This Think Tank Review* covers articles and reports published in November relating to different political and policy topics.

As the new leadership takes the helm, this month's section on **EU politics and institutions** includes a look at the geo-economic focus of von der Leyen's presidency and one article argues for a focus on fundamental values in the EU global strategy 2020.

Under **competitiveness**, articles discuss renewing the industrial strategy and developing an EU approach to artificial intelligence. There are also articles covering the debate on internet governance.

The **ecofin** section includes a discussion on the growth mechanism in Europe as well as an article covering the topic of crisis resolution in eurozone banks and another on eurozone reform.

On **environmental issues** one article asks how to make the green deal work, while another highlights the importance of the circular economy in reaching the goal of climate neutrality.

In **justice and home affairs** there is a call for the EU to act together to tackle antisemitism in Europe. The issue of repatriating foreign fighters and those associated with ISIS is discussed as is the issue of extremism online. The section on **transport, telecommunications and energy** deals with the question of 5G and the risks it entails.

On **foreign and security policy** priorities for European security are set out and responses within EU foreign and security policy to climate-related security risks are analysed. There is a look at EU-NATO cooperation and there are recommendations for the civilian common security and defence policy, including for making it more gender-balanced.

The TTR can be downloaded from Council's Library blog. TTR articles are available via Eureka, the resource discovery service of the Council Libraries.

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ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

The new EU leadership: the von der Leyen Commission focuses on Europe’s geo-economic power

by Niklas Helwig @NHelwig

Ursula von der Leyen has vowed to make the EC a “geopolitical” player under her presidency. She announced a Commission that would be strong on the economic aspects of the EU’s external action. This more aptly labelled “geo-economic” focus of her presidency comes at a time of increased global competition in the economic sphere and poor performance in respect of the EU’s traditional diplomacy. (8 p.)

BERTELSMANNS STIFTUNG

Great expectations: the new European Commission, its ambition and European public opinion

Große Erwartungen: Die neue Europäische Kommission, ihre Ziele und die öffentliche Meinung in Europa

by Isabell Hoffmann @ur_echo and Catherine E. de Vries @CatherineDVries

This study examines public support for EU reform. The authors argue that EU citizens want the new Commission to focus its efforts on protecting the environment, promoting job growth, ensuring the viability of social security and addressing increasing living costs. (EN - 39 p. / DE - 38 p.)

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

The future of the European Union: scenarios for the start of the new legislature

by Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

A few months after the EP elections, and before a new Commission is fully operational, the EU is facing old and new challenges, both domestic and international. Internally, the EU will soon be testing these new institutions. (5 p.)

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΊΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ (HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY)

Une feuille de route en vue de la création d'une union politique européenne (UPE) : Six étapes à suivre pour y parvenir

by Christos Mavrakos

For the benefit of those EU member states that may be willing to commit themselves in favour of setting up an European Political Union founded upon a constitution, this paper takes up the task of outlining the main characteristics of such a roadmap. Should the governments of these member states have recourse to the revision procedure provided for in article 48 of the EU Treaty or should they rather leave the beaten tracks and follow an alternative procedure? And in the latter case, what could this procedure look like? (FR / EN - 21 p.)

REAL INSTITUTO ELCANO

The future of values in the EU global strategy 2020

by Maryna Rabinovych and Zuzana Reptova

The revised version of the EU global strategy is to be released by the High Representative, Josep Borrell. What potential is there for introducing a new focus on fundamental values in order to boost the EU’s global role at a time of crisis for the international liberal order? This brief argues that the EU global strategy 2020 would benefit from a new emphasis on values and a more open and elaborate position on ‘principled pragmatism’. (7 p.)
Can Europe learn to play power politics?
by Zaki Laïdi @ZakiLaidi

Will the EU ever be able to shape the global game? This question is important at a moment when Europe faces unprecedented American nationalism and a president who increasingly regards allies as a burden, a Russian revisionism that targets the liberal world and its institutions, and a Chinese government that is determined to take its place as a world power without regard for the old, Western order. To some analysts, the answer is that the EU will be unable to shape international politics as long as its member states are divided on most dossiers and struggle to act collectively. (9 p.)

Le choix des gouvernants de l'Union, pour un meilleur équilibre entre démocratie et diplocratie
by Thierry Chopin @Th_Chopin and Yves Bertoncini @ybertoncini

This brief analyses crises and tensions that followed the European elections in May, suggesting perspectives and solutions to balance power relations among EU institutions and member states. (FR - 22 p.)

The EU on our behalf. How to reinforce EU democracy
by Yves Bertoncini @ybertoncini

Acknowledging the issue of the lack of democratic anchorage for European representatives in the context of growing mistrust towards representative democracy, this paper proposes several detailed reforms to reduce this lack of representation and allowing European citizens to "take back control" of the EU's decision-making system. (10 p.)

European sovereignty in Central Europe Ahead of the conference on the future of Europe
by Piotr Maciej Kaczyński @pm_kaczynski

"Is Europe sovereign?" is one of the main questions in the current political debate in the EU. In Central Europe the issue remains divisive and thus poorly understood. It is highly relevant for the 2020 conference on the future of Europe announced by the new Commission President. This paper aims to offer a new look at the very concept of sovereignty, describing the EU as double-edged political construction with a double source of legitimacy: a Union of states and a Union of citizens. (10 p.)

Emerging from totalitarianism
by Ramona Bloj

This paper provides an in-depth analysis of the evolution of Central and Eastern European states since the fall of the Berlin Wall. It strives to offer explanations to the current shift to nationalism and populism in the region by looking at incomplete economic catch-up and exodus to the West - two factors that have fuelled resentment. (4 p.)

The long shadow of transition: the state of democracy in Eastern Europe
by Valentina Farinelli, Anders Olofsgård, and Sailee Sakhardande

This brief looks at the current political and business climate in the Eastern European region, throwing light on new developments in the past few years, strides towards and away from democracy, and the challenges as well as possible policy solutions emanating from those. (5 p.)
OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

States of change: attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe 30 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall
by Lan Bui-Wrzosińska

This report seeks to take the pulse of the countries most affected by the events of 1989. The study touches, in particular, on how the people of Central and Eastern Europe look back on 1989, as well as how this history remains relevant for democracies and activism, both now and in the future. The author pays attention to the youngest generation, and on activists today, comparing their views with those of the generation of dissidents operating in 1989. (26 p.)

MTA KÖZGAZDASÁG- ÉS REGIONÁLIS TUDOMÁNYI KUTATÓKÖZPONT - VILÁGGAZDASÁGI INTÉZET (CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC AND REGIONAL STUDIES - INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMICS)

The Balkan model and the balkanization of East Central Europe
by Miklós Szanyi

East Central Europe has shown marked flaws in its institutional system throughout its transition process compared to Western benchmarks. These were deeper in the Balkan countries than in the Visegrad countries (V4). However from the mid-2000s and especially after the 2008 crisis, the V4 also began to move away from the benchmarks. (38 p.)

WILFRIED MARTENS CENTRE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

NGO lobbying on trade and investment: accountability and transparency at the EU level
by Matthias Bauer @MatBauerEcon

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are an indispensable part of civil society. However, NGO influence on policymaking is not always positive. A large number of well-connected NGOs explicitly aim to influence trade and investment policymaking. Some of the most influential NGOs that have campaigned against vital EU trade and investment policy objectives have received substantial funding from the EC and national governments. This study calls on EU policymakers to ensure that NGOs financed by the EU do not fundamentally contradict the EU's basic principles. It calls also for a comprehensive reform of the EU’s transparency register and financial transparency system. (56 p.)
and retain its competitive edge, the EU must embrace change and renew its industrial strategy. (64 p.)

FONDATION POUR L'INNOVATION POLITIQUE

L'Europe face aux nationalismes économiques américain et chinois, Politique de concurrence et industrie européenne

by Emmanuel Combe @emmanuelcombe, Paul-Adrien Hyppolite @PAHyppolite and Antoine Michon @AntMichon

Following the Commission’s decision to forbid the merger between Alstom and Siemens, a lot of people claiming that Europe is declining have found a new scapegoat: the EU competition policy that is described as preventing the advent of "European champions". This report challenges this view by showing that the Commission is applying rules that are for the benefit of Europeans' purchaser power and that entice firms to innovate. It also outlines a series of suggested reforms regarding EU competition law. (FR - 60 p.)

BRUEGEL

A primer on developing European public goods: a report to ministers Bruno Le Maire and Olaf Scholz

by Clemens Fuest @FuestClemens and Jean Pisani-Ferry @pisaniferry

The EU has mostly been defined as a provider of economic integration. The single market and the euro were both integration-driven. Time has come to give renewed priority to European public goods – policies and initiatives whose value to the citizens are higher when conducted at EU-level rather than at national level. The enhanced provision of European public goods requires additional funding, but it should not increase the overall tax burden for EU citizens. The overall tax burden should decline if public goods are more efficiently provided at European rather than a national level. This implies funding European public goods through higher GNI-based resources in the EU budget. (56 p.)
SECTION 2 - EU POLICIES

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF FINANCIAL INNOVATION

**It’s not magic: weighing the risks of AI in financial services**

by Keyur Patel and Marshall Lincoln

This report explores some of the risks that could arise as the use of artificial intelligence (AI) becomes increasingly prevalent in financial services – not just at the fringes, but at mainstream institutions that touch billions of people worldwide. (56 p.)

EGMONT - ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**An ambitious agenda or big words? Developing a European approach to AI**

by Raluca Csernatoni @RCsernatoni

Artificial intelligence has become a key area of global strategic competition, offering potentially revolutionary solutions for commercial, civil, and military applications. While the EU has recently taken action as regards the AI’s disruptive potential, it arguably lags in its funding, research, and innovation as compared to the US or China. Recent policy and funding initiatives at the EU level are shaping a distinctive approach to tackle such challenges but the question remains whether these actions will mitigate the European governance and funding gaps in this emerging technological domain and foster a globally competitive European AI ecosystem. (12 p.)

JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE - BERLIN

**Establishing trust in an AI-powered future**

by Paul-Jasper Dittrich @paul2jasper

One of the most important foundations for the success and acceptance of artificial intelligence technologies is trust. This paper makes the case for a forceful European regulatory and political answer to establish trust in emerging technologies. It examines three areas where AI will have disruptive effects: IT-security and product safety, reskilling of workers affected by automation and the governance of automated decision-making systems. (10 p.)

GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICY INSTITUTE

**Internet governance: past, present and future**

by Wade Hoxtell @wadehoxtell and David Nonhoff @DavidNonhoff

The aim of this study is to present the current challenges of Internet governance and their potential impact on the future. The study summarizes how Internet governance currently functions and the key actors involved. It presents key challenges to Internet governance and their potential implications for the free and open Internet. It also provides two different outlooks for how the Internet and its governance could look in the future, specifically, what a best and worst case could look like. Finally it concludes with policy recommendations for Europe and Germany. (26 p.)

CHATHAM HOUSE - THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**EU–US relations on internet governance**

by Emily Taylor @etaylaw and Stacie Hoffmann

As Internet governance issues emerge in the wake of innovations such as the Internet of things and advanced artificial intelligence, there is an urgent need for the EU and US to establish a common, positive multi-stakeholder vision for regulating and governing the internet. (33 p.)
The fiscal stimulus that is not: why there is no fiscal expansion in sight for the eurozone

by Lorenzo Codogno @lorenzocodogno

As in Peter Pan’s fictional island of Neverland, people in euroland refuse to grow up and face reality. The “never-never” refers to the idea of a countercyclical fiscal stimulus, which still faces massive opposition in European capitals. To put things straight, in normal times fiscal policy should focus on enhancing potential growth rather than trying to micromanage the economic cycle. However, today’s times are anything but normal. Interest rates up to long-term maturities are in negative territory, and the ECB has restarted quantitative easing. (5 p.)

Growth in Europe: notes for a policy agenda

by Pier Carlo Padoan

This paper discusses topics related to the growth mechanism in Europe, and specifically in the eurozone. It looks at the interaction of macroeconomic and structural aspects identifying issues where more analysis is needed in order to draw policy implications. It also analyses how developments in the governance of the global system are affecting growth. Finally, it looks at how political economy obstacles to a stronger growth environment and a structural agenda can be overcome by improving incentives to collective action. (17 p.)

Eurozone reform: a victim of political economy

by Linda Zellina @Linda_Zellina

With a new Commission and a new head of the European Central Bank (ECB), the eurozone now has new leadership and an opening for positive change. As the eurozone faces old and new challenges, it is in dire need of improved capability to tackle both legacy and new problems. (9 p.)

The political use of the term “moral hazard”: evidence from policymakers of the Eurozone

by Laura Pierret

Since the global financial crisis of 2007-8, the need for increased risk sharing between the members of the euro area has been acknowledged. However, the evolution towards an “insurance union” has been hampered by the political division between risk sharing and risk reduction. This paper intends to contribute to the explanation of this political deadlock by exploring the main explicit argument underpinning this division, that is to say moral hazard. This paper explores moral hazard from an ideational point of view and provides information on how and why policymakers of the eurozone use the term “moral hazard”. (45 p.)

Crisis management for euro-area banks in central Europe

by Alexander Lehmann

Eurozone bank integration has decreased as post-financial crisis national rules require banks to hold more capital at home. It might be undermined further by bank resolution planning. Either a single resolution board takes the lead for the entire banking group or independent local intervention schemes need to be developed for crisis resolution. (15 p.)

Are central banks out of ammunition to fight a recession? Not quite.

by Joseph E. Gagnon and Christopher G. Collins

Central banks in the three largest advanced economies (the US, Japan, and the Eurozone) have only limited ammunition to fight a recession based on the tools used to date. The Federal Reserve has the most amount of tried and tested ammunition in this group. The ECB and the Bank of Japan have little ability to ease policy with tools used to date. But they can engage in more exotic forms of monetary policy, such as large-scale purchases of equity and real estate and direct transfers to households, which the Federal Reserve cannot
SECTION 2 - EU POLICIES

An important implication of this analysis is that raising expected inflation before a recession hits has a much larger benefit than has been widely recognized. (12 p.)

BARCELONA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

Negative monetary policy rates and systemic banks' risk-taking: evidence from the euro area securities register

by Johannes Bubeck, Angela Maddaloni @AngelaMaddaloni and Jose-Luis Peydro

The paper shows that negative monetary policy rates induce systemic banks to reach-for-yield. For identification, it exploits the introduction of negative deposit rates by the European central bank in June 2014 and a novel securities register for the 26 largest euro area banking groups. Banks with more customer deposits are negatively affected by negative rates, as they do not pass negative rates to retail customers, in turn investing more in securities. Effects are stronger for less capitalized banks, private sector securities and dollar-denominated securities. (37 p.)

EUROPEAN CAPITAL MARKETS INSTITUTE

Liquidity and tail-risk interdependencies in the euro area sovereign bond market

by Daragh Clancy, Peter G. Dunne and Pasquale Filiani

The likelihood of severe contractions in an asset's liquidity can feed back to the ex-ante risks faced by the individual providers of such liquidity. These self-reinforcing effects can spread to other assets through informational externalities and hedging relations. The paper explores whether such interdependencies play a role in amplifying tensions in European sovereign bond markets and are a source of cross-market spillovers. (61 p.)

REAL INSTITUTO ELcano

La politica comercial europea ante un entorno internacional cambiante

by Enrique Féas @EnriqueFeas and Federico Steinberg @Steinbergf

Commerce is an essential part of the EU's identity and today the EU represents one third of global trade. However, the international commercial system is changing, showing a comeback of nationalism and continuous developments in technology. This brief affirms that the only way the EU can face this evolution is to strengthen internal cohesion and to further legitimise the open market policy and trade agreements with the general public. This could lead to the creation of a compact front that will set up rules for the new multilateral order. (ES - 120 p.)

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT THINK TANK

The future of money

by Salomon Fiedler, Klaus-Jürgen Gem, Ulrich Stolzenburg et al.

Cryptocurrencies, Libra, central bank digital currencies... What will be the future of money? What are the implications for monetary policy? These papers try to help answer these questions. (104 p.)

EMPLOYMENT / SOCIAL POLICY / HEALTH AND CONSUMER AFFAIRS

DEUTSCHES INSTITUT FÜR ENTWICKLUNGSPOLITIK (GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE)

Social protection as a tool to address slow onset climate events: emerging issues for research and policy

by Mariya Aleksandrova

This paper aims to further awareness of opportunities to address loss and damage caused by climate change-related slow onset events (SOEs) through social protection. According to the findings designing comprehensive, climate-responsive social protection strategies can strongly support proactive measures to avoid, minimise and address the complex, long-term impacts of SOEs on human health, livelihoods, poverty and inequality. (37 p.)
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

BRUEGEL

How to make the European green deal work
by Grégory Claeys @gregclaeys, Simone Tagliapietra @Tagliapietra_S and Georg Zachmann @GeorgZachmann

Commission president von der Leyen has made climate change a top priority, promising to propose a European green deal that would make Europe climate neutral by 2050. The European green deal should be conceived as a reallocation mechanism, fostering investment shifts and labour substitution in key economic sectors, while supporting the most vulnerable segments of society throughout the decarbonisation process. The deal’s four pillars would be carbon pricing, sustainable investment, industrial policy and a just transition. (21 p.)

INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY / MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FINLAND

EU circular economy and trade: improving policy coherence for sustainable development
by Marianne Kettunen @makettunen, Susanna Gionfra @GionfraSusanna and Misty Monteville @mistymontev

This paper examines the interface between the EU circular economy, trade and sustainable development. It identifies the expected global impacts associated with the EU’s shift to circularity and investigates the role of trade in either incentivising or hindering this process. It highlights the links between the circular economy, trade and sustainable development, emphasising the need for better policy coherence among these areas in the EU. (53 p.)

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

Circular economy for climate neutrality: setting the priorities for the EU
by Vasileios Rizos @vasileios_rizos, Milan Elkerbout @MilanElkerbout and Christian Egenhofer @CEgenhofer

The previous Commission policy on resources management was part of the priority for jobs and growth and economic competitiveness. The circular economy will be no less important for the new political priority of climate neutrality; it will become one of the indispensable elements for meeting the EU’s ambitions. EU climate policy and the circular economy are by and large complementary and mutually reinforcing. The circular economy is more than just another ‘product standards’ policy. (11 p.)

DEUTSCHES INSTITUT FÜR WIRTSCHAFTSFORSCHUNG (GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH)

Can governments ban materials with large carbon footprint? Legal and administrative assessment of product carbon requirements
by Timo Gerres, Manuel Haussner, Karsten Neuhoff et al.

This paper explores whether governments can ban carbon-intensive materials through product carbon requirements. By setting near-zero emission limits for the production of materials, governments would accelerate the phase out of carbon-intensive production processes. It analyses various product standards and technical regulations in the European context. It provides a case study of the political, legal, and technical backgrounds for the development of product carbon requirements, both in the EU and beyond. (26 p.)

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

Our responsibility: a new model of international cooperation for the era of environmental breakdown
by Laurie Laybourn-Langton and Lesley Rankin @lesleyfrankin

Environmental breakdown is accelerating and poses an unprecedented threat to international cooperation. A new positive-sum model of international cooperation is needed, which should seek to realise a more sustainable, just and prepared world. This necessarily requires communities and countries to better recognise their cumulative contribution to environmental breakdown, and their current capability to act. Wealthy nations and communities not only contribute most to the stock of environmental breakdown, they preside over and benefit from an economic development model founded on unsustainable environmental impacts and global power imbalance. (24 p.)
HEINRICH-BÖLL-STIFTUNG (HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION)

The world nuclear waste report 2019: focus Europe
by Manon Besnard, Marcos Buser, Ian Fairlie et al.

This edition presents the latest facts and figures on nuclear waste and its challenges. The amount of nuclear waste is growing worldwide. With reactors across the world approaching the end of their lives, decommissioning and dismantling of nuclear power plants will become increasingly important. This process will produce even more radioactive waste. In absence of final disposal sites, most of the high-level waste and spent nuclear fuel must be stored for many decades. (148 p.)

JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS

FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN

A new European pact on immigration and asylum in response to the "migration challenge"
by Catherine Withol de Wenden

Europe is one of the leading destinations in the world in terms of migratory flows: there are 77 million migrants in Europe, Russia included, according to the UN’s department for population. This policy paper reports on the different lackluster responses put up at the European level to deal with the migration challenge. It puts forwards a list of bold policy proposals to better manage this challenge, such as the reopening of labour immigration in struggling economic sectors. (7 p.)

CENTRE D'ETUDES PROSPECTIVES ET D'INFORMATIONS INTERNATIONALES

Immigration and preferences for redistribution in Europe
by Alberto Alesina, Elie Murard and Hillel Rapoport

The paper examines the relationship between immigration and preferences for redistribution in Europe using a newly assembled data set of immigrant stocks for 140 regions in 16 western European countries. It is found that native respondents display lower support for redistribution when the share of immigrants in their residence region is higher. This negative association is driven by regions of countries with relatively large welfare states and by respondents at the center or at the right of the political spectrum. The effects are also stronger when immigrants originate from middle-eastern or eastern European countries, are less skilled than natives, and experience more residential segregation. (53 p.)

WILFRIED MARTENS CENTRE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

Rescue operations in the Mediterranean: towards a reliable EU policy
by Vít Novotný @vitnovotny

Search and rescue (SAR) in the central Mediterranean continue painting a disturbing portrait of European disunity on disembarkations and relocations of the rescued passengers. This research paper provides a more optimistic outlook. It argues that, despite the inter-governmental conflicts, which remain unresolved, the EU states have been developing a two-segment policy which has greatly reduced the numbers of irregular maritime arrivals via the central Mediterranean route. (86 p.)

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

Women and children first: repatriating the westerners affiliated with ISIS

Tens of thousands of detained foreign men, women and children associated with ISIS in
Syria’s North East pose a formidable challenge for both their governments of origin and the region in which they are housed. States should move out all of their nationals, starting with women and children. (34 p.)

ÖSTERREICHISCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR EUROPAPOLITIK (AUSTRIAN SOCIETY FOR EUROPEAN POLITICS)

Effectively fighting antisemitism in Europe – challenges and actions
by Patrick Greisser and Antonio-Maria Martino

For several years now, the number of antisemitic incidents in Europe has been rising dramatically. Under the Austrian Presidency, the unanimous adoption at EU level of the Council declaration on the fight against antisemitism and the development of a common security approach to better protect Jewish communities and institutions in Europe set the political course for an effective fight against antisemitism. It is now up to the EU member states to take immediate action to prevent antisemitic violence and protect Jewish life in Europe. (9 p.)

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM - THE HAGUE

A comparative research study on radical and extremist (hate) speakers in European member states
by Ulad Belavusau @Ulad_Belavusau, Berenice Boutin @bereniceboutin, Rumyana Grozdanova @DrRumyanavanArk et al.

In the context of the proliferation of extremist hate speech in Europe in recent years, legislative provisions have been enacted that inevitably resulted in potentially substantial limitations on the right to freedom of speech. A number of individuals have been subjected to onerous administrative measures in relation to their speech – sometimes after a criminal conviction, sometimes in the absence of criminal law action. Thus, the question of proportionality has inevitably arisen – to what extent can a state legitimately and justifiably restrict the right to freedom of expression in the interests of national security? (43 p.)

ISTITUTO PER GLI STUDI DI POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE

Digital jihad: online communication and violent extremism
by Francesco Marone (ed.) @f_marone

The internet offers tremendous opportunities for violent extremists across the ideological spectrum and at a global level. In addition to propaganda, digital technologies have transformed the dynamics of radical mobilisation, recruitment and participation. Even though the jihadist threat has seemingly declined in the West, the danger exists of the internet being an environment where radical messages can survive and even prosper. This report investigates the current landscape of jihadist online communication, including original empirical analysis. Specific attention is also placed on potential measures and initiatives to address the threat of online violent extremism. (157 p.)

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM - THE HAGUE

Right-wing extremists’ persistent online presence: history and contemporary trends
by Maura Conway @galwaygrrl, Ryan Scrivens @R_Scrivens, and Logan Macnair @LoganMacnair

This policy brief traces how Western right-wing extremists have exploited the power of the internet from early dial-up bulletin board systems to contemporary social media and messaging apps. It demonstrates how the extreme right has been quick to adopt a variety of emerging online tools, not only to connect with the like-minded, but to radicalise some audiences while intimidating others, and ultimately to recruit new members. (24 p.)
**TRANSPORT / TELECOMMUNICATIONS / ENERGY**

**WIENER INSTITUT FÜR INTERNATIONALE WIRTSCHAFTSVERGLEICHEN (THE VIENNA INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC STUDIES)**

*One trillion euros for Europe: how to finance a European silk road with the help of a European silk road trust, backed by a European sovereign wealth fund and other financing instruments*

by Mario Holzner @MarioHolzner

Much of Europe’s infrastructure is in a bad state, even in some wealthy parts of Europe. In this context, the author proposes a financing model for a European silk road. The new transport infrastructure (a combination of an e-mobility motorway, high-speed rail, ports and logistics centres) would connect the industrial areas of the west with the populous, but less developed, regions in the east of the continent. (26 p.)

**WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR SCHOLARS**

*5G and security: there is more to worry about than Huawei*

by Melissa K. Griffith @melkgriffith

Given much of the recent coverage surrounding security and the fifth generation (5G) of cellular networks, you would be forgiven for assuming that security concerns are largely limited to China in general and Huawei in particular. This is not the case. Equally important are the concerns for US’ security that extend beyond Huawei’s role in the development and deployment of 5G technology. Notably, while Huawei amplifies many pre-existing areas of concern, 5G would represent a significant challenge for American national security even if China was not a peer competitor in the market. (7 p.)

**REAL INSTITUTO ELCANO**

*La UE ya tiene una evaluación de los riesgos 5G (ahora falta tomar medidas)*

by Félix Arteaga

This commentary analyses the Commission’s report on the cybersecurity risks that the new 5G technology entails. The report affirms that this new technology increases the expositions, vulnerability and sensitivity of the currently used networks. Integrity and confidentiality of the data shared is therefore at risk. The paper argues that a new public policy on data protection must come along with this new technology. (ES - 4 p.)

**DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR AUSWÄRTIGE POLITIK (GERMAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)**

*Global energy in transition. How the EU should navigate new realities and risks*

by Andreas Goldthau @goldthau

Global energy demand is shifting to Southeast Asia. This new trade flow is altering market power because it not only follows natural economic development, but also results from strategic trade and investment policies that promote national interests. In this context, the EU needs to account for the geo-economic side effects of the new European green deal. (8 p.)
SECTION 3 - FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY / DEFENCE

STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Towards a more capable European Union civilian CSDP
by Timo Smit

The objective of this policy brief is to support and monitor the implementation of the civilian common security and defence policy. It takes stock of the progress that has been achieved since the establishment of the compact; it analyses the evolution of the demand for personnel contributions to civilian CSDP over time; and it makes recommendations about what EU member states and EEAS can do to translate the political objective of increasing member state contributions to the missions into actual outcomes. (15 p.)

STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Towards a more gender-balanced European Union CSDP
by Timo Smit

With the civilian common security and defence policy, the EU committed to actively promote a better representation of women at all levels in the missions. One year into the implementation phase of the compact, the number and the share of women in missions have yet to increase. The author argues that to deliver on this commitment, the EU should follow the example of other organizations and elaborate a gender parity strategy for civilian CSDP. This strategy should operationalize the commitment, set concrete targets and prevent efforts to promote women’s representation from being deprioritized during the implementation phase of the compact. (16 p.)

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

What does it mean to be a European defence company today?
by Daniel Fiott

Against the backdrop of rising public spending on defence in Europe and the recent launch of new initiatives (PESCO, European Defence Fund), this brief sheds light on the strategic opportunities and challenges for European defence companies today. (6 p.)

EUROPEUM

The V4 and the European defence initiatives
by Gergely Varga

The Visegrad four are far from unanimous and exclusively critical in their approach to European defence initiatives. In different forms and to various extents, all are hedging against the risks and uncertainties of the long-term prospects of the transatlantic relationship and the challenges of a deeper European defence cooperation. Alongside the differences, the V4 have some common traits, including pragmatism, inclusivity, and a genuine 360-degree approach - which are valuable inputs to the debates surrounding the future of European defence. (7 p.)

ÚSTAV MEZINÁRODNÍCH VZTAHŮ (INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

The importance of verification and transparency in the nuclear-arms control
by Miroslav Tůma

This paper explains the importance of verification procedures in the area of nuclear-arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, especially in the sphere between US and Russia, which possess 90% of the world's nuclear weapons. The author analyses the development of verification procedures in this field and their future course. (9 p.)
A global arms control regime on short- and medium-range missiles

by Matúš Halás

The intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) Treaty, which resolved the crisis in the 80s between East-West relations, limiting ground-launched delivery vehicles with a range between 500 and 5,500 km, ceased to be a valid international law document between the US and the Russia from August 2019. The author illustrates an example of a possible global regime limiting the development and deployment of ground-launched short- and medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles. (11 p.)

EU-NATO cooperation in an era of great-power competition

by Luis Simón @LuisSimn

Over the past two decades, discussions on EU-NATO relations have been closely associated with crisis-management operations and transnational threats. The return of great-power competition is eliciting a shift in European security and transatlantic relations toward deterrence and defense. The return of great-power competition and growing uncertainty about the US' commitment to Europe have led to renewed calls to turn the EU into an autonomous pole in global politics. At the same time, the EU's need to give its global role a security and a transatlantic anchor underlines the potential of a more structured EU-NATO dialogue. (6 p.)

Transatlantic relations: past, present, and future

by David O'Sullivan

The historically very close relations between Europe and the US are going through a period of considerable tension. Such tensions are not new but the range and intensity of the disagreements is rather unprecedented. Some of these differences are doubtless conjunctural and likely to fade. However, there may also be more underlying structural changes at work regarding America's view of itself and its role in the world. The challenge for Europeans is to understand these shifts in American thinking in order to be able to preserve, but also reinvigorate, the partnership and ensure the continued success of the old alliance in this new century. (4 p.)
enhanced; mandates for missions within the EU’s common security and defence policy should be broadened; and EU–UN cooperation should be strengthened. (7 p.)

DAHRENDORF FORUM

The foreign policy of the radical right: targeting the EU’s multilateralism

by Julia Himmrich

This paper argues that the global compact for migration (GCM) was one instance in which the radical right (RR) succeeded in affecting the EU’s foreign policy. It examines whether this opposition to the GCM was due to a systematic hostility to multilateralism. It analyses whether the radical right had a role in shaping the EU’s position on the GCM. It concludes that the RR’s antagonism to multilateralism focuses on its opposition to further EU integration in foreign policy. (39 p.)

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

Armed drones in Europe

by Srdjan Cvijic @srdjancvijc, Lisa Klingenberg @LisaMusiol, Delina Goxho @delinagoxho et. al.

The use of armed drones in the EU has become a topic rife with controversy and misinformation. This report gives a comprehensive and in-depth overview of the approach to, and use of, armed drones in five European countries: Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, France, and the UK. Further, the report is intended to start a wider debate about armed drones in Europe and to serve as a guide on this topic for the EP. (84 p.)

DANSK INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONALE STUDIER/DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The European Union as a security actor - perspectives from the maritime domain

by Jessica Larsen

This report analyses the EU’s maritime security operations so far undertaken under the CSDP, the counter-piracy operation ATALANTA in the Indian Ocean and the counter-smuggling operation SOPHIA in the Mediterranean Sea. While the EU has pursued a comprehensive role in addressing maritime crime, the report argues that the EU on a strategic and operational level is neglecting a range of geopolitical tensions currently playing out in various maritime domains. As the EU seeks to step up its common security and defence policy, the report calls for dedicated analysis of and decision-making about how the EU as security actor wishes to face this development and position itself in the maritime domain on both strategic and operational levels. (40 p.)

EGMONT - ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Europe and China’s belt and road initiative: growing concerns, more strategy

by Gustaaf Geeraerts

Geopolitical shifts are engendering a transformation of the globalised economic order that has flourished in the post-Cold War period. This trend runs deep and raises structural challenges, – such as the rivalry between different economic models, the competition for technological leadership as well as control over physical and digital connectivity. As the EU now accounts for a lower share of world trade, investment, currency holdings, defence expenditure, and development assistance, this shift has also produced growing concerns about the EU’s relative decline and its future economic security. (6 p.)

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR INTERNATIONALE BETREKKINGEN - CLINGENDAEL (NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

The Arctic elephant. Why Europe must address the geopolitics of the high north

by Ties Dams @TiesDams and Louise van Schaik @LouiseVanSchaik

This policy brief argues that there is an urgent need for the EU and European countries to upgrade the Arctic diplomatic dialogue to address security and geopolitical concerns. If the new Commission truly wants to be a geopolitical one, the Arctic is one of the chessboards that can no longer be treated primarily as an area for scientific cooperation on climate change. (11 p.)
The EU-Mercosur agreement: towards integrated climate policy?

by Francesca Colli

The recently signed EU-Mercosur agreement has met with criticism from civil society, farmers and politicians around the EU. These criticisms have been amplified by recent forest fires in the Amazon. Although the von der Leyen Commission’s strategic documents highlight the importance of mainstreaming climate change and environment throughout all policies, including trade, the EU-Mercosur agreement lacks enforceable measures to this end. In light of recent events, ratification of the EU-Mercosur agreement by all member states seems unlikely. (5 p.)

The impact of EU’s trade sanctions against Russia on Western countries exports

by Birgitta Berg-Andersson

The EU’s trade sanctions against Russia came into force on 1 August 2014. This paper looks at the impact on Western exports and shows that Finland has suffered less from the trade sanctions than the rest of the world on average. (FI - 18 p.)

A necessary shake-up: EU programming for international cooperation

by Mariella Di Ciommo and Alexei Jones

This paper looks at the next programming phase for the EU’s external resources and asks how programming can be harnessed as a space to make EU external action more consistent and innovative in aligning with the sustainable development goals (SDGs) and its own external action objectives. The authors conclude that, while opportunities exist, the risk of institutional inertia and an unchanged programming process is high. If the EU is to deliver on its commitments and ambitions, some thought needs to go into how to steer innovation, including through active engagement of the new EU leadership. (20 p.)

The common foreign and security policy tested in Niger

by Léonard Colomba-Petteng

This paper summarizes the actions undertaken by the EU in Niger since 2011, as the Union has been trying to assert itself as a credible political player in the Sahel. Brussels’ clear goal is to strengthen the capabilities of Niger’s internal security forces, and at the same time foster the country’s economic development. The author argues that the effective implementation of the development-security nexus does not stand up well to the study of local dynamics and as such needs to be reviewed by the new Commission. (5 p.)
between the EU and some of the lowest-income countries in the world. In practice, however, its achievements are meagre and contested. Nonetheless, the EU and ACP countries officially launched the negotiation of the post-Cotonou agreement in 2018, which aims to deepen the Cotonou’s acquis. This paper aims to show how the prism of environmental and climate mainstreaming helps in explaining the declining relevance of the post-Cotonou framework. (56 p.)

ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI

Emerging powers and Africa: from development to geopolitics
by Chris Alden

Emerging powers are playing an increasingly important role on the economic landscape of the African continent as trading partners, sources of finance and models of development. Understanding this phenomenon requires an assessment of the broader dynamics that shaped, and continue to influence, ties between them. Moreover, it is important to understand how the promotion of emerging power experiences are impacting upon the development trajectories of African countries, and in particular the SDGs, as they navigate a global economy in the midst of a profound transition. (15 p.)

INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

A steady hand: the EU 2019 strategy & policy toward Central Asia
by Svante E. Cornell and S. Frederick Starr

The study details the evolution of relations between the EU and Central Asia in the past three decades; it focuses on the key documents determining EU policy in the region, up to and including the 2019 strategy; and it analyses specific issues in EU policy in Central Asia, before concluding with a series of concrete recommendations for the future. (71 p.)

FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

State of the Union: possibilities and perspectives for the Eurasian Economic Union
by Elena Kuzmina and Tatiana Isachenko

The development of the Eurasian economic union (EAEU) and its relationship with the EU was largely shaped by global economic crises and (geo-)political and military conflicts in its proximity. In the future, the EU must get ready for deepened cooperation with the EAEU. This study analyses the state of integration within the EAEU, focusing on its effect on the different member states’ trade structure before scrutinising and assessing future areas for further cooperation between the EU and EAEU. (17 p.)

EUROPEUM

The European Union in Central Asia: balancing competing actors and opportunities for the V4 countries
by Alica Kizekov

The EU, unlike Russia, China or the US, has provided a clearer strategy on Central Asia this year. The appeal of the strategy also lies in the extended focus on Afghanistan as a country that is a joint area of interest, for it brings many opportunities but also risks affecting regional stability and prosperity. However, this stronger focus on Afghanistan should not lead to its overshadowing the ongoing collaboration with Central Asian states (7 p.)
REAL INSTITUTO ELCANO

The end of critical engagement: on the failures of the EU’s North Korea strategy

by Eric J. Ballbach @EricBallbach

After evaluating the EU’s North-Korea strategy, this paper argues that critical engagement should be substituted by a more proactive approach that would better serve Brussel’s interests in the region. This new strategy should specifically target those dimensions of the conflict to which Europe can make a tangible contribution, identify corresponding initiatives which better help to the achievement of the EU’s main objectives vis-à-vis the Korean peninsula. (8 p.)

EASTERN EUROPE

Hybrid threats in EaP countries: building a common response

by Kakha Gogolashvili, Valeriu Pasa, Mikayel Hovhannisyan et al.

A set of recommendations for the governments of Eastern partnership (EaP) states, EU and NATO institutions and their member states to counter new hybrid threats aimed at discrediting and weakening the motivation of the EaP partner states to further integrate with the EU. (44 p.)
The unmaking of Lebanon’s sectarian order? The October uprising and its drivers

by Tamirace Fakhoury  @Tamyfakhoury

Last month, an unprecedented protest movement took hold of Lebanon’s streets and public squares. Dubbed as the October uprising, the timing of the movement roughly coincided with important anniversaries, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall or other iconic historical events, including the October revolution in Russia, leading many to draw comparisons. (6 p.)

INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

Proposed elections in the Palestinian Authority: why now, and how feasible are they?

by Michael Milstein

The idea that has arisen recently of holding elections in the Palestinian Authority appears more serious at this stage than in the past. The main promoter of the idea is Abu Mazen, who advocates separate elections: first for the parliament, and only later for the presidency. Although Hamas has long demanded that the two elections be held simultaneously, a change in Hamas’s stance is evident. Yet despite the positive attitude that the PA and Hamas are currently displaying toward elections, it appears that there are still many other barriers to overcome. (5 p.)

ZENTRUM FÜR EUROPÄISCHE INTEGRATIONSFORSCHUNG (CENTER FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES)/ UNIVERSITAT BONN/ MEDITERRANEAN ACADEMY OF DIPLOMATIC STUDIES

Soft power policies in the Mediterranean region

by Robert Stüwe  @robertstuewe and Liska Wittenberg  (eds.)

This paper takes a deeper look at the various manifestations of EU’s soft power related policies in the Mediterranean. EU’s policies towards Jordan, Turkey, and during the Arab Spring are discussed as examples. (16 p.)
over West”, thus paving the way for deeper cooperation with Asian powers such as China, Russia, and India. The current Iranian strategy rather seems devoted to the consolidation of a bloc of power which can commit to security and economic schemes as alternatives to the Western-dominated ones. This report aims to answer a few crucial questions: which are the major initiatives promoted within Iran’s "look east 2.0” strategy? To what extent will Tehran succeed in creating a solid Eastern block? What will be the influence of the wider geopolitical context? And finally, what role is left for the EU? (127 p.)

**CENTER FOR A NEW AMERICAN SECURITY / SIPA CENTER FOR GLOBAL ENERGY POLICY**

**In dire straits? Implications of US-Iran tensions for the global oil market**

by Ilan Goldenberg @ilangoldenberg, Jessica Schwed and Kaleigh Thomas @kaleighthomas

This study examines three scenarios for military conflict between Iran and the US and assess the potential impacts on global oil prices - as one specific representation of the immediate economic impact of conflict - as well as broader strategic implications. It concludes that the risk of a major military confrontation between the US and Iran has increased in recent months but still remains relatively low, as neither the US nor Iran wants war. (53 p.)

**UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE**

**Engaging the post-ISIS Iraqi religious landscape for peace and reconciliation**

by Ann Wainscott

Religious actors in Iraq wield considerable influence, and Iraqis perceive them as playing an important role in moving the country toward peace. This report analyzes the influence of Iraq’s religious actors to illuminate their crucial role in supporting peace and reconciliation efforts and to help policymakers and practitioners understand how to engage them in efforts to advance peace. (52 p.)

**ULKOPOLITITTINEN INSTITUUTTI (FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)**

**Russia and China in the Middle East: playing their best cards**

by Marco Siddi @MarcoSiddi and Marcin Kaczmarski @M_Kaczmarski

Russia and China share a number of interests in the Middle East: limiting US power and maintaining good relations with all players in the region while remaining aloof from the key conflicts, especially between Iran and Saudi Arabia, and Iran and Israel. (8 p.)

**WESTERN BALKANS**

**FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)**

**Enlargement policy and social change in the Western Balkans**

by Mirna Jusic and Nikolina Obradovic

Has the European project in the Western Balkans delivered social change? The 2018 enlargement strategy announced a “new reinforced social dimension” for the WB. The idea to use the EU’s European Pillar of Social Rights as a normative model for enlargement policy has recently gained greater prominence. This study reveals, however, that EU-sponsored economic and social reforms have not been able to remedy poor social outcomes, and that further paradigmatic shift is indeed needed. It is high time to increase efforts towards inclusive growth, social citizenship, and equal opportunity through social and economic reform in the WB. (68 p.)

**CENTAR ZA EVROPSKE POLITIKE (EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE)**

**Independent reporting mechanism (IRM): Serbia design report 2018–2020**

by Dragana Bajic, Vanja Dolapcev and Milena Lazarevic @milenalazarevic

The open government partnership (OGP) is a global partnership that brings together government reformers and civil society leaders to create action plans that make governments more inclusive, responsive, and accountable. The independent reporting mechanism monitors all action plans to ensure governments follow through on commitments. Serbia joined OGP in 2013. Since then, Serbia
has implemented two action plans. This report evaluates the design of Serbia’s third action plan. (68 p.)

EUROPEUM

From Warsaw to Tirana: overcoming the past together - good practices and lessons learned from the Visegrad four and Western Balkans

by Jana Juzová (ed.)

Reconciliation and good neighbourly relations are among the key priorities of the stabilisation and association process of the WB and represent a necessary condition for the advancement of the countries of the region towards the EU. Despite significant efforts and resources invested in reconciliation in the WB by the EU through different platforms and tools, and the activities of civil society across the region, only relatively little progress has been achieved in this very complex and sensitive process. (53 p.)

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΌ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΉΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΉΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΉΣ (HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY)

Bulgaria sets tough conditions on North Macedonia’s EU accession path

by Yorgos Christidis

The hardening of Sofia’s position vis-à-vis North Macedonia and the attempt to condition Skopje’s accession process upon the previous satisfaction of a number of key Bulgarian preconditions undoubtedly constitutes a critical moment in bilateral, Bulgarian-North Macedonian relations. Sofia has “bound itself” into a tough diplomatic position, reminiscent of Greek policy vis-à-vis North Macedonia. Some of the key Bulgarian demands on history, however, touch upon fundamental aspects of the North Macedonian national narrative and nation-building and will be hard for any government in Skopje to accept. (11 p.)

EUROPEUM

Kosovo elections – moving towards better future?

by Jana Juzová

The result of the Kosovo parliamentary elections in October 2019 brought rather unexpected result, casting the ruling parties to opposition and ending 12 years of PDK-led governance in Kosovo, representing thus the first real governmental change since Kosovo’s independence. The winner of the elections, the Vetevendosje (“self-determination”) party, has become a part of the government for the very first time, with a very narrow victory over another opposition party, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK). This paper analyses the transition. (5 p.)

CHINA

BRUEGEL

The state of China-European Union economic relations

by Uri Dadush, Marta Dominguez-Jiménez @MartaDominguezJ and Tianlang Gao

China and the EU have an extensive and growing economic relationship. More can be done to capture the untapped trade and investment opportunities that exist between China and the EU. China’s size and dynamism, and its recent shift from an export-led to a domestic demand-led growth model, mean that these opportunities are likely to grow with time. (28 p.)

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

China as a WTO developing member: is it a problem?

by Weinian Hu

The developing member status is an area identified for WTO reform by the US, the EU and the trilateral trade ministerial cooperation. The grievance is that some of the world’s top trading nations that declared themselves as developing members are taking advantage of the 155 special and deferential treatment provisions embedded to date across the range of WTO agreements, resorting to weaker commitments, undermining the functioning of the multilateral trading system and impeding the negotiation of future agreements. (28 p.)
**US-China trade war: both countries lose, world markets adjust, others gain**

by Sherman Robinson and Karen Thierfelder

The terms of the US-China trade war change often, but the tariff escalations have inflicted documented economic damage on both countries. Expanding the conflict will only increase the damage and reverberate across the world economy. This brief analyzes three scenarios that could unfold in coming months. (11 p.)

**How does China fare on the Russian market? Implications for the European Union**

by Alicia Garcia Herrero @Aliciagarciaherrer and Jianwei Xu

China’s economic ties with Russia are deepening. Meanwhile, Europe remains Russia’s largest trading partner, lender and investor. An analysis of China’s ties with Russia, indicate that China seems to have become more of a competitor to the EU on Russia’s market. Competition over investment and lending is more limited, but the situation could change rapidly with China and Russia giving clear signs of a stronger than ever strategic partnership. (13 p.)

**How immigration is shaping Chinese society**

by Frank N. Pieke, Björn Ahl, Elena Barabantseva et al.

This paper discusses the most salient issues of migration confronting the Chinese government. These include: the potential role of migration in alleviating the looming demographic crisis; China’s recent shift to a more comprehensive, top-down approach to regulating foreign migration; gaps in providing equal treatment for foreigners; challenges of integrating resident foreigners. (12 p.)

**China's new concept of global governance and action plan for international cooperation**

by Yong Wang

Since 2013, the Chinese government under President Xi Jinping has adopted a proactive approach to global governance and is committed to playing a leadership role to take on more international duties. The Asian infrastructure investment bank and the belt and road initiative are the best examples of China’s proactive concepts and plans for global governance reform. This paper explores what this could mean for international governance system. (20 p.)

**Trump's own “Star Wars”: the 2019 US BMD review and what it augurs for India?**

by A. Vinod Kumar @AswakumarVinod

This brief analyses the Trump administration’s ballistic missile defence review (BMDR), its differences with the position of previous administrations and its implication for India’s security policy. The focus is mostly on the attention given in the BMDR to new aerial platforms, weaponisation of space and reference to Indo-Pacific as a priority region. According to this paper, the references to India in the BMDR highlight the deepening of defence ties between the two nations. (56 p.)

**The digital counter-revolution: why the Kremlin pursues a sovereign internet?**

by Antonin Plattner

Russia’s attempts to control and regulate the flow of online information and communication within its territory reached a new stage on 1 November 2019 after its so-called “internet sovereignty” law came into force. Designed to increase state control over what Russia’s
citizens can access and do online, the law has already sparked numerous protests across Russia. (21 p.)

THE OXFORD INSTITUTE FOR ENERGY STUDIES

Russia-Ukraine gas transit talks: risks for all sides
by Tatiana Mitrova, Simon Pirani and Jack Sharples

The trilateral talks between the EU, Russia, and Ukraine regarding the transit of Russian gas via Ukraine beyond the expiry of the existing transit contract, on 31 December 2019, have so far failed to yield a solution. With the deadline fast approaching, the sides remain far apart in their negotiating positions. This insight assesses the current state of the negotiations, the likelihood of an interruption in Russian gas transit via Ukraine in January 2020, and the potential impact of such a suspension of gas transit. (17 p.)

TURKEY

STIFTUNG MERCATOR / CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS

The effects of a suspension of Turkey’s EU accession process
by Max Hoffman and Michael Werz

This paper examines the current state of Turkey’s EU accession process and the ramifications of its potential suspension. EU-Turkey relations are critically important for both sides in their efforts to provide political stability, promote economic growth, and address the refugee crisis. But important voices on both sides feel the current accession-based framework is not working, leading to calls to freeze or even suspend Turkey’s EU bid. While a formal suspension remains unlikely, it cannot be ruled out. (60 p.)

TÜRKİYE EKONOMI POLITIKALARI ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI (ECONOMIC POLICY RESEARCH FOUNDATION OF TURKEY)

The parlous state of Turkey-EU relations: searching for a bridge over troubled waters
by Nilgün Ansan Erağlı

The author argues that the EU has long given up regarding Turkey as an accession partner, but that the strategic nature of the relationship has been emphasised more and more. However the “strategic partnership” in the case of Turkey has remained ambivalent and not operational most of the time. The main reason for Turkey’s strategic importance to the EU stems from the country’s position as a buffer between the EU and a strategic region whose instability might easily spread to Europe. The authorities in Turkey also demand a transactional relationship with the EU, provided that they will also have a say in the constituents of this relationship. (7 p.)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CENTER FOR A NEW AMERICAN SECURITY

Not enough maritime capability: the challenge of reinforcing Europe
by Colin Smith and Jim Townsend @jteurope

Russia’s resurgence has meant that the US again must seriously consider a possible conflict in Europe in its military plans. Central to the defense of NATO allies is a requirement for US reinforcement of Europe, and US reinforcement in turn depends on US maritime shipping, which faces a number of critical challenges. This paper examines the current capability and availability of US shipping to meet US strategic sealift needs. (12 p.)

DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR AUSWÄRTIGE POLITIK (GERMAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

Geoökonomische Antworten auf Trump Wie die EU Handel, Finanzen und Sicherheit zusammen denken sollte
by Josef Braml and Claudia Schmucker

The US government undermines multilateral institutions such as the WTO for short-term benefit maximization. It enforces with all its power the right of the strongest - even at the expense of its allies. Other states are also combining their economic and military power as a competitive advantage in the increasingly fierce geo-economic competition. The authors argue that it is time for the EU to use its own economic power more strategically. (DE - 8 p.)
INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM - THE HAGUE

A schema of right-wing extremism in the United States

by Sam Jackson

Over the past two years attention paid to right-wing extremism in the US has grown. This article presents a schema of three main forms of right-wing extremism in the US in order to more clearly understand the landscape: racist extremism, nativist extremism, and anti-government extremism. It describes the two primary subcategories of anti-government extremism: the patriot/militia movement and sovereign citizens. It also discusses whether this schema can be applied to right-wing extremism in non-US contexts. (26 p.)

CHATHAM HOUSE - THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

US–China strategic competition: the quest for global technological leadership

by Marianne Schneider-Petsinger @MPetsinger, Jue Wang, Yu Jie @Yu_JieC, et al.

The current dispute between the US and China goes far beyond trade tariffs and tit-for-tat reprisals: the underlying driver is a race for global technological supremacy. This paper examines the risks of greater strategic competition as well as potential solutions for mitigating the impacts of the US–China economic confrontation. (45 p.)
SECTION 4 - EU MEMBER STATES

CZECH REPUBLIC

KÜLÜGYI ÉS KÜLGAZDASÁGI INTÉZET
(INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE)

What to expect from the Czech Presidency of the Visegrad Group 2019/2020?
by Alica Kizekova @AlicaKizekova, Łukasz Ogrodnik @Łukasz_Ogrodnik, Garai Nikolett @Nixonka et al.

Four researchers give a short answer to the same question concerning international politics and economics. The aim is to launch the scientific debates in and beyond Hungary and to promote dialogue among experts. In this issue, our topic is: “What to expect from the Czech Presidency of the Visegrad Group 2019/2020?” (8 p.)

EUROPEUM

Czech Republic vis-à-vis climate change: critical dilemmas ahead?
by Milan Urbaník @urbanik_milan

Given the urgency of climate change, as well as the recent rollercoaster of national stances towards the issue, it might be useful to observe Czechia vis-à-vis climate challenge. The aim of this paper is to explore key dilemmas regarding the adoption of climate neutrality goals and what trade-offs need to be made to gain the support of Central European states. (10 p.)

GERMANY

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

30 ans après la chute du mur: une Allemagne unifiée, une population désunie
by Hans Stark

Thirty years after the fall of the Berlin wall, celebrations have taken a disappointing turn. The electoral successes of the far-right German party AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) in Saxony, Brandenburg and Thuringia in September and October 2019 reflect growing unease and discontent in the new Länder faced with mitigated outcomes of unification. This paper provides a precise description of the underlying reasons for the social discontent that fuels the rise of AfD. (FR - 28 p.)

FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG (FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION)

Unequal Germany: socioeconomic disparities report 2019
by Philipp Fink, Martin Hennicke and Heinrich Tiemann

This study takes stock of regional inequality in Germany. It shows that in Germany people’s social and economic circumstances vary substantially. More than 13.5 million German citizens live in regions with serious structural problems. In the dynamic boom regions, however, rising living costs and overburdened infrastructure are bearing down even on middle-income earners. Social cohesion is crumbling, and in the regions hardest hit by structural crisis, right-wing populism is on the rise. Urgent political action is required if the deteriorating legitimation crisis afflicting the federal system and democratic institutions is to be halted. (28 p.)

INSTITUT DER DEUTSCHEN WIRTSCHAFT KÖLN (COLOGNE INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH)

Für eine solide Finanzpolitik. Investitionen ermöglichen!
by Hubertus Bardt, Sebastian Dullien, Michael Hüther et al.

Germany faces enormous challenges in modernizing its capital stock. After neglecting public investment over the last two decades, it is now necessary to update the infrastructure...
and gradually reduce the investment backlog. Managing demographic ageing and decarbonising the economy will also require major efforts in the coming years. A path is presented here, addressing both the temporal and financial dimensions. (DE - 24 p.)

HERTIE SCHOOL - JACQUES DELORS CENTER

Misremembering Weimar: unpacking the historic roots of Germany’s monetary policy discourse

by Nils Redeker, Lukas Haffert and Tobias Rommel

Many Germans are highly sceptical of the ECB’s monetary policy of recent years. To explain this scepticism, experts often point to the collective memory of the hyperinflation in the early 1920s in Germany. This paper aims to show that German memory of this period is in fact deeply flawed. Given this historic misunderstanding, many Germans today underestimate the risks of deflation and mistakenly perceive mass unemployment and hyperinflation as two sides of the same coin. (10 p.)

ÖSTERREICHISCHE INSTITUT FÜR INTERNATIONALE POLITIK (AUSTRIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

How extreme is the European far-right? Investigating overlaps in the German far-right scene on twitter

by Reem Ahmed and Daniela Pisoiu

Violent right-wing extremism is a growing threat to Western liberal democracies. The aim of this report is to determine the overlaps apparent in the far-right scene on Twitter, and specifically, to ascertain the extent to which different groups on the scene are indeed talking about the same issues in the same way, in spite of apparent differences in tone and underlying ideologies. (109 p.)

DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR AUSWÄRTIGE POLITIK (GERMAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

Berlin’s preliminary 5G decision: limiting damage and learning lessons

by Kaan Sahin and Didi Kirsten Tatlow

Despite the security concerns of the US, EU, and Australia, Germany plans not to exclude any telecom equipment vendors, including Chinese companies such as Huawei, from its 5G network. This stance reflects a narrow view of the issue that prioritizes short-term economic interests and fails to uphold national security and democratic values. Widespread criticism, including from within the government, shows that political decision-makers in Germany need a more sophisticated, forward-looking approach to 5G. (8 p.)

ESTONIA

RAHVUSVAHELINE KAITSEUURINGUTE KESKUS (INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY)

Russia’s espionage in Estonia: a quantitative analysis of convictions

by Ivo Juurvee @ivoJuurvee and Lavly Perling

The activities of Russia’s intelligence services have recently received a lot of media attention. However, large-scale Russian intelligence blunders in US, UK and other NATO countries have resulted in very few convictions. On the other hand in Estonia, there have already been 20 convictions of Russian spies since 2009. This paper aims to give an overview of the results of the fight against Russia’s espionage by Estonian law enforcement authorities. (12 p.)

FORUM FOR RESEARCH ON EASTERN EUROPE AND EMERGING ECONOMIES (FREE NETWORK)

Gender gaps in wages and wealth: evidence from Estonia

by Nicolas Gavoille

This brief introduces two related papers examining two types of gender gaps in Estonia. First, it presents the work of Vahter and Masso (2019), who study the gender wage gap in foreign-owned firms and compare this gap with the situation in domestic ones. Then it
summarizes a paper by Meriküll, Kukk, and Rõõm (2019), who focus on the gender wealth gap and highlight the role of entrepreneurship in this gap. (5 p.)

FRANCE

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

Plus d’Europe dans les médias français

by Jean-Michel Baer and Theo Verdier

The European elections in May 2019 have shown an unprecedented turnout both in Europe and in France. This paper connects this phenomenon with the presidential elections of 2017 and the consequent revalorization of the role of the EU in facing the main challenges of this era, like climate change and sustainable development. (FR - 14 p.)

ITALY

FONDAZIONE ISMU - INITIATIVES AND STUDIES ON MULTI-ETHNICITY

At a crossroads: unaccompanied and separated children in their transition to adulthood in Italy

Between 2014 and 2018, more than 70,000 unaccompanied and separated children (UASC) arrived in Italy by sea, 90 per cent of whom were between 15 and 17 years old. The significant presence of UASC and the growing number of UASC who have turned 18 have highlighted the need to better understand the measures and opportunities for the protection and social inclusion of this specific population group. This research provides an overview of trends and possible pathways of transition to adult life of UASC in Italy. (88 p.)

CENTRUM FÜR EUROPÄISCHE POLITIK (CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY)

Bekämpfung der italienischen Krise Wege zu Wirtschaftswachstum und Schuldenabbau

by Alessandro Gasparotti

This article argues that the future of the eurozone depends on whether the Italian government can reduce its debt ratio and suggests paths to economic growth and debt reduction in Italy. Recommendations include for the Italian government to take measures to promote labour productivity, in particular through a focus on improving education and innovation, as well as private investment. (DE - 11 p.)

CYPRUS

ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΘΝΩΝ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΩΝ (CYPRUS CENTER FOR EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

The intercommunal negotiations after 1974 and future prospects

by Andreas Theophanous

This paper assesses the results and repercussions of successive rounds of intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the UN since 1974. In addition, certain suggestions are made for the future. (47 p.)

HUNGARY

KÜLÜGYI ÉS KÜLGAZDASÁGI INTÉZET (INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE)

An evaluation of European Security and Defence Policy initiatives from the Hungarian perspective

by Gergely Varga

The recent negative developments in Europe’s security environment and the internal dynamics of the EU have led to significant changes in European security and defence policies. The main objective of this two-volume study is to examine and evaluate recent European defence initiatives.. The first part of the study examines the political-strategic context of the European defence initiatives and its relation to NATO, analysing the political and institutional conditions of creating a European army. The second part examines how far recent European defence initiatives have developed and evaluates the developments from the perspective of Hungarian security and defence policy. (37 p.)
SECTION 4 - EU MEMBER STATES

NETHERLANDS

THE HAGUE CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

Substantiating the defence strategic challenges

by Frank Bekkers, Hans van der Louw @hans_vanderlouw, Patrick Bolder et. al.

The three main tasks for defence can be found in the Constitution, article 97, which states that a defence force exists to defend the Kingdom and the territory of the alliances (NATO and EU), to maintain and promote the international rule of law and to support the government in up keeping the law, fighting disasters and delivering humanitarian support. Another way to look at these tasks is: “to remain safe, to foster security and to secure connections”. (56 p.)

UK

DEMOS

The political division index: pathfinding for British democracy

by Tessa van Rens @RensTessa and Alex Krasodomski-Jones

This report maps the quality of the political debate as perceived by British voters on ten current political issues. By analysing where the debate is divisive and toxic, and where it is healthy, this report identifies means to achieving and sustaining a healthier public debate. (33 p.)

DEMOS

Bringing Britain together: a manifesto for consensus politics

by Polly Mackenzie @pollymackenzie, Tessa van Rens @RensTessa and Ben Glover

General elections are always about distinctiveness and division. This paper looks at toxicity in the UK general elections and a new sense of recklessness about the relationship between political campaigns and facts. It calls for a new approach not just to campaigning, but to the way Britain is governed, to help sow unity rather than division. (18 p.)

BREXIT

ÖSTERREICHISCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR EUROPAPOLITIK (AUSTRIAN SOCIETY FOR EUROPEAN POLITICS)

The dream of the United States of Europe: an ambitious scenario challenged by Brexit

by Max Haller

This paper summarizes the main historical ideas of European integration and identifies the two main different views: one perspective of Europe as a loose federation of democratic nation states, and another one as a closely integrated new political community with a strong military force. It is shown that the EU (except the UK) in fact is aiming “to become an ever closer union”, that is, a kind of United States of Europe. An alternative vision, called Europe as a Community of law is sketched out of an EU focused on enacting basic constitutional principles and legal norms. (9 p.)

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

Trade war: bad timing for Brexit "take back control"

by Elvire Fabry and Micol Bertolini @elvirefabry

The British domestic political crisis has overshadowed the quick transformation of the broad political economy of Brexit. Yet, ‘take back control’, the very purpose of the Brexit vote in June 2016, turns out to be more challenging today in a more chaotic international framework. (8 p.)

UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE

Brexit: how might UK agriculture thrive or survive?

by Carmen Hubbard et all

The UK agri-food sector will be one of the most seriously affected by Brexit. Not only is it dependent on trade relations both with the EU and with the rest of the world, but it is also a sector dependent on migrant labour, and the most heavily subsidised and regulated under the present Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The research shows that under selected trade scenarios the impact of Brexit on UK agriculture will be far from uniform. (35 p.)
When austerity meets activism: a common tale on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean

by Antonino Occhiuto

Analyzing waves of protests in Greece (2010-2015) and recently in Jordan, this brief argues that, despite the fundamental economic, social and political differences between Amman and Athens and different ideologies channeling the crowds’ sentiments, in both cases people took to the streets due to comparable economic grievances and in order to protest against the neoliberal economic policies imposed by international organizations, most notably the IMF. Notably, another parallel between the two countries is that while Greece is the EU member state in which the IMF intervened with the heaviest hand, Jordan is the country in the Arab Levant on which the Washington-based institution has proposed the harshest austerity package. (8 p.)

Online disinformation and political discourse: applying a human rights framework

by Kate Jones

Although some digital platforms now have an impact on more people’s lives than does any one state authority, the international community has been slow to hold to account these platforms’ activities by reference to human rights law. This paper examines how human rights frameworks should guide digital technology. (66 p.)

What do we know about cyber escalation? Observations from simulations and surveys

by Benjamin Jensen and Brandon Valeriano

Do cyber operations alter how states respond to international crises in a way that creates incentives for decision makers to cross the Rubicon and use military force to settle disputes? This question is central to current cyber strategy debates and the idea of persistent engagement and defending forward in cyberspace. The answer is surprising: no. To date, cyber operations have tended to offer great powers escalatory offramps. (16 p.)

What is digital power?

by Jean-Christophe Noel

Digital power refers to any actor’s ability to exploit digital data to help influence the behavior of other actors on the international stage and to achieve its own ends. Drawing on this definition, this paper provides an in-depth analysis of the characteristics, conditions and stakes of "digital power." (28 p.)