Welcome to issue 22 of the Think Tank Review, compiled by the EU Council Library*. It references papers published in February 2015. As usual, we link to the full text and include a short abstract.

This month's Review has a focus on external action: a whole section gathers publications on Russia; topics range from sanctions (e.g. with a paper on their impact on Spain) to Russia's relations with Germany, Turkey, China, from conservatism in Russia's ideology to Central and Eastern European reactions to the Ukraine crisis. The CEPS / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung report on More Union in European defence was presented in Brussels on 9 March. Other relevant resources from the library were listed in our blog post on the event.

On the institutional side, a paper by a former senior official critically examines the role of the European Council in foreign policy. It calls on the new EU leadership to "significantly upgrade the European Council's role" and "energize the EU's other foreign policy institutions". A more sociological approach to institutions is reflected in a College of Europe paper included in this month's Regards croisés, comparing political paths of EPP and PSE candidates at EP elections in Sweden and France.

On economics, we harvested the habitual range of papers on the banking union, capital markets, pros and cons of the ECB's quantitative easing, debt targets and the balanced budget rule, and more.

Thomas Piketty's book continues to trigger debate, see the collection of (mostly critical) essays on the book by the UK think tank Policy Network. On inequality, the notion at the heart of Piketty's book, we also feature an article by Caritas Europa and one by Friends of Europe. A Fabian Society paper looks at inequality in the UK.

On a related matter, a specific aspect of how the crisis impacted European societies is analysed in the IPPR's survey of employee progression in European labour markets. Polarisation between low and high skills on the job market is also the subject of a report by the French Institut Montaigne.

The start of a new institutional cycle is still reflected in publications, for example with the release of a wave of reports on global societal trends to 2030 by RAND Europe, drafted within the European Strategy and Policy Analysis System (ESPAS). Also see the Transatlantic Academy's report on the 'State of the Transatlantic World', but also the SWP's call for a geopolitical Neubeginn with a view to Germany's OSCE presidency in 2016. In the background, papers by Clingendael and Egmont address the notions of world order and bipolarity vs. multipolarity.

* This collection of links and abstracts was compiled by the Central Library of the General Secretariat of the EU Council for information only. The contents linked are the sole responsibility of its authors. Publications linked from this review do not represent the positions, policies, or opinions of the Council of the European Union or the European Council.
The Review can be downloaded from our informal blog. As always, feedback is welcome at central.library@consilium.europa.eu.

The next Review will be out in April 2015, with papers published in March.

For readers from outside the General Secretariat, the Central Library is in the Justus Lipsius building, at JL 02 GH, Rue de la Loi 175, 1048 Brussels. It is open to Council officials, staff of other EU institutions and Permanent Representations of Member States. Members of the public may use the library for research purposes.
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SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

Carnegie Europe

Are prime ministers taking over EU foreign policy?

by Stefan Lehne @StefanLehne
16 February 2015
Link to the article in English (26 p.)

An analysis by Austrian diplomat and former Council Secretariat official Stefan Lehne of the emergence of prime ministers as the central foreign policy actors. In fact the European Council is now the leading actor in EU foreign policy making, but, according to the author, it lacks coherence and ambition.

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

Resetting EU external action: potential and constraints

by Nicole Koenig
3 February 2015
Link to the article in English (20 p.) and in French (20 p.)

The appointment of new leaders at the top of the European institutions in 2014 and the ambitious review calendar for 2015 have raised expectations that the EU will finally ‘get real’ about its common foreign policy. This paper puts these expectations into perspective and formulates recommendations for more coherent, efficient, and strategic external action.

Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

European Central Bank decision-making – reform, old commitments and new realities. Adoption of the euro by Lithuania changes the ECB’s decision-making model

by Anda Patarau
February 2015
Link to the article in English (5 p.)

New decision-making rules apply to the ECB from 1 January 2015, the day Lithuania adopted the euro. According to the new rules Governors will take turns to vote, on a monthly basis according to a schedule agreed two years ahead, in the Governing Council of the ECB. The new model tries to simplify governance, reinforces the ECB’s Executive Board and increases the representation of large countries with respect to small, all of which can be considered a progress.
RAND Europe presents in this beginning of 2015 a series of reports on global societal trends and their impact on the EU in 2030. This analysis was carried out within the framework of the European Strategy and Policy Analysis System (ESPAS).

A growing and ageing population - Thematic report 1  
by Benoit Guerin, Stijn Hoorens @StijnHoorens, Dmitry Khodyakov and Ohid Yaqub @OhidYaqub  
Link to the article in English (55 p.)

Education, technology and connectedness - Thematic report 2  
by Veronika Horvath @HorvathVero, Jeremy J. Ghez, Dmitry Khodyakov and Ohid Yaqub  
Link to the article in English (61 p.)

Individual empowerment - Thematic report 3  
by Marlon Graf, Jeremy J. Ghez, Dmitry Khodyakov and Ohid Yaqub  
Link to the article in English (64 p.)

Evolving patterns and impacts of migration - Thematic report 4  
by Svitlana Kobzar @skobzar, Tess Hellgren, Stijn Hoorens, Dmitry Khodyakov and Ohid Yaqub  
Link to the article in English (63 p.)

Employment and the changing labour market - Thematic report 5  
by Barbara Janta, Nora Ratzmann, Jeremy J. Ghez, Dmitry Khodyakov and Ohid Yaqub  
Link to the article in English (69 p.)

The rise of a global middle class - Thematic report 6  
by Samuel Drabble, Nora Ratzmann, Stijn Hoorens, Dmitry Khodyakov and Ohid Yaqub  
Link to the article in English (63 p.)

Demos

Populism and its moral siblings  
by Elisabeth Wehling, Jamie Bartlett @JamieJBartlett and Richard Norrie  
February 2015  
Link to the article in English (60 p.)

To better understand the nature of European populism, this study moves beyond policy stances and investigates the moral worldviews of populist followers, by using the moral politics questionnaires, which measure endorsement of a conservative Strict Father and progressive Nurturant Parent worldview.
SECTION 2 - ECONOMICS

Peterson Institute for International Economics

*Debt sustainability and economic convergence of euro area Member States: Challenges and Solutions*

by Paolo Mauro
24 February 2015
Link to the article in English (24 p.)

Briefing submitted in advance of the Economic Dialogue with the President of the Eurogroup at the request of the Economic and Monetary Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

Policy Exchange

*The central contradiction of capitalism? A collection of essays on Capital in the Twenty-First Century*

by Geoffrey Wood and Steve Hughes @sc_hughes (eds.)
2015
Link to the article in English (87 p.)

Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* is easily the most talked about economics book of the last year, if not the decade. At its heart is the idea that capitalism contains a central contradiction: without government intervention to address the gap, the higher savings of the rich will lead to the wealthy getting ever wealthier. Nearly every major economist has weighed into debates on the book's central equation ("r>g"), data and policy implications. This essay collection collates assessments of Piketty's work, and publishes some new ones for the first time.

SAFE - Sustainable Architecture for Finance in Europe

*Austerity and growth – concepts for Europe*

by Alfons J. Weichenrieder @AlfonsJ64
4 February 2015
Link to the article in English (40 p.)

The SAFE Research Center issued a call for papers on the relationship between austerity, debt sustainability and growth. Each of the five funded projects brought forth an academic paper and a shortened, non-technical policy brief. The policy papers are presented in this collection.

Greece: threatening recovery

by Alfons J. Weichenrieder @AlfonsJ64
20 February 2015
Link to the article in English (6 p.)

A compact review of six years of economic adjustment in Greece, concluding that there are clear signs that the deterioration came to a halt in 2014, but raising doubts on the priorities of the government.
Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

*Grexit? Beware of slippery slopes*

by Jörg Haas  
16 February 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

This paper confirms the legal difficulties for a Member State to leave EMU and the legal impossibility for the EU to expel a Member State. However, certain chains of events could lead to a situation in which Greece would introduce a parallel currency alongside the euro, finds the author.

Centre for European Reform

*Annual report 2014 - Three challenges for Europe - The CER’s work on economics - The CER’s work on foreign and defence policy*

by Charles Grant [@CER_Grant](#), Simon Tilford [@SimonTilford](#) and Ian Bond [@CER_IanBond](#)  
2 February 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

Charles Grant discusses three challenges facing the EU in 2015: the combined problems of Russia and Ukraine; the continuing fragility of the eurozone; and the growing risk that Britain will leave the EU. There is also an article on the CER's work on economics last year, and another on CER's work on foreign policy.

Centre for European Policy Studies / European Capital Markets Institute

*Which Union for Europe's capital markets?*

by Karel Lannoo [@karellannoo](#)  
13 February 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

Despite years of harmonising regulation and a single currency, Europe's capital markets remain fragmented. This paper calls for targeted measures to overcome fragmentation, through enhanced enforcement, strengthening of the European supervisory authorities, enhanced disclosure and comparability of financial information and the mobilisation savings in EU-wide investment funds.

Bruegel

*Euro-area governance: what to reform and how to do it*

by Guntram B. Wolff [@GuntramWolff](#) and André Sapir  
27 February 2015  
Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

This paper argues that the euro-area governance needs to move beyond the improvements brought about by Banking Union and should establish institutions to prevent divergences of wages from productivity. It also argues that in the short term, domestic demand needs to be increased in surplus countries, while in deficit countries, structural reform needs to reduce past divergences.
Adam Smith Institute

The real problem was nominal: the crash of 2008

by Scott Sumner
9 February 2015
Link to the article in English (35 p.)

The paper argues that eurozone quantitative easing will not reverse the eurozone’s decline unless it is open-ended and tied more explicitly to the ECB’s inflation target. Targeting nominal GDP - the total amount of spending in the economy, also known as aggregate demand - would be even better, the paper argues, guaranteeing more stability when unexpected supply-side shocks like oil price movements make inflation targeting trickier.

Centre for European Policy Studies

State aid to banks and credit for SMEs: is there a need for conditionality?

by Rym Ayadi @Rymayadi, Willem Pieter De Groen and Peter Thyri
16 February 2015
Link to the article in English (108 p.)

This study for the EP Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs assesses whether lending to small- and medium-sized enterprises could and should be one of the conditions for a bank to qualify to receive State aid. The assessment consists of a legal and an economic part. In the legal part the possibilities to apply the conditionality to State aid are explored. The economic part consists of a qualitative and quantitative assessment at both the member state- and bank level.

LUISS School of European Political Economy

Is a debt target for the EMU feasible?

by Paolo Canofari @PaoloCanofari and Piero Esposito
2 February 2015
Link to the article in English (6 p.)

This note aims to assess the economic feasibility of a EMU-wide debt rule by quantifying, on the one hand, the amount of resources freed by the application of the balanced budget rule in Germany and, on the other, the additional costs for Greece and the other high debt countries in the EMU arising from a relaxation of the country-specific debt target.

Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln (Cologne Institute for Economic Research)

Bankenregulierung und die Folgen für die Immobilienwirtschaft

by Heide Haas
20 February 2015
Link to the article in German (26 p.)

Since 2008, the southern European countries are starting to show evidence that the structural reforms have contributed to greater wage and price flexibility and improved growth and employment prospects; they reduced the heterogeneity of the euro countries and facilitated structural change, in return increasing the functionality of the Monetary Union, maintains the author.
An assessment of structural reforms in the stressed euro area countries and their relevance for growth and for EMU

by Jürgen Matthes
10 February 2015
Link to the article in English (26 p.) and in German (34 p.)

Substantial structural reforms have been taken on labour and product markets by stressed euro area countries since 2008. These reforms can raise the growth potential in the respective countries and to improve the functioning of EMU. In the context of the optimum currency area debate, it is argued that structural reforms have reduced the heterogeneity between euro area countries in terms of market rigidities. Moreover, wage and price flexibility will be enhanced. In fact, first signs can be detected that wage flexibility has already increased in southern euro area countries.

Does the ECB’s unconventional monetary policy endanger the exit from the current low interest rate environment?

by Markus Demary and Michael Hüther
26 February 2015
Link to the article in English (22 p.) and in German (22 p.)

The transformation of the economy led to a polarization of the labour market. Greater benefits for highly skilled and forced change to more precarious service and less well paid jobs for less skilled population. These developments are found in many countries; however, the reaction of States to these transformations differs.
SECTION 3 - EU MEMBER STATES

BELGIUM

Belgium Defence

The future of Belgian defence: horizon 2030

27 February 2015
Link to the article in Dutch, French and English (106 p.)

14 essays commissioned by the Belgian ministry of Defence.

BULGARIA

European Policies Initiative

Visions for Europe: the Bulgarian perspective of the European priorities

2014
Link to the article in English (116 p.)

The purpose of this publication is to present the Bulgarian perspective of Juncker's priorities laid down in his ambitious agenda for the future of the EU as interpreted in the context of the major geopolitical and socio-economic challenges, while highlighting the role of democracy and citizens' participation in decision-making and achieving sustainable outcomes. Thirteen Bulgarian experts share views on the progress in areas and policies where EU can play a significant role.

DENMARK

Center for Politiske Studier (Center for political studies)

Hvad vil det koste at blive fossilfri? [How much will it cost to become independent from fossil fuels?]

by Otto Brøns-Petersen @OttoBrons
25 February 2015
Link to the article in Danish (10 p.)

The Danish government has set an ambitious target of weaning Denmark off fossil fuels by 2050. The author warns of possible negative economic consequences.

Centre for European Policy Studies

Extending working lives: the case of Denmark

by Mikkel Barslund @mBarslund
17 February 2015
Link to the article in English (29 p.)

This document investigates policy initiatives to keep older workers in employment in Denmark. The author discusses aspects such as health, lifelong learning, and age management practices in companies, arguing that, overall, Denmark is in a relatively good state when it comes to older workers' labour market participation and related job satisfaction.
FINLAND

Eläketurvakeskus (Finnish Centre for Pensions)

Laskelmia vuoden 2017 työeläkeuudistuksen vaikutuksista [Projections on the effects of the 2017 earnings-related pension reform]

by Mikko Kautto @Mikko_Kautto and Ismo Risku
February 2015
Link to the article in Finnish (124 p.)

This report assesses the effects of the 2017 pension reform on retirement, working lives and pensions, as well as on pension expenditure and contributions.

FRANCE

Fondation pour l'innovation politique

L'islam et les valeurs de la République

by Saad Khiari
February 2014
Link to the article in French (48 p.)

An essay by author and film-maker Saad Khiari, an expert on Algerian independence, on the balance of individual and public interest in the French republican tradition. This note is the sixth of the new series of studies of the Fondation pour l'innovation politique titled, "Valeurs d'islam".

Institut Montaigne

Rallumer la télévision - 10 propositions pour faire rayonner l'audiovisuel français

by Xavier Couture @xavercouture, Thierry Jadot @thierryjadot and Natalie Rastoin @NatalieRastoin
February 2015
Link to the article in French (47 p.)

The golden age of French television is gone, pushed by two forces that weaken the dissemination of French culture: global competition and the multiplication of distribution channels through the Internet. This report makes ten proposals to allow the French audio-visual sector to thrive in France and on international markets.

Marché du travail : la grande fracture

by Sylvain Catherine @sc_cath, Augustin Landier @augustinlandier and David Thesmar @dthesmar
February 2015
Link to the article in French (60 p.)

This study analyses the polarization induced by technological progress, between highly skilled jobs on the one hand, and service jobs, more precarious and less well paid, on the other hand. It also questions the conditions for job creation in a post-industrial economy.
Defence and military cooperation between Poland and France has never been so intense since the 1920s. French fighter jets were deployed to Poland in order to back-up NATO's air policing mission. The cooperation between special forces and reconnaissance units also flourished. In the defence industry dimension, France has developed a comprehensive proposal for involving Polish defence businesses fully in European armaments cooperation. However, big divergences remain. The two countries have different strategic priorities: Poland is focused on territorial defence and not eager to take part in missions in Africa. Also, the Mistral dossier is still unsettled. From the defence industry point of view, France approaches defence with market logic, whereas Poland sees it as a vital part of national defence.

PORTUGAL

Bertelsmann Stiftung

The Portuguese economic crisis: policies and outcomes

by Pedro Portugal
18 February 2015
Link to the article in English (24 p.)

Portugal's recovery offers lessons that can be learned for EU policy-makers and this social policy paper offers some of them namely: 1) to include labour market reforms in any adjustment programme; 2) to monitor closely wage-setting systems; 3) to cut the tax burden on labour input; and 4) to increase (European) support for low wage earners.

ROMANIA

Expert-Grup

Despre cum se pierd banii publici: Sinteza Rapoartelor Curții de Conturi Fondul de subvenționare a producătorilor agricoli și Fondul pentru Eficiență Energetică în 2013 [How public money is lost: Court of Auditors reports on farm subsidy energy efficiency funds in 2013]

by Tatiana Savva
February 2015
Link to the article in Romanian (20 p.)

This paper by the Romanian Expert Group presents the results of a study launched together with the Soros Foundation, to monitor the reports issued by the Court of auditors relating in particular to subsidies for farmers and the Energy Efficiency Fund in 2013. One of the main findings of the reports done by the Court is that the distribution of grants is discriminatory, largely because of the absence of clear regulation for granting them.
It is quite possible that there will be a referendum on whether Britain should leave the EU in the next few years. However, few people have well-formed views on what they believe should happen if we leave the EU. How should the objective of free trade be promoted? What approach should be taken to regulation? What political and economic relationships should be formed with other countries? In this document, expert authors deal with these questions, and others, from different perspectives, all proposing radical but different solutions to how Britain should leave the EU should it choose to do so.

ResPublica

Restoring Britain's city states: devolution, public service reform and local economic growth

by Phillip Blond @Phillip_Blond and Mark Morrin
February 2015
Link to the article in English (72 p.)

This report argues for the fullest possible devolution of public spending and tax raising powers to the UK's largest cities and city regions. It calls for a rebalancing of the relationship between central government and cities, as the only real solution for addressing the interconnected challenges of local economic growth, public service reform and better governance. The report offers a roadmap for city-based devolution.

Policy Network

Mutual endeavour: winning support for a 21st century NHS

by Patrick Diamond @PatrickDiamond1, Frank Field @frankfieldteam and Jonathan Todd @Jonathan_Todd
February 2015
Link to the article in English (8 p.)

Policy proposals on the UK National Health Service, addressed to the Labour party by the progressive Policy Network. The paper presents polling data which indicates why the public may respond differently to an increase in national insurance contributions as opposed to an income tax rise, and argues that Labour could make serious inroads into the Tory vote were it to adopt the proposals in this paper.

Demos

British aisles

by Ally Paget @AllyPaget
February 2015
Link to the article in English (100 p.)

A report on food poverty, with a survey of some 45 models of more sustainable 'community supermarket' across the UK, the rest of Europe, Australia, Canada and the US. The report recommends an ambitious target for the government to halve the number of food banks by 2020, instead supporting community supermarkets.
Fabian Society

Inequality 2030

by Andrew Harrop @andrew_harrop and Howard Reed @HowardRReed
February 2015
Link to the article in English (28 p.)

This report presents the findings of a quantitative assessment of the prospects for living standards and inequality over the coming years, using new modelling based on projections from the Office for Budget Responsibility and the Office for National Statistics. It shows that plausible and affordable government intervention can make a massive difference to the living standards of typical households and to future levels of poverty.

Values added

by Daisy Srblin @DCSrblin
February 2015
Link to the article in English (38 p.)

In a crucial election year, tax is on the agenda for both the Conservatives and Labour. But inevitably the campaign conversation crowds out the bigger questions about why tax matters and whether our system is fit for purpose. Some 15 years ago, the Fabian Society's Commission on Tax and Citizenship, argued that taxpayers need to feel better 'connected' to their taxes and to the public services which they finance. Revisiting this core concept, this paper explores the values and principles of taxation with the aim of encouraging renewed debate.
SECTION 4 - EU POLICIES

JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS

Utrikespolitiska Institutet (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

*European Union and the geopolitics of migration*

by Roderick Parkes @RoderickParkes

February 2015

Link to the article in English (53 p.)

The author argues that US-led globalisation, as an organising principle of world politics, is losing its hold. This has triggered competition to promote alternative units and modes of power. Migration, as a culturally and ideologically-loaded form of cross-border interaction, has become a particularly strong vector in this reshuffle. This paper charts the challenges facing the EU in the field of migration, and suggests how Brussels might promote its own form of order.

Vrije Universiteit Brussel - Institute for European Studies

*The Schengen governance package – another missed opportunity?*

by Markéta Novotná

February 2015

Link to the article in English (4 p.)

This paper aims to analyse how the 2014 'Schengen Governance Package', which alters the rules of the Schengen co-operation, was developed and to assess whether it represents a suitable response to the conflict and difficulties within the Schengen agreement. It argues that the Governance Package only touches on one part of the problem, namely border controls, whereas it does not deal with solidarity and burden-sharing and hence represents another missed opportunity to improve cooperation in the Schengen Area.

European Union Centre in Singapore

*EU policies on mixed migration flows in the Mediterranean sea*

by Julia Gour

February 2015

Link to the article in English (18 p.)

This background paper provides an overview of the existing EU policies on asylum seekers and in addressing irregular migration, and some of the actions which Member States take when confronted with continuous flows of irregular migrants. It concludes that the EU should de-link the rescue of irregular migrants from security concerns, provide a legal basis which offers protection to irregular migrants, and create a transparent working environment in which Member States are better able to support each other.
Fondazione Ismu-Iniziative e Studi sulla Multietnicità (Initiatives and Studies on Multietnicity)

Evidence on migrants' integration in Europe

by Guia Gilardoni @GuiaGilardoni, Marina D'Odorico @MarinaDOdorico and Daniela Carrillo @DNL_Carrillo (eds.)
February 2015
Link to the article in English (117 p.)

The final report of the KING Project – Knowledge for INtegration Governance concerns integration policies and governance in Europe, as analysed in the course of the multidisciplinary research that saw the participation of more than 40 researchers across Europe. The report provides a series of policy-recommendations to enhance integration at the national and local level.

European Policy Centre

EU labour migration policy by other means? The potential impact of EU economic governance reforms on labour migration policymaking

by Yves Pascouau @YPascouau
February 2015
Link to the article in English (15 p.)

Over the last 15 years, Member States have been quite reluctant to address labour migration at EU level. There are currently no strong signs of a move towards a greater management of labour migration policy at EU level. However, Yves Pascouau argues in this paper that the deadlock may be broken as new policy tools are developed in the area of economic governance. More precisely, he underlines that recipes adopted to overcome the euro crisis may well have an impact on labour migration issues. As a consequence, this could initiate a coordination process which was not called for by home affairs decision-makers.

Migration Policy Institute

Improving migrants' labour market integration in Europe from the outset: a cooperative approach to predeparture measures

by Maria Vincenza Desiderio and Kate Hooper
February 2015
Link to the article in English (24 p.)

This policy brief reviews pre-departure measures for labour market integration that are jointly designed or run by origin- and destination-country actors. Thus far, most of these agreements have been largely ineffective in meeting job-matching and other integration objectives, due to implementation challenges. A more innovative approach would be to strengthen structural cooperation between origin and destination countries in broader policy areas, particularly in establishing skills partnerships in the areas of education and vocational training and on the mutual recognition of qualifications.

Understanding transnational dynamics in European immigrant integration policy

by Paul Clewett
February 2015
Link to the article in English (13 p.)

This policy brief explores the transnational dynamics at work behind the scenes of integration policy, including wider socio-political factors in origin and destination countries that can make identifying successful integration policies difficult. It also examines the relative effect of origin- and destination-country factors on integration outcomes, and treats the origin country as an integration actor that actively or passively supports—or hinders—integration outcomes for its nationals.
abroad. The brief argues for the importance of coordinating with and engaging sending countries as equal partners in the integration process in order to ensure that policy changes in one place do not negatively impact initiatives from another.

*Migrant education and community inclusion: examples of good practice*

by Rafael Berger Sacramento
February 2015
Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

This paper outlines examples of initiatives that promote engagement of immigrant families and communities in formal education.

*Reducing the risk that youth with a migrant background in Europe will leave school early*

by Ward Neuwen, Noel Clycq and Daniela Uličná
February 2015
Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

This brief discusses findings and measures that may help address the high level of early school leaving among youth with a migrant background. Actions should also build on the social and cultural capital available in migrant communities, rather than only seeking to compensate for presumed deficiencies in migrant households.

*Group for Legal and Political Studies*

*Who are the Kosovars most willing to migrate to EU countries? – A study on migration of Kosovars*

by Arbëresha Loxha and Delfinë Elshani
24 February 2015
Link to the article in [English](#) (27 p.)

This analysis includes a quantitative assessment based on the data provided by the Kosovo European Perspective Questionnaire (2014) and the characteristics that affect the growth of citizens' willingness to migrate. Furthermore, it provides a list of concrete recommendations for the Kosovo Government to mitigate this trend of citizen migration towards EU countries. Migration is considered to be a costly process, especially the illegal migration. Therefore, with the recent migration, Kosovo is exporting wealth and as a result this is an impoverishing process for the country.

*Centrum für Europäische Politik (Centre for European Policy)*

*Potential der Blue Card besser nutzen : Vier Reformvorschläge für eine erleichterte Zuwanderung Hochqualifizierter*

by Klaus-Dieter Sohn [@hans_sohn](#) and Sebastian Czuratis
February 2015
Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.) and in [German](#) (15 p.)

A review of the effectiveness of existing EU law on rules on the immigration to the EU of highly qualified employees will take place by April 2015. This article looks at the question of whether and to what extent the Blue Card is used by highly qualified people from non-EU countries. It then considers whether the provisions on the Blue Card should be revised, to make Europe more attractive to migrants.
Centre for European Policy Studies

The criminalisation of irregular migration in the European Union

by Mark Provera
2 February 2015
Link to the article in English (53 p.)

This paper analyses EU law and its relationship with national provisions regarding the criminalization of irregular migration and of acts of solidarity with them. It surveys the nature and extent of penalties imposed by Member States and concludes that there is an important role for public trust in immigration law compliance, not just in measures directed towards irregular migrants but also towards those acting in solidarity with irregular migrants.

The EU counter-terrorism policy responses to the attacks in Paris: towards an EU Security and Liberty Agenda

by Didier Bigo, Evelien Brouwer, Sergio Carrera, Elspeth Guild, Emmanuel-Pierre Guittet, Julien Jeandesboz @ijeandesboz, Francesco Ragazzi @fragazzi and Amandine Scherrer @Scherrer_A
9 February 2015
Link to the article in English (21 p.)

This paper examines the main EU-level initiatives put forward in the weeks following the attacks in Paris in January 2015, which was discussed in the informal European Council meeting of 12 February 2015. It argues that a majority of these proposals pre-dated the Paris shootings and had until that point proved contentious as regards their efficacy, legitimacy and lawfulness. The paper finds that EU counterterrorism responses raise two fundamental challenges: a first challenge is posed to the freedom of movement, Schengen and EU citizenship and a second challenge concerns EU democratic rule of law.

TRANSPORT/TELECOMMUNICATIONS/ENERGY

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Transition énergétique : une opportunité nouvelle pour la coopération franco-allemande?

by Andreas Rüdinger
February 2015
Link to the article in French (10 p.)

This paper is the French translation of the original German version published and included in our selection in September 2014.

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

EU and NATO's role in tackling energy security and state capture risks in Europe

February 2015
Link to the article in English (20 p.)

This paper by the Bulgarian Center for the Study of Democracy notes that the Crimean crisis and the continuing instability in Eastern Ukraine have turned into a rude wake up call for Europe's energy security vulnerabilities. Russia pressured governments to support its flagship project, South Stream, at the expense of the countries' long-term strategy to diversify their natural gas supply and in defiance of EU's strategy for building a liberalised common market.
Foundation for European Progressive Studies

Energy Union: new energy for the EU

by Greg Arrowsmith and Charlotte Billingham @Charlotte_billi
18 February 2015
Link to the article in English (62 p.)

This report by the political foundation FEPS offers recommendations on the Energy Union Strategy, around six priorities: 1. Take international climate objectives seriously; 2. Diversify from fossil fuels; 3. Prioritise energy efficiency as the first fuel for Europe; 4. Give credibility to renewables; 5. Reform the Emissions Trading Scheme; and, 6. Energy Union super-fund.

NorthSeaGrid

Final policy brief of the NorthSeaGrid project

6 February 2015
Link to the article in English (30 p.)

Wind power and cross-border transmission lines - or 'interconnectors' - will become two key pillars of Europe's electricity system to meet the EU's low-carbon targets cost effectively. Interconnectors improve security of supply and reduce the need for back-up power because they balance the intermittency of wind. Integrated offshore grid solutions represent economic, environmental and technical advantages for Europe's power system that in some cases may outweigh the costs of investment.

Centre for European Reform

State aid for energy: climate action is more important than the single market

by Stephen Tindale @STindale
23 February 2015
Link to the article in English (8 p.)

The objectives of deepening the EU single market for energy and protecting the climate can conflict. Where they do, the European Commission should give priority to decarbonisation. Its 2014 guidelines on state aid and energy strike the right balance, according to this paper. Low-carbon energy is still more expensive than high-carbon coal. So subsidy is necessary, not only to support new technologies like carbon capture and storage or tidal power, but also to expand nuclear power. The EC has done well on the UK's application for nuclear state aid. But its clearance of new subsidies to coal power stations was, according to this policy brief, wrong and should be reversed. Further insights by the author on energy matters you be found here, concerning the Energy Union Package.

Centrum für Europäische Politik (Centre for European Policy)

EU climate and energy policy 2030: comments on an evolving framework

by Moritz Bonn, Nadine Heitmann, Götz Reichert and Jan S. Voßwinkel
18 February 2015
Link to the article in English (16 p.)

In October 2014, the European Council agreed on the future EU climate and energy policy 2021-2030. The new framework includes three key targets, who's design is analysed in this paper. These targets will form the basis for more specific legislative measures by the EU in the years to come and their effective implementation shall be ensured jointly by the European Commission and the
Member States within a new governance system, which is also analysed in this paper as well as the query over the legal implications of the European Council’s definition of its own role in the further elaboration of the EU climate and energy policy.

**Completing the Internal Energy Market**

by Moritz Bonn and Götz Reichert
February 2015
Link to the article in English (4 p.) and in German (4 p.)

This CEP factsheet assesses Commission communication COM(2014) 634 on progress towards completing the internal energy market. As part of EUs efforts to complete the internal market for electricity and gas, the EU is pursuing three objectives (see page 47 in CEP’s analysis from November) and the Commission proposes additional measures.

**Lisbon Council for Economic Competitiveness and Social Renewal**

*The 2015 energy Productivity and Economic Prosperity Index*

by Kornelis Blok @KornelisBlok, Paul Hofheinz @PaulHofheinz and John Kerkhoven
17 February 2015
Link to the article in English (60 p.)

The International Energy Agency assumes that the global economy will continue growing at 3,6% per year in coming decades, putting added strains on the earth's already limited natural resources and energy supplies. However, the efficiency and productivity with which we use energy is also improving steadily. This brief argues that Europe could double its energy productivity performance on the basis of existing technologies. This High Energy-Productivity Growth Scenario would not only bring no appreciable reduction in lifestyle and prosperity; it would actually add to life quality by freeing up resources for health, recreation and education.

**Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Foundation for Eastern Studies)**

*Naftowy impuls. Gospodarka Niemiec a spadek cen ropy naftowej [Oil impulse. German economy and the fall of oil prices]*

by Konrad Popławski
2 February 2015
Link to the article in Polish (7 p.)

A view from Poland of the impact of lower oil prices on the German economy. In a difficult moment for the German economy, due to sanctions on Russia and a deteriorating economic situation in important export markets like China, low fuel prices boosted competitiveness. The risk of a slowdown in economic growth, forecasted in October, did not materialize. On the other hand, a decrease in German exports to oil-producing countries like Russia is expected. Another negative effect in a slowdown in the energy transition in Germany.

**EMPLOYMENT/SOCIAL POLICY/HEALTH/CONSUMER AFFAIRS**

**Institute for Public Policy Research**

*Employee progression in European labour markets*

by Spencer Thompson @sthompson20 and Izzy Hatfield @izzyhatfield
6 February 2015
Link to the article in English (36 p.)

Employee progression offers routes out of in-work poverty, job insecurity and involuntary underemployment, and is a means of fulfilling unmet skills needs. This report explores how rates of
in-work progression vary across European economies, and its impacts on career pathways and the supply of skilled workers.

**Caritas Europa**

*Poverty and inequalities on the rise: just social models needed as the solution!*

by Ann Leahy, Séan Healy @seanhealy2000 and Michelle Murphy
February 2015
Link to the article in English (96 p.)

Respect for human dignity is a founding principle of the EU, whose aims include promoting full employment and social progress, combating social exclusion and discrimination and promoting social justice and social protection, anyway poverty and inequalities are increasing in Europe. 123 million EU citizens are living in poverty, almost 1 in 4. This report studies the impact of the crisis and austerity on people, with a special focus on Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Romania and Spain.

**Friends of Europe**

*Unequal Europe: recommendations for a more caring EU*

23 February 2015
Link to the article in English (21 p.)

This report sets out to assess the strengths as well as the weaknesses of the social policies that have been fundamental to the creation of the EU itself. On the basis of these findings, it recommends to the new European Commission and the EU institutions as a whole actions both to reaffirm Europe's social principles and to address its competitiveness goals.

**Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies**

*A giant step backwards? opinion 2/13 on the EU's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights*

by Jed Odermatt @jedodermatt
February 2015
Link to the article in English (17 p.)

In 2013, the EU and the Council of Europe finalised a draft agreement for the EU accession to the ECHR. Before the EU could accede, however, the European Court of Justice had to decide whether the agreement was in conformity with EU law. The ECJ delivered Opinion 2/134, in which it found that the agreement was not compatible with EU law, finding that in many ways the Accession Agreement would violate the autonomy of the EU legal order. This paper examines the ECJ's findings and suggests steps that could be taken by the EU in order to accede to the Convention.

**INDUSTRY**

**Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies**

*Towards an EU Industrial Policy for the Space Sector*

by Rik Hansen @Rik_Hansen and Jan Wouters
February 2015
Link to the article in English (24 p.)

Both the EU 2020 agenda and the Commission Communication on industrial policy recognize the potential that the space sector holds as a driver for innovation and growth, while acknowledging the specific economic characteristics of the space market. At a lower level, industrial policy in the
space sector also serves the purpose of creating a solid industrial base for European space activities with a sufficient measure of competitiveness. In spite of diverging accents between the Commission and the member states of ESA and the EU, there is significant overlap in their opinions of what the goals of such a space industrial policy should be.

ENVIRONMENT

Oxford Institute for Energy Studies

Paris 2015: just a first step

by David Robinson
February 2015
Link to the article in English (12 p.)

The 20th session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework on Climate Change (COP 20) recently concluded in Lima, Peru. It was the last COP before the Paris Climate Change Conference, to be held in December 2015, when the parties are expected to sign a universal agreement that would take effect from 2020. The first part of this article explains the pessimism about reaching a meaningful agreement in Paris, with a particular focus on mitigation. Part two summarizes the reasons why an agreement is widely anticipated in spite of this pessimism. Part three identifies some of the key negotiation issues that will determine the level of ambition, the structure of the agreement and, indeed, whether there will be any agreement at all. Finally, part four identifies some of the initiatives that are required to bridge the gap between the mitigation called for by the science and the pledges that are expected in Paris.
SECTION 5 - EXTERNAL RELATIONS

SECURITY AND DEFENCE

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Nothing new in hybrid warfare: the Estonian experience and recommendations for NATO

by Merle Maigre @MerleMaigre
12 February 2015
Link to the article in English (8 p.)

This paper describes current and historic thinking about hybrid warfare, arguing that hybrid tactics are not as new as it often may seem. Based on Estonia's example, it outlines some counter-action activities that can be initiated at the national level. Finally, it suggests action NATO could take against the hybrid threat during the time between the summits in Wales and Warsaw in 2014 and 2016.

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

#Wir sind nicht Charlie: Differenzierte Reaktionen von Muslimen auf die Anschläge von Paris und die Gefahr kollektiver Schuldzuweisungen

by Jannis Grimm
February 2015
Link to the article in German (8 p.)

After the Paris attack there was an unprecedented demonstration of solidarity with the victims by Muslims around the world. But the images of the protest all around the world against the new issue of Charlie Hebdo impressed us more. This perception strengthens negative associations between Islam and violence and anti Islamic resentment that further alienates Islamic communities and so helps recruiting radicals.

Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

España en el conflicto Unión europea-Rusia: el impacto de las sanciones

by Antonio Sánchez Andrés and Nicolás de Pedro @nicolasdepedro
February 2015
Link to the article in Spanish (5 p.)

This article analyses the impact of sanctions against Russia and political relations between Spain and Russia in 2015. The authors say that Spain understands Moscow to a large extent but does not appear to get any significant benefit of this positioning. While the impact of sanctions has been moderate, Spanish diplomacy attempts to maintain a balance between Berlin and Moscow.

Bertelsmann Stiftung

The EU neighbourhood in shambles: some recommendations for a new European neighbourhood strategy

by Rosa Balfour @RosaBalfour, David Gow, Katharina Barié, Christian-Peter Hanelt, Gabriele Schöler, Christiane Weidenfeld and Stefani Weiss @WeissStefani
26 February 2015
Link to the article in English (16 p.)

If the whole review of a new European neighbourhood strategy is to be meaningful, EU institutions must be given centrality in moving the process forward. According to the authors the Commission, (in charge of ENP) and the European Council (in charge of CFSP) have to work hand in hand and
the Member States must be fully involved. This paper offers inputs on ways forward to deal with the review of the ENP strategy in order to forge a genuine Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Centre for European Policy Studies / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

More Union in European defence

by Steven Blockmans and Giovanni Faleg @gioFALEG
26 February 2015
Link to the article in English (34 p.)

This report aims to provide Member States and the EU institutions with the narrative to strengthen defence cooperation in the EU, in the face of emergencies in the EU's strategic neighbourhood and ever-present security threats. The report is a record of the deliberations over several months between high-level experts in the field of European security and defence, who conclude that the Treaty of Lisbon demands and permits a great deal more in terms of our common security and defence activities. Ultimately, in the view of the Task Force experts, further integration should amount to a European Defence Union.

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations) / European Centre for Development Policy Management

A world without order?

by Jan Rood, Frans-Paul van der Putten and Minke Meijnders @Minke_M
February 2015
Link to the article in English (21 p.) and in Dutch (22 p.)

This report argues that the world order is faltering and the power shift is continuing. Regional instability is increasing and tensions between the great powers are rising. Cooperation, whether or not in a multilateral context, is proceeding with difficulty.

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

Multipolar myths and unipolar fantasies

by Goedele De Keersmaeker
18 February 2015
Link to the article in English (7 p.)

Is the world becoming multipolar or will it remain unipolar? Analysts disagree, but it might be that this does not matter too much and that we better skip polarity terminology altogether.

European Centre for Development Policy Management

Avant la lettre? The EU's comprehensive approach (to crises) in the Sahel

by Damien Helly @DamienHelly and Greta Galeazzi @greta_gale
February 2015
Link to the article in English (13 p.)

The EU Sahel Strategy pre-dated the efforts on the Comprehensive Approach. This paper argues that the Comprehensive Approach is already being applied to a significant extent in the Sahel: in that sense what already works should be seen as good practice. More structural shortcomings in EU's external action as well as external variables explain cases of lack of comprehensiveness.
GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGY

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

Die gesamteuropäische Ordnung vor einer Zäsur – drei Leitlinien für einen Neubeginn

by Markus Kaim, Hanns Maull and Kirsten Westphal
February 2015
Link to the article in German (8 p.)

A new order based on predictability and confidence needs to be built. This should be a focus of the German presidency of OSCE in 2016, according to the authors.

Transatlantic Academy

The state of the transatlantic world 2015

24 February 2015
Link to the article in English (99 p.)

This paper assembles essays from current and former fellows of the Transatlantic Academy to offer their insights on significant developments in transatlantic relations over the past year and offer glimpses on what to expect in the year to come.

Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

From stagnation to cul-de-sac? The roots and trajectory of Russia's troubles

by Sinikukka Saari @sinikukka
11 February 2015
Link to the article in English (8 p.)

The traditional cornerstones of the popularity of the Putin regime seems to be rapidly eroding. However, there are significant structural issues that support and maintain it, regardless of its malfunctioning and undisputed failings. The EU and Finland should base their policies on a realistic assessment of Russia's long-term trajectory. There are unlikely to be any shortcuts to success, and no western policy is likely to produce positive results in the short term. What is needed now is a long-term perspective and principled policies, while acknowledging that only the Russians can change Russia's political direction, writes Saari.

Foreign Policy Centre

Trouble in the neighbourhood? The future of the EU's Eastern Partnership

by Adam Hug (ed.) @AdamHug
10 February 2015
Link to the article in English (66 p.)

This paper examines the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy in relation to six Eastern Partnership (EaP) nations - Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. Among other issues, the paper examines: 1) the EU's actual ability to pursue and implement its foreign policy in the Eastern Neighbourhood; 2) the strategic competition that exists between the EaP and the Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union; and, 3) how the EaP has transformed itself from a broadly technocratic exercise into a geopolitical challenge for the EU.
**Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission / European Institute of the Mediterranean**

*From policies to politics: the European Union as an international mediator in the Mediterranean*

by Pol Morillas @polmorillas
February 2015
Link to the article in English (33 p.)

This paper analyses the performance of the EU as an effective mediator in its southern neighbourhood. It firstly assesses the recent institutional reforms that have empowered the EU's role in international peace mediation, departing from a distinction between political and policy action. It then reviews the response of the EU to the transformations in its southern Mediterranean neighbourhood through a mediation perspective, analysing the main tools and institutional developments at its disposal. The paper concludes with a reference to the conditions that have contributed to the success and failure of the EU's mediation efforts, taking into account that the current high political stakes in the region have often prevented the EU from playing a more political role, precisely at a time when it decided to transform its policy oriented approach into a more robust political contribution to the Southern Mediterranean transitions.

**Istituto Affari Internazionali**

*Morocco's power sector transition: achievements and potential*

by Tayeb Amegroud
6 February 2015
Link to the article in English (21 p.)

Morocco is pushing for a challenging energy transition aimed at meeting a rising internal demand while keeping its bill under control by integrating its energy system into the Euro-Mediterranean one.

**ENLARGEMENT**

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

*Right goals, wrong tools? Civil society empowerment in the EU accession process*

by Natasha Wunsch
February 2015
Link to the article in English (11 p.)

Civil society organizations have the potential to serve as domestic agents of change, and one of the Commission's declared aims for countries aspiring to join the EU is the empowerment of civil society throughout the accession process. This paper proposes seven concrete steps that the Commission should take, e.g. further strengthening the political dimension of civil society support and insisting on the involvement of CSOs in membership negotiating processes.

**Friends of Europe / Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung**

*Balkan revival - Kick-starting stalled policies*

23 February 2015
Link to the article in English (23 p.)

Participants in Friends of Europe's 12th annual Balkans Summit "Kick-starting stalled policies" examined the difficulties arising from the EU's enlargement freeze and the perspectives for future enlargement to the region.
A comparative analysis of ongoing developments in the Western Balkans. The changing preconditions for stabilisation and democratization, as well as certain weaknesses of democracy in the countries of the Western Balkans, are the focus of the analysis. In parallel, the study offers a critical examination of EU's role model function in the Balkans.

DEVELOPMENT

European Centre for Development Policy Management

*Universality and differentiation in the post-2015 development agenda*

by Anna Knoll, Sebastian Grosse-Puppendahl and James Mackie

February 2015

Link to the article in English (72 p.)

Translating the universal post-2015 goals and targets into national actions, commitments, responsibilities and accountability that respect national priorities and circumstances is a major challenge. There is a need for a pragmatic and flexible differentiation system that accounts for country priorities and ownership, but builds in incentives to encourage ambitious contributions. In order to ensure universality and build in accountability, comparability and incentives, common rules or guidelines that leave some room for self determination could be helpful.

Overseas Development Institute

*EU State-Building Contracts: early lessons from the EU's new budget support instrument for fragile states*

by Myra Bernardi, Tom Hart and Gideon Rabinowitz

February 2015

Link to the article in English (37 p.)

The EU began using State-Building Contracts (SBCs) to provide budget support to fragile and conflict-affected states in early 2013. This paper draws preliminary lessons from case studies on the two largest SBCs adopted by the EU in sub-Saharan Africa: Mali, a country in transition after a period of crisis; and South Sudan, a chronically fragile country.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Corporate Europe Observatory

*TTIP investor rights: the many voices ignored by the Commission*

3 February 2015

Link to the article in English (4 p.)

Advocacy group CEO gathers critical voices on TTIP, from businesses to governments.
European Centre for International Political Economy

*Positioning on the global value chain map: where do you want to be?*

by Erik van der Marel @ErikvanderMarel
February 2015
Link to the article in English (25 p.)

This paper begins by evaluating the importance of global supply chains for every country and their relative position in the global value chains (GVCs), with a particular focus on EU economies. It then explores and assesses which policy measures are most important to explain each of these countries' position in the GVCs.

Centre for European Policy Studies / Center for Transatlantic Relations

*Public procurement in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership negotiations*

by Steve Woolcock and Jean Heilman Grier
6 February 2015
Link to the article in English (33 p.)

This paper examines the extent to which the US and the EU have opened up access to each others' government procurement contracts. The authors contend that the EU is dissatisfied with the level of procurement that the US has opened under the WTO Government Procurement Agreement and, as a consequence, does not give the US its most comprehensive coverage of procurement. They also suggest that the US has been constrained in responding to the EU's request for greater access by both its federal structure and domestic purchasing requirements.

European Council on Foreign Relations

*A fresh start for TTIP*

by Sebastian Dullien @SDullien, Adriana Garcia and Josef Janning @JJ52
2 February 2015
Link to the article in English (11 p.)

According to the authors, Europeans should focus on their core strategic interests – namely, ensuring they are not left out as larger regional trade blocs emerge. TTIP is the EU's foot in the door, both reinforcing the significance of the European market for the US economy and binding the US to norms and standards negotiated with the EU, thus balancing the strategic scope of Washington's pivot to Asia.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

*Risks and opportunities for consumer welfare arising from the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)*

by Jana Diels @JanaDiels and Christian Thorun @ChristianThorun
February 2015
Link to the article in English (56 p.)

This paper is the English translation of the original German version published and included in our selection in November 2014. The authors develop an evaluation framework that enables them to measure the effects of the relevant instruments for removing non-tariff trade barriers on the individual dimensions of consumer welfare in the following submarkets, which are of particular importance to consumers: food and nutrition, drugs and medical products, data flows and data protection and financial services.
Progressive Policy Institute

*The Obama trade agenda: five things for progressives to like*

by Ed Gerwin @EdGerwin
February 2015
Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

In his recent State of the Union address, President Obama went all in on international trade. The American administration has already been aggressively pursuing the most ambitious set of trade agreements in decades—including potentially ground breaking deals with 11 Asian-Pacific countries (the Trans Pacific Partnership), and the EU (the TTIP), as well as agreements in key sectors like services, information technology, and environmental products.

Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Instituttt (The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

*Tariff rate quotas – Free trade or non-tariff barriers?*

by Linda Norum Ur
26 February 2015
Link to the article in [English](#) (50 p.)

The paper investigates the impact of EU’s Tariff Rate Quotas (TRQs) on Norwegian exporters. The results reveal that the transaction costs of utilizing the TRQs are varying across the different seafood groups. Processed pelagic fish and shrimp experiencing the most severe barriers with small TRQs and high out-of-quota tariffs. The survey confirms that the problematic seafood groups are shrimp, processed herring, crab, processed cod, stock fish, clip fish and mackerel. A large TRQ being filled quickly or a small TRQ with a high out-of-quota tariff, can both lead to uncertainty and force companies to abandon the market.

AFRICA

European Centre for Development Policy Management

*À l’aube de l’ère de l’après-OMD ?*

by James Mackie @JMackieECDPM and Rhys Williams
January 2015
Link to the article in [French](#) (16 p.)

The French version of a paper in English referenced in Think Tank Review no. 21.

CHINA

EUCAM

*Reviewing the EU’s approach to Central Asia*

by Jos Boonstra
February 2015
Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

The EU’s Central Asia Strategy is more than a policy expression in which just a few objectives are outlined, but less than an extensive and detailed strategy that would ideally be accompanied by an action plan and measureable benchmarks. This brief looks at the main ingredients of the strategy that need revision and strengthening.
European Council on Foreign Relations

The European interest in an investment treaty with China

by François Godement @FGodement and Angela Stanzel @angela_stanzel
19 February 2015
Link to the article in English (10 p.)

In this paper the authors note that the competition between Member States directly affects the BIT negotiations, as it diminishes the EU's leverage, and as China can play on bilateral relations whenever discussions at the EU level stall. The key priorities of the EU are to have investor-state dispute settlement mechanism in the BIT, and to improve the access European companies have to the Chinese market, which at present remains limited. In addition, the EU should prioritize transparency for capital flows and identity of investors in the BIT negotiations. The EU needs to maximise its leverage in the negotiations and show it can do without China by moving ahead with other free trade agreements, starting with Japan, and with TTIP.

JAPAN

Bertelsmann Stiftung

Japan again under Abe – Fresh start or more of the (not so great) same?

by Axel Berkofsky
February 2015
Link to the article in English (8 p.)

This paper analyses the election results and examines the state of Japan's reform agenda. It argues that Abe's strategy to call snap elections and take advantage of an incredibly weak political opposition paid off, even if the election victory is less stunning than the raw numbers indicate. However, unless Abe changes gear and adopts more of the long-announced economic, structural and fiscal reforms, there could be (many) more very half-hearted reform policies in the months ahead.

MIDDLE EAST

EU Institute for Security Studies

Arab futures: three scenarios for 2025

by Florence Gaub @FlorenceGaub and Alexandra Laban (eds.)
February 2015
Link to the article in English (57 p.)

This report is the outcome of three sessions that convened a group of experts, the Arab Foresight Group, during 2014. It takes into account projections made by a wide array of organisations and is based to the maximum extent possible on available data. It reduces speculation to a bare minimum, and identifies the relative certainties or 'megatrends' which concern the Middle East region and which are not likely to change over the next decade; perhaps more importantly, it also identifies six game-changers: those areas where policy-makers will influence the course of events by their choices. Depending on these choices, three probable scenarios have been hypothesised for the year 2025.
TURKEY

Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Turkey under the AKP: a critical evaluation from the perspective of Turkey's EU negotiations

by Toni Alaranta
9 February 2015
Link to the article in English (25 p.)

The paper asks what is the nature of the AKP as a political movement, and how best to evaluate Turkey’s EU bid under its rule?

UKRAINE

Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Foundation for Eastern Studies)

Still together, but apart? Kyiv’s policy towards the Donbas

by Tadeusz Iwański
6 February 2015
Link to the article in English (11 p.) and in Polish (11 p.)

The effect of the illegal local elections in the occupied territories of the Doneck and Luhansk regions in early November was to strengthen the status quo. It is evident for Kiev's government that it won't be able to regain control on these areas, so its actions since November had the same effect. These actions included: withholding payments of social benefits for local residents and of subsidies for local institutions as well as to restrict passengers' traffic in these areas. The goal of these actions was preventing the conflict from spreading to neighbouring areas, but they are extremely painful for the residents of the occupied territories and together with Russian propaganda (that has the monopole in the local media) further aggravated the negative image of the government among the local population. The article was published before Minsk II, but still describes well the situation in the occupied areas.

Oligarchs after the Maidan: the old system in a 'new' Ukraine

by Wojciech Konończuk
16 February 2015
Link to the article in English (8 p.) and in Polish (8 p.)

The Revolution of Dignity changed the balance of power between Ukrainian oligarchs, but not the oligarchic system per se. The so called “family”, Januković's inner circle, including Rinat Akhmetov and Dmytro Firtaš, lost much of its influence, whereas other oligarchs like Ihor Kolomojskij became much more powerful. The new government is too weak to undermine the privileges of oligarchs, who continue to have a strong influence over the Verkhovna Rada after this autumn's elections.

Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

Has the EU Learnt from the Ukraine crisis? Changes to Security, Energy and Migration Governance

by Jakub M. Godzimirski (@jmgnupi), Lidia Puka (@lidiapuka) and Marta Stormowska (@MStormowska)
5 February 2015
Link to the article in English (36 p.)

This paper examines whether the EU has successfully adapted to the Ukrainian crisis. By examining three areas: security, energy and migration. The author argues that, although changing conditions have revealed existing deficiencies of the European frameworks, a policy of continuation persists.
Russia's economic performance has been weakening for several years. The combination of stagnant GDP growth and lower oil prices threatens to reduce federal government revenues, but spending commitments are likely to prove hard to trim. Direct government spending on social welfare, expansion of the state, and a large-scale rearmament programme have put increasing weight on the public finances and compromised longer-term fiscal stability. Russia's political economy is inefficient in terms of allocating resources to the most productive sectors. However, the system has proven to be politically and socially efficient. The economy requires significant reform if Russia is to enjoy growth and prosperity in the future. Areas for improvement include competition, financial sector reform to broaden access to capital, and the easing of constraints on small and medium-sized enterprises' development. The longer EU and US sanctions persist, the more the market-oriented policy elite is likely to be marginalized as economic policies consistent with a more statist and introverted approach take hold. The diversion of resources to domestic defence, energy or manufacturing enterprises would likely strengthen existing constituencies that would benefit from sanctions.

This paper investigates how Russian Federation applies the SPS measures as means to exert political and economic pressure on the trading partners and disproportionally being applied to sectors that are 'vulnerable' for Russia's trading partners. The case study, on the other hand, looks at how Ukrainian confectionary producers reacted to the export ban imposed by Russia. The findings suggest that exports ban imposed by the RF did not have negative effect, consistent with perfect competition model, on the domestic price of the affected producer. On the opposite, the affected firm, Roshen, on average increased prices for its products.

This article examines the relationship of the Russian Kaliningrad exclave with the federal capital and with the neighbouring countries in three dimensions, the political, the economic and the military ones. Kaliningrad's problems and difficult plight have thus been exacerbated in all three dimensions, which also impinges on the security of the whole Baltic Sea region. Developments in the region therefore deserve more attention among both the research communities and decision-makers.
The renaissance of the west: how Europe and America can shape up in confronting Putin's Russia

by Roland Freudenstein @RoFreudenstein and Ulrich Speck @uli_speck
February 2015
Link to the article in English (47 p.)

Recently the West has been challenged on many fronts: crises multiply in the eastern and southern neighbourhoods of the EU, terrorist movements gain traction in the Middle East, and authoritarian regimes such as a newly aggressive, fundamentally antagonistic Russia are threatening the core values as well as the cohesion of the West. This paper argues that by countering the threat posed by Putin's Russia, EU can achieve a stronger transatlantic relationship that will ultimately lead to a Renaissance of the West and serve as foundation for a continued global liberal order.

The Eastern Partnership, the Russia-Ukraine war, and the impact on the South Caucasus

by Amanda Paul @amandajanepaul
25 February 2015
Link to the article in English (15 p.)

The undeclared Russian aggression against Ukraine and the luck of strong position of the West in defence of inviolability of borders has a strong impact on the Southern Caucasus, by creating a climate of uncertainty and unpredictability. The violations of the cease fire on the contact line between Nagorno Karabakh and Azerbaijan proper and the subsequent talks between Putin, Sargsyan and Alyiev in Sochi demonstrated that Russia wants to be the strongest player in the region, but its mediations keep the status quo. The EaP had a limited effect because of the luck of enlargement prospect. The author suggests that the EU should give membership perspective to Georgia and clearer benchmarks to Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Les relations germano-russes : entre changement de paradigme et maintien du statu quo

by Hannes Adomeit
19 February 2015
Link to the article in English (36 p.) and in French (42 p.)

From the collapse of the Soviet Union to Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's mandates (1998-2005), Germany maintained a 'special relationship' with Moscow, officially termed "strategic partnership". The author wonders whether the current crisis in German-Russian relations is a mere temporary episode that will soon be forgotten, or if it is a radical change of paradigm.

Russia and Turkey: what does their partnership mean for the EU?

by Dimitar Bechev @dimobe
13 February 2015
Link to the article in English (4 p.)

This paper argues that the ties between Russia and Turkey are driven by pragmatism and realpolitik. Contentious issues – such as the war in Syria - may be insulated from areas of overlapping interest, but deeper examination shows the glue holding the two countries together – their energy interdependence – is slowly weakening. The author believes the EU should take advantage of this divergence and try to re-anchor Turkey to its own initiatives and policies.
Peace Research Institute Oslo

Partnership of Contrarians - Russia connects with Turkey seeking opportunities in the Middle East

by Pavel K. Baev
18 February 2015
Link to the article in English (4 p.)

Violent conflicts in the Middle East gained new momentum in 2014, and the forceful multilateral efforts to contain them yielded far from satisfactory results. Both Russia and Turkey have remained aloof from these efforts, and often oppose US-led endeavours but they have major stakes in the overlapping regional conflicts and so are exploring opportunities to claim a role in conflict management.

European Council on Foreign Relations

A "soft alliance"? Russia-China relations after the Ukraine crisis

by Alexander Gabuev @AlexGabuev
10 February 2015
Link to the article in English (11 p.)

This paper discusses how Russia sees in its Asian pivot a way to strengthen the most vulnerable parts of its economy: dependence on the European energy market, dependence on Western capital markets, and dependence on technologies. According to the author, the danger for the EU in this Eastern rapprochement lies in the fortification of the Russian economy against sanctions, and in an increased assertiveness for China. The author sees two possible options for an EU response: 1. Seek to isolate Russia further by developing sanctions with the US against third-country companies that do business with sanctioned Russian entities; 2. Create other options for Russia, by allowing Japan and South Korea not to uphold the sanctions regime.

Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Foundation for Eastern Studies)

Potemkin conservatism - an ideological tool of the Kremlin

by Witold Rodkiewicz and Jadwiga Rogoża
3 February 2015
Link to the article in English (25 p.) and in Polish (25 p.)

After Putin's re-election for a third term the Kremlin adopted a new conservative ideology based on traditional values like centralised State authority, a passive society, the presence of organised religion in public life and "traditional family". However, this is just an ideological counterweight to calls for liberal reforms. Its scope is only to legitimise the political model by presenting it as traditionally Russian, to divert the public opinion from socio-economic problems and to provide arguments for repressive internal policies and aggressive foreign policy.

The economic and financial crisis in Russia – background, symptoms and prospects for the future

6 February 2015
Link to the article in English (23 p.) and Polish (23 p.)

The financial crisis that hit Russia last December exposed problems that had been growing for years, in particular the fact that the resource based development model reached its limits. Any effective long term development policy will be impossible without a radical change in the economic and political system.
Germany in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict: a political or a humanitarian mission?

by Anna Kwiatkowska-Drożdż and Kamil Frymark
18 February 2015
Link to the article in English (6 p.) and in Polish (6 p.)

The Russian aggression to Ukraine changed the relationship between Germany and Russia. Despite these changes, Germany's policy towards the conflict in based on two concepts: "strategic patience" and the conviction that Europe is fated to collaborate with Russia. This undermines the effectiveness of Berlin's actions, argue the authors, in particular the ability to negotiate a political solution that goes beyond a ceasefire agreement.

European Policies Initiative / German Marshall Fund of the United States

A region disunited? Central European responses to the Russia-Ukraine crisis

edited by Joerg Forbrig @JoergForbrig (Marin Lessenski @marinlessenski, Petr Kratochvíl @IIR_Prague, Merle Maigre @MerleMaigre, Istvan Gyarmati @BalkanSecurityA, Kristine Berzina @kristineberz, Vytais Jurkonis @VJurkonis, Michal Baranowski @M_Baranowski, Bartosz Cichocki @B_Cichocki, Alina Inayeh @ainayeh and Alexander Duleba
26 February 2015
Link to the article in English (50 p.)

The contributions to this study detail the positioning of individual Central European states vis-à-vis the Ukraine crisis and Russia. Besides illustrating regional diversity in what may be the gravest crisis facing Europe since the fall of the Iron Curtain, they also uncover the reasons and rationales underlying the often different and sometimes opposing courses of action taken by the countries of the region since the beginning of the crisis. They bring to light considerable variations in political and public debate on the Ukraine crisis, important differences in economic and energy relationships with Russia, and a number of long-term legacies that in several cases even predate shared Soviet history. In so doing, the country perspectives provided here add a level of nuance and detail to a debate that is rapidly taking shape in Europe.
REGARDS CROISÉS

POLITICAL TRAJECTORIES OF FRENCH AND SWEDISH MEPS

College of Europe

Eurodéputé: "Seconde chance" ou "Tremplin" – Comparaisons des trajectoires politiques de candidats PSE et PPE aux élections européennes de 2014 en France et en Suède

by Emilie Cazenave @CazenaveEmilie
February 2015
Link to the article in French (45 p.)

The MEP mandate is designed differently in each Member State. This paper tests the validity of 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' political cultures on the selection of French and Swedish candidates and their conception of the European mandate.