



Council of the European Union  
General Secretariat

## Central Library THINK TANK REVIEW

July 2014

Issue 15

Dear Readers,

Welcome to issue 15 of the Think Tank Review compiled by the EU Council Library\*. It references papers published in July 2014. As usual, we provide the link to the full text and a short abstract.

This issue adopts a new visual identity, already visible since early July on the official websites of the [Council of the EU](#) and the [European Council](#), and integrated for the first time in the [Presidency logo](#).

On the substance, our special focus this month references a number of papers on migration, borders and asylum, one of them questioning the very notion of 'welfare tourism'. Others look at migration flows from the East into the Visegrad countries; we also feature three papers from the Washington-based Migration Policy Institute.

In June we also found many think tanks working on social policy concerns, as testified by publications from Germany and Spain on family policy and children, by a joint project on "new sources of cohesion" conducted in seven Member States, and by three studies for the Commission's DG EMPL on EU migration issues.

As usual, a lot of attention goes to the UK, both from the angle of the approaching referendum on Scottish independence and more generally on the UK's relationship with the EU. On the latter, we host publications by think tanks from different poles of the political spectrum, some referring to the latest reports of the 'balance of competences' exercise.

Several think tanks acknowledge the weight of public attitudes on policy, as illustrated by the Transworld reports on attitudes in the EU and the US in the context of the TTIP, and in the FRIDE paper on how Central Asia views the EU.

In the external relations section, Ukraine continues to be a major focus. The Cardiff NATO Summit is reflected in a number of publications by think tanks on both sides of the Atlantic. We also note a series of ISPI papers on Afghanistan.

The Think Tank Review project is growing: in addition to the monthly TTR publication and the detailed [catalogue records](#), the library team will start using social media to issue quick alerts on new and topical papers as we become aware of them. To this end, we are looking for a suitable Think Tank Review #hashtag; suggestions welcome at [central.library@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:central.library@consilium.europa.eu).

The Think Tank Review will be back in September, with what we expect to be a rich harvest of papers published during the summer.

The current Review and past issues can be downloaded from the [Central Library blog](#). As always, feedback is welcome.

For readers from outside the General Secretariat, the Central Library is in the Justus Lipsius building, 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 of Member States. Members of the public are welcome to use the library for research purposes.

\* 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.

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### **EU institutions**

#### EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE

##### **The beginning of a new political cycle: the results and consequences of a nomination summit - Post-summit analysis**

by Janis A. Emmanouilidis

30 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The EPC's chief analyst examines the fault lines in the process that lead to the choice of the next Commission president, finding increasing politicisation at EU level and a "power shift" that meets the opposition of many.

#### CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

##### **The rationales behind the European External Action Service: the principal-agent model and power delegation**

by Hrant Kostanyan

2 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This article investigates the rationales behind the establishment of the EEAS. Although the EEAS was designed to become the heart of the EU external actions, it has not been given a role of ensuring the credibility of the principals' commitments. The blame shifting logic that makes the delegation of powers attractive is only partially applicable to the EEAS. The efficiency rationale, which includes developing and centralising expertise, resolving incomplete contracting, minimising costs, and improving decision-making procedures, is pertinent to the EEAS's establishment.

#### EUROPEAN POLICY INSTITUTES NETWORK

##### **Euroscepticism vs. political pragmatism: the Finns Party tones down its criticism of the EU**

by Tuomas Iso-Markku

26 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

While many eurosceptic parties in Europe achieved historical successes in this year's EP elections, Finland's populist Finns Party was unable to fulfil its own high expectations. With the eurozone crisis at least temporarily subsiding and Finland's own economy struggling, the party has been unable to find a new electoral trump card. Facing a changed political climate and stiffer competition, the party is currently toning down its criticism of the EU.

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

##### **Eurosceptics in the 2014 EP elections: protest parties mobilized on national cleavages between globalization winners and losers**

by Sanna Salo

26 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The paper examines how eurosceptic parties have all appealed to 'globalization losers' in ways that differ according to domestic political contexts: in France, the *Front National* mobilized on themes of ethnic unity and national sovereignty; in Germany, the *Alternative für Deutschland* raised concerns over monetary independence in the eurozone, while in the UK, UKIP campaigned with anti-immigration and economic welfare themes.

WILFRIED MARTENS CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

**Post-electoral analysis: EP elections 2014**

by Kalin Zahariev and Roland Freudenstein

5 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A visual analysis of the distribution of EP seats by political group and Member State.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

**Imagining post-crisis Europe**

by Nathalie Tocci

19 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This is a project launched in 2013 based on Emma Bonino and Marco De Andreis' idea of a light federation. It seeks to spell out what a more federal EU could look like by delving into the details across various policy sectors.

MAGYAR KÜLÜGYI INTÉZET (HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

**Az Európai Unió globális környezetének változása a 21. század elején [Changes in the global environment in the European Union at the beginning of the 21st century]**

by Attila Marján, Anita Orbán and Zoltán Szenes

5 June 2014

Link to the article in [Hungarian](#)

The Hungarian institute's review of the geopolitical and economic environment, with a focus on the growing importance of energy policy.

## SECTION 2 - ECONOMICS

### *Member States and European economies*

BRUEGEL

#### **The long haul: debt sustainability analysis**

by Zsolt Darvas and Pia Hüttl

18 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This working paper details and updates the [debt sustainability analysis of Darvas, Sapir and Wolff \(2014\)](#) for Greece, Ireland and Portugal, in which the authors argue that countries can make a clean exit from financial assistance, or enter a new programme or a precautionary programme, depending on the sustainability of their public debt and their vulnerability to shocks.

#### **Undercutting the future? European research spending in times of fiscal consolidation**

by Reinhilde Veugelers

10 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The crisis has widened the gap between EU countries in public expenditure on research and infrastructure. The paper joins the current debate on the role of R&I investment within fiscal consolidation, arguing that smart fiscal consolidation should include an assessment of the longer-term social rates of return of investment.

INSTITUT FÜR WELTWIRTSCHAFT KIEL (KIEL INSTITUTE FOR THE WORLD ECONOMY)

#### **Globalisation and the future of the welfare state**

by Yu-Fu Chen, Holger Görg, Dennis Görlich, Hassan Molana, Catia Montagna and Yana Temouri

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

An empirical analysis of the effects of redistribution policies in a context marked by imperfectly competitive markets and countries' specific characteristics – e.g. demographic structure, institutional features of labour markets, and government's preference structure.

HERITAGE FOUNDATION

#### **Stimulus or austerity? Fiscal policy in the great recession and European debt crisis**

by Salim Furth

9 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report summarizes the most important findings from a year of research on fiscal policy during the crisis years. It confirms that spending cuts are less harmful than tax increases when reducing deficits. Tax increases were common in crisis countries like Greece, but were also common in non-crisis eurozone countries. In addition, countries that practiced fiscal discipline before the recession had greater flexibility and firmer recoveries.

## **Banking Union**

### SAFE - SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE FOR FINANCE IN EUROPE

#### **Curtailing capture through the European banking union: a note of caution**

by Cornelia Woll

3 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper details the public benefits of supervision of the financial sector at national level, in order to counter discussions that focus only on conflicts of interest. Based on an analysis of how financial institutions interacted with policy-makers in the design of national bank rescue schemes in response to the banking crisis of 2008, it discusses the possible benefits of close cooperation between financial institutions and regulators and analyses these in the wake of a European banking union.

#### **Im Schatten der Lowflation [In the shadow of lowflation]**

by Alfons J. Weichenrieder

4 June 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

Alfons Weichenrieder argues that the strong structural adjustment required in most euro countries could benefit from higher inflation differentials. He sees dangers in prolonged low interest rates for banks, life insurance and national debt.

#### **Monetary policy and balance sheet adjustment**

by Otmar Issing

17 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

In the wake of the global financial crisis that started in 2007, policymakers were forced to respond quickly and forcefully to a recession caused not by short-term factors, but rather by an over-accumulation of debt by sovereigns, banks, and households: a so-called "balance sheet recession". Though the nature of the crisis was understood relatively early on, policy prescriptions for how to deal with its consequences have continued to diverge. Issing gives a short overview of the prescriptions, the remaining challenges and key lessons for monetary policy.

#### **Forward guidance: a new challenge for central banks**

by Otmar Issing

25 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Forward guidance by central banks assumes that expectations can be guided by pure communication. Issing maintains that forward guidance has proved a misguided idea, because, to be successful, it would need much more (or rather better) information than is currently available. In Issing's view, communication must be clear and honest about the limits of monetary policy in a world of uncertainty.

### COLLEGE OF EUROPE

#### **A monetary union requires a banking union**

by Hans Geeroms and Pawel Karbownik

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This rather technical paper cleverly uses the Theory of Optimal Currency Areas to question in which scenario it makes sense to have a monetary union, and when not. It explores both the cases of "EMU-without-banking union" and "EMU-with-banking union", which is a work in progress. In addition, it has a political message: given the current *Zeitgeist*, a fiscal union is not likely in the foreseeable future. But although a functioning monetary union can live without a fiscal union, it cannot survive without a banking union.

## **Euro / Economic governance**

SAFE - SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE FOR FINANCE IN EUROPE

### **Der makroprudenzielle Komplex: der Prozess, das Schloss, das Urteil [The macroprudential complex: the process, the castle, the judgment]**

by Hermann Remsperger

30 June 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

An examination of the structure of macro-prudential policy in the EU, which the author finds overly complex, as alluded to by the Kafkaesque reference in the title.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **How to finish the euro house**

by Philippe Legrain

17 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A sharp criticism of European policy makers, based on the observation that the euro was supposed to facilitate economic convergence and foster the development of a stronger European identity, whereas the reverse is now happening. Legrain argues that policy makers have failed to address the root causes of the crisis and eroded the legitimacy of both national and EU institutions. The solution would lie in a flexible euro zone, comprising a genuine banking union, a reformed ECB and greater fiscal flexibility for governments.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **Alternatives to currency manipulation: what Switzerland, Singapore, and Hong Kong can do**

by Joseph E. Gagnon

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper examines Switzerland, Singapore, and Hong Kong, which have actively kept the value of their currencies low since the 2008-09 global recession. In each case, greater fiscal and especially domestic monetary ease would have achieved similar macroeconomic outcomes with less currency intervention and declining current account surpluses. If such countries had adopted these strategies to increase domestic demand, the global economy would have rebounded faster, says the author.

MADARIAGA – COLLEGE OF EUROPE FOUNDATION

### **Eurozone sovereign debt restructuring is unavoidable**

by John Ryan

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Although most EU and government officials of eurozone countries reject any suggestion of a restructuring of the debt of Greece or Ireland, the author sees forces working towards it. Public opposition in the countries granting the assistance, and the austerity demanded in return for assistance will in the end leave only one route open. The author sees the European Parliament elections as confirming these pressures towards debt restructuring.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**ECB policy and eurozone fragility: was De Grauwe right?**

by Ana-Maria Fuertes, Elena Kalotychou and Orkun Saka

20 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The authors test Paul De Grauwe's eurozone fragility hypothesis using a time window around the announcement of the Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) programme. The findings reveal significant contagion from Spain to other eurozone countries, but solely during the pre-announcement period. The authors conclude that in this case the OMT programme has succeeded in mitigating the self-fulfilling dynamics within the eurozone.

WILFRIED MARTENS CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

**The EU's reform cycle in focus: Romania and EU growth dynamics**

by Eoin Drea

10 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A short paper highlighting a fundamental shift in Europe's growth dynamics. While 'old Europe' struggles to regain economic growth, several of the 'new Europe' Member States of Central and Eastern Europe (such as Romania) seem poised to drive economic activity forward in the coming decade.

WILFRIED MARTENS CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES / EUROPEAN SOCIAL OBSERVATORY

**A model for implementing sustainable and qualitative growth in the EU**

by Sebastiano Sabato, David Natali and Cécile Barbier

2 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper defines a model for Sustainable and Qualitative Growth in the EU and makes a number of recommendations. It argues, among other things, for a common automatic stabiliser to be set up in order to provide a minimum level of EU investment across all Member States.

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

**Charting ways out of Europe's impasse – A policy memorandum**

by Francis Cripps, Michael Landesmann, Jacques Mazier, Robert McDowell, Terry McKinley, Pascal Petit, Terry Ward and Enrico Wolleb

26 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This memorandum discusses possible ways out of prolonged stagnation and low growth. The current trajectory can trigger renewed crises of political-economic sclerosis in Europe and progressively undermine social standards and well-being. Such an outcome would strengthen the forces that aim to dismantle European integration. The authors argue for EU social programs in lower-income countries to support improvements in education, health and other public services.

## SECTION 3 - EU MEMBER STATES

### *Denmark*

TÆNKETANKEN EUROPA

#### **Sociale ydelser og fri bevægelighed – fire bud på vejen frem [Social benefits and freedom of movement - Four bid on the way forward]**

by Catharina Sørensen and Bjarke Møller

2 June 2014

Link to the article in [Danish](#)

In this paper from the recently established Danish think tank, the authors examine from a Danish perspective the relationship between social benefits and the EU single market. Their recommendations aim at safeguarding free movement but also to make Danish welfare 'future-proof'.

#### **Danmarks retsforbehold i EU har overlevet sig selv [Denmark legal exemptions opt-outs in the EU have outlived their usefulness]**

by Bjarke Møller

13 June 2014

Link to the article in [Danish](#)

An overview of arguments in view of a referendum to abolish Danish opt-outs in the areas of justice and home affairs. The author argues in favour of holding the referendum as early as Autumn 2014 and claims that, despite current public opinion polls, a referendum could be won. To secure a yes vote, the government should however negotiate a partial Danish opt-out on asylum policy.

### *Finland*

ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

#### **Towards the geopolitics of flows: implications for Finland**

by Mika Aaltola, Juha Käpylä, Harri Mikkola and Timo Behr

9 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The report analyses transformations in global geopolitics and geopolitical thought, with a specific focus on global flows, global commons, and especially the global maritime domain. It investigates the dynamics in the Finnish maritime domain with a special focus on the opening Arctic region as a potential space of global flows. The report also discusses Finland in the world of global flows by rethinking Finnish cultural cognitions about the country's place in the world, particularly the metaphor of "Finland as an island". Based on this, the report maps out the ongoing transformation in the Finnish preparedness planning paradigm – including military and general security of supply – in the world of global flows.

### *Germany*

KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

#### **Familienleitbilder in Deutschland. Ihre Wirkung auf Familiengründung und Familienentwicklung**

by Norbert F. Schneider, Sabine Diabaté, Detlev Lück and Christine Henry-Huthmacher

June 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

Based on a survey of the notion of family entertained by the younger generations, this report makes recommendations for a more coherent family policy that recognizes diversity, supports family financially, allows more control of one's time and promotes active fatherhood and a 'caring society'.

## **Lithuania**

RYTŲ EUROPOS STUDIJŲ CENTRAS (EASTERN EUROPE STUDIES CENTRE)

### **The prospects of the relationship of Lithuania and the United States of America**

by Vilius Ivanauskas, Laurynas Kasčiūnas, Simonas Klimanskis, Linas Kojala and Dovilė Šukytė  
June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#) and in [Lithuanian](#)

The Centre's view on the future of Lithuanian-US relations, through a new transatlantic relation and the further development of already integrated areas. It contains chapters on Lithuania's positions on TTIP, energy, CSDP and cybersecurity. Among the recommendations, intensifying relations between the US and specific EU regions (in particular the Nordic countries) and a more strategic involvement of the Lithuanian diaspora in the US.

## **Malta**

TODAY PUBLIC POLICY INSTITUTE

### **Malta's EU story - How ten years of EU membership have changed the country**

by Patrick Tabone and Veronica Nardelli  
June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This discussion paper argues that Malta has found in the EU a community of like-minded states that has provided a coherent set of values, an incentive and a blueprint for development, and systems of benchmarking and 'peer review' that have helped the country to develop and prosper during difficult times.

## **Spain**

UNICEF COMITÉ ESPAÑOL

### **La infancia en España 2014. El valor social de los niños: hacia un Pacto de Estado por la Infancia**

by Gabriel González-Bueno and Armando Bello  
June 2014

Link to the article in [Spanish](#)

This report contains troubling data about the situation of children in Spain: 27.5% of children live at risk of poverty; school failure and dropout is in both cases above 23%. In addition, the report discusses another major problem: fewer children are born, so that in ten years there may be a million children less under 10. UNICEF believes that other scenarios are possible, and calls on the whole society to promote children's rights.

## **UK**

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

### **The condition of Britain: strategies for social renewal**

by Kayte Lawton, Graeme Cooke and Nick Pearce

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A comprehensive agenda for social policy from the progressive think tank IPPR. It is structured around three notions: spreading power and responsibility, fostering contribution and reciprocity, strengthening shared institutions. It makes proposals on families, the young, the elderly, exclusion, social security, employment and housing policy.

POLICY EXCHANGE

### **The global economy: prospects for growth and assessing the UK's position**

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A report based on a consultation of market stakeholders, moving from the observation that by 2050, global output is projected to treble, with two-thirds of growth coming from emerging economies. The report then identifies strengths and risks for the UK in the global competition, noting on the positive side factors such as language, the rule of law, commercial protections and Intellectual Property rights, an educated workforce. The UK is one of a fairly small group of countries which combine innovative clusters of SMEs and elite academic institutions, with a private sector adept at technology-driven productivity improvements and a flexible labour market. On the down side, the report identifies as risks mainly the lack of fiscal space for infrastructural investment, and the sheer scale of the UK compared to countries such as Brazil.

### **UK relationship with the EU**

EUROPEAN POLICY INSTITUTES NETWORK

### **British Balance of Competence Review, Part II: again, a huge contradiction between the evidence and eurosceptic populism**

by Michael Emerson, Steven Blockmans, Steve Peers and Michael Wriglesworth

2 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper is the second in a CEPS project entitled "The British Question and the Search for a Fresh European Narrative". It reviews the second set of reports released under the review exercise (also see our [blog](#) post). In line with the first set of reports, CEPS sees little or no case for treaty-based repatriation of EU competences. At a more detailed level, individual actions might be done better or not at all, something that can be negotiated within EU institutions. In areas such as the single market, trade, transport, environment, climate change and research, stakeholders perceive the EU as an 'amplifier' of British interests.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **The economic consequences of leaving the EU: the final report of the CER commission on the UK and the EU single market**

9 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A group of experts finds that, after leaving the EU, the UK would face an invidious choice: sign up to the single market's rules, with little influence on the rules that govern it; or be free from those rules, with less access to the market. The high degree of economic integration between the UK and the EU will always require some system of shared governance, argues CER.

*In a related article [Europe's dowry is not weighed in pounds and pence](#) in the Financial Times, 6 July 2014 (subscription needed) Wolfgang Münchau concluded that leaving the EU would ultimately be a political choice.*

CIVITAS - INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CIVIL SOCIETY

### **The EU effect: the impact of the EU on foreign direct investment in the UK from 1970 to 2011**

by Michael Burrage

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The second in a two-part series by Michael Burrage for CIVITAS. In [Where's The Insider Advantage?](#), published in May 2014, Burrage analysed OECD figures in an attempt to discern the trade advantage to Britain of being a member of the EU. In this second paper, he turns to foreign direct investment (FDI) since 1970 and a similar theme emerges. The author finds that entry to the Common Market in 1973 did have a beneficial effect on FDI in the UK, but there is no evidence that it lasted for more than a decade. In fact, the UK's per capita FDI stock has grown at a comparatively mediocre rate since the Single Market was founded in 1993. That of non-members in Europe has increased much more quickly, undermining claims that the Single Market has been a magnet for FDI.

#### INSTITUTE FOR FISCAL STUDIES

Two papers from the IFS on the potential consequences of independence for taxation, public services, and the welfare system in Scotland. In its [White Paper](#), the Scottish Government sets out tax and spending changes that it argues would lead to a fairer and more economically successful Scotland. The papers draw a mid-term scenario for Scottish public finances, compare per-capita spending in Scotland and the rest of the UK, and make forecasts for Scotland's public deficit.

#### **Policies for an independent Scotland? Putting the independence White Paper in its fiscal context**

by David Phillips and Gemma Tetlow

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

#### **Taxation, government spending and the public finances of Scotland: updating the medium-term outlook**

by David Phillips and Gemma Tetlow

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

## SECTION 4 - EU POLICIES

### Competitiveness

TÆNKETANKEN EUROPA

#### **Europa mangler at genskabe 6,6 millioner job efter krisen [Europe still needs to recover 6.6 million jobs after the crisis]**

by Mikkel Høegh

17 June 2014

Link to the article in [Danish](#)

The Danish think tank Europa estimates that it will take 10 years, at current policies, before we are back to the employment levels of 2008. To recover more jobs, investment would be needed, for example in the green economy. Reforming the internal market could help create jobs, even though the impact would rather be on the long term, argues the paper.

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

#### **Smart travel: unlocking economic growth and development through travel facilitation**

by Members of the Global Agenda Council on New Models of Travel and Tourism

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The Global Agenda Council on New Models of Travel and Tourism sees a lot of growth potential in 'smart travel': in 2013, destinations worldwide required on average two-thirds of the world's population to obtain a visa prior to departure. A 'smart travel' model, one that includes smart visas, smart borders, smart security processes and smart infrastructure, could revolutionize the travel and tourism sector the way the smartphone has transformed the telecommunications and media industries.

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

#### **Wachstumsbeschleunigung dank Investitionswende in Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa [Investment-led growth in Central, East and Southeast Europe]**

by Vladimir Gligorov, Mario Holzner and Sandor Richter

June 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

In Central, East and Southeast Europe, GDP is to pick up speed and grow on average by 2 to 3 per cent over the forecast period 2014-2016: a major driving force rooted in an upward reversal of public and private investment.

TERRA NOVA

#### **Entrer et rester dans l'emploi : un levier de compétitivité, un enjeu citoyen**

by *Groupe de travail "formation professionnelle"*, Mathilde Lemoine (pres.)

24 June 2014

Link to the article in [French](#)

In a context where unemployment remains high, the temptation is strong to see vocational training as the broom wagon of the French social model rather than as a system to reduce inequality and boost competitiveness. The proposals in this report are intended to improve the efficiency, equity, accessibility and readability of French training system.

## **Social policy**

DEMOSEUROPA - CENTRUM STRATEGII EUROPEJSKIEJ (CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STRATEGY) / FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION) / ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΊΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ (HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY) / EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE / ЦЕНТЪР ЗА ЛИБЕРАЛНИ СТРАТЕГИИ (CENTRE FOR LIBERAL STRATEGIES)

### **Social cohesion in Europe after the crisis**

by Knut Dethlefsen, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Achilleas Mitsos, Antoinette Primatarova, Radomír Špok and Paweł Świeboda (ed.)

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report firstly looks at the results of the survey carried out in seven European countries and reviews perceptions of the socio-economic model. Subsequently, it assesses the importance of the social dimension in the broader context of the European growth model. It discusses the impact of the structural challenges of globalisation, demography and technological change. It then reviews the EU's performance in the crisis. Finally, it makes a number of recommendations on how to bridge the gap between Europeans' expectations and reality.

*This analysis concludes the project on "[New Sources of Cohesion](#)".*

RYTU EUROPOS STUDIJU CENTRAS (EASTERN EUROPE STUDIES CENTRE)

### **Over the hedge: is the gender gap closing? Belarus and Lithuania"**

30 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#) and in [Russian](#)

This study compares Belarusian and Lithuanian women's participation in labour market and business. It analyses whether education systems are equally open and promising for both genders and focuses on existing stereotypes and family roles. The findings are explained in terms of Lithuania benefiting from a 'Western' path after EU accession.

## **Social protection and childhood**

RAND EUROPE

### **Social protection during the economic crisis: how do changes to benefits systems affect children?**

by Barbara Janta and Marie-Louise Henham

12 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report prepared for the European Commission (DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion) reviews recent initiatives designed to help families cope with the impact of the crisis; it argues that authorities are increasingly aware of how spending cuts on preventive policies may result in greater public spending in the future.

### **Caring for children in Europe: how childcare, parental leave and flexible working arrangements interact in Europe**

by Barbara Janta

13 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper examines how paid work and the care of children are reconciled by families in EU Member States. It analyses how childcare, parental leave and working time instruments are combined and used in a complementary way. It concludes that since parents prefer flexibility in reconciliation, the state should ensure that all parents have access to suitable childcare provision and are supported in their labour force participation.

### **Breaking the cycle of disadvantage: early childhood interventions and progression to higher education in Europe**

by Benoit Guerin

12 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The early years of childhood are crucial for the development of the cognitive and social-behavioural skills of an adult. This brief explores the evidence on Early Childhood Education and Care and its links to progression to higher education.

### **Education**

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **How to keep a competitive edge in the talent game: lessons for the EU from China and the US**

by Jan-Eric Sundgren, Christal Morehouse and Matthias Busse

13 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report draws lessons from the successes and failures in higher education practices in the EU, the US and China by comparing key education indicators and policy trends. Against the background of the shifts affecting the talent distribution around the world, the authors argue that it is important that the EU as a whole creates 'virtuous circles' of talent and innovation to sustain prosperity and growth.

### **Justice and home affairs**

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

### **Pluralism and religious freedom in majority Orthodox contexts**

by Effie Fokas

18 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The report draws on findings of a research project, under the European Commission/Marie Curie Framework, conducted between 2010 and 2013. The paper examines insights on limitations to religious freedoms in majority Orthodox contexts within the framework of a broader debate on state neutrality and religious freedom. The paper also engages with the way the European Court of Human Rights handles the concept of state neutrality.

### **Energy policy**

POLSKI INSTYTUT SPRAW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH (POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

### **A dummy's guide to forming an Energy Union**

by Aleksandra Gawlikowska-Fyk, Mark McQuay and Roderick Parkes

9 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper from Poland analyses the timing and substance of the "Energy Union" proposal launched by Warsaw in the context of the European Commission's Communication on Energy Security of May 2014. The PIIA sees this as a mark of Poland's growing influence in the EU and a sign of its capacity to navigate the increasingly complex decision-making processes in Brussels. It suggests to reduce the process of selling the Energy Union to the basics and work out how various aspects of the Polish proposal could be promoted by different political channels.

FORUM FOR RESEARCH ON EASTERN EUROPE AND EMERGING ECONOMIES / STOCKHOLM  
INSTITUTE OF TRANSITION ECONOMICS

### **Is cutting Russian gas imports too costly for the EU?**

by Chloé Le Coq, Elena Paltseva and Jesper Roine

9 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This brief addresses the economic costs of a potential Russian gas sanction considered by the EU. It discusses different replacement alternatives for Russian gas, and argues that complete banning is currently unrealistic. In turn, a partial reduction of Russian gas imports may lead to a loss of the EU bargaining power vis-à-vis Russia. It concludes that instead of cutting Russian gas imports, the EU should put an increasing effort towards building a unified EU-wide energy policy.

TERRA NOVA

### **Éléments pour une politique gazière européenne**

by Gilles Darmois

18 June 2014

Link to the article in [French](#)

This paper addresses in particular the position of gas in the European energy mix and the issue of shale gas, on which preliminary conclusions in terms of geology and economics can already be drawn. To strengthen the EU policy, action should be taken on purchase contracts, transport and storage infrastructure, security of supply.

### **La transition énergétique allemande**

by Christophe Schramm, Marine Girardé and Pierre Musseau

26 June 2014

Link to the article in [French](#)

The progressive think tank Terra Nova examines the German energy transition in terms of its economic, environmental and social sustainability. It makes recommendations to promote energy cooperation between France and Germany, contribute to the emergence of a common industrial policy, support an ambitious climate policy and avoid destructive competition between Member States.

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

### **Bolstering European energy security**

by Jesper Packert Pedersen

10 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper starts from the premise that when it comes to energy policy, EU national leaders and industries have resisted centralization and even collaboration, instead opting to fend for themselves and prioritize national over regional solutions. The result is a less competitive European continent vulnerable to energy disruptions and struggling to meet its own climate policy goals. The paper then identifies an often-overlooked, well-functioning model for cooperation, diversification, and security of supply: 'the Nordic model'.

### **Renewables in the EU: policy performance, drivers and barriers**

by Inga Boie, Anne Held, Mario Ragwitz and Fabio Genoese

16 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

An EU-commissioned study on the technology costs, barriers and drivers framing the diffusion of renewables, with recommendations on how to design support policies.

OŚRODEK STUDIÓW WSCHODNICH (CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES)

### **The eastern 'partnership' of gas. Gazprom and CNPC strike a deal on gas supplies to China**

by Szymon Kardaś

16 June 2014

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

In May 2014, Gazprom and China's CNPC signed a contract for Russian gas supplies to China. The terms of the compromise seem to be more favourable for China than for Russia. OSW notes that the advantage for Russia lies in the future diversification of gas export routes, which can be used as an instrument in negotiations with the EU. However, the impact of this instrument seems to be limited since supplies cannot be redirected from Europe to Asia.

### **Environmental policy**

INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

### **Environmental tax reform in Europe: opportunities for the future**

by Sirini Withana, Patrick ten Brink, Andrea Illes, Silvia Nanni and Emma Watkins

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This study argues that some European countries would accept voluntary cooperation and coordination on environmental taxes. It sets out some initial proposals to establish coalitions of like-minded countries in a number of thematic areas.

HEINRICH-BÖLL-STIFTUNG (HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION)

### **Resource politics for a fair future. A memorandum of the Heinrich Böll Foundation**

May 2014

Link to the article in [English](#) and in [Spanish](#)

The *Stiftung* looks at conflicts around resource use as a complex set of interactions between nature, human interests, power relations and cultures. This text offers a perspective which combines democracy, ecology and human rights and suggests fundamental ways forward for fair and sustainable resource politics.

### **Carbon majors funding loss and damage**

by Julie-Anne Richards and Keely Boom

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Fossil resources like coal, oil and gas are responsible for 63 percent of carbon emissions in the atmosphere by only 90 entities – known as "Carbon Majors". This discussion paper outlines the case for the Carbon Majors to provide funding via the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage, to the benefit of poor communities all over the world.

TERRA NOVA

### **Lutte contre le réchauffement climatique : peut-on encore sauver le marché du carbone ?**

by Pierre Michel

12 June 2014

Link to the article in [French](#)

Established in 2005 as the flagship tool for reducing emissions of greenhouse gas by European industry, the European Climate Exchange no longer plays a strong incentive role due to low quota prices. In turn, this is because the climate change policy is questioned, argues Terra Nova.

#### ***Development policy***

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **L'aide de l'Union européenne : du développement à la sécurité, l'exemple du Fonds européen de développement**

by Dominique Lecompte and Thierry Vircoulon

June 2014

Link to the article in [French](#)

This article reports on the evolution of EU aid, tracing its evolution from early investment in infrastructure, to what gradually became an investment in security. This generates difficulties and paradoxes in the relations between the EU and receiving countries.

#### ***Security and defence***

POLSKI INSTYTUT SPRAW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH (POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

### **Collective defence and common security - Twin pillars of the Atlantic alliance**

by Group of Policy Experts report to the NATO Secretary General

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A report by a group of leading think tank experts on the occasion of the NATO Summit in Cardiff. They argue that even as the scars of the economic crisis and the siren call of populist politicians tempt them to turn inwards, governments must reaffirm the value of the Atlantic Alliance, not simply as a mutual defence arrangement but as a community of nations that share a deep commitment to democratic institutions, open economies and the rule of law.

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

### **Managing the maritime borders of Europe: protection through deterrence and prevention?**

by Angeliki Dimitriadi

27 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Since the Arab Spring, the maritime borders are once more in the spotlight, receiving thousands of irregular arrivals annually coupled with an increase in loss of life at sea. The paper argues that there is still a long way to go towards balancing prevention and deterrence with protection; the focus should be on policies and regulations, rather than on an exclusive security perspective.

CARNEGIE EUROPE

### **Why defense matters: a new narrative for NATO**

by Judy Dempsey

24 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A call by former FT correspondent J. Dempsey for NATO to find a 'new narrative'. While Russia's involvement in Eastern Ukraine and its annexation of Crimea will not be enough to give NATO a new sense of solidarity, these events have highlighted what the alliance and its members must urgently do. It is time for all NATO countries to engage in a real strategic debate about why defence matters and what members should do to uphold the transatlantic relationship, argues Dempsey.

KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

### **The European Parliament as the "driving force" of the Common Security and Defence Policy**

by Gerrit F. Schlomach

19 June 2014

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

Schlomach takes stock of the 'parliamentarisation' of CSDP, which saw the European Parliament contribute to the agenda setting, to new laws, as well as to the parliamentary monitoring; the paper offers a retrospective on the seventh and an outlook for the upcoming legislature.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION SERVICE, EUROPE

### **Constructing the defense dimension of the EU - The European Defense Agency at a crossroads**

by Raluca Csernatoni

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This article argues that consensus is developing within the EU concerning defence and military capacity-building, as demonstrated by the recent policy initiatives and strategies spearheaded by the European Defence Agency (EDA). It remains to be seen whether such developments promote a convergence of national strategies, a strong European defence market, a European defence industrial base, and encourage Member States to spend more on defence, wonders the author.

### **Cyberspace**

FUNDACIÓN PARA LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES Y EL DIÁLOGO EXTERIOR  
(FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND FOREIGN DIALOGUE) / EGMONT –  
ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### **The rise of cyber-diplomacy: the EU, its strategic partners and cyber-security**

by Thomas Renard

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Cyberspace is today's new battlefield, notes the author. While Member States remain largely responsible for cyber-security and cyber-governance, the EU is building up its global cyber-security fabric, defining its domestic and global cyber-profile.

SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA

### **Network and Information Security (NIS) vs. EU Data Protection Regulation**

20 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Public trust in the Internet has been hit hard by a rise in cybercrime as well as international spying scandals. This paper refers to a [Eurobarometer poll on cyber security](#), which found that 38% of European Internet users have changed their behaviour because of cyber-security concerns: 18% are less likely to buy goods online and 15% are less likely to use online banking. The impact on Europe's economy of such change in public conduct has been enormous. To ensure an open, safe and secure cyberspace, two important EU policy actions stand out: a [directive](#) aiming at a high common level of network and information security across the Union and a comprehensive reform of the EU's 1995 data protection regulation.

### ***Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership***

CARNEGIE EUROPE

#### **Locked in or left out? Transatlantic trade beyond Brussels and Washington**

by Sinan Ülgen

3 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Many countries are interested in the TTIP that Brussels and Washington are negotiating. But the US and the EU began talks without devising a way to involve their main trade partners. This approach could produce a bilateral agreement that is difficult to multilateralize. To influence the negotiations, third countries interested in eventually joining TTIP should pursue an agenda centred on the accession mechanism, the elimination of non-tariff barriers, and dispute settlement.

TRANSATLANTIC ACADEMY

#### **The geopolitical implications of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership**

by Charles A. Kupchan

11 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This brief argues that a transatlantic free trade pact would have significant geopolitical implications. In particular, TTIP, by creating jobs and stimulating growth, would help revitalize the Western democracies and advance the prospects for the West's reclamation of political and strategic purpose. TTIP could, however, potentially have significant geopolitical downsides. The more ambitious and exclusive the 'club' constituted by the Atlantic democracies, the higher the barriers to entry, and the less likely it is that emerging powers will want or be able to play by Western rules.

EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

#### **Cities and the wealth of Nations: how can Helsinki, London, Paris and Stockholm prosper from TTIP?**

by Fredrik Erixon and Martina Francesca Ferracane

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The two major forces shaping the global economy are globalisation and urbanisation, note the authors. According to estimates, 80 percent of GDP is now generated in cities. This paper asserts that cities or rather global cities, more than states, are better poised to reap the benefits of TTIP, since such urban organisations promote processes of specialization and division of labour and are better integrated in the global economic tissue.

**Transworld Working Papers**

**Handing over leadership: transatlantic environmental governance as a functional relationship**

by Eugenio Cusumano

Link to the article in [English](#)

**The future of the transatlantic economic relationship: opportunities and challenges towards the TTIP**

by Davide Tentori and Myriam Zandonini

Link to the article in [English](#)

**To agree or disagree? Elite opinion and future prospects of the transatlantic partnership**

by Pierangelo Isernia and Linda Basile

Link to the article in [English](#)

**How do the others see us? An analysis of public opinion perceptions of the EU and USA in third countries**

by Stefano Braghiroli and Luca Salini

Link to the article in [English](#)

**The meaning of economy: US and EU attitudes towards economy in time of crisis**

by Danilo Di Mauro

Link to the article in [English](#)

**Attitudes towards environmental issues: empirical evidence in Europe and the United States**

by Darina Peycheva, Jana Pöttschke, Theron Delano Hall and Hans Rattinger

Link to the article in [English](#)

**Attitudes towards human rights and democracy: empirical evidence in Europe and the United States**

by Kristina Puzarina, Jana Pöttschke and Hans Rattinger

Link to the article in [English](#)

June 2014

This collection of papers has been produced in the framework of [Transworld](#), a project funded by the EU 7th Framework Programme and aimed at analysing the evolution of the transatlantic relationship and its role in building an architecture of global governance.

## SECTION 5 - EXTERNAL RELATIONS

### *Geopolitics*

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

#### **The EU as a global peacemaker**

by Steven Blockmans

20 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Reviewing the EU's track record in 'peace-making' since 1991, notably in the Balkans and with regard to the Middle East peace process and Iran's nuclear programme, Steven Blockmans finds that the EU has so far used the diplomatic instruments at its disposal in a rather ad hoc fashion.

EGMONT – ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

#### **Game of zones: the quest for influence in Europe's neighbourhood**

by Sven Biscop

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The whole EU neighbourhood is in turmoil, not just the East, notes Biscop. He calls for a comprehensive strategy, a return in some cases to the discourse of diplomacy rather than that of partnership, and a major game-changer: a rapprochement with Iran.

### *Countries preparing to join the EU*

ISTITUTO PER GLI STUDI DI POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE

#### **The Balkans approaching the EU**

##### **The ongoing EU enlargement and the public spheres in the Western Balkans**

by Luisa Chiodi

Link to the article in [English](#)

##### **Croatia in the EU: contradictions and challenges**

by Stefano Bianchini

Link to the article in [English](#)

##### **Albanians reboot transition with a program of 'renaissance'**

by Arolda Elbasani

Link to the article in [English](#)

##### **Serbia between the huge cultural heritage of the past and the EU integration options of the future**

by Stefano Pilotto

Link to the article in [English](#)

##### **Kosovo: beyond the 'Brussels agreement'**

by Francesco Martino

Link to the article in [English](#)

##### **Bosnia-Herzegovina at a stalemate?**

by Andrea Oskari Rossini

Link to the article in [English](#)

5 June 2014

This collection of short papers presents the progress by various countries of the Balkans (including Member State Croatia) on convergence with the EU. Despite the successful path, there are still unsettled issues that could slow down the process of European integration and make the region unstable. For this reason ISPI exerts the EU not to neglect the Balkans and to continue with its commitment towards enlargement.

## **Turkey**

MAGYAR KÜLÜGYI INTÉZET (HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

### **Törökország EU-tagságának vizsgálata a migráció kérdésének szemszögéből [Examination of Turkey's EU membership from the perspective of the migration issue]**

by Marján Attila and Szuhai Ilona

6 June 2014

Link to the article in [Hungarian](#)

An Hungarian view on the relationship between the EU and Turkey. This study reviews the developments related to migration in the context of Turkey's accession to the EU, in view of the recent readmission agreement, which can contribute to curb irregular migration into the EU.

ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

### **The end of the EU project in Turkey? Determinants of Turkey's EU bid under the AKP regime**

by Toni Alaranta

2 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Turkey's EU bid under the AKP government needs to be seen within the context of the domestic power struggle, whose origins can be traced to two opposing modernization alternatives: radical and Islamic. Within the domestic power struggle, the AKP has used the EU process as a tool to de-legitimize the secularist state elite, composed of the armed forces and the judiciary. FIIA considers that AKP abandoned its EU aspirations once it had consolidated its hegemony, and that there is very little societal pressure from the AKP constituency to continue the EU reforms.

## **Ukraine**

EUROPE'S WORLD / ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΣΒΙΤΟΒΟΪ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ (INSTITUTE OF WORLD POLICY) /  
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΊΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ (HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR  
EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY)

### **Tracing the origins of the Ukraine crisis: should the EU share the blame?**

by Alyona Getmanchuk, commented by Thanos Dokos

15 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

A paper by an Ukrainian author, arguing that when the EU made it clear that it was willing to sign an Association Agreement with Ukraine, Brussels took at least partial responsibility for developments in the country. Responsibility is not of course the same as blame, and the EU can be blamed for only one thing; it overestimated the European aspirations of the Ukrainian government at that time, and underestimated the anti-European Russian authorities' plans for Ukraine.

### **The Ukraine crisis and control of weapons of mass destruction**

by Oliver Meier

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Russia's annexation of Crimea will make it harder for Germany to achieve its disarmament and non-proliferation objectives, argues Meier. Joint action by Russia and the US to reduce their strategic nuclear arsenals appears unlikely in the medium term. While existing nuclear arms control agreements have not thus far been openly called into question, they may yet become consumed by the ongoing Ukraine crisis. In order to prevent a further weakening of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Germany can emphasise the value of security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon states.

### **Partnership plus: on the future of the NATO-Ukraine relationship**

by Markus Kaim

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The aftermath of the political turmoil in February and the Russian annexation of Crimea in March leave Ukraine politically, economically and militarily weakened. A lack of cohesion within Ukrainian society and centrifugal forces in its regions only serve to complicate matters even more. The country will require foreign assistance, not least in guarding its territorial integrity and political sovereignty. Here SWP sees an important role for NATO. It is currently unclear what thoughts should guide the Alliance as it realigns its relationship with Ukraine.

ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

### **Divided stands the Visegrad? The V4 have been united towards the Ukraine crisis but remain split concerning Russia**

by András Rác

24 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The Ukraine crisis has been perceived as a direct security risk by the Visegrad countries, in terms of military security, a threat to energy supply, and the influx of refugees. These factors have led the Visegrad states to show unprecedented unity and activism in addressing the crisis. However, FIIA sees the group divided on sanctions against Russia, mainly because Russia does not pose a direct military threat to the region. Consequently the individual policies of the Visegrad countries towards Russia are defined by a constellation of geopolitical concerns, normative motivations, business interests and domestic political ambitions, which are decidedly different in all four cases.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **The crisis in Ukraine: an insider's view**

by Oleg Grytasienko

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#), in [French](#) and in [Russian](#)

This paper by former Ukraine diplomat Grytasienko examines the Ukraine crisis from an insider's perspective, and challenges the current popular view of a country divided between a pro-Ukrainian Centre and West, and a pro-Russian South-East. This view, he says, will become a relic of the past, as the range of political opinions in the regions will become more complicated. We should expect the emergence of Poroshenko's own party, and the United Opposition will certainly be split between a pragmatic wing supportive of Poroshenko, and a populist wing that remains loyal to Tymoshenko, the author predicts. This shift could lead to further political destabilisation.

INSTYTUT SOBIESKIEGO (SOBIESKI INSTITUTE)

### **O geoeconomii konfliktu ukraińskiego**

by Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse

June 2014

Link to the article in [Polish](#)

A sharp critique by the Sobieski Institute of the lack of an EU policy to confront major geopolitical crises; the paper calls for awareness of the reality of disorder in our part of the world, despite the end of the Cold War, the collapse of ideologies and decades of peaceful European integration.

### ***Russia and Eastern Europe***

BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **A new Russian conservatism: domestic roots and repercussions for Europe**

by Andrey Makarychev and Alexandra Yatsyk

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Some constituencies in Europe are attentive to Putin's conservatism, mostly far right groups and nationalist parties. CIDOB sees in this newly discovered conservative ideology the essence of Russia's soft power. Kremlin's negative portrayal of Europe is strongly marked by the ideology of conservatism that appears the most instrumental tool for recreating a pro-Putin majority, solidified by the denial of the European norms of tolerance and diversity of cultural lifestyles.

RYTU EUROPOS STUDIJŲ CENTRAS (EASTERN EUROPE STUDIES CENTRE)

### **EU and Russia relations after Crimea: red lines for "business as usual".**

by Marius Laurinavičius, Laurynas Kasčiūnas, Vytautas Keršanskas and Linas Kojala

18 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The Lithuanian think tank notes that the Ukraine crisis not only undermined the principles of territorial inviolability and self-determination of states, but also forced a rethinking of the security situation in Europe. It argues that Russia can expect a repeat of the scenario of 2008, due to the divergent positions of EU members with respect to the future relationship model with Russia: while Central and Eastern Europe speak about the necessity for a 'containment' policy, the major EU countries take the 'engagement' approach.

ÖSTERREICHISCHE INSTITUT FÜR INTERNATIONALE POLITIK (AUSTRIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

### **Ein neuer Kalter Krieg?**

by Heinz Gärtner

June 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

Hawks in the USA and Europe suggest a new containment policy towards Russia according to the Cold War model. However, Gärtner notes how the conditions are different today. The communist-capitalist divide is gone, there are no deep seated ideologies anymore, the world has developed common norms, rules and institutions, emerging powers do not accept rigid spheres of influence. On the Ukraine crisis, the author favours a solution that can save face for Ukraine, the West and Russia. Sanctions will not solve the problem. The author identifies a possible model in the arrangements found for Austria, a member of the EU but not a NATO member. Also, free trade agreements concluded by Ukraine with different actors have to be compatible.

LSE IDEAS

### **The geopolitics of Eurasian economic integration**

by David Cadier (ed.)

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report from the Centre for international affairs of the London School of Economics finds that the Ukraine crisis has accelerated the regional competition between Russia and the EU and has changed its nature. It examines the motivations and pressures on each Eurasian state over which power to follow, the EU or Russia. It analyses the internal factors that mediate and complicate this choice and cites divisive domestic politics, separatism, structural dependencies, and the economic and political calculations of local actors as the key elements in these countries' choices.

### **Moldova**

SLOVAK ATLANTIC COMMISSION

### **Qualitative survey: make Moldova a 'home'**

by Elena Korosteleva and Michal Skala

5 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The Slovak Atlantic Commission (SAC), in cooperation with the Central European Policy Institute, has commissioned a comprehensive survey about the perceptions of Moldovans towards the EU, the Eastern Partnership and the Russia-led Eurasian Customs Union. This paper reports on the focus groups conducted in Moldova in Spring 2014, as a second stage in the survey of public attitudes. They followed a nation-wide poll in October-November 2013.

### **Micro-states**

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

### **The association of European microstates with the EU**

by Nicola Forster and Felix Mallin

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The European microstates Andorra, Monaco, and San Marino have only been partially integrated into the European single market. Consequently, there are several regulatory gaps in areas such as financial markets, the free movement of workers, as well as within the Schengen Agreement. Moreover, the smooth adaptation of Community acquis is being hampered. In December 2013, the European Council called for the negotiation of a framework Association Agreement with the three countries. The authors see the rapprochement of these countries as a possible model for dealing with other European countries whose full membership is rejected either by the EU or by the state concerned.

### **Lybia**

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI / GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

### **A Western strategy for Libya**

by Wolfgang Puzstai

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Libya has disappeared from Western headlines, even though the situation on the ground is going from bad to worse, according to ISPI/GMFUS. The US and Europe had a decisive role in overthrowing the Gaddafi regime and are now morally obliged to support the young Libyan democracy.

## **Asia**

FUNDACIÓN PARA LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES Y EL DIÁLOGO EXTERIOR  
(FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND FOREIGN DIALOGUE)

### **How does Central Asia view the EU?**

by Sébastien Peyrouse

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Central Asia's perception of the EU varies widely: this paper offers insights into how politicians, business leaders, scholars and civil society from Central Asia view the EU and its approach to the region.

## **Afghanistan**

ISTITUTO PER GLI STUDI DI POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE

### **Afghanistan post-2014: scenarios after the international military disengagement**

#### **An assessment of the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan**

by Colin P. Clarke

Link to the article in [English](#)

#### **The consequences of the end of the ISAF and more generally of NATO's military engagement in Afghanistan**

by Claudio Bertolotti

Link to the article in [English](#)

#### **A job half done: SSR and the Afghan transition**

by Mark Sedra

Link to the article in [English](#)

#### **Maintaining development momentum or just providing aid?**

by Arne Strand

Link to the article in [English](#)

#### **Central Asia beyond 2014: building regional security architecture**

by Fabio Indeo

Link to the article in [English](#)

#### **Uzbekistan, a key player in the post 2014 scenario**

by Riccardo Mario Cucciolla

Link to the article in [English](#)

19 June 2014

The overall aim of this collection of papers is to assess the current situation in Afghanistan and to consider scenarios after the end of ISAF mission. The papers focusing on the Taliban insurgency, the consequences for NATO of the end of ISAF and a failing Afghanistan, the effects of withdrawal on humanitarian and development assistance, and the impact of NATO's departure on Central Asian security architecture in general and on Uzbekistan in particular.

## **China**

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

### **Tough Crossing: Europa und die Konflikte in der Südchinesischen See**

by Gerhard Will

June 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

The paper looks at conflicts in the South China Sea between the People's Republic of China and some of its southern neighbours. It argues that an escalation of the conflicts would be a serious challenge for the EU and its Member States. The EU maintains close trade relations and invests substantially in the region.

MTA KÖZGAZDASÁG- ÉS REGIONÁLIS TUDOMÁNYI KUTATÓKÖZPONT - VILÁGGAZDASÁGI INTÉZET (CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC AND REGIONAL STUDIES HAS - INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMICS)

### **Chinese outward FDI in Europe and the Central and Eastern European region within a global context**

by Ágnes Szunomár and Zsuzsánna Biedermann

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper analyses Chinese FDI to Europe by presenting its main trends, patterns and motivations with a special focus on the Central and Eastern European region. The authors find that although the majority of Chinese investments are directed to the developing world, European countries are at the forefront of Chinese OFDI to developed countries, complemented by a growing trend of Chinese OFDI to the Central Eastern European region in the post-crisis period.

## **SPECIAL FOCUS - IMMIGRATION, BORDERS AND ASYLUM**

ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

### **Keeping the door ajar: local border traffic regimes on the EU eastern borders**

by Andrei Yeliseyeu

25 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The FIIA looks at the functioning of the Local Border Traffic (LBT) Regulation and at potential LBT regimes on the EU's and Norway's eastern borders. Since the adoption of the LBT regulation, about 600 000 local border traffic permits have been issued, allowing millions of visa-free border-crossings and stays in the adjacent border areas.

WILFRIED MARTENS CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

### **Free movement in focus: is one of the EU's freedoms at risk?**

by Boyan Tanev and Vít Novotný

5 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The EPP foundation is concerned that the success of national populists in EP elections in France, the UK and Denmark poses an increased risk for the EU freedom of movement. This briefing comments on claims on the so-called welfare tourism in several Western European countries. It argues that there is very little substance to the allegations about the abuse of benefits by migrants from Romania and Bulgaria. It calls for mainstream political parties to confront the populists with facts and stand behind the basic EU principles.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **Border control and the right of asylum: where is the EU heading?**

by Corinne Balleix

19 June 2014

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

This policy paper presents a state of play of EU's initiatives in the fields of border control and right of asylum. It assesses the solidarity mechanisms between Member States and makes recommendations to meet the challenges of the post-Stockholm programme: reconciling the increasing externalisation of the EU migration policy and the preservation of the right of asylum.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **Mobility, citizenship and migration in a post-crisis Europe**

by Theodora Kostakopoulou

19 June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper discusses the two opposed halves of the institutional reality of citizenship and intra-EU mobility and their connections with integration and migration: the institutional one that continues to advance free mobility and to promote associated life in the EU and enhanced rights protection for EU citizens, and the re-assertion of state power and neo-nationalism. The latter calls for renegotiated arrangements that, according to the author, carry the risk undermining the very foundations of the European project.

OŚRODEK STUDIÓW WSCHODNICH (CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES)

### **Forecasting migration between the EU, V4 and Eastern Europe. Impact of visa abolition**

by Marta Jaroszewicz and Magdalena Lesińska (eds.)

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report aims at a detailed analysis of migration patterns and migration forecasts from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova to the EU and the Visegrad Group (V4). In particular, the nexus between EU visa policy and migration dynamics as well as the impact of economic, political and institutional factors on migration patterns from Eastern Europe have been investigated.

MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE

### **A work in progress: prospects for upward mobility among new immigrants in Germany**

by Nadia Granato

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Recent immigrants to Germany differ significantly from their earlier counterparts: newer arrivals tend to be more educated, and they increasingly come from Eastern European countries rather than traditional sending countries like Turkey and former Soviet states. This report analyses the labour market integration of newcomers to Germany, based on German Microcensus data.

*The report is part of [a series of six case studies on labor market outcomes among immigrants to European Union countries](#). Previous case studies have been presented in recent issues of the TTR.*

### **Strengthening refugee protection and meeting challenges: the European Union's next steps on asylum**

by Madeline Garlick

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper identifies the main issues that should be included in the strategic guidelines on asylum, and emphasizes the need for a strong basis for future action. It recommends increased engagement by Member States in practical cooperation as a way to strengthen implementation and consolidation of existing EU laws and achieve more consistent, high-quality asylum decision-making. It further calls for a common understanding of "solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility," and concrete measures to put these key principles into practical effect, to meet the significant challenges ahead for the EU in the asylum field.

### **Future EU policy development on immigration and asylum: understanding the challenge**

by Elizabeth Collett

June 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This policy brief sets out the reasons for increasingly sclerotic policy development, and why policy will be harder to make in the future. It highlights that these challenges will not subside in the future, but EU institutions and Member State governments will have to find different ways of working together to identify common solutions based on the real future needs of Member States, and by focusing on adding value to existing immigration systems.

## REGARDS CROISÉS

*A classic: a French look at German defence policy.*

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **German defence policy in 2014 and beyond: options for change**

by Claudia Major and Christian Mölling

June 2014

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

IFRI's view of German defence policy based on the speeches made by German leaders at the Munich Security Conference in early 2014. IFRI sees Germany as aware of the need for greater international commitment, without a priori excluding military instruments, even if the actual German contributions – especially in Africa – show the long road ahead. The authors see a contradiction persists between the government's rhetoric that Germany should participate in international operations and the limitation of its contributions to training, advisory functions and logistical support. Increased responsibility also needs to be supported by public opinion, argue the authors, and the crisis in Ukraine could have a catalytic effect.