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## THINK TANK REVIEW

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Dear Readers,

Welcome to issue 11 of the **Think Tank Review** compiled by the EU Council Library.\* It references papers published in February 2014. As usual, we provide the link to the full text and a short abstract.

Time and again, developments on the ground in Ukraine catch the world off-guard. While the EU Council and - in this very days - EU Heads of State and Government keep Ukraine at the centre of their [deliberations](#), and despite the risk of offering something obsolete, the TTR this month has a Special focus on Ukraine. A number of papers are (logically) a few weeks behind the times, but we kept those that offered background on, for example, the opposition movements in the country, its track record of integration with the EU, the energy policy implications of the crisis.

Predictably, analysing the Ukrainian crisis led think tanks to direct some attention to EU-Russia relations, to the Eastern Partnership and indeed to the EU's political engagement in Central Asia. Still in external relations, we highlight papers ranging from broad geopolitical notions (Eurasia) to micro analyses such as the one on Chinese investment in Greece. Readers interested in specific regions will find references to publications on Switzerland and Syria, the Arab countries and Afghanistan, the Asian Development Bank and the EU-Africa summit.

The papers on energy policy, energy security, nuclear and renewables resonate with climate and energy being on the agenda of the March [European Council](#).

We like to record joint efforts by the think tank community whenever we encounter them; this month a paper by IAI, Stiftung Mercator and the Istanbul Policy Centre looks at the europeanization of Turkish civil society.

The *Régards croisés* features a comparison of crisis dynamics and response in Latvia and Greece, by CEPS. Another interesting look over the border, albeit across a very short distance, is the paper from an Irish think tank on the implications for Ireland of the Scottish referendum.

For the rest, this Review features the by now habitual variety of papers ranging from the foundations of the Union (e.g. institutional design, the Franco-German tandem), the financial crisis and banking union, the European elections and individual member states.

The current Review and past issues can be downloaded from our informal Central Library blog at <http://www.councillibrary.wordpress.com>.

As always, feedback is welcome at [central.library@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:central.library@consilium.europa.eu).

The next Review will be out in April 2014, with papers published in March.

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 may use the library for research purposes.

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## SECTION 1 - EU INSTITUTIONS, POLITICS, ECONOMICS

### *EU institutions*

EGMONT – ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

#### **Institutional reform in the EU**

by Philippe de Schoutheete

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper discusses the potential reforms of the EU institutions that can take place during the 2014-2019 legislative term. It argues that negotiations on Treaty change are a possibility, but they should only start in the second part of the legislature. In the meantime, several institutional reforms that can improve the functioning of the EU – and hence increase its legitimacy – should already be considered.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

#### **Heading towards a European federation. Europe's last chance**

by Roger Godino and Fabien Verdier

11 February 2014

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

Authors Roger Godino and Fabien Verdier think that the only way to impart a dynamic new thrust to Europe is to make a federal leap, that is to create a European Federation. It would be established by a treaty signed initially by 6 or 7 countries (Germany, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Italy, Spain and possibly also Poland). The European Federation would enjoy both effective governance and real democratic oversight. According to the authors, it is the only way to launch a major initiative for growth capable of fostering a new industrial dynamic in Europe, and to give the euro the political consolidation that so sorely lacks.

LEUVEN CENTRE FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

#### **Challenges at the horizon 2025**

by Wim Van Aken, Axel Marx, Pierre Schmitt and Kolja Raube

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The aim of this report is to identify the future challenges that confront the CoR and the European local and regional authorities (LRAs) at the horizon in 2025. It draws up three possible scenarios. The future evolution of European integration necessarily involves an identification of a number of trends, challenges and opportunities over the coming decades. Subsequently, the report formulates key questions for debate and provides practical options and suggestions on how LRAs can make progress.

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE - ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

#### **The European Union's external representation after Lisbon : from 'hydra-headed' to 'octopus'?**

by Elisabeth Johansson-Nogués

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The question explored in this working paper is whether the 2009 Lisbon Treaty reform has given rise to the cohesion and clarity of expression towards which the EU and its member states allegedly strive. The author surveys this topic by ways of the EU's external representation in the United Nations system and related conferences. The main findings are that while it can be said that the 'new' troika has gained in formal representative 'authority', it has not been accompanied by greater independence of action or 'autonomy' from member states or by significant gains in terms of overall simplification of the Union's external representation so far.

### ***Member States and European economies***

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES

#### **A gendered investment plan**

by Signe Hansen and Lars Andersen

18 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This policy brief explores an alternative economic framework to spearhead a gendered-economic recovery in Europe. It presents a plan that will draw Europe in the right direction, create jobs, increase the female participation rate, and ensure that Europe will have a quicker return to growth, as well as dealing with the demographic changes in the EU. The authors investigate the impact of enhanced childcare and increases in government investment on job creation and growth in Europe.

BRUEGEL

#### **The long haul: managing exit from financial assistance**

by Zsolt Darvas, Andre Sapir and Guntram B. Wolff

20 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The authors argue that countries can make a clean exit from financial assistance, or enter a new programme or a precautionary programme, depending on the sustainability of their public debt and their vulnerability to shocks. The paper examines the case studies of Ireland, Portugal and Greece. Even assuming all goes well, the three countries will be subject to enhanced post-programme surveillance for decades. Managing such long-term relationships will be a key challenge.

#### **The Troika and financial assistance in the euro area: successes and failures**

by André Sapir, Guntram B. Wolff, Carlos de Sousa and Alessio Terzi

19 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This study, which was commissioned by the EP's Economic and Monetary Affairs Committee, provides a systematic evaluation of financial assistance for Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Cyprus. The Greek programme is the least successful one. Ireland successfully ended the programme in December 2013, but problems remain in the banking system. Exit from the Portuguese programme in May 2014 appears feasible but it should be accompanied by a precautionary credit line. It is too early to make pronouncements on the Cypriot programme, which only started in May 2013, but it can be safely said that there have been major collective failures of both national and EU institutions in the run-up of the programme.



ELCANO ROYAL INSTITUTE

### **An analysis of the agreement on the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-2020**

by Mario Kölling and Cristina Serrano Leal

12 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The new EU budget for the period 2014-20 will, for the first time in history, be reduced in size, following the trend in national finances. The agreement on the MFF 2014-2020 can only be considered as a development and an improvement, but not really a revolution. This follows a long-term trend of moving away from the more traditional spending areas towards a focus on horizontal issues linked to competitiveness and innovation. The EP has been an important actor during the entire negotiation process. During the years to come we will see an in-depth debate on the EU's future own resources as well as a revision of the MFF in 2016; in both debates, the EP will have a stronger say than in the past.

FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Who leads the new EMU? Implications of the economic crisis for the EU's institutions**

by Teija Tiilikainen

11 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Reforms made to the EU's economic and fiscal policies have served to reinforce the fragmentation of the division of competences between the EU and its member states in this field. Resulting from a differentiation of responsibilities between the eurozone countries and the rest of the EU, fragmentation is increasingly taking place even inside the EU institutions. The biggest challenge is to accommodate the differentiated responsibilities of the Eurozone countries and the rest of the EU within the framework of existing institutions in a way that would ensure the unity of this framework, but also the proper democratic anchoring of the EU's economic and fiscal powers.

ESADEGEO - CENTRE FOR GLOBAL ECONOMY AND GEOPOLITICS

### **Euro zone crisis: diagnosis and likely solutions**

by Fernando Ballabriga

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Southern euro countries are in a situation of vulnerability due to three factors: their high debt levels, their eroded competitiveness and their difficulties to restart growth. Together, these factors generate a vicious circle which is difficult to exit and which can even degenerate into a self-fulfilling economic downward spiral. This policy brief provides a short guiding tour to the euro zone crisis by looking at the current situation, the full context conditioning the solutions to the situation, how we got here, and the possible way out. The latter section outlines a set of minimum steps required to make the euro sustainable.

BRUEGEL

### **In sickness and in health: protecting and supporting public investment in Europe**

by Francesca Barbiero and Zsolt Darvas

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The authors analyse a decline in gross public investment in the EU and argue that the provisions to support public investment in the EU fiscal framework are very weak. For the short term, they propose excluding national co-funding of EU-supported investments from the fiscal indicators considered in the Stability and Growth Pact. For the medium term, the EU fiscal framework should be extended with an asymmetric 'golden rule' to further protect public investment in bad times, while limiting adverse incentives in good times. During a downturn, a European investment programme is needed and the European Semester should encourage greater investment by member states with healthy public finances and low public investment rates.

ELCANO ROYAL INSTITUTE

### **Spain's banking crisis: a light in the tunnel**

by William Chislett

21 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper explores the banking crisis in Spain. Hardest-hit during the crisis were the regionally-based saving banks. Their number has fallen from 45 to seven. The ESM came to their rescue with €41 billion in funds for recapitalisation in return for reforms that are being gradually put into place. Income statements are beginning to look better and balance sheets stronger. Spain exited the bail-out programme successfully in January, but as noted by the author, the banks are not yet out of the woods.

ISTITUTO BRUNO LEONI

### **Arriva la Troika?**

by Nicolò Bragazza

20 February 2014

Link to the article in [Italian](#)

Italy's public finances remain critical, particularly because of the public debt, and until now the Italian political class has failed to implement the reforms required by the ECB. A possible intervention of the Troika in Italy becomes increasingly likely. According to the author, such intervention could encourage the necessary reforms, but it might also run into some difficulties: never before has a state of the economic importance of Italy needed outside intervention to overcome its structural problems.

FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG

### **Minimum wage regimes in Europe : and what Germany can learn from them**

by Thorsten Schulten

February 2014

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

From 1 January 2015, Germany is to have a general statutory minimum wage. However, what the new German minimum wage regime will look like, must first be established in the legislative process. The article discusses different minimum wage regimes in Europe and examines the impact of a minimum wage in Germany. It concludes with recommendations referring to the level and the adjustment mechanisms of the minimum wage.

### **Social cohesion and the state in times of austerity**

by Giancarlo Dente

February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

This article discusses the structural reforms in Italy, which aim at the recovery of the public deficit. The author praises the reorganisation of the public administration. The reform of the labour market has introduced several important regulatory changes to tackle labour market segmentation, improve work-family life reconciliation and increase social protection. Overcoming the consequences of the crisis and of the austerity measures requires that these measures be completed. However, achieving this ambitious goal requires that public spending cuts be carried out in other areas and that the fight against tax evasion be pursued more effectively. More needs to be done to simplify the tax system and to tackle undeclared and irregular work.

### **Beveridge not Bismarck! European lessons for men's and women's pensions in Germany**

by Traute Meyer

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This analysis compares the Bismarck with the Beveridge welfare state model. By discussing the different performances in the integration of women into the labour market and the future perspectives of the pension systems the author comes to the conclusion that reforms of the social security towards the Beveridge system is a promising option in order to cope with the future challenges of German social and labour policy.

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Solutions to public debt crises in the EU: seek returns on that investment (views from Slovakia)**

by Peter Goliaš and Eugen Jurzyca

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The purpose of providing financial assistance to indebted Eurozone countries is to avoid uncontrolled bankruptcies that could lead to a breakdown of the euro area with severe negative consequences for all EU MS. There is a high probability that the loans provided via the stability mechanisms will not be fully recovered. Nevertheless, the long-term benefits of those loans are expected to exceed the costs. Therefore, this form of financial assistance should be regarded as an investment that has its own rate of return, one that can be controlled for by insistence on adherence to certain rules of behaviour and diligent oversight.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF THE FINNISH ECONOMY

### **Consolidation under the Europe's new fiscal rules: analyzing the implied minimum fiscal effort**

by Tero Kuusi

28 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The new EU fiscal framework builds on several overlapping target measures and convergence rules. Thus, it is not clear how strict goals the framework sets for public finances. In this paper the authors build a simulation framework that solves the minimum fiscal effort under different assumptions on the initial state of the economy and the expected economic conditions during the consolidation. They then use the model to analyse several fiscal consolidations. As a historical reference they revisit the Finnish Great Depression of the early 1990s, and address the looming sustainability gap in FI public finances that reflects the cost of aging population.

**Linking retirement age to life expectancy – what happens to working lives and income distribution?**

by Jukka Lassila, Niku Määttänen and Tarmo Valkonen

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This study investigates the impact of pension policy measures aiming to extend working lives. The report is divided into four articles. The first focuses on the impact of pension reforms on working lives and income distribution. The second ponders ways in which to link the earliest pensionable age to life expectancy, while the third looks at how this linking affects the size and financing of pensions and the fiscal sustainability of overall public finances. In the last article, the described reform is compared to reforms in the other Nordic countries and the reform proposals featured there.

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE - ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

**Merger control procedures and institutions : a comparison of the EU and US practice**

by William E. Kovacic, Petros C. Mavroidis and Damien J. Neven

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The objective of this paper is to discuss and compare the role that different constituencies play in US and EU procedures for merger control. At each stage, the authors consider how the procedure unfolds, which parties are involved, and how they can affect the procedure. The discussion reveals a very different ecology. EU and US procedures differ in terms of their basic design and in terms of the procedures that are naturally associated with these alternative designs.

BERLIN SOCIAL SCIENCE CENTER

**Probleme auf dem Ausbildungsmarkt. Warum für Jugendliche mit Hauptschulabschluss der Einstieg so schwer ist**

by Paula Protsch

28 February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

The paper analyses the difficulties of low-educated people in entering the German labour market. The author stresses the employers' selection processes as the main problem, especially for those, whose potentials remained unrevealed during their education.

STIFTERVERBAND FÜR DIE DEUTSCHE WISSENSCHAFT

**Deutschland schafft das 3%-Ziel. Deutsche Wirtschaft gibt 53,8 Milliarden für Forschung aus**

by Andreas Kladrobaj

February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

Albeit two years late, Germany has achieved the EU target of increasing its R&D expenditure to 3% of its GDP. The paper discusses this achievement. "With €53.79 billion, the German economy has spent more on R&D than ever before," it states. Foreign investments added nearly €13 billion more. EU28-wide, R&D expenditure reached only 2.06% in 2012, well below the 2010 target.

SWEDISH INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Unemployment and exclusion among young people in Europe a macroeconomic study of NEET**

by Jonas Eriksson and Monika Hjeds Löfmark

February 2014

Link to the article in [Swedish](#)

The global financial crisis has led to a substantial rise in youth unemployment in Europe. Furthermore, young people are today increasingly excluded not only from the labour market, but the education system as well. This has given rise to the concept of NEET – not in employment, education or training. In this report, the authors Monika Hjeds Löfmark and Jonas Eriksson analyse the relationship between NEET and a number of macroeconomic variables.

### ***Single market***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Mellowing Meroni: how ESMA can help build the single market**

by Jacques Pelkmans and Marta Simoncini

18 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

In examining the long-awaited opinion of the CJEU in the case concerning the ESMA, this commentary argues that the ruling is important for the insights it yields into the modern understanding of the Meroni non-delegation doctrine. The authors aim to extract the potential implications of the ESMA case for the place and significance of the Meroni doctrine in building up the single market. They demonstrate that the ESMA case is yet another manifestation of a slow process of "mellowing Meroni", which is a critical condition for a new single market strategy aiming to end the remaining fragmentation of the single market – not only in financial markets but also in network industries – and to ensure its 'proper functioning'.

### ***Banking Union***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Framing Banking Union in the euro area: some empirical evidence**

by Diego Valiante

3 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper discusses the theoretical foundations of a banking union in a common currency area and the legal and economic aspects of EU responses. Two remedies are proposed to deal with moral hazard in a common currency area: a common (unlimited) financial backstop to a privately funded recapitalisation/resolution fund and a blanket prohibition on state aids.

MADARIAGA - COLLEGE OF EUROPE FOUNDATION

### **What does the Banking Union mean for the real economy?**

by Marco Giuli

February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

This contribution intends to evaluate the extent to which a Banking Union might be beneficial to the real economy, in particular SMEs, considering how the banking/sovereign distress has contributed to the divergence of lending rates along the core-periphery divide. The SSM and the SRM can do a lot to repair balance sheets and ensure macroeconomic stabilisation. However, it might not be enough to reduce the banks' preference for sovereign debt. Cross-border lending for SMEs could be further revived by adopting additional measures which aim at integrating capital markets.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **Is the European Central Bank failing its price stability mandate?**

by Angel Ubide

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Inflation in the euro area is too low, and the ECB is at risk of missing its price stability mandate. With the market forecasting average inflation in the euro area over the next five years between 1.25% and 1.5%, the ECB must prepare to act forcefully to push inflation higher. The ECB should update the definition of price stability as inflation at 2% over 2 to 3 years to eliminate the ambiguity over the inflation objective; reduce risk premia in the yield curve via a program of quantitative easing; and ease the quantitative credit shortages to SMEs via a well-designed lending program.

### ***Labour market***

CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

### **Future scenarios for the development of the European labour force**

by Anna Ruzik-Sierdzinska

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The future size and quality of the European labour force are important production factors for future growth in the region. As demographic ageing is expected to continue, it is important to know more about these factors in order to recommend policies. The aim of this paper is to assess the impact of ageing on the labour market, especially on the structure of the labour force and labour productivity by looking at various angles: determinants of the transition from work to retirement, individual productivity, lifelong learning and labour productivity and the demand for labour in the perspective of ageing societies.

### ***EU Member States***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Defying the oracle? The 2014 Greek presidency of the EU Council**

by Filippa Chatzistavrou

14 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The author argues that the Greek presidency is characterised by poor leadership and a lack of vision. It is being called upon to coordinate a presidential agenda without being substantially involved in its drafting; it simply mediates between European institutions. This trend has a negative impact on the behaviour and trust of public administrators, whose personal investment is vital for the smooth functioning of the presidency. The paper concludes that Greece's presidency of the Council of the EU cannot be the standard-bearer for a pro-European message.

ELCANO ROYAL INSTITUTE

### **The price of Spanish and European citizenship**

by Carmen González Enríquez

3 February 2014

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

In the last 12 years, Spain has granted the Spanish nationality to more than a million people. Although the Spanish Civil Code sets a 10-year residency requirement before citizenship can be requested, most of the immigrants in Spain from outside the EU–Latin Americans – are exempted from this rule. As a result, Spain in practice grants citizenship with a much lower residency requirement than the European average of over six years. The authors argue that the rules on accessing nationality should be modified.

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

### **Scotland's vote on independence – The implications for Ireland**

by Paul Gillespie

5 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

If Scotland becomes independent, the remaining union between England, Wales and Northern Ireland would be radically disrupted. Should the UK leave the EU, possible following the Conservative Party's commitment to an in/out referendum, the internal turmoil over Scotland would be accompanied by a crisis over the UK's role in Europe. In this paper, Paul Gillespie presents four possible scenarios for how the Scottish independence issue relates to the potential referendum on EU membership and argues that these scenarios raise profoundly important questions for Ireland.

STIFTUNG GENSCHEN

### **Europe as a future political project: German-French impulses for EU reinvigoration**

February 2014

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

This reports stems from a meeting organised with experts from think tanks and universities from France and Germany, in order to find a new German-French agenda for Europe. The contributions analyse domestic factors shaping French European policy, perspectives on an increasingly differentiated EU in the wake of the euro crisis, and options on the necessary reform of the governance structure of the euro zone. Further contributions focus on how to revamp European energy policy and on foreign policy challenges.

FOREIGN POLICY CENTRE

### **Renegotiation, reform and referendum: does Britain have an EU future?**

by Adam Hug (ed.)

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This essay collection examines some of the key issues in the current UK debate over the future of its membership of the EU. It looks at the UK government's attempts to renegotiate its relationship with the EU, the current debate about ideas for possible reform, the implications of the proposed 2017 membership referendum, and at how the UK's renegotiation proposals and the wider British debate are regarded in other member states.

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

### **Großbritannien und die EU-Reform. Empfehlungen für den Umgang mit den britischen Forderungen an die Europäische Union**

by Nicolai von Ondarza

February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

After an analysis of the motives for Cameron's in/out referendum and renegotiation strategy, this paper presents five policy domains, in which Britain could be integrated into a reform of the EU/Eurozone. This could be achieved if these developments convince the moderate eurosceptics, and marginalise the hard eurosceptics who demand the Brexit.

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Europe and its institutions: towards a renewed Polish approach to the EU**

by Agata Gostyńska and Roderick Parkes

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Poland seems on the cusp of winning for itself the status of a leading EU Member State. Over the course of the sovereign-debt crisis, it has successfully held its own in an increasingly intergovernmental EU. That now creates a temptation to ditch its traditional "hedging" approach to the European Commission and Parliament and strike out more on its own. Yet, Poland's real success in this intergovernmental EU has been in securing the continued openness of EU rules and the integrity of its institutions.

### **Is this the future of Europe? Opportunities and risks for Poland in a Union of insiders and outsiders**

by Roderick Parkes

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Poland risks falling into the political equivalent of the middle-income trap: having charted a remarkable rise within the EU, it may stagnate just before achieving lead status. The problem is clear: divisions within the Union that once favoured Poland, may now turn against it. This collection of essays asks: can Warsaw exploit Europe's new divisions and complete its own 'arrested accession'?

### **Public diplomacy in the European Union: models for Poland**

by Beata Ociepka

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Classic diplomacy has shifted from the domain of politics to the public sphere, where public opinion is formed. Formerly latent diplomacy has become public diplomacy with the effect of a more symmetric conduct of international political communication. Poland's public diplomacy is conditioned by the country's size and its status as a "new" EU Member State, but there are lessons to be learned from strategies adopted by other countries in the European Union, particularly in the fields of culture, development aid, and education.

KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

### **More subsidiarity in Europe – but in the right place!**

by Céline-Agathe Caro

4 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)



The principle of subsidiarity is a key building block in the architecture of the EU because it regulates the distribution of responsibilities between the EU and its Member States, thus contributing to the democratic process. However, the crisis in the Eurozone and the related measures taken at national and European levels to improve the financial and economic situation have called subsidiarity as regulated in the EU since the Treaty of Lisbon into question.

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE - ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

### **The evolving regulation of the media in Europe as an instrument for freedom and pluralism**

by Elda Brogi and Pier Luigi Parcu

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

European media regulation has one peculiar differentiating characteristic: it cannot concentrate only on market competition, as the rest of modern economic regulation does, but has to pursue other fundamental values. In particular, media pluralism and media freedom emerge as policy goals that are essential for democracy and human rights in Europe. This paper discusses the EU's search for a point of equilibrium in MS' resistance to the relinquishing of their power in the sector. It describes the current debate, and suggests some possible directions for development.

### ***EP elections***

FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG

### ***Partizipation und Parteiwahl bei der Europawahl 2009 in Deutschland: Nebenwahl oder einfach anders?***

by Heiko Giebler

February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

The author analyses the EP election of 2009 in Germany. By examining the participation of citizens and by comparing the election with the German federal elections, he concludes that the EP election 2009 has been a typical second order election. They were mainly influenced by national factors and suffered from low turnout. The analysis stresses the possibility that the EP election 2014 could be of a different nature, given the high salience of European issues in the German media and the abolition of the five% barrier.

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

### **Euroceptics in the European Parliament. Isolated and divided in Brussels but driving national debates**

by Daniela Kietz and Nicolai von Ondarza

February 2014

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

There is growing concern that Euroceptic parties could fare very well in the May 2014 European elections. Fears abound that the formation of a strong extreme right and right-populist camp could endanger the functioning of the EP and plunge the EU system into its next political crisis. This paper suggests a different direction. The Parliament will continue to function, but at the price of a further weakening of party-political polarisation. What the EP offers these parties, however, is a forum to influence national politics, which is their actual objective. Ultimately, it is national governing parties that take on board Euroceptic ideas in fear of electoral defeat and transport them into the Union.

## **EU policies**

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Future of skills in Europe: convergence or polarisation?**

by Miroslav Beblavý and Marcela Veselková

27 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper examines whether the current trends in the areas of education and skills are pushing the EU towards convergence or polarisation. Research confirms that early childhood education plays an important role. However, the other frequently emphasised remedy to inequality – less selection in secondary education, particularly later division of children into separate tracks – is more problematic. Its effectiveness depends on the country in question and the target group, while education systems are extremely difficult to shift even on a long-term basis.

FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **The conflict over aviation emissions: a case of retreating EU leadership?**

by Antto Vihma and Harro van Asselt

27 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The EU must decide on its Aviation Directive without the guarantee of a global market-based mechanism being agreed in 2016. Europe should insist on its own sovereign rights and consider ways of manifesting more assertiveness in the future, in order not to create a precedent with a retreat in the Aviation Directive case. Otherwise, the EU may become vulnerable to pressure in other areas of regulation with extraterritorial implications, and its credibility might be undermined.

CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

### **Demand-driven innovation policies in the European Union**

by Camilla Jensen and Itzhak Goldberg

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper seeks to provide perspectives on innovation which give a greater role to the demand-side aspect of innovation. The authors argue that the central or most salient aspect of a demand-side, innovation-driven economy is the small and entrepreneurial yet fast-growing and innovative firm which are referred to as "Gazelle". The main concern of policy-makers should therefore be how to support Gazelle type of firms through various policies: venture capitalism, education policies and R&D incentives.

INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

### **Inland fisheries and the Common Fisheries Policy**

by Stephanie Newman

27 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This study, requested by the EP's Committee on Fisheries, assesses the impact of the Common Fisheries Policy and the proposed European Maritime and Fisheries Fund, on commercial inland fisheries. It also provides an overview of the state of the commercial inland sector, including species targeted, distribution across MS, employment, fishing methods and markets.

## **Migration**

ROBERT SCHUMAN FOUNDATION

### **A review of post-Lampedusa: what type of EU migratory cooperation with third countries?**

by Corinne Balleix

3 February 2014

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

Long term, the global approach to migration faces the challenge of having to satisfy the needs of the European labour market, those of the migrants who are seeking a more stable status and the development ambitions in the countries of origin. Financing all of this work appears to be difficult and since the paths of political conditionality seem uncertain, the EU will undoubtedly have to find a better way to regulate flows of people and the migrant remittances.

FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG

### **Zuwanderung aus Südosteuropa : die aktuelle Entwicklung und Diskussion als integrationspolitischer Testfall**

by Alexander Götz

February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

The author contests the widespread prejudice about immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria, the so-called "social tourism". He states that most of the immigrants from Southeast Europe are well integrated in the German labour market. Only some cities are confronted with problems of integration of the new inhabitants. These suffer from an urgent need of financial support.

## **Energy and environment**

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Impact of the decarbonisation of the energy system on employment in Europe**

by Arno Behrens, Caroline Coulie, Fabio Genoese, Monica Alessi, Julian Wieczorkiewicz and Christian Egenhofer

7 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper presents a methodology for calculating the potential impact on employment of a transition away from fossil fuels. Based on "employment factors" of different energy technologies, which are then applied to energy mixes as projected by the decarbonisation scenarios of the *Energy Roadmap 2050*, the authors suggest that the energy sector will provide not only more jobs, but also jobs requiring higher-level qualifications when compared with the current energy sector.

BRUEGEL

### **When and how to support renewables? Letting the data speak**

by Georg Zchmann, Amma Serwaah and Michele Peruzzi

5 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The authors of this paper argue that both deployment and RD&D support are needed to create innovation in renewable energy technologies. However, the current support is unbalanced and thus basing the policy mix more on empirical evidence could increase the efficiency of innovation policy targeted towards renewable energy technologies.

HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION

### **Myths and facts: the German switch from nuclear to renewables**

by Craig Morris

11 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Nearly three years after Chancellor Angela Merkel's governing coalition shut down roughly 40% of the German nuclear power generating capacity, author Craig Morris analyses what the temporary effects have been and what the long-term effects are likely to be.

### **Reexamining the United States' shale gas success: is Europe letting the fox in the henhouse?**

by Olga Buto

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

By the end of 2013, shale gas in the US rapidly grew to account for 40% of total natural gas production. It generated great enthusiasm among politicians and industry leaders alike, who lauded the shale gas boom as a part of a domestic energy renaissance that promises to raise the US to prominence among the world's foremost fossil fuel producers. While increasing supply currently keeps the price of natural gas in the US far lower than in other regions across the globe, the domestic price might increase once the exports of LNG are launched. Electricity prices in Europe are about twice as high as in the US, while the gas prices are around three times as high. This energy price-gap puts greater pressure on European industry.

EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

### **Energy moves and power shifts: EU foreign policy and global energy security**

by Iana Dreyer and Gerald Stang, with contributions by Claude Mandil and James Henderson

14 February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

This report undertakes an appraisal of global energy trends and draws conclusions for the EU's external energy security policy priorities, taking into account that energy mix choices, supply strategies and foreign policy remain national prerogatives. The centre of gravity for global energy markets is shifting to emerging markets, particularly in Asia. The EU is undergoing relative economic and demographic decline: retaining a major role in the global energy scene will be more and more challenging. Its ever-increasing reliance on oil and gas imports makes it more sensitive to political and commercial changes beyond its borders.

### **EU and sub-Saharan Africa: an energy partnership?**

by Gerald Stang and Stefan Bössner

28 February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

Three features dominate energy relations between Europe and sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The first theme is Europe's interest in African supplies to help meet its oil and gas needs. The second theme is energy poverty in Africa. The third theme, climate change, has gained relevance as a result of the EU pushing for carbon cuts and renewables development abroad, and African governments becoming increasingly worried about the impacts of a changing climate. Building coherence between the EU's energy, development, and climate policies can help facilitate progress in all three areas.

ROBERT SCHUMAN FOUNDATION

### **Competitiveness and climate, what should Europe's priorities be?**

by Grégoire Postel-Vinay

24 February 2014

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

The European Council of 20th and 21st March devoted to energy and the Union's industrial competitiveness, as well as the Paris Conference on climate in 2015, offers us an opportunity to assess the challenges facing the Union if it is to ensure growth and employment and yet respond to climate issues and its increased energy dependency. The author discusses some issues, such as governance, international negotiations, energy autonomy, and the impact of the revision of competition rules.

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS / KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG

### **New EU energy and climate framework: challenges for Poland and Germany**

by Ryszarda Formuszewicz and Aleksandra Gawlikowska-Fyk

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The EU's new energy and climate framework for 2030 is an exercise in reconciling Europe's green agenda with its need for renewed competitiveness—as well as the domestic concerns of Member States. As the energy policies of Poland and Germany are shaped by EU policy, the 2030 policy proposal might serve as an opportunity for a shift towards bolstered bilateral cooperation. The conditions for this are twofold: mutual understanding and thinking outside the box.

INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES AT THE VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT BRUSSEL

### **European energy and industrial policy realigned: risk or opportunity for EU eco-innovation strategy?**

by Thomas Sattich

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Europe's eco-innovation strategy fuses industrial, energy and environmental policy together in a concept for sustainable economic growth in the 21st century. The latest debate about high energy prices and their impact on energy-intensive industry shows, however, that the emphasis among the three policies has shifted over the years. Some adjustments are therefore necessary in order to reduce evolving inconsistencies.

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE - ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

### **Offshore grids for renewables : do we need a particular regulatory framework?**

by Leonardo Meeus

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Onshore, generators are connected to the transmission grid by transmission system operators. This regulatory model could simply be extended to offshore, but the connection of offshore wind farms to shore is also an opportunity to test alternatives, i.e. the third party model or the generator model. In this paper it is argued that the third party and generator models are indeed better suited to support the evolution towards larger scale offshore wind farms that are increasingly developed farther out to sea, while the TSO model is better suited to support the evolution towards cross-border offshore grid projects.

## **Defence**

EGMONT – ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### **An industrious European Council on defence?**

by Daniel Fiott

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The December 2013 Council meeting set in motion a number of important "roadmaps" for defence-industrial policy in Europe. Now the MS, the EDA and Commission need to be aware of the potential roadblocks ahead. The first hurdle will be to define "security of supply" as it relates to the defence sector as MS will certainly not attempt to rely on Europe's own stocks of raw materials and productive factors to supply the defence sector.

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR DEFENCE STUDIES

### **Comprehensive security and integrated defence: challenges of implementing whole-of-government and whole-of-society approaches**

by Tomas Jermalavičius, Piret Pernik and Martin Hurt, with Henrik Breitenbauch and Pauli Järvenpää

11 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The Estonian Government began employing an integrated approach to national defence in 2010, and this report was commissioned in order to document its current state of implementation. Among other things, it considers experiences of several countries – Denmark, Finland, The Netherlands, and Sweden – in building integrated security and defence systems. Finally, the paper investigates the 'state of play' in Estonia when it comes to implementing the concept of integrated defence. It closes with the recommendations to Estonia's policymakers.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **The amphibious endeavor: tactical risk, strategic influence**

by Guillaume Garnier

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Nowadays, amphibious operations have adapted to new conditions by strengthening joint forces integration, and by taking advantage of the most modern naval and military technologies. Although amphibious operations remain a high-end perspective in a total war concept, they still represent a key capability for "forcible entry" in a world where 50% of the population lives by the sea. Stretching over the entire operational spectrum, amphibious operations will more and more prove their importance in low-to-medium intensity crisis scenarios, rather than in the hypothetical use of all-out force and wide-scale operations.

## **Security**

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Cyberterrorism: the threat that never was**

by Andrzej Kozłowski, Kacper Rękawek and Marcin Terlikowski

February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

While all issues "cyber" attract a high level of policymaker attention, one threat seems to have been forgotten and marginalised: cyber terrorism. To an extent, the evolution of cyber terrorism mirrors that of "regular" terrorism, which erupted as the "weapon of the weak", and after a state-sponsored phase seems to be returning to its sub-state or even "lone wolf" roots.

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES / ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **Africa and the Mediterranean: evolving security dynamics after the Arab uprisings**

by Andrea Dessi, Dario Cristiani, Wolfgang Mühlberger and Giorgio Musso

28 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This study takes stock of the current security dynamics across the Southern Mediterranean and African Sahel since the advent of the Arab uprisings. In so doing, it widens the scope of analysis from a purely North African focus to a more in-depth understanding of the profound links connecting the Mediterranean, Africa, and the wider Arab world. By focusing on three specific components — the African Sahel region, post-Gaddafi Libya, and Egypt's African policy under the Muslim Brotherhood — the study sheds light on the deeply intertwined nature of the security threats that have arisen across this area and the impossibility of decoupling events occurring in the Maghreb from those taking place further south in the African Sahel region.

### ***Nuclear security***

RUSSIAN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL

### **Multilateral approach to nuclear disarmament**

by A.G. Savelyev, V.Z. Dvorkin, V.I. Yesin, N.N. Detinov and A.V. Zagorsky

11 February 2014

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

This study examines the possible options to continue disarmament process involving all member states of the Big Five. It presents a vision of potential actions by Russia to engage third countries in the nuclear disarmament process at its subsequent stages. The authors analyse the current state in nuclear sphere and develop the key ideas which could serve as a basis for multilateral negotiations.

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

### **US nuclear weapons in Europe: critical for transatlantic security**

by Michaela Dodge

18 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

In 2013, the Obama Administration initiated the Life Extension Program (LEP) for the B61 tactical nuclear weapon, which is the last nuclear weapon the US keeps in Europe, and the only remaining tactical nuclear weapon in the US arsenal. The LEP will extend the life of the B61 by 20 to 30 years, and could cost over \$8 billion. The US and NATO have a continued interest in maintaining the US nuclear presence in Europe since they contribute to the cohesion of the alliance. The US must maintain a strong position in order to protect its national security interests, assure allies, and deter adversaries.

## SECTION 2 - EXTERNAL RELATIONS

### *EU foreign policy*

FRIDE

#### **Is the EU downscaling political engagement in Central Asia?**

27 February 2014

by Jos Boonstra

Link to the article in [English](#)

As of 1 March 2014, the EU will no longer have a EUSR to Central Asia. Ambassador Patricia Flor, who has fulfilled the role since June 2012, has been recalled to Berlin and she will not be replaced. Instead, the EEAS is likely to appoint a special envoy to the region. As an EEAS staff member, an envoy will have less political clout with Central Asian leaders and in broader political processes than a representative appointed by the Council.

CARNEGIE EUROPE

#### **Time to reset the European neighborhood policy**

by Stefan Lehne

4 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The authors analyse the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) as the framework from which the EU aims to support the structural transformation of its Eastern and Southern neighbours, promoting democracy, the rule of law, and successful market economies. Ten years after the ENP's launch, it is clear that the policy is not working. Adjusting the ENP to the changing reality on the ground, sharpening its tools, and rebuilding its credibility should be a top priority for the EU's foreign policy leadership.

### *EU trade*

BRUEGEL

#### **Changing trade patterns, unchanging European and global governance**

by Jim O'Neill and Alessio Terezi

25 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

With the shift in trade relationships for many key countries, established frameworks for the running of the world economy and its governance are not going to be fit for purpose, and will need to change. The global monetary system itself, and global organisations such as the IMF, G7, and G20 are going to have to adapt considerably if they want to remain legitimate representatives of the world order.

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES / OCP POLICY CENTER

#### **Alice in trade-land: the politics of TTIP**

by Jim Kolbe

13 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)



The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) has alternately been proclaimed the historic joining of the world's two largest economies, and ridiculed as a desperate lifeline for them. By most economic measurements, TTIP should be seen as a clear winner on both sides of the Atlantic. But the TTIP prize at the end of the rainbow is not so much about trade and economics as it is about politics. And politics come in many hues and shades, with endless riddles and diversionary paths.

CLINGENDAEL - NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Chinese investment in the port of Piraeus, Greece: the relevance for the EU and the Netherlands**

by Frans-Paul van der Putten

14 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report provides a preliminary insight into how Cosco's activities in Piraeus are relevant for EU–China relations and Dutch economic interests. Primarily because of Cosco's involvement, Piraeus is currently the world's fastest growing container port. Cosco's activities in Greece have the potential to strengthen considerably the Chinese state's influence over the maritime trade corridor between China and the EU. Van der Putten shows that the Chinese state is aiming to create new trade routes between China and Central Europe by way of investments in ports and railways in Southeast Europe. Should this attempt succeed then this would limit the potential for ports in Western Europe to facilitate trade flows between Central Europe and Asia.

KIEL INSTITUTE FOR THE WORLD ECONOMY

**The effects of globalization on wage inequality. New insights from a dynamic trade model with heterogeneous firms**

by Sebastian Braun, Wolfgang Lechthaler and Mariya Mileva

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Fears of increasing inequality play a dominant role in current debates on how globalization is affecting our economies. After a brief review of recent trends in wage inequality, this policy paper presents new insights on the dynamic effect of trade liberalization on wage inequality. In the context of a dynamic trade model with costly labour mobility, we show that the effect of trade liberalization on wage inequality depends on i) the time horizon considered, ii) the degree of worker mobility, and iii) the degree of trade liberalization (partial/full).

***Eastern Partnership***

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

**The EU, Russia and a less common neighborhood. Lessons reinforced by the Vilnius summit**

by Susan Stewart

February 2014

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

Susan Stewart examines the run-up to and outcomes of the Vilnius summit in November 2013 and states that they indicate that the Eastern Partnership is undergoing a period of crisis. This is primarily because the EU and its Eastern partners have not been successful at communicating their respective goals to each other and agreeing on viable methods for reaching them. The same applies to the EU-Russia relationship, which is becoming increasingly dysfunctional, especially with regard to the so-called common neighbourhood.

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

### **Visegrad development aid in the Eastern Partnership region**

by Zsuzsanna Végh

24 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Although Visegrad countries' resources are limited, the bilateral development aid ratio of the countries as a group spent in the Eastern Partnership region gradually increased after 2009. Given that the individual systems are still developing and the countries are focusing on creating their own brand, it is highly unlikely that in the near future it would be in their interest to set up a common development fund. However, a rationalization of the current cooperation systems and a consolidation of existing resources is feasible and should be considered.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **The EU, Russia and the Eastern Partnership: what dynamics under the new German government?**

by Dominik Tolksdorf

February 2014

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

This paper analyses the EU's relations with the EaP countries and illustrates that all of them are torn between intensified relations with the EU and joining the Russian dominated Customs Union. Although the EU is rather reluctant to start a power game with Russia in the "shared neighbourhood", the EaP has without doubt led to strained EU-Russia relations. As will be illustrated, it is difficult on the EU level to constitute a clearly unified position on Russia. Among the explanatory factors is Germany, which has often not aligned its position on Russia with its EU partners.

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Georgia's local government reform: how to escape from the Soviet past (and how Poland can help)**

by Adriana Skorupska and Konrad Zasztowt

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

If Georgia is to remain the leader among post-Soviet countries in terms of successful democratisation, it must conduct an effective decentralisation of power. During its nine years in power, President Mikheil Saakashvili's United National Movement rather oversaw a consolidation of power. The transfer of power to the Georgian Dream coalition in 2012 raised hopes that real decentralisation might happen. Poland should continue its support to the government in Tbilisi. This, however, should be combined with a constructive critique of Georgian reformers' actions.

## ***Russia***

ISTITUTO PER GLI STUDI DI POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE

### **What the economy can tell us about politics in Russia**

by Serena Giusti

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Russian dissatisfaction with the current leadership is mounting, this paper says. A prolonged modest economic growth can undermine political stability in Russia as social policies are less affordable than in the past. Putin's presidency has temporarily benefitted from some successes in foreign policy. Nevertheless these events cannot help overcoming the real problems of the country. Economy and politics are so intertwined that the greatest challenge to the establishment in Russia is not coming from the streets but from the market.

### **The blogosphere in Russia: reality or illusion? Navalny's case**

by Sabrina Regolo

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper aims to examine the effect the blogosphere has had on the Russian people, focusing on its development and starting from the period it appeared in Russia for the first time. It is explained how Russian blogs began to be the alternative to newspapers, television and radio and how the new generation approached this phenomenon. It is analysed how blogging influenced politics and how politics influenced the Russian blogosphere. Starting from a political point of view and considering Russia as a country where there is only one ruling party, it will become clear how a political blog can have a big impact on readers and create a nationwide protest like the one in December 2011.

HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY

### **WTO accession and energy markets: an overview of Russia**

by Theocharis Grigoriadis, Dimitrios Moschos and Sofia Saridi

February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

The authors provide an overview of Russian energy policy in view of its WTO accession. The transition from the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation reinforced the influence of energy resources on Russia's economic growth. Regional economic integration and WTO accession have been treated as complementary strategies by the Russian government since the early 2000s. The emergence of Eurasian Economic Community has created challenges for Russia's integration into the world economy given Gazprom's market dominance in the Russian economy. Reforming Gazprom's pricing system requires both domestic political will and external incentives that will compensate for price reductions in international markets.

## **Turkey**

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Will the readmission agreement bring the EU and Turkey together or pull them apart?**

by Kemal Kirişci

4 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Following a period when EU-Turkish relations have not been particularly close, the readmission agreement signed in December 2013 by the Home Affairs Commissioner Cecilia Malmstrom and the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoglu could help inject some sorely needed goodwill and trust into the relationship. Yet, as pointed out in this commentary, there is always the risk that the challenges faced in the actual implementation of the agreement will aggravate the relationship.

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

### **The structural roots of Turkey's power struggle**

4 February 2014

by Galip Dalay

Link to the article in [English](#)

A fierce power struggle between the governing AK Party and the Gülen Movement has dominated Turkey's political scene. Conjectural factors have been largely blamed for the crisis, but the structural factors facilitate the feud and can better illuminate it. They pose a grave challenge to Turkey's democracy and civilian politics. Turkey needs to address these structural challenges by devolving power to local administrations, eliminating the state's ability of social engineering, and increasing the transparency of religious groups.

HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY / CENTER FOR EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Shifting sands or burning bridges? The evolution of Turkish-Israeli relations after the Mavi Marmara incident and the strategic energy calculations of Greece & Cyprus**

by Theodoros Tsakiris

7 February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

The author of this paper details the widening chasm in relations between Turkey and Israel, which was exacerbated, but not caused, by the Mavi Marmara incident, in which a Turkish NGO tried to break the Israeli blockade of Gaza by boat, which was boarded in international waters. The paper also looks at the response to the cleavage by Greece, which has sought to strengthen its ties with Israel. A possible focal point of the triangular relation could be the role of Cyprus should Israel chose to use the island nation as a conduit for its liquid natural gas.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **Turkey's energy strategy and its role in the EU's southern gas corridor**

by Erkan Erdogdu

17 February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

This paper is devoted to the analysis of Turkey's role in this Southern Gas Corridor. It concludes that although the newly-built infrastructure within the SGC framework will probably serve Azerbaijani and Turkish interests first in their future relations with the EU, rather than the other way round, as had been initially hoped by the EU, it still addresses the EU's basic strategic interests, namely, the diversification of gas supply routes and suppliers.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI / STIFTUNG MERCATOR / ISTANBUL POLICY CENTER

### **Europeanization, framing competition and civil society in the EU and Turkey**

by Ayhan Kaya and Raffaele Marchetti

10 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper examines the relationship between the EU and Turkey with a particular focus on the Europeanization of Turkish civil society. The *Occupygezi* movement has revealed that a more comprehensive approach needs to be taken in order to understand the deep socio-political drives underpinning the Turkish bid for EU membership. In this regard, the paper will pay special attention to the ideational factors shaping the political discourse in Turkey concerning the attitudes towards the EU.

GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

### **Die Türkei als neues Geberland und potenzieller Partner in Dreieckskooperationen**

by Jeannine Hausmann

February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

Turkey became a significant donor country in the international development cooperation during the last years. This paper describes the objectives and principles of the Turkish development cooperation and analyses its significance for Turkish foreign policy. The author examines particularly the quantities of donations, the most important actors, the geographic and the sectorial focus as well as the dominant modalities. Finally the possibility of a partnership between Turkey and Germany in the Framework of triangular cooperation is discussed.

### ***Kosovo***

CENTRAL EUROPEAN POLICY INSTITUTE

### **Integration or isolation? Northern Kosovo in 2014 electoral limbo**

by Leon Malazogu, Milan Nič, Filip Ejodus and Tomasz Zornaczuk

13 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper analyses the bleak outlook for implementing the Brussels Agreement during 2014, with looming elections in Serbia, Kosovo and the EU. The usefulness of constructive ambiguity that has helped Belgrade and Prishtina to get closer is rapidly diminishing. It is essential to establish communication between Prishtina and northern Serbs, to ensure that all sides see the value of implementing planned power-sharing arrangements.

HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Increasing human security as an instrument of conflict resolution: the case of the Serbian community in Kosovo**

by Beáta Huszka

4 February 2014

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

Low-scale ethnic violence against Serbs living in the south of Kosovo has continued since Kosovo declared its independence. The paper shows that threat perceptions of Serbs are grounded in reality. Therefore, the aspiration of this study is to explore the main problems of the Serbian community in the south, as they arise at the local level. The aim here is to shed some light on issues on the ground, which cause tensions between Serbs and Albanians and make coexistence across ethnic lines difficult on a daily basis.

### ***Switzerland***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **The end of chocolate box-style integration? EU-Swiss relations after the referendum**

by Adam Łazowski

28 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The author observes that once Swiss voters are deprived of the benefits of the EU internal market, they may come to appreciate that their days of cherry-picking from among EU policies are over. This might present the EU with a golden opportunity to press for a comprehensive framework agreement with Switzerland that would simplify the existing regime and provide for a uniform institutional set-up. The author concludes that what both sides cannot avoid is a frank discussion about free movement of persons, noting that that dossier will be crucial for any future steps that will be taken by the EU and the Swiss authorities.

## **Syria**

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Shaping the emerging consensus on Syria**

by Luigi Scazzieri and Steven Blockmans

26 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Notwithstanding the failure on February 15th of the second round of the Geneva II talks on Syria, Luigi Scazzieri and Steven Blockmans take note in this commentary of several welcome signs that the international community as a whole is starting to move in a more coordinated manner on the Syrian peace process.

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES / ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **Europe must take on its share of the Syrian refugee burden, but how?**

by Philippe Fargues

26 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

While asylum opportunities offered to Syrians in Europe have grown, these opportunities have not kept up with the war, and obstacles that Syrian asylum seekers meet on their way to the EU have increased. Europe is currently discussing burden-sharing between those member states that are geographically exposed to irregular entries, and those that are not. While this discussion will be crucial to improve the Common European Asylum System, its results will come too late to address a refugee crisis that risks undermining or even overturning fragile states in the Middle East.

## **Arab countries**

SHARAKA / ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

### **EU-GCC cooperation in an era of socio-economic challenges**

by Cinzia Bianco

28 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper aims at exploring how the EU could contribute to tackling the socio-economic challenges facing the countries of the Gulf, thus also capitalising on the opportunity to inject new stimulus into its relations with the Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC). In particular, the paper argues in favour of pursuing a strategic dialogue through a new economic framework focused on addressing some of the critical issues standing in the way of development sustainability in the Gulf.

## **EU-GCC cultural relations and representations of the other in the Gulf cultural press: the case of al-'Arabi magazine**

by Edoardo Barzaghi

5 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The aim of this paper is to point out the shortcomings that affect the EU-GCC relationships at the cultural level stemming from the insufficient or flawed understanding of the EU as a geopolitical and historical entity. The paper briefly outlines the main cultural biases influencing the European perspective of the Arab countries as well as the Arab perspective of the European countries. This discussion underlines how the EU countries generally do not view the GCC countries as constituting a separate region from other parts of the Arab world. Likewise, the GCC countries often perceive the EU countries as a very indefinite entity, usually referred to vaguely as "the West".

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Next steps toward a final deal with Iran**

by Steven Blockmans and Luigi Scazzieri

14 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The International Atomic Energy Agency confirmed that Iran had been implementing its commitments as part of the Joint Plan of Action. This brief argues that the best hope for success lies in continued engagement and consistent incremental progress in the negotiations, with structured concessions on both sides. The EU is in a unique position to lead this process. Having greater flexibility than either the US or Iran, its main tasks will be that of maintaining the negotiating momentum and broadening dialogue with Iran.

FRIDE

### **Game over? The EU's legacy in Afghanistan**

by Edward Burke

18 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The author argues that the EU needs to re-assess its activities in Afghanistan. The on-going drawdown of the international presence in Afghanistan during 2014 marks a major turning point for the future of that country. Since 2001, the EU has committed considerable resources to Afghanistan, and this paper analyses the legacy of those efforts. The paper also makes a number of recommendations for the future role of the EU in Afghanistan.

## **Asia**

NAZARBAYEB UNIVERSITY / NATIONAL ANALYTICAL CENTER

### **Towards a greater Eurasia: who, why, what and how?**

by Michael Emerson

17 February 2014

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

This paper explores the case for all of Europe and all of Asia to consider together how to integrate progressively the super-continental landmass that is referred to as the 'Greater Eurasia'. Such a process is virtually inevitable as the 21st century advances and many Asian countries become advanced economies. The open question, however, is whether European and Asian political leaders might lead this process, rather than remain overwhelmingly preoccupied by their complex and difficult integration processes in Europe and Asia, respectively, and in lesser Eurasian initiatives (such as the Russian objective for a Eurasian Economic Union).

**The Asian Development Bank. What's in it for Europe? Economic diplomacy and geostrategic interests in an Asian context**

by Maaïke Okano-Heijmans and Duncan Waardenburg

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

EU MS need to engage more deeply with the Asian Development Bank, both on practical matters as well as for strategic purposes. As the authors of this report point out, European countries have an interest in a prosperous and stable Asia–Pacific region and stand to benefit from deeper cooperation and integration. The ADB has made significant contributions on both fronts. The Bank is now facing the challenge of adapting to a rapidly evolving environment in order to maintain legitimacy. Its role in sustaining and furthering development, stability and regional cooperation will increase in importance in the years to come.

***4th EU-Africa summit***

EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY MANAGEMENT

**Economic Partnership Agreements: towards the finishing line**

by Sanoussi Bilal

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

According to the author, Economic Partnership Agreements have been souring European-African relations since their conception in the mid-1990s. More challenging than expected, negotiations have still not been finalised. Besides their direct economic consequences, EPAs have also gained higher symbolic status in defining the strategic relationship between Europe and Africa. As a consequence, addressing the remaining technical bottlenecks requires a broader geostrategic perspective, and the required political leadership, both in Europe and Africa, to preserve and strengthen the inter-continental relations.

***International women's day***

NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Female bodies and masculine norms. Challenging gender discourses and the implementation of resolution 1325 in peace operations in Africa**

by Randi Solhjell and Ingvild Magnæs Gjelsvik

11 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This report draws attention to various areas of integrating the agenda of Women, Peace and Security, as well as gender-inclusive approaches to peace operations in Africa. Two examples of peace operations are discussed in detail—the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the AU mission in Somalia—and the inclusion of gender perspectives in the various parts of these operations.



OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

**Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in humanitarian crises**

by Rebecca Holmes and Dharini Bhuvanendra

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

In recent years, international concern over gender-based violence (GBV) in emergencies has grown exponentially. The aim of this paper is to map and critically analyse evidence of good practice in prevention and response to GBV in humanitarian contexts which can support humanitarian practitioners and policy makers to improve the quality of GBV programming in the field.

## **SPECIAL FOCUS - UKRAINE**

CENTRE FOR EU-RUSSIA STUDIES

### **Ukraine's EU integration during the presidency of Victor Yanukovych**

by Elena Kropatcheva

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper looks at Ukraine's EU integration during the Presidency of Victor Yanukovych, with a special focus on EU's policy towards this country. It asks what went wrong and why Victor Yanukovych stepped back at the last minute from signing the Association Agreement with the EU, as was planned during the European Eastern Partnership Summit.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### **Supporting the Ukrainian revolution**

by Andrew Wilson

25 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The EU should support the new Ukrainian government and protect its "European choice". The most urgent challenges the government faces are the financial situation and regional stabilisation. While the EU should, in the long term, re-open negotiations about the Association Agreements, Ukraine needs both emergency economic assistance and radical reform in the meantime. The EU should therefore help fast-track Ukraine towards a new IMF programme and consider immediate bridging assistance. It should also help with constitutional reform and elections.

FUNDACIÓN FAES

### **Ukraine, between Russia and the European Union**

by Mira Milosevich

20 February 2014

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

For Russia, Ukraine is crucial in a historical, psychological and, above all, political, economic and strategic way, says the author. More importantly, Ukraine is a key country for Russia's national security. Recent developments in Ukraine might lead to a civil war and Ukraine's army is the largest in Europe, after the Russian, and can be deployed at any moment. Putin's strategy regarding Ukraine is the same than that regarding other countries of the former Soviet Union: an indirect control. Russia does not intend to govern Ukraine, but it wants a "negative" control: that Ukraine does not do what Russia does not want it to do.

RAZUMKOV CENTRE

### **Ukraine's gas sector development in the context of European integration**

2014

Link to the document in [English and Ukrainian](#)

This study explains how Ukraine's gas sector has long been at a crossroads, wasting its vast unused potential amid growing challenges. Growing cooperation with the EU has given Ukraine additional opportunities for the gas sector development and its European integration. Ukraine can get more benefits from European investments in modernisation of its energy sector, but this will require establishing clear, predictable and fair market rules, and an economically attractive and efficient legal and regulatory framework.

**Second revolution on Euromaidan: what next for Ukraine?**

by Nona Mikhelidze

25 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

The rapid succession of events in Ukraine is impressive but the story is far from over: the state faces an economic crisis and the risk of default; pro-Russian separatism in Crimea threatens the territorial integrity of the country. How should the new government deal with these old challenges and what role could be envisaged for the EU and the US to assist Ukraine in this difficult moment of its statehood?

## REGARDS CROISÉS

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Latvia and Greece: less is more**

by Michael Biggs and Thomas Mayer

12 February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Despite considerable differences, there were also many similarities in economic performance between Latvia and Greece before their respective adjustment crises. This paper argues that this difference was due primarily to developments in credit. In Latvia credit growth fell sharply, and the economy was deleveraging aggressively by 2009. When the pace of deleveraging started to stabilise, the rebound in the credit impulse caused domestic demand growth to recover.