stake?

by Erwan Fouéré 31 October 2014 Link to the article in English

Despite the proven success of the EU's enlargement policy over the past few years, criticism within the EU member countries has grown. The latest Progress Reports present a rather bleak picture on the state of reforms in the candidate countries. Major efforts are required to maintain the credibility of the enlargement policy and demonstrate to an increasingly sceptical public that the transformative power of the EU continues to work. To achieve this, the EU needs to reinvigorate its strategy by adopting a more consistent and determined approach.

## Ústav mezinárodních vztahů (Institute of International Relations Prague)

Can the European public block the enlargement to the Western Balkans?

by Anes Makul 10 October 2014 Link to the article in English

Since the start of the global economic crisis, public support to further EU enlargement decreased significantly. Whether a turnaround in this trend will occur, depends on whether there will be changes in several main dimensions. The EU and its Member States, as well as the candidate and potential candidate states, need to improve their economic performances and provide opportunities and perspective to their younger generations. The political and economic performance of the newest member states, Bulgaria, Romania, and Croatia, is a significant indicator that can shape the public opinion on further enlargement.

## Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı (Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey)

Turkey-EU relations in the light of the 2014 Progress Report: same old song with A different meaning

by Nilgün Arısan Eralp October 2014 Link to the article in English and in Turkish

The 2014 Progress Report for Turkey, although it passed almost unnoticed, was published in an atmosphere of a new Turkish opening to the EU. It is worth to have a look at whether there is a sound basis for hope for a promising new era in in the relations between Turkey and the EU and whether the last Progress Report substantiate these hopes. Given the "ring of fire" surrounding Turkey, it was understandable that the report made few headlines. However this lack of enthusiasm regarding the progress reports of the EU has been the usual case in recent years.

### Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung (Center for Applied Policy Research)

Why the EU should differentiate more within the Eastern Partnership

by Christoph Schnellbach October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

This paper deals with the external dimension of differentiated integration using the example of the Eastern Partnership. A multi-speed Europe has become reality since the Eastern enlargement in 2004/07 and the European Commission of 2014-2019 will have to deal with the upcoming EU accession wave concerning Western Balkan countries. Against this background and due to recent developments in the Eastern neighbourhood, the EU needs to adjust its enlargement policy and this will be the major task of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

## Eastern Partnership

## Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

Building a lifeline for freedom: Eastern Partnership 2.0

by Salome Samadashvili 7 October 2014 Link to the article in English

The Eastern Partnership (EaP) Initiative is the bridge that connects Europe to the countries in its eastern neighbourhood. This paper argues that in order to achieve the desired transformations, the EaP needs a fresh start, focusing on different players, methods, and political technologies. Failure of the EaP to achieve its goal could deprive another generation of Georgians, Moldovans, Ukrainians and others in the EaP countries of an opportunity for a better life.

## Asia

#### **Centre for European Policy Studies**

Does ASEM work?

by Jacques Pelmans and Weinian Hu 14 October 2014 Link to the article in English The main conclusion of this paper is that ASEM works reasonably well, once one accepts the ASEM of today, although some inefficiencies still characterise the 'system'. There is a host of secondary conclusions on the three pillars, the foreign ministers, the strong government-to-government nature of ASEM and the working methods. The authors recommend that today's ASEM needs no reform and that not having ASEM would entail political and diplomatic costs. Relating to the last ASEM meeting, read also our blog post on the Asia-Europe relations.

#### College of Europe

The EU's human rights promotion in China and Myanmar: Trading rights for might?

by Nikolaj Borreschmidt October 2014 Link to the article in English

This paper, based on two case studies, compares the EU's approach towards human rights promotion in China and Myanmar over two time periods in the late 1980s and 1990s. It summons that EU's human rights promotion differs significantly and does not evolve when commercial and political interests take precedence over human rights concerns in case of important trading partners like China.

#### **Balkans**

#### Centar za demokratiju i ljudska prava (Center for Democracy and Human Rights)

Shadow report to the Committee on economic, social and cultural rights in connection with the consideration of the initial report of Montenegro

October 2014
Link to the article in English

Montenegro established a framework for economic, social and cultural rights. However, serious normative shortcomings and implementation gaps persist, ranging from lack of independence and capacities of human rights institutions, to ineffective means to protect these rights. Insufficient amounts of social welfare, as well as their ineffective distribution marred with political discrimination, are some of major causes of concern. Lack of personal documents and registered residence limit enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights especially of the Roma and Egyptian population. even concerning their access to basic services.

#### **Central European Policy Institute**

Mogherini's chance for true rapprochement between Serbia and Kosovo

by Vladimir Đorđević, Leon Malazogu, Milan Nič and Filip Ejdus 17 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

Although it will be very difficult to match the public hype of her predecessor's mediation, it is crucial for the new EU High Representative Federica Mogherini to revive the momentum to obtain meaningful progress in the Serbia-Kosovo dialogue. This policy paper lays out several specific options for the EU to nudge the sides towards cooperation and true rapprochement.

## Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations)

Gridlock, corruption and crime on the Western Balkans

by Peter van Ham <u>@Peter vanHam</u> October 2014 Link to the article in English After almost two decades of muddling through in the Western Balkans, external pressure and EU conditionality do not work, at least not efficiently and not within a time-frame that is politically relevant. The drawback of the EU's current strategy is that Brussels has become complicit with deceitful government elites, alienating ordinary people in the region and undermining its soft power. The EU should acknowledge its limits, both politically and financially. Without solid support for further enlargement, keeping up appearances in the Western Balkans will no longer do for the EU.

## Ústav mezinárodních vztahů (Institute of International Relations Prague)

How should we deal with the discrimination and dysfunction in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Towards a new European approach

by Tomáš Dopita 1 October 2014 Link to the article in English

Bosnia and Herzegovina's internal structure is regarded as discriminatory and dysfunctional. The process of European integration is stalled. There is an urgent need to increase both the top-down and the bottom-up pressure on local politicians so that they would pursue the necessary reforms.

#### Middle-East

## Österreichische Institut für Internationale Politik (Austrian Institute for International Affairs)

"Muslim Affairs" – Außenpolitik im Nahen Osten

by Cengiz Günay 29 September 2014 Link to the article in German

This paper questions to what degree the current crises in the Middle East will be reflected in the social, societal, and political dynamics of the respective states. It looks at the structural internal and external constraints in shaping foreign policy, and thereby also looks at the increasing importance of Islamic reference to symbols and legitimization techniques. The analysis looks at certain foreign policy impulses and initiatives that were started by some Muslim governments and further examines their consequences.

#### **Carnegie Europe**

The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: action without a script

by Richard Youngs <u>@youngsrichard</u> 21 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

The EU's understandable priority in Gaza is to contain further violence. But the Union also needs a deeper policy that addresses the roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The European Union must face the Islamic State

by Marc Pierini <u>@MarcPierini1</u> 2 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u> The Islamic State is posing an unprecedented type of threat to the West, especially to European states. The EU must respond by focusing on five key priorities: enhanced international counterterrorism cooperation, shut off oil production by the Islamic State as well as the routes that the group uses to smuggle oil from its strongholds to Turkey and beyond, focus on humanitarian assistance, political dialogue with countries in the region and the prioritize longer-term policy revisions.

#### Moldova

### Centrul Român de Politici Europene (Romanian Center for European Policies)

The export of Moldovan agricultural products into the EU. Proposals for rural development policies

by Alexandra Toderiță, Cristian Ghinea, Ludmila Gamurari and Inga Savin 31 October 2014 Link to the article in Romanian

This report is the result of research undertaken in three key sectors of agriculture in Moldova: fruit, wine, and meat. The report concludes that the access of agricultural products to the EU market is still limited and identifies the most important issue that limits the possibility of exports into the EU for each sector. According to the CRPE, the ENPARD resources received from the EU should focus on the newly launched National Strategy for Agricultural and Rural Development, and prioritize the funds so as to facilitate the export of the Moldovan agricultural products on the European market instead of practice the principle give-everyone-a-little.

In the same context this <u>short EPC commentary</u> in English by Alexandra Toderiță presents the impact of Russian sanctions on the agricultural sector in Moldova, and the EU's role in filling the void.

## Centrul Român de Politici Europene (Romanian Center for European Policies) / European Policy Centre / Foreign Policy Association in Chisinau

Moldova – Heading into a hot autumn

by Amanda Paul <u>@amandajanepaul</u> 6 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

This paper presents the state of play and the prospects of Moldova since signing the Association Agreement and explores the effects of Russian bans on exports and services, access to energy and trade as well as the role of the EU.

## College of Europe

A black knight in the Eastern Neighbourhood? Russia and EU democracy promotion in Armenia and Moldova

by Nicola Del Medico October 2014 Link to the article in English In an atmosphere of growing tensions between the EU and Russia, the fate of countries like Armenia and Moldova and their progress towards democracy are increasingly at stake. This paper tries to understand to what extent Russia is undermining EU democracy promotion in the Union's eastern neighbourhood and shows that Russia can damage EU democracy promotion to the extent that it strengthens the aversion of domestic political forces to democracy-oriented reforms.

#### Russia

## Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

Can you spare some food? An assessment of Russia's search for replacements of embargoed states

by Patryk Toporowski October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

By introducing a one-year embargo on the import of some food and agricultural products, Russia will have to substitute old channels for new ones on an unprecedented scale. With the exception of Belarus, there are few options to increase imports from suppliers close to Russia's biggest cities. Within the country's broader neighbourhood, China and Turkey offer some potential, whereas Latin America would be considered a more distant source for food. However, the change in trade patterns would have its price. Not only will Russia risk growing inflation but also it will increase its dependency on China, which can settle for good Moscow's role as a minor partner of Beijing.

## **Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)**

EU sanctions against Russia: Europe brings a hard edge to its economic power

by Kristi Raik, Niklas Helwig and Juha Jokela 21 October 2014 Link to the article in English

The EU has responded to the Ukraine crisis with a set of political and economic sanctions against Russia which constitute a qualitatively new step in the EU sanctions policy. The EU sanctions against Russia are exceptional and have strategic importance due to a combination of three factors: big power rivalry, the context of a major European crisis with global ramifications, and the costs of the sanctions for the EU itself. The EU has managed to maintain its fragile unity and has applied its collective diplomatic and economic weight in very difficult circumstances.

## **Centre for European Policy Studies**

Towards a fragmented neighbourhood: policies of the EU and Russia and their consequences for the area that lies in between

by Laure Delcour and Hrant Kostanyan 17 October 2014 Link to the article in English In the current volatile climate, the EU needs a strategy towards Russia that goes beyond sanctions. In reviewing the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership, the EU's incoming leadership should be more sensitive towards the existing political, diplomatic, economic, energy, and military ties between Russia and the countries in the common neighbourhood. After all, it is by exploiting these ties that Russia was able to turn this neighbourhood into an area of destructive competition – the primary victim of which is Ukraine. Understanding Russia's perceptions and being sensitive to these longstanding ties does not mean justifying their use by the Kremlin. Nevertheless, factoring these ties into the EU's policies vis-à-vis its Eastern neighbourhood is a prerequisite for more reflective, responsive and effective EU policies.

#### Tunisia

## **European Council on Foreign Relations**

Tunisia's elections and the consolidation of democracy

by Anthony Dworkin <u>@AnthonyDworkin</u>
20 October 2014
Link to the article in English

Tunisia is about to hold its first regular parliamentary and presidential elections since a wave of popular protests nearly four years ago forced the departure of the country's long-time autocratic leader, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, and launched the Arab revolutions of 2011. Tunisia is the only country where the aspirations of the Arab uprisings may yet be fulfilled in the near future. Even if Tunisia's example does not inspire any immediate followers in the region, the consolidation of a successful democracy in the country would be a powerful signal that reform and political pluralism are not doomed to fail in the Arab world. It is therefore in the EU's interest to do everything it can to help ensure success in Tunisia.

## Turkey

## Österreichische Institut für Internationale Politik (Austrian Institute for International Affairs)

Die Türkei und der Nahe Osten im Fokus nuklearstrategischer Bemühungen und nuklearer Abrüstung

by Hakan Akbulut 30 September 2014 Link to the article in German

This paper examines the corner stones of Turkish nuclear policy in light of global and regional efforts of nuclear disarmament. In this context, the paper highlights the Turkish position concerning the status quo and perspectives of efforts to create a WMD-free-zone in the Middle East and to settle the nuclear dispute with Iran.

## Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Europe as an agent of change: the role of the European Court of Human Rights and the EU in Turkey's Kurdish policies

by Dilek Kurban October 2014 Link to the article in English This paper looks into the evolution of the trilateral relationship between Turkey, Europe, and the Kurds over the course of the past three decades. Based on the current political situation in Turkey and its region, it argues that there is a pressing need for European re-engagement in the Kurdish issue in a coherent, continuous and critical manner based on a systematic political dialogue with diversified domestic actors.

## SPECIAL FOCUS - TRANSATLANTIC TRADE AND INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP (TTIP)

#### **German Marshall Fund of the United States**

Ideas for Europe's new leadership: a Transatlantic perspective

by Corinna Hörst, Daniela Schwarzer <u>@D Schwarzer</u>, Peter Chase, Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer, Martin Michelot, Michael Leigh, Ian Lesser, Daniel Twining, Kristine Berzina <u>@kristineberzins</u>, Tanja Wunderlich, Astrid Ziebarth and Susan Martin 6 October 2014

Link to the article in English

The change in Europe's leadership in Brussels offers an opportunity to assess the challenges the EU is facing and to formulate ideas for new strategies and policies in the coming five years. The transatlantic perspectives of this paper focus on core policy challenges for Europe that matter most from a transatlantic perspective such as the euro area, trade, security and defence, and policies dealing with energy security, migration, and regions — such as Europe's neighbourhoods and Asia. The issues at stake and how the EU addresses them either affect the US as a stakeholder, require transatlantic coordination, or offer opportunities for an exchange on lessons learned and good practices among the transatlantic partners.

## **Brookings Institution**

Transatlantic relations and security governance

by Riccardo Alcaro and Ondrej Ditrych October 2014 Link to the article in English

Historically, the system designed to ensure international security has its roots in the evolution of the European-centred balance of power into the transatlantic-promoted liberal order. Because the liberal order is so dependent on Western (US) power, the emerging multi-polarity undeniably poses a challenge to it. Yet, even the most restive among the non-Western powers, such as China and Russia, have a stake in its endurance, meaning that multi-polarity is not intrinsically incompatible with the liberal order.

#### **Centre for European Policy Studies**

Economic incentives for indirect TTIP spillovers

by Arjan Lejour, Federica Mustilli, Jacques Pelkmans and Jacopo Timini 29 October 2014 Link to the article in English

A deep, comprehensive and ambitious TTIP should not undermine or otherwise negatively affect the WTO and its signatories. The authors find that, of three groups of countries that are important for trade with the EU and the US, the 'closest' neighbours (NAFTA, EEA, Switzerland and Turkey) exhibit powerful incentives to align so as to benefit from positive spill-overs. This is less clear for two other groups. In terms of sectors, the chemical sector followed by electronic equipment are by far the most important, with agro-products and fish as a good third (SPS issues). However, in chemicals and electrical equipment, the TTIP negotiations so far, and recent US/EU regulatory cooperation, do not indicate an ambitious approach, which could reduce regulatory barriers to market access drastically.

The impact of TTIP: the underlying economic model and comparisons

by Jacques Pelmans, Arjan Lejour, Lorna Schrefler, Federica Mustilli and Jacopo Timini 13 October 2014 Link to the article in English

What are the economic and other impacts of the TTIP? This paper also compares the IA on TTIP with selected previous empirical economic assessments of EU trade agreements and with a set of alternative studies on TTIP itself. In reading the findings, two central caveats should be kept in mind that affect any analysis of the CGE model included in the European Commission's Impact Assessment. First, TTIP is a rather unusual bilateral trade agreement; and second, TTIP is so wide-ranging that an alternative approach, such as the so-called 'partial' (equilibrium) approach – already a second-best solution – would be totally inappropriate to the case under examination.

## MTA Közgazdaság- és Regionális Tudományi Kutatóközpont - Világgazdasági Intézet (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS - Institute of World Economics)

Visegrad 4 countries and TTIP

by Novák Tamás October 2014 Link to the article in <u>Hungarian</u>

The TTIP is perhaps the most important initiative of international economic relations in recent decade. This study examines the V4 region as a whole what to expect in the event of an economic impact TTIP

### **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung**

Political factors in the negotiations on a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership in the US

by Lars Hänsel and Jeanene Lairo 1 October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

For more than a year, the EU and the US have been discussing a TTIP. On the American side, the political calendar plays a significant role in the negotiation process. With regard to the next Presidential Elections in 2016, time is running out to seal an agreement. In Congress, the debate is controversial. What other factors determine the approach to and outcome of TTIP in the US?

## **Foundation for European Progressive Studies**

The future of EU-US relations: TTIP agreement

Contributions to the seminar organised by FEPS and its partners in October 2014 in Washington on the TTIP:

Departing from TTIP and going plurilateral

by Pierre Defraigne 10 October 2014 Link to the article in English

Dubito ergo cogito, Cogito ergo sum: can the creation of quality employment for all become the main focus of TTIP?

by Ania Skrzypek <u>@Ania Skrzypek</u>
10 October 2014
Link to the article in English

TTIP and the European values

by Sergei Stanishev 10 October 2014 Link to the article in English

Four political challenges for the transatlantic trade negotiation TTIP Towards contested multilateralism or a multi-layered multilateralism

by Mario Telo 10 October 2014 Link to the article in English

## **Progressive Policy Institute**

Exporting US natural gas: the benefits outweigh the risks

by Derrick Freeman <u>@derrfreeman</u> October 2014 Link to the article in <u>English</u>

In a remarkably brief period, America has become awash in oil and natural gas. According to the US Energy Information Agency it has surpassed Russia as the world's leading energy superpower, producing more oil and natural gas combined than any other country. This newfound abundance has turned old assumptions about US energy scarcity and security on their head. For the first time since the energy crisis of the 1970s, there is mounting pressure—both domestically and abroad—for the US to once again become a major energy exporter.

## **REGARDS CROISÉS**

## A European view on Belgian politics...

## **Foundation for European Progressive Studies**

The new Belgian government torn between neoliberalism and asymmetry

by Bruno Liebhaberg <a href="mailto:@BrunoLiebhaberg">@BrunoLiebhaberg</a>
21 October 2014

Link to the article in English and in French

Bruno Liebhaberg analyses in this article the new Belgian government described by some as "kamikaze" for its fragility. The new federal government is based on an unprecedented coalition between the French-speaking liberal party and the three Flemish parties in power in their Region. The socialists will constitute the backbone of the federal opposition and have a unique opportunity to initiate an essential work of ideological and programme deepening and renewal.

## A French view on German politics...

## Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Alternative für Deutschland (AfD): un parti populiste de droite?

by Marcel Lewandowsky <u>@mlewandowsky</u> October 2014 Link to the article in <u>French</u>

The AFD - "Alternative for Germany" - is a new party in the German political landscape. Nearly a year and a half after its creation, it is the receptacle of various conservative and liberal trends. The construction of its programme regularly raises appearances of many controversial positions held either by groups or personalities who constitute the image of the party.

An interesting view on think tanks by a think tank...

### Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

Ideas locales que viajan en inglés: análisis de redes de think-tanks en Twitter

by Juan Antonio Sánchez and Juan Pizarro Miranda 28 October 2014 Link to the article in Spanish

This study analyses the networks of relationships between think-tanks, to better understand their nature and behaviour in a global reality. The exploratory study has used data collected from Twitter.