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## THINK TANK REVIEW

Issue 7  
October 2013

Dear Readers,

Welcome back to the **Think Tank Review** compiled by the Council Library\*. Issue 7 of the Review is a thick one as it references papers published in July, August and September 2013. As usual, we provide the link to the full text and a short abstract.

This issue illustrates well the strong link between think tanks and policy-making, with think tanks hosting papers by office-holders or referring directly to the proceedings of institutional fora such as the [European Council](#) or the informal ECOFIN Council. A case in point is the increasing volume of analysis on defence matters being delivered with a view to the December 2013 European Council; on this we included papers raising compelling operational issues for example on the use of drones.

While - predictably - the attention to economic governance persists, many papers reflect a keen interest in neighbouring and not-so-neighbouring Member States, as testified for example by a joint analysis of hispano-polish relations, by French think tanks hosting German authors or by the Swedish look at the current Lithuanian presidency of the Council in our *Regards croisés* section. Brussels-based think tanks also look at national developments with an impact on EU relations, for example in the Netherlands, the Baltic states, Germany and Luxembourg.

With the European Parliament elections set for May 2014, analyses are beginning to cluster around the civic and institutional challenges of the first post-Lisbon parliamentary term.

In the External Relations section, we feature a special focus on the Eastern Partnership in the wake of the Vilnius Summit in [November](#), with general review papers and more specific ones looking at relations with Russia, Belarus, the Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia and Azerbajdjan. We also include publications looking at the EU/US Trade negotiations from both sides of the Atlantic.

For the next TTR we will go back to a monthly schedule, so expect it in your mailbox around mid-November.

As always, we value feedback from our readers. You can reach us at [central.library@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:central.library@consilium.europa.eu)

The current Review and past issues can be downloaded from the [Intranet](#) of General Secretariat of the Council or requested to the Library.

For our readers from outside the General Secretariat: the Central Library can be found at JL 02 GH, Rue de la Loi 175, 1048 Brussels. It is open to Council officials, staff of other EU institutions and Permanent representations, but members of the public may access it for research purposes by appointment.

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## SECTION 1 - EU INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICS

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### **Non-Community European spending: a little known yet substantial reality**

by Amélie Barbier-Gauchard

3 September 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

'Non-Community European spending' (€7.7 billion in 2011, primarily concentrated in the areas of research and development, competitiveness and innovation, but also in external relations) testifies to certain member states' wish to overcome the political hurdles that can exist within the EU.

### ***European economy / National economies***

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **The way out of the Cyprus economic crisis**

by Andreas Theophanous

10 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

The president of the Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs, Andreas Theophanous, sees only two ways out of the crisis for Cyprus: a Marshall plan with emergency liquidity assistance, or a possible temporary exit of Cyprus from the euro area.

BRUEGEL

### **The euro area's tightrope walk: debt and competitiveness in Italy and Spain**

by Zsolt Darvas

3 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Analysing the impact of various inflation scenarios on public debt sustainability in Italy and Spain, the author argues that the case for a primary budget surplus greater than 5% is very weak. He also argues that euro area inflation not below the 2% target would weaken the euro exchange rate, thereby facilitating further intra-euro adjustment.

### **Sovereign debt and its restructuring framework in the euro area**

by Ashoka Mody

12 August 2013

[link to the article](#)

The author argues for a debt-equity swap at the level of sovereign debt: sovereign debt should be recognised as equity (a residual claim on the sovereign) and the debt burden automatically lowered upon the breach of contractually-specified thresholds.

### **Banking system soundness is the key to more SME financing**

by Zsolt Darvas

15 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Without repairing bank balance sheets and resuming economic growth, initiatives to help SMEs get access to finance will have limited success. The ECB can foster bank recapitalisation by performing in the toughest possible way the asset quality review before it takes over the single supervisory role.

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

### **Financial Reforms: progress or degeneration?**

by Hubert Rodarie

18 July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The author makes a rather negative assessment of the reforms implemented in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, arguing that accounting standards and prudential regulations have failed to change market complexity and actor's risk-gauging behaviour.

POLICY NETWORK

### **Politics in the Austerity State: Policy Straitjackets, Electoral Promises & Ideological Space in Crisis Europe**

by Olaf Cramme

11 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

With policymakers locked into policy 'straitjackets' brought about by globalisation, EU monetary union, and debt, a majority of Europeans appear to have accommodated themselves with this new settlement, voting for pragmatism and credibility over big ideological promises. Sharper political dividing lines can be drawn if parties highlight their discretionary spending choices rather than positioning on an austerity vs. growth divide.

### **Coordination in place of integration? Economic governance in a non-federal EU**

by Renaud Thillaye

24 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Neither EU governments or citizens are ready to pool further sovereignty and resources as a way to strengthen the common currency and to improve the EU's delivering capacity. As a result, more attention needs to be paid to how the imbalances threatening the stability of the EU and its cohesion objective could be addressed within the existing boundaries of EU treaties, integrating wage and social developments into the EU supervision frameworks.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **The future of Europe's economy: Disaster or deliverance?**

by Paul De Grauwe, George Magnus, Thomas Mayer and Holger Schmieding

18 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Four leading economists give widely divergent diagnoses of the Eurozone's problems and very different policy prescriptions. The EU's future could depend upon which is right.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### **A German model for Europe?**

by Sebastian Dullien

1 July 2013

[link to the article](#)



Germany's growth, current account surplus and low unemployment are the product of a combination of nominal wage restraint, supported by labour market reforms, but also of severe spending restraints on research and development and education. The author argues that generalising Germany's example would erode technological progress and aggravate deflationary pressures.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **The Greek Debt Restructuring: An Autopsy**

by Jeromin Zettelmeyer, Christoph Trebesch and Mitu Gulati  
August 2013

[link to the article](#)

The Greek debt restructuring of 2012 achieved very large debt relief with minimal financial disruption, using a combination of new legal techniques, exceptionally large cash incentives, and official sector pressure on key creditors. The authors argue that it did so at a cost. The timing and design of the restructuring left money on the table from the perspective of Greece, created a large risk for European taxpayers, and set precedents - particularly in its very generous treatment of holdout creditors - that are likely to make future debt restructurings in Europe more difficult.

BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG

### **The European Added Value of EU Spending: Can the EU Help its Member States to Save Money?**

July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The *Stiftung* argues that transferral of policies to the EU level actually saves national governments money. The added value calculation was applied to agricultural policy, which is already communitarised, as well as to foreign policy and defence.

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

### **De nouveaux abandons de souveraineté ne permettront pas non plus de sauver l'euro**

by Fritz W. Scharpf

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (in French)

In this paper for the Paris office of the *Friederich Ebert Stiftung*, the former director of the Max Planck Institute argue that, contrary to the apparent consensus in Germany, further EU integration alone is not sufficient to tackle the crisis: the obsession with austerity also needs to be abandoned.

## **EMU**

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **Blueprint for a Cyclical Shock Insurance in the euro area**

by Henrik Enderlein, Jann Spiess and Lucas Guttenberg

27 September 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

This study presents the idea of a cyclical stabilization insurance fund, arguing that it could be a solution to the problem of business cycle mismatches in the euro area. The authors also contrast their proposal with some other proposals currently discussed, such as an unemployment insurance scheme. Finally, the authors run a simulation on how this scheme would have operated had it been in place during the first fifteen years of EMU.

### **Eurozone and democracy(ies): a misleading debate**

by Yves Bertoncini

18 July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The author reviews the implication of the crisis on democracy and legitimacy in the EU, arguing *inter alia* that the democratic dimension of the euro area governance could be strengthened by a full-time president of the Eurogroup, a euro area subcommittee in the EP and more use of enhanced cooperation.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Economic Policy Coordination in the Economic and Monetary Union: From Maastricht via the SGP to the Fiscal Pact**

by Jørgen Mortensen

14 August 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper situates the TSCG in the longer perspective of the sharing of competences for macroeconomic policy-making within the EU. It argues that the fiscal compact is not a definitive solution to the problem of finding the appropriate budgetary-monetary policy mix in EMU. Furthermore, it may increase the uncertainties on the distribution of the competences between the European Parliament and national parliaments and between the former and the Commission and the Council.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Membership in the Reforming Euro Area: a Central-Eastern European Perspective**

by Agata Gostyńska, Paweł Tokarski, Patryk Toporowski and Damian Wnukowski

5 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

The authors point out that the CEE countries, including Poland, should undertake the preparation of a precise cost-benefit analysis concerning euro adoption, taking into consideration the changing architecture and situation in the eurozone. Poland and the other 'pre-in' countries should also continue the real economic convergence process with the EMU.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **What Role for the European Commission in the New Governance of the Economic and Monetary Union?**

by Roberto Cisotta

26 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

In recent years, the Commission has gained strong powers vis-à-vis the Member States in areas such as the oversight of fiscal discipline. Against the grain of the current intergovernmental predominance, the author sees the Commission as the last reliable driving force towards a genuine European project and a safeguard of the common interest of EU and of the eurozone.

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Three Options for the EU: Assessing the EU's powers in a true economic and political union**

by Teija Tiilikainen  
18 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

This paper sets the adjustments made to the EU's economic and fiscal powers due to the economic and financial crisis in the perspective of the treaty-based division of powers and democratic control. In particular, the position of fiscal instruments outside the common budget might become increasingly controversial. However, jointly guaranteed debt and taxation powers might jeopardize the EU's stability and democratic legitimacy if carried out in the current political and institutional framework.

### ***Social dimension of the EMU***

EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE

### **Developing the social dimension of a deep and genuine Economic and Monetary Union**

by László Andor  
13 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

In a paper for the EPC, Commissioner Andor makes proposals for systematic monitoring of key employment and social indicators as a way to boost the social dimension of Economic and Monetary Union.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **A social dimension for the EMU: why and how?**

by Sofia Fernandes and Kristina Maslauskaitė  
18 September 2013  
[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The idea of adding a social dimension to the four often mentioned unions (economic, fiscal, banking and political) is articulated in this paper, arguing that the case for a social dimension is even stronger for the euro area in particular. With a view to decisions to be taken at the European Councils of October and December 2013, proposals are made in the areas of policy surveillance and coordination, labour mobility, unemployment insurance, minimum standards and others.

### ***Banking Union***

BRUEGEL

### **The neglected side of banking union: reshaping Europe's financial system**

by André Sapir and Guntram B. Wolff  
14 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

This policy contribution was presented at the informal ECOFIN in Vilnius. It starts from two basic points: first, the banking system needs to be credibly de-linked from the sovereigns and banks should operate more across borders. Europe needs fewer national champions. Second, other forms of financial intermediation need to be developed.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **A Copernican turn in Banking Union urgently needed**

by Thomas Mayer

16 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Despite broad agreement among central bankers, policy-makers and economists that creation of a Banking Union is essential for the survival of the euro, progress in building this union has been slow. This is largely due to the protracted fights over which government will be the payer of last resort when banks fail.

EGMONT

### **What if the Next Financial Crisis Hits the Banking Union? A Call for an “If All Else Fails” Clause**

by Stijn Verhelst

September 2013

[link to the article](#)

The envisaged design of the Banking Union risks not being sufficient to deal with the next large-scale financial crisis. Therefore, an 'if all else fails' clause should be approved, stating that the Banking Union members can provide joint last resort financing to deal with a future crisis.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **Union bancaire : la position des caisses d'épargne allemandes**

by Georg Fahrenschon

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (in French)

The French IFRI hosts a paper by the Chairman of the *Deutscher Sparkassen- und Giroverband* where he makes a plea for responsible risk-taking and for bank operations rooted in the needs of the real economy and SMEs. Entrusting the ECB with supervisory functions, he argues, would require a treaty change and a careful separation of powers within the ECB itself. A single resolution mechanism should only apply to cross-border banks.

### ***European Semester***

BRUEGEL

### **Does the European Semester deliver the right policy advice?**

by Zsolt Darvas and Erkki Vihriälä

20 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

The July European Council euro area recommendations recognise a number of fiscal and macro structural challenges, but do not fully exploit the options made possible by the European economic governance framework, this paper says. One drawback is that the recommendations do not give enough weight to symmetric intra-euro area adjustments.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

### **Democratic Legitimacy and Accountability: The European Semester and the Irish Budget**

by Alan Dukes  
2 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

Recent European legislation has meant that the Irish budget will no longer be published in December, but in October, in line with other European national budgets. This paper considers these recent reforms to European Economic Governance and their implications for the Irish budget-making process.

### ***Growth***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Saving for Retirement and Investing for Growth**

by Mirzha de Manuel  
18 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

This report considers the potential to steer household financial wealth towards long-term investing, which would achieve two goals at once: higher growth and higher pensions. The report also considers prudential rules for insurers and pension funds and the potential to build a single market for less-liquid funds, occupational and personal pensions, with improved investor protection.

### **The Sovereign Debt Crisis: Placing a curb on growth**

by Anton Brender, Florence Pisani and Emile Gagna  
18 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

In a previous study the same authors explored the paradox of the public sector being at the same time the provider of riskless assets and the potential source of systemic risks. In this second edition, Brender and his colleagues argue that sovereign debt is in crisis not only in the euro area but also in the US and Japan, where the crisis is at present only latent.

### **Austerity: European democracies against the wall**

by Lorenzo Bini Smaghi  
10 July 2013  
[link to the article](#)

Bini Smaghi notes that democratically elected officials are loathe to take unpopular decisions that could jeopardise their re-election. Emergency thus becomes the engine of political action. As a consequence, the cure in the form of austerity gives rise to populist movements and endangers democracy.

COLLEGE OF EUROPE

### **European Integration and Europeanisation: Benefits and Disadvantages for Business**

by Joanna Dreger and Aimé Heene  
September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

This paper proposes a framework to analyse the benefits and disadvantages for business that come with the process of European integration, structured according to the logic of the four fundamental freedoms in the Internal Market. Recommendations for companies willing to Europeanise are made, based on an analysis of the regulatory macro-environment of the EU.

MADARIAGA

### **Reconciling Governance and Model. A Five-fold Narrative for Europe**

by A. Bénassy-Quéré, M. Aujean, J-L. Gaffard, E. de Keuleneer, C. Alcidi and A. Giovannini

August 2013

[link to the article](#)

Europe has revealed an instinct for survival under emergencies, but at the expense of a common purpose, say the authors of this paper. Seeking to reconcile integration with a more fair economic model, they have asked experts about their views on the future of industrial policy, taxation, fiscal policy, banking regulation, and monetary policy.

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

### **Entrepreneurs at the heart of economic recovery in Europe**

by Franck Lirzin

2 July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The role entrepreneurs play in economic dynamics and the creation of jobs is not acknowledged as it should be. They need the support of all economic drivers, but Europe has never been skilled in helping start-ups and the banking crisis has not helped in this.

### **Labour Costs and Crisis Management in the Euro Zone: A Reinterpretation of Divergences in Competitiveness**

by Rémi Bourgeot

24 September 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The formation of economic imbalances between eurozone countries from 1999 to 2007 has been attributed to a wage drift in the so-called peripheral countries, but the author of this paper rejects this. Instead, divergences in inflation are the likely culprit, this author says.

STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

### **Neuer Anlauf für die Eurozone. Drei Maßnahmen würden kurzfristige Risiken mildern und die Chance auf eine notwendige Vertragsreform verbessern**

by Daniela Schwarzer and Guntram B. Wolff

September 2013

[link to the article](#) (in German)

The new government in Berlin will have to act on three important planes, this paper argues: reforming German economic policy by liberalising services and easing immigration, agreeing to the Banking Union, and creating prospects for the 'lost generation'.

DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR AUSWÄRTIGE POLITIK

### **Investing Our Way Out of the Crisis? The debate over how public investment banks in Europe can promote growth**

by Katharina Ehrhart and Claudia Schmucker

August 2013

[link to the article](#)

The controversy over fiscal multipliers has sparked a new debate on the negative effects of austerity measures and a discussion of the need for more public spending in Europe. In this context, the idea of increased investment financing through public investment banks has gained momentum. The authors see a strong role for such banks.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES / INSTITUT DER DEUTSCHEN WIRTSCHAFT KÖLN

### **Smart Fiscal Consolidation: A Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Public Finances and Growth**

by Jürgen Matthes and Galina Kolev

July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Due to high government debt levels and the dangers of self-defeating austerity, smart fiscal consolidation measures are needed that foster economic growth. A thorough review of the relevant literature provides many useful insights, for example on the positive impact of moderate increases of public investment in education.

### ***Youth employment initiative***

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

### **A long overdue signal to Europe's youth: Opportunities and obstacles to implementation of the European Youth Guarantee**

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and German)

The introduction of a "youth guarantee" is long overdue in the countries of Europe. However, previous experience has shown that austerity programmes tend to conflict with plans to reduce youth unemployment in numerous respects.

### ***Simplification of regulation***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **The Dutch wish-list for a lighter regulatory touch from the EU**

by Michael Emerson

1 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The Dutch review of EU competences claimed that the EU does not adequately respect the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality. The government published a list of 54 points for corrective action, which Michael Emerson assesses in this new CEPS Commentary.

## ***Energy / Natural resources***

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **Energy solidarity in Europe: from independence to interdependence**

by Sami Andoura and Jacques Delors

31 July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

Solidarity plays a key role in a European Energy Community and may later be one of the drivers of the development of an EU-wide energy policy, this paper says. Notre Europe – Jacques Delors Institute is leading an in-depth study of the future of European energy policy based on a proposal made by Jacques Delors for a 'European Energy Community'.

BRUEGEL

### **Electricity without borders: a plan to make the internal market work**

by Georg Zachmann

5 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Three things stand in the way of the most straightforward European single energy market design, which would entail a European system operator regulated by a single European regulator, the paper says.

EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE

### **Risky resources – Time to frame an EU approach to meeting the resource challenge**

by Annika Ahtonen and Andrea Frontini

22 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Pressure on resources is growing and more must be done to ensure that they are used more sustainably within and outside the EU, the authors state. This is particularly in the interest of Europe, which is highly dependent on imported resources.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Deploying the Energy Incentive: Reinforcing EU Integration in South-East Europe**

by Alan Riley

8 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The level of dysfunction with respect to the rule of law and corruption makes it very hard to establish a pathway for accession for most Balkan states. However, the demand across the region for a sustainable, competitive and stable energy sector creates an 'energy incentive' that the EU could leverage.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **How to Fix the European Shale Gas Debate? Lessons Learned from Public Consultations on Unconventional Fossil Fuels**

by Agata Gostyńska and Bartosz Wiśniewski

14 August 2013

[link to the article](#)



EU Member States attitudes towards shale gas range from an almost unchecked enthusiasm to deep wariness, this paper says. The European Commission could become a lynchpin in making the most of the on-going efforts of the EU Member States and creating robust lines of communication with industry stakeholders.

STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

### **Shale Gas for a Better Climate? The US Fracking Revolution Challenges European and International Climate Policy**

by Susanne Dröge and Kirsten Westphal

August 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English, German and Spanish)

The shale gas boom has not spread beyond the US, despite improvements in CO2 emissions. It is questionable whether shale gas will be able to bring about a turnaround in global emissions as long as the worldwide demand for coal continues to rise.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **Energy and Politics: Behind the Scenes of the Nabucco-TAP Competition**

by Nicolò Sartori

31 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The clear preference expressed by the European Commission for Nabucco as the main gas pipeline project was expected to weigh in heavily, allowing the EU-backed project to easily win the competition. However, other factors ended up tilting the balance decisively in favour of the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline.

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE US

### **European Energy Security and the Role of Russia**

by Tim Boersma

17 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU and Russia seem destined to have a long-lasting energy relationship, but they are far from finding common ground on which to develop deeper ties. Moreover, in European policy debates, Russia regularly features as a welcome distraction from the issue that Europe is actually grappling with: completing its internal market.

### **Thinking Outside the Box: Energy Security in Europe and Beyond**

by Corey Johnson

15 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

This policy brief argues that nation state–centric framing of energy security is not the way forward. With China, India, and a lengthy list of other formerly poor countries now online as major energy consumers and importers, more global coordination and less emphasis on security is needed.

### **Natural Gas in Cyprus: Choosing the Right Option**

by Anastasios Giamouridis

23 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper examines the monetization options available to Cyprus for the significant resources of natural gas that have been discovered in its Exclusive Economic Zone. These options are analysed against the background of the economic challenges facing the country.

### **Managing Newfound Hydrocarbon Wealth: Macroeconomic Policy Challenges in the Eastern Mediterranean**

by Rozlyn C. Engel  
11 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

This paper considers the massive new gas finds in the Eastern Med, particularly Israel and Cyprus. It explores both the economic upside of the gas discoveries and the 'resource curse': new demands on institutions that may result in their failure; an internal adjustment of the economy that undermines the competitiveness of its non-commodity sectors (known as 'Dutch Disease') and increased vulnerability to commodity price volatility.

### **Natural Gas Export Options for Israel and Cyprus**

by Simon Henderson  
10 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

Recent discoveries of natural gas offshore Israel and Cyprus give both the countries the potential to become energy exporters. But the fields present technical and diplomatic challenges. Cooperation between Israel and Cyprus is likely an important element in each country's successful exploitation of the new-found riches.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **Can shale gas transform Europe's energy landscape?**

by David Buchan  
10 July 2013  
[link to the article](#)

The issue of shale gas sharply divides Europeans. With economies across the region in the doldrums, and energy and climate policy in some disarray, shale gas looks to some like a godsend. At first sight, it appears to provide competitiveness, security of supply, and a cleaner alternative to coal.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **Le tournant énergétique allemand: année N+2**

by Michel Cruciani  
July 2013  
[link to the article](#) (in French)

This paper presents the results of Germany's commitment to renewable energies that has taken place since the beginning of the century. It also analyses the challenges ahead, such as strengthening the grid and sustaining the cost of public incentives.

KIEL INSTITUTE FOR THE WORLD ECONOMY

### **Fracking, globale Energiemärkte und die zukünftige Klimapolitik**

by Ruth Delzeit, Gernot Klepper and Mareike Lange  
August 2013  
[link to the article](#) (in German)

The risks and opportunities of unconventional exploitation of oil and gas fields (including fracking) are intensively discussed in the public and political arenas. This brief seeks to contribute to the discussion, by comparative analysis of new and traditional sources of energy.

## **Defence**

STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

### **A Doable Agenda for the European Defence Council 2013: Three Proposals**

by Hilmar Linnenkamp and Christian Mölling

August 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU heads of state and government have made their December European Council a litmus test for Europe's commitment to global security and defence. Yet the summit's agenda is a patchwork of dozens of tiny bureaucratic dossiers that will neither get CSDP back on track nor impress anybody outside Europe, this paper says.

EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

### **Drones for Europe**

by Andrea Gilli

11 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU is currently at a critical juncture in the field of unmanned vehicles and drones, as MS need to launch some unmanned aerial programmes in order to strengthen their industrial capacity and thus preserve their security and strategic autonomy in the decades ahead. Some voices are calling for a clear decision at the December European Council.

### **The added value of CSDP operations**

by Hadewych Hazelzet

13 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Many high-level discussions within the EU have centred around the question of the 'added value' of the CSDP. In times of fiscal austerity, MS want to make sure they invest their resources where their impact is strongest. Resources and time cannot be wasted on a 'beauty contest' between organisations or instruments.

EGMONT

### **More Competitive, More Efficient? The 2013 European Commission Defence Communication**

by Daniel Fiott

September 2013

[link to the article](#)

The European Commission has released its 2013 Communication on defence-industrial policy. This brief argues that while the majority of the Commission's initiatives are not new, some much needed ideas have made their way into the latest communication.

**European Commission communication on the defence and security sector: towards a definition of strategic EDTIB?**

by Jean-Pierre Maulny

September 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The European Commission's communication on the defence and security sector is one of the contributions from European institutions to the preparation of the European Council on defence in December 2013. This paper seeks to explore what can be learnt from it.

**Pooling on defence research and development**

by Jean-Pierre Maulny and Sylvie Matelly

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

With countries unable to afford to buy the military equipment they need on their own, they have no choice but to cooperate, this paper says. The resulting pooling of defence R&D has the political objective of encouraging industrial consolidation in armaments at the European level and thereby creating a European defence technological and industrial base to serve the CSDP, although the MS all take a different view of this approach.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**Armaments duplication in Europe: A quantitative assessment**

by Valerio Briani

16 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Effectively addressing the issue of duplication in Europe's defence systems will require a considerable amount of political will and, more importantly, a far-sighted vision of the way to go, this paper says. Difficult choices will have to be made, and EU member states will have to invest in a complex exercise of coordination of defence and industrial policies and planning.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Rethinking Conventional Arms Control in Europe: A Transparency-Centred Approach**

by Jacek Durkalec

17 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Conventional arms control in Europe is not functioning as it should, which has led to a lower level of military predictability and confidence on the continent. There is a need for new thinking on how to restore a functional conventional arms control mechanism and update it to the current realities.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

**The trials and tribulations of European defence co-operation**

by Clara Marina O'Donnell

24 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

France's strategic defence review was met with sighs of relief in several European capitals and in Washington. Many had feared that Paris would replicate the debilitating defence cuts introduced by a number of European countries since the onset of the economic crisis, but President Hollande resisted calls for budget cuts.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### **Drones and targeted killing: defining a European position**

by Anthony Dworkin  
3 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU has not reacted publicly to the US campaign of drone strikes or tried to develop an alternative standard for the use of lethal force. As EU states seek to acquire drones themselves, and with the technology spreading around the world, the EU should take a more active stance, this paper states.

### ***Security / Justice and Home Affairs***

EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE

### **The Stockholm Programme: What's next?**

by Alex Lazarowicz and Yves Pascouau  
22 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper is a mid-term assessment of the EPC's 'Post-Stockholm Programme' Task Force. It is based on a series of workshops organised in early 2013. The paper identifies the key elements that arose from workshop discussions on inter alia migration, internal security, criminal justice, civil justice and the external dimension of JHA policy.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **The EU's Paradoxical Efforts at Tracking the Financing of Terrorism: From criticism to imitation of dataveillance**

by Anthony Amicelle  
14 August 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper takes stock of the wide range of controversies surrounding EU-US agreement on the US Terrorist Finance Tracking Program with 'dataveillance' capabilities. Following an examination of the project to create an EU system equivalent to the TFTP, the paper emphasises the fundamental paradox of transatlantic security matters, in which European criticism of US programmes tends to lead to EU imitation of US practices.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **The EU's Crisis Management After Lisbon: Addressing New Security Challenges in the 21st Century**

by Nicoletta Pirozzi  
25 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Is the EU's post-Lisbon crisis management model adequate to tackle current international security challenges at both the strategic and the operational levels? This paper examines the prospects of the EU as a credible security actor in the 21st century.

EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

### **Cyber world: site under construction**

by Patryk Pawlak  
18 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

The US has been seriously hit by the scandal surrounding the secret NSA surveillance programmes. The EU's commitment to defending freedom, democracy and the rule of law in cyberspace, and its unquestioned leadership in data protection mean it is well placed to play a significant role in the debate.

### ***EU Member States - European Politics***

REAL INSTITUTO ELCANO / THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Poland and Spain: How to Cooperate in a Europe in Flux**

by Kinga Brudzińska, Federico Steinberg, Salvador Llaudes, along with Beata Wojna and Paweł Tokarski  
11 July 2013  
[link to the article](#)

The lingering effects of the Eurozone crisis have weakened the European project as a whole. As a result, stronger and more effective cooperation between enthusiastic EU countries such as Poland and Spain is very much needed, this paper says.

BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Spain in focus - Spain's Party System. The Nobody-Wins Situation / The End of the Spanish Two-Party System? Vote Drain and no one's Gain**

by Francesc Badia and Oleguer Sarsanedas  
July 2013  
[link to the article](#)

Since January this year, opinion polls have been suggesting in no uncertain terms that the public has had enough of both the governing People's Party and the formerly-governing Socialist Party – the two main political parties in Spain, which have been alternating in office for the last thirty years.

STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

### **Katalonien auf dem Weg in die Unabhängigkeit? Der Schlüssel liegt in Madrid**

by Kai-Olaf Lang  
August 2013  
[link to the article](#) (in German)

Although the Catalan independence issue is primarily a national one, it has many European dimensions, this paper puts forward. And an escalation of the conflict between the region and the central government in Madrid could evolve into a political crisis that would reverberate through the economic, fiscal and financial sectors of Spain.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **The Baltic states in the EU: yesterday, today and tomorrow**

by Agnia Grigas, Andres Kasekamp, Kristina Maslauskaitė, Liva Zorgenfrei and Jerzy Buzek  
9 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Lithuania holding the rotating presidency of the EU Council of ministers and Latvia being invited to join the Euro Area are extremely important developments for the young and small Baltic states, which continue to aspire to secure their place in the European 'core'.

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

### **General Elections in Luxembourg: the end of the Juncker era?**

by Corinne Deloy  
26 September 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The Luxembourg parliament will be dissolved on 7 October. The resulting elections - only the second time early elections were called in the country's history - could see an end to the Jean-Claude Juncker era.

STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

### **Europe without Britain: Assessing the Impact on the EU of a British Withdrawal**

by Tim L. Oliver  
7 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

A withdrawal of the UK from the EU has the potential to fundamentally change the EU and European integration. On the one hand, a withdrawal could tip the EU towards protectionism, exacerbate existing division, or unleash centrifugal forces leading to the EU's unravelling. Alternatively, the EU could free itself of its most awkward member, making the EU easier to lead and more effective.

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE US

### **The Power of Ideas: Why Germany is so Different and What it Means for the World**

by Mark Schieritz  
17 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Neoconservative thinking may have gone out of fashion in recent years, yet it provides important tools to understand what drives German foreign economic policy and thus helps to understand why Germany is so different when it comes to economic issues, this paper argues.

BRUEGEL

### **Memo to Merkel: Post-election Germany and Europe**

by Daniela Schwarz and Guntram B. Wolff  
24 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Recent economic data points to the seeds of an economic recovery in the EU. However, significant risks remain and bold policies are still needed. There are three central risks, pertaining to competitiveness, banking security, and rising unemployment, especially among the young. Germany has a central role to play in addressing these risks.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### **The EU's silent revolution**

by Piotr Buras  
4 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

Calls for a substantial overhaul of the EU's institutions have become weaker in the last year. Comprehensive treaty reform is no longer on the wish list of the leading EU MS and is now the least likely option for solving the current crisis. Nevertheless, a silent revolution of the EU is underway.

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

### **Der lange Weg nach Europa: Kroatiens EU-Beitritt**

by Dietmar Dirmoser  
July 2013  
[link to the article](#) (in German)

The road to Croatia's accession has had a remarkable effect on the country, this paper says. An authoritarian state became a functioning democracy, the quality of the rule of law was improved, market economic structures were strengthened. But accession has been a project for the elite from the outset; a public debate was never held.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES / KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG

### **Exposing the Demagogues: Right-wing and National Populist Parties in Europe**

by Florian Hartleb and Karsten Grabow  
September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

Right-wing and nationalist populist parties have entered parliaments across Europe and some are even participating in national governments. What is remarkable is how they have changed their mobilisation tactics. While predominantly xenophobic in the past, right-wing populists now mobilise against further EU integration, and not without success. The challenges that they pose to established Christian Democrat and Conservative parties are analysed in this EPP-commissioned paper.

DEMOS

### **Backsliders: Measuring Democracy in the EU**

by Jonathan Birdwell, Chris Tryhorn, Sebastien Feve and Natalia Vibla  
26 September 2013  
[link to the article](#)

The EU was founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The accession process for new member states ensures that new countries adhere to these basic principles of democracy. But there are few mechanisms at the EU's disposal for ensuring that member states do not slide backwards and become less democratic once they are part of the Union.



## **European Parliament - Elections 2014**

EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE

### **The European Parliament elections 2014 - Watershed or, again, washed out?**

by Janis A. Emmanouilidis and Corina Stratulat

9 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Against the backdrop of the on-going crisis and taking into account the fact that EU-level political parties will enter the 2014 campaign with 'top candidates' for President of the European Commission, turnout could increase and support for Eurosceptic political options may rise.

### **The European Parliament - Why should I care?**

by Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Zuzana Novakova and Corina Stratulat

15 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The European Policy Centre (EPC) – supported by the European Parliament – took a stand this year against the constant lamenting about low public awareness and participation in EP elections by organising a competition entitled: 'The European Parliament – Why should I care?' Highlights from this project are in this report.

EPIN / THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Elections to the European Parliament and the trouble with vox populi**

by Sonia Piedrafita

22 August 2013

[link to the article](#)

Declining support for the EU might well be exploited by populist anti-European parties and boost protest-vote participation, which would pose a serious risk for EU decision-making and undermine the sense of common identity and any plans for further integration.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **The 'Lisbonisation' of the European Parliament: Assessing progress, shortcomings and challenges for democratic accountability in the area of freedom, security and justice**

by Sergio Carrera, Nicholas Hernanz and Joanna Parkin

9 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper examines the performance of the European Parliament in EU AFSJ law and policy-making from the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty until the end of the first half of 2013.

POLICY NETWORK

### **A New Promise for Europe: How the elections to the European Parliament can stop Eurosion**

by Olaf Cramme, Arian Meyer and Jo Ritzen

9 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU is gradually turning into a union of vague and abstract notions that risk ignoring the real social and economic aspirations of its citizens. Few attempts have been made to spell out an idea of progress that can capture the imagination of Europe's citizens. Populism and euroscepticism have never had it so easy.

SWEDISH INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Why the 2014 European Elections Matter: Ten Key Votes in the 2009–2013 European Parliament**

by Simon Hix

September 2013

[link to the article](#)

To illustrate what is at stake at the upcoming EP elections, this analysis looks at how the political composition of the current Parliament, EP7, has shaped EU policies. The paper looks at ten key votes that demonstrate the broad range of policy issues on which the European Parliament has power.

### ***Digital Economy / Digital Agenda***

LITHUANIAN FREE MARKET INSTITUTE

### **Integrated EU Market for Card, Internet and Mobile Payments**

25 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper analysis the European Commission's proposal to regulate Interchange Fees across Europe. The authors say there is no evidence that regulation of IFs would lead to reduced prices for consumers, and add that regulation of IF could lead to less competition and innovation.

## SECTION 2 - EXTERNAL RELATIONS

### *EU-US trade agreement*

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### **Ripping into TTIP? Debates Surrounding the Upcoming EU–U.S. Negotiations**

by Maya Rostowska

9 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

An overview of the debate on either side of the Atlantic reveals both sides' respective interests and suggests which areas will prove particularly difficult to negotiate. These include public procurement provisions, data privacy, agricultural issues, and the financial services sector.

BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG / ATLANTIC COUNCIL

#### **TTIP and the Fifty States: Jobs and Growth from Coast to Coast**

September 2013

[link to the article](#)

An ambitious Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership could provide hundreds of thousands of American jobs, benefiting every US state, this paper says. Such a pact would also increase exports to the EU for each state and industrial sector.

### *Arctic*

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### **The Global Arctic: The Growing Arctic Interests of Russia, China, the United States and the European Union**

by Juha Käpylä and Harri Mikkola

13 August 2013

[link to the article](#)

With exciting economic opportunities and serious environmental challenges, the Arctic is transforming and re-emerging as a geopolitically important region. Major global players within and without the Arctic are paying greater attention to the region. China, the US and the EU have also expressed their Arctic interests more explicitly. Arctic governance is also likely to turn more complex and complicated as the economic and political stakes are raised.

EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

#### **The Wider North - opportunities and challenges**

by Costanza Caputi

15 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The Arctic Council now includes six non-Arctic countries as permanent observers: China, India, Italy, Japan, Singapore, and South Korea. The High North thus becomes a new geopolitical hotspot. Not only is the retreating ice affecting the topography of the region but it also frees up access to abundant natural resources like undiscovered oil and gas, deposits of rare earth minerals, and shorter global shipping routes.

**Géostratégie arctique : les incidences stratégiques du réchauffement climatique**

by Hubert Fabre

25 September 2013

[link to the article](#) (in French)

Despite some technical obstacles and a hostile environment, a growing interest in the Arctic region sometimes puts powerful nations like the US and Russia, or trading partners like China and the EU at odds with each other. Indeed, the Arctic paradise has become a target for strategic tensions and claims, awakened and intensified by global warming.

***Iceland***

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Iceland and Europe: Drifting further apart?**

by Alyson J.K. Bailes and Baldur Thorhallsson

26 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Since 2009, anti-European feelings have been fuelled by the 'Icesave' dispute, while the prospective benefits of EU entry have been tarnished by witnessing the fate of other small states during the euro crisis. However, Iceland is becoming more rather than less dependent on Europe over time.

***Bosnia and Herzegovina***

HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY

**"Babylution": A civic awakening in Bosnia and Herzegovina?**

by Ioannis Armakolas and Maja Maksimović

July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Throughout June 2013 citizens of Sarajevo took to the streets to protest against the government's failure to adopt the Law on the unique citizen ID number. The protests represent the most significant example of social mobilisation in Bosnian post-war history. Others see the protests as a reminder that a cross-ethnic consensus outcomes is an unrealistic goal.

***Euro-Mediterranean relations***

MEDPRO / THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**Scenarios Assessment and Transitions towards a Sustainable Euro-Mediterranean in 2030**

by Rym Ayadi and Carlo Sessa

23 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper examines various possible scenarios that could play out in EU-Mediterranean relations over the next two decades in the wake of the Arab Spring, and offers recommendations towards sustainable socio-economic development in the region.

## Turkey

CHATHAM HOUSE

### **After the Boom: Risks to the Turkish Economy**

by Fadi Hakura

August 2013

[link to the article](#)

After a strong post-crisis recovery, Turkish growth slowed sharply to 2.2% in 2012. The country's growth potential will be constrained unless it implements productivity-enhancing reforms before the problems of an ageing population start to be noticeable around 2025. To avoid reform 'fatigue', it should focus on tackling the main bottlenecks to economic growth: the quality of human capital, and incomplete reform of governance and institutions.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **Crisis and Decline in Southern Europe: Implications for Turkey**

by Eduard Soler i Lecha

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and French)

The crisis in southern Europe is an important parameter for relations between Europe and Turkey. This crisis and the way it is being managed are detrimental to Turkey's economic interests and tarnish the image of European integration in the eyes of Turkey. Moreover, the economic and political decline of allies such as Italy and Spain weakens the argument of supporters of a renewed accession effort.

CARNEGIE EUROPE

### **Individual freedoms in Turkey**

by Marc Pierini

September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party has witnessed economic success and launched major reforms. However, the party uses increasingly authoritarian practices in the fields of freedom of cultural expression.

## Syria

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Syria and the red lines of international law**

by Steven Blockmans

4 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

As the US and its allies France and Turkey dither over whether or not to punish Assad for having used sarin gas to kill his own people, the crucial question is: What response might the outside world legally take without the authority of the UN Security Council, which remains blocked by two veto-wielding members, Russia and China? The paper explores ways in which international law might give way to a more pragmatic approach to punish the Assad regime for its use of chemical weapons.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### **The regional struggle for Syria**

by Daniel Levy and Julien Barnes-Dacey

29 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Two years after the beginning of an uprising against President Bashar-al-Assad, Syria is gripped by an ever deepening civil war that has a significant impact on the entire region. Regional states have emerged as driving forces in the conflict, while they are also battling to contain the impact of tensions rapidly spilling out across the wider region.

EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

### **Disarming Syria**

by Jean Pascal Zanders

24 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Since the chemical weapons (CW) attacks on the Ghouta district just outside Damascus on 21 August, political developments have taken several unexpected twists leading Syria to become the 190th party to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). Western threats of military force have receded for the time being. And while the deferral of international justice regarding the Ghouta strikes will frustrate many parties, the emphasis on disarmament may actually open up the prospect of a negotiated end to the conflict.

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

### **Islamists, religion, and the revolution in Syria**

by Mohammad Abu Rumman

September 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and Arabic)

At the heart of many post-Assad scenarios lies the question of how to deal with the different Islamist actors, which are currently fighting on the ground, and with the sectarian tendencies, which they convey and exacerbate throughout Syria. The paper presents the historical and ideological backgrounds of the Islamist movements, their public discourse as well as the links between their religious and political agendas, and illustrates the challenges they face at this point. The author suggests a classification of key agendas, which the different Islamist actors currently pursue, and assesses their potential impact.

## **China**

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### **Xi Jinping's China**

by François Godement

17 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Xi Jinping has re-established the primacy of the party over the state and is reinstating personal leadership instead of the 'collective leadership' that was thought in the past decade to be the new norm in China. He speaks in the first person, emphasises the greatness of China, and quotes Mao. Control is the keyword of Xi's style, and this leaves little room for major political reform or economic liberalisation. Moreover, he seeks strategic parity with the US while pursuing a neighbourhood policy based on China's superior strength.

FRIENDS OF EUROPE

### **Understanding China's foreign policy**

by Paul Ames

3 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

China is already a global economic superpower, but questions remain about the direction its foreign policy will take under the new leadership. Many are asking if Beijing's relationship with the US will develop into a privileged 'G2' partnership, or a confrontation over conflicting interests in the Pacific. Will a revival of Chinese nationalism bring a clash with Asian neighbours? How does Europe fit into China's world view? What impact will China's domestic challenges have on foreign policy?

BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Pensamiento chino y relaciones internacionales: dos miradas**

by Yan Xuetong and Qin Yaqin

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (in Spanish)

This document introduces us to the reflections of Yan Xuetong and QinYaqin, two of the currently major Chinese thinkers in international relations. By describing the link between Western theory and Chinese classical thought, both texts offer the keys to interpret the Chinese strategy in the international arena, the competition with the US, and its role as a global power in the twenty-first century.

## **SPECIAL FOCUS - Eastern Partnership**

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES / EUROPEUM / HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS / RESEARCH CENTER OF THE SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

### **Visegrad 4 the Eastern Partnership: Towards the Vilnius Summit**

by Alexander Duleba, András Rácz, Věra Řiháčková and Rafał Sadowski  
September 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper examines prospects for the further development of the Eastern Partnership (EaP) in the context of the forthcoming third summit to be held in Vilnius in November 2013. Topics addressed include the capacity of the EaP countries to deal with the EU offer and the capacity of the V4 countries to assist Ukraine and Moldova in coping with the EaP agenda.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Is Moldova Tired of Being the Success Story of the Eastern Partnership?**

by Anita Sobják  
15 July 2013

[link to the article](#)

Moldova's road to the EU remains murky as long as several variables remain in place: the ongoing tensions in the governing alliance, low public support for European integration, and Russia's re-emerging leverage via Transnistria.

### **Belarus in the CES: Advantages and Disadvantages of Economic Integration**

by Anna Maria Dyner and Natalia Ryabova  
30 August 2013

[link to the article](#)

Belarusian accession to the Common Economic Space (CES) was forced by two factors—the 2011 crisis and the necessity to gain cheap energy resources. Although Russia fulfilled its promises, decreasing gas and oil prices, Belarus is now feeling the negative results of the integration. The EU has a chance to influence the situation in that country, for example by supporting modernisation projects.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Putin's grand design to destroy the EU's Eastern Partnership and replace it with a disastrous neighbourhood policy of his own**

by Michael Emerson and Hrant Kostanyan  
17 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Pressure exerted by President Putin on Armenia to withdraw from the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement it has negotiated with the EU, and to join the Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia customs union is yet another move by Russia to destroy the Eastern Partnership, argue the authors.



CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

**Partnership in times of crisis. Challenges for the Eastern European countries' integration with Europe**

by Rafał Sadowski

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and Polish)

This paper questions whether the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership have in fact brought the EU closer to achieving its declared objectives in the relations with eastern neighbours.

**Eurasian integration. Russia's attempt at the economic unification of the Post-Soviet area**

by Iwona Wiśniewska

July 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and Polish)

The CES is still the most advanced integration programme in the Eurasian region seen since the collapse of the USSR. Progress in putting the rules of the Customs Union into practice can be seen as a success for Moscow.

**Big business in Belarus - its genesis, conditions and prospects**

by Kamil Kłysiński

9 September 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and Polish)

This paper examines the relationship between Alexander Lukashenka and the growing business elite in the country. The current informal agreement between the government in Minsk and big business has proved stable. Nonetheless, this could change should Lukashenka lose power in the next presidential election.

CHATMAN HOUSE

**Ukraine and Europe: Final Decision?**

by James Sherr

July 2013

[link to the article](#)

The Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius will be a watershed. The EU will decide whether Ukraine has satisfied the conditions for an Association Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area. Russia will play a role in the process whether it is accorded one or not.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

**Ukraine's Choice: European Association Agreement or Eurasian Union?**

by Anders Aslund

September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Ukraine's intention to sign the European Association Agreement at the Vilnius summit in late November 2013 has caused commotion in the Kremlin, which wants it to join the Customs Union instead. In retaliation, Russia has imposed trade sanctions against Ukraine in clear violation of its obligations in the WTO. The author argues that Europe, Ukraine, and Russia all share the blame for creating the current impasse.

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

**Armenia and Azerbaijan: A Season of Risks**

26 September 2013

[link to the article](#)

Relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia have been marked by low-intensity confrontation and have now entered a period of heightened sensitivity. Peace talks bogged down in 2011, accelerating an arms race.

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

**The Republic of Moldova in the Eastern Partnership: From »Poster Child« to »Problem Child«?**

by David Rinnert

August 2013

[link to the article](#) (available in English and German)

The status of Moldova in the EaP has yielded positive results and a number of reforms have been implemented in recent years. However, the EU's calls for reforms and financial assistance alone will not necessarily foster lasting democratisation.

**REGARDS CROISÉS**

SWEDISH INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**The First Leadership Test: What to Expect from the Lithuanian Presidency of the EU**

Margarita Šešelgytė

August 2013

[link to the article](#)

On 1 July 2013 Lithuania assumed the rotating presidency of the EU Council for the first time. It is a great challenge for a small state, which now counts only its twenty-third year of independence. At the same time it is an opportunity for Lithuania to rebuild its image on the European level from that of a newcomer to that of an experienced member of the EU.