



General Secretariat of the Council  
Central Library

## THINK TANK REVIEW

Issue 1  
February 2013

Dear Readers,

Welcome to issue 1 of the **Review of Think Tank publications on EU affairs**, compiled by the Central Library of the General Secretariat of the Council. The review provides abstracts and links to papers published in the previous month by think tanks in Brussels and elsewhere. It will be issued monthly and will be available on paper at the Central Library and online on our [Intranet](#) and Internet. It can be disseminated freely - the usual disclaimers apply.<sup>1</sup>

Think tank publications in the first section deal with EU institutions and politics, with a focus on the crisis and its impact on European societies, and with perspectives from Brussels, Barcelona, Kiel, London, Davos, Prague and Rome. The UK relationship with the EU also attracted a lot of attention from the think tank community in January. Some see a connection between the UK-EU relationship and the role of Ireland, which recently took over the 6-month Presidency of the EU Council.

In the second section of this issue we present papers on external relations, with general reviews of the current state of EU foreign policy and specific views on the Arab Spring, Asia, Turkey, Russia, energy policy and others. With a view to the EU-Ukraine summit on 25 February, we devote this issue's Special Focus to relations between the EU and Ukraine, gathering publications from the last 3-5 months.

A regular feature of the Review will be the Regards croisés section, where we highlight how a think tank in a Member State approaches developments in another Member State. This month, we look at how a Czech think tank assessed public discourse on the crisis in Poland and the Czech Republic.

In every issue we will draw a short profile of a think tank: this month we feature the Polish Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (OSW), with its coverage of the Eastern Europe and the Caucasus.

We hope that the Review will prove a useful tool for colleagues, decision-makers and outsiders. We see it as part of our mission as an institutional library to foster a well-informed debate on EU politics and policies, inside and outside the Institutions.

We welcome your feedback on format, scope and content of this review. You can reach us at [central.library@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:central.library@consilium.europa.eu).

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

---

<sup>1</sup> This collection of links and abstracts was compiled by the Central Library of the General Secretariat of the Council for information purposes only. The content linked hereafter is 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 .

## Table of contents - click on titles to read abstracts

---

SECTION 1 - EU INSTITUTION AND POLITICS .....	4
BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (CIDOB).....	4
Democracy in Europe. The Expressions of a European Disease .....	4
EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (ECFR) .....	4
The New Political Geography of Europe.....	4
POLICY NETWORK .....	5
European Welfare States After the Crisis.....	5
INSTITUT FÜR WELTWIRTSCHAFT AN DER UNIVERSITÄT KIEL (IFW) .....	5
The Kiel Policy Package to Address the Crisis in the Euro Area.....	5
ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI (IAI) .....	5
The New Governance of the Economic and Monetary Union: Adapted Institutions and Innovative Instruments .....	5
NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE.....	6
Making One Size Fit All: Designing a Cyclical Adjustment Insurance Fund for the Eurozone.....	6
WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM.....	6
Rebuilding Europe's Competitiveness.....	6
EUROPEUM INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY .....	6
Are We There Yet? The Road to a Political Union Through the Eyes of the V4 Members ...	6
BRUEGEL .....	7
Options for a Euro-area Fiscal Capacity.....	7
Can Europe Recover Without Credit? .....	7
THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM (CER).....	7
Cameron's Optimistic, Risky and Ambiguous Strategy.....	7
Leaving the EU Will Not Set Britain's Economy Free .....	8
THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (IIAE) .....	8
Untying the Knot? Ireland, the UK and the EU .....	8
NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE.....	8
Forty Years A-growing. An Overview of Irish-EU Relations .....	8
SECTION 2 - EU FOREIGN POLICY .....	9
CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES (CEPS).....	9
The New EU Foreign Policy Architecture: Reviewing the First Two Years of the EEAS .....	9
SWEDISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.....	9
External Action after the Lisbon Treaty: The Case of the EU and the OSCE.....	9
FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS .....	10
Equipping the European Union for the 21st century .....	10
FRIDE .....	10
Challenges for European Foreign Policy in 2013 .....	10
EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (ECFR) .....	10
European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2013.....	10
Shooting in the Dark? EU Sanctions Policies .....	11
THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (FIIA).....	11
Building Bridges or Digging Trenches? Civil Society Engagement after the Arab Spring .	11
EUROMESCO.....	11
Talking about the Revolution: Narratives on the Origin and Future of the Arab Spring ..	11

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI (IAI) .....	12
Unfinished Transactions: Challenges and Opportunities of the EU's and Turkey's responses to the "Arab Spring" .....	12
LEUVEN CENTRE FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES .....	12
The Arab Uprisings and the European Union: In Search of a Comprehensive Strategy... ..	12
NATO MULTIMEDIA LIBRARY .....	12
The Arab Spring Two Years On: Thematic Bibliography .....	12
BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (CIDOB).....	13
Algeria, the Sahel and the Current Mali Crisis .....	13
FRIDE.....	13
EU-Asia Trade: In Need of a Strategy .....	13
CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM (CER) .....	13
Asia's Fading Economic Miracle.....	13
Time to Bite the Bullet on European Defence .....	14
CLINGENDAEL.....	14
The Changed Geopolitics of Energy and Climate and the Challenge for European Commission.....	14
INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES (ISS) .....	15
The Shale Gas "Revolution": Challenges and Implications for the EU .....	15
ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI (IAI) .....	15
The European Commission vs. Gazprom: An Issue of Fair Competition or a Foreign Policy Quarrel?.....	15
REAL INSTITUTO ELCANO (RIE) .....	16
Turkey´s Economy Slows Down: Will this Affect Spain´s Burgeoning Trade and Investment? .....	16
WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM.....	16
Scenarios for the Russian Federation.....	16
FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (FIIA) .....	16
The Electoral Trap: Why the EU Should Think Beyond Belarus's Parliamentary Election. ..	16
SPECIAL FOCUS: UKRAINE .....	17
EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (ECFR) .....	17
The EU and Ukraine After the 2012 Elections .....	17
THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (PISM).....	17
How to Modernise the European Union´s Eastern Neighbourhood Policy in the Age of the Internet: The Case of Ukraine .....	17
CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES (OSW) .....	17
The Oligarchic Democracy. The Influence of Business Groups on Ukrainian Politics.....	17
CHATAM HOUSE.....	18
How to Finish a Revolution: Civil Society and Democracy in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine .....	18
GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS (SWP).....	18
The EU and Ukraine: What Now? .....	18
CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH (CASE) .....	19
EU-Ukraine DCFTA: The Model for Eastern Partnership Regional Trade Cooperation.....	19
REGARDS CROISÉS .....	20
EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy .....	20
Similar Concerns, Different Attitudes: Comparing the Czech and Polish Discourses on the Eurozone Crisis .....	20

## SECTION 1 - EU INSTITUTION AND POLITICS

---

***The euro crisis is not just an economic "disease" - it has already altered the political landscape in Europe, some think tanks argue.***

BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (CIDOB)

### **Democracy in Europe. The Expressions of a European Disease**

by Jordi Vaquer

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU is widely praised as the economic cum political structure that has allowed Europeans to conjure the ghosts of the past: to grow and to prosper economically and to overcome a historical tendency to engage in war against each other and beyond. Today, very few would deny that Europe is the epicentre not only of an unprecedented economic crisis, but of an equally unprecedented political crisis. Some analysts view this conjunction as a resounding call for reviewing received concepts and proceeding towards greater integration, improving mechanisms of economic stabilization and stimulation, enhancing political representativeness and regenerating the conditions for citizens' participation. Others bluntly speak of a serious disease that pervades Europe's political fabric.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (ECFR)

### **The New Political Geography of Europe**

17 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The euro crisis has revolutionised politics across Europe. Established political parties are fighting for their lives, and countries have been cast out from the European core to the periphery. The ECFR has published a collection of essays examining how the crisis has affected the political dynamics in 14 member states and tries to throw a light on the roots of a new political geography in Europe. The countries covered are France, Portugal, Denmark, Britain, Poland, Italy, Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, Czech Republic, Greece, Ireland, Spain, and Bulgaria.

***From think tanks from Germany, Italy, the UK and other countries, proposals about innovative ways to tackle the crisis emerged.***

## POLICY NETWORK

### **European Welfare States After the Crisis**

by Patrick Diamond and Guy Lodge

28 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

This paper draws lessons from quantitative public opinion surveys in three key EU member states (France, Denmark and Britain) to inform debate on the future shape of welfare states after the financial crisis. It concludes that the biggest threat to social justice in Europe is not radical institutional change, but the "frozen" welfare state landscapes where resistance to change is institutionalised, and major interest groups are able to define how welfare systems operate.

## INSTITUT FÜR WELTWIRTSCHAFT AN DER UNIVERSITÄT KIEL (IFW)

### **The Kiel Policy Package to Address the Crisis in the Euro Area**

14 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The reason why the Eurozone crisis has dragged on for so long is that Europe's leaders have focused too much on short-term measures to patch up the emergency of the moment, rather than formulating a comprehensive plan, IFW says. It is now high time to come clean by setting out the portfolio of policies that would be necessary to fix the euro zone's fiscal, financial and growth problems. In particular, the Kiel Policy Package - now available as Kiel Policy Brief 58a - comprises a set of short-term and long-term policy measures to overcome the crisis. "Neither the short-term nor the long-term measures are sufficient on their own."

## ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI (IAI)

### **The New Governance of the Economic and Monetary Union: Adapted Institutions and Innovative Instruments**

by Tobias Kunstein and Wolfgang Wessels

2 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Reforms in response to the multiple crises affecting the EU and the euro area since 2008 have transformed European governance considerably. This paper provides an overview of the main effects stemming from the introduction of innovative instruments over the past few years. It concludes that the evolution of the EU's architecture towards "more Europe" rooted in power-sharing between institutions at both European and national levels is likely to be complemented by "less Europe" in the sense of increasingly differentiated forms of integration.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **Making One Size Fit All: Designing a Cyclical Adjustment Insurance Fund for the Eurozone**

by Henrik Enderlein, Lucas Guttenberg, Jann Spiess

23 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The authors of the report propose a Cyclical Adjustment Insurance Fund (CAIF) based on differences in output gaps. To increase the convergence of business cycles across eurozone economies, the system would channel funds from overheating economies to those in downturn, hence substantially alleviating the procyclicality of the ECB's "one size fits all" monetary policy.

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

### **Rebuilding Europe's Competitiveness**

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The report provides analysis of measures that can improve Europe's capacity to boost innovation and entrepreneurship, mobilize talent and enhance product market efficiency. "Europe has been successful in securing high and rising living standards for its citizens for more than half a century. However, it is currently facing critical economic and social challenges, and the resultant lack of confidence is causing many undesired effects: insufficient financing and investments; stagnating or declining growth; rising unemployment; and fiscal instability leading to sovereign debt crises and the need for international intervention through sovereign bail-outs."

EUROPEUM INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY

### **Are We There Yet? The Road to a Political Union Through the Eyes of the V4 Members**

by David Král

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

One could hardly imagine a more controversial EU-related issue for the Visegrad countries than that of political union. It is tricky, not only because the contours of the current debate are blurred and the proposals on the table rather vague. None of the Visegrad countries has yet developed particularly strong strategic thinking vis-à-vis the future of European integration. For the Visegrad countries, the EU is still mainly about the single market and cohesion policy, and they have preferred to engage in solving practical problems relating to their functioning. On the other hand, the V4 countries perceive debating political union as institutional engineering underpinned with ideas they do not necessarily share.

BRUEGEL

### **Options for a Euro-area Fiscal Capacity**

by Jean Pisani-Ferry, Erkki Vihriälä, Guntram B. Wolff

10 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Europe has responded to the crisis with strengthened budgetary and macroeconomic surveillance, the creation of the European Stability Mechanism, liquidity provisioning by resilient economies and the European Central Bank and a process towards a banking union. However, a monetary union requires some form of budget for fiscal stabilisation in case of shocks, and as a backstop to the banking union. This paper compares four quantitatively different schemes of fiscal stabilisation and proposes a new scheme based on GDP-indexed bonds.

### **Can Europe Recover Without Credit?**

by Zsolt Darvas

15 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Data from 135 countries covering five decades suggests that creditless recoveries, in which the stock of real credit does not return to the pre-crisis level for three years after the GDP trough, are not rare and are characterised by remarkable real GDP growth rates, says Bruegel. Yet in the current economic crisis, creditless recoveries are much less common in high-income countries than in low-income ones. European economies heavily depend on bank loans and the research suggests that loan supply played a major role in the recent weak credit performance of Europe. The report underlines that normal lending has not yet been restored and limited loan supply could be disruptive for the European economic recovery.

***British Prime Minister David Cameron provoked an avalanche of comments on his long-awaited Europe speech, with most reports focussing on weak points in his strategy.***

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM (CER)

### **Cameron's Optimistic, Risky and Ambiguous Strategy**

by Charles Grant

24 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

In his long-delayed speech on Britain and the EU, David Cameron pledged to campaign for a Yes vote "with all my heart and soul". The speech contained much that is sensible. But its implicit message to Britain's partners was: "Give us what we want, by the deadline that we specify, or we may well leave the EU", a very risky approach, says CER, that many other Europeans consider not far short of blackmail. "The speech made many optimistic assumptions and was riddled with ambiguities."

## **Leaving the EU Will Not Set Britain's Economy Free**

by Philip Whyte

25 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

EU membership, British eurosceptics are fond of asserting, has become the principal obstacle to the country's prosperity. They note that if the UK loosened its relations with the EU – or perhaps left the club altogether – it would free itself of the irksome regulatory burden that cripples British business and could focus on developing trading relations with faster-growing economies outside the EU. This CER analysis argues that such concepts are deeply misleading and leaving the EU would not be an economic liberation for the UK. It would resolve none of the domestic failings that are the main constraints on Britain's long-term growth and would do little to lighten the regulatory burden on British business. And it might well leave the UK more closed to the outside world, not less.

***As Ireland holds the current presidency of the Council of the EU, the country draws the attention of analysts.***

THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (IIAE)

## **Untying the Knot? Ireland, the UK and the EU**

by Dáithí O'Ceallaigh and James Kilcourse

14 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Ireland must stay close to both the UK and Europe, the IIAE argues. It is the crux of the challenge facing Ireland as the UK attempts to renegotiate its position in the European Union. "The relationship between Ireland and the UK has never been better, but David Cameron's January 2013 speech on Europe heralds a long period of uncertainty for Ireland and the EU." The uncertainty surrounding the UK's place in Europe is further intensified by the Scottish vote on independence in 2014. Given that it stands to be one of the biggest losers from a UK withdrawal. The paper notes that it's crucial that Ireland adopts a far-sighted and well-balanced strategy for dealing with the possible implications.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

## **Forty Years A-growing. An Overview of Irish-EU Relations**

by Aziliz Gouez

4 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

What are the main issues structuring Ireland's relation to the EU? To what extent does the current debt crisis reconfigure Irish perceptions of Europe? And in what ways is this likely to influence the conduct of the Irish Presidency of the Council of the EU? To answer these and other questions, Aziliz Gouez, has gathered the views of four prominent Irish actors: Pat Cox, the former President of the European Parliament; Lucinda Creighton, the Minister for European Affairs; Micheál Martin, leader of Fianna Fáil; and Peter Sutherland, Chairman of Goldman Sachs International. This publication also includes a paper by Tony Brown (IIEA), analysing the 2012 Irish referendum on the Stability Treaty.



## SECTION 2 - EU FOREIGN POLICY

---

*Several think tanks have looked at the European External Action Service, its problems and suggest how to improve the EEAS as well as a common European foreign policy in general.*

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES (CEPS)

### **The New EU Foreign Policy Architecture: Reviewing the First Two Years of the EEAS**

by Niklas Helwig, Paul Ivan, Hrant Kostanyan

10 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

This CEPS book examines two interrelated questions: 1) How has the European External Action Service (EEAS) functioned in the EU institutional architecture in the first two years of its existence? 2) What improvements can be made through the 2013 review and the 2014 revision of the EEAS' mandate? The study examines the EEAS' relations with the EU member states, the European Commission, the European Parliament and its Delegations. The analysis is complemented by in-depth interviews conducted with senior officials from the relevant institutions. The authors put forward specific recommendations.

SWEDISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **External Action after the Lisbon Treaty: The Case of the EU and the OSCE**

by Anna Takman

14 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The broader goal of the Lisbon Treaty in the area of external action was to make the EU a more efficient and powerful global actor by improving policy coherence and integrating its different foreign policy instruments. One of the means to achieve this goal was the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS), which introduced a new and unique opportunity for the institutions and the MS to influence international politics. The paper spells out how the EU makes use of this opportunity in the case of the OSCE by evaluating whether the promises of the Lisbon Treaty are fulfilled in the EU's work with this particular international organisation.

### **Equipping the European Union for the 21st century**

by Rosa Balfour and Kristi Raik

17 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

European foreign policy is at a complicated crossroads. The European model is challenged by changing patterns of global power and interdependence, and the economic crisis is producing a backlash on the integration project. National foreign services are under dual pressure from the economic crisis and an overall decline in the importance of traditional diplomacy, while the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty and the creation of the EEAS are supposed to stimulate an internal logic towards more EU integration and burden-sharing in foreign policy. This report asks how to equip European foreign policy for the 21st century. The authors argue that the EEAS needs to be at the centre of an emerging EU system of diplomacy, shaping it and not just being shaped by others, and creating a new sense of unity.

FRIDE

### **Challenges for European Foreign Policy in 2013**

8 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

FRIDE examines how EU foreign policy can deliver real added-value in 2013, during this period of political and economic crisis. Europe's performance is no substitute for kick-starting economic growth and reinforcing social cohesion at home. But Europe cannot be safe and prosperous in isolation from an increasingly unstable neighbourhood and changing world. The publication underlines that in 2013 the EU and its member states should take a hard look at where they can make a difference together, building on their common values, implementing a whole-of-the-Union approach and gaining influence through collective action.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (ECFR)

### **European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2013**

31 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The euro crisis has eroded Europe's image, soft power and capacity to pursue its interests on the world stage. Yet ECFR's European Foreign Policy Scorecard finds that the picture is uneven. The foreign policy gap between Brussels and the member states continued to hinder unified approaches on issues like China. The euro crisis has a foreign policy cost - countries like Spain were forced to target areas of specific national interest rather than wider aims. The paper points out that Sweden and the Netherlands showed that smaller member states can have a significant impact on individual issues. And also - despite the apparent disengagement from Europe, UK is still a potent member of the "big three", driving European foreign policy.

## **Shooting in the Dark? EU Sanctions Policies**

by Konstanty Gebert

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Over the last two decades the EU has engaged in a surprisingly active policy of use of sanctions. In particular it sanctions countries in response to particularly egregious human rights violations or democratic backsliding or just to deter countries from actions that have negative security consequences for the EU. However, although such sanctions seem to be applied with increasing frequency, it is extremely hard to tell how effective they are. Inadequate monitoring means we do not know how far member states implement EU sanctions. Nor do we know whether sanctions contribute to reaching the desired objectives. In short, it is like shooting in the dark, concludes the paper.

*The Arab spring has been at the centre of several reports, in the context of the challenges and even opportunities for the EU. The Malian crisis also got some coverage.*

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (FIIA)

## **Building Bridges or Digging Trenches? Civil Society Engagement after the Arab Spring**

by Timo Behr and Aaretti Siitonen

10 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

When seeking to engage and assist Arab civil society, western donors are faced with several broad challenges in the new regional context. According to the paper first and foremost, they will have to avoid doing anything that could deepen the growing divisions among different segments of Arab civil society. They ought to encourage an effective and balanced relationship between state institutions and civil society. And also to find a way to engage with the new actors, organizations and social movements that have been at the forefront of the Arab Spring uprisings.

EUROMESCO

## **Talking about the Revolution: Narratives on the Origin and Future of the Arab Spring**

by Timo Behr

Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The paper examines some of the major debates and narratives on the origins of the Arab Spring. It reviews the main structural, institutional, technological, and ideational explanations for the protests. In the final analysis, it is clear that there is no single explanatory variable responsible for the extraordinary events of the Arab Spring. And also the paper concludes that forming stable democracies in the region will unavoidably take time. One of its messages is that the Arab authoritarianism might be down, but cannot yet be counted out.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI (IAI)

**Unfinished Transactions: Challenges and Opportunities of the EU's and Turkey's responses to the "Arab Spring"**

by Emiliano Alessandri and Meliha Benli Altunişik

25 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Both the EU and Turkey have so far failed to establish a firm strategic rationale for their support for democratic change in the neighborhood, often accepting the tenet that their "values" may continue to clash with - but in the new context will have to prevail over - their "interests". As the geopolitical implications of the Arab uprisings become clearer, the EU and Turkey should adopt a more lucid and nuanced approach to democracy and a more explicitly political response to the "Arab Spring" which could offer the basis for joint initiatives bearing positive implications on the future of the bilateral relationship between the EU and Turkey.

LEUVEN CENTRE FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

**The Arab Uprisings and the European Union: In Search of a Comprehensive Strategy**

by Jan Wouters and Sanderijn Duquet

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Events during and following the Arab Spring of 2011, have triggered the EU to revise its relations with countries in transition. The working paper reviews the different policies and instruments at hand to respond to the Arab uprisings. It assesses the EU's structural efforts to engage countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), to cooperate with the United Nations (UN) and regional organisations, and to engage with non-state actors. It is also argued that the EU still lacks a long-term strategy in the MENA and the paper makes a number of policy suggestions in order to change that.

NATO MULTIMEDIA LIBRARY

**The Arab Spring Two Years On: Thematic Bibliography**

Feb 2013

[link to the bibliography](#)

The NATO Multimedia Library has published a thematic bibliography on the Arab Spring. It includes a list and a short description of all the available books and articles concerning the protests.

## **Algeria, the Sahel and the Current Mali Crisis**

by Laurence Aïda Ammour

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The state of play of Algeria-Mali relationships varied along history, overlapping with the regional economic and political security context and the raise of inter-State common concern. Limited regional security cooperation is a result of limited trust between the two countries. The Tuareg irredentism is at the core of Algeria-Mali relations and represents a transnational challenge. Algeria's complex relationship in the Sahel in general, and with Mali in particular, is also rooted in the role that Algiers is thought to have played in supporting rebellions of Tuaregs, both in Mali and Niger, at the time in apparent competition with Muammar Kaddafi.

***EU-Asia relations have good perspectives as long as some strategic actions are taken, suggest some of the think tanks.***

FRIDE

## **EU-Asia Trade: In Need of a Strategy**

by Gauri Khandekar

24 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The EU remains Asia's largest trading partner, but its position is fast eroding relative to competitors. An EU-Asia trade strategy is needed to supply effective guidance over the medium to long terms, scrutinise developments in Asia, and exploit the yet untapped trade potential. Given the trade shifts within Asia, as well as between Asia and non-traditional markets amidst Europe's economic crisis, redoubled efforts from the EU and its member states will be required to prevent the decoupling of Asian economies from the West.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM (CER)

## **Asia's Fading Economic Miracle**

by George Magnus

11 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

What has sometimes seemed like an economic miracle in Asia can be explained by conventional economic theory, aided and abetted by rapid globalisation. Asia's ability to weather the global financial crisis is not down to a superior economic model, but the fact that its own financial crisis occurred a decade earlier, and private sectors had repaired their balance sheets by 2007. Increased dependence on credit, and economic weakness in the West, threaten financial stability and economic growth across Asia, especially in China. Manufacturing competitiveness may also start to tilt back to advanced economies as the latter benefit from new production technologies, and in the US case, cheap energy.

Without vigorous reforms and stronger institutions, many Asian countries could get caught in a "middle income" trap.

*Besides looking at EU-Asia relations, CER also looked at European Defence, while others looked at ecology and energy in their reports.*

### **Time to Bite the Bullet on European Defence**

by Clara Marina O'Donell

1 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Europe's military spending is in free fall. The EU countries combined have reduced defence spending from 200 to 170 billion euro since the start of the economic crisis in 2008. In response, governments have signed up to a variety of new bilateral and multilateral initiatives. These are designed to limit the impact of budget cuts on their armed forces. But so far, the savings incurred pale in comparison. Many sensitivities relating to national security make it hard for governments to implement collaborative defence efforts. But at a time when Europe's neighbourhood is replete with instability and the US is scaling back its own armed forces, Europeans need to do more to stem the damage to their militaries, CER argues.

CLINGENDAEL

### **The Changed Geopolitics of Energy and Climate and the Challenge for European Commission**

by Albert Bressand

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The world energy system is undergoing a transition in which three agendas collide: an economic agenda; a security agenda; and a sustainability agenda, Clingendael says. Rapid growth in emerging and developing countries adds urgency to this triple agenda while the oil-and-gas-renaissance in North America challenges a number of accepted tenets on the future of energy mix. How this triple agenda is addressed will have a major influence on global economic growth, on trade flows, on the state of the planet, and on the relative wealth and power of nations.

INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES (ISS)

### **The Shale Gas "Revolution": Challenges and Implications for the EU**

by Iana Dreyer, Gerald Stang

18 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

Unconventional sources of oil (tar sands, tight oil, deep water) and natural gas (tight gas, coal bed methane) have traditionally been considered too costly to produce. Among the most promising of these is "shale gas", a natural gas contained within commonly occurring shale rock, which has low permeability and thus does not allow gas to flow easily. The recent boom in "unconventional" oil and gas in the United States has raised many questions regarding the impact it will have on global energy markets, the security of energy supplies, the fight against climate change and even the global balance of power. An intense debate has emerged on the need for Europe to develop its own resources, and the risks and benefits of unconventional hydrocarbon production.

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI (IAI)

### **The European Commission vs. Gazprom: An Issue of Fair Competition or a Foreign Policy Quarrel?**

by Nicolò Sartori

3 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The proceedings opened by the European Commission against Russia's gas giant Gazprom for allegedly violating European Union competition rules is likely to have a considerable impact on the future of EU-Russia relations. There are widespread concerns that the probe will contribute to consolidating Russia's apparent zero-sum game approach to foreign policy, thus risking to undermine its long-established energy relationship with the EU. However, while involving risks, the Commission's inquiry also presents itself as a unique opportunity to reorganize Gazprom's business structure in Europe and eventually help both Gazprom itself and EU buyers to best adapt to a rapidly changing global gas market.

***Finally, a look at Turkey, Belarus, and Russia and how their economic challenges could influence the EU.***

REAL INSTITUTO ELCANO (RIE)

### **Turkey's Economy Slows Down: Will this Affect Spain's Burgeoning Trade and Investment?**

by William Chislett

16 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Like Spain, the Turkish economy became overheated and growth is still high by EU standards. Spanish exports have risen by more than 30% over the last five years, making Turkey the second-largest non-EU market after the US, and in 2011 Turkey was the main destination of Spain's direct investment abroad. Per capita income trebled in dollar terms in the last decade, enhancing the attractiveness of a huge market whose infrastructure needs are high.

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

### **Scenarios for the Russian Federation**

22 Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

The report is based on in-depth research and interactive discussions with over 350 industry, policy and academic experts from Russia and abroad over the past 12 months. The outcomes of the process were used to create three scenarios to challenge thinking about Russia's economic development in coming decades - regional rebalancing; precarious stability; and beyond complacency. The report pays particular attention to three critical challenges that might shape the future of the country: ongoing shifts in the global energy landscape, the quality of Russia's domestic institutional environment and dynamics of social cohesion within the country.

FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (FIIA)

### **The Electoral Trap: Why the EU Should Think Beyond Belarus's Parliamentary Election**

by Anaïs Marin

Sep 2012

[link to the article](#)

The paper analyses the current state of Alexander Lukashenka's regime. It also underlines that in view of the 2015 presidential elections, the EU should invest more in the capacity-building and training of civil society actors, notably domestic election observers. Turning voters in voters into reliable rule of law watchdogs could raise awareness in, and demand for democracy in Belarus, the author suggests.



EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (ECFR)

**The EU and Ukraine After the 2012 Elections**

by Andrew Wilson

Nov 2012

[link to the article](#)

The real danger following the elections in Ukraine on 28 October is not electoral fraud but the way that the authorities are now entrenching themselves in power by every possible means, according to ECFR. It comments that members of the literal and metaphorical family around President Yanukovich are using their power to enrich themselves on an “unprecedented” scale. And having in mind this situation, the EU cannot afford to simply wait until the presidential elections in 2015. The report advises EU authorities to consider imposing a visa ban on leading figures in the regime and auditing suspect “family” companies in the EU.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (PISM)

**How to Modernise the European Union’s Eastern Neighbourhood Policy in the Age of the Internet: The Case of Ukraine**

by Igor Lyubashenko

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

This PISM paper presents a proposal for the enrichment of the European Union’s public diplomacy in the so called Eastern Neighbourhood with new tools provided by the development of modern communications technologies and based on the example of Ukraine. The country’s internet audience is growing rapidly, it argues, and as such constitutes a perfect starting point for new digitally-augmented public diplomacy in the Eastern Neighbourhood.

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES (OSW)

**The Oligarchic Democracy. The Influence of Business Groups on Ukrainian Politics**

by Sławomir Matuszak

Sep 2012

[link to the article](#)

OSW provides an analyses of the oligarchic system in Ukraine. It outlines that the so called “Orange Revolution” reshuffled the oligarchs but the system created during Leonid Kuchma’s presidency prevailed. It also discusses the influence that these business groups hold over politics, not

SPOTLIGHT ON...

**CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES (OSW)**

Poland

The Centre for Eastern Studies or *Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich* (OSW) is a Polish think tank which publishes analyses and forecasts on the political, social and economic situation in neighbouring countries as well as those in the Baltic Sea region, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia. It was established in 1990 by the Mazowiecki government, on an initiative by the late Baltic historian Marek Karp. Initially funded from the state budget with the aim to support Poland’s foreign policy, in January 2012 OSW was granted the status of a state-supervised legal entity.

only via control of particular economical sectors, but also through the media and political parties. The report marks that the oligarchic settlement has a strong impact on the economy, due to the cost created by bad governance but also due to the unfavourable investment climate. The individual interest of the oligarchs and their actions have significant impact on the Ukraine's external relations too.

CHATAM HOUSE

### **How to Finish a Revolution: Civil Society and Democracy in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine**

by Orysia Lutsevych

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Civil society in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine remains weak as citizens have little capacity to influence political developments owing to lack of engagement, clientelist networks and corruption. Western-funded NGOs that try to influence the public are still disconnected from the public at large. Civil society in all three countries would benefit from Western support that focuses on building up moderate forces, the author says. "Prioritizing greater citizen participation in organizations, as well as social trust, tolerance, openness and self-expression can do this."

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS (SWP)

### **The EU and Ukraine: What Now?**

by Wilfried Jilge and Susan Stewart

5 Feb 2013

[link to the article](#)

The October 2012 Parliamentary elections in Ukraine were deemed a step backwards for democracy by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the OSCE, SWP points out. As the European Union had urged the holding of free and fair elections with the aim of ushering in a change of direction in its relations with Ukraine and of pressing forward with the already initialled Association Agreement, it now faces a dilemma. If it considers democracy and the rule of law genuinely important, then the EU must remain critical vis-à-vis the Ukrainian leadership. But, the paper argues, isolating Ukraine would not make sense either from an economic or from a security point of view and would send the wrong signal to the Ukrainian population.

CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH (CASE)

**EU-Ukraine DCFTA: The Model for Eastern Partnership Regional Trade Cooperation**

by Veronica Movchan and Volodymyr Shportyuk

Oct 2012

[link to the article](#)

CASE outlines that the Ukraine's total welfare will increase due to the Agreement on a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA). The country would strongly benefit both economically (duty-free access to the largest world market, better access to the third markets, better investing environment) and institutionally (indispensable changes in the national legislation and standards). However these benefits would come at important costs connected with higher domestic competition, increased standard obedience costs, costs associated with legal and administrative adjustments, and mitigation costs.

EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy

**Similar Concerns, Different Attitudes: Comparing the Czech and Polish Discourses on the Eurozone Crisis**

by David Král

Jan 2013

[link to the article](#)

Czech think tank EUROPEUM highlights that the Czech Republic and Poland represent interesting case studies for the analysis of reactions to the Eurozone crisis among the so-called pre-ins: EU member states that are not yet part of the single currency area but are obliged to join it eventually. Public opinion in both countries has swung against the euro, with most Czechs and Poles now being opposed to it. The paper looks in more detail into the issues and tries to explain why the position of both countries has been different, despite obvious similarities in the economic situation and current political constellation.