



# THINK TANK REVIEW

Central Library

NOVEMBER 2015  
ISSUE 29

Dear Readers,

Welcome to issue 29 of the Think Tank Review compiled by the EU Council Library\* ([click to share on Twitter](#)). It references papers published in September 2015. As usual, we provide the link to the full text and a short abstract.

In the EU Politics and Institutions section, you will find two articles focusing on the [Better Regulation Agenda](#) presented by the Commission last May. The current Luxembourg Presidency has placed the negotiations on Better Regulation, together with the Interinstitutional Agreement, at the top of its priorities. Therefore, these contributions are rather timely as they constitute a mid-term look at the progress made so far. Still under EU Politics and Institutions, a paper critically reviews Eurobarometer surveys from 1995 to 2010. According to the authors, Eurobarometer selects and frames questions in ways that systematically produce 'integrationist' outcomes.

Download your Think Tank Review



Last month again, think tanks published papers on the UK's future in the EU, with an interesting study on the economic consequences of a UK exit from the EU. This study examines and calculates the economic consequences not only for the UK but also for the remaining EU-27 Member States as well. Jean-Claude Piris, former Director-General of the Legal Service of the Council analyses the legal basis and legal procedure for a 'Brexit', as well as the possible post-Brexit options. Finally, on 10 November, Prime Minister Cameron sent a [letter](#) to the President of the European Council identifying the areas where the UK is seeking reforms to address the concerns of the British people over membership of the EU.

A recurrent concern is the current refugee crisis. Some papers concentrate on the issue of refugee governance and refugee relocation systems. Others offer analyses of the profiles of the Syrian refugees, the biggest national group migrating to Europe in 2015, and of the educational and mental health needs of Syrian children living as refugees. Finally, two compendia: a comprehensive compilation of publications on migration, asylum and mobility, and a compendium of articles whose authors reflect on the refugee crisis and look at the debate in their own countries, drawing on their personal experiences and values.

On external relations, China raised a lot of interest from various think tanks. Readers will find out an overview of the various Chinese actions, goals and strategies in the field of global economic governance and discussing how these impact on the EU's ability to pursue its own goals in this area, and a paper on China's presence in Latin America which has grown and evolved to a very significant level at the pace of just a decade.

---

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

The special focus this month covers various papers on the so-called Islamic state (ISIS), the foreign fighters phenomenon and terrorism. The main themes of these papers include how ISIS recruits fighters in Germany, an analysis of Muslim foreign fighter mobilisations from 1980 to 2015, the military operation against ISIS, and Moroccan foreign fighters.

The Review can be downloaded from our [informal blog](#). As always, feedback is welcome at [central.library@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:central.library@consilium.europa.eu).

The next Review will be out in December 2015, with papers published in November.

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 may use the library for research purposes.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>SECTION 2 - ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS</b> .....	<b>11</b>
<b>SECTION 3 - EU MEMBER STATES</b> .....	<b>15</b>
<b>SECTION 4 - EU POLICIES</b> .....	<b>21</b>
<b>SECTION 5 - FOREIGN AFFAIRS</b> .....	<b>33</b>
<b>SPECIAL FOCUS - RISE OF ISIS, FOREIGN FIGHTERS AND TERRORISM</b> .....	<b>48</b>
<b>REGARDS CROISÉS</b> .....	<b>50</b>

### SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

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

*How the Eurobarometer blurs the line between research and propaganda*..... 9

#### **Bertelsmann Stiftung**

*What do the people want? Opinions, moods and preferences of European citizens*..... 9

#### **Corporate Europe Observatory**

*The revolving doors spin again: Barroso II commissioners join the corporate sector*..... 9

#### **European Trade Union Institute**

*The 'variable geometry' approach to 'better legislation'*..... 9

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

*The Better Regulation package: creating better regulations, but for what kind of EU politics?*..... 10

#### **European Policy Centre**

*Europe's reactive and protective muddling through: the results of a summit in fire fighting mode*..... 10

#### **College of Europe**

*La place des émotions dans les campagnes du Front national et du Mouvement démocrate pour les élections européennes de 2014*..... 10

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

*Parliaments, public opinion and parliamentary elections in Europe*..... 10

### SECTION 2 - ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

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

*How to close the European investment gap?*..... 11

#### **Institute of International and European Affairs**

*Comments on the five presidents' report, 'Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union'*..... 11

#### **Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin**

*What would an European finance minister do? A proposal*..... 11

#### **Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin / Bertelsmann Stiftung**

*A fiscal union for Europe – Building block and not a magic bullet*..... 11

#### **LUISS School of European Political Economy**

*The euro and the end of 20th century politics*..... 12

#### **Bruegel**

*Filling the gap: open economy considerations for more reliable potential output estimates*..... 12

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

*The interplay between the EBA and the Banking Union*..... 12

*The Banking Union and its implications for private law: a comment*..... 12

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

*The great financial plumbing: from Northern Rock to Banking Union*..... 13

*A convergence process in household credit in Central and Eastern Europe*..... 13

#### **Peterson Institute for International Economics**

*Stability bonds for the euro area*..... 13

*Further statistical debate on "too much finance"*..... 13

#### **World Economic Forum**

*The future of FinTech: a paradigm shift in small business finance*..... 14

### SECTION 3 - EU MEMBER STATES

#### CYPRUS

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

*Cyprus: "bleak recovery" and signs of hope*..... 15

## ESTONIA

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

- Estonia's "virtual Russian world": the influence of Russian media on Estonia's Russian speakers* ..... 15  
*Trends in Estonian oil shale utilization*..... 15

## FRANCE

### Institut Montaigne

- Religious discrimination in access to employment: a reality* ..... 16

### Terra nova

- Politiques d'aides aux entreprises : et si on jouait collectif ?* ..... 16  
*Création et marché de l'art : comment renouveler l'attractivité de la France ?* ..... 16

## GREECE

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

- Defining a growth strategy for Greece: wishful thinking or a realistic prospect?*..... 16

## SPAIN

### Fundación de Estudios de Economía Aplicada

- Infraestructuras portuarias - Análisis del sistema portuario español, contexto internacional y propuestas de reforma* ..... 17

### Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

- China en América Latina: repercusiones para España*..... 17  
*Orientaciones sobre la política de defensa en la próxima legislatura (Transition paper)*..... 17

## UNITED KINGDOM

### Centre d'études et de recherches internationales / Fondation Robert Schuman

- Brexit: what fair deal between UK and EU Member States?*..... 17

### Fondation Robert Schuman

- Brexit or Britin: is it really colder outside?*..... 18

### Bertelsmann Stiftung

- Costs and benefits of a United Kingdom exit from the European Union*..... 18

### Centre for European Policy Studies

- Will Cameron get what he wants? Anticipating reactions to Britain's EU reform proposals*..... 18

### Centre for European Reform

- Cameron's EU gamble: five reforms he can win, and ten pitfalls he must avoid*..... 18

### Policy Network

- Britain's EU renegotiation: the view from our partners*..... 19

### Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs

- Britain, Europe and the world: rethinking the UK's circles of influence* ..... 19

### CIVITAS - Institute for the Study of Civil Society

- Lessons from Switzerland - How might Britain go about business outside the EU?*..... 19

### ResPublica

- The missing multipliers: devolution to Britain's key cities*..... 19  
*Unfinished business - The ownership agenda, thirty years on*..... 20

### Overseas Development Institute

- 10 international development priorities for the UK: parliamentary briefing*..... 20

## SECTION 4 - EU POLICIES

### JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS

#### Istituto Affari Internazionali

- Migration and refugee governance in the Mediterranean: Europe and international organisations at a crossroads*.... 21

#### Centre for European Policy Studies

- Can the new refugee relocation system work? Perils in the Dublin logic and flawed reception conditions in the EU*.. 21

#### European Policy Centre

- Why was the EU not prepared for the refugee crisis and what to expect next?*..... 21

#### FutureLab Europe / European Policy Centre

- Europe must act! The refugee crisis in the eyes of young people* ..... 21

#### Overseas Development Institute

- A migration crisis? Facts, challenges and possible solutions* ..... 22

#### Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

- The refugee crisis in focus: towards better cooperation between Europe's national governments*..... 22

#### European Stability Initiative

- The Merkel plan: restoring control; retaining compassion – A proposal for the Syrian refugee crisis*..... 22

<b>Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)</b>	
<i>Who are they? Two profiles of Syrian refugees</i> .....	22
<b>Migration Policy Institute</b>	
<i>The educational and mental health needs of Syrian refugee children</i> .....	23
<b>Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)</b>	
<i>Populistisch oder weitsichtig? Die Haltung Ungarns in der europäischen Flüchtlingsfrage</i> .....	23
<b>Demos</b>	
<i>Counter-speech: examining content that challenges extremism online</i> .....	23
<b>S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies</b>	
<i>In defence of freedom of speech and against the publication of certain cartoons</i> .....	23
<b>COMPETITIVENESS (INTERNAL MARKET, INDUSTRY, RESEARCH AND SPACE)</b>	
<b>European Political Strategy Centre</b>	
<i>Integration of products and services - Taking the Single Market into the 21st century</i> .....	24
<b>Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute</b>	
<i>Antidumping and market competition: implications for emerging economies</i> .....	24
<b>TRANSPORT/TELECOMMUNICATIONS/ENERGY</b>	
<b>Bruegel</b>	
<i>Why is Europe lagging on next generation access networks?</i> .....	24
<b>Oxford Institute for Energy Studies</b>	
<i>The new economics of oil</i> .....	24
<b>Energiewirtschaftliches Institut an der Universität zu Köln (Institute of Energy Economics at the University of Cologne)</b>	
<i>Germany's wind and solar deployment 1991-2015. Facts and lessons learnt</i> .....	25
<i>Solar and wind deployment: a comparison of experiences in Germany, California and Texas. Facts and brief analysis</i> .....	25
<b>Institut français des relations internationales</b>	
<i>L'Europe du gaz à la recherche de son âge d'or ?</i> .....	25
<b>Centre for European Policy Studies</b>	
<i>Europe's LNG strategy in the wider EU gas market</i> .....	25
<b>Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute</b>	
<i>Governing the differences in the European Energy Union</i> .....	26
<b>Svenska institutet för europapolitiska studier (Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies)</b>	
<i>Completing the Union: is the European Energy Union really real?</i> .....	26
<b>Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations</b>	
<i>The rise of capacity mechanisms: are they inevitable in the European Union?</i> .....	26
<b>Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale</b>	
<i>Monitoraggio della sicurezza energetica italiana ed europea</i> .....	26
<b>EMPLOYMENT/SOCIAL POLICY/HEALTH/CONSUMER AFFAIRS</b>	
<b>European Institute for Asian Studies</b>	
<i>Free flow, managed movement: labour mobility policies in ASEAN and the EU</i> .....	27
<b>Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche (The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies)</b>	
<i>SEE 2020 strategy - Study on labour mobility</i> .....	27
<b>MTA Közgazdaság- és Regionális Tudományi Kutatóközpont - Világgazdasági Intézet (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS - Institute of World Economics)</b>	
<i>Capital, labour, democracy and the end of capitalism</i> .....	27
<b>Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)</b>	
<i>Giving teeth to the EU's social dimension: dismal failure and promising potential</i> .....	28
<b>Bertelsmann Stiftung</b>	
<i>Social justice in the EU – Index report 2015</i> .....	28
<b>Svenska institutet för europapolitiska studier (Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies)</b>	
<i>Social tourism? EU-domstolens senaste praxis avseende icke-aktiva unionsmedborgares rätt till förmåner</i> .....	28
<b>Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute</b>	
<i>Global social protection: setting the agenda</i> .....	28
<i>The political sources of solidarity in diverse societies</i> .....	29
<b>Institute for Public Policy Research</b>	
<i>Who's breadwinning in Europe? A comparative analysis of maternal breadwinning in Great Britain and Germany</i> ....	29

<b>Overseas Development Institute</b>	
<i>Addressing gender in impact evaluation - What should be considered?</i> .....	29
<i>The European Union's new Gender Action Plan 2016-2020: gender equality and women's empowerment in external relations</i> .....	29
<b>World Economic Forum</b>	
<i>How 21st-century longevity can create markets and drive economic growth</i> .....	30
<b>ENVIRONMENT</b>	
<b>Fondation pour l'innovation politique</b>	
<i>Good COP21, bad COP21 (1) : le Kant européen et le Machiavel chinois</i> .....	30
<i>Good COP21, bad COP21 (2) : une réflexion à contre-courant</i> .....	30
<b>LSE IDEAS</b>	
<i>Paving the road to Paris? What the EU can do to facilitate a political climate deal</i> .....	30
<b>Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)</b>	
<i>Paris Stress Test: Can the UN climate talks deliver?</i> .....	31
<b>Centre for European Policy Studies</b>	
<i>Mitigation value, networked carbon markets and the Paris climate change agreement</i> .....	31
<b>World Economic Forum</b>	
<i>Scaling technologies to decarbonize energy</i> .....	31
<b>EDUCATION/YOUTH/CULTURE/SPORT</b>	
<b>Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies</b>	
<i>Ethics and religion: what's the EU got to do with it?</i> .....	32
<b>SECTION 5 - FOREIGN AFFAIRS</b>	
<b>FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY</b>	
<b>Svenska institutet för europapolitiska studier (Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies)</b>	
<i>The constitutional and historical relevance of the AFSJ and the CFSP/ESDP</i> .....	33
<i>Intelligence and decision-making within the Common Foreign and Security Policy</i> .....	33
<b>OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions</b>	
<i>Reviving co-operative security in Europe through the OSCE</i> .....	33
<b>Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung</b>	
<i>From Wales to Warsaw: a new normal for NATO?</i> .....	33
<b>Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)</b>	
<i>A new normal for NATO and Baltic Sea security</i> .....	34
<b>Institut français des relations internationales</b>	
<i>Le piège de la guerre hybride</i> .....	34
<b>Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)</b>	
<i>Global connections, regional implications: an overview of the Baltic cyber threat landscape</i> .....	34
<i>Volunteers' Expectations and Perceived Obligations in the Danish Home Guard Compared to the Estonian Defence League</i> .....	35
<b>GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGY</b>	
<b>Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute</b>	
<i>EU mobility regimes and visa policy towards ENP countries</i> .....	35
<b>Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)</b>	
<i>From Seville to Brussels: the architecture of global presence</i> .....	35
<b>TRADE</b>	
<b>Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute</b>	
<i>EC – Seal products: the tension between public morals and international trade agreements</i> .....	36
<i>Revisiting procedure and precedent in the WTO : an analysis of "US - countervailing and anti-dumping measures (China)"</i> .....	36
<i>Changes in the jurisprudence of the WTO Appellate Body during the past twenty years</i> .....	36
<b>Corporate Europe Observatory</b>	
<i>Public services under attack through TTIP and CETA</i> .....	37
<b>DEVELOPMENT</b>	
<b>Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Heinrich Böll Foundation)</b>	
<i>Europe, Africa, and the Transatlantic: the North – South challenge for development-friendly trade policy</i> .....	37
<b>College of Europe / United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies</b>	
<i>Progressive promoter of women's rights? Comparing EU policy towards the ACP and the EMP countries</i> .....	37
<b>Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung</b>	
<i>The "2030 agenda" – More privatization, less democracy?</i> .....	37

## EASTERN PARTNERSHIP

### **Stefan Batory Foundation / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)**

*Eastern Partnership revisited*..... 38

### **Foreign Policy Centre**

*Traditional religion and political power: examining the role of the church in Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine and Moldova*..... 38

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

*Azerbaijan's risky game between Russia and the West* ..... 38

## AFRICA

### **College of Europe / United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies**

*The European Union's regionalism diplomacy in Africa: an English school approach*..... 38

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

*The future of ACP-EU relations: progress report on a political economy analysis*..... 39

## CHINA

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

*Europe's response to China's activism - Balancing hope and fear in the new age of global economic governance*.... 39

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

*A partial success of trade cooperation within the '16+1' formula: the case of food exports to China*..... 39

### **Institut für Weltwirtschaft Kiel (Kiel Institute for the World Economy)**

*The EU-China bilateral investment agreement in negotiation: motivation, conflicts and perspectives*..... 39

### **Istituto Affari Internazionali**

*Is Europe to benefit from China's belt and road initiative?*..... 40

### **Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)**

*El futuro de América Latina... ¿apunta al Pacífico?: la historia de cómo China ocupó un espacio dejado al descuido* ..... 40

### **Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)**

*The rise of 'Chernomyr': Germany and China, the big winners in economic globalisation*..... 40

## INDIA

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

*EU-India strategic partnership needs a reality check*..... 40

## IRAN

### **Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)**

*Vigilancia y límites al programa nuclear de Irán: el Plan de Acción Integral Conjunto (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, JCPOA)* ..... 41

## LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

### **Centre d'études et de recherches internationales**

*L'insécurité énergétique en Amérique du Sud : développement des réseaux et intégration sectorielle entre le Pérou et le Chili* ..... 41

## MACEDONIA

### **Център за изследване на демокрацията (Center for the Study of Democracy)**

*Monitoring the hidden economy in Macedonia: trends and policy options*..... 41

## MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA (MENA)

### **International Crisis Group**

*Algeria and its neighbours* ..... 42

### **Istituto Affari Internazionali**

*The changing dynamics of cross-border human smuggling and trafficking in the Mediterranean*..... 42

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

*Periphery under pressure: Morocco, Tunisia and the European Union's Mobility Partnership on migration*..... 42

### **Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs**

*Realigning EU policy in Palestine: towards a viable state economy and restored dignity*..... 42

## RUSSIA

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

*Late Putin. The end of growth, the end of stability*..... 43

### **Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais e Segurança (Portuguese Institute of International Relations and Security)**

*Russia's "charm offensive" in Africa: the case of Angola*..... 43

<b>European Council on Foreign Relations</b>	
<i>Russia's quiet military revolution and what it means for Europe</i> .....	43
<b>Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)</b>	
<i>The Russian threat to security in the Baltic Sea region</i> .....	44
<b>Institut français des relations internationales</b>	
<i>There will be gas: Gazprom's transport strategy</i> .....	44
<b>Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)</b>	
<i>The EU-Russia gas relationship: new projects, new disputes?</i> .....	44
<b>TURKEY</b>	
<b>Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı (Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey)</b>	
<i>Sophie's choice for the European Union: realpolitik or values? Inshallah both</i> .....	44
<b>Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)</b>	
<i>From blame game to cooperation: EU-Turkey response to the Syrian refugee crisis</i> .....	45
<b>Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)</b>	
<i>Turkey and the Syrian refugee problem</i> .....	45
<b>Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)</b>	
<i>The West's darling in Syria - seeking support, the Kurdish Democratic Union Party brandishes an anti-jihadist image</i> .....	45
<b>Pew Research Center</b>	
<i>Deep divisions in Turkey as election nears, but Turks share negative views of foreign powers</i> .....	46
<b>UKRAINE</b>	
<b>Instytut Spraw Publicznych (Institute of Public Affairs) / Bertelsmann Stiftung</b>	
<i>Ukrainians look to the West</i> .....	46
<b>Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin</b>	
<i>Supporting Ukraine's difficult path towards reforms</i> .....	46
<b>Royal United Services Institute</b>	
<i>Anti-corruption reform and business security in Ukraine: glass half full?</i> .....	46
<b>Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)</b>	
<i>Międzynarodowa pomoc dla Ukrainy. Szanse dla polskich firm i organizacji</i> .....	47
<b>Rytų Europos studijų centras (Eastern Europe Studies Centre)</b>	
<i>Decentralization and local elections: another huge challenge for Ukraine</i> .....	47
<b>Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)</b>	
<i>The migration of Ukrainians in times of crisis</i> .....	47
<b>SPECIAL FOCUS - RISE OF ISIS, FOREIGN FIGHTERS AND TERRORISM</b>	
<b>Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung</b>	
<i>How "Islamic State" recruits fighters in Germany</i> .....	48
<b>International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague</b>	
<i>Fickle foreign fighters? A cross-case analysis of seven Muslim foreign fighter mobilisations (1980-2015)</i> .....	48
<b>Royal United Services Institute</b>	
<i>Inherently unresolved: the military operation against ISIS</i> .....	48
<b>Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)</b>	
<i>Moroccan foreign fighters - Evolution of the phenomenon, promotive factors, and the limits of hardline policies</i> .....	49
<i>Avantgarde des internationalen Terrorismus</i> .....	49
<b>Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (Hanns Seidel Foundation)</b>	
<i>Frieden in Sicht? Die aktuellen Entwicklungen in Syrien</i> .....	49
<b>REGARDS CROISÉS</b>	
<b>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations)</b>	
<i>Territorialreform in Frankreich: Ambitionierter Start, Schwächen im Abschluss</i> .....	50
<b>Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)</b>	
<i>The uncertain future of the coal energy industry in Germany</i> .....	50
<b>Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)</b>	
<i>Elecciones legislativas portuguesas 2015: expectativas frustradas y pactos postelectorales</i> .....	50
<b>Centre for European Reform</b>	
<i>Gain or more pain in Spain?</i> .....	50



## SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

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

*How the Eurobarometer blurs the line between research and propaganda*

by Martin Höpner and Bojan Jurczyk [@BojanJu](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (26 p.)

This paper critically reviews Eurobarometer surveys from 1995 to 2010 and shows, according to the authors, how Eurobarometer selects and frames questions in ways that systematically produce "integrationist" outcomes.

### Bertelsmann Stiftung

*What do the people want? Opinions, moods and preferences of European citizens*

by Catherine de Vries and Isabell Hoffmann [@ur\\_echo](#)

2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (88 p.)

The eurozone crisis has pushed reforms of the EU to the forefront of the political debate. How can a union of 28 states with a population of over half a billion be reformed to further future economic crises and political challenges? Finding an answer to this question is extremely difficult not only because current reform proposals are so varied, but even more so because we lack insights into the preferences for reforms amongst national elites and publics.

### Corporate Europe Observatory

*The revolving doors spin again: Barroso II commissioners join the corporate sector*

28 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (27 p.)

One in three (9 out of 26) outgoing commissioners who left office in 2014 have gone through the 'revolving door' into roles in corporations or other organisations with links to big business, leading to fears of an unhealthy close relationship between the EU's executive body and private interests, according to a new report. According to the paper, at least eight revolving door roles, held by four commissioners, should not have received authorisation at all, due to the risk of possible conflicts of interest.

### European Trade Union Institute

*The 'variable geometry' approach to 'better legislation'*

by Éric Van den Abeele

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.) and in [French](#) (5 p.)

This paper takes the measure of the EU Commission's 'better legislation' programme, attempting not only to identify its general thrust but also to reveal its inner contradictions. In the first three sections, the author examines aspects of the exercise taken as a whole, after which he illustrates his concerns by scrutinising one emblematic instance in an effort to assess the pertinence of the Commission's real intentions in relation to impact analysis. The conclusion, finally, shows that the EU is not merely a cost to be reduced but also an ambition to be developed in the light, above all, of the new challenges currently facing it.

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

*The Better Regulation package: creating better regulations, but for what kind of EU politics?*

by Fabian Willermain [@willermain](#) and Anca Cioriciu [@AncaCioriciu](#)

29 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

In May 2015, the European Commission presented its [Better Regulation Agenda](#). Subsequently the Luxembourg presidency put the negotiations on the Better Regulation package as well as on the Interinstitutional Agreement on the top of its priorities. This paper is a mid-term look at the advances made. The authors argue that if the Better Regulation package pursues a key issue for the EU, at the end of the day, the result will generate more bureaucracy rather than enhance the EU legitimacy.

## **European Policy Centre**

*Europe's reactive and protective muddling through: the results of a summit in fire fighting mode*

by Janis A. Emmanouilidis

19 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

The migration and refugee crisis dominated EU's October summit. EU leaders were intent on putting on a public display of unity and concentrated on fire-fighting and immediate measures to tackle the most pressing reasons for, and impacts of, the crisis. The Summit spent little time on two issues that had originally been expected to be a key part of the agenda: the forthcoming British referendum on EU membership and the governance of Economic and Monetary Union.

## **College of Europe**

*La place des émotions dans les campagnes du Front national et du Mouvement démocrate pour les élections européennes de 2014*

by Marta Pabian

October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (60 p.)

This article aims to contribute to a better understanding of the role of emotions in the democratic process. It examines how the pro- and anti-European politicians appeal to the emotions of voters and their reasons to do so. The analysis will focus on two main French political parties: the National Front and the Democratic Movement. The study confirms the arrest of emotions through political discourse, including anxiety and enthusiasm.

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

*Parliaments, public opinion and parliamentary elections in Europe*

by Cristina Fasone, Diane Fromage and Zoe Lefkofridi

28 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (112 p.)

The collection of contributions in this paper deal with the ability of parliaments to democratically represent people in the EU today and to affect the European integration process, with the asymmetric involvement of national parliaments in the EU, their dynamics of cooperation as well as between them and the European Parliament, and finally, with the implications on EU democratic legitimacy of recent developments regarding parliamentary input provided at a very early stage of the European policymaking.

## SECTION 2 - ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

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

*How to close the European investment gap?*

by Michael Dauderstädt

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (39 p.)

This paper compares and evaluates eleven proposals, which suggest policies and institutional arrangements to close the European investment gap. Most of them want to mobilize between 100 and 300 bn€ p.a. of private capital by leveraging funds from either the EU or government budgets or the EIB or new public investment funds. They intend to channel this capital into projects with long-term benefits for Europe, primarily infrastructure and energy.

### Institute of International and European Affairs

*Comments on the five presidents' report, 'Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union'*

8 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

In March 2015, following an invitation from the European Commission, the IIEA Economic Governance Group made a submission on the [Analytical Note](#), "Preparing for Next Steps on Better Economic Governance in the Euro Area". Subsequently, the Five Presidents' Report was published in 22 June 2015. This paper examines which elements of the IIEA Economic Governance Group's previous submission were adopted in the report as well as evaluating the proposals as a whole.

### Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

*What would an European finance minister do? A proposal*

by Henrik Enderlein [@henrikenderlein](#) and Jörg Haas [@jorg\\_haas](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.), in [French](#) (16 p.) and in [German](#) (16 p.)

The paper discusses the idea of a European finance minister (EU-FM), his mission and his competencies. It proposes EU-FM would act as a strong political authority safeguarding the economic and fiscal interests of the euro area as a whole. His main competencies of the EU-FM would be to oversee the coordination of fiscal and economic policies, enforce rules in case of non-compliance, lead negotiations in a crisis context, contribute to buffering regional shocks and represent the euro area in international institutions.

### Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin / Bertelsmann Stiftung

*A fiscal union for Europe – Building block and not a magic bullet*

by Katharina Gnath and Jörg Haas [@jorg\\_haas](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

The negotiations with Greece have been a telling reminder of the weaknesses of the euro area. If the monetary union is going to be stable in the long term, some important elements will have to be changed. Yet there is little agreement on the details, particularly on further steps to integrate fiscal policies. A fiscal union can create stability only if it includes both credible budget rules and some kind of risk sharing. A structured process is now needed to put together a reform package and to overcome mistrust between the euro members.

## **LUISS School of European Political Economy**

*The euro and the end of 20th century politics*

by Carlo Bastasin [@CarloBastasin](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

The European crisis has been a political crisis that questions our understanding of national democracies in the new global environment. This paper analyses the interaction between the euro and national politics and between the national narratives of the euro crisis and the economics of the crisis itself. The paper focuses on the political role of monetary policy before the establishment of the euro is settled and the difficult relationship between national democracy and transnational economy is questioned.

## **Bruegel**

*Filling the gap: open economy considerations for more reliable potential output estimates*

by Zsolt Darvas [@ZsoltDarvas](#) and András Simon

22 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (89 p.)

This paper proposes a novel structural model to estimate the equilibrium level of output and reports results for 45 countries. The model is conceptually more appropriate than existing methods by incorporating open economy considerations, which are completely missing from the models of the European Commission, IMF and OECD.

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

*The interplay between the EBA and the Banking Union*

by Stefano Cappiello

26 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.)

In the last five years the European institutional architecture of banking regulation and supervision has undergone sweeping changes. This is particularly the case for the European Banking Authority and the Banking Union, two new institutional players which in the public debate are sometimes dubbed as overlapping or even conflicting. The paper provides a critical analysis of this interplay and its components, also with the aim to provide food for thought for further exploration, from a private as well as a public law perspective.

*The Banking Union and its implications for private law: a comment*

by Christos Hadjiemmanuil

14 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

This comment seeks to provide a conceptual framework for analysing the Banking Union's implications for private law. It identifies the general ways whereby these can be recognised in private law and translated into private rights and/or duties. It then responds to a common argument against translation, namely, that the public nature of the regulatory regime's goals and concerns hinders its normative expansion in the realm of private law. It also provides a tentative catalogue of private legal relations likely to be affected by the Banking Union.

## Centre for European Policy Studies

### *The great financial plumbing: from Northern Rock to Banking Union*

by Karel Lannoo [@karellannoo](#)

19 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (200 p.)

The financial crisis has led to a far-reaching redesign of the European regulatory and supervisory framework for financial markets. This book systematically assesses the big items on the G-20 and EU agendas and the effectiveness with which they have been implemented in the EU. It is designed to give professionals, policy-makers and students a better understanding of the new regulatory framework and insights into the policy context that led to the new rules governing financial markets in Europe.

### *A convergence process in household credit in Central and Eastern Europe*

by Robin Sainsot

29 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

The liberalisation of Eastern Europe market during the 1990s and the 2004 EU enlargement have had a great impact on the economies of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Indeed, prior to these events, the financial system and household credit markets in CEE were underdeveloped. Nonetheless, it appeared to numerous economists that the development of the CEE financial system and credit markets was following an intensely positive trend, raising the question of sustainability.

## Peterson Institute for International Economics

### *Stability bonds for the euro area*

by Angel Ubide [@AngelUbide](#)

27 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

The rules and buffers created in the last few years to enable the euro area to withstand another sudden stop of credit and market-driven panic in one or more of its Member States are welcome steps, but they are widely recognized as inadequate. Ubide proposes creating a system of stability bonds in the euro area, to be issued by a new European Debt Agency, to partially finance the debt of euro area countries—up to 25% of GDP. The bonds would permit the euro area to adopt a more flexible or expansionary fiscal policy during recessions.

### *Further statistical debate on "too much finance"*

by William R. Cline

23 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

Cline critiques OECD findings on "too much finance", which seem to imply that the optimal amount of credit in an economy is zero, given the linear specification of the main tests. If these results were taken literally, there would be a radical policy implication: growth would be maximized by completely eliminating credit finance. He then finds that the negative impact of additional finance on growth is reversed when the appropriate (purchasing-power-parity) per capita income is applied and country fixed effects are removed.

## World Economic Forum

*The future of FinTech: a paradigm shift in small business finance*

26 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (36 p.)

This report reviews the shift in small and medium-sized enterprises financing provided by innovative start-up companies who use technology and big data to provide credit and financial services, filling a gap left by traditional financial services providers.

## SECTION 3 - EU MEMBER STATES

### CYPRUS

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

*Cyprus: "bleak recovery" and signs of hope*

by Michalis Persianis

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

The report illustrates different impacts of the austerity policy on Cyprus and contributes to the discussion, which deals with chances of economic recovery in the European South. The publication highlights that Cyprus is in a situation between "bleak recovery" and signs of hope. It has survived the peak of the crisis in 2013 and currently shows a stronger-than-expected economic performance. However, the indebtedness in the private sector has not been tackled, GDP growth is only slightly increasing and low employment rates could become a new normality.

### ESTONIA

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

*Estonia's "virtual Russian world": the influence of Russian media on Estonia's Russian speakers*

by Jill Dougherty [@jillrussia](#) and Riina Kaljurand [@RiinaKaljurand](#)

26 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

Russia's annexation of Crimea and the use of new, creative forms of warfare in the eastern part of Ukraine raise difficult questions for Estonia, a small Baltic nation bordering Russia. Since the conflict started, Estonian and Western security experts have been pointing out the vulnerabilities of the Baltic states. Speculation such as "will Narva be next?" is more common than one would like to admit. How vulnerable is Estonia to such kinds of unconventional attack? Could the Ukraine scenario be repeated in Estonia?

*Trends in Estonian oil shale utilization*

by Jordan Kearns and Emmet Tuohy [@ectuohy](#)

8 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.)

This analysis examines current trends in Estonian oil shale utilization. Particular attention is paid to likely sources of disruption to oil shale use and the compatibility of continued oil shale use with national and EU environmental targets. The goal of the current analysis is twofold: first, to present a baseline forecast for future oil shale use, and then to recommend policy changes to balance environmental obligations, energy security, and economic benefit in light of rapid and often significant changes in the global energy context.

## FRANCE

### Institut Montaigne

*Religious discrimination in access to employment: a reality*

by Marie-Anne Valfort

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (152 p.) and in [French](#) (142 p.)

Do Muslims and Jews suffer discrimination on account of their religion? If so, why? It is indispensable to answer these questions if we are to search for solutions and maintain the cohesion of our society. For discrimination undermines the project of living together.

### Terra nova

*Politiques d'aides aux entreprises : et si on jouait collectif ?*

by Nadine Levratto

22 October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (15 p.)

Employment and business competitiveness have become priority issues of economic policies forcing governments to put in place a set of measures to alleviate the tax burden and labour costs of companies. This note explores a different path, giving priority to interactions between companies and not only to the company itself.

*Création et marché de l'art : comment renouveler l'attractivité de la France ?*

by Nicole Ferry-Maccario, Abigaïl Aron, Jade Bouchemit, Anne Bourgois, Jean-Baptiste Costa de Beaugard, Constance Lombard and Paul Nyzam

13 October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (22 p.)

France does not fit into the growing market of world art and undergoes less radiation of its creators internationally. To answer to this situation, this study plans to boost French creation by allowing it to radiate more internationally and strive to facilitate and boost acquisitions in France.

## GREECE

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

*Defining a growth strategy for Greece: wishful thinking or a realistic prospect?*

by Jens Bastian [@Jens Bastian](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (34 p.)

Since 2010, Greece has been trapped in a depression-like economic slump with soaring unemployment and its growth prospects are uncertain. The Greek growth agenda presented in this contribution consists of a mixture of sectoral and horizontal policy interventions. The former include sectors such as tourism, energy and agriculture. The latter focuses on taxation, the operational business environment and investment capacity, public as well as private.



## SPAIN

### Fundación de Estudios de Economía Aplicada

*Infraestructuras portuarias - Análisis del sistema portuario español, contexto internacional y propuestas de reforma*

by María del Mar Cerbán Jiménez and Juan Ortí Llatas

20 October 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (114 p.)

This study analyzes the Spanish port system with reference to the main policies of internationally existing port governance. Its main conclusion is that the current situation of globalization of markets requires a change in the Spanish port management model, already used to prioritize competitiveness and free competition, in contrast to the current situation.

### Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

*China en América Latina: repercusiones para España*

by Mario Esteban (coord.)

October 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (82 p.)

Relations between China and Latin America are complex, markedly asymmetrical and fundamentally economic. In recent years these ties intensified to the point of conditioning the evolution of several countries in the region and their regional integration processes. Spain cannot be indifferent to this phenomenon, given its close ties to this part of the world. Chinese presence in Latin America is a complex open process, whose outcome is still uncertain for Spain and shall be determined by the actions taken to address this challenge.

*Orientaciones sobre la política de defensa en la próxima legislatura (Transition paper)*

by Félix Arteaga

October 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (16 p.)

This paper presents a series of guidelines for defence policy for the next Spanish parliamentary term, which aim to boost the electoral debate and articulate reflection on the future of defence in Spain from the balance of the present parliamentary term.

## UNITED KINGDOM

### Centre d'études et de recherches internationales / Fondation Robert Schuman

*Brexit: what fair deal between UK and EU Member States?*

by Thierry Chopin and Christian Lequesne (dir.)

19 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (42 p.) and in [French](#) (44 p.)

In this paper, a panel of European experts explores all of the issues at stake that will mark UK's future in the European Union over the coming months and raises a series of questions. The referendum result will depend, in part, on the negotiations that occur between London and its European partners and the answers provided to the questions.

## **Fondation Robert Schuman**

*Brexit or Britin: is it really colder outside?*

by Jean Claude Piris

26 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.) and in [French](#) (15 p.)

The paper analyses the juridical frameworks the Brexit could have been settled. The author claims it will damage the UK both in commercial and in international relations affairs. Then he proposes to EU policy-makers a counter-strategy for keeping the UK in EU without reforming the Treaties. He considers this solution the only possible solution both on a policy and on a juridical basis.

## **Bertelsmann Stiftung**

*Costs and benefits of a United Kingdom exit from the European Union*

by Ulrich Schoof

2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (64 p.)

This study examines the economic consequences of the UK's exit from the EU and thus from the European common market. It is the first study that examines and calculates the economic consequences not only for the UK, but for the remaining EU-27 Member States as well. The study calculates the GDP losses that could arise from the UK's exit from the EU. Considering that trade policy measures take ten to twelve years after they are introduced to reach full effect, if a Brexit occurs in 2018, the highlighted effects would be fully felt by 2030.

## **Centre for European Policy Studies**

*Will Cameron get what he wants? Anticipating reactions to Britain's EU reform proposals*

by Steven Blockmans and Stefani Weiss

29 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

After months of speculation about the British Prime Minister's specific demands in terms of the "renegotiation" of the UK's relationship with the EU, David Cameron has finally committed himself to setting out the UK's specific "concerns" in writing by early November. In this paper, the authors consider how far the other EU Member States might be willing to accommodate Cameron's demands and provide him with the political capital he seeks to lead the 'in' campaign.

## **Centre for European Reform**

*Cameron's EU gamble: five reforms he can win, and ten pitfalls he must avoid*

by Charles Grant [@CER\\_Grant](#)

23 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

As in 1975, a British prime minister is trying to win a new deal from the EU, before holding an in-or-out referendum. David Cameron will probably achieve reforms in five areas. He is more likely to win the referendum if Britain's European partners give him a couple of reforms that allow him to say the EU will work better for Britain. The most important topic politically is the right of EU migrants to claim benefits. However, the key issue for the UK is the need for safeguards to protect the single market and the wider EU against the possibility of harmful actions by the eurozone.

## Policy Network

*Britain's EU renegotiation: the view from our partners*

9 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (31 p.)

This report aims to provide an objective assessment of where the UK's main partners stand at the start of the negotiation, and of the type of concessions they would be most likely to contemplate. On top of substantial institutional analysis and literature review, Policy Network's research team conducted around 40 semi-structured interviews with senior policymakers, politicians and opinion leaders in six key European countries that will play a pivotal role in the discussions: Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and Poland.

## Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs

*Britain, Europe and the world: rethinking the UK's circles of influence*

by Robin Niblett [@RobinNiblett](#)

19 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (37 p.)

The approaching referendum on whether the UK should remain in or leave the EU marks a defining moment for the country's foreign relations. In addition to determining the UK's future status in Europe, it will affect Britain's ability to thrive in and help shape a rapidly changing world.

## CIVITAS - Institute for the Study of Civil Society

*Lessons from Switzerland - How might Britain go about business outside the EU?*

by Jonathan Lindsay [@JLindsay](#)

16 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (110 p.)

Should Britain choose to quit the EU it would take back from Brussels responsibility for negotiating its own trade deals with economies around the world? In this study, the author takes a look at how Switzerland has fared as a European nation outside the EU. With an economy much smaller than Britain's, not to mention the EU's, it has hammered out trade agreements with an impressive array of global partners. But what kind of terms is it able to extract? Lindsay finds that there is much to be said for the Swiss approach – and how Britain too might go about business outside the EU.

## ResPublica

*The missing multipliers: devolution to Britain's key cities*

by Phillip Blond [@Phillip\\_Blond](#) and Mark Morrin

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (48 p.)

This paper positions the needs of Britain's key cities at the forefront of the devolution debate, advancing the argument that mid-sized cities are the 'missing multipliers' in the current drive to generate both economic growth and public service transformation. It recognises the important role that key cities play and calls for greater powers and freedoms which would see their vital contribution to the national economy soar, improving lives and saving billions of pounds in public spending.

*Unfinished business - The ownership agenda, thirty years on*

by Ed Mayo [@edmayo1](#) and Carina Millstone

5 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (27 p.)

Following the election of Jeremy Corbyn to leader of the Labour Party, debates about public versus private ownership have, all of sudden, been rekindled. Are we back to the 1980s when Margaret Thatcher set an aspirational vision for a society in which three quarters of people owned their own home and it was as common to own shares as cars? This timely report, which reviews data on different forms of ownership between 1985 and 2015, concludes that participation in the form of personal ownership has increased but business ownership has declined.

**Overseas Development Institute**

*10 international development priorities for the UK: parliamentary briefing*

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.)

Governments around the world, including the UK have signed up to the new set of Sustainable Development Goals with the aim of eradicating extreme poverty over the next 15 years. The UK Department for International development is widely recognised as a leading development agency. Parliamentarians have a key role to play in Britain maintaining a leadership role in international development. This briefing sets out ten priority areas for engagement and sets out some practical approaches to build progress around key Sustainable Development Goals.

## SECTION 4 - EU POLICIES

### JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS

#### Istituto Affari Internazionali

*Migration and refugee governance in the Mediterranean: Europe and international organisations at a crossroads*

by Sarah Wolff [@drsarahwolff](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

There is little agreement on an EU solution to the Syrian refugee crisis. In September 2015, the EU Interior Ministers struggled to agree over the relocation of 120,000 refugees through a common compulsory mechanism, as Eastern European countries oppose the idea of "sharing the burden." If Europe is not up to the task, can international organisations (IOs), often critical of EU for their inaction, impulse change? What influence do IOs have on EU and Mediterranean migration and refugee policies? This paper investigates how IOs have been trying to frame an alternative debate and the challenges they meet in promoting transregional governance.

#### Centre for European Policy Studies

*Can the new refugee relocation system work? Perils in the Dublin logic and flawed reception conditions in the EU*

by Sergio Carrera and Elspeth Guild

1 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

This Policy Brief argues that the newly adopted EU temporary relocation (quota) system constitutes a welcome yet timid step forward in addressing the current refugee debate. However, authors argue two main challenges affect its effective operability. First, EU Member States' asylum systems show profound weaknesses in reception conditions and judicial/administrative capacities. These prevent a fair and humane processing of asylum applications. Second, the new relocation system constitutes a move away from the much-criticised Dublin system, but it is still anchored to its premises.

#### European Policy Centre

*Why was the EU not prepared for the refugee crisis and what to expect next?*

by Andreia Ghimis [@afghimis](#)

14 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (153 p.)

This Compendium of EPC publications collects all of EPC's relevant analysis on migration, mobility and asylum, in an effort to find out why the EU was not prepared for the refugee crisis and how it can do better in the future.

#### FutureLab Europe / European Policy Centre

*Europe must act! The refugee crisis in the eyes of young people*

12 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

This compendium collects a number of articles from FutureLab participants on the current refugee crisis in Europe, providing a series of unique perspectives from all over Europe.

## Overseas Development Institute

*A migration crisis? Facts, challenges and possible solutions*

by Victoria Metcalfe-Hough

20 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

Since early 2014, approximately 800,000 people have arrived at EU borders through irregular channels, fleeing conflict and violence at home or in search of a better life abroad. This migration surge has become a highly sensitive political issue, generating intense political and public debate and exacerbating pre-existing weaknesses in immigration systems across Europe. Meanwhile, the lack of an adequate response by EU governments has left hundreds of thousands of refugees and other migrants increasingly vulnerable. This policy brief outlines key facts relating to the migration crisis and offers suggestions on how governments can mount a more effective response.

## Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

*The refugee crisis in focus: towards better cooperation between Europe's national governments*

by Vít Novotný [@vitnovotny](#)

16 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

The current refugee crisis is primarily one of collective action between the EU's national governments. This paper argues that without cooperation between the EU states, the situation is not going to improve. As for specific policies, the EU's dysfunctional asylum system, which is based on 28 national systems, needs to be reformed, including by allowing asylum applications in the countries of origin. Member States need to start supplying Frontex with personnel and equipment so that the border can be better protected. The EU also needs a new deal between host countries and newcomers on the refugees' integration into European societies.

## European Stability Initiative

*The Merkel plan: restoring control; retaining compassion – A proposal for the Syrian refugee crisis*

4 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.)

This paper outlines how an agreement between Germany and Turkey could have an immediate and dramatic impact on the Syrian refugee crisis. It would restore control over Europe's south-eastern border without sacrificing compassion for the refugees. But with the far right resurgent across Europe, the window of opportunity for decisive action is closing fast.

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

*Who are they? Two profiles of Syrian refugees*

by Patrycja Sasnal

29 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

Syrians constitute the biggest national group migrating to Europe in 2015, according to Frontex. Of all the social diversity within a single society, two generalised profiles of a Syrian refugee can be inferred from available information: a poorer, rural worker based in camps in Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon, and a richer, middle-class professional living outside of refugee camps, recently migrating to Europe via the Greece and Western Balkans route. While Europe has so far received the best of the Syrian society, poorer Syrians may also be on the move without an immediate and substantial improvement of educational infrastructure and their legal labour market status in host countries.

## Migration Policy Institute

*The educational and mental health needs of Syrian refugee children*

by Selcuk R. Sirin [@SelcukRSirin](#) and Lauren Rogers-Sirin [@lrogerssirin](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (32 p.)

This report examines the experiences and resulting educational and mental health needs of Syrian children living as refugees, drawing on the results of a study conducted in the Islahiye camp in southeast Turkey, which assessed children's levels of trauma and mental health distress. It also reviews intervention programs in the Middle East, Europe, and the US, and offers recommendations for best practices to address the mental health of this vulnerable child population. Syrian refugee children will likely need ongoing, targeted support to bridge the gaps in their education, attain fluency in the host-country language, and deal with trauma and other mental health symptoms, the authors conclude.

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

*Populistisch oder weitsichtig? Die Haltung Ungarns in der europäischen Flüchtlingsfrage*

by Jan Niklas Engels [@JanNiklasEngels](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (7 p.)

The number of refugees who arrive in Hungary has risen sharply. However, they look at Hungary not as a destination, but as transition country. The paper shows the Hungarian conservative government is developing a conservative, populist policy which does not resolve the problem but exasperates the relationships among EU countries. The EU refugee crisis once again shows the need of a discussion about the future of the EU and the importance of the much-vaunted European values.

## Demos

*Counter-speech: examining content that challenges extremism online*

by Jamie Bartlett [@JamieJBartlett](#) and Alex Krasodomski-Jones

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (21 p.), in [French](#) (22 p.), in [Spanish](#) (22 p.) and in [Italian](#) (22 p.)

Even though Facebook prohibits and removes hate speech, sometimes people post disagreeable or disturbing content that does not violate its policies. This paper explores the potential of community-driven counter-speech to play a critical role in challenging and diminishing these type of posts on social media.

## S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

*In defence of freedom of speech and against the publication of certain cartoons*

by Paul Hedges

30 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

This paper explores the concept of freedom of speech, as it relates to religion, focusing on recent European examples of tensions that surface secular mores and Islamic sensibilities, primarily the Charlie Hebdo incident. It also considers possible objections around individual autonomy and the power of religion, and suggests principles when considering the limits of freedom of speech.

## COMPETITIVENESS (INTERNAL MARKET, INDUSTRY, RESEARCH AND SPACE)

### European Political Strategy Centre

*Integration of products and services - Taking the Single Market into the 21st century*

6 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The paper claims three factors are reshaping economy nowadays. First, the digital revolution dramatically augments the reach, flexibility and agility of companies and it create a new economic actor, the 'micro-multinationals': technology-intensive companies that are born global. Second, international competition draws millions of new workers and consumers into a 'race to the top' with emerging countries becoming champions of innovation, engineering ingenuity and skills acquisition. Third, cultural and structural trends change the nature of socio-economic interactions by transforming people's aspirations and preferences.

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

*Antidumping and market competition: implications for emerging economies*

by Chad P. Bown and Rachel McCulloch

30 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (34 p.)

By the early 1990s, antidumping laws and their use had evolved so much that the opposite concern arose, authors claim. Rather than attacking anti-competitive behaviour, dumping complaints by domestic firms were being used to enforce cartel arrangements. This paper examines the predation and anti-competitiveness issues from the perspective of the "new users" of antidumping—the major emerging economies for which antidumping is now a major tool in the trade policy arsenal.

## TRANSPORT/TELECOMMUNICATIONS/ENERGY

### Bruegel

*Why is Europe lagging on next generation access networks?*

by Carlo Cambini, Wolfgang Briglauer and Michał Grajek

September 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

Fibre-based next generation access roll-out across the EU is one of the goals of the European Commission's Digital Agenda strategy, however, there remains considerable uncertainty about how the roll-out goal can best be achieved.

### Oxford Institute for Energy Studies

*The new economics of oil*

by Spencer Dale

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

The article explores some of the most important issues about the economics of energy. The oil market has been at the centre of economic news over much of the past year: what should we make of the US shale revolution; how will the rebalancing of the Chinese economy affect demand; what are the implications of the dramatic fall in oil prices? The implications of these developments are far reaching. For policymakers, responding to their impact on the prospects for demand and



inflation; for financial markets, involved in the trading and financing of oil flows; and for businesses and families.

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

*Germany's wind and solar deployment 1991-2015. Facts and lessons learnt*

by Jakob Peter, Christina Elberg, Marc Oliver Bettzüge and Felix Höffler

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (48 p.)

*Solar and wind deployment: a comparison of experiences in Germany, California and Texas. Facts and brief analysis*

by Jakob Peter, Christina Elberg, Marc Oliver Bettzüge and Felix Höffler

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (35 p.)

Germany as well as the US states of California and Texas have enacted policies and implemented programs for prompting the growth of renewable generation in electricity systems.. Within this research project, the expansion of renewables in these countries is analyzed to identify similarities and differences in policy structures as well as the penetration of renewable resources. In doing so, the state of renewable energy in Germany, California and Texas is examined via three independent case studies. Two additional studies compare the differences and similarities between these three markets.

### **Institut français des relations internationales**

*L'Europe du gaz à la recherche de son âge d'or ?*

by Marie-Claire Aoun and Sylvie Cornot-Gandolphe

October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (99 p.)

EU gas policy has to tackle with a paramount shift both on the demand and the offer size. The paper analyses the main five changes occurred in the European gas market: the difficult relationships with Russia; the LNG return; production decline in the Groningen gas field; contrasting evolutions in attempting to exploit the schistus gas and future perspectives in gas demands.

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

*Europe's LNG strategy in the wider EU gas market*

by Gergely Molnar, Arno Behrens, Christian Egenhofer [@CEgenhofer](#) and Fabio Genoese [@FabioGenoese](#)

8 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

In its [Communication](#) on an Energy Union published in February 2015, the EC committed itself to "explore the full potential of liquefied natural gas (LNG)". Geopolitical tensions between the EU and Russia explain the EU's willingness to further diversify its supply sources of natural gas to reinforce its long-term energy security on the one hand, and to strengthen its ability to solve future crises on the other hand. Moreover, the current market dynamics could support diversification towards LNG. Increasing the flexibility of LNG trade, decreasing LNG prices and LNG charter rates and an apparent price convergence between the European and the Asia-Pacific LNG imports would all reinforce the economic viability of such a strategy.

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

### *Governing the differences in the European Energy Union*

by Jacques de Jong, Thomas Pellerin-Carlin [@Thomas\\_Pellerin](#) and Jean-Arnold Vinois  
22 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.) and in [French](#) (28 p.)

This paper analyses the various levels at which public decisions are made in the field of energy, with the focus on regional cooperation between several states. In the last ten years the EU level has become predominant with its objective for 2020 and 2030. However the implementation of the EU energy policy, mostly left to the Member States, varied and sometimes it was disappointing and incoherent. Furthermore, the articulation between the EU, regional and national levels represents a major challenge of governance. Some recommendations follow the analysis.

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

### *Completing the Union: is the European Energy Union really real?*

by James Harold  
October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

In February 2015, the EC adopted its [strategy for a European energy union](#). The document calls for "a fundamental transformation of Europe's energy system" in order to provide all consumers in Europe with "secure, sustainable, competitive and affordable energy". In this analysis, the author argues that although the EU's Energy Package signals an effective approach in dealing with the geo-political challenge, it is imbued with the tensions between various objectives in the realization of an energy union.

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

### *The rise of capacity mechanisms: are they inevitable in the European Union?*

by Tania Zgajewski  
September 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (38 p.)

These last years, in multiple Member States, the electricity markets have seen the rapid emergence of Capacity Remuneration Mechanisms. They are meant to guarantee the stability of the electricity system in a more uncertain context. The reactions of the EC were late towards them. It is thus essential to bring some clarity here, otherwise the legal uncertainty could become a new impediment for investment.

## **Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale**

### *Monitoraggio della sicurezza energetica italiana ed europea*

by Mirko Lapi, Matteo Verda [@matteoverda](#) and Carlo Frappi  
October 2015

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (75 p.)

This paper analyses outcomes on Iranian oil production after the Iranian nuclear agreement. It argues oil production will arise from 2016 and it will affect EU and Italian market price soundly but within a large time span.

## EMPLOYMENT/SOCIAL POLICY/HEALTH/CONSUMER AFFAIRS

### European Institute for Asian Studies

*Free flow, managed movement: labour mobility policies in ASEAN and the EU*

by Jennee Grace U. Rubrico [@jenneeatwork](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

Europe has been at the forefront of labour mobility since 1957, when it enshrined the principle of free movement of workers in the treaty that created the EEC. Fifty-eight years after Europe started its intraregional labour mobility effort, the ASEAN is set to follow suit. Its approach, however, differs sharply from the EU's one. This paper explores the two regions' frameworks, looking into similarities and differences as well as the principles that led to the formulation of such approaches.

### Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche (The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies)

*SEE 2020 strategy - Study on labour mobility*

by Hermine Vidovic

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (46 p.)

The study focuses on cross-border mobility in the Western Balkans, which has been identified in the SEE 2020 Strategy as contributing to generating employment, reducing the skills mismatch and increasing productivity. Potential migration/labour flows of the Western Balkan countries within the region and into the EU-14 and the new EU Member States-10 are analysed by adopting a gravity modelling approach. Accordingly, lifting restrictions on labour market access increases both migration flows to EU-14 as well as intra-regional flows. If macroeconomic indicators (employment rates and GDP per capita) improve further in the Western Balkans then this causes a certain amount of redirection of mobility from extra-regional mobility to more intra-regional mobility.

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

*Capital, labour, democracy and the end of capitalism*

by Annamária Artner [@a\\_artner](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (36 p.)

This essay aims to clarify the meanings of free market and democracy, and their relationship. Based on the general and specific definitions of democracy, it distinguishes between the concepts of de jure and de facto equality, and analyses the impact of the most important working mechanism of a market economy – competition – on inequalities. It discusses the real inequalities manifested in income and the ownership of the means of production, and also the inequalities within capital, and between capital and wage labour. By reflecting upon these inequalities, the study looks at how free market forces work towards the erosion of democracy and constrain the practical utilization of democratic institutions.

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

*Giving teeth to the EU's social dimension: dismal failure and promising potential*

by Alexander Schellinger

September 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

This paper is a translation of the [German original](#), previously included in our review. It argues social dimension in the EU has been weakened between 1990s and in the wake of the euro crisis. However the author claims that, if the framework won't change, a further development of the EU welfare system is difficult, but possible: the parity between economic and social policy actors in the European Semester, the use of the enhanced cooperation procedure and the strengthening of employees and trade unions by means of codetermination and social dialogue can be the cornerstones of a sustainable reorientation. Progressive governments in key Member States and the new political dependence of the European Commission could play a crucial role.

## **Bertelsmann Stiftung**

*Social justice in the EU – Index report 2015*

by Daniel Schraad-Tischler

2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (178 p.)

The Bertelsmann Stiftung conducts an annual study of developments in opportunities for social participation in all 28 EU Member States. Despite economic recovery, the gap between young and old is growing and the social divide between northern and southern Europe remains immense.

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

*Social tourism? EU-domstolens senaste praxis avseende icke-aktiva unionsmedborgares rätt till förmåner*

by Emma Holm

October 2015

Link to the article in [Swedish](#) (8 p.)

The free mobility of EU citizens imply a right to be treated equally with respect to social benefits in the new host country. However, some Member States have attempted to restrict the ability of economically non-active persons to make use of these benefits. In this publication the author explains how the EU Court of Justice over time has changed its position and increasingly given its consent to this view. Possibly a reaction to the rising apprehension among Member States with respect to social tourism.

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

*Global social protection: setting the agenda*

by Peggy Levitt, Charlotte Lloyd, Armin Mueller and Jocelyn Viterna

28 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (29 p.)

Nowadays more than 220 million people live in a country that is not their own. Many people live transnational lives but the social contract between citizen and state is national. How are people on the move protected and provided for in this new global context? This paper proposes a new Global Social Protection (GSP) research agenda. This working paper defines GSP; introduces the idea of a "resource environment" as a heuristic tool with which to map and analyse variations in GSP over

time, through space, and across individuals; and provides empirical examples demonstrating the centrality of GSP for scholars of states, social welfare, development, and migration.

*The political sources of solidarity in diverse societies*

by Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka  
7 October 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (42 p.)

This paper focuses on the political sources of solidarity. Much has been written about the economic and social factors that influence the willingness of the public to accept and support immigrants and minorities. But solidarity is also a political phenomenon. This paper looks at the politics of diversity from the opposite direction, asking what are the potential sources of political support for inclusion, and the conditions under which they are effective. It advances a framework for analysis which incorporates three levels: the sense of political community, the role of political agents, and impact of political institutions and policy regimes.

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

*Who's breadwinning in Europe? A comparative analysis of maternal breadwinning in Great Britain and Germany*

by Giselle Cory [@gisellecory](#) and Alfie Stirling [@alfie\\_stirling](#)  
October 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (38 p.)

As the number of maternal breadwinners continues to rise across Europe, this report compares the demographics of this phenomenon both across the continent and in Britain and Germany specifically, considering how policy should respond to better support families and promote greater gender equality.

### **Overseas Development Institute**

*Addressing gender in impact evaluation - What should be considered?*

by Gillian Fletcher [@GCFletch](#), Anne Buffardi, Annermarie Reerink, Greet Peersman, Irene Guijt [@guijti](#), Patricia Rogers [@patriciairogers](#), Sally Moyle, Simon Hearn and Tiina Pasanen  
October 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

This paper is intended to be a resource for development practitioners and evaluators who want to include a focus on gender impact when commissioning or conducting evaluations. Its aim is to help clarify what gender means and why it should be considered in all development interventions; and to offer recommendations on what needs to be considered when assessing (positive and negative) gender-related impact; and what methods and tools can help assess gender in impact evaluation of interventions.

*The European Union's new Gender Action Plan 2016-2020: gender equality and women's empowerment in external relations*

by Helen O'Connell  
26 October 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

The [EU's framework](#), Gender equality and women's empowerment: transforming the lives of girls and women through EU external relations 2016-2020, outlines an ambitious approach to gender equality and the promotion, protection and fulfilment of women's and girls' human rights. The framework is narrow in focus, but broad in scope and engagement. It seeks to concentrate the efforts of all EU actors on a shift in institutional culture, and three thematic areas: girls' and women's physical and psychological integrity, their economic and social rights, and voice and

participation. While the new framework offers a real opportunity to improve EU action on gender equality, its strengths are dependent on success in addressing the potential risk and weakness. Seizing this opportunity will require sustained leadership from the Commission and the EEAS, as well as more knowledge, capacity and commitment across all staff.

## **World Economic Forum**

*How 21st-century longevity can create markets and drive economic growth*

5 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

Population ageing is one of the greatest trends shaping the 21st century social, economic and political life. As the world approaches 2020 there will be 1 billion people over the age of 60 and virtually all of the OECD countries will have more old than young, with the rest of the world not far behind in this trend. This paper describes how this demographic shift can be a driver of economic growth at national, regional and global levels, and highlights companies who have already begun to strategically position themselves in what they regard as a market growth opportunity.

## **ENVIRONMENT**

### **Fondation pour l'innovation politique**

*Good COP21, bad COP21 (1) : le Kant européen et le Machiavel chinois*

by Albert Bressand

15 October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (50 p.)

*Good COP21, bad COP21 (2) : une réflexion à contre-courant*

by Albert Bressand

15 October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (50 p.)

This two paper focuses on the next [COP21](#). Even though it will enjoy a wide-range consciousness about climatic problems, negotiations will be difficult due to national concerns, the papers argue. While the EU approach is stigmatized as too much focused on ethic rather than practical goals, the Chinese one is indicated as the most suitable for carrying negotiations out. However, the focus on national concerns showed by all the international actors except EU, maintains the author, put on danger the possibility to reach an agreement and to respect COP21 main task - namely, to limit global warming up to 2°C.

## **LSE IDEAS**

*Paving the road to Paris? What the EU can do to facilitate a political climate deal*

by Olivia Gippner

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.)

The article argues that the EU cannot take a political leadership role itself beyond developing its technological innovation capacity. Instead, the EU can offer its experience in implementing climate policy domestically and building relationships with foreign climate change policy elites. This gives the EU an ideal skill set to facilitate negotiations, support China and the US to achieve their declared commitments, and "plug in" with more hesitant countries such as Australia.

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

### *Paris Stress Test: Can the UN climate talks deliver?*

by Antto Vihma

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

How the Paris agreement is perceived in the public opinion has consequences for later events – in terms of good and bad publicity, political pressure, momentum, and hope. It will have impacts on countries' political opportunities to strengthen their national contributions, as well as on the credibility of the UN climate regime as a whole. It is tempting to think that in case the negotiations with the UNFCCC's near universal membership fail, a small group of global powers could cut a deal. However, this will be the case only if the UNFCCC stumbles procedurally. If the interests of great powers are too diverse, and domestic support for climate action too weak, changing the room and number of players will do little to help.

## **Centre for European Policy Studies**

### *Mitigation value, networked carbon markets and the Paris climate change agreement*

by Andrei Marcu

5 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (29 p.)

This paper assumes carbon markets are undergoing a significant transformation, moving from what could be called Greenhouse Gas (GHG) Markets 1.0, to a new state that may be called GHG Markets 2.0. A global carbon market remains a key objective, but may take some time to become a reality. The paper identifies four scenarios with increasing centralized governance for the framework of carbon markets under the upcoming 2015 Paris agreement. It argues that unless a centralised framework is put in place, it is unlikely that there will be overlap and conflict between the international agreement framework and an NCM.

## **World Economic Forum**

### *Scaling technologies to decarbonize energy*

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (30 p.)

Accelerating the development of technologies to decarbonize energy will be at the core of tackling climate change effectively at the speed required. The Global Agenda Council on Decarbonizing Energy is a global group of experts convened within the World Economic Forum's Network of Global Agenda Councils for the 2015/2016 term. Mandated to identify effective pathways to decarbonizing the energy mix and catalyse their implementation, the group is focusing on deploying technologies that hold significant potential to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from the energy sector. This paper presents the interim findings, including a set of high-potential technologies and pathways to scale.

## EDUCATION/YOUTH/CULTURE/SPORT

### Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

*Ethics and religion: what's the EU got to do with it?*

by Jos J.A.M. van Gennip

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (66 p.)

This essay argues that there is a strong relationship between ethics, religion and the EU. The Member States and member parties of the European People's Party should be leading the debate on ethics, values and religion, consistently applying the principle of subsidiarity: although policy matters should be dealt with at the lowest possible level of decision-making, some are best dealt with by a common approach at the EU level.



## SECTION 5 - FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

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

*The constitutional and historical relevance of the AFSJ and the CFSP/ESDP*

by Massimo Fichera [@massimofichera](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

The historical development and legislative framework of, on the one hand, the area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ) and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) on the other reflect essential components of a security-identity continuum in the EU. The author of this analysis argues that these components exist in the form of a specific attitude of the EU to the global scene, illustrated by the EU's attempts to export its own values. By giving examples he shows that the areas are intertwined in a way which is rarely reflected in the literature but which is important to be aware of for the sake of understanding the functioning and self-representation of the EU.

*Intelligence and decision-making within the Common Foreign and Security Policy*

by Björn Fägersten [@BFagersten](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

During the last decade there has been a considerable increase in European intelligence cooperation within the realm of foreign and security policy. This publication analyses the organisation and process of European intelligence cooperation and the effect that this cooperation is having on European foreign policy. It also argues that the system should be further developed with an eye on the interaction between producers and consumers of intelligence.

#### **OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions**

*Reviving co-operative security in Europe through the OSCE*

by Teija Tiilikainen (ed.)

1 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (31 p.)

This paper is a summary report edited on the basis of the contributions received from the members of the OSCE research network. The topics cover the main functions of the OSCE, analysing general trends for the future from a broad perspective and putting emphasis on recommendations for how to improve the organization's position and efficiency in the field of cooperative security.

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

*From Wales to Warsaw: a new normal for NATO?*

by Aylin Matlé and Alessandro Scheffler Corvaja

6 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

This paper analyses outcomes emerging from the last year's NATO Summit in Wales. The crises on NATO's Eastern and Southern flank that have emerged in 2014 have permanently changed the security environment in Europe. After the immediate measures included in the Readiness Action

Plan agreed to in Wales, the political guidance marks the first step of NATO's long-term adaptation to this "new normal".

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

*A new normal for NATO and Baltic Sea security*

by Anna Wieslander [@AnnwieAnna](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

Although movements are limited, the prospects of Sweden and Finland joining NATO attracts a lot of attention. Meanwhile, with less spotlight but more speed, the two Nordic states have started building a new and deepened relation with the Alliance close to home. In just a year's time, a new normal for cooperative security in the Baltic Sea region has been established. How did this change come about?

### **Institut français des relations internationales**

*Le piège de la guerre hybride*

by Elie Tenenbaum [@ElieTenenbaum](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (55 p.)

Since its inception in the mid-2000s, hybrid warfare has become a fashionable concept among Western strategic community. At the political and strategic level, the hybrid notion reflects the porosity between irregular and regular warfare. At the operational level, it describes sophisticated forms of manoeuvre combining dispersion and concentration. At the tactical and capability level, it portrays the lethal mix of modern conventional equipment traditionally associated with regular warfare, and the use of non-linear tactics, typical of irregular warfare. This innovative mode of fighting is now showing its successes on a wide variety of theatres and with belligerents as different as Russia in Ukraine, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, or the drug cartels in Mexico. One should not, however, be blinded by the hybrid branding for only differentiated strategies will allow to counter such a wide variety of threats.

### **Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)**

*Global connections, regional implications: an overview of the Baltic cyber threat landscape*

by Patrik Maldre [@pmaldre](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.)

This report provides a brief overview of the global and Baltic cyber threat landscape, with a particular view toward strategic threats to national and international security. The findings confirm the oft-stated view that cyber threats are becoming more numerous and sophisticated year after year and that increasing cooperation and investment are crucial to countering them. The report provides evidence for these claims primarily by examining and aggregating data from annual reports by global security companies and Baltic cyber security agencies, as well as from research papers focused on particular advanced actors and campaigns.

*Volunteers' Expectations and Perceived Obligations in the Danish Home Guard Compared to the Estonian Defence League*

by Silva Kiili

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.)

In this study, opportunities to maintain and enhance volunteers' performance are analysed via the theory of psychological contracts—a theory which in the last decade has attracted greater interest among researchers all over the world. The current analysis consists of four parts. First, it introduces the concept of the psychological contract. It discusses the content of the psychological contracts of volunteers in the Danish Home Guard, followed by a comparison with the contracts of volunteers in the Estonian Defence League. The final part contains recommendations for management.

## GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGY

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

*EU mobility regimes and visa policy towards ENP countries*

by Perrine Dumas and Iris Goldner Lang

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

This paper compares the instruments which enhance the mobility of ENP Mediterranean and Eastern citizens, by distinguishing between visa cooperation and legal migration matters. The analysis suggests that cooperation in the field of legal migration, and especially social security rights, is more developed with Mediterranean Partners than with Eastern ones. As far as visa cooperation is concerned, it is, conversely, more developed with Eastern Partners. It appears that the instruments tailored in the context of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice are more appropriate to favouring the short stay of ENP nationals in the EU, to the Association Agreements. In any case, at this point, the opportunities provided by these instruments have not been fully exploited and cooperation levels remain weak.

### **Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)**

*From Seville to Brussels: the architecture of global presence*

by Iliana Olivié [@iolivie](#) and Manuel Gracia

9 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.) and in [Spanish](#) (14 p.)

One way to assess the extent and shape of the complex link between the domestic sphere of a country's economic, political and social systems and its international projection, as well as the relationship between internal and foreign policies, is by means of the Elcano Global Presence Index. The index value of the EU can be disaggregated into economic, military and soft dimensions and variables or from a geographical focus, taking into account the relative contribution of each Member State to the Union's total projection. As for Member States, their global presence is the result of the external projection of their regions and communities.

## TRADE

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

#### *EC – Seal products: the tension between public morals and international trade agreements*

by Paola Conconi and Tania Voon

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.)

The EC – Seal Products dispute raises fundamental questions about the relationship between public morals and international trade. Can WTO members impose trade restrictions based on moral or ethical concerns? Under what conditions can these concerns trump existing trade liberalization commitments? The dispute was filed in 2009 by Canada and Norway against the EU, which in the same year had banned seal products from being imported and placed on its market. According to the EU, the policy was introduced in response to European moral outrage at the inhumane killing of seals. This article discusses the Appellate Body's ruling in EC – Seal Products and some of the key legal and economic issues raised by this dispute.

#### *Revisiting procedure and precedent in the WTO : an analysis of "US - countervailing and anti-dumping measures (China)"*

by Mostafa Beshkar and Adam S. Chilton [@adamschilton](#)

October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (25 p.)

After not applying countervailing duty (CVD) law against non-market economies (NMEs) for two decades, the US opened a CVD investigation against China in 2006. After extensive litigation, a US appeals court ruled that it was illegal to apply CVD law to NMEs. While that ruling was being appealed, the US Congress passed legislation stipulating that the application of CVD law to NMEs starting in 2006 was legal. China challenged this legislation at the WTO. The dispute resulted in a ruling that left open the possibility that the legislation violated the GATT, as well as a finding that the US must investigate its application of countervailing and antidumping duties against China. This dispute has implications for a number of current WTO debates including: whether Appellate Body rulings create binding precedent, whether the Appellate Body should have authority to remand cases, and what information should be required in panel requests.

#### *Changes in the jurisprudence of the WTO Appellate Body during the past twenty years*

by Frieder Roessler

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

This paper examines changes in the jurisprudence of the WTO Appellate Body in three areas of law and concludes that the Appellate Body failed to acknowledge and cogently explain in each of these areas the changes it made. It concludes that all changes in jurisprudence reduce predictability but that predictability suffers even more when the changes are made in disguise because panels and Members then receive confused or conflicting normative signals. The paper argues that the Appellate Body should handle changes in jurisprudence more transparently and adopt internal procedures that make the need for them less likely.

## Corporate Europe Observatory

*Public services under attack through TTIP and CETA*

12 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (48 p.) and in [French](#) (52 p.)

Executive summary in [22 languages](#)

Public services in the EU are under threat from international trade negotiations that endanger governments' ability to regulate and citizens' rights to access basic services like water, health, and energy, for the sake of corporate profits. The EU's CETA agreement with Canada, the ratification of which could begin in 2016, and the TTIP treaty under negotiation with the US are the latest culmination in such efforts. In a worst case scenario, they could lock in public services into a commercialisation from which they will not recover – no matter how damaging to welfare the results may be, according to the authors.

## DEVELOPMENT

### Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Heinrich Böll Foundation)

*Europe, Africa, and the Transatlantic: the North – South challenge for development-friendly trade policy*

by Helmut Asche

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (41 p.)

This paper analyses the outcomes of the EPAs the EU proposed to the ACP countries. The author argues the EPAs have been limited to liberalisation of trade in goods only and that these results are critical for ACP development. Developing countries are drawn into comprehensive trade and investment deals with the industrialised North, while remaining loosely integrated within their own regional economic communities indeed. The paper concludes that challenges can be mastered during implementation, and that there still is some essential policy space for national or regional agro-industrial strategies.

### College of Europe / United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies

*Progressive promoter of women's rights? Comparing EU policy towards the ACP and the EMP countries*

by Eleonoora Väänänen

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (34 p.)

The paper offers an analysis of the degree to which two different external policy frameworks of the EU have institutionalised and operationalized the EU's commitment to women's rights and gender equality. It compares the EU's relations with the ACP countries with the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, using Senegal and Morocco as case studies.

### Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

*The "2030 agenda" – More privatization, less democracy?*

by Sabina Wölkner

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

The global consequences of migration, climate change, wars and conflicts require a truly global partnership between developing and emerging countries on the one hand and developed countries

on the other. The success of the [2030 Agenda](#) will not only be measured by new forms of financing, but also by the realization of democracy and the rule of law as well as by the observance of human rights.

## EASTERN PARTNERSHIP

### **Stefan Batory Foundation / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)**

*Eastern Partnership revisited*

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (104 p.)

The paper is focusing on the three EaP countries – Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine – who signed Association Agreements with the EU in 2014. This studies includes an analysis of the current state of reforms, the country-specific actor constellations and their impact on the association process, as well as specific policy recommendations for the ongoing association processes.

### **Foreign Policy Centre**

*Traditional religion and political power: examining the role of the church in Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine and Moldova*

by Adam Hug (ed.) [@AdamHug](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (79 p.)

This publication shows how the churches in Georgia and Armenia have played an important role in helping the re-emergence of their national identities, while in Ukraine and Moldova the religious institutions have been adapting to that change in national identity. In all four states the churches are looking to entrench their role in society and are testing the limits of their influence given that they are the most trusted institutions in each country. Having been pushed to the margins of society in Soviet times, the Orthodox churches have taken the opportunity to place themselves at the centre of national and political life, a position they are unlikely to relinquish in the near future.

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

*Azerbaijan's risky game between Russia and the West*

by Kamran Ismayilov and Konrad Zasztowt [@KZasztowt](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

This paper examines the consequences of the crisis in relations between the EU and Azerbaijan and Azerbaijani-Russian rapprochement for the prospects for EU-Azerbaijan energy projects and regional security in the South Caucasus.

## AFRICA

### **College of Europe / United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies**

*The European Union's regionalism diplomacy in Africa: an English school approach*

by Ueli Staeger [@UeliStaeger](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (34 p.)

This paper proposes an innovative analytical approach to regionalism promotion by the EU in Africa. The approach pursues the dual aim of accommodating African approaches to regionalism in

EU foreign policy analysis and of expounding the centrality of diplomacy in negotiating a renewed EU-African Union relationship. The paper espouses contemporary English School thinking about 'international society' and argues that EU regionalism promotion cannot just remain the expansion of European regional international society onto Africa. Instead, EU regionalism diplomacy should acknowledge and incorporate the anticolonial pan-African roots of African regionalism. It concludes with an outline of a pan-African approach to regionalism diplomacy and avenues for future research.

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

*The future of ACP-EU relations: progress report on a political economy analysis*

13 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (49 p.)

The discussions on the future of the ACP-EU partnership beyond 2020 are in full swing. This progress report presents a set of preliminary findings and emerging conclusions of the political economy analysis of the ACP-EU partnership.

### **CHINA**

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

*Europe's response to China's activism - Balancing hope and fear in the new age of global economic governance*

by Maaïke Okano-Heijmans and Daniel Lanting

29 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (92 p.)

This report springs out of China's increasing role as an influential actor in the field of global economic governance. As the second largest economy in the world and with a trade surplus that dwarfs most other countries China is directly and indirectly influencing the practices, rules and standards of the international system of politics and economics in increasingly diverse ways.

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

*A partial success of trade cooperation within the '16+1' formula: the case of food exports to China*

by Jakub Jakóbowski

28 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.) and in [Polish](#) (8 p.)

The new Chinese agenda to actively develop trade cooperation with the CEE region particularly emphasised one sector of trade: food.

### **Institut für Weltwirtschaft Kiel (Kiel Institute for the World Economy)**

*The EU-China bilateral investment agreement in negotiation: motivation, conflicts and perspectives*

by Frank Bickenbacha, Wan-Hsin Liua and Guoxue Lib

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (33 p.)

Since January 2014? China and the EU have been negotiating a comprehensive bilateral investment agreement. In contrast to TTIP, it have received little public attention so far. Still, a successful conclusion may pave the way for a future EU-China free trade agreement This paper analyses the key barriers investors from China and the EU currently face in the EU and China

respectively and provides a brief assessment of whether and how these key barriers can be dealt with in the comprehensive EU-China investment agreement currently negotiated.

### **Istituto Affari Internazionali**

*Is Europe to benefit from China's belt and road initiative?*

by Nicola Casarini

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

With the [Chinese One Belt One Road](#), a process towards greater Sino European connectivity has been put in place. However, China's initiative also presents the EU with a major political challenge. There is the risk, in fact, that a scramble for Chinese money could further divide EU Member States and make it difficult for Brussels to fashion a common position vis-à-vis Beijing. Furthermore, China's economic penetration into Europe may lead to a populist backlash as well as a strain in relations with Washington.

### **Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)**

*El futuro de América Latina... ¿apunta al Pacífico?: la historia de cómo China ocupó un espacio dejado al descuido*

by Jorge Cachinero [@Jorge Cachinero](#), Carlota Jiménez de Andrade and Adriano Borges [@adriano\\_sombra](#)

29 October 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (9 p.)

China's presence in Latin America has grown and evolved in a very noticeable pace in just over a decade. The Asian giant has begun to show signs of exhaustion and seems to redirect its growth model, moving away from commodities. This, coupled with a renewed US and Europe interest in the region, could alter their relationship with Latin America.

### **Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)**

*The rise of 'Chermany': Germany and China, the big winners in economic globalisation*

by Miguel Otero-Iglesias [@miotei](#)

22 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.) and in [Spanish](#) (14 p.)

Our data show that the European Big Five (EB5) economies have lost considerable ground in their share of world economic presence, especially vis-à-vis the BRICS. However, within the BRICS, the big out-performer is China. Differences also exist within the EB5. Here the big champion is without a doubt Germany. In this regard, the analysis presented here shows that over the past 25 years, the two champions of global economic presence are Germany and China.

## **INDIA**

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

*EU-India strategic partnership needs a reality check*

by Patryk Kugiel

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

The EU-India Strategic Partnership launched in 2004 has made only modest achievements and needs a thorough rethink. Both sides must reset cooperation and base it on a more realistic footing centred on common interests, such as economic cooperation, global governance, development



cooperation, and defence. The resumption of free trade negotiations, the organisation of a long overdue bilateral summit, and more frank dialogue on contentious issues is necessary in order to utilise the partnership's potential. Poland may use this strategic drift to revitalise bilateral cooperation and play a more active role in reviving EU-India dialogue.

## IRAN

### Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

*Vigilancia y límites al programa nuclear de Irán: el Plan de Acción Integral Conjunto (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, JCPOA)*

by Santiago Antón Zunzunegui

October 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (8 p.)

On July 17 in Vienna the five permanent members of the Security Council, Germany and the High Representative of the EU and Iran signed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) to resolve one of the main security problems affecting the international community: the eventual development of nuclear weapons by Iran. This paper analyses the technical aspects of JCPOA obligations related to Iran's nuclear program, contextualizing these obligations to assess its strength and effectiveness, as well as its gaps and weaknesses.

## LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

### Centre d'études et de recherches internationales

*L'insécurité énergétique en Amérique du Sud : développement des réseaux et intégration sectorielle entre le Pérou et le Chili*

by Alvaro Artigas

October 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (42 p.)

The South American continent has experienced a robust economic growth presently overshadowed by an uneven energy integration that fails to meet both an ever-growing industrial and metropolitan demand. Several integration mechanisms co-exist, but a poor integration layout threatens the energy security of the region and individual countries. The example of Chile and Peru integration drive reveals many of these dynamics while showing at the same time the windfalls of a transversal sectorial coordination over diplomatic exchange by individual states. What is the potential for an alternative template where the State will play a less intrusive role while consigning territorial disagreements backstage?

## MACEDONIA

### Център за изследване на демокрацията (Center for the Study of Democracy)

*Monitoring the hidden economy in Macedonia: trends and policy options*

by Ana Mickovska-Raleva and Emil Shurkov

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (77 p.), in [Macedonian](#) (75 p.) and in [Albanian](#) (79 p.)

Macedonia features in many discussions as a country with high hidden economy. The European Commission has repeatedly voiced its concerns in its regular country reports about the size and proliferation of hidden economy practices. This report proposes a methodology that would allow the tracing of the dynamics of the hidden economy and its components over time. This would make possible for the Macedonian government and its European partners to follow the impact and assess the effectiveness of their policies for tackling the hidden economy.

## MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA (MENA)

### International Crisis Group

*Algeria and its neighbours*

12 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (35 p.)

The paper analyses the role of Algeria as an international actor. It focuses on its relationships with EU and US, which has been improved throughout the last decade. Also its diplomatic relations with France and Morocco are highlighted. Within this framework, Algeria is emerging as an indispensable broker of stability in North Africa and the Sahel. However, fears abound that Bouteflika's eventual succession cast a dark shadow over the capacity of Algeria to emerge as a prominent regional interlocutor.

### Istituto Affari Internazionali

*The changing dynamics of cross-border human smuggling and trafficking in the Mediterranean*

by Paola Monzini [@pillalapillaz](#), Nourhan Abdel Aziz [@AzizNourhan](#) and Ferruccio Pastore  
October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (74 p.)

This paper analyses recent developments in migrant smuggling involving Mediterranean MENA countries, with particular regard to cross-Mediterranean smuggling circuits. It explores the main dynamics of routes through and into the area, mainly originating in the Middle East or in West and East African countries. The paper provides an insight into the transnational mechanisms and key trends of this activity with a specific focus on the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes, highlighting the prevalent confinement of the flows in the region and the increasingly blurring lines between smuggling and trafficking practices.

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

*Periphery under pressure: Morocco, Tunisia and the European Union's Mobility Partnership on migration*

by Mohamed Limam and Raffaella A. Del Sarto  
October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (27 p.)

This paper shows that the EU exploited the extremely fragile and uncertain political context after the start of the uprisings, in order to push Morocco and Tunisia to sign up to the Mobility Partnership. What is more, the EU anchored the pursuit of what is a clear EU priority in a normative discourse, effectively linking cooperation on migration to EU support for democratisation in the 'neighbourhood', after the Arab upheavals. The article thus highlights a concrete case in which the EU engaged in realpolitik, using norms and values strategically. However, the normative framing of EU policies also contributed to the construction of an (allegedly) normative EU identity. Hence, the article challenges simplistic notions of 'normative power Europe'.

### Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs

*Realigning EU policy in Palestine: towards a viable state economy and restored dignity*

by Sami Abdel-Shafi  
28 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (30 p.)

The EU's policy towards Palestinian economic development has long been subordinate to the political process between Israel and the Palestinians, which is not functioning. This paper calls for

the EU to rethink its policy to find ways to decouple Palestinian economic development from the political process, to the greatest degree possible. If Palestinians achieve a sovereign state, they will need a viable economy to support it. Conversely, if this fundamental political goal is delayed for the longer term, Palestinians are still entitled to dignified lives until they realize it.

## RUSSIA

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

*Late Putin. The end of growth, the end of stability*

by Marek Menkiszak (ed.) [@MarekMenkiszak](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (36 p.) and in [Polish](#) (35 p.)

After 15 years of Putin's rule, Russia's economic model based on revenue from energy resources has exhausted its potential, and the country has no new model that could ensure continued growth for the economy. The Putinist system of power is starting to show symptoms of agony – it has been unable to generate new development projects, and has been compensating for its ongoing degradation by escalating repression and the use of force. However, this is not equivalent to its imminent collapse.

### **Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais e Segurança (Portuguese Institute of International Relations and Security)**

*Russia's "charm offensive" in Africa: the case of Angola*

by Gustavo Plácido dos Santos

15 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.) and in [Portuguese](#) (4 p.)

The collapse of the Soviet Union was a major blow to ties between Moscow and the African continent. Notwithstanding, for the last decade, Vladimir Putin's Russia has been attempting to re-establish those relations, with its eyes on reverting the economic and financial impact of low oil prices and sanctions, as well as on countering growing international isolation and projecting its influence across other parts of the globe. Africa, and in particular the sub-Saharan region, has huge potential.

### **European Council on Foreign Relations**

*Russia's quiet military revolution and what it means for Europe*

by Gustav Gressel [@GresselGustav](#)

12 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

The author asserts that reforms initiated in response to the blundering invasion of Georgia in 2008, have left Russia with a military that would make short work of any of its neighbours, were they left isolated by their Western allies, though he calls into question Russia's capacity in Syria. He argues that many Western policy makers, have been lulled into a false sense of security by focussing primarily on the military hardware component of Russian military modernisation. Rather, he focusses on administrative and training reforms that have trimmed the size of Russia's top heavy armed forces, producing a group of smaller, more mobile, and more versatile military units.

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

*The Russian threat to security in the Baltic Sea region*

by Kalev Stoicescu

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

In the space of 15 years, under the leadership of President Vladimir Putin, Russia's relationship with the Western world has made the journey from difficult partnership to outright confrontation. Russia's hostility towards the West has deep implications for security and defence in the transatlantic area in general, and in the Nordic–Baltic region in particular.

## Institut français des relations internationales

*There will be gas: Gazprom's transport strategy*

by Aurélie Bros

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (35 p.)

This paper analyses the strategy Gazprom pursues in Ukraine in order to develop its role in EU. Despite the European stagnating demand, Gazprom does not seem to be ready to deflect attention away from the EU market as its first objective consists of increasing or at least maintaining its sales in the continent. For this reason, the key role Ukraine played in transporting Russian gas led firstly Gazprom to control the transit without not so much success in the 1990s. From the 2000s onwards, Gazprom tried to diversify gas supply routes planning the Northern and the Turkish pipeline. Further development in the Ukrainian crisis urged the accomplishment of this plan.

## Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

*The EU-Russia gas relationship: new projects, new disputes?*

by Marco Siddi [@MarcoSiddi](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

The EU-Russia gas trade is facing three sets of challenges: uncertainty over the regular transit of Russian gas via Ukraine next winter; Russia's plans to build new infrastructure for its gas exports to the EU, bypassing Ukraine; the implementation of EU rules to liberalise the internal gas market, which in turn affects the business of Russian energy company Gazprom. As the EU and Russia will remain interdependent in the gas sector for the next decade at least, it is in the interests of both sides to resolve these issues.

## TURKEY

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

*Sophie's choice for the European Union: realpolitik or values? Inshallah both*

by Nilgün Arısan Eralp [@narisn61](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

This is neither an evaluation of the postponed Progress Report 2015 nor an overview of the Turkey-EU relations on the tenth anniversary of the initiation of the accession negotiations that has come almost to a complete halt at the moment, although parties refrain from an irrevocable rupture. Actually, these negotiations stalled almost as soon as they began, first because of the exclusion of Turkey on an identity basis by some Europeans and then Turkey's closed ports and

airports to Cyprus and recently, the growing authoritarianism and evaporating rule of law in the country. At the heart of this analysis lie the frozen conflicts in the region, and especially the Nagorno-Karabakh war, that reverberates across the political interaction of all three triangles. The authors hope that a systematic look at the global political and economic context of this conflict will help promote greater stability and openness in the region.

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

*From blame game to cooperation: EU-Turkey response to the Syrian refugee crisis*

by Pinar Elman [@PinarElman](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

Even with increased international funding, the refugee challenge may be beyond Turkey's capacity. The EU's recent response is a positive step but is unlikely to suffice in preventing further tragedies. The EU must adopt a genuine policy on the matter, taking into account the two dimensions of Turkey's reality as both a host and transit country for refugees.

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

*Turkey and the Syrian refugee problem*

by Aleksandra Jarosiewicz and Krzysztof Strachota

30 September 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.) and in [Polish](#) (6 p.)

Turkey plays a key role in the crisis caused by the migration of refugees from Syria. Turkey is also the first stop in the main migration route from Syria to Europe, and remains the shortest route to Europe for the anticipated new waves of migrants. Turkey's involvement in the refugee issue, and more broadly in the war in Syria, is long-term and many-layered. Opportunities to reduce Turkey's Syrian refugee influx to Europe, and for Turkey to become more effectively involved in solving the humanitarian and refugee crisis in Syria, are now severely limited. This is due to both the scale of the growing problem concerning Turkey's capabilities, as well as the current domestic context.

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

*The West's darling in Syria - seeking support, the Kurdish Democratic Union Party brandishes an anti-jihadist image*

by Khaled Yacoub Oweis

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The three cantons, which border Turkey, are dominated by the Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD). The party is linked to the Kurdistan Workers' Party, a former client of the Syrian regime and considered a "terrorist" group by the US, the EU, and Turkey. At the risk of deepening an Arab Sunni backlash that has fanned radicalization, Washington is set ever more on the prospect of the PYD retaking mostly Arab territory captured by the Islamic State. In line with German reluctance to arm warring sides, Berlin has refrained from giving military aid to the PYD, which is accused of carrying out war crimes. Still, an international effort to rebuild the cantons tied to breaking the PYD's monopoly on them could help stabilize the area – even more so if Turkey could be brought on board.

## Pew Research Center

*Deep divisions in Turkey as election nears, but Turks share negative views of foreign powers*

by Jacob Poushter [@japoushter](#)

15 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

As a result of a political deadlock stemming from the June 2015 parliamentary elections in Turkey, President Erdogan has called a snap election, set for November 1, 2015. Even before the current political stalemate, Turks were split on whether the democratic system in their country was working, and positive views of Erdogan were at their lowest point since 2012. However, a majority of Turks still prefer a democratic form of government rather than a leader with a strong hand to guide their country.

## UKRAINE

### Instytut Spraw Publicznych (Institute of Public Affairs) / Bertelsmann Stiftung

*Ukrainians look to the West*

by Jacek Kucharczyk, Agnieszka Łada [@AgnieszkaLada](#) and Łukasz Wenerski [@LWenerski](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (32 p.) and in [Polish](#) (34 p.)

The present report describes how Ukrainian society evaluates the policies of its the most important Western partners. Furthermore, it analyses Ukrainian expectations on the further actions the international community has to set towards the country. The study also shows what the current level of support for integration with the EU and the Eurasian Union is.

### Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

*Supporting Ukraine's difficult path towards reforms*

by Jan Jakub Chromiec and Nicole Koenig [@Nic\\_Koenig](#)

22 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.), in [French](#) (26 p.) and in [German](#) (26 p.)

Ukraine's past attempts to reform and modernize have seen many failures and setbacks. The change in government triggered by the Maidan protests has raised hopes that this time will be different. Will it really and what could be done to make it happen? The present paper addresses this question by reviewing post-Maidan reform progress, assessing the EU's current support and identifying what the latter could do to enhance the odds of sustainable progress.

### Royal United Services Institute

*Anti-corruption reform and business security in Ukraine: glass half full?*

by Sarah Lain [@sarahlain12](#) and Alisa Voznaya [@alisavoznaya](#)

28 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (36 p.)

To increase the country's attractiveness to investors, the Ukrainian government, with support from the international community, is attempting to understand, prioritise and address the systemic problems within its political, economic and cultural systems. Corruption has been the most prominent issue of the reform discussion. This has not only caused huge losses for the state and the Ukrainian people, but it has also been one of the most significant deterrents to outside investors. It has eroded any trust in the country's system of governance. The government has placed tackling corruption at the forefront of its reform agenda.

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

*Międzynarodowa pomoc dla Ukrainy. Szanse dla polskich firm i organizacji*

by Patryk Kugiel and Piotr Kościński

5 October 2015

Link to the article in [Polish](#) (88 p.)

The Ukrainian transformation triggered by the Maidan revolution has boosted development assistance for Ukraine offered by international and bilateral donors, including Poland. This opens more extensive funding opportunities for development projects and investments to Polish companies and organisations, but so far Polish entities have not seized the opportunities available. This publication presents the engagement of key donors in Ukraine and indicates how Polish companies and NGOs can launch new cooperation projects, taking advantage of additional financial resources to support the modernisation and development of Poland's eastern neighbour.

## **Rytų Europos studijų centras (Eastern Europe Studies Centre)**

*Decentralization and local elections: another huge challenge for Ukraine*

by Iuliia Serbina and Iurii Vdovenko

21 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

This paper focusses on two very sensitive domestic issues in Ukraine. the decentralisation reform and the local election process are closely interconnected and therefore legitimately share the space in this publication.

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

*The migration of Ukrainians in times of crisis*

by Marta Jaroszewicz [@m\\_jaroszewicz](#)

19 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.) and in [Polish](#) (8 p.)

Before the Russian annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of the conflict in eastern Ukraine, the scale of labour outward migration of Ukrainians had been characterised by a slight downward trend. Back in 2014, an increase in the number of Ukrainians who migrated to Russia was observed, although no similar increase was recorded for EU countries (excluding Poland). The year 2015 brought a more rapid surge in the number of Ukrainians migrating to the EU, mainly to Poland.

## **SPECIAL FOCUS - RISE OF ISIS, FOREIGN FIGHTERS AND TERRORISM**

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

*How "Islamic State" recruits fighters in Germany*

by Thomas Volk

7 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

There are over 7,000 Salafists living in Germany. Over 700 people have travelled to "IS"-controlled territory in Syria and Iraq from Germany, the number of "IS" returnees is on the rise. A historical-critical exegesis of the Quran, an expansion of Islamic religious education in schools, increased use of German as the medium in which sermons are delivered in mosques, employment of more Muslim chaplains, as well as websites aimed at young people that promote considered Islam can counter the alarming trend of increasing Islamist radicalization.

### **International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague**

*Fickle foreign fighters? A cross-case analysis of seven Muslim foreign fighter mobilisations (1980-2015)*

by Isabelle Duyvesteyn [@IDuyvesteyn](#) and Bram Peeters [@BramPeetersNL](#)

19 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (37 p.)

Since the 1980s, several conflict zones around the world have attracted tens of thousands of combatants with no apparent link to the conflict other than religious affinity. This paper focuses on the conflicts that in the past 35 years have triggered Muslims worldwide to leave their home country and become a foreign fighter and it tries to gauge the validity of the explanatory factors that are relevant to understand why some conflicts attract far more foreign fighters than others. It concludes that accessibility to the battlefield, the cohesion of the insurgent group and the chances of success are all relevant to explain the divergence in foreign fighter presence.

### **Royal United Services Institute**

*Inherently unresolved: the military operation against ISIS*

by Elizabeth Quintana and Jonathan Eyal [@JEyal\\_RUSI](#) (eds.)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (56 p.)

The military operation (primarily to deny ISIS a safe haven) was designed to contain ISIS in order to buy time in which the political and governance strands could take effect. This occasional paper, the second of two exploring international efforts to counter ISIS, examines three key elements of the military aspect – the air campaign, the land component and the battle of the narrative – with each chapter considering the broader coalition effort before focusing on the UK contribution. The final chapter then assesses in detail the domestic terrorist threat posed by ISIS to the UK and its response to this threat so far.



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

*Moroccan foreign fighters - Evolution of the phenomenon, promotive factors, and the limits of hardline policies*

by Mohammed Masbah [@MasbahMohammed](#)

October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

With a contingent of around 1,500 fighters, Morocco is considered one of the main exporters of foreign fighters to Syria. Until 2014, Moroccan authorities, who were content to see their own jihadist leave and add to the pressure on Bashar al-Assad, mostly turned a blind eye to networks of recruitment. Since the dramatic rise of the so-called Islamic State, or ISIS, concern over local repercussions and the return of war-hardened radicals has prompted Rabat to adopt a hardline, security-oriented approach instead. Repression, however, is unlikely to uproot these networks. Instead, a comprehensive strategy for de-radicalization should aim to rehabilitate and reintegrate returning fighters, and use their example to dissuade others.

*Avantgarde des internationalen Terrorismus*

by Guido Steinberg

October 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (8 p.)

Since spring 2015, Yemen is stroked by the civil war. Destabilization has increased the influence of Yemeni al-Qaida, who controlled South Yemen and it gained more room for its actions. The paper focuses on its development and advocates for a immediate, containing strategy as its strengthening will aggravate political framework in Yemen and it will exacerbate the terrorist threat to Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, it has repeatedly attempted to carry out attacks on transatlantic air services.

## **Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (Hanns Seidel Foundation)**

*Frieden in Sicht? Die aktuellen Entwicklungen in Syrien*

by Martin Pabst

26 October 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (10 p.)

The paper is exploring current and ongoing development in the Syrian civil war and argues that the escalation of the war could accelerate the search for a compromise. The empowerment of IS and the increasing number of Syrian refugees in MENA and Europe are urging international actors for finding a solution. Furthermore, during this autumn Russia became one of the most prominent interlocutors in the Syrian framework.

## REGARDS CROISÉS

### Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations)

*Territorialreform in Frankreich: Ambitionierter Start, Schwächen im Abschluss*

by Dominik Grillmayer

October 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (14 p.)

A year ago Francois Hollande announced a local government reform to make France more efficient and competitive and contribute to the austerity measures of the French government. Now it has taken the parliamentary hurdle and is a done deal. Whether it succeeded and has eliminated the shortcomings of the recent territorial order of France, is another matter.

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

*The uncertain future of the coal energy industry in Germany*

by Rafał Bajczuk [@RBajczuk](#)

20 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.) and in [Polish](#) (8 p.)

As the German government admits, in order to reach the long-term emission reduction objectives, it is necessary to completely liquidate the coal energy industry.

### Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

*Elecciones legislativas portuguesas 2015: expectativas frustradas y pactos postelectorales*

by Antonio R. Rubio Plo [@arubioplo](#)

29 October 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (7 p.)

The Portuguese legislative elections of 4 October 2015 gave victory to the centre-right Social Democratic Party and the Democratic and Social Centre (PSD / CDS), but without an absolute majority. However, the claim of the Socialist leader, António Costa, to be prime minister through pacts with the leftist formations, has altered the coordinates of the Portuguese political life for the first time in 40 years.

### Centre for European Reform

*Gain or more pain in Spain?*

by Simon Tilford [@SimonTilford](#)

19 October 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

Spain is the eurozone's latest poster child for austerity and structural reforms. The country's economy is growing robustly on the back of strong employment growth, recovering real wages and a pick-up in business investment. Indeed, Spain is on course to be the fastest expanding big economy in the EU this year.