



General Secretariat of the Council  
Central Library

## THINK TANK REVIEW

Issue 8  
November 2013

Dear Readers,

Welcome to issue 8 of the **Think Tank Review** compiled by the Council Library.\* It references papers published in October 2013. As usual, we provide the link to the full text and a short abstract.

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

With the risk of being slightly self-referential, this Review opens with a paper from Sweden on the role taken by the European Council since the Lisbon treaty and then through the crisis. Indeed, assessments of the relative weight of EU institutions abound in scholarly literature and sometimes reach diverging conclusions. We at the Council Library try to contribute to the research by keeping a public online [bibliography](#) of works on the Council and the European Council.

On the macroeconomic side, this issue features papers ranging from theoretical accounts of the relationship between a currency and a polity, to practical suggestions on how to handle solvency and conditionality. In the section on European economies, several papers look critically at housing policies and their link with rent-seeking behaviour and property bubbles.

Some papers address institutional issues, especially the role of national parliaments, which is discussed with reference to the recently established Interparliamentary conference on economic governance but also to the proposal of a 'Congress of Parliaments' in a paper by the President of the Assemblée Nationale.

Issues of public opinion and public communication were discussed by think tanks in October too, with a view to next year's European elections.

On the external relations side, papers in this issue cover Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, China, Russia, Serbia, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, and the US.

Finally, in a prototypical *Regards croisés* feature, we reference a Polish author looking at Hungarian policy towards its neighbours in Central Europe in recent years.

A couple of technical points: the **Think Tank Review** will soon be made available - together with other bibliographic and research products from the Library - on our informal blog at <http://www.councillibrary.wordpress.com>. A Beta version is already online for you to comment.

More broadly, in the next months we will be looking for ways to disseminate the contents of the Review in a more sophisticated way than the current - admittedly spartan - collection of links cast in a pdf format. We will look at issues such as indexing, full text search, long-term digital preservation, ease of retrieval and readability on various devices. Ideas from our small but faithful community of readers are welcome. You can reach us at [central.library@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:central.library@consilium.europa.eu).

For our readers from outside the General Secretariat: the Central Library is in the Justus Lipsius building, at JL 02 GH, Rue de la Loi 175, 1048 Brussels. It is open to Council officials, staff of other EU institutions and Permanent Representations of Member States. Members of the public are free to access it for research purposes by appointment.

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## SECTION 1 - EU INSTITUTIONS, POLITICS, ECONOMICS

### *European institutions and politics*

SWEDISH INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

#### **The European Council – the new centre of EU politics**

by Uwe Puetter

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The fundamental task of the European Council has been to define the EU's general political direction. Its influence and scope of intervention, however, is gradually increasing. With the Lisbon Treaty it was given a status of an EU institution and its meetings are since chaired by a permanent president. The European Council has been playing a pivotal decision-making role during the euro crisis, and it now emerges as the EU's new power centre. In this publication, Professor Uwe Puetter provides a background to those developments and analyses the implications of an increasingly stronger position of the European Council.

LEUVEN CENTRE FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

#### **Monetary sovereignty, trust and the political. Reflections on the institution of money after the eurocrisis**

by Matthias Lievens

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This theoretical paper argues that that the relation between money and the political is characterised by a double bind: on the one hand, money requires a political moment through which the community of money users is made visible, while on the other hand, this moment cannot be 'politicised', meaning that it cannot become the object of open political debate or contestation. On this basis, the paper aims grasp the stakes of political interventions to support a currency, such as the euro.

### *Opinion and communication*

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

#### **European public opinion: is this the end of pessimism?**

by Julien Zalc

8 October 2013

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

Looking at data from the latest half-yearly [Standard Eurobarometer](#) survey, the author sees public opinion in the EU recovering; however, widespread economic concerns give way to a more fragmented picture of concerns around social issues and society, amidst growing inequalities between Europeans.

CLINGENDAEL

#### **Communicating Europe: at home in tomorrow's world**

by Mai'a Davis Cross and Jan Melissen

21 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The authors argue that the EU devotes too great a proportion of its communication resources to outreach with its own citizens, and make a plea to communicate Europe better to other parts of the world by means of public diplomacy rather than state-based Westphalian practices.

### ***European and national economies***

POLICY NETWORK

#### **Making markets work: how effective regulation reduces reliance on taxation**

by Thomas Aubrey

3 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Looking at recent cases of market failure in the housing and pensions sector, the centre-left think tank Policy Network argues that governments of both left and right have in fact promoted rent-seeking. The author calls to end the reliance on tax and redistribution and for a new focus on how to make markets work at the micro level.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

#### **Asian and European financial crises compared**

by Edwin M. Truman

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The two most recent major regional crises largely had share of origins but more diverging evolutions, with Europe facing less demanding reform programs and getting more external support, argues the author. The International Monetary Fund and other countries were mistaken in treating the European crises as country crises rather than as a crisis for the euro area as a whole, that demanded policy conditionality on all members of the euro area.

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

#### **Resolving sovereign debt crises. Towards a fair and transparent international insolvency framework**

by Jürgen Kaiser

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Despite long-standing experiences with sovereign insolvencies, no mechanism presently exists to deal with the complex debt structures of many countries in a comprehensive way. This study argues that existing debt workout procedures are piecemeal and reinforce collective action problems. It calls for principles and procedures of domestic insolvency to be applied to sovereigns, in order to reach a fair and sustainable debt workout.

CHATMAN HOUSE / COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

#### **The danger of high home ownership: greater unemployment**

by David G. Blanchflower and Andrew J. Oswald

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

On the basis of evidence from the United States and Europe, the authors maintain that high home ownership is a major reason for the high unemployment rates of the industrialized nations in the post-war era. They argue that governments should encourage more renting, as the Swiss and Germans do, and they should not give financial incentives for ownership.

REAL INSTITUTO ELCANO

### **Emerging Spain?**

by William Chislett

4 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

A review of the Spanish economy since the burst of the housing bubble, taking stock of the labour market, tax and pension reforms put in place or pending. The author expresses concern about the lack of job creation and the education system which he sees as unable to foster a more knowledge-based economy.

### **Growth**

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **The legacy of austerity in the eurozone**

by Paul De Grauwe and Yuemei Ji

4 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The authors argue that the improvement in the eurozone business cycle is the result of the ECB's announcement of its Outright Monetary Transaction programme, and that austerity has left a legacy of unsustainable debt that will test the political resilience of the debtor countries.

BRUEGEL

### **Manufacturing Europe's future**

by Francesca Barbiero, Michael Blanga-Gubbay, Valeria Cipollone, Koen De Backer, Sébastien Miroudot, Alexandros Ragoussis, André Sapir, Reinhilde Veugelers, Erkki Vihriälä, Guntram B. Wolff and Georg Zachmann

2 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This Blueprint reacts to the European Commission's communication on industrial policy ([COM\(2012\) 582 final](#)). It emphasises the extent to which European industry has become interdependent with the increasingly specialised services sector. It argues that European industrial activity has in fact benefited from being integrated in global value chains, and that its main challenges lie in access to finance as well as in public policies for education, the single market, energy.

THE LISBON COUNCIL

### **Economic growth in the European Union**

by Leszek Balcerowicz (principal author), Andrzej Rzońca, Lech Kalina and Aleksander Łaszek

16 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

A perspective on the state of the euro zone and the European economy by former Polish finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz, where he makes proposals on monetary policy, fiscal strategy, structural reform and budget consolidation, warning that, *inter alia*, making bailout funds increasingly accessible, especially from the ECB, would risk delaying fiscal and structural reforms in the member states, especially the large ones.



THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

**Europe's fiscal crisis revealed: in-depth analysis of spending, austerity, and growth**

by Salim Furth (ed.)

23 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The conservative Heritage foundation offers an American perspective on the crisis in Europe, including country profiles, and suggests that Washington "must learn from Europe's mistakes, or be doomed to repeat them". The report argues that there is a more effective way to shrink deficits – reducing public spending - which leads to stronger economic growth over time.

***EMU and social dimension***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**Proposal for a Stabilisation Fund for the EMU**

by Bernard Delbecque

14 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This paper argues that it should be possible to complement the EMU with an insurance-type shock absorption mechanism against economic shocks. Such a mechanism would neither require the establishment of a central authority, nor would it lead to permanent transfers between countries. For this mechanism to become a reality, however, it would be necessary to overcome certain technical problems linked to the difficulty of anticipating correctly the position of an economy in the business cycle.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

**The new inter-parliamentary conference for economic and financial governance**

by Valentin Kreiling

16 October 2013

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

This paper addresses the new Inter-parliamentary Conference on Economic and Financial Governance that met for the first time in Vilnius on 16 and 17 October 2013, established on the basis of Article 13 of the Fiscal Compact. It maintains that the decision to create the inter-parliamentary conference lacks ambition and leaves many questions unanswered.

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Towards a deeper EMU: an assessment of political divisions within the EU**

by Juha Jokela

14 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The EU has witnessed the re-emergence of the north-south divide as a key marker of distinct political and economic visions and imperatives within the EU. At the same time, the division between the east and west is diminishing, and a political dividing line between euro and non-euro EU members has emerged, argues the FIIA. Populist and Eurosceptic political movements have made the pro/anti-EU division salient again in many member states.

On a related matter, a debate on "[Bridging Economic and Political Divisions in Europe](#)" with Portuguese EU affairs secretary Bruno Maçães and Finnish EU minister Alexander Stubb took place on 22 November 2013 at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

CASE - CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

### **Fiscal or bailout union: where is the EU/EMU's fiscal integration heading**

by Marek Dąbrowski

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

In this paper by the Warsaw-based CASE, the author discusses the still missing components of European integration. "Ideally", the author says, "reforming European fiscal federalism should involve all EU member states and should use the community method rather than concluding new intergovernmental agreements formally outside the EU." He warns, however, against proposals that could weaken market discipline and lead to a dysfunctional fiscal union.

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

### **"Social Europe", a lever for euro zone integration**

by Thierry Chopin and Alain Fabre

22 October 2013

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

After steps towards stronger integration in the fiscal and banking area, it is now time to move towards more integration of welfare and social policies, argues the paper, citing an unemployment insurance scheme for the euro area as the main test case.

### ***Banking Union***

BRUEGEL

### **The European Central Bank in the age of Banking Union**

by Zsolt Darvas and Silvia Merler

3 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Reviewing the ECB's role beyond price stability, as emerged during the crisis, the authors see major conflicts of interest in the ECB's participation in financial assistance programmes.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **How to form a more perfect European Banking Union**

by Ángel Ubide

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The author notes that plans for a European banking union fall short of the ideal of an "ever closer union." In fact, the plan's focus on national resolution authorities and funds, a minimal financing backstop, and costs imposed on creditors, could lead to a more fragmented banking system. Ubide urges policymakers to focus on making the banking union stronger and more coherent. Troubled banks supervised by the European Central Bank should be covered by a European resolution authority and a European resolution fund.

## **Digital agenda**

THE LISBON COUNCIL

### **Plan i(nnovation) for Europe: delivering innovation-led, digitally-powered growth**

by Albert Bravo-Biosca, Louise Marston, Ann Mettler, Geoff Mulgan and Stian Westlake  
10 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

On the eve of the October European Council, devoted to innovation and the digital agenda, the Lisbon Council and the Nesta innovation foundation set out a seven-point plan to make Europe "the best place in the world to innovate, the place where entrepreneurs, visionaries and optimists tackle the challenges of the future." It was launched at the 2013 Innovation Summit in the presence of [European Council President](#) Herman Van Rompuy.

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

### **What should be the position of national parliaments in the construction of a European political union?**

by Claude Bartolone  
15 October 2013

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

The author, President of the French National Assembly, argues for a Congress of national parliaments, without co-legislative powers, to accompany further differentiated political integration of the euro area.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **How to build a modern European Union**

by Charles Grant, with Clara Marina O'Donnell, Hugo Brady, John Springford, Philip Whyte, Stephen Tindale, Katinka Barysch and David Buchan  
10 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

All political communities need to adapt and evolve if they are to remain relevant. Despite five major treaty revisions in the past 30 years, some of the EU's policies and institutions look old-fashioned and tarnished. The CER proposes reforming the EU's policies and institutions, to foster a more dynamic European economy and to make decision-making more accountable.

CARNEGIE EUROPE

### **The EU beyond the crisis: the unavoidable challenge of legitimacy**

by Richard Youngs  
8 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The euro crisis has mobilized the masses and unleashed vitally important debates about changing the model of European integration, both economically and politically. Yet, as the crisis appears to have calmed, EU member states feel increasingly confident that fundamental political changes are not necessary. On the contrary, to build a truly democratic EU, citizens need to have a greater voice in decision-making.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

**EU policies: an overview - From decision-making to implementation**

by Ingrid Habets and Rudolf W. Strohmeier (eds.)

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

With the ongoing debate about reforming the EU, it is now more important than ever to know more about its policies. The book covers various EU policies, from financial topics to justice issues and foreign policy, giving a broad and in-depth overview of issues that concern all of us. It provides information on the state of play and offers a glimpse of where we are headed.

***European Parliament - Elections 2014***

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

**The 2014 European elections: why a partisan Commission president would be bad for the EU**

by Heather Grabbe and Stefan Lehne

14 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

A strong, independent, non-partisan Commission is vital for the EU and the euro, argues the Centre. If political parties nominate its next president, the Commission could not referee EU rules.

***EU Member States***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

**British balance of competence reviews, part I: 'Competences about right, so far'**

by Michael Emerson and Steven Blockmans

29 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This paper aims to give a basis for an informed debate before the referendum on the UK's membership to the EU. It refers to the UK's review of competences, which found that the competences of the EU are judged by respondents to be 'about right' on the whole. The paper argues that the survey was objective and impressively researched, and that sceptical remarks reveal a huge gap between the views of informed stakeholders and the general public opinion.

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

**The new electorate: why understanding values is the key to electoral success**

by Nick Pecorelli

14 Oct 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This view of the British electorate provides a picture of voters in terms of their dominant, deeply held values, and of how these 'values groups' relate to party loyalties, headline issues, and the crafting of strong political messages and coalitions of support.

COLLEGE OF EUROPE

**Is independence possible in an interdependent world? Scotland vs. the UK's participation in the European economy**

by Andrew Hughes Hallett

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This lecture sets out to identify what level of autonomy or independence would best suit a regional economy in a currency union, and also the institutional changes needed to sustain those arrangements. The topics covered include the advantages of a fiscal federalism framework with the institutions needed to support it, and the main arguments for the breakup of nations or economic unions, with Scotland and the UK as leading examples.

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES / STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

**New power, new responsibility: elements of a German foreign and security policy for a changing world**

by Constanze Stelzenmueller

17 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The paper discusses Germany's role in the international order and in Europe, its strategic relationships and its security policy, and makes recommendations for future policy in all four fields. The paper reflects the consensus but also the dissent in experts' discussions.

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

**The prospects for Croatia's co-operation with the Visegrad Group**

by Andrzej Sadecki

2 October 2013

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

After joining the EU, Croatia could now become a valuable partner for the Visegrad Group. Co-operation in the "V4+" format is possible in most of the Group's priorities, primarily in: energy security, transport, neighbourhood policy and EU enlargement.

***Security and JHA***

LEUVEN CENTRE FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

**The European Union and the risk posed by terrorism**

by Jan Wouters and Sanderijn Duquet

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Since 9/11, discussions have intensified in EU circles on how to cope with security risks and how to define terrorism in the light of the threats posed. This working paper examines if and how the EU advances risk-oriented approaches in its counterterrorism management. It argues that the EU should not only focus on threats posed by terrorism, but decrease its vulnerability to terrorism through the further development of its legal framework.

## ***Defence***

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **Strategy and its role in the future of European defence integration**

by Manuel Muniz

29 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Muniz maintains that EU member states have proven incapable of clarity in their strategic planning. It would be wise to incorporate into the strategic planning process a model that allows to capture and quantify states' interests. Such a process might lead the EU member states to realise that they share more strategic interests than is at first apparent.

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

### **Holes in the skies over NATO's central European member states**

by Andrzej Wilk, Tomasz Dąbrowski and Jakub Groszkowski

22 October 2013

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

The paper overviews the recent purchase of combat aircraft by Romania, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria. The region's saturation with combat aircraft is the lowest on the continent, with the exception of the Baltic states. Moreover, the machines to be used in the coming decade will be the oldest and the least advanced technologically. Thus, the defence of the airspace of NATO member states in Central Europe can be termed an ever more porous sky.

CENTRE FOR ECONOMICS AND FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

### **Turkey goes Chinese for missile defense**

by Aaron Stein, Can Kasapoglu and Sinan Ulgen

7 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Turkey has announced plans to coproduce a long-range air and missile defence system with China's Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation. Ankara's decision, which came at the expense of US or French-Italian offers, surprised Turkey's NATO Allies.

## ***Energy, natural resources and climate change***

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **European climate diplomacy: building capacity for external action**

by Diarmuid Torney

30 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The creation of the EEAS provided the EU with an opportunity to build a European diplomacy that could place greater emphasis on climate change and other contemporary global issues. EU climate diplomacy could be strengthened by mainstreaming climate change within the work of the EEAS, and strengthening cohesion between the EEAS and the Commission. This could be aided by greater strategic guidance for climate diplomacy from the Foreign Affairs Council and the European Council.

LEUVEN CENTRE FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

### **Rising powers in global climate governance: negotiating in the new world order**

by Sander Happaerts and Hans Bruyninckx

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This paper studies the role and impact that rising powers have in the global climate change regime, and how those actors challenge the course of climate negotiations in the future. The reality of global climate negotiations does not remain unaffected by the new world order. The paper concludes that the political power clubs fulfil only a limited role in the broader regime complex of climate change. It also argues that developing countries are de facto sidelined because of the increasing clout of rising powers in climate negotiations.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **Europe should regulate to promote carbon capture and storage**

by Stephen Tindale

30 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Climate change is not only an issue for environmentalists. It must also be a concern for economists and foreign policy-makers. The EU should give grants to coal and gas carbon capture and storage demonstration projects, and regulate to require coal plants to use this technology.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **Impact du développement des gaz de schiste aux États-Unis sur la pétrochimie européenne**

by Sylvie Cornot-Gandolphe

October 2013

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

The shale gas revolution has reduced the price of energy, and thus significantly diminished the cost of raw materials used by the American petrol industry. In Europe, on the other hand, the petrol industry faces flat demand, increased energy costs, and outdated production tools in excess capacity. Therefore, the European industry must restructure and adapt its production tools.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN POLICY INSTITUTE / EUROPEUM / INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY / HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS / INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND POLICY CONSULTING

### **Energy security in central and eastern Europe: towards a common approach**

by Andras Deak, Dmytro Naumenko, Helena Schulzova and Pavol Szalai

14 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Energy security is of high importance to the EU, Russia and European transit states like Slovakia or Ukraine. Central and Eastern Europe has several options to diversify imports away from Gazprom: diversification of suppliers, increase in LNG imports, shift to a more short-term contracting, and extraction of 'unconventional' natural gas namely shale gas. If Visegrad countries and Ukraine want to trade gas across borders and keep transporting most of the Russian gas to Europe, they need to invest into networks, and they should coordinate their national energy policies and name EU's energy targets for the next decades.

## SECTION 2 - EXTERNAL RELATIONS

### *EU-US trade agreement*

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

#### **Challenges and prospects of a transatlantic free trade area**

by Bertrand de Largentaye

10 October 2013

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

The paper analyses the challenges and perspectives of the FTA under discussion between the EU and the USA. Before discussing the outlines of the upcoming negotiations, the author starts by setting the scene and looking at the current situation. He then makes some critical observations on the prospects opened up by the partnership. To conclude, he formulates possible scenarios and make recommendations.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

#### **Financial services in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership**

by Simon Johnson and Jeffrey J. Schott

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) can deepen the already substantial ties that bind the US and the EU in the world's largest economic and strategic alliance. The authors believe that the TTIP can complement the extensive efforts already in train in financial forums by making regulatory policies more transparent and by creating opportunities for trade and investment in financial services in both markets. A broader role for TTIP in harmonizing financial regulation is not an appealing idea - according to the Institute - and not one that sits well with current US official thinking.

CLINGENDAEL

#### **The geopolitics of TTIP**

by Peter van Ham

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The author argues that the TTIP will play a major role in deciding the future of transatlantic security and defence. Its logic is geopolitical, seeking to compete with a rising Asia, rather than betting on global normative convergence. It is more than a game-changer, but the best chance the transatlantic West has to advance a liberal world order for the 21st century. It is to be seen whether the TTIP will reinforce or undermine the EU's path towards federalism.

### *EU strategic partnerships*

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

#### **Enhancing the Brazil-EU strategic partnership: from the bilateral and regional to the global**

by Michael Emerson and Renato Flores (eds.)

24 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)



This book examines the Brazil-EU Strategic Partnership and themes of strategic significance: macroeconomics, trade policy, climate change, foreign policy and continental regionalism. Results show that while the two parties cannot claim to determine global policies, they can cooperate to find workable global solutions, seek to bridge the wide differences between the West and the rest, the North and South, and the old and new powers.

EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

### **The EU-China partnership: 10 years on**

by Nicola Casarini

11 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The establishment of the EU-China 'strategic partnership' on 30 October 2003 came at a time of converging priorities between the two actors. It also coincided with one of the worst crises in transatlantic relations, mainly due to disagreements over the US-led war in Iraq and the foreign policy stance of the first Bush administration. Ten years on, which direction will the partnership now take?

### ***EU eastern partnership***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Towards 'EuroNest 2.0': what should the next European Parliament learn from its predecessor?**

by Hrant Kostanyan and Bruno Vandecasteele

1 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The authors argue that the EU-Eastern Partnership Parliamentary Assembly (EuroNest PA) is failing to reach its objectives of promoting economic and political integration between the EU and the Eastern Partners. The paper discusses the inconsistency about the conditions for countries to send delegates to the Assembly; that the meetings are too short and infrequent; and that the Eastern Partners do not focus enough on multilateral issues. Recommendations are offered to enhance the effectiveness of the Assembly.

EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE

### **Beyond the Vilnius Summit: challenges for deeper EU integration with eastern Europe**

by Laure Delcour and Kataryna Wolczuk

31 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The Vilnius summit at the end of November is expected to represent a landmark in EU policy towards the Eastern Partnership countries, with the likely signing of Association and Free Trade Agreements with some of these countries. In this Policy Brief Laure Delcour and Kataryna Wolczuk argue that this is just a first step. The Agreements are an advancement compared to past tools, but entail many costs for the implementing countries.

SWEDISH INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Towards cruising speed? Assessing the EU strategy for the Baltic Sea region**

by Kristine Kern and Stefan Gänzle

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The authors provide a preliminary assessment of the strategy's major achievements and remaining shortcomings. They look at how it has contributed to sustainable governance of the Baltic Sea region, as well as how it will be affected by the new territorial coherence policy and the proposed architecture of the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-2020.

## ***Russia***

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

### **Greater Europe. Putin's vision of the European (dis)integration**

by Marek Menkiszak

14 October 2013

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

On several occasions since 2001 Vladimir Putin has raised the concept of 'Greater Europe', a partly-integrated common space comprising mainly Russia and the European Union. This concept has never been recast into a detailed political programme. The author expects Russia's policy to focus on implementing its priority project of Eurasian integration, based on the structures of the Customs Union/the Eurasian Union; while the Greater Europe project will be postponed until the time when, as Moscow believes, a weakened EU will be ready to accept Russian proposals.

THE SWEDISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Nation branding and Russian foreign policy**

by Greg Simons

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The paper looks at different attempts at nation branding by the Russian Federation, and how these are connected with the understanding of soft power (and what purpose this serves).

## ***Turkey***

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

### **Turkey: has the AKP ended its winning streak?**

by Marek Matusiak

7 October 2013

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

When compared to the beginning of 2013, the way the situation will develop in Turkey is at this moment definitely less predictable; and the possible scenarios include both relative peace (however, with socio-political tension present in the background) and the threat of destabilisation. Therefore, although the AKP will still remain the sole major political force, this party will have to face challenges which will decide not only its political future but also the directions the country will be developing in.

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

### **Crying "wolf": why Turkish fears need not block Kurdish reform**

7 October 2013

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

Negotiations underway since late 2012 between Turkey's government and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) are stalling. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has taken an increasingly nationalist line, even if still mixed with an outreach to Kurdish opinion. PKK leaders and the Kurdish movement need to stop issuing threats that fuel the Turkish public's concerns about secession or a resurgence of violence. Turkish leaders must recommit to democratic reform, including a new constitution and laws that eliminate any ethnic bias; a more decentralised government structure, changes to anti-terror laws, and a lower election threshold.

HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

### **The feasibility and impact of the Turkish-Israeli rapprochement on the geopolitics of the eastern Mediterranean**

by Theodore Tsakiris

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Before we analysing the specific geopolitical parameters that would affect the viability of a Turkish-Israeli gas pipeline, the author tries to assess the status of Turkish-Israeli relations, and estimates the range and potential significance of their aligned interests.

### ***Bosnia and Herzegovina***

EUROPEAN STABILITY INITIATIVE

### **Houdini in Bosnia. How to unlock the EU accession process**

17 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The paper notes that Bosnia and Herzegovina has already broken every record when it comes to its Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU. It started negotiations in November 2005. Eight years later, the agreement has not yet entered into force. No other Balkan country has taken so long.

### **Lost in the Bosnian labyrinth. Why the Sejdic-Finci case should not block an EU application**

7 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

In December 2009 the ECHR found that the constitution and election law of Bosnia and Herzegovina violate the European Convention on Human Rights and its protocols. Bosnia's laws require that political candidates identify themselves as "Bosniak," "Croat" or "Serb" in order to be able to run for president or become a member of the upper house of the state parliament. Behind the international interest in this case lies a strong sense of moral outrage. The paper wonders if this is a racist constitution.

### ***Serbia - Enlargement***

CENTER FOR EU ENLARGEMENT STUDIES

### **Prospects of EU enlargement : the case of stabilization conditionality in Serbia**

by Martina Dupáková

June 2013

[Link to the article](#)

EU applies its conditionality based on the SAP to ensure the stability of the region. Via conditions of full cooperation with the ICTY, regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations, it attempts to resolve the major hot spots such as the Kosovo issue. However, to bring about satisfactory results it is necessary to assure Serbian compliance with the conditions and at most to offer Serbia sufficient reward to outweigh the cost of compliance.

GROUP FOR LEGAL AND POLITICAL STUDIES

### **The EU-Kosovo relationship in the context of EU enlargement policy**

by Neill Nugent

May 2013

[Link to the article](#)

According to Nugent, the EC/EU has never had a clear or consistent policy towards enlargement in the sense of it knowing how far and at what pace it ultimately wants to extend geographically. Rather it has, for the most part – and necessarily it might be argued – reacted to (mainly external) events and circumstances. This essentially reactive nature of enlargement policy has resulted in many key decisions on enlargement being determined not only by technical and legal considerations – involving, for example, judgements on whether a would-be member state's economy is sufficiently 'marketised' to warrant the opening of accession negotiations – but also political considerations.

## **Syria**

STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

### **Syrian Muslim Brotherhood still a crucial actor. Inclusivity the order of the day in dealings with Syria's opposition**

by Petra Becker

October 2013

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

Summer 2013 brought severe setbacks for the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood. As a result, the National Coalition and its Supreme Military Command have faced defections of major rebel forces, which may lead to a major shift towards Jihadi Salafism and the marginalization of moderate forces on the ground. Yet the Brotherhood remains the best-organised political force within the Syrian opposition alliances and still sees itself becoming the leading force in post-revolutionary Syria. Germany and Europe should encourage moderate forces whatever their political colours and foster the implementation of democratic concepts.

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

### **Anything but politics: the state of Syria's political opposition**

17 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

Any viable resolution of the war will require emergence of a credibly representative opposition; for all its shortcomings, the National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (the Coalition) currently is alone in potentially meeting that test. To do so, however, it will need to dramatically bolster its presence on the ground; opposition backers will have to streamline their assistance; and all must develop a strategy to deal with the growing jihadi phenomenon. The paper discusses what can be done.

## **SPECIAL FOCUS - MIGRATION**

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **The criminalisation of migration in Europe: a state-of-the-art of the academic literature and research**

by Joanna Parkin

24 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The paper analyses three key manifestations of the so-called 'crimmigration' trend: discursive criminalisation; the use of criminal law for migration management; and immigrant detention, focusing both on developments in domestic legislation of EU member states but also the increasing conflation of mobility, crime and security which has accompanied EU integration.

### **Why come here if I can go there? Assessing the 'attractiveness' of the EU's Blue Card Directive for 'highly qualified' immigrants**

by Katharina Eisele

14 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

This paper analyses the attractiveness of the EU's Blue Card Directive for so-called 'highly qualified' immigrant workers from outside the EU. It is argued that the Blue Card Directive sets forth minimum standards providing for a common floor – not a common ceiling: the Directive did not, as originally envisaged by the European Commission, create one European highly skilled admission scheme.

IRMA / HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

### **The vicious circle of irregular migration from Pakistan to Greece and back to Pakistan**

by Kleopatra Yousef

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

In this paper, the author ventures to discuss several questions concerning Pakistani migration to and through Greece in a socio-historical context, in which the immigration policies of Greece and Pakistan are systematically examined. How do the Greek policies of migration affect the plans and actions of irregular migrants? What is the role of social networks in decision making processes leading migrants to travel to and stay in Greece?

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE - ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

### **Disentangling the migration and asylum knot: dealing with crisis situations and avoiding detention**

by Anna Triandafyllidou

October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The EU is faced with a double challenge: to limit irregular migration while keeping its borders open to people in need of international protection. The paper starts with an overview of numbers, then discusses the main features of the EU policy on irregular migration and asylum, it highlights the key problematic issues, and proposes new strategies for dealing with them.

## REGARDS CROISÉS

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **"A beautiful Future for central Europe:" Hungary's regional policy in the period 2010–2013**

by Dariusz Kałan

2 October 2013

[Link to the article](#)

The author reviews recent Hungarian policies towards Central Europe, including the historically difficult dialogue with Romania and Slovakia, against the background of ambitious visions for the region, linked for example to the Hungarian presidency of the Visegrad Group and the Central European Initiative. He concludes that resentments from the past persist and the élite is sometimes tempted to exploit them to achieve temporary political goals.