



General Secretariat of the Council  
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## THINK TANK REVIEW

Issue 2  
March 2013

*Dear Readers,*

*Welcome to issue 2 of the **Think Tank Review** compiled by the Council Library. The Review provides links and abstracts (the publisher's or our own) of publications issued in February 2013. It is based on a selection from the 80 or so think tanks that the Library research team monitors.*

*Although some have already heralded - perhaps prematurely - the end of the crisis, a lot is still being written about its impact. On institutional arrangements, David Cameron's speech on Europe gets scrutinized, as do technicalities of the banking union and scenarios for differentiated integration. In the social area, there are reflections on the rise of protest movements, as demonstrated for example by elections in Italy.*

*Social unrest in Bulgaria, where energy issues featured prominently, provides the transition to our External Relations and Special Focus sections: in view of the debate on strategic partners at the European Council in March, we point out several publications on Russia and its relation with the EU.*

*Further in the External Relations section we link to think tank reports on the EEAS and on specific issues in the Mediterranean, Turkey, Iran and Mali.*

*Our regular Regards croisés section provides a Finnish perspective on the drive in the UK to attain a new settlement with the EU.*

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

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

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

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## SECTION 1 - EU INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICS

*The institutional structure of the EU - and its political evolution - is the focus of several think tank publications.*

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES (CEPS)

### **On Political Union in Europe: The Changing Landscape of Decision-Making and Political Accountability**

by Philippe de Schoutheete and Stefano Micossi

21 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The authors examine the increasing differentiation in member states' participation in EU policies and institutions. They analyze the changing configuration of executive powers and its relationship to the community method, raising issues of democratic accountability and legitimising mechanisms.

POLICY NETWORK

### **Europe in Search of a New Settlement**

26 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Political debates about the future shape and direction of the EU have moved from the backroom to the front row, and this is a positive development, Policy Network argues. One of the most recent reminders of that was Cameron's speech on the UK's relationship with the Europe Union. Ahead of a conference organised by PN, this paper presents the views of nine leading EU affairs thinkers, on issues connected with political economy and institutional change.

*SPOTLIGHT ON...*

### **POLICY NETWORK**

London

### **Herman Van Rompuy - speech at the Policy Network on 28 February 2013**

<http://www.policy-network.net/uploads/media/164/8266.pdf>

*Policy Network* is both a think tank and the secretariat of the Progressive Governance Network, which was established in 1999 by Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Gerhard Schroeder, Wim Kok and Massimo D'Alema, to bring together centre-left heads of state and government from across the world. The work of the think tank covers three areas - the renewal of social democracy, Europe's economic and social models and the politics of multi-level governance and institutional reform. *Policy Network* publishes work on welfare state and labour market reform, globalisation, European Union, economic governance, industrial policy, climate change and energy, and migration and integration.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (PISM)

### **The Impact of Enlargement to Croatia on the Functioning of the European Union**

by Tomasz Żornaczuk

25 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The paper argues that the accession of Croatia to the EU, which is scheduled to take place on 1 July, will not essentially change the functioning of the Union, mainly due to the small socio-economic potential of the country. However, its membership may have relevance to some EU policies, especially those concerned with enlargement and energy.

EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES (ISS)

**Strategic Foresight - and the EU**

by Antonio Missiroli

20 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Various political and institutional initiatives across the European Union indicate a growing interest in strategic thinking and analysing trends and factors that may affect Europe's position in the years and decades to come. The paper goes deeper into the nature, practice and record of strategic foresight as has emerged elsewhere - especially in the US - and assess its relevance for the EU.

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

**Safeguarding Democracy Inside the EU: Brussels and the Future of Liberal Order**

by Jan-Werner Müller

20 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Moving from recent developments in Hungary and Romania, the paper discusses the main concerns about democracy-saving EU interventions and argues that the problem is not to be found on a theoretical normative level, but on a practical plane. It goes further by suggesting the creation of an expert body, tentatively called the "Copenhagen Commission," which continuously assesses democracy and the rule of law within member states. Such an institution ought to be authorized to conduct its own investigations, to raise the alarm about turns to illiberalism — and to impose a very limited range of sanctions.

***DEMOS draws a line between social media, recent protest movements, and the rise of Beppe Grillo, who is the first political figure to fully embrace this development.***

DEMOS

**New Political Actors in Europe: Beppe Grillo and the M5S**

by Jamie Bartlett, Mark Littler, Duncan McDonnell and Caterina Froio

14 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The Pirate Party in Germany and the Occupy movement are examples of movements that have employed social media to grow rapidly and create a significant political and social impact – all in the last three years. Beppe Grillo, the Italian comedian and blogger, is one of the first political figures to have fully embraced this change. The report presents the results of a survey of 1,865 Facebook fans of Grillo and his Movimento 5 Stelle, and is the seventh in a series about 'digital populism' across Europe.

***As one think tank looks at the rise of populism - arguably a side effect of the crisis and austerity - others look at issues like the social fallout, excessive cuts, and the changing nature of EU integration.***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**More Evidence That Financial Markets Imposed Excessive Austerity in the Eurozone**

by Paul De Grauwe and Yuemei Ji

05 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Have austerity programmes in the periphery of the eurozone been dictated too much by market sentiment, rather than relying on rational decision-making processes? Evidence gathered in this paper suggests that this was the case.

MADARIAGA

**L'euro, le Modèle et la Puissance**

by Pierre Defraigne

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

This Madariaga paper makes a plea for the European social model by resorting to one of the many wartime metaphors that frame public discourse on Europe and the crisis: "la bataille de l'euro, c'est la bataille de Stalingrad de l'Europe. On n'a pas droit au pessimisme. Car sans modèle social commun, la démocratie ne résistera pas à la crise qui s'approfondit en Europe. "

REAL INSTITUTON ELCANO

**A New Union of Creditors and Debtors**

by Federico Steinberg

28 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The Eurozone debt crisis has dramatically changed the nature of European integration. The combination of poor financial regulation and of an incomplete design of the euro have led the EMU to the brink of collapse, forcing the eurozone to move forwards decisively in order to avoid catastrophe.

BRUEGEL

**From Supervision to Resolution: Next Steps on the Road to European Banking Union**

by Nicolas Véron and Guntram B. Wolff

18 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The paper argues that the Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM) should not be seen as the final step in creating the European banking union. In order to be effective, it should empower a central body which could be either the European Commission or a new authority. The paper also argues that the legislative effort should not be taken as an excuse to delay decisive action on the management and resolution of the current European banking fragility, which imposes a major drag on Europe's growth and employment.

THE PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

**Reengineering EMU for an Uncertain World**

by Angel Ubide

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

More austerity and reforms at the national level alone will not be enough to stabilize the euro area, argues the paper. The author suggests a couple of steps which should guarantee the future sustainability of the monetary union. According to him the euro area needs to be reengineered along three main lines - to restore political solidarity and to be able to deliver strong institutions; to end the debate on default and exit and launch eurobonds; and to refocus cyclical policies, including monetary policy, towards stabilizing the business cycle and boosting demand.

NOTRE EUROPE

**Enjoying a Single Market for Network Industries?**

by Giacomo Luchetta and Jacques Pelkmans

21 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU has finally become more determined to pursue the single market for network industries and with sustained efforts it can be achieved within a decade from now, the authors of the paper argue. The opening up of network markets has proven to be both complex and adventurous, and the current analysis show that the path of liberalisation is highly uneven among the different network markets.

***Meanwhile the increasing interest in the energy sector has sparked a number of reports, from analysis on the common electricity market to the shale gas "boom".***

BRUEGEL

**Electricity Infrastructure: More Border Crossings or a Borderless Europe?**

by Georg Zachmann

22 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Being able to transport electricity across borders is essential but neither the market design nor the framework for infrastructure investment proposed by the European Commission is adequate for enabling free flows of electricity within the EU, argues the paper. The authors have a number of proposals for further actions which include: completion of the vertical unbundling, establishment of European control centre, as well as of a truly European and binding network infrastructure planning process.

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (FIIA)

**The Shale Gas Boom: The Global Implications of the Rise of Unconventional Fossil Energy**

by Antto Vihma

20 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The impacts of the US shale gas boom are already being felt in Europe and Asia, for example via cheaper coal. These recent and rapid developments point to a weakening Russian grip on the European gas market, and problems for Russian export revenues in general. Other states lag far behind the US in shale gas technology, but will try to replicate the US experiment, while Russia will strive to prevent this from happening in its neighbourhood.

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

**La maîtrise des transitions énergétiques : un projet franco-allemand au service de la croissance**

by Jean-François Jamet, Emmanuel Lefebvre

11 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

A l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire du Traité de l'Elysée, la France et l'Allemagne ont cherché à reprendre le fil de leur coopération énergétique en reconnaissant qu'elles étaient confrontées à des défis similaires pour la transition énergétique et qu'elles gagneraient à se coordonner pour travailler ensemble à les relever. Des pistes ont été annoncées qui gagneraient à être précisées, concrétisées et complétées. Il y a là en effet l'occasion rare d'un vaste projet de coopération bilatérale qui participe de notre responsabilité vis-à-vis de l'Europe. L'objection de la disparité des choix énergétiques entre la France et l'Allemagne, sur le volet de la production électrique, peut être résolue à condition de reconnaître que les marchés et les enjeux liés à la transition énergétique dépassent les frontières nationales. Il s'agit au fond de se projeter dans une vision politique assez courageuse pour donner une gouvernance constructive et cohérente à la transition énergétique.

*Editors' note: the Fondation Robert Schuman also issued in February the Rapport Schuman sur l'Europe, l'état de l'Union 2013, with the promising title "Vers le rebond?". As it is not freely available, we do not link to it from this Review. We encourage our readers from within the General Secretariat to contact the Library if they wish to read it.*

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**A New Euro-Mediterranean Energy Roadmap for a Sustainable Energy Transition in the Region**

by Manfred Hafner and Simone Tagliapietra

19 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The paper argues that a new structure of regional and interconnected energy markets is needed. It proposes some original approaches regarding the financing of the sustainable energy transition and calls for an ambitious, Euro-Mediterranean Energy Roadmap, which should contribute not only to the economic and environmental development of the region, but also to its social and political stability.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

### **Why Electricity Bills in Bulgaria Spoiled the Party**

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Bulgaria's government resigned after the mass protests in the country, triggered by the high winter electricity bills. The paper explains which are the main factors that caused the increase of the electricity price and argues that they were not just market forces (like the boom of the green energy sources and their high preferential prices) but also bad management of the state-owned enterprises. It also notes that the electricity prices in Bulgaria are the lowest in the EU, that they will likely increase after market liberalisation, and that a clear energy strategy, as well as more transparency in the pricing mechanisms, are required.

### **Is There a Threat of Bulgarian Migration Influx to the UK?**

by Marin Lessenski and Georgi Angelov

8 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The paper highlights some studies on Bulgaria's migration trends trying to explain why there should be no threat of migration influx to the UK, contrary to expectations held by British politicians. The compiled data show that during the past decade emigration has decreased and there is even a trend of returning of migrants back to Bulgaria. The UK isn't among the top three countries potential Bulgarian emigrants are interested in and it's unlikely that a single country will receive all the outgoing migration from Bulgaria and Romania as there are seven other member states that also will open their labour markets in 2014, argues the paper.

*REGARDS CROISÉS...*

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **David Cameron's European policy: Britain sidelined by Euro-scepticism and the economic crisis**

by Juha Jokela

27 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The suggestion of the British Prime Minister David Cameron that EU members should be entitled to renegotiate their membership conditions is likely to be very difficult to advance, comments the author of the paper. He points out that even Cameron's coalition partner - the Liberal Democrats - has voiced concerns over the current developments and highlighted the EU's importance for Britain.



## SECTION 2 - EU FOREIGN POLICY

### ***From global EU policy recommendations to analysis of concrete cases such as the situation in Mali and the relations with Turkey***

CARNEGIE EUROPE

#### **Promoting a Comprehensive Approach to EU Foreign Policy**

by Stefan Lehne

21 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Because of the internal crises the EU faced during the first two years of the European External Action Service, the service got off to a rough start, Carnegie Europe says. The paper analyzes results so far and argues that overcoming the divisions and rivalries that currently bedevil the EEAS is less a matter of changing legislation than of changing mindsets and the prevailing institutional culture. But some amendments to the EEAS's founding principles and to the financial regulations governing EU foreign policy are certainly necessary to give the service more coherence and financial autonomy.

SWEDISH INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

#### **EEAS 2.0 - A Legal Commentary on Council Decision 2010/427/EU on the Organisation and Functioning of the European External Action Service**

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

In July 2010, the European Council decided on the organisation and function of the European External Action Service, which is currently under review. This report offers an article-by-article analysis of the Council Decision. The study has been produced by an independent, multinational and multidisciplinary team of scholars brought together by the Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (SIEPS), the European University Institute (EUI) and the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS).

SWEDISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### **European Global Strategy in Theory and Practice: Relevance for the EU**

by Anand Menon, Kjell Goldmann, Eva Gross, Jolyon Howorth

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The paper includes four presentations made during a one-day workshop of which the main aim was to generate new ideas for an European Union Global Strategy. It explores critical questions with the common aim to form a clear view of how theory-driven insights can enrich strategic discussions in the EU.

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

#### **Mali: Beyond Counterterrorism**

Wolfram Lacher, Denis M. Tull

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The current campaign against extremists in Mali's north could easily turn into a conflict between local communities. The paper argues that the EU and other external actors should focus stronger attention on the political process in Bamako than they have to date. The EU should avoid redirecting funds from development aid to AFISMA and EUTM Mali, the institute argues, and also shouldn't aim to play a key role in the mediation process.

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

#### **Turkey-EU Relations: Back to Basics?**

by Emiliano Alessandri

27 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

While France has decided to lift its veto on one of the chapters of EU accession negotiations with Turkey, chances are that the Turkey-EU relationship will continue to remain in limbo. This may be the beginning of a promising new cycle, but it will not necessarily bring Turkey any closer to becoming a member of the EU, argues the paper.

BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Self-imposed limitations: Why is the EU Losing Relevance in the Mediterranean**

by Eduard Soler i Lecha and Laia Tarragona

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

A clear political mandate is needed to adapt European policies to the new reality of the Mediterranean, argues the paper. Such a mandate should include social cohesion in the economic agenda, it should combine ambition and humility in politics, and develop a new and more flexible regional vision.

HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY

**Do EU Sanctions Produce Results? The Iran Oil Embargo Case**

by Marina Georgopoulou

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

It is early to reach a safe conclusion on whether EU sanctions against Iran work, or will work in the future, concludes the author of the paper. Although the banking sanctions have deeply affected the Iranian economy, the oil embargo has given the country the opportunity to turn to new markets in order to equilibrate its tough economic situation. At the same time Europe encountered the consequences of the sanctions too - oil prices are still high and there are no signs of a decline in the short term.

## SPECIAL FOCUS: RUSSIA

ISPI

### **Dynamics of Economic and Political Recomposition in the Post-Soviet Space**

by Fabrizio Vielmini and Yulia Nikitina

23 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The reactions to the project of Eurasian Union, which was announced by Vladimir Putin after declaring his candidacy to the last presidential elections, have been mainly negative. Anyway, the idea of a new political integration in the post-Soviet space should be seriously considered, mainly because it could offer a strategic - not only ideological - way of exploiting the paramount opportunities offered to Russia by the dramatic rise of the Far East, argues the paper. And concludes that the Eurasian Union makes sense only if it shows a true power of political, economical and cultural attraction.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Russia and the Common Space on Freedom, Security and Justice**

by Raül Hernández i Sagrera and Olga Potemkina

25 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

This study assesses the cooperation on justice and home affairs between the EU and Russia and concludes that there is a lack of balance between security, on the one hand, and freedom and justice, on the other. It offers a set of policy recommendations to the European Parliament for playing a more active role in the JLS field of cooperation between the EU and Russia.

FRIDE

### **The Afghanistan-Central Asia Relationship: What Role for the EU?**

by Vera Axyonova, Marlène Laruelle and Sébastien Peyrouse

12 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The European Union will have to develop a clearer strategy to avoid condoning the repressive policies and opaque interests of the Central Asian governments, argues the paper. It points out that the EU should focus on a few well-chosen areas and prioritise the involvement of local actors, in particular civilian stakeholders. The EU is vague about cooperation with other external actors. But if security is a real concern, then the role of Russia as a partner in Central Asia must be clearly addressed, argue the authors.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **East of Centre: Can the Visegrad Group Speak with One Voice on Eastern Policy?**

by Dariusz Kałan

22 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Although all of the diplomatic efforts of the countries from the Visegrad group have been consistently concentrated on seeking to diversify the approach to Eastern Europe, they are still dominated by a focus on Russia, argues the paper. It also suggests that during the Lithuanian presidency of the EU Council in the second half of 2013, V4's efforts should be directed at promoting the Eastern Partnership to a broader Central European constellation. And recommends them to try as much as possible not to allow Russian pressure to influence their contacts with other Eastern European countries.