



Brugge

College of Europe  
Collège d'Europe



Natolin

# The Israeli lobby for Research and Innovation in the European Union

## An example of efficient cooperation in the European Neighbourhood?

Benedict J.A. Göbel



DEPARTMENT OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL  
AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

Bruges Political Research Papers

49 / 2016





Brugge

College of Europe  
Collège d'Europe



Natolin

European Political and Administrative Studies /  
Etudes politiques et administratives européennes

Bruges Political Research Papers / Cahiers de recherche politique de Bruges  
No 49 / February 2016

The Israeli lobby for Research and Innovation in the European Union  
An example of efficient cooperation in the European Neighbourhood?

By Benedict J.A. Göbel

© Benedict J.A. Göbel

European Political and Administrative Studies/  
Études Politiques et Administratives  
Dijver 11, B-8000 Brugge, Belgium  
[www.coleurope.eu/pol](http://www.coleurope.eu/pol)



## About the author

Benedict Göbel was a M.A. student in the EU Political and Administrative Studies department at the College of Europe in 2015 (Falcone and Borsellino Promotion). He also holds a double degree in Political Sciences from Sciences-Po Paris and the *Otto-Suhr Institut* of the Freie Universität in Berlin. Benedict previously worked as research assistant to Professor Zaki Laidi at the *Centre for European Studies* of Sciences-Po Paris and currently works as a trainee in the Cabinet of Commissioner Johannes Hahn, who is responsible for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement negotiations.

**Contact Details:** [benedict.gobel@coleurope.eu](mailto:benedict.gobel@coleurope.eu)

This paper is a revised version of the Master's thesis supervised by Professor Rudolf Hrbek.



## **Editorial Team**

Michele Chang, Laurie Andrieu, Umur Akansel, Sébastien Commain, Brice Cristoforetti,

Katherine McKeon, Samuel Verschraegen, and Olivier Costa

Dijver 11, B-8000 Bruges, Belgium | Tel. +32 (0) 50 477 281 | Fax +32 (0) 50 477 280

email [michele.chang@coleurope.eu](mailto:michele.chang@coleurope.eu) | website [www.coleurope.eu/pol](http://www.coleurope.eu/pol)

Views expressed in the Bruges Political Research Papers are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect positions of either the series editors or the College of Europe. If you would like to be added to the mailing list and be informed of new publications and department events, please email [rina.balbaert@coleurope.eu](mailto:rina.balbaert@coleurope.eu). Or find us on Facebook: [www.facebook.com/coepol](http://www.facebook.com/coepol)



## **Abstract**

Israel figures among the world-leaders in R&D expenditure and has a high-performing scientific community. Since the 1990s it has been associated with the Scientific Policy of the European Union via the European Research Framework Programmes (FP). The cooperation between Israel and the EU in this domain has gradually increased and benefits the scientific communities on both sides. In 2014 the association of Israel to the latest and biggest European FP ever adopted (Horizon 2020) was renewed for the fourth time. Based on all the scientific evidence provided, the elaboration of a European Research Policy can be identified as a highly regulated domain, offering relevant 'channels of influence'.

These channels offer Israel the opportunity to act within the Research Policy system. Being a member of several formal EU bodies in charge of implementing EU Research Policy, Israel is able to introduce its positions effectively. This is accompanied by an outstanding level of activity by Israel in linking concrete EU Research Policy measures to the Israeli Scientific Community at the national level. To carry out this task, Israel relies on an effective organization, which remodels the provided EU structures: European 'National Contact Points' (NCPs) are concentrated within the 'Europe Israel R&D Directorate' (ISERD). ISERD connects efficiently all the relevant actors, forums and phases of EU-Israeli Research Policy. ISERD can be recognized as being at the heart of Israel's research cooperation with the EU, and its structure may be a source of inspiration for other policy domains involving European cooperation with non-EU states.



Since the association of Israel to the European Research Framework Programmes<sup>1</sup> (FP) in the 1990s, the EU-Israeli cooperation in the domain of research has gradually increased. The benefits for the scientific community on both sides are considerable, and the association of Israel to the latest and biggest European FP ever adopted (Horizon 2020) was renewed recently. More generally, “the cooperation between Israel and the EU on research and innovation is a key element of our broader relations”, as certified by former European Commissioner for Research Máire Geoghegan-Quinn.<sup>2</sup> Israel gained efficiency and a presence in European research activities comparable to that of the most performing Member States of the European Union (MSEU). Further, the high return on investments generated for Israel makes its participation in the European FP a notable economic issue.<sup>3</sup> This consideration raises the question if Israel's interests in the field of research and innovation policies are organized at European level. And for the cases in which they are, how are they organized?

With this research question in mind, the following analysis aims at shedding light on a domain where a lack of information often plays in favor of diffused preconceptions.<sup>4</sup> Interest groups<sup>5</sup> are necessary for the well-functioning of the EU political process and are recognized for their substantial role in their interactions with the European institutions.<sup>6</sup> On one hand, interest groups address a legitimacy gap between the European institutions and the European citizens;<sup>7</sup> on the other hand, interest groups play the role of an indispensable channel of expertise beneficial to the European institutions.<sup>8</sup> This paper therefore tests the following hypothesis: Regarding the high interests at stake for Israel in the domain of research cooperation on one hand, and the openness of the Commission for external interests on the other hand, Israel's interests in the domain of research are likely

---

<sup>1</sup> To avoid confusions, this paper adopts the English spelling for 'Programme' as used in the official documents of the European Commission.

<sup>2</sup> ISERD, 'Horizon 2020 – The European R&D Programme Takes Off', ISERD – The Israel-Europe R&D Directorate, 2014, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD\\_EN.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD_EN.pdf), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The return on Investment is at around 60%. See: Chapter II.

<sup>4</sup> See in particular the books and blog of David Cronin: retrieved on 5.05.2015: <http://dvcronin.blogspot.be/2010/11/how-israel-lobby-dictates-eu-policy.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Interest groups, interest representations, and lobbying groups are used interchangeably.

<sup>6</sup> J. Greenwood, *Interest Representation in the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> V. Schmidt, 'Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Output, Input and Throughput' in: KFG Working Paper Series, No. 21, November 2010, Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG) "The Transformative Power of Europe", Freie Universität Berlin.

<sup>8</sup> J. Greenwood, *op. cit.*

to be represented at the European level. Lying at crossroads between interest representation in the EU, European Research Policy and Israel-EU relations, the analysis enters '*terra incognita*'. As introduced in the research question, this analysis will concentrate on the identification of actors and structures and not on strategies or methods of Israel's interest representation. The topic will be addressed in three consecutive steps. First, the general context of research policies and spending in the EU and in Israel will be addressed to provide the necessary knowledge base. Second, emphasis will be put on the European Research Policy, with the aim to identify 'channels of influence'. These channels of influence, subsumed in a general 'model on influencing European research policy', will serve as indicators for the identification of Israel's interest groups in a third step. This approach underlies the supposition that Israel is a rational actor which - for the case it is present in Brussels in research policy fields - will be present close to those channels where influence is possible. The research is based on qualitative interviews as well as on quantitative empirical analysis.

## **1. Research Matters: Research and Innovation in the EU and Israel**

Generally speaking, EU spending in research and innovation (R&I) is part of a broader approach targeted on growth and innovation, benefiting the technological and industrial dimensions of research.<sup>9</sup> The overall spending of the Union in research and innovation has consistently increased since the launch of the policy and amounts to €78.6 bn under the H2020 Research Framework Programme (compared to €50.5 bn for the 7<sup>th</sup> Research Framework Programme (FP7)).<sup>10</sup> The remote target of the EU to dedicate 3% of GDP to R&I was not reached under the Lisbon Strategy, and it remains to be seen if it will be reached under Europe 2020, the current percentage stagnating at around 2,1%.<sup>11</sup>

In order to implement the strategies and policies above, take charge of the distribution of the funding of its FP, and contribute to a better linkage of European sciences projects, numerous research-related organizations, agencies or projects are attributed their own specific role. The multiplicity of actors, the most important ones being

---

<sup>9</sup> 'Research and Innovation' (R&I) is a term specific to the European Commission and covers activities commonly known under the description 'Research and Development' (R&D). Both terms are used interchangeably.

<sup>10</sup> European Commission, Factsheet Horizon 2020 Budget, retrieved on 13 April 2015, [http://ec.europa.eu/research/horizon2020/pdf/press/fact\\_sheet\\_on\\_horizon2020\\_budget.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/horizon2020/pdf/press/fact_sheet_on_horizon2020_budget.pdf).

<sup>11</sup> European Commission, 'Europe 2020 Targets: Research and Development', Retrieved on 16.04.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/themes/16\\_rd\\_target\\_02.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/themes/16_rd_target_02.pdf).

summarized in Annex I, and their intertwinement is confusing and requires a certain level of expertise to see through. This observation is important insofar that complex administrative structures are deterrents for potential applicants. The complexity is such that specialized firms have emerged to give professional advice and help projects to maneuver through the European research funding jungle.<sup>12</sup>

### High-Quality Israeli Research

Compared to the complex and hesitant research spending in the EU, Israel falls clearly out of range. A comparison of R&I expenditure shows that research plays a far more important role in Israel than it does in any MSEU.<sup>13</sup> Its performance in research is impressive and far above the European average for a majority of indicators.<sup>14</sup> Israel is rightly considered being part of the European 'Innovation Leaders',<sup>15</sup> with a quality of research equal to those of the most advanced EU Member States.<sup>16</sup> This makes Israel a highly reliable and valuable partner for Europe in the field of R&I policies.<sup>17</sup>

Israel's R&I spending amounts 4,2 % of GDP, double the EU average<sup>18</sup> and characterized by a very knowledge-intensive economy which carries most of the research expenditures of the country.<sup>19</sup> Expenditures of the public sector account only for about 24% of total R&I spending, leaving the major share of investments in the hands of the private sector.<sup>20</sup> This is accompanied by an impressive amount of business researchers, four times superior to the European average (14.8 for Israel, compared to 3.4 in the EU for 2009)<sup>21</sup>. Nonetheless, a certain stagnation in Israel's R&I activity can be noticed in the past

---

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Stéphanie Horel, Bruges, 6 March 2015.

<sup>13</sup> OECD, 2014 edition of Research and Development Statistics, retrieved on 16.04.2015: <http://www.oecd.org/innovation/inno/researchanddevelopmentstatisticsrds.htm>.

<sup>14</sup> European Commission, 'Research and Innovation Performance in the EU, Innovation Union Progress at Country Level', Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Union, 2014, p. 307.

<sup>15</sup> European Commission, 'Research and Innovation Performance in Israel, Country Profile 2013', Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Union 2013, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> European Commission, 'Research and Innovation Performance in Israel, Country Profile 2013', *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> '2014 Research and Innovation Report', SGI -Sustainable Governance Indicator, Bertelsmann Stiftung 2014, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://www.sgi-Network.org/docs/2014/thematic/SGI2014\\_Research\\_and\\_Innovation.pdf](http://www.sgi-Network.org/docs/2014/thematic/SGI2014_Research_and_Innovation.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> European Commission, 'Research and Innovation Performance in Israel, Country Profile 2013', Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Union 2013, p. 1.

years, leading to a small reduction of investments and a general decline in scientific production.<sup>22</sup> The latest EU R&I projections forecast a progressive decline of Israel's R&I expenditures.<sup>23</sup>

Israel's R&I expenditure is an important base for the high quality scientific production it provides. The overall success and excellence of Israeli research is well demonstrated via its far above-average results in the European Research Council (ERC)<sup>24</sup> funding. The Israeli success rates in the awarding of funding outperform those of all European Member States and are surpassed only by Switzerland.<sup>25</sup> Among the top higher education institutions hosting the most ERC Grantees, Israel is in third position, after the UK and Switzerland.<sup>26</sup> Following the vivid remark of an EU Official, "The ERC is to research what the Formula 1 is to motorsports. It's only for the best of the best. And Israel is one of the best in the ERC".<sup>27</sup>

### **A successful cooperation**

The scientific cooperation between the EU and Israel goes back to 1996, when Israel – as the first non-European country – started to be associated via a specific agreement to the European Framework Programme.<sup>28</sup> This research cooperation could build on the existing 'Association Agreement' signed in 1995, which succeeded a previous 'Cooperation Agreement' signed in 1975 with the European Communities.<sup>29</sup>

Over time, the implication of Israeli research activities in the European Framework Programme augmented constantly. Under FP7 (2007-13) Israeli public and private institutions were associated in over 2000 common projects.<sup>30</sup> Israeli universities

---

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>23</sup> European Commission, 'Research and Innovation Performance in the EU, Innovation Union Progress at Country Level', *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> With the aim to 'stimulate scientific excellence' the ERC funding serves as useful indicator for the level of Excellency a country is able to reach in Science.

<sup>25</sup> European Research Council (ERC), 'ERC and Israel – FP7 Achievements and H2020 Results', March 2015, Unpublished (Internal) Document, p. 19.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, European Research Council Executive Agency, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>28</sup> European External Action Service, Scientific Cooperation between the EU and Israel, The Delegation of the European Union to Israel, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu\\_israel/scientific\\_cooperation/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu_israel/scientific_cooperation/index_en.htm).

<sup>29</sup> European External Action Service, Agreements between EU and Israel, Retrieved on 16.04.2015: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu\\_israel/political\\_relations/agreements/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu_israel/political_relations/agreements/index_en.htm).

<sup>30</sup> European Commission, Press Release-EU,Israel sign Horizon 2020 association agreement', June 2014, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-14-633\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-633_en.htm).

cooperated on 1.330 research projects, receiving a total of € 574 bn while Israeli industry participated in 464 projects with an estimated value of 2.1 bn.<sup>31</sup> All in all, the Israeli return on investment in FP7 amounted to a considerable 60%.<sup>32</sup> These numbers demonstrate the remarkable efficiency Israel reached in its research cooperation today. “The European R&D Framework Programmes have granted Israel a position of excellence, which we would not have attained in any other way” admits Prof. Ruth Arnon, President of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.<sup>33</sup> The research cooperation is a chance for both sides, allowing Israel on one side to get access to European networks and funds, and for Europe on the other side to benefit from the excellent science of Israel.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Lobbying European Research Policy – A Model

The research policy of the European Union is defined by the European Research Framework Programme (FP) and implemented by the European Commission. The FP is a legislative act like any other, with the difference of being limited to a determined time frame. The FP Regulation is adopted via the Ordinary Legislative Procedure (OLP), which provides that the European Parliament and the Council approve jointly a proposal developed by the European Commission. Even though the repartition of roles appears equally distributed at a first glance, the Commission, and more precisely its Directorate General for Research and Innovation (DG RTD), plays a predominant role.<sup>35</sup> Under the direction of its own Commissioner responsible for Research, DG RTD represents one of the biggest Directorate Generals (DGs) in the Commission, employing over 1000 Staff.<sup>36</sup> It resembles a ‘European Research Ministry’,<sup>37</sup> equipped with strong powers in shaping research policy. The legislation it prepares in view of each new FP can be described as a ‘legislative package’ including several distinct legislative acts each covering specific fields of EU research policy. Today, the central piece of legislation consists of the H2020 Regulation, establishing the 8<sup>th</sup> Research Framework Programme ‘Horizon 2020’. Next to

---

<sup>31</sup> ISERD, ‘Horizon 2020 – The European R&D Programme Takes Off’, 2014, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD\\_EN.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD_EN.pdf), p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>33</sup> ISERD, ‘Horizon 2020 – The European R&D Programme Takes Off’, *op. cit*, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Hans-Olaf Henkel, European Parliament, Brussels, 15 April 2015.

<sup>35</sup> J. Stamm, ‘Towards new Horizons in Research Policy – The Changing Role of the Directorate-General for Research (and Innovation)’, Student Paper Series, Hertie School of Governance, 2013, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*.

the H2020 Regulation, a separate regulation defines the 'Rules of participation'<sup>38</sup> for participating actors and applicants, and a Council Decision on a 'Specific Programme'<sup>39</sup> determines the objectives and rules to be followed during the implementation of H2020.<sup>40</sup> In its redaction phase, the Commission relies – like in most of its policies – more and more on public consultations.<sup>41</sup> This enables interest groups to express their opinions and views, preferences and priorities via pre-defined procedures and questionnaires. Numerous consultations were held in preparation for H2020 and were of 'enormous help'<sup>42</sup> to DG RTD in its redaction of the H2020 Regulation proposals.

Once the FP adopted with its general objectives, the more specific implementation of H2020 is required. This is done in two steps:

- First, via a nebulous triennial 'Strategic Programme'<sup>43</sup> in which the Commission (DG RTD) sets the priorities for its policy;
- Second, via a biannual 'Work Programme'<sup>44</sup> inspired by the priorities set up in the 'Strategic Programme'. It defines the concrete objectives of the research policy for a bi-annual time period as well as the nature and size of specific funding calls.

As defined in the 'Specific Programme', these 'Work Programmes' play a decisive role in European research policy.<sup>45</sup> The adoption of the Work Programmes follows the

---

<sup>38</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Regulation (EU) No 1290/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 laying down the rules for participation and dissemination in "Horizon 2020 - the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020)" and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1906/2006.

<sup>39</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Council Decision of 3 December 2013 establishing the specific programme implementing Horizon 2020 - the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020) and repealing Decisions 2006/971/EC, 2006/972/EC, 2006/973/EC, 2006/974/EC and 2006/975/EC.

<sup>40</sup> For simplification, the total of legislative acts related to H2020 will be referred to in future under the term 'H2020 legislative package'.

<sup>41</sup> See the list of closed consultation, in: European Commission, DG Research and Innovation, Consultations, retrieved on 28.04.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/consultations/list\\_en.cfm#open](http://ec.europa.eu/research/consultations/list_en.cfm#open).

<sup>42</sup> A Member of Staff in the Office of the Director-General for Research and Innovation: quoted in J. Stamm, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> The 'Strategic-Programme' (SP) was introduced under H2020. It's a recent tool that needs to find its place in the system. It is nebulous insofar that it is not mentioned in the H2020 Legislation package and that information on that topic is simply inexistent on the Commissions Website. The SP defines 12 Areas of High Growth, designs Key Enabling Technologies (KETs) and launches Public-Partner Partnerships (PPPs).

<sup>44</sup> 'Work programme' means the document adopted by the Commission for the implementation of H2020 in accordance with Article 5 of Council Decision 2013/743/EU of 3 December 2013 (2)", in: Official Journal of the European Union, Regulation (EU) No 1290/2013, *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

'Examination Procedure' for implementing acts.<sup>46</sup> Similar to the drafting process of legislative acts, the Commission bases his work on extensive consultation.<sup>47</sup> Compared to FP7, these consultations are more structured under H2020 via the collaboration of internal-working groups and cooperation between the relevant DGs.<sup>48</sup> Further, the Commission can rely on the advice of the 'Programme Committee', giving Member States a voice in the process. In its consultation with external stakeholders, the Commission consults on one hand a specific and formally established 'Advisory Group', and on the other hand will also rely upon the less-formal input of the 'European Technology Platforms'.<sup>49</sup> In its implementing task, the Commission is supported by three distinct actors listed below. Due to a specific status and their independence from the Commission, they are entitled to adopt their own individual 'Work Programmes' following slightly different procedures.

1. Joint Research Centre (JRC) is the in-house Sciences Service of the Commission and "contribute[s] to the general objective and priorities of Horizon 2020 by providing scientific and technical support to Union policies".<sup>50</sup> The JRC gives its opinion on the 'Work Programme' of the European Commission. Its own Work Programme is prepared by the Board of Governors of the JRC.
2. The European Research Council (ERC) was set up by the Commission in order to implement the actions related to the 'excellence Science' Objective of H2020.<sup>51</sup> The 'Scientific Council' of the ERC establishes its overall strategy and its 'Work programme'. This work programme is then adopted by the Commission, following the procedure for implementing Acts.<sup>52</sup> This makes the ERC less independent from the Commission.
3. The European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT) aims at enhancing Europe's capacity to innovate. Its Governing Board provides strategic guidance

---

<sup>46</sup>The procedure for 'Implementing Acts' is commonly referred to under the term 'Comitology'. The delegation of implementing powers must be provided in the legislative acts, see: Official Journal of the European Union, Council Decision of 3 December 2013 establishing the specific programme implementing Horizon 2020, *op. cit.*, Art. 5.

<sup>47</sup> European Commission, 'Horizon 2020 Work Programme 2014-2015, table of Contents and General Introduction', European Commission Decision C (2014)4995 of 22 July 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 1 April, 2015.

<sup>50</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Council Decision of 3 December 2013, *op. cit.*, Part VI.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, Art. 6.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*.

and develops the triennial 'Work Programme'.<sup>53</sup> It is associated with H2020 but is distinct in the sense that its priorities are defined in a 'Specific Innovation Agenda' (SIA).<sup>54</sup> The Work Programme shall be submitted to the EP, the Commission, the Council and the Economic and Social Committee for Information.<sup>55</sup>

Once the programmes are defined, the concrete implementation needs to be made. In the last years, DG RTD has outsourced important domains of its activity to specialized agencies, namely the European Research Council Executive Agency (ERCEA) in charge of 'Excellent Science' and the Research Executive Agency (REA).<sup>56</sup> This outsourcing reflects a professionalization and bureaucratization of European research policy implementation while increasing the political leadership of DG RTD.<sup>57</sup> Having the legal status of 'Executive Agencies',<sup>58</sup> they are set up by the Commission for a determinate period of time and are in charge of the concrete implementation of the objectives and projects defined in the work programmes, starting from the selection of proposals to the final evaluation and disbursement of funds. From the point of view of interest representation theories, European research policy can be described as being somehow 'sui generis', since it is not limited to the pure elaboration of legislation but also largely involves further evaluation, adjustment and implementation measures. It involves an exceptionally high number of actors and procedures. Interest representation activity in EU research policy has not been adequately considered by academics so far. Relying on the descriptions above and inspired by existing models on European lobbying<sup>59</sup> three relevant 'phases of influence' for interest representation at the EU level can be distinguished:

---

<sup>53</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Decision No 1312/2013/EU Of The European Parliament and of The Council of 11 December 2013 on the Strategic Innovation Agenda of the European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT): the contribution of the EIT to a more innovative Europe, L 347/892.

<sup>54</sup> Adopted on Proposal of the Commission by the Council and the EP.

<sup>55</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Regulation (EC) No 294/2008 Of The European Parliament and of The Council of 11 March 2008 establishing the European Institute of Innovation and Technology, L97/1, Art. 15.

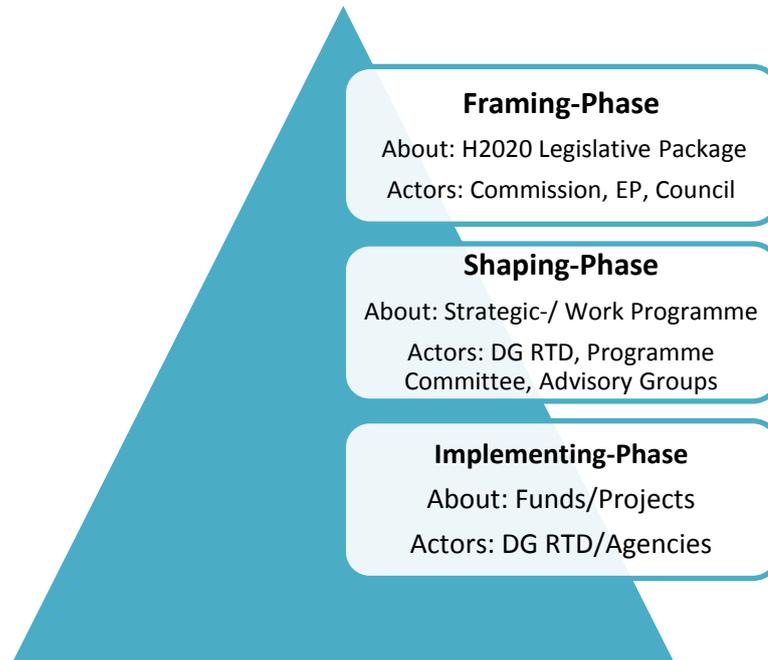
<sup>56</sup> See Annex I giving an overview on research related EU-Institutions and bodies.

<sup>57</sup> J. Stamm, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>58</sup> 'Executive Agencies' are different from EU Agencies, which are established for an indeterminate period of a time and under less strict supervision by the European Commission.

<sup>59</sup> Special attention was given to the 'Post-Lisbon Model for Lobbying' as developed by Daniel Guéguen. Developed for the best possible practical use by an experienced professional of European Lobbying, this model gives the most useful insights, see: D. Guéguen, *Reshaping European Lobbying*, Brussels, PACT European Affairs, Europolitics 2013.

Figure 1: Phases of European research policy development



### Framing-Phase

Interest actors are presented every 5-7 years with the opportunity to reshape the broad political strategy during the negotiations of the Research Framework Programme (FP). At that stage, similar to other policy domains, important research priorities are defined by the classic institutions (Commission via DG RTD, EP, MSEU via the Council). At this first stage, general orientations for research are set for the years to come via a 'legislative package'. Hence, classic European lobby strategies and theories apply, offering a large range of options.<sup>60</sup> Concretely, the role of lobbyists in research issues takes a very classic shape, consisting in "meeting with colleagues [...], [to] jointly prepare input for amendments in parliament [...] and submit joint papers and thoughts".<sup>61</sup> All these various specific interests are organized in numerous associations in Brussels, covering all imaginable research domains. Their role is important regarding the sensitization of decision makers to specific issues, since they raise awareness for the group they represent. Associations are the most classic tool in European interest representation.

<sup>60</sup> Guégen distinguishes between an 'Upstream phase' and the 'Ordinary Legislative procedure' itself. Both are merged in my model within the 'Framing phase'. The reason hereof lies in the technicity of Research issues forcing the Commission to rely more than in any other domain on the input of experts and to elaborate its policy in close accordance with the scientific community. This raises the importance of pre-established channels of consultations taking place before and during the legislation. Distinguishing both phases becomes difficult. See: D.Guéguen, *Reshaping European Lobbying*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>61</sup> A National Research Lobbyist, quoted in: J. Stamm, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Another important and helpful tool of interest representation in the field of research emerged more recently in form of 'European Technology Platforms' (ETP).<sup>62</sup> Established in 2003, ETPs are "industry-led stakeholder forums approved by the European Commission as key actors in driving innovation, knowledge transfer and European competitiveness".<sup>63</sup> ETPs are self-funded and self-organized, but require a formal recognition from the commission. Via the conclusion of 'Strategic Research Agendas' listing the most important aspects to be considered in their specific research field, ETPs contribute to the elaboration of agendas, roadmaps, networks and partnerships. Their semi-formal character differs from traditional 'Association' structures, making these platforms an unusual tool of European interest representation. For the period covered by H2020, the European Commission recognized in total 38 ETPs in domains ranging from 'Aviation Research' to 'Zero Emissions'.<sup>64</sup> ETPs are playing a key role in the Commissions consultations and can be identified as a further considerable input opportunity for interest groups in research related topics.

### **Shaping-Phase**

The name chosen for this second phase may be surprising at a first glance, since the acts it refers to are misleadingly called 'Implementing Acts'. To judge from their important role in fixing research priorities and setting the calls for funding, the 'Work Programmes' (and their preceding 'Strategic Programmes') can be considered as the real shapers of European research policy. Far less visible, but estimated to produce impressive 3/4 of the total regulatory activity of the Union,<sup>65</sup> the infamous comitology procedures generating these 'implemented acts' are largely criticized for being a real 'hidden power'.<sup>66</sup> Technicality and opacity makes the implementing acts a particular challenge for interest actors as well as for experienced members of the MSEU and the EU Institutions.<sup>67</sup> It

---

<sup>62</sup> Briefly mentioned by J. Greenwood in one phrase, ETPs have not been subject to further research yet. See: Greenwood, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>63</sup> European Union, European Technology Platforms, retrieved on 28.04.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index\\_en.cfm?pg=etp](http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?pg=etp).

<sup>64</sup> European Commission, 'Commission Staff Working Document - Strategy for European Technology Platforms: ETP 2020', SWD(2013) 272 final, Brussels, 12.7.2013.

<sup>65</sup> 96% following the estimations of Daniel Guéguen, See: D. Guéguen, *Comitology – Hijacking European Power?*, Brussels, PACT European Affairs, Europolitics 2014, p. 27.

<sup>66</sup> Term used in: G.J. Brandsma, *Controlling Comitology, Accountability in a Multi-Level System*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan 2013.

<sup>67</sup> D. Guéguen, *Comitology – Hijacking European Power?*, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

further reinforces the role of the Commission, since it appears to be the European institution really dominating the comitology procedures.<sup>68</sup> For any type of outside actor, Member State or association, the leveraging power on comitology-procedures is very limited. Following the advice of Daniel Guéguen, expert in comitology, the only action to be recommended for interest actors would consist in preventive actions at level of the relevant DG.<sup>69</sup>

But sticking to that would not take into account the specificities linked to European research policy. Three leveraging channels specific to the 'Work Programmes'-comitology can be retained:

1. The 'Programme Committee' is a forum for all the states associated with H2020. It assists the Commission in the elaboration of the 'Work programmes' and approves them.<sup>70</sup> Meetings take place in different constellations 3-4 times a year, in accordance with the priorities set up under H2020. Members of the programme committee are delegates and experts from the national governments. This enables them to speak up in favor of national interests or the interests of specific national actors.
2. The 'Advisory Groups' are independent experts assisting the Commission in the 'preparation, implementation or evaluation of programmes and design of policies'<sup>71</sup> in the field of research. The selection of experts is made by the Commission following the strict rules applying for all Commission expert groups.<sup>72</sup> These provisions are set up quite effectively to prevent the influencing of experts via external interest groups. Nonetheless, the impact of an expert's nationality on decisions and advice can never be completely excluded.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, and despite the prohibition to reveal internal information to third actors, experts' participation in the 'Advisory Groups' provides useful insights which can be of benefit in other fields. 18 'Advisory Groups' are set up under H2020.

---

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>69</sup> D. Guéguen, *Reshaping European Lobbying*, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>70</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Council Decision of December 3, 2013, *op. cit.*, Art. 10.

<sup>71</sup> European Commission, Horizon 2020 Expert groups, retrieved on 30.04.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/experts>.

<sup>72</sup> European Commission DG RTD, Mandate of the Horizon 2020 Advisory Group for International Cooperation, retrieved on 30.04.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/index.cfm?do=groupDetail.groupDetailDoc&id=12974&no=1>.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

3. The 'European Technology Platforms', already mentioned for their role in the drafting of the H2020 legislation package, plays also a role in the strategic-programming of the 'work programmes'. But unlike its participation in the H2020 Package, its role is here purely informal. The helpful contribution of ETPs in the definition of 'strategic research agendas' was mentioned in passing by DG RTD in its last working document on ETPs.<sup>74</sup> This absence of procedures leaves a grey zone which offers a clear opportunity for interest groups to influence the 'Work Programmes' via the ETPs.

For the 'Work Programmes' adopted by the JRC, the ERC and the EIT interest groups should concentrate respectively on the Board of Governors, the Scientific Council and the Governing Board in charge of its redaction.

Despite the deterrent and opaque 'comitology' procedures, the 'shaping phase' offers some relevant channels of influence. The bi-annual rhythm for the 'work programme' redaction increases its importance since it becomes a cycle of permanent consultation and involvement opportunity.

### **Implementing Phase**

The last phase consists in the specific policy implementation structure. What may appear a simple technical issue represents a 'big concern'<sup>75</sup> for research actors. Via yearly renewed calls for funding, research interests have to deal with important and ongoing implementation and administration issues regarding the concrete application and funding requirements. Addressing this 'bureaucratic obstacle' is crucial for the good transmission of H2020 to the actors it targets. The activity is dominated by professional bodies in charge of the implementation of a given legislation. This complicates the approach for interest groups, since "no space for the interference of interest actors"<sup>76</sup> is foreseen nor desired at the level of implementation. Proposals are first checked for their eligibility by the competent department and then assessed in detail by at least three independent experts.<sup>77</sup> The evaluation criteria are pre-defined according to the priorities of H2020 and

---

<sup>74</sup> European Commission, 'Commission Staff Working Document Strategy for European Technology Platforms: ETP 2020', *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> A National Research Lobbyist, quoted in: J. Stamm, *op. cit.*, p.18.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 1 April, 2015.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, European Research Council Executive Agency, 1 April 2015.

the respective 'work programme'.<sup>78</sup> The assessing expert evaluators are selected from a Commission database open to everyone with verifiable expertise.<sup>79</sup> No doubt is allowed that the evaluation is entirely impartial.<sup>80</sup> Further, the responsible official (project officer) of the Agency/Commission cannot influence the outcome of the evaluation,<sup>81</sup> making direct lobbying obsolete. Generally, active lobbying in favor of a project is by no means advised. The effect would rather be counter-productive, since "A project that needs to lobby for itself with other means than its scientific excellence nullifies its credibility right from the start".<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, their administrative work in the disbursement of funding, selection and evaluation of projects and proposals, application and evaluation of criteria, etc. remains important for any research-related actor willing to apply for funding. This uncertainty and complexity regarding concrete practical aspects managed at implementation level discloses a 'gap' between the H2020 package and its 'work programme' on one hand and the effective implementation on the other hand. This identified 'gap' is to be borne in mind, since it is of crucial importance to later understand the activity of Israel in the 'implementing phase' of European research policy. The Commission, aware of this 'gap', has established a system of National Contact Points (NCPs) in order to counter the problem. The definition of their task is very clear:

Spreading awareness, giving specialist advice, and providing on-the-ground guidance, they [NCPs] will ensure that the new programme [H2020] becomes known and readily accessible to all potential applicants.<sup>83</sup>

Nonetheless, the Commission sets only low minimum requirements and states in its instructions that "National Contact Points will be established, operated and financed under the responsibility of the Member States and countries associated to the

---

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>79</sup> The registration can be done online, see: European Commission, Research & Innovation Participants Portal, retrieved on 30.04.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal/desktop/en/experts/index.html>.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Stephanie Horel, Expert in EU-Funding Management, Bruges, 6 March 2015. Every actor consulted on the subject, being internal or external to the institutions, asserted me the objectivity and professionalism of the evaluation procedures.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*.

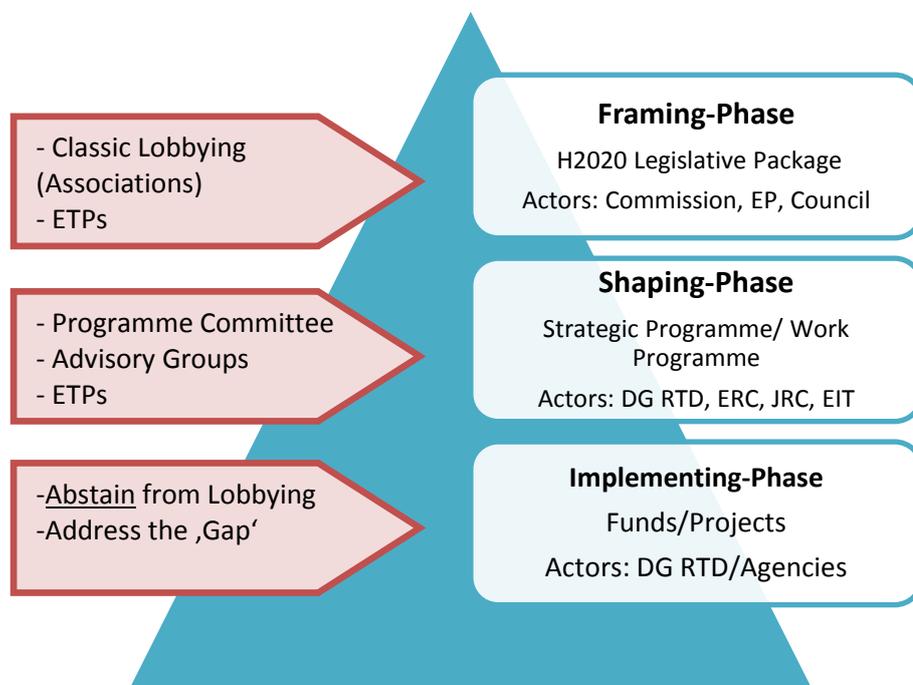
<sup>82</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, European Research Council Executive Agency, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>83</sup> European Commission - DG RTD - Unit A3, Minimum Standards and Guiding principles for setting up systems of National Contact Points under Horizon 2020, retrieved on 1.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/support/20131125\\_NCP%20Minimum%20standards.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/support/20131125_NCP%20Minimum%20standards.pdf).

programme”.<sup>84</sup> Each country keeps an important margin of appreciation in the way it organizes its NCP, which means that “The NCP systems can vary from one country to another” and thus the “level of services offered may differ from country to country”.<sup>85</sup> This leads sometimes to ‘important differences’ between the NCPs.<sup>86</sup> Considered as particularly problematic, the Commission recently launched the initiative of a ‘Transnational Network of National Contact Points’ aiming at “helping less experienced entities [NCPs] in low performing Member States”.<sup>87</sup>

Based on the observations thus far, the following ‘European Research Lobbying Model’ can be deduced. The red arrows are listing the identified ‘channels of influence’ at each phase.

Figure 2: European Research Lobbying Model



<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>85</sup> European Commission., Research and Innovation participant Portal – National Contact Points, retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national\\_contact\\_points.html#c,contact=country/sbg/Israel/1/1/0&function\\_details..function\\_abbr/sbg/null/1/1/0&+country/desc](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national_contact_points.html#c,contact=country/sbg/Israel/1/1/0&function_details..function_abbr/sbg/null/1/1/0&+country/desc).

<sup>86</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>87</sup> European Commission, Horizon 2020 – Work Programme 2014-2015, European Commission Decision C (2015)2453 of 17 April 2015, retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/wp/2014\\_2015/main/h2020-wp1415-sewp\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/wp/2014_2015/main/h2020-wp1415-sewp_en.pdf).

### 3. On the trail of Israeli research interest

The reference to 'classic' lobbying actors embraces associations in their broadest interpretation (including regular forums, organized networks, etc.). Their role can be retained as the most relevant here<sup>88</sup>. At first glance, Israel has a very visible and powerful network in Brussels in the form of influential organizations. According to various sources,<sup>89</sup> the most important organizations include:

- European Jewish Congress (EJC)
- B'Nai B'Rith Europe
- European Coalition for Israel (ECI),
- Israel Allies Foundation (IAF)
- The Transatlantic Institute (TAI)
- European Friends of Israel (EFI)

A leading role is played by the 'European Friends of Israel' (EFI), aiming at becoming for Europe what the 'American-Israel Public Affairs Committee' (AIPAC) is to the United States.<sup>90</sup> Their strategy is to concentrate their activity on focusing on the European decision makers while intentionally "ignoring the EU's complex decision-making structure".<sup>91</sup> Their overall presence and the numerous events they organize as well as their members and forums give them powerful tools to intervene in public debates. Nonetheless, having a look at their agenda, their focus lays with very general issues of EU-Israeli relation, such as foreign policy, Jewish culture, or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

They contribute to create a general positive mood in favor of Israeli concerns, but they have no impact or expertise at all in a domain as technical as research. "They don't matter on research issues" explains Mr. Gil Mor from the Israeli Mission to the EU,<sup>92</sup> an assessment shared by David Cronin.<sup>93</sup> On the contrary, their impact on Israel research

---

<sup>88</sup> J. Greenwood, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>89</sup> Information received during Interviews, and; Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), 'Spin Doctors to the Autocrats: How European Firms whitewash repressive Regimes', retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://corporateeurope.org/sites/default/files/201500303\\_spindoctors\\_lr.pdf](http://corporateeurope.org/sites/default/files/201500303_spindoctors_lr.pdf).

<sup>90</sup> U.Yildiz, 'The Influence of the European Friends of Israel on the Members of the European Parliament', *Alternative Turkish Journal for International Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Winter 2014, p. 2.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Mr. Gil Mor, Mission of Israel to the EU, Minister-Counselor for Industry and Trade, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>93</sup> Interview with Mr. David Cronin, Brussels, 31 March 2015. Cronin is author of the critical Book: *Europe-Israel: une alliance contre nature* (op.cit) (Eng: *Europe's Alliance with Israel*).

interests appeared to be rather negative, as shown by the escalation of accession negotiations of Israel to H2020.

### **The disaster of Israel's Accession to H2020**

In 2012 it was self-evident that the effective cooperation between Israel and the EU in research issues would continue. The formal steps to follow were set via a formal agreement on the association of Israel to H2020 for Research and Innovation (2014-2020).<sup>94</sup> Following the requirements defined in the FP Regulation, the modalities of associations needed to be renegotiated for each new FP individually.<sup>95</sup> A legal detail with significant impact was that the association agreement was not signed under the form of a new international agreement like it has been the case for the FP7,<sup>96</sup> but as an additional protocol to the existing Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreement (AA) between Israel and the European Communities (EC) signed in 1995.<sup>97</sup> This had a double consequence: on one hand, it isolated the MSEU and the EP, providing the Commission and its External Action Service with a unique lead in the negotiation process. This shift of competences, especially with regards to the complications that followed, led to some inter-institutional irritations.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, it allowed the EU negotiators to increase their conditions, demanding that “this agreement shall not apply to the geographic areas that came under the administration of Israel after 5 June 1967”.<sup>99</sup> This phrase, introduced by the Commission in “accordance with existing EU policy”,<sup>100</sup> had the effect of preventing any further financial transfers to bodies in the West bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. For Israel, it was perceived as unacceptable and outrageous at the highest level,

---

<sup>94</sup> European External Action Service, Scientific Cooperation between the EU and Israel, *op. cit.*

<sup>95</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Regulation (EU) No 1291/2013 of The European Parliament and of The Council of 11 December 2013 establishing Horizon 2020 the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020) and repealing Decision No 1982/2006/EC.

<sup>96</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the European Community and the State of Israel - Final Act - Joint Declaration, [OJ L 220 , 25/08/2007 P. 0005 – 0021].

<sup>97</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the State of Israel, of the other part [OJ L 147 of 21.6.2000].

<sup>98</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>99</sup> ISERD, Agreement between the State of Israel and the European Union on the participation of Israel in the Union Programme “Horizon 2020 – The Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020)”, retrieved on 16.04.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/EU\\_Israel\\_sign\\_Horizon\\_2020\\_association\\_RD\\_agreement\\_en.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/EU_Israel_sign_Horizon_2020_association_RD_agreement_en.pdf).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*.

since Israel “will never accept any outside *diktat* about its borders”.<sup>101</sup> The Israeli administration let the opinion know that it is

“not prepared to sign such an item in our contracts with the EU [...] The result may be termination of our entire cooperation in the areas of the economy, science, culture, sports and academia”.<sup>102</sup>

Media and politicians in Israel and Europe, with large support from the pro-Israel forums described above, started to take positions on the issue, making the administrative issue a matter of public debate.<sup>103</sup> Faithful to their claim to influence the Israel-EU relationship, ‘European Friends of Israel’ activated its parliamentary network and sent an open letter to the High Representative Baroness Ashton, asking her to reconsider the conditions of the Association.<sup>104</sup> The ‘Friends of Israel Initiative’ intervened via an open letter of 15 former ministers and prominent politicians repeating the same claim.<sup>105</sup> The European Parliament (EP) issued another open letter expressing opposite opinions.<sup>106</sup> It was followed by the public positioning of Palestinian NGOs<sup>107</sup>, European academics<sup>108</sup> and Israeli intellectuals<sup>109</sup>, thus preventing the subject from entering into a public political debate. According to an informed EU official, this politicization goes back to Israel, even calling upon US Secretary of State John Kerry to exercise pressure on the MSEU<sup>110</sup>.

---

<sup>101</sup> Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, quoted in: R. Ahren, ‘EU, Israel headed for showdown over settlement rules’, Times Of Israel, 7.08.2013, retrieved on 19.04.2015: <http://www.timesofisrael.com/eu-israel-headed-for-showdown-over-settlement-rules/>.

<sup>102</sup> A Senior Israeli Government Official quoted by: Barak Ravid, ‘Despite Israeli objections, EU officially publishes new settlement guidelines’, Haaretz, 19.07.13, retrieved on 19.04.2015: [http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.536812#Scene\\_1](http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.536812#Scene_1).

<sup>103</sup> To quote here for an example: M. Ostroff, Open-Letter to EU Foreign-Policy Chief Baroness Ashton, Jerusalem Post, 9.11.2013, retrieved on 19.04.2014: <http://www.jpost.com/Experts/Baroness-Ashton-please-explain-325848>.

<sup>104</sup> European Friends of Israel, EFI released open letter about EU Guidelines, retrieved on 2.05.2015: [http://www.efi-eu.org/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=355:efi-released-an-open-letter-about-the-eu-guidelines&Itemid=141](http://www.efi-eu.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=355:efi-released-an-open-letter-about-the-eu-guidelines&Itemid=141).

<sup>105</sup> Friends of Israel Initiative Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.friendsofisraelinitiative.org/article.php?pagina=10&c=119>.

<sup>106</sup> ECC Palestine Website, European Parliament Letter, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.eccpalestine.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Letter-signed-by-51-MEPs.pdf>.

<sup>107</sup> BDS Movement Freedom and Justice Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2013/eu-must-not-bow-to-us-pressure-to-disregard-human-rights-11315>.

<sup>108</sup> BDS Movement Freedom and Justice Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2013/500-academics-eu-letter-11329>.

<sup>109</sup> BDS Movement Freedom and Justice Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2013/600-israeli-intellectuals-send-letter-support-eu-settlement-guidelines-11334>

<sup>110</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 13 March 2015.

Regular and intended leaking of the status of negotiations to the Israeli press and turmoil in the EP led to 'abnormal negotiations'.<sup>111</sup> What could have been a simple formality became a politicized arm wrestling match between both delegations.

Unimpressed and to a certain extent encouraged by this medial turmoil,<sup>112</sup> the Commission, via its EEAS, retained its factual argumentation, stating that it was only acting in accordance with international law and enforcing existing policies.<sup>113</sup> At the same time, Israeli scientists and politicians underlined unanimously the crucial importance of European Research Networks and funding for Israel. "The Israeli investment in Horizon 2020 is significant," explained Prof. Yoav Henis, Manager for R&D at Tel Aviv University "The return we received on our investment in FP7 was of the highest importance."<sup>114</sup> Interviewed on the impact of the dispute between Israel and the EU, Nobel Prize recipient in Chemistry, Professor Dan Shechtman, stated that "our partnership with the European Union in the present and the future is vital to the sciences in Israel. [...] As a scientist I say to the government of Israel: We need this agreement and you should make the best effort to sign it."<sup>115</sup> Prof. Ruth Arnon, President of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, communicated the serious concerns of the scientific community in her talks with Prime Minister Netanyahu, explaining that the exclusion of Israel from H2020 would lead to "irreversible damage to Israeli sciences in particular and to the state in general".<sup>116</sup> She openly urged the government "in the name of the Israeli scientific community" that this agreement "must be signed".<sup>117</sup>

Finally, the agreement was signed on June 8, 2014 providing Israeli researchers, universities and companies with full access to the Horizon 2020 Programme.<sup>118</sup> The

---

<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>113</sup> European External Action Service, Formal Response Letter of Leone Gabrielli, Head of Division to Mr. Maurice Ostroff, Journalist at the Jerusalem Post, 17.12.2013, retrieved on 18.04.2015: <http://www.jpost.com/Blogs/2nd-Thoughts/Response-by-Baroness-Ashton-to-letter-re-Horizon-2020-364136>.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>115</sup> A. Somfalvi, 'Report: Israel, EU reach understanding regarding Horizon 2020', YnetNews, November 2013, retrieved on 14.04.2015: <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4458364,00.html>.

<sup>116</sup> Prof. Ruth Arnon, quoted in: J. Siegel-Itzkovich, 'Israel Academy of Sciences President: Israel must sign Horizon 2020', Jerusalem Post, 21.10.2013, retrieved on 19.04.2015: <http://www.jpost.com/Enviro-Tech/Israel-Academy-of-Sciences-president-Government-must-sign-Horizon-2020-329289>.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>118</sup> European Commission, 'Press Release-EU, Israel sign Horizon 2020 association agreement', *op. cit.*

provisions of Article 6-1 remained, rendering ineligible a marginal number of projects located beyond the borders of 1967. The visible pro-Israel networks failed to rightly address the issue. Their impact and pressure rather strengthened the determination of the Commission not to soften its position, as confided an EU-Official.<sup>119</sup>

### *Research Associations*

Compared to the active representation on political level, it is striking, that Israel is only moderately present in specific research related associations. Out of the most important Israeli research beneficiaries listed below, none has its own representation in Brussels.

Table 1: The most Important beneficiaries of FP7 in Israel

Institution	EU Funds Received (2013) <sup>120</sup> in Mio. €
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem	100.5
Tel Aviv University	89.3
Weizmann Institute	81.6
Technion – Israel Institute for Technology	46.1
Israel Aerospace Industries LTD.	28.9
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev	26.8
Bar-Ilan University	10.7
University of Haifa	9.8
IBM Israel – Sciences and Technology LTD.	6.8

The only Israeli corporation registered on the European Transparency Register (ETR) is TEVA Pharmaceuticals Europe BV, with a declared annual budget of approximately €500,000.<sup>121</sup> This small presence of Israeli research-intensive businesses or

<sup>119</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 13 March 2015. According to Guy Harpaz, the research cooperation with IL enables the EU to follow a ‘carrot and stick’ approach, meaning scientific cooperation in exchange for political concessions in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, See: G. Harpaz, ‘The European Union, The Mediterranean and the European Neighbourhood Policy: An Israeli Perspective’, in: Guy Harpaz and Rachel Frid, "The Wider Europe Initiative", 9(1) International Trade Law and Regulation N-6-7(2004), p. 26.

<sup>120</sup> The Numbers come from the Financial Transparency System of the European Commission and take into account the last year available, see: [http://ec.europa.eu/budget/fts/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/budget/fts/index_en.htm)

<sup>121</sup> European Transparency Register, TEVA Pharmaceuticals Europe BV, retrieved on 14.04.2015, <http://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/consultation/displaylobbyist.do?id=27116427434-57>.

universities is not really surprising, since the weight of corporations/institutions acting independently is limited because aggregated interests coming from associations are considered by European institutions as being more representative and balanced.<sup>122</sup>

If not directly represented, the membership of Israel/Israeli-actors<sup>123</sup> in specialized research association represents the second option for establishing a presence in Brussels. The analysis of relevant associations and networks in Brussels presents quite surprising results. A list of the most relevant research related associations in Europe is provided in Annex II. From 29 associations/networks selected for their relevance, Israel/Israeli-actors are only members in 10 of them.<sup>124</sup> The absence of Israel/Israeli actors is clearly striking with regard to the most important associations in the domain of research. This is notably the case for the European Association of Research and Technology (EARTO) as well as for the overarching European Universities Association (EUA). This is also the case for those associations matching well with domains where Israel possesses high scientific expertise. No Israeli actor is a member of the European Federation of Pharmaceutical Industries and Associations (EFPIA), the Aero-Space and Defense Industries Association of Europe (ASD), the Association of European Research Establishments in Aeronautics (EREA) or the all-powerful 'Digital Europe', despite its huge research activities in the pharmaceutical, aeronautic and nano-technological sectors.

The weak participation of Israel/Israeli actors in these associations is surprising. The assumption of calculated Israeli 'free riding',<sup>125</sup> meaning the calculated benefit from the efforts of associations without contributing via membership, is unlikely, since it deprives Israel of the possibility to shape the association's policy and thus the message to transmit to institutions via consultations or other means. Moreover, this excludes Israel from the central added value these associations offer, their networks. A further reason for the weak Israeli presence in associations might be the role of officially recognized European Technology Platforms (ETPs) likely to take over the role and influence of associations. Since many associations are themselves members in ETPs, this can be

---

<sup>122</sup> J. Greenwood, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>123</sup> The term 'Israeli-actors' refers to all entities from Israel not representing the State of Israel (businesses, universities, foundations etc.)

<sup>124</sup> See Figure IV: 'Membership of Israel/Israeli-Actors in Relevant Associations'.

<sup>125</sup> B. Wessels, 'Interest groups and political representation in Europe', 1997, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, retrieved on 21.04.2015: <http://www.wzb.eu/~wessels/Downloads/ECPR97-3.pdf>. p. 7.

questioned and would require further research. The implication of Israel in ETPs will be considered in the next section.<sup>126</sup>

### **Shaping Research Policy - Israel acting from within**

As indicated above, the 'work programmes'<sup>127</sup> are the real drivers of European research policy. Via its association with H2020, Israel has its place in formal governance structures, enabling it to officially speak up and intervene formally on the orientation of H2020. Israel is granted an Observer Status in the 'Programme Committees' (PC) consulted by DG RTD for the redaction of the 'Work Programmes'.<sup>128</sup> With the difference that voting is to be made "without the presence of the representatives of Israel",<sup>129</sup> the general participation of Israel "shall take the same form [...] as that applicable to representatives from Member States of the European Union".<sup>130</sup> Concretely, this means that Israel has a full insight in the positions and negotiations related to the shaping of H2020. Even if it has no right to vote, Israel is allowed to speak and to call attention to the concerns and interest of Israel in front of all MSEU. The presence of Israel in the "Programme committee is important and very beneficial for them", explains an official from DG RTD, "they take the meetings very seriously, sending "high level experts from the Israeli ministries".<sup>131</sup> A Council official confided that Israel "uses its right to speak extensively".<sup>132</sup>

The cooperation of Israel with the Joint Research Centre (JRC) is of a slightly different nature, since the JRC is not an administrative entity but a real scientific research body. Its cooperation with Israel is thus based on a series of distinct agreements on specific scientific issues.<sup>133</sup> Nonetheless, its role as scientific advisor to the Commission makes it an important actor. Similar to its position within the 'Programme Committee' (PC)

---

<sup>126</sup> ETPs are a channel of influence as well at the 'Framing-' as at the 'Shaping-Phase. The choice of analyzing ETPs under the second phase lays in the special nature of ETPs as described under Chapter III (half official consultation bodies involved within rather than outside of the system) and on the will to emphasize their difference from other Associations.

<sup>127</sup> Reminder: the main 'Work Programme' is elaborated by DG RTD, while the ERC, EIT and JRC have each a distinct 'Work programme' elaborated by their own governing structures.

<sup>128</sup> Agreement between the State of Israel and the European Union on the participation of Israel in the Union Programme "Horizon 2020 – The Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020)", *op. cit.*, Art. 5.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*, The Agreement precise that IL shall be informed of the results afterwards.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>131</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, DG RTD, Brussels, 31 March 2015.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>133</sup> European External Action Service EEAS, Scientific Cooperation, retrieved on 3.05.2015: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu\\_israel/scientific\\_cooperation/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu_israel/scientific_cooperation/index_en.htm).

to H2020, Israel has an observer status in the Board of Governors of the JRC that elaborates the 'Work Programme' of the JRC.<sup>134</sup> Like with the PC, Israel can participate like any other MSEU, again with the possibility to address its concerns at highest level.

Different from the board of governors of the JRC and the 'Programme Committee', nationality plays only a marginal role in the European Research Council (ERC). Its 'Scientific Council' in charge of the redaction of the 'work programme' is composed of "scientists, engineers and scholars of the highest repute and appropriate expertise".<sup>135</sup> According to a high official to the ERC, they are

Appointed by the Commission, following an independent and transparent procedure. The only thing that matters in the ERC is scientific excellence. We don't give any attention to nationality to a point that I couldn't even tell you which nationalities are represented in the Scientific Council today.<sup>136</sup>

At the moment, Israel is not represented in the Scientific Council. Israel's presence was guaranteed until the end of last year via Prof. Daniel Dolev from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose four years term ended in 2014. Since the 'Work Programme' of the ERC needs to be further adopted by the Commission via the procedure for implemented acts, the role of the Scientific Council lies more in its position to provide credibility and expertise than to proceed to a real shaping of research policy. Similar to the ERC, the governing board of the European Institute of Technology (EIT) is composed of "high-level members experienced in higher education, research, innovation and business".<sup>137</sup> The EIT is largely independent from all MSEU. No member of the board has been from Israel yet.<sup>138</sup>

What can be observed above is that Israel has its place in the system and can shape it from within. "We [Israel] are members in internal committees. In this sense, we are Europeans, although we are not Europeans following the definition of the Council of

---

<sup>134</sup> ISERD, 'Agreement between the State of Israel and the European Union on the participation of Israel in the Union Programme "Horizon 2020 – The Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020)", *op. cit.*, Art. 6.

<sup>135</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Council Decision of 3 December 2013, *op. cit.*, Art. 7.

<sup>136</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, European Research Council Executive Agency (ERCEA), Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>137</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, Regulation (EC) No 294/2008, *op. cit.*, Art. 4.

<sup>138</sup> It shall be indicated briefly, that Israel is also taking part in other concrete projects with the EU, where it also has its voice. Since the cooperation within these projects are arranged via separate agreements distinct from the PF Policy of the Union they are not of primary relevance here. To mention here the Israeli-EU Agreement regarding the European Space Agency (ESA) and the Observer Status of Israel in the European Research Area Committee (ERAC) providing Advice to the EU on matters regarding the European Research Area.

Europe” explains Marcel Shaton, Director General of the Israel-European R&D Directorate (ISERD).<sup>139</sup> This place in the system is a significant ‘channel of influence’ for Israel. According to the observations above, this channel can be best used via the ‘Programming Committee’ for H2020 and the Board of Governors of the JRC .

### *Advisory Groups*

As disclosed in Annex III, in 6 out of 18 of the ‘advisory groups’, an expert from Israel participates in the advisory procedures. This appears to be few at first glance, but taking into account that each group has on average only 10-15 experts and that not all MSEU are represented in the advisory groups, the presence of Israeli experts is rather satisfying. This is even more the case for a country being only associated to the FP. Compared to the other high-performing associated states of Switzerland (4 Experts) and Norway (3 Experts), Israel can consider itself well represented. At the same time, it is interesting to observe how the membership of experts in the groups fits with the scientific focus of Israeli research. Hence, the presence of experts in the advisory groups ‘Nanotechnologies’ and ‘Secure Societies’ is not surprising. Nonetheless, the importance of these experts, who are selected for their scientific expertise only, should not be misunderstood. Certainly, their presence may have the positive effect of sensitizing the Commission and their scientific partners for issues of Israeli concern (if at all), but these experts are difficultly vectors of interests for Israel. Their presence can be relevant with regard to networking among researchers and to gain insights in the EU research policy domain.

### *European Technology Platforms*

Unlike the Advisory Groups, the ETPs are recognized by the Commission but are organized independently. Their ‘Strategic Research Agenda’ provides useful advice to the COM, but it is also a channel of interest representation for its members.<sup>140</sup> As disclosed in Annex IV, from the 38 ETPs (+2 Cross ETP Initiatives) recognized by the Commission for H2020,<sup>141</sup> Israel/Israeli-actors could only be identified in 13 of them. Considering the

---

<sup>139</sup> ISERD YouTube-Channel, Marcel Shaton – Israel-France, i24, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99x3kp2Mf88>. The role of ISERD will be presented in the next sub-chapter.

<sup>140</sup> These are mostly Businesses, Research Institutes or other European Associations.

<sup>141</sup> European Commission, ‘Commission Staff Working Document - Strategy for European Technology Platforms: ETP 2020’, *op. cit.*

(intentional) broadness and openness of these associations, 13 is rather few.<sup>142</sup> It can be observed that the presence of Israel in the ETPs is similarly low to the one it has in the relevant associations. The absence of Israel/Israeli actors in the ETPs ACARE and ARTEMIS is quite surprising, considering the important research focus of Israeli-science on aerospace technologies. A deliberate absence of the controversial Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) from these platforms might make sense, but then it is surprising to find IAI as a member of the European Robotics Technology Platform. The analysis of ETPs and associations is interesting insofar that it shows a rather limited presence of Israel/Israeli actors in the visible Brussels research scene.

### **Implementing Research Policy - it's all about ISERD**

Israel adheres to the requirements of the Commission to establish National Contact Points (NCPs) for all states participating in H2020. Israel has a total of 12 NCPs. This is not much, considering the importance of research cooperation with Europe. In contrast, the associated H2020 members Switzerland and Norway have far more, with respectively 21 (CH) and impressive 42 (NO) NCPs.<sup>143</sup> Leading European R&D countries like France and Germany can even have around 100 NCPs. Nonetheless, the number of NCPs communicated to the Commission does not give an indication about the network behind them, nor about their internal organization.

The particularity of the Israeli NCPs is that their system is highly centralized, regrouping all NCPs under the roof of one organization: the Israel-Europe R&D Directorate (ISERD). This is not the case for all states (especially among the MSEU), where NCPs are often selected within relevant agencies, ministries or research institutions. By regrouping all Israeli NCPs within ISERD, the institution becomes the key player in the organization and cooperation of research between Israel and Europe.<sup>144</sup> The European Commission formally refers to ISERD as "Israel's official National Contact Point".<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> More generally, some studies and analyses on the composition of ETPs (Type of Actors, Geographical distribution etc.) would be a subject of study providing useful insights.

<sup>143</sup> The NCPs can be retrieved on the Commissions Participant Portal, see: European Commission, Research and Innovation Participant Portal, NCPs, retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national\\_contact\\_points.html#c,contact=country/](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national_contact_points.html#c,contact=country/).

<sup>144</sup> Other examples for states concentrating their NCPs in centralized structures are: 'Tubitak' in Turkey, 'Euresearch' in Switzerland, 'Tekes' in Finland.

<sup>145</sup> European Commission, CORDIS, About ISERD: retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://cordis.europa.eu/israel/about\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/israel/about_en.html).

ISERD was founded in the mid-90s when Israel accessed the EU in the framework of its 5<sup>th</sup> FP with the aim to serve as liaison between Israel and the FP.<sup>146</sup> Concretely, ISERD is an

inter-ministerial directorate, established by the Israeli Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Space, the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the Council for Higher Education, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>147</sup>

It is submitted to the Office of the 'Chief Scientist of the Ministry of the Economy'<sup>148</sup> (and not of the Ministry of Sciences as might be expected), which indicates the economic importance attributed to research cooperation by Israel. Its governance is assured via a 'Steering Committee' regrouping representatives of the all the ministries mentioned above.<sup>149</sup> ISERD's rather surprisingly small staff of around 20 (visible) employees can rely on an efficient net of scientific structures. Each Israeli ministry can rely on the pro-active 'Office of the Chief Scientist', a special department the Ministry of the Economy in charge of promoting R&D as well as industrial development in Israel.<sup>150</sup> Israeli Universities are further oriented towards external cooperation via own 'External Relations Divisions', aiming at establishing cooperation with other actors.<sup>151</sup> Regarding the hybrid nature of ISERD, it is interesting to observe a certain mutation of its definition. In 2006 ISERD mentioned explicitly its aim to "Promote Israel's Interests at the European Commission and assuring that financing and projects are appropriate for Israeli organizations".<sup>152</sup> This definition has disappeared today. ISERD does not hide that it represents Israel in the management committees of the FP, but the reference to interest representation disappeared in favor of more emphasis on its task as NCP. This changing definition is conclusive insofar that it reflects the *sui generis* position of ISERD as a 'connector' between Israel and Europe. The headquarters of ISERD being in Tel-Aviv rather than in Brussels indicates that the main emphasis of ISERD lays in the promotion of the FPs to

---

<sup>146</sup> ISERD, Israel and the European Framework Programme for Research and Development 2007-2013, retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD.pdf), p. 29.

<sup>147</sup> ISERD Website, About ISERD, retrieved on 4.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/ABOUT\\_ISERD](http://www.iserd.org.il/ABOUT_ISERD).

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>149</sup> ISERD, 'ISERD – Your port for FP Israel', Presentation PPT, April 2013.

<sup>150</sup> Interview with Mr. Gil Mor, Mission of Israel to the EU, Minister-Counselor for Industry and Trade, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>152</sup> Israel and the European Framework Programme for Research and Development 2007-2013, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

the Israeli scientific community rather than vice-versa. Nonetheless, this does not exclude a strong and regular presence in Brussels, where ISERD can rely on the support of the Israel-Mission to the European Union.<sup>153</sup>

#### *A wide range of responsibilities*

Via its crucial position between Brussels and Tel Aviv, representing and promoting Israeli research in Brussels, ISERD is the 'nerve center' of all channels of influences developed and analyzed in this section. Besides taking charge of the NCPs, ISERD assures the representation of Israel in the numerous EU governing bodies related to research (Programme Committee, Board of Governors etc.).

Moreover, ISERD promotes actively a stronger presence of Israeli actors in EU associations, ETPs and expert groups of the Commission.<sup>154</sup> ISERD underlines the benefits of memberships for the personal networks as well as for the creation of a general understanding of 'what makes a good proposal'.<sup>155</sup> Crucial for the construction of an effective collaboration, ISERD maintains connections to important platforms promoting exchanges among researcher and fostering the establishment of cross-border research cooperation. For example, in EUREKA and COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology)<sup>156</sup> Israel has a place in their governing bodies. Again, the representation of Israel is assured in these bodies via ISERD.<sup>157</sup>

Concordant with the requirements set by the Commission for NCPs, ISERD underlines that it promotes the participation of Israeli entities in the FP<sup>158</sup> and "actively assists academic and industrial entities in preparing and submitting their EU-RTD program proposals".<sup>159</sup> In order to prepare Israeli applicants for H2020 funding, ISERD organizes trainings on the specificities of European research policy and opportunities for funding. For more expertise, it even hires EU-Officials for training purposes.<sup>160</sup> It further issues

---

<sup>153</sup> Interview with Mr. Gil Mor, Mission of Israel to the EU, Minister-Counselor for Industry and Trade, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>154</sup> ISERD, General Presentation: המירוץ פ"למו הישראלית המינהלת, retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/iserd\\_orientation\\_presentation\\_150114.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/iserd_orientation_presentation_150114.pdf).

<sup>155</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>156</sup> More information about EUREKA and COST under Annex II.

<sup>157</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>158</sup> ISERD Website, About ISERD, *op. cit.*

<sup>159</sup> European Commission, CORDIS, About ISERD: retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://cordis.europa.eu/israel/about\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/israel/about_en.html).

<sup>160</sup> ISERD-YouTube Channel, Training on the H2020 Participants Portal System by Peter Haertwich, Deputy Head of Unit, European Commission, retrieved on 4.05.2015: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqRnzE6\\_rCw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqRnzE6_rCw).

guidelines and texts about good funding strategies, including recommendations and tips on how to win a strategy. These can be subscribed to in the form of 'Weekly Orientation Presentations'.<sup>161</sup> If needed, ISERD guides the applicants through the different steps of an application.<sup>162</sup> The website collects and advertises calls for funding or scientific opportunities and cooperation with other actors, which is important since certain calls require a consortium of many actors applying together.<sup>163</sup> Special attention should be given to the ominous 'Red Team' in charge of overlooking and assessing proposals coming from Israeli actors before submitting them to the Commission.<sup>164</sup> Going beyond the providing of advice and expertise, ISERD offers financial support to SME businesses willing to construct research cooperation in Europe. This information is slightly hidden on the English homepage behind a specific button only available in Hebrew.<sup>165</sup> The button 'קרן סיוע' (Assistance Funds) leads to an online application form in Hebrew, with which the potential applicant can apply for SME Funding.<sup>166</sup> ISERD takes its role very seriously, with a strong sense of competition.<sup>167</sup> Indicative for its ambition is a counter installed on the ISERD homepage, informing readers about the "number of Israeli winners since 2014".<sup>168</sup> The most successful projects are presented in ISERD publications.<sup>169</sup>

All this support from ISERD helps effectively to overcome the administrative obstacles often deterring potential Israeli applicants who consider themselves to be "outside the EU funding system".<sup>170</sup> Assessing the impact of ISERD more generally, Prof. Dany Dolev, former member of the scientific board of the ERC, explains that it contributed to making research cooperation between Israel and Europe natural by raising the mutual

---

<sup>161</sup> ISERD – Bar Mitzwa, 13 Years of Success, Special Supplement to the Daily Newspaper 'Haaretz', retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Iserd\\_magazine\\_English\(1\).pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Iserd_magazine_English(1).pdf).

<sup>162</sup> ISERD Website, retrieved on 4.05.2015, <http://www.iserd.org.il/?CategoryID=179>.

<sup>163</sup> ISERD Website, Open Calls, retrieved on 4.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/Open\\_Calls\\_Horizon2020](http://www.iserd.org.il/Open_Calls_Horizon2020).

<sup>164</sup> Interestingly, despite the whole presentation being in English, the information on the 'Red Team' is only provided in Hebrew: לנציבות הגשתן בטרם הצעות של מקדמית לבדיקה שירות, in: ISERD, Orientations Presentation, 9.02.2015, retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Orientations\\_presentation\\_Master\\_090215.ppt](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Orientations_presentation_Master_090215.ppt).

<sup>165</sup> ISERD-Homepage, retrieved on 5.05.2015: <http://www.iserd.org.il/>.

<sup>166</sup> ISERD, Fund Application Form, לתכנית הצעות להגשת ובינוניות קטנות לחברות הסיוע קרן, retrieved on 5.05.2015: <http://www.iserd.org.il/?CategoryID=175&ArticleID=563>.

<sup>167</sup> Interview with Stephanie Horel, Expert in EU Funding management, Bruges, 6 May 2015.

<sup>168</sup> 296 until 4 May 2015, see: ISERD-Homepage, *op. cit.*

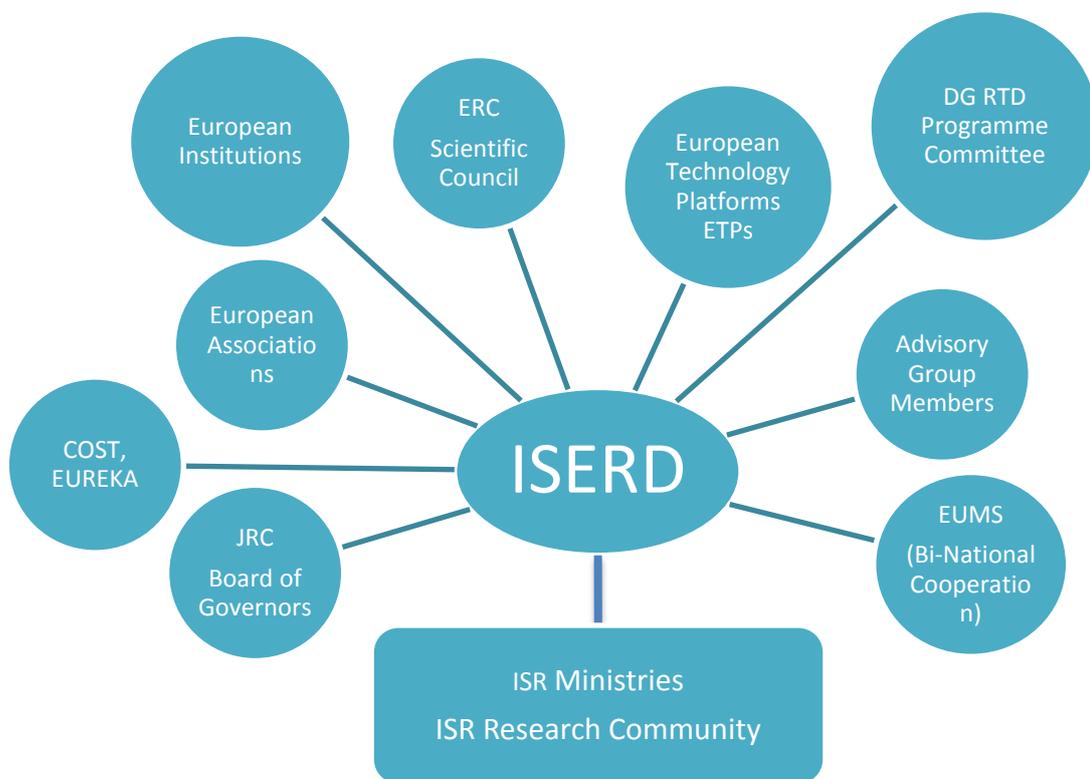
<sup>169</sup> ISERD – Bar Mitzwa, 13 Years of Success, Special Supplement to the Daily Newspaper 'Haaretz', *op. cit.*

<sup>170</sup> ISERD Youtube-Channel, Zeevi Bregman at a Panel Discussion organized by ISERD, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFMIQ6s68jw>.

awareness of the research communities for each other.<sup>171</sup> Even if a comparison between NCPs is difficult, the concentration of Israeli NCPs is very efficient in filling the identified 'gap' between H2020 and the research community.

ISERD's key role can best be illustrated graphically. The following figure exposes all the links, formal or less formal ascertained between ISERD and European research-related actors. It shows the position of ISERD as the bottleneck between two important scientific areas between which it becomes the mediator.

Figure3: ISERD: nerve center of Israeli influence on EU Research Policy<sup>172</sup>



The decisive influence of Israel in the domain of European research policy can even be narrowed down to one person: ISERD's Director General Marcel Shaton, who has been involved in research cooperation between Israel and the EU since its beginning.<sup>173</sup> He was

<sup>171</sup> ISERD-YouTube Channel, Prof. Dany Dolev at and ISERD Panel Discussion, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFMIQ6s68jw>.

<sup>172</sup> Own Compilation.

<sup>173</sup> ISERD, Israel and the European Framework Programme for Research and Development 2007-2013, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

mentioned by several interview subjects as being their most important Israeli contact person, sometimes also referring to him as the 'key player' of Israeli research interests in Brussels.<sup>174</sup> Described as very 'pro-active' and always 'between Israel and Brussels',<sup>175</sup> Shaton can be considered as the discrete but effective conductor of the EU-Israeli research cooperation.

## Conclusion

European research policy is a highly regulated domain, where decisions are made close to the scientific community (e.g. ETPs) and experts (e.g. advisory groups). Furthermore, biannual readjustments of European research policy via internal committees involve the MSEU and the associated states. Aiming at controlling and channeling external influence and expertise, these procedures represent 'channels of influence' for external interest. For Israel like for any other state, this means playing by the rules set by the institutions and following the 'channels of influence' identified in the model on research policy lobbying above. Since the elaboration of European research policy is a policy somehow '*sui generis*', specific tools of analysis were required. The model on research policy lobbying becomes here a useful tool applicable for other actors hoping to gain influence in EU research policy.

A first notable observation is the inability of the well-established Israeli-friendly forums and networks in Brussels to influence positively the issue of European research policy. Deprived of technical expertise and limited to the role of contact platforms and opinion shapers, their activity rather had a negative effect on Israeli interests in research. The asserted power of these bodies can be refuted with regard to EU research policy and questioned in relation to any more technical policy fields. Moreover, the determination of the Commission not to cede to Israeli pressure on the question of the H2020 accession of Israel further questions the statement of David Cronin, accusing Europe of 'cowardice' and 'complicity' towards Israel.<sup>176</sup>

The most relevant 'channels of influence' identified for Israel's interest reside in the fact that Israel has the opportunity to act from within the research policy implementation system, via its specific forums of governance. Treated nearly the same as an MSEU, Israel

---

<sup>174</sup> Interview with an EU-Official, Brussels, 1 April 2015.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>176</sup> D. Cronin, *Europe-Israel: Une alliance contre-nature*, Toulouse, La Guillotine 2012.

brings its concerns effectively onto the agenda. This is accompanied by the particular ability of Israel to ensure the implementation of the EU Research Policy at the national level via an effective organization of provided EU structures ('National Contact Points'-NCPs). The outstanding role is played here by the Israel-Europe R&D Directorate (ISERD), connecting efficiently all the relevant actors, forums and phases of EU-Israeli research policy. ISERD acts as bridge between Israel and the EU and is the heart of Israeli interest representation in the field of research in Europe. Discrete but transparent, the focus of ISERD is purely linked to research policy. Centralized NCPs, as embodied by ISERD, have a strong ability to connect and coordinate European and national interests in complicated and highly technical working field. Bearing in mind that EU policies are generally criticized for being too far from the people, the role of centralized NCPs could become an example for other policies dealing with non-MSEU, like the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the European enlargement.

A lot of parallels between the ENP to the complex domain of European Research Policy can be drawn:

- Complex administrative structures at EU-administration level
- Large funds to disburse – related absorption problems
- Target groups difficult to reach
- High variations in the reliability of administrative structures on the ground
- Information and coordination gaps

Centralized NCPs following the dynamic example of ISERD could help in solving these problems, while offering numerous further advantages:

- Respect of the ownership for the partner-country
- Better supervision of decision making procedures for EU officials in the partner state
- Creation of a network of ENP experts in partner states – expertise spillovers
- Little administrative and financial costs for the Commission.

Finally, the disclosed effectiveness of Israel in addressing research policy concerns at the European level is not free of a margin for improvement. Hence, the low presence of Israeli actors within associations and European Technology Platforms (ETPs) should be addressed. This would favor a natural networking and communication between European and Israeli research communities and thus ease the task of ISERD. It would further help to promote a European awareness of EU-Israeli research cooperation in general and favor a

natural and beneficial transparency. Considering the important personal role played by ISERD Director General Marcel Shaton, who retired in the spring of 2015, it remains to be seen if Israel will be able to maintain its efficiency and be able to address the challenges to come.

## Bibliography

- AHREN, RAPHAEL, 'EU, Israel headed for showdown over settlement rules', Times Of Israel, 7.08.2013, retrieved on 19.04.2015: <http://www.timesofisrael.com/eu-israel-headed-for-showdown-over-settlement-rules/>
- BDS MOVEMENT FREEDOM AND JUSTICE Website, European Union on Human Rights, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2013/eu-must-not-bow-to-us-pressure-to-disregard-human-rights-11315>
- BDS MOVEMENT FREEDOM AND JUSTICE Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2013/500-academics-eu-letter-11329>.
- BDS MOVEMENT FREEDOM AND JUSTICE Website, Support Letter, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2013/600-israeli-intellectuals-send-letter-support-eu-settlement-guidelines-11334>
- BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG, '2014 Research an Innovation Report', SGI -Sustainable Governance Indicator, Bertelsmann Stiftung 2014, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://www.sgi-Network.org/docs/2014/thematic/SGI2014\\_Research\\_and\\_Innovation.pdf](http://www.sgi-Network.org/docs/2014/thematic/SGI2014_Research_and_Innovation.pdf).
- BRANDSMA, GIJS JAN, *Controlling Comitology, Accountability in a Multi-Level System*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan 2013.
- CORPORATE EUROPE OBSERVATORY (CEO), 'Spin Doctors to the Autocrats: How European Firms whitewash repressive Regimes', retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://corporateeurope.org/sites/default/files/201500303\\_spindoctors\\_lr.pdf](http://corporateeurope.org/sites/default/files/201500303_spindoctors_lr.pdf).
- COST Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: [http://www.cost.eu/about\\_cost](http://www.cost.eu/about_cost).
- CRONIN, DAVID, Blog, retrieved on 5.05.2015: <http://dvcronin.blogspot.be/2010/11/how-israel-lobby-dictates-eu-policy.html>.
- CRONIN, DAVID, *Europe-Israel: Une alliance contre-nature*, Toulouse, La Guillotine 2012.
- EARTO Website, About EARTO, retrieved on 1.05.2015: <http://www.earto.eu/about-earto.html>.
- ECC PALESTINE Website, European Parliament Letter, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.eccpalestine.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Letter-signed-by-51-MEPs.pdf>.
- ERRIN, European Regions and Innovation Network, PPT-Presentation on H2020, retrieved on 5.05.2015: <http://www.upf.edu/rdi/convocatories/InfoRecerca/inforece1/horitzo2020.ppt>
- ERRIN, European Regions and Innovation Network, Website, About Us, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.errin.eu/content/about-us-0>
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 'Commission Staff Working Document - Strategy for European Technology Platforms: ETP 2020', SWD (2013) 272 final, Brussels, 12.7.2013.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 'Factsheet Horizon 2020 Budget', retrieved on 13.04.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/horizon2020/pdf/press/fact\\_sheet\\_on\\_horizon2020\\_budget.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/horizon2020/pdf/press/fact_sheet_on_horizon2020_budget.pdf).
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 'Horizon 2020 – Work Programme 2014-2015', European Commission Decision C (2015)2453 of 17 April 2015, retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/wp/2014\\_2015/main/h2020-wp1415-sewp\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/wp/2014_2015/main/h2020-wp1415-sewp_en.pdf).
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 'Horizon 2020 Work Programme 2014-2015, table of Contents and General Introduction', European Commission Decision C (2014)4995 of 22 July 2014.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 'Research and Innovation Performance in Israel, Country Profile 2013', Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Union 2013.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 'Research and Innovation Performance in the EU, Innovation Union Progress at Country Level', Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Union, 2014.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, CORDIS, About ISERD: retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://cordis.europa.eu/israel/about\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/israel/about_en.html).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, DG Research and Innovation, Consultations, retrieved on 28.04.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/consultations/list\\_en.cfm#open](http://ec.europa.eu/research/consultations/list_en.cfm#open).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, DG RTD - Unit A3, 'Minimum Standards and Guiding principles for setting up systems of National Contact Points under Horizon 2020', retrieved on 1.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/support/20131125\\_NCP%20Minimum%20standards.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/support/20131125_NCP%20Minimum%20standards.pdf).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, DG RTD, 'Mandate of the Horizon 2020 Advisory Group for International Cooperation', retrieved on 30.04.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/index.cfm?do=groupDetail.groupDetailDoc&id=12974&no=1>.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, European Technology Platforms, retrieved on 3.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index\\_en.cfm?pg=etp](http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?pg=etp).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Horizon 2020 Expert groups, retrieved on 30.04.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/experts>.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Register of Commission Expert Groups, retrieved on 3.05.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/>.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Research & Innovation Participants Portal, retrieved on 30.04.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal/desktop/en/experts/index.html>.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Research and Innovation participant Portal – National Contact Points, retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national\\_contact\\_points.html#c,contact=country/sbg/Israel/1/1/0&function\\_details..function\\_abbr/sbg/null/1/1/0&+country/desc](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national_contact_points.html#c,contact=country/sbg/Israel/1/1/0&function_details..function_abbr/sbg/null/1/1/0&+country/desc).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Research and Innovation Participant Portal, NCPs, retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national\\_contact\\_points.html#c,contact=country/](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national_contact_points.html#c,contact=country/)

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Research and Innovation Participant Portal, retrieved on 04.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national\\_contact\\_points.html#c,contact=country/](http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal4/desktop/en/support/national_contact_points.html#c,contact=country/)

EUROPEAN COUNCIL Israel FOR ISRAEL, Website, retrieved on 2.04.2015: <http://www.ec4i.org/about-us>.

EUROPEAN EXTERNAL ACTION SERVICE, Agreements between EU and Israel, Retrieved on 16.04.2015: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu\\_israel/political\\_relations/agreements/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu_israel/political_relations/agreements/index_en.htm)

EUROPEAN EXTERNAL ACTION SERVICE, Formal Response Letter of Leone Gabrielli, Head of Division to Mr. Maurice Ostroff, Journalist at the Jerusalem Post, 17.12.2013, retrieved on 18.04.2015: <http://www.jpost.com/Blogs/2nd-Thoughts/Response-by-Baroness-Ashton-to-letter-re-Horizon-2020-364136>.

EUROPEAN EXTERNAL ACTION SERVICE, Scientific Cooperation between the EU and Israel, The Delegation of the European Union to Israel, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu\\_israel/scientific\\_cooperation/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/eu_israel/scientific_cooperation/index_en.htm).

EUROPEAN FRIENDS OF ISRAEL, EFI released open letter about EU Guidelines, retrieved on 2.05.2015: [http://www.efi-eu.org/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=355:efi-released-an-open-letter-about-the-eu-guidelines&Itemid=141](http://www.efi-eu.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=355:efi-released-an-open-letter-about-the-eu-guidelines&Itemid=141).

EUROPEAN FRIENDS OF ISRAEL, Website, retrieved on 2.04.2015: [http://www.efi-eu.org/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=269&Itemid=145](http://www.efi-eu.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=269&Itemid=145).

EUROPEAN SCIENCES FOUNDATION, Recent Developments, retrieved on 28.04.2015: <http://www.esf.org/esf-today/recent-developments.html>.

EUROPEAN TRANSPARENCY REGISTER, TEVA Pharmaceuticals Europe BV, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/consultation/displaylobbyist.do?id=27116427434-57>.

EUROPEAN UNION, European Technology Platforms, retrieved on 28.04.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index\\_en.cfm?pg=etp](http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?pg=etp).

EUROPEAN UNION, Research and Innovation Institutions and Bodies, retrieved on 27.04.2015: [http://europa.eu/pol/rd/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/pol/rd/index_en.htm).

FRIENDS OF ISRAEL INITIATIVE Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.friendsofisraelinitiative.org/article.php?pagina=10&c=119>.

GREENWOOD, JUSTIN, *Interest Representation in the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011 3rd Ed.

GUÉGUEN, DANIEL, *Comitology –Hyjacking European Power?*, Brussels, PACT European Affairs, Europolitics 2014.

GUÉGUEN, DANIEL, *Reshaping European Lobbying*, Brussels, PACT European Affairs, Europolitics 2013.

HARPAZ, GUY, 'The European Union, The Mediterranean and the European Neighbourhood Policy: An Israeli Perspective', in: Guy Harpaz and Rachel Frid, 'The Wider Europe Initiative', 9(1) International Trade Law and Regulation N-6-7, 2004.

ISERD 'Bar Mitzwa -13 Years of Success', Special Supplement to the Daily Newspaper 'Haaretz', retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Iserd\\_magazine\\_English\(1\).pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Iserd_magazine_English(1).pdf).

ISERD Website, About ISERD, retrieved on 4.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/ABOUT\\_ISERD](http://www.iserd.org.il/ABOUT_ISERD).

ISERD Website, Open Calls, retrieved on 4.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/Open\\_Calls\\_Horizon2020](http://www.iserd.org.il/Open_Calls_Horizon2020).

ISERD Website, retrieved on 4.05.2015, <http://www.iserd.org.il/?CategoryID=179>.

ISERD Youtube Channel: Youtube, ISERD Israel, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC6c--n765q4GN-Dknm8dEg>.

ISERD YouTube-Channel, Marcel Shaton – Israel-France, i24, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99x3kp2Mf88>.

ISERD YouTube-Channel, Prof. Dany Dolev at and ISERD Panel Discussion, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFMIQ6s68jw>.

ISERD YouTube-Channel, Training on the H2020 Participants Portal System by Peter Haertwich, Deputy Head of Unit, European Commission, retrieved on 4.05.2015: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqRnzE6\\_rCw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqRnzE6_rCw).

ISERD Youtube-Channel, Zeevi Bregman at a Panel Discussion organized by ISERD, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFMIQ6s68jw>.

ISERD, 'Agreement between the State of Israel and the European Union on the participation of Israel in the Union Programme "Horizon 2020 – The Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020)"', retrieved on 16.04.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/EU\\_Israel\\_sign\\_Horizon\\_2020\\_association\\_RD\\_agreement\\_en.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/EU_Israel_sign_Horizon_2020_association_RD_agreement_en.pdf).

ISERD, 'Horizon 2020 – The European R&D Programme Takes Off', ISERD – The Israel-Europe R&D Directorate, 2014, retrieved on 14.04.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD\\_EN.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/ISERD_EN.pdf).

ISERD, Fund Application Form, לתכנית הצעות להגשת ובינוניות קטנות לחברות הסיוע קרן, retrieved on 5.05.2015: <http://www.iserd.org.il/?CategoryID=175&ArticleID=563>.

ISERD, General Presentation: האירופי פ"למו הישראלית המינהלת, retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/iserd\\_orientation\\_presentation\\_150114.pdf](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/iserd_orientation_presentation_150114.pdf).

ISERD, Homepage, retrieved on 4.05.2015: <http://www.iserd.org.il/>.

ISERD, Orientations Presentation, 9.02.2015, retrieved on 5.05.2015: [http://www.iserd.org.il/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Orientations\\_presentation\\_Master\\_090215.ppt](http://www.iserd.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/Orientations_presentation_Master_090215.ppt).

ISRAELI ALLIES FOUNDATION, Website, retrieved on 2.05.2015: [http://www.israelallies.org/eu/moreaboutiaf/about\\_the\\_iaf/](http://www.israelallies.org/eu/moreaboutiaf/about_the_iaf/).

LERU Website, retrieved on 28.04.2015: <http://www.leru.org/index.php/public/about-leru/members/>.

OECD, 2014 edition of Research and Development Statistics, retrieved on 16.04.2015: <http://www.oecd.org/innovation/inno/researchanddevelopmentstatisticsrds.htm>

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the European Community and the State of Israel - Final Act - Joint Declaration, [OJ L 220 , 25/08/2007 P. 0005 – 0021].

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Council Decision of 3 December 2013 establishing the specific programme implementing Horizon 2020 - the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020) and repealing Decisions 2006/971/EC, 2006/972/EC, 2006/973/EC, 2006/974/EC and 2006/975/EC.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Decision No 1312/2013/EU Of The European Parliament and of The Council of 11 December 2013 on the Strategic Innovation Agenda of the European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT): the contribution of the EIT to a more innovative Europe, L 347/892.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the State of Israel, of the other part [OJ L 147 of 21.6.2000].

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Regulation (EC) No 294/2008 Of The European Parliament And Of The Council of 11 March 2008 establishing the European Institute of Innovation and Technology, L97/1.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Regulation (EU) No 1290/2013 Of The European Parliament And Of The Council of 11 December 2013 laying down the rules for participation and dissemination in "Horizon 2020 - the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020)" and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1906/2006.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Regulation (EU) No 1290/2013 Of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 laying down the rules for participation and dissemination in "Horizon 2020 - the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020)" and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1906/2006 (Text with EEA relevance), Retrieved on 9.03.2015: [http://inea.ec.europa.eu/download/legal\\_framework/reg1290\\_2013participation\\_diss2020.pdf](http://inea.ec.europa.eu/download/legal_framework/reg1290_2013participation_diss2020.pdf)

- OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Regulation (EU) No 1291/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 establishing Horizon 2020 - the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020) and repealing Decision No 1982/2006/EC, retrieved on 5.03.2015: [http://inea.ec.europa.eu/download/legal\\_framework/regulation\\_12912013\\_establishing\\_h2020.pdf](http://inea.ec.europa.eu/download/legal_framework/regulation_12912013_establishing_h2020.pdf).
- OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, Regulation (EU) No 1291/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 establishing Horizon 2020 - the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020) and repealing Decision No 1982/2006/EC.
- OSTROFF, MAURICE, Open-Letter to EU Foreign-Policy Chief Baroness Ashton, Jerusalem Post, 9.11.2013, retrieved on 19.04.2014: <http://www.jpost.com/Experts/Baroness-Ashton-please-explain-325848>.
- RAVID, BARAK, 'Despite Israeli objections, EU officially publishes new settlement guidelines', Haaretz, 19.07.13, retrieved on 19.04.2015: [http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.536812#Scene\\_1](http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.536812#Scene_1).
- SIEGEL-ITZKOVICH, JUDY, 'Israel Academy of Sciences President: Israel must sign Horizon 2020', Jerusalem Post, 21.10.2013, retrieved on 19.04.2015: <http://www.jpost.com/Enviro-Tech/Israel-Academy-of-Sciences-president-Government-must-sign-Horizon-2020-329289>.
- SLIDESHARE, retrieved on 5.05.2015: <http://de.slideshare.net/IserdIsrael>.
- SOMFALVI, ATTILA, 'Report: Israel, EU reach understanding regarding Horizon 2020', YnetNews, Nov. 2013, retrieved on 14.04.2015: <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4458364,00.html>.
- STAMM, JULIA, 'Towards new Horizons in Research Policy – The Changing Role of the Directorate-Genral for Research (and Innovation)', Student Paper Series, Hertie School of Governance, 2013.
- WESSELS, BERNARD, 'Interest groups and political representation in Europe', 1997, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, retrieved on 21.04.2015: <http://www.wzb.eu/~wessels/Downloads/ECPR97-3.pdf>.
- YILDIZ, UGUR BURC, 'The Influence of the European Friends of Israel on the Members of the European Parliament', Alternative Turkish Journal for International Relations, Vol. 13, No.4, 2014.

#### Research Interviews

Person	Position and Institution	Type of Interview	Place	Date
-	EU-Official, DG RTD	Personal	Brussels	31.03.2015
-	EU-Official, Council of the European Union	Personal	Brussels	1.04.2015
-	EU-Official, European Research Council Executive Agency (ERCEA)	Personal	Brussels	1.04.2015
-	EU-Official	Personal	Brussels	1.04.2015
-	EU-Official	Personal, (Questions recorded by Ugo Vuillard-Cornu, Student at the College of Europe)	Brussels	13. 03.2015

<b>Cronin, David</b>	EU-Journalist	Personal	Brussels	31.03.2015
<b>Docherty, Michael</b>	European Commission, DG NEAR - Head of sector for Israel, Jordan and Occupied Palestinian Territory (West Bank and Gaza Strip)	Questionnaire	Bruges	30.03.2015
<b>Engelmann, Ulla</b>	European Research Centre, International, Interinstitutional and Stakeholder Relations	Personal	Brussels	15.04.2015
<b>Henkel, Hans-Olaf</b>	European Parliament, Vice-Chair of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy	Personal	Brussels	15.04.2015
<b>Horel, Stéphanie</b>	Expert in EU Project management, Training Public Administration in the European Neighbourhood Partner Countries	Personal	Bruges	06.03.2015
<b>Köhler, Michael</b>	European Commission, Director General for Neighborhood and Enlargement Negotiations	Personal	Bruges	16.03.2015
<b>Koutchouk, Jean-Pierre, Prof.</b>	Senior Accelerator Scientist, one of the leaders of the LHC design, coordinator of FP7 EuCARD	Personal	Brussels	31.03.2015
<b>Lannon, Erwan</b>	Professor of Law and International Relations at the University of Ghent and the CoE. Expert in European Neighborhood Policy	Personal	Bruges	8.03.2015
<b>Legris, Richard</b>	Former Official of the Council of the European Union and the Commission. Prepared and introduced the lobbying transparency and registration system.	Personal	Bruges	28.03.2015
<b>Mor, Gil</b>	Mission of Israel to the EU, Minister-Counselor for Industry and Trade	Personal	Brussels	1.04.2015
<b>Springhetti, Daniele</b>	European Research Council Executive Agency, Assistant to the head of department for Grant Management	Phone	Bruges	24.03.2015
<b>Tachelet, Marc</b>	Research Executive Agency, Head of Department Industrial Leadership and Societal Challenges	Phone	Bruges	24.03.2015

## Annexes

### ANNEX I: Overview of EU-R&I related actors<sup>177</sup>

Institution	Related Body/ Project
<b>European Commission</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Joint Research Centre</li> <li>- DG Research and Innovation</li> <li>- Other relevant DGs</li> <li>- Framework Programmes (H2020)</li> </ul>
<b>European Parliament</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Committee on industry, research and energy</li> </ul>
<b>Council of the European Union</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology)</li> <li>- Competitiveness: internal market, industry and research</li> </ul>
<b>European Economic and Social Committee</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Single Market, production and consumption</li> </ul>
<b>Committee of the Regions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Commission for Education, youth, culture and research</li> </ul>
<b>EU Agencies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Research Executive Agency (REA)</li> <li>- European Research Council Executive Agency (ERCEA)</li> <li>- Executive Agency for Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (EASME)</li> <li>- Innovation and Networks Executive Agency (INEA)</li> </ul>

<sup>177</sup> Source: Own compilation, using: European Union, Research and Innovation Institutions and Bodies, retrieved on 27.04.2015: [http://europa.eu/pol/rd/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/pol/rd/index_en.htm).

ANNEX II: List of the most relevant research related associations in Europe<sup>178</sup>

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Type of Members</b>	<b>Description (if necessary)</b>	<b>Membership of Israel/ Israeli research actors</b>
<b>AeroSpace and Defense Industries Association of Europe, ASD</b>	~25 National Aeronautic Defense Associations and Companies		No
<b>All European Academies, ALLEA</b>	58 National Academies of Sciences and Humanities in 40 countries		Yes (Israel Academy is a founding Member)
<b>Alliance for Materials, A4M</b>	A dozen national Research and Technology Organizations		No
<b>Association for European Nanoelectronic Activities, AENEAS</b>	~150 Businesses and Universities working on Nano-Technologies		Yes, No Universities or Research Institutions
<b>Association of European Renewable Energy Research Centers, EUREC</b>	Representing 44 research centers and university departments active in the area of renewable energy		No
<b>Association of European Research Establishments in Aeronautics, EREA</b>	Europe's eleven most outstanding research centers active in the field of aeronautics and air transport		No
<b>CECIMO</b>	15 national associations of machine tool builders, represents approximately 1500 industrial enterprises in Europe and its Neighborhood		No

<sup>178</sup> Source: Own Compilation. Only associations and networks registered in the European Transparency Register (ETR) have been considered. The selection of relevant Associations and Networks was made according to their linkage to research or to a sector of Israeli Scientific specialization (Aeronautics, Medicine, Security, ICT). My selection was further guided by the qualitative advice of interviewees.

<b>Conference of European Schools for advanced research education and research, CESAER</b>	More than 50 leading European universities engaged in advanced engineering education and research and dedicated to research		Yes From Israel only the Technion – Israel Institute for Technology is a member. This is few compared to other countries.
<b>DigitalEurope</b>	30 National ICT associations and more than 50 leading ICT Corporations		No
<b>EBN Innovation Network</b>	~ 150 Business and innovation centers in 40 countries (Mainly in Europe and its Neighborhood)		No
<b>EU Robotics AISBL</b>	236 Universities and businesses specialized in robotics		No
<b>EurAqua</b>	24 leading institutes in water research in Europe and Associated Countries	Research Network of Freshwater Organisations	No,
<b>EUREKA</b>	41 Countries Member or Associated to H2020.	“an intergovernmental initiative, EUREKA aims to enhance industrial competitiveness through its support to businesses, research centers and universities who carry out pan-European projects to develop innovative products, processes and services” <sup>179</sup>	Yes
<b>European Aeronautics Sciences Network, EASN</b>	~40 European Countries, listing relevant Institutions and contact Persons related to the topic		Yes But strangely no names or Associations are listed in the Database

<sup>179</sup> Matimop Website, Israeli Industry Center for R&D, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.matimop.org.il/eureka.html>.

<b>European Association for Cancer Research, EACR</b>	Leading National Societies involved in Cancer Research		Yes
<b>European Association of Development Agencies, EURADA</b>	~70 Regional development Agencies	Lobbies and briefs the Commission, build networks. Focused on economic development with a focus on Innovation	No
<b>European Association of Institutions in Higher Education, EURASHE</b>	~60 Higher Education Institutions and Universities		No
<b>European Association of National Research Facilities, ERF</b>	~15 European scientific research facilities		No
<b>European Association of Research and Technology Association, EARTO</b>	Around 80 Research and Technology Organizations from MSEU or Associated States to H2020	“promote and defend the interests of RTOs in Europe by reinforcing their profile and position as a key player in the minds of EU decision-makers and by seeking to ensure that European R&D and innovation programmes are best attuned to their interests” <sup>180</sup>	No
<b>European Biopharmaceutical Enterprises, EBE</b>	~30 Pharmaceutical enterprises		No
<b>European Cooperation in Sciences and Technology, COST</b>	35 MSEU and Neighborhood states	“COST is the longest-running European framework supporting trans-national cooperation among researchers, engineers and scholars across Europe.” <sup>181</sup> Note: COST is funded to 100% via the FP of the EU.	Yes Israel is the only Member with the restricted status of a ‘Cooperating State’.

<sup>180</sup> EARTO Website, About EARTO, retrieved on 1.05.2015: <http://www.earto.eu/about-earto.html>.

<sup>181</sup> COST Website, [http://www.cost.eu/about\\_cost](http://www.cost.eu/about_cost).

<b>European Federation of Pharmaceutical Industries and Associations, EFPIA</b>	<b>40 Leading Pharmaceutical Enterprises</b>		<b>No</b>
<b>European Regions Research and Innovation Network, ERRIN</b>	"a dynamic network of, currently, more than 90 European regions and their Brussels-based EU offices." <sup>182</sup> It is Open to Associated States.	"facilitates knowledge exchange, joint action and project partnerships between its members with the aim to strengthen their region's research and innovation capacities" <sup>183</sup>	No
<b>European Sciences Foundation, ESF</b>	75 National Sciences Organizations in 30 countries	"stimulating European research through its networking and coordination activities" <sup>184</sup>	Yes, Observer Status
<b>European Universities Association, EUA</b>	850 Universities and Research Institutions are Member in 47 Countries in Europe and its Neighborhood		No Very surprising. Even the Holy See and Andorra are Members
<b>Federation of European Neuroscience Societies, FENS</b>	~50 National Neurosciences Societies		Yes
<b>League of European Research Universities, LERU</b>	12 leading European Research Universities	"consortium of some of the most renowned research universities in Europe" <sup>185</sup>	No

<sup>182</sup> ERRIN Website, About Us, retrieved on 2.05.2015: <http://www.errin.eu/content/about-us-0>.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>184</sup> European Sciences Foundation, Recent Developments, retrieved on 28.04.2015: <http://www.esf.org/esf-today/recent-developments.html>.

<sup>185</sup> LERU Website, retrieved on 28.04.2015: <http://www.leru.org/index.php/public/about-leru/members/>.

<b>Partnership of a European Group of Aeronautics and Space Universities, PEGASUS</b>	<b>~10 Universities and Research Institutes leading in Aeronautics</b>		<b>No</b>
<b>Vision 2020: The Horizon Network</b>	Numerous National Universities and innovating businesses	"Vision2020 acts as a hub to connect Horizon 2020 participants from excellent universities and innovative companies, and works to maximize the value and Horizon 2020 funding its members can obtain" <sup>186</sup>	Yes. From Israel only Bar Ilan University is in the Network. This is few compared to other countries.

---

<sup>186</sup> Vision 2020 Website, retrieved on 1.05.2015: <http://2020visionnetwork.eu/>.

ANNEX III: Membership of Israeli Experts in Advisory Groups<sup>187</sup>

<b>Advisory Group</b>	<b>Membership of Israeli Expert</b>
<b>Access to risk finance (debt and equity financing)</b>	Yes
<b>Climate action, environment, resource efficiency and raw materials</b>	No
<b>European research infrastructures including eInfrastructures</b>	Yes
<b>Europe in a changing world – inclusive, innovative and reflective societies</b>	No
<b>Food security, sustainable agriculture and forestry, marine and maritime and inland water research and the bioeconomy and biotechnology</b>	No
<b>Future and Emerging Technologies (FET)</b>	Yes
<b>Gender</b>	Yes
<b>Health, demographic change and wellbeing</b>	No
<b>Innovation in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs)</b>	No
<b>International cooperation</b>	No
<b>The Marie Skłodowska-Curie actions on skills, training and career development</b>	No
<b>Nanotechnologies, advanced materials and advanced manufacturing and processing</b>	Yes
<b>Science with and for Society</b>	No
<b>Secure, clean and efficient energy and Euratom</b>	No
<b>Secure societies – protecting freedom and security of Europe and its citizens</b>	Yes
<b>Smart, green and integrated transport</b>	No
<b>Space</b>	No
<b>Spreading excellence and widening participation</b>	No

<sup>187</sup> Source: Own research and compilation using Data provided by the European Commission on its Register of Expert Groups, see: European Commission, Register of Commission Expert Groups, retrieved on 3.05.2015: <http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/>.

ANNEX IV: Israeli Membership in European Technology Platforms (ETPs)<sup>188</sup>

ETP	Membership of Israel/Israeli Actor
<b>Advisory Council for Aviation Research and Innovation in Europe (ACARE)</b>	No (Surprising)
<b>Association for R&amp;D actors in Embedded Systems (ARTEMIS)</b>	No (Surprising)
<b>European Aquaculture Technology and Innovation Platform (EATIP)</b>	No
<b>European Biofuels Technology Platform (EBTP)</b>	No
<b>European Construction Technology Platform (ECTP)</b>	No
<b>European Photovoltaic Technology Platform (EU PV TP)</b>	No
<b>European Rail Research Advisory Council (ERRAC)</b>	No
<b>European Road Transport Research Advisory Council (ERTRAC)</b>	No
<b>European Robotics Technology Platform (EUROP/euRobotics)</b>	Yes (Israel Aerospace Industries and Technion Institute Haifa)
<b>European Steel Technology Platform (ESTEP)</b>	-
<b>European Technology Platform for Advanced Engineering Materials (EuMaT)</b>	-
<b>European Technology Platform for Global Animal Health (ETPGAH)</b>	No
<b>European Technology Platform for High Performance Computing (ETP4HPC)</b>	No
<b>European Technology Platform for Nanoelectronics (ENIAC)</b>	Yes
<b>European Technology Platform for the Future of Textiles and Clothing</b>	No

<sup>188</sup> Source: Own research and compilation using Data from the European Commission, see: European Commission, European Technology Platforms, retrieved on 3.05.2015: [http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index\\_en.cfm?pg=etp](http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?pg=etp).

<b>European Technology Platform for Sustainable Chemistry (SusChem)</b>	-
<b>European Technology Platform for Wind Energy (TPWind)</b>	-
<b>European Technology Platform on Logistics</b>	No
<b>European technology Platform on Nanomedicine</b>	Yes
<b>European Technology Platform on Renewable Heating &amp; Cooling (RHC-Platform)</b>	No
<b>European Technology Platform on Smart Systems Integration (EPoSS)</b>	No
<b>European Technology Platform on Sustainable Mineral Resources (ETP-SMR)</b>	No
<b>Food for Live</b>	Yes
<b>Forest Based Sector Technology Platform</b>	-
<b>Integral Satcom Initiative (ISI)</b>	Yes
<b>Manufuture</b>	No
<b>Net!Works</b>	Yes (32 Members!)
<b>Networked and Electronic Media (NEM)</b>	No
<b>Networked European Software and Services Initiative (NESSI)</b>	Yes
<b>Photonics 21</b>	Yes (Among other ISERD!)
<b>Plants for the Future</b>	Yes
<b>Smart Grids European Technology Platform</b>	No
<b>Sustainable Farm Animal Breeding and Reproduction Technology Platform (FABRE-TP)</b>	Yes
<b>Sustainable Nuclear Energy Technology Platform (SNETP)</b>	No
<b>Technology Research Platform for organic food and farming (TP Organics)</b>	Yes
<b>Water supply and sanitation Technology Platform (WssTP)</b>	Yes

<b>Waterborne</b>	No
<b>Zero Emissions Platform (ZEP)</b>	No
<b>Cross ETP Initiatives:</b>	
<b>Nanofutures</b>	Yes
<b>Industrial Safety</b>	-

## **Bruges Political Research Papers / Cahiers de recherche politique de Bruges**

No 48 / 2016

Patrick Jacques, Great hatred, little room—Northern Ireland and the European Union: Attitudes, perspectives, and the role of religion

No 47 / 2016

Matthieu Moulonguet, What drives the European Parliament? The Case of the General Data Protection Regulation

No 46 / 2015

Pablo Gómez Leahy, The Interregional Association Agreement between the European Union and Mercosur: Is the Timing Right?

No 45 / 2015

Doina Pinzari, EU democratization policies in the Neighbourhood countries and Russia's reaction as a destabilizing factor: A comparative case study of Georgia and Moldova

No 44 / 2015

Lorenzo Donatelli, A Pan-European District for the European Elections? The Rise and Fall of the Duff Proposal for the Electoral Reform of the European Parliament

No 43 / 2015

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

No 42 / 2015

Martina Barbero, L'Européanisation des politiques d'innovation en France: une révolution copernicienne? Le cas de la région Rhône-Alpes

No 41 / 2015

Ferdi De Ville and Dieter Berckvens, What do Eurozone academics think about EMU reform? On broad support and German exceptionalism

No 40 / 2015

Emilie Cazenave, Eurodéputé : « Seconde chance » ou « Tremplin » - Comparaisons des trajectoires politiques de candidats PSE et PPE aux élections européennes de 2014 en France et en Suède

No 39/ 2015

Nathalie Brack, Olivier Costa et Clarissa Dri, Le Parlement européen à la recherche de l'efficacité législative : Une analyse des évolutions de son organisation

No 38 /2014

Stefaan De Rynck, Changing Banking Supervision in the Eurozone: the ECB as a Policy Entrepreneur

No 37 / 2014

Pierre Vanheuverzwijn, Promoting the agenda for a social Economic and Monetary Union: Attention, credibility and coalition-building

No 36 / 2014

Aileen Körfer, Politicising the Union? The Influence of 'Leading Candidates' for the Commission Presidency

No 35 / 2014

Guillaume Meynet, Analyser l'influence du syndicalisme agricole majoritaire: quelle utilité pour le modèle néo-corporatiste ? Etude de cas à partir du « mini-paquet lait »

No 34 / 2014

Laurent Bonfond, Le Parlement européen et les actes délégués : De la conquête d'un pouvoir à son exercice

No 33 / 2014

Alexis Perier, Le quatrième paquet ferroviaire : l'impossible libéralisation ?

No 32 / 2013

Eguzki Osteikoetxea, EU Trade Actors after Lisbon: Enhanced Negotiations or Business as Usual?

No 31 / 2013

David Freed, Do Institutional Changes Make a Difference ? A Veto Player Analysis of how Institutional Changes in the Council of the EU Influence Legislative Efficiency and Outputs

No 30 / 2013

Camille Dehestre, Industries and Citizens' Groups Networks in EU Food Policy: The Emergence of 'Unholy Alliances' in Multilevel Governance?

No 29 / 2013

Carole Pouliquen, Le cadre européen de protection des données personnelles en matière pénale: Dimensions interne et externe

No 28 / 2013

Marta Zalewska and Oskar Josef Gstrein, National Parliaments and their Role in European Integration: The EU's Democratic Deficit in Times of Economic Hardship and Political Insecurity

No 27 / 2012

Laura Batalla Adam, The Significance of EU Topics in National Media: Has There Been a Europeanization of Reporting in the National Media?

No 26 / 2012

Claire Baffert, Participatory Approaches In The Management Of Natura 2000: When EU Biodiversity Policy Gets Closer to its Citizens

No 25 / 2012

Serena Garelli, The European Union's Promotion of Regional Economic Integration in Southeast Asia: Norms, Markets or Both?

No 24 / 2012

Luis Bouza García, Víctor Cuesta López, Elitsa Mincheva and Dorota Szeligowska, The European Citizens' Initiative – A First Assessment

No 23 / 2012

Isabelle de Lichtervelde, La défense des droits de l'homme en Chine : Le parlement européen est-il la voix normative de l'union européenne ?

No 22 / 2012

Erik Brattberg and Mark Rhinard, The EU and US as International Actors in Disaster Relief

No 21 / 2011

Alesia Koush, Fight against the Illegal Antiquities Traffic in the EU: Bridging the Legislative Gaps

No 20 / 2011

Neill Nugent and Laurie Buonanno, Explaining the EU's Policy Portfolio: Applying a Federal Integration Approach to EU Codecision Policy

No 19 / 2011

Frederika Cruce, How Did We End Up with This Deal? Examining the Role of Environmental NGOs in EU Climate Policymaking

No 18 / 2011

Didier Reynders, Vers une nouvelle 'gouvernance économique'?

No 17 / 2010

Violeta Podagelytė, Democracy beyond the Rhetoric and the Emergence of the "EU Prince": The Case of EU-Ukraine Relations

No 16 / 2010

Maroš Šefčovič, From Institutional Consolidation to Policy Delivery

No 15 / 2010

Sven Biscop and Jo Coelmont, Permanent Structured Cooperation in Defence: Building Effective European Armed Forces

No 14 / 2010

Antonio Missiroli, Implementing the Lisbon Treaty: The External Policy Dimension

No 13 / 2010

Anne-Céline Didier, The European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT): A New Way for Promoting Innovation in Europe?

No 12 / 2010

Marion Salines, Success Factors of Macro-Regional Cooperation: The Example of the Baltic Sea Region

No 11 / 2010

Martin Caudron, Galileo: Le Partenariat Public-Privé à l'Épreuve du « Juste Retour »

No 10 / 2009

Davide Bradanini, The Rise of the Competitiveness Discourse—A Neo-Gramscian Analysis

No 9 / 2009

Adina Crisan, La Russie dans le nouveau Grand Jeu énergétique en Mer Noire: Nabucco et South Stream ou « l'art du kuzushi »

No 8 / 2008

Jonas Dreger, The Influence of Environmental NGOs on the Design of the Emissions Trading Scheme of the EU: An Application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

No 7 / 2008

Thomas Kostera, Europeanizing Healthcare: Cross-border Patient Mobility and Its Consequences for the German and Danish Healthcare Systems

06 / 2007

Mathieu Rousselin, Le Multilatéralisme en Question : Le Programme de Doha pour le Développement et la Crise du Système Commercial Multilatéral

05 / 2007

Filip Engel, Analyzing Policy Learning in European Union Policy Formulation: The Advocacy Coalition Framework Meets New-Institutional Theory

04 / 2007

Michele Chang, Eric De Souza, Sieglinde Gstöhl, and Dominik Hanf, Papers prepared for the Colloquium, "Working for Europe: Perspectives on the EU 50 Years after the Treaties of Rome

03 / 2007

Erwin van Veen, The Valuable Tool of Sovereignty: Its Use in Situations of Competition and Interdependence

02 / 2007

Mark Pollack, Principal-Agent Analysis and International Delegation: Red Herrings, Theoretical Clarifications, and Empirical Disputes

01 / 2006

Christopher Reynolds, All Together Now? The Governance of Military Capability Reform in the ESDP



Europe is in a constant state of flux. European politics, economics, law and indeed European societies are changing rapidly. The European Union itself is in a continuous situation of adaptation. New challenges and new requirements arise continually, both internally and externally.

The *College of Europe Studies* series seeks to publish research on these issues done at the College of Europe, both at its Bruges and its Natolin (Warsaw) campus. Focused on the European Union and the European integration process, this research may be specialised in the areas of political science, law or economics, but much of it is of an interdisciplinary nature. The objective is to promote understanding of the issues concerned and to make a contribution to ongoing discussions.

L'Europe subit des mutations permanentes. La vie politique, l'économie, le droit, mais également les sociétés européennes, changent rapidement. L'Union européenne s'inscrit dès lors dans un processus d'adaptation constant. Des défis et des nouvelles demandes surviennent sans cesse, provenant à la fois de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur.

La collection des *Cahiers du Collège d'Europe* publie les résultats des recherches menées sur ces thèmes au Collège d'Europe, au sein de ses deux campus (Bruges et Varsovie). Focalisés sur l'Union européenne et le processus d'intégration, ces travaux peuvent être spécialisés dans les domaines des sciences politiques, du droit ou de l'économie, mais ils sont le plus souvent de nature interdisciplinaire. La collection vise à approfondir la compréhension de ces questions complexes et contribue ainsi au débat européen.



## Series Titles:

**vol. 18** Schunz, Simon, *European Union Foreign Policy and the Global Climate Regime*, 2014 (371 p.), ISBN 978-2-87574-134-9 pb, 978-3-0352-6409-8 (eBook)

**vol. 17** Govaere, Inge / Hanf, Dominik (eds.), *Scrutinizing Internal and External Dimensions of European Law volumes I and II*, 2013 (880 p.), ISBN 978-2-87574-085-4 pb, ISBN 978-3-0352-6342-8 (eBook)

**vol. 16** Chang, Michele / Monar, Jörg (eds.), *The European Commission in the Post-Lisbon Era of Crises: Between Political Leadership and Policy Management*, 2013 (298 p.), ISBN 978-2-87574-028-1 pb, ISBN 978-3-0352-6294-0 (eBook)

**vol. 15** Mahnke, Dieter / Gstöhl, Sieglinde (eds.), *European Union Diplomacy: Coherence, Unity and Effectiveness*, 2012 (273 p.) ISBN 978-90-5201-842-3 pb, ISBN 978-3-0352-6172-1 (eBook)

**vol. 14** Lannon, Erwan (ed.), *The European Neighborhood Policy's Challenges*, 2012 (491p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-779-2 pb, ISBN 978-3-0352-6104-2 (eBook)

**vol. 13** Cremona, Marise / Monar, Jörg / Poli Sara (eds.), *The External Dimension of the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice*, 2011 (432 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-728-0 pb, ISBN 978-3-0352-6107-3 (eBook)

**vol. 12** Men, Jong / Balducci, Giuseppe (eds.), *Prospects and Challenges for EU-China Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2010 (262 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-641-2 pb.

**vol. 11** Monar, Jörg (ed.), *The Institutional Dimension of the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice*, 2010 (268 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-615-3 pb.

**vol. 10** Hanf, Dominik / Malacek, Klaus / Muir, elise (eds.), *Langues et construction européenne*, 2010 (286 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-594-1 pb.

**vol. 9** Pelkmans, Jacques / Hanf, Dominik / Chang, Michele (eds.), *The EU Internal Market in Comparative Perspective*, 2008 (314 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-424-1 pb.

**vol. 8** Govaere, Inge / Ullrich, Hanns (eds.), *Intellectual Property, Market Power and the Public Interest*, 2008 (315 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-422-7 pb.

**vol. 7** Inotai, András, *The European Union and Southeastern Europe: Troubled Waters Ahead?*, 2007 (414 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-071-7 pb.

**vol. 6** Govaere, Inge / Ullrich, Hanns (eds.), *Intellectual Property, Public Policy, and International Trade*, 2007 (232 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-064-9 pb.

- vol. 5** Hanf, Dominik / Muñoz, Rodolphe (eds.), *La libre circulation des personnes: États des lieux et perspectives*, 2007 (329 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-061-8 pb.
- vol. 4** Mahncke, Dieter / Gstöhl, Sieglinde (eds.), *Europe's Near Abroad: Promises and Prospects of the EU's Neighbourhood Policy*, 2008 (316 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-047-2.
- vol. 3** Mahncke, Dieter / Monar, Jörg (eds.), *International Terrorism: A European Response to a Global Threat?* 2006 (191 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-046-5 / US-ISBN 978-0-8204-6691-0 pb.
- vol. 2** Demaret, Paul / Govaere, Inge / Hanf, Dominik (eds.), *European Legal Dynamics - Dynamiques juridiques européennes*, Revised and updated edition of *30 Years of European Legal Studies at the College of Europe*, 2005 / 2007 (571 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-067-0 pb.
- vol. 1** Mahncke, Dieter / Ambos, Alicia / Reynolds, Christopher (eds.), *European Foreign Policy: From Rhetoric to Reality?*, 2004 / second printing 2006 (381 p.), ISBN 978-90-5201-247-6 / US-ISBN 978-0-8204-6627-9 pb.

If you would like to be added to the mailing list and be informed of new publications and department events, please email [rina.balbaert@coleurope.eu](mailto:rina.balbaert@coleurope.eu). Or find us on Facebook: [www.facebook.com/coepol](http://www.facebook.com/coepol)