

### Table of contents

Foreword	3	Climate and Energy	44
Focusing on the immediate and long-term challenges 4		Circular Economy	46
Year in review	6	EU Budget	48
		Industrial Transformations	50
ENGAGEMENT	9	Single Market	51
FutureLab Europe	10	Neighbourhood Policy	52
Connecting Europe	12	Enlargement	55
New Pact for Europe	14	Radicalisation	56
		Partnerships	58
OUTREACH	17		
Media	18	TEAM	61
Contributions	22	Analysis	62
Events	24	Administration, events and communication	65
		Senior Advisers	66
RESEARCH	25	Academic Fellows	68
Brexit	26		
Future of Europe	32	GOVERNANCE	69
Migration	34	Governing bodies	70
Health	38	Financing	72
Social Convergence	39	Acknowledgements	74
Social Investment	40		
Energy Poverty	42	MEMBERSHIP	75

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### **Foreword**

HERMAN VAN ROMPUY President

I am delighted to introduce the European Policy Centre's annual report 2017. I firmly believe that think tanks such as the EPC play an invaluable role in disseminating evidence-based analysis and promoting sincere and constructive debates in Brussels and beyond.

In this regard, I would like to highlight the intellectual leadership displayed by the EPC in masterminding and managing the most recent phase of the New Pact for Europe project, which culminated in the publication of its third European report in 2017. It uncovers the troubles at play in European countries: the destabilisation of our democracies and societies that are putting the core values of the European Union at stake.

The report describes the building blocks of a compromise that goes beyond the usual technocractic or 'neutral' solutions. We need to balance responsibility and solidarity, security and solidarity, national sovereignty and integration, growth and cohesion, if we are to find an agreement between North and South on future EMU reforms, and between West and East on the migration challenge.

In 2017, I have had the pleasure of working with a dedicated and talented group of individuals, ably led by Fabian Zuleeg. I would like to congratulate the EPC, as well as all the members of its dedicated team, for a successful year.

The EPC has continued to look for new and innovative ways to advance the European integration project, including by launching new task forces on how to move towards a circular economy or on the merits of an EU industry action plan.

I would like to pay tribute here to the EPC's efforts to keep enlargement to the Western Balkans on the agenda, and its work on how best to live up to our moral duty to welcome migrants while safeguarding the merits of the Schengen area, which guarantees our ability to move freely across the Union.

The EPC also maintained its engagement with citizens, aiming to facilitate a genuine transnational debate between Brussels and the member states on the future of the European Union. With the FutureLab Europe and Connecting Europe projects, the EPC seeks to empower European citizens and experts to present their ideas and actively engage with EU policymakers in Brussels on the future of Europe, namely on youth, climate, and migration.

We need think tanks that can remind us of the importance of long-term, strategic thinking, and that can connect the dots across the different policy silos, as well as provide new ideas. The EPC is well equipped to meet this challenge and I look forward to being involved in this important endeavour in 2018 and beyond.



## Focusing on the immediate and long-term challenges

FABIAN ZULEEG
Chief Executive

The year 2017 has once again reminded us that the worst-case scenario is not always the most likely one. It was not the political annus horribilis that many feared it would be. On the contrary, there has been a renewed sense of optimism about the Union's future. The unifying effect of Brexit and the election of Donald Trump and the return to economic growth have fuelled hopes that the European project could be given new momentum after years of multiple crises. In this context, the EPC actively helped to promote national and transnational debate across Europe on the future reform of the EU.

#### **Re-energising Europe**

Following five years of intensive work and more than 120 national and transnational debates across Europe, November 2017 saw the publication of the third New Pact for Europe (NPE) report 'Re-energising Europe – a package deal for the EU27' authored by Janis A. Emmanouilidis. We believe that the time has come for the EU27 to re-energise the European project. The EU27 should have the political will and courage to agree on an ambitious but realistic win-win package deal to overcome political deadlocks in three key areas: migration, security and economic and social reforms.

In the next phase of the project, the EPC will take the debate about the NPE report to the member states and organise events in more than 10 EU countries in partnership with the think tank and foundation partners of the NPE project.

#### Partnerships and outreach beyond Brussels

For the EPC, it has been an excellent year. In 2017, we strengthened our financial sustainability, increased our membership and expanded our organisation with a number of key appointments. We also took on an additional floor in our premises on 14-16 Rue de Trône, 1000 Brussels, began installing a new IT system and strengthened our communications.

Thanks to our long-standing partnership with the King Baudouin Foundation, the EPC can continue making valuable contributions to the debate on the future of Europe. We have intensified our collaboration with foundation partners and extended our outreach beyond Brussels to the member states. Through the Connecting Europe project with Stiftung Mercator, EPC is helping to create linkages between civil society stakeholders on the ground and the EU level in Brussels. With the Adessium Foundation,

we are conducting cutting-edge research on the circular economy. We are also developing our cooperation with national think tanks. In that regard, we are pleased to announce a new collaboration with the Spanish think tank Elcano Royal Institute of International and Strategic Studies, which moved to new offices here at the EPC in January 2018.

### New Task Force on an Industry Action Plan for Europe

In 2017, we also laid the groundwork for the launch of a new Task Force on an Industry Action Plan for Europe, which will look at how industrial competitiveness can be enhanced by putting an emphasis on digitalisation, innovation and sustainability in a challenging global environment.

This is in addition to bringing you analysis and events on a range of policy issues through our ongoing programmes, including on the circular economy, climate, energy, migration, the Single Market, the EU budget, social investment, transatlantic relations and enlargement, as well as the continuing challenge to Europe's security posed by radicalisation and terrorism.

#### Future EU-UK relationship

Brexit and the long-term EU-UK relationship is another major work strand. We are happy to have found new partners for our Brexit@ EPC Forum, which will intensify its work in parallel to the official negotiations. We will hold meetings in Brussels and London, and publish papers on relevant issues around this crucial moment for European integration.

In all of this, we have very much benefitted from the wise counsel of Herman Van Rompuy and his unstinting support for the work of the EPC. Jointly with him, we look forward to 2018 and to working together with you, our members, friends and partners, in order to help build a stronger, more resilient Europe and to defend the values that underpin the Union.



### Year in review

JANIS A.
EMMANOUILIDIS
Director of Studies

It has yet again been a challenging year for the European Union. But 2017 also offered a new sense of optimism for the future of European integration. The poly-crisis of the past decade has somewhat receded and the EU and its members have achieved things that would have been unthinkable before 2008.

Overall, the Union has succeeded in proving the many prophets of doom wrong, ignoring predictions of its imminent collapse, the euro's implosion, 'Grexit', or the end of Schengen. But despite these undeniable achievements, the European construction continues to be plagued by structural defects.

The Union has been remarkably resilient, but it has not yet been able to make itself 'future-proof'. New storms will come, even if we do not know when, where and how they will hit us. This is why the EU needs to strengthen its defences further so that it will be strong enough to weather future turbulence.

In the course of 2017, it seemed that a potential window of opportunity might open up after the elections in France and Germany. There was hope that following a Franco-German initiative, the EU27 would be able to overcome blockages and red lines to forge a win-win package deal

reflecting the distinct interests and concerns of all member states; a compromise that would move Europe forward in an ambitious but pragmatic fashion; a deal that would counter the danger of a more illiberal Europe.

Many had hoped - and some still do - that such an agreement could be found before the European elections in May 2019 in crucial areas such as migration, EMU reforms as well as security and defence. In other words, there was an increasing optimism that the European Union would, after years of multiple crises, be able to 're-energise' the European project.

But to move forward and given the complex nature of internal crises and external challenges member states and citizens are facing, there is a growing need to connect the dots by following a multi-disciplinary approach. There is a need to explain the complex and volatile state of affairs and provide relevant, cutting-edge analysis at a time of high uncertainty within and outside of Europe.

EPC publications and events in 2017 have covered a wide array of policy fields transcending the limitations of traditional silo thinking, which has in the past limited the

Union's ability to respond to the complexity of the multiple challenges we are facing. The volume and scope of our activities (over 90 publications and 190 events in 2017) are a testament to the broad spectrum of issues the EPC has dealt with over the year, ranging from issues related to Europe's role in the world, sustainable prosperity and the future of social Europe, the challenges and opportunities in the area of migration, Brexit, and the overall future of the European project.

However, it is not enough to concentrate on the 'capital of Europe'. The fragmentation and loss of trust between member states requires a trans-national approach that goes beyond the so-called Brussels bubble. Mutual understanding between EU countries can be enhanced through sustained dialogue, and through engaging different stakeholders that can bring alternative perspectives to the table. Brussels-based think tanks need to reach much further into national debates, while at the same time making more of an effort to bring national perspectives to the centre of the EU.

The EPC has done so by reaching out to the member states and by linking debates between EU countries. One example is the New Pact

for Europe (NPE) initiative, which since 2013 aims to rebuild trust through national and transnational dialogue and develop new common ground on the way forward for the European Union.

In 2017, the NPE project continued to draw on diverse opinions across Europe to analyse the 'state of the Union' and formulate recommendations for the future. In more than 20 national and transnational events, participants from all over Europe debated major policy challenges (migration, internal and external security, and economic as well as social issues) to explore what could be done to make the EU better equipped to serve the diverse interests of its member states and citizens.

The third NPE report was published in November 2017. It is the culmination of five years of work, reflecting more than 120 national and transnational debates throughout Europe. It argued that the EU27 should have the political will and courage to agree on an ambitious but realistic win-win package deal to overcome deadlocks and counter the danger of a more regressive, nationalistic, closed, illiberal and authoritarian Europe, the most significant challenge we are facing today.



# ENGAGEMENT



### Empowering Europe's young citizens

### futurelabeurope.eu @FutureLabEurope

#### PUBLICATIONS

**Letters to Europe – refugee women write** September

Getting civil society
organisations and the private
sector involved in citizenship
education
July

#### Supporters

King Baudouin Foundation Evens Foundation Allianz Kulturstiftung Robert Bosch Stiftung Fritt Ord Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Real Maestranza de Caballeria de Ronda Many Europeans, young people especially, are retreating from active democratic life. FutureLab Europe aims to counter this trend and empower young citizens to become direct drivers of change in shaping the Europe they want.

The programme enables bright young Europeans aged 20-30 from across the continent to shape the future of Europe through their civic engagement. It builds a network of young Europeans who are engaged in their local communities and offers them support for the concrete implementation of active citizenship projects, as well as the unique opportunity to interact with decision-makers. Programme members take concrete action in support of the European idea, in particular on topics related to democratic values in Europe, equal opportunities for young people, and European identity.

Since 2011, the FutureLab Europe network has been expanding. At the end of 2017, it included 147 alumni, from 34 European countries.

In 2017, FutureLab Europe welcomed its sixth generation wih 17 new participants who worked together and created five active citizenship projects, all European in outlook and local in scope, which were implemented thanks to FutureLab Europe's financial support.

Each project aimed to tackle a local problem with innovative solutions: empowering people to reclaim a positive vision of their future, bridging the gap between citizens

and local decision makers, empowering the voice of female refugees through theatre and writing, giving a voice to young people, as well as facilitating the labour market inclusion of marginalised youth through skills development. With their trans-European outlook, the projects combined local civic engagement with European citizenship.

The projects were presented in Brussels in September 2017 on the occasion of a public event where the sixth generation presented and discussed their projects with representatives of the European Commission and civil society as well as Pieyre-Alexandre Anglade, Member of the French Parliament for La République En Marche.

Finally, 2017 was also devoted to the selection of the seventh generation of FutureLab Europe, who joined the network in January 2018.

#### **Projects**

Five civic projects implemented in 14 European countries:

- Futures of Europe
- Bridges Puentes Brücken
- YourThought.eu All different and all together
- Letters to Europe Female Refugees Telling Their Stories
- ► Skill Up!



### Committed participants

- We are a group of citizens from all kinds of political and personal background who have one thing in common: we believe in Europe. And we believe in civic engagement. Together we want to use our knowledge to engage people from all over Europe to take action. Don't let other people decide what Europe's future should look like, do it yourself."
- This young generation is aware of the issues and is looking for solutions to be implemented in no time. Ultimately, FutureLab Europe participants are an example of committed citizens making the most out of democracy. They show that everything is possible."
- FutureLab Europe is a great chance to get in touch with talented and enthusiastic youths from all over Europe and work together on joint initiatives."

Quotes are from participants

### Knowledge sharing & networking

- Thanks to face-to-face encounters with participants who are each very involved in their own community, FutureLab Europe creates valuable connections among local civil society representatives from different European countries."
- It is a challenging but highly rewarding programme to be a part of. I have gained a greater knowledge of the European Union and its institutions as well as a deeper understanding of the various realities in Europe."

### Lasting impact

- It is a great network of equally committed young people and I am certain I have made friends for life."
- Programmes such as FutureLab Europe take the lead in bringing Europe back to the people. The young people I met there are ingenious and have inspiring ideas. Furthermore, they are eager and dedicated to making Europe a place of diversity and prosperity, beneficial to everyone."



## Harnessing the innovation in European societies

#### epc.eu/connectingeurope @CnctingEurope

#### **EVENTS**

The invisible web: Interests, preferences and coalition building in the European Union Roundtable – 11 May 2017

**Transparency and accountability in Algorithms** Roundtable – 1 December 2017

A Greek (Tsipras) plan for action? How to overcome the crisis in the Aegean Roundtable – 6 December 2017

Supporters



In 2017, the EPC entered a major cooperation with Stiftung Mercator – a large, private, independent German foundation. The joint initiative Connecting Europe aims to build bridges between the European Union and its citizens and to harness the innovation potential in European societies.

Connecting Europe enables change-makers in the Stiftung Mercator network to actively engage with EU policymakers and the multistakeholder environment in the Brussels sphere. Its partner organisations are as diverse as Europe itself.

Think tanks, NGOs, civil society initiatives and pan-European platforms working on the local, regional or national level on the future of Europe, particularly on youth, climate, and migration enrich the debates at EPC.

With new perspectives and innovative ideas, they highlight the constructive contributions engaged Europeans are undertaking towards cohesion and connection in Europe every day. At the same time, this cooperation also strengthens the EPC's outreach to new actors and its visibility in the EU member states. In the first year of the project phase, Connecting Europe concentrated on laying the foundation for a successful long-term partnership.

The project concentrated on establishing close ties to its wide network of partners. The network meeting in March 2017 kicked off the cooperation between the EPC and Stiftung Mercator and built a common understanding of the projects' aims and opportunities. In addition, Connecting Europe organised three major events in cooperation with partner organisations focusing on migration, artificial intelligence, youth and EU institutional affairs.



*In an increasingly fragmented Europe* we need to enhance the links between Brussels and the member states and deepen dialogue by connecting the different debates with each other." Herman Van Rompuy, President, European Policy Centre aims to foster Europe's cohesion and our ability to act

With Connecting Europe the EPC covers important tasks for the Schwarzkopf Foundation Young Europe: the initiative provides us with a platform to strengthen Strengthening our impact in Brussels, connects us with experts through all possible and networks, gathers likeminded initiatives means the connection and stakeholders and thus enhances between the Brussels bubble dialogue and knowledge sharing." European discourse and the Anne Rolvering, Executive Director, European debates in the capital Schwarzkopf Foundation cities and regions of Europe is a Young Europe central focus of the Mercator European

Chiara Rosselli, Head of the Mercator European Dialogue, GMF

Dialogue, our pan-European network

and EU policymakers and shapers."

of 150+ members of national parliaments.

Through the help of Connecting Europe we

have found another powerful ally for reinforcing valuable exchanges between national politicians



"



### Rebuilding trust through dialogue

newpactforeurope.eu @PactforEurope

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

Re-energising Europe: A package deal for the EU27 3<sup>rd</sup> Report – 22 November Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Director of Studies

National Report - SLOVAKIA 20 November

**National Report - ESTONIA** 17 November

**National Report - POLAND** 13 November

**National Report - PORTUGAL** 27 October

**National Report – FRANCE** 26 September

**National Report – ITALY**7 July

**National Report - GREECE** 12 June

**National Report – FINLAND** 24 May

National Report – GERMANY

17 May

**National Report – BELGIUM** 9 May In 2017, the EPC made a decisive contribution to the completion of the New Pact for Europe (NPE) project. Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer coordinated the editing and publication of the ten national reports from Belgium, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and Slovakia.

Janis A. Emmanouilidis drafted the third and final European Report, which was published in November and later discussed in the ten countries that had participated in the last phase of the five-year project. The report reflects more than 120 national and transnational debates with policymakers, experts, civil society organisations, 'ordinary' citizens, and other stakeholders across Europe, between 2013 and 2017 in 17 EU countries.

In its latest phase between 2016-17, the NPE initiative drew on diverse opinions across Europe to analyse the 'state of the Union' and formulate recommendations for the future. In over 45 national and transnational conversations, participants debated key policy challenges (migration, internal and external security, and socio-economic issues) to explore what can be done to better equip the EU to serve the diverse interests of its member states and citizens.

National Reflection Groups in ten EU countries – Belgium, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and Slovakia – kicked off these dialogues, followed by transnational exchanges between these national groups.

Throughout the year, the discussions revealed the scarcity of open and honest debate between Europeans, in which everyone can listen to each other, as well as articulate their own frustrations, hopes and fears. It became clear during the process that trust between Europeans has been damaged and needs to be rebuilt, but also that we have much more in common than we often think and that the divisions we sometimes perceive as unbridgeable are not so deep.

The national and transnational discussions provided the basis for a deliberative body called the European Reflection Group, made up of representatives of the National Reflection Groups, and an Advisory Group chaired by Herman Van Rompuy, to draw out the key elements of a wider package deal aiming to bridge the divisions between member states.

#### **Sponsors**

The coordinators of the New Pact for Europe 2016-17 included the King Baudouin Foundation, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Open Society Initiative for Europe, and the European Policy Centre, with the support of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Open Estonia Foundation, the BMW Foundation, and the Network of European Foundations.





# OUTREACH

#### Reaching audiences beyond Brussels

### Media

The EPC generated more than 500 mentions in international, national and regional outlets, across the EU and beyond. Recent print, online or broadcast media references include:

Broadsheets Die Zeit, El Pais, Financial Times, Gazeta Wyborcza,

Kathimerini, Le Figaro, Le Monde, The New York Times, Politiken, Rzeczpospolita, Süddeutsche Zeitung, The Guardian, The Telegraph, Il Sole 24 Ore, The Wall Street Journal

Specialised media Huffington Post, Politico, EUobserver, EurActiv

Weekly magazines Der Spiegel, TIME, The Economist

Broadcast media Al Jazeera, ARD, Arte, BBC, CCTV, Deutsche Welle, Euronews,

France 24, RFI, Voice of America and ZDF

500+
media mentions

11,000+
Facebook followers

23,000+
Twitter followers

### Süddeutsche Zeitung

**GERMANY** 

#### Europe has lost confidence in itself

Janis A. Emmanouilidis – 4 January

"Many Europeans may complain about this restraint. Right now, one might think that the EU must look positively forward, must sell European cooperation as essential, preferably as offensive and passionate, as the President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz has always done. 'That would not help', says Janis Emmanouilidis of the European Policy Centre think tank. 'Designing something on the drawing board that is not feasible anyway would backfire."

Translated from German



UK

### 'Moment of truth' arrives for Cyprus as reunification talks begin

Amanda Paul – 9 January

"Amanda Paul of the European Policy Centre think-tank in Brussels said a united Cypriot state might need some €10bn upfront funding for investment in administration, infrastructure and property compensation for people displaced when the island was split."

### **POLITICO**

**EU-BRUSSELS** 

### New Dutch disease — a gas hangover

Marco Giuli – 10 January

"Europe is split on whether to consider this a problem. For countries nearer to Russia that see it as a threat, increasing reliance on its gas imports is anathema. Others, such as Germany, see the buying of gas in 'merely commercial terms', according to Marco Giuli of the European Policy Centre."



**AUSTRIA** 

### Signal strength without long-term effect

Janis A. Emmanouilidis – 13 February

"Of course, the EU will try to take advantage of Van der Bellen's visit, says Janis Emmanouilidis of the European Policy Centre (EPC). It was already an important sign that a green candidate, and one of them, who was not directly supported by the major SPÖ and ÖVP parties, won the election."

Translated from Austrian

### euobserver

**EU-BRUSSELS** 

#### Why Romania erupted in protest

Paul Ivan - 20 February

"Paul Ivan, a political analyst with the Brusselsbased European Policy Centre points out that in the last 4-5 years things started to turn around in the battle against the all encompassing corruption. For the first time after the fall of communism, high-level politicians were being sentenced, Ivan told this website. This has raised hopes that we could become a normal European country."

### theguardian

UK

### Independent Scotland 'would have to apply to join EU' – Brussels official

Fabian Zuleea - 14 March

"An independent Scotland would have to go through the accession process, so it would not be automatic, said **Fabian Zuleeg**, the Chief Executive of the **European Policy Centre** think tank. As Scotland does largely fulfil the [membership] criteria it would be a relatively smooth process."

#### **YEURACTIV**

FRANCE/EU

### Erdoğan close to breaking with the EU

Amanda Paul – 18 April

"The difficult relationship between the EU and Turkey, economic partners but also committed to each other in the management of the migration crisis, could cool even further, according to Amanda Paul, an analyst at the European Policy Centre (EPC) based in Brussels. Nevertheless 'it is clear that almost 50% of Turks who voted no expect Europe to continue to engage with Turkey,' the analyst pointed out." Of course, we know that the accession process has been dead for a long time, but ending it officially would be something else that would have huge consequences.'

Translated from French

### Civil.ge

**GEORGIA** 

### 'We should not underestimate, ever, the Kremlin'

Amanda Paul - 24 April

"On April 20-21 Tbilisi hosted the fourth South Caucasus Security Forum, an international conference bringing together security experts to discuss issues including American and European foreign policy, security in South Caucasus and the Black Sea region, Russian revisionism, and information security. Civil.ge spoke about the regional security issues to Amanda Paul – a geopolitical and foreign policy analyst at the European Policy Centre in Brussels, who was one of the Forum's panelists."



ARMENIA

### Turkey should expect chaos, unpredictability and paranoia

Amanda Paul - 24 April

"After the changes in the public administration system in Turkey, we should not have positive expectations from that country at least in the short term, political analyst at the **European Policy Center** in Brussels **Amanda Paul** told 'First News'".

Translated from Armenian



CHINA

### It is time for the EU to start deep reforms this year

Herman Van Rompuy, Janis A. Emmanouilidis and Fabian Zuleeq – 27 April

"Recently, former Chairman of the European Council and Prime Minister of Belgium, **Van Rompuy, Janis A. Emmanouilidis**, Director of the Research Office of the European Policy Centre, and **Fabian Zuleeg**, CEO of EPC, jointly published an article titled 'The Opportunities for European Reform'".

Translated from Chinese



USA

### Brexit talks turn dirty - but is Theresa May ready for the fight?

Fabian Zuleeq – 3 May

"The account may undermine the trust between the two sides, but it served a useful purpose, according to **Fabian Zuleeg**, chief executive of the Brussels-based **European Policy Centre**. He said: 'I think it was entirely to highlight how far apart the positions are between the two sides and that there is still a lot of disillusion on the British side."



**POLAND** 

Expert: a Franco-German engine will return, Macron will defend the EU values

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer – 9 May

"French President Emmanuel Macron will want to gain German trust and, in a duet with them, propose EU reforms; Paris can push a tough course against countries assessed as undermining EU values - believes EPC think-tank analyst Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer."

Translated from Polish



AZERBAIJAN

## Expert comments on influence of Turkish Stream on European gas market

Marco Giuli - 10 May

"The influence of the Turkish Stream project, which envisages Russian gas supplies to Turkey and further to Europe bypassing Ukraine, on the European gas market will depend on how many strings of this pipeline will be built up in the end, Marco Giuli, an energy issues analyst at the Brussels-based European Policy Centre, believes."



**EU-BRUSSELS** 

Cohesion Policy: how can the EU sustain solidarity and investment at the same time?

Contribution co-written by **Robin Huguenot-Noël** and **Alison Hunter** – 16 June



UKRAINE

### Will the new US sanctions stop 'North Stream 2?

Marco Giuli - 27 July

"According to the expert of the European Policy Centre (EPC) Marco Giuli, the EU could also ask the US president not to impose sanctions on certain infrastructure projects or sectors. 'Former US President Barack Obama has decided not to touch gas, because he understood how important it is for some European allies', said Giuli."

Translated from Ukrainian



NETHERLANDS

### Juncker is not modest, but he does talk to the common man

Janis A. Emmanouilidis - 11 September

"Juncker must manifest as the driving force, says political analyst **Janis Emmanouilidis** of the European Policy Centre. 'But he should not show pride, just because eurosceptic parties in France and the Netherlands have not become the biggest.' The dissatisfaction among many Europeans about the EU is still there."

Translated from Dutch

### NORDJYSKE

DENMARK

### The battle for EU reform begins after the German elections

Fabian Zuleeg - 24 September

"Fabian Zuleeg, director of the European Policy Centre think tank in Brussels, said it would open doors in Berlin if Macron succeeded with its reforms for the benefit of jobs and growth in France."

Translated from Danish

### El Confidencial

**SPAIN** 

## Germany goes into uncharted territory: will there be a European renaissance?

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer – 26 September

"For **Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer**, analyst at the European Policy Center, both the chancellor and Macron - who also has several fronts open at home - have another way out: ally. 'You can find salvation at the European level if you can re-launch the EU with ambitious commitments in EMU reform, migration, security and defense,' he says."

Translated from Spanish

### 11 Sole 24 ORE

ITALY

### Why Brussels fears liberals in Germany's government

Janis A. Emmanouilidis – 26 September

"In light of the election results, **Janis Emmanouilidis**, an analyst at the European
Policy Centre here in Brussels, has already
said that he is pessimistic: 'The hopes for an
agreement between France and Germany on the
reform of the euro area are limited."
Translated from Italian

### euronews.

FRANCE

### Macron wants to boost the Franco-German engine

**Claire Dhéret** gave an interview to euronews – 27 September

### The New Hork Times

USA

#### Austria's Rightward Lurch Is Europe's New Normal

Fabian Zuleeg - 16 October

"The European Union can, reluctantly, work with such governments, but it can cause difficulties for certain policy areas, especially migration, said Fabian Zuleeg, chief executive of the European Policy Center, a research organization in Brussels. But the imposition of sanctions under the Lisbon Treaty would require clear violations of democratic values and constitutional rules. It is a high threshold, Mr. Zuleeg said, as evident with Poland and Hungary, where numerous challenges have gone unpenalized."



**GERMANY** 

### Nordstream II gas pipeline in deep water

Annika Hedberg - 14 November

"While the proposal needs to be agreed by EU member states, it would be awkward for Germany to oppose it and undermine its commitments for achieving Energy Union; Annika Hedberg, a senior policy analyst at the European Policy Centre (EPC) told DW."

### LACROIX

FRANCE

### Europe: there's no other option than a Franco-German initiative

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer - 21 Novembre

"Can the European Union do without a strong Germany? The answer of **Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer**, researcher at the Brussels-based European Policy Center."

Translated from French

### LE SOIR

**BELGIUM** 

## Re-energising the European project: a new pact for the EU27 is within reach

Herman Van Rompuy & Janis A. Emmanouilidis – 22 November

"EU members should strive to develop a comprehensive agreement that would give new impetus to the European project and protect it from the forces working for a more regressive, closed and nationalist Europe. Op-ed by **Herman Van Rompuy** and **Janis A. Emmanouilidis**."

Translated from French

DE TIJD

**BELGIUM** 

### 'There is a lack of leadership in Europe'

Herman Van Rompuy - 25 November

"A European Union that is not ready for the big challenges. A lack of leadership. The danger that mainstream political parties take over populist rhetoric. Former Prime Minister and former President of the European Council - European President, as we called him at the time - Herman Van Rompuy makes a hard analysis of the state of the old continent."

Translated from Flemish

### LATERCERA

CHILE

### The EU has a new problem after the Merkel crisis

Marie De Somer - 26 November

"Her position at the national level and her freedom to push things forward in Brussels, especially in immigration matters, will probably be weaker, said to La Tercera **Marie De Somer**, an expert of the European Policy Centre think tank."

Translated from Spanish

### TO BHMA

GREECE

#### German instability threatens Europe

Janis A. Emmanouilidis – 26 November

"However, according to Janis Emmanouilidis, Director of Studies at the European Policy Centre (EPC) in Brussels, Angela Merkel would face a problem in promoting a European agenda in a Jamaica-style coalition. The FDP held a very tough position in the talks on all European issues, particularly EMU issues, saying "no" to everything."

Translated from Greek

### **Público**

PORTUGAL

## Eurogroup. The next president's main challenge is to enhance transparency

Robin Huguenot-Noel – 29 November

"Since the financial crisis, there has been popular pressure to increase the visibility of the Eurogroup in terms of greater transparency and accountability' of decisions taken, says Robin Huguenot-Noël of the think tank European Policy Centre in Brussels".

Translated from Portuguese

### LETTERA 43

ITALY

### Mogherini: the great mediator between Trump, Orban and Macron

Giovanni Grevi – 25 December

"Trump's emphasis on unilateralism and nationalism in international affairs has highlighted even more the different character of Europe and therefore the need for more European Union,'s ays Giovanni Grevi, senior fellow of the European Policy Centre of Brussels. 'Obviously foreign policy is a function of internal cohesion,' he said."

Translated from Italian

Sharing insights and analysis with policymakers

### Contributions

An essential task of the European Policy Centre is to brief decision makers on political developments and new societal trends. In 2017, our analysts shared their expertise with influential figures in European politics and business, including heads of state, and spoke at high-level conferences, committee meetings, and expert seminars and roundtables in member states and beyond.

Of the 90 papers we published in 2017, more than 70% were listed in the think tank reviews of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union. The most popular topics were Brexit, the Western Balkans and Turkey, as well as social policies.

#### **ENLARGEMENT**



#### **Berlin process** / Trieste summit

As a permanent member, Dr Corina Stratulat contributed to the activities of the Balkans in European Policy Advisory Group (BiEPAG), which played an important role in the framework of the Berlin process in the run-up to the 2017 Western Balkans Summit in Trieste. In February, she participated in a brainstorming meeting in Graz (Austria) organised by the European Fund for the Balkans and the Centre for Southeast European Studies. In June, just a few weeks before the summit, she flew to the city of Trieste to take part in a reflection forum on 'The Western Balkans in the European Union: Perspectives of a region in Europe?'.



### **Kosovo** | Publication EU member state policies towards Kosovo

8 December

Paul Ivan reviewed Romania's non-recognition of Kosovo in the volume Lack of engagement: surveying the EU member state policies towards Kosovo, published by the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society.

#### STATE OF THE UNION



In October, Janis A. Emmanouilidis briefed the Norwegian Prime Minister, Erna Solberg, on Brexit.



In July, ahead of the September State of the Union speech by Commission President Juncker, Janis A. Emmanouilidis participated in a closed brainstorming session with Martin Selmayr, head of Cabinet of President Juncker, and other members of the Cabinet.



President Herman Van Rompuy chaired a Franco-German Reflection Group on the future of Europe. Itbrought together leading experts of Franco-German cooperation.

#### **POPULISM**



Juliane Schmidt spoke at the conference 'Russia's influence on Europe's populist right', a public event at the European Parliament, organised by Austrian MEP Michel Reimon (02/05/2017).



Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer participated in a one-day simulation exercise on the EU's reactions to authoritarianism, organised by the Europe Programme and the US and the Americas Programme at Chatham House, London, United Kingdom (08/11/2017).

#### **SOCIAL POLICY**

The European Union's reflection paper on EU finances, as well as the 7<sup>th</sup> Cohesion Report of the European Commission echoed several policy recommendations suggested by Claire Dhéret in her Policy Brief 'EU Structural Funds: Fit for social convergence?'.



#### Convening power

### **Events**

In 2017, we continued to do what we do best: organise timely and stimulating policy debates on the issues that matter with the people who matter.

Once again, the EPC proved to be a leading platform for engaging with European Commissioners, visiting ministers, business leaders, international experts and senior diplomats.

Many of the events were held in our conference centre, which lends itself to a wide variety of meeting formats, from public panel debates to smaller roundtable discussions.

Keynote speakers included >



700+ speakers

10,000+ attendees



Michel Barnier Chief Negotiator of the Task Force on Article 50 Negotiations with the United Kingdom



**Nikola Dimitrov** Minister of Foreign Affairs, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia



**Karin Heremans** Co-Chair of Athe **Education Working** Group, Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN EDU)



Alexander Italianer Secretary-General, European Commission



Jyrki Katainen European Commission Vice President for Jobs. Growth, Investment and Competitiveness



Matti Maasikas Deputy Minister for European Affairs, Estonia



Giorai Mahebrishvili Minister of Internal Affairs, Georgia



Pierre Moscovici European Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs, Taxation and Customs



Michael Russell Scottish Minister for Brexit neaotiations with the UK government



David O'Sullivan EU Ambassador to the United States



**Oda Helen Sletnes** Ambassador of Norway to the European Union



Antonio Tajani President of the European Parliament



Marc Vanheukelen Ambassador, Permanent Representation of the European Union to the WTO



Philippe Van Parijs Philosopher and professor at the Faculty of economic, social and political sciences, Catholic University of Louvain





#### **European Politics and Institutions** | Brexit

### Examining the different Brexit scenarios

The EPC was active in the Brexit debate throughout 2017, closely monitoring progress on the negotiations between the UK and the EU, following the UK's decision to withdraw from the EU with the triggering of Article 50 in March 2017.

In the 25 papers we published on Brexit, EPC analysts and senior advisers focused on the key conditions for an orderly withdrawal, the likelihood of a transition period, as well as the implications of Brexit for the EU-UK relationship in specific policy areas, such as trade, customs, security and foreign policy.

The EPC convened events with major players in the negotiations, such as Michel Barnier, Chief Negotiator of the Task Force on Article 50 Negotiations with the UK, Michael Russell, Scottish Minister for Brexit Negotiations with the UK government, and James Brokenshire, **UK Secretary of State for Northern** Ireland. We presented views on Brexit from various angles, including Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. The EPC also brought a think tank perspective to the Commission's work on Brexit by working closely with the European Commission's Task Force 50, along with other think tanks.

In the summer of 2017, the EPC launched the Brexit Forum, a series of roundtable meetings on the more technical aspects of Brexit and aimed at understanding the practical

and legal implications of Brexit, especially for businesses that will find themselves outside the Single Market. The Brexit Forum is supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Amazon and the IKEA Group.

Fabian Zuleeg was a prominent voice in the fast-moving and wide-ranging debate, authoring a steady string of timely and influential publications covering the full range of scenarios, from a soft or hard Brexit to a no-deal. He received no less than 32 mentions in leading media outlets. He also continued to provide advice to Nicola Sturgeon, Scotland's First Minister, at meetings of the Standing Council on Europe. With Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, he co-authored a chapter on the EU institutions' views on Brexit in a book edited by Tom Oliver for Columbia University Press: 'Europe's Brexit: EU Perspectives on Britain's Vote to Leave?

Throughout 2017, former MEP Andrew Duff also suggested ways to make progress on the key issues of the first phase of the negotiations, namely the financial arrangements, the rights of EU citizens, the role of the European Court of Justice and the special situation of Northern Ireland. Duff also explored the tough issues that will be at the heart of the second phase of the negotiations, including the setup of a new association agreement between the UK and the EU.



#### **BREXIT**

EU budget post-Brexit: Confronting reality, exploring viable solutions

*Discussion Paper – 7 March*Ewa Chowicz, Programme Assistant

Among the many contentious issues that will have to be discussed during the Brexit negotiations, money will be one of the most difficult problems. As one of the biggest contributors to the EU budget, the UK's eventual withdrawal from the Union could leave a financial gap in the EU revenue of 14-19%, or EUR 20-27 billion (the UK rebate should not be omitted).

In this paper, Ewa Chomicz analysed the potential implications of Brexit for the EU budget in great detail from a political economy perspective. Chomicz put forward several ideas on how to make filling the gap less painful and more acceptable to the member states.

To successfully address an eventual financial shortage, this paper provided a clear set of policy proposals:

- adjust the EU budget size to the shape of the future EU-UK deal:
- maintain the EU27 payments to the EU budget that used to cover the costs of the UK rebate;
- make budget cuts in all areas, equivalent to the level of the UK's receipts estimated there;
- decrease funding for areas considered of lower priority following the revision of the current multiannual financial framework (MFF).

The next MFF negotiations for the period post-2020 will be more grueling than ever, but the UK's leaving should be the push for the EU27 to finally rethink the Union's financing in a structural and forward-looking way. After Brexit: Prospects for UK-EU cooperation on foreign and security policy

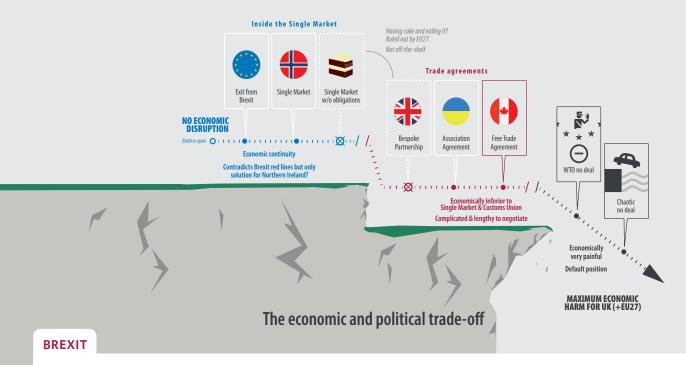
Policy Brief - 30 October

Fraser Cameron, Senior Adviser on International Programmes

Both the UK and the EU want to continue cooperating closely with one another on defence and security issues after Brexit. But how this 'close relationship' will come about, or what it will look like is less clear.

In this Policy Brief, Fraser Cameron presented us with the different options for the future, and argued that the development of the UK's post-Brexit relationship with the EU on foreign and security policy will mainly depend on three things:

- First, the broader positioning of the UK in global affairs. To what extent will it seek to act autonomously, and to what extent as a close partner of the EU, or even as the junior transatlantic partner to the US?
- Second, developments within the EU itself. It is an open question whether post-Brexit the EU will form a more cohesive and effective foreign and security policy or whether it will remain divided as it was on Iraq, Libya and Syria. Various European leaders are now pushing for a stronger EU in security and defence, but previous attempts have shown how difficult it is to move forward in this sensitive area. The differences in outlook between France and Germany, for example, remain very significant.
- Third, the final Brexit divorce settlement. An amicable separation will create goodwill to collaborate, while a nasty parting of ways will also impact on foreign and security policy.



#### Brexit: Towards a deep and comprehensive partnership

Commentary – 5 December Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Ahead of the 14-15 December European Summit, Fabian Zuleeg explored the limited set of scenarios for the second phase of the negotiations:

- An exit from Brexit is not impossible but unlikely.
   The have-your-cake-and-eat-it-too scenario having the benefits of economic integration without the obligations and the transfer of sovereignty that it implies has been categorically ruled out by the EU27.
- The bespoke deal that Theresa May called for in her Florence speech remains rather illusive and the negotiations may be running out of time to design something completely bespoke even if there is a twoyear transition period. A degree of using off-the-shelf solutions will be necessary.
- One option is some form of European Economic Area membership, modelled loosely on Norway, implying participation in the Single Market (and most likely in the Customs Union too to address the issue of the Northern Ireland border).

- Alternatively, there could be a negotiated free trade agreement modelled on the comprehensive deal the EU has recently signed with Canada or a broader partnership modelled on the EU's association agreements, such as the one with Ukraine. The latter requires, however, some concessions from the EU that have so far been reserved for aspiring members.
- The trade negotiations will be unlike any other: the negotiators will be trying to construct a deal that distributes the costs of disintegration rather than gains from trade; a deal that makes everyone worse off in the end.

A Norway-style deal is politically costly for the UK as it implies breaking the Brexiteers' red lines. But a Canadastyle deal is economically much inferior to the current status quo. For this reason, the UK might end up with no deal at all, driving over the cliff edge by default rather than design.

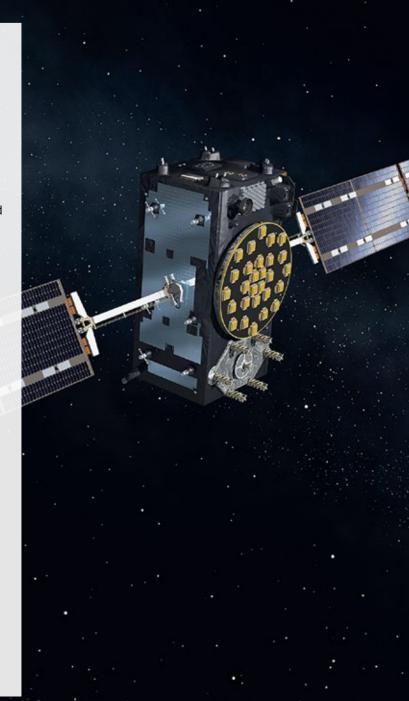
#### **BREXIT**

### Brexit: Launching satellite Britain

Discussion Paper – 5 December Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

Ahead of the 14-15 December European Summit, Andrew Duff explored the tough issues that will be at the heart of the second phase of the Brexit negotiations and the setup of a new association agreement between the UK and the EU:

- Brexit is not the end of Europe's British problem.
   The British stricken as they are need to be treated by their erstwhile partners not like any other third country but as a privileged partner.
- While there can be no special trade deal for Northern Ireland, robust regulatory alignment between the whole of the UK and the EU, entrenched in an association agreement, coupled with respect for the Good Friday Agreement, should allow for a soft border in Ulster.
- The core of the new association will be a comprehensive rules-based trade and investment partnership, including new customs arrangements, in the form of a free trade agreement, whose purpose will be to limit economic self-harm in the UK and minimise collateral damage to the EU economy.
- Home-grown British regulators will be needed to substitute for the role of the European Commission in surveillance of regulatory equivalence and compliance enforcement. In some cases, wholly new regulatory authorities will have to be created.
- The new association agreement will also need robust joint EU-UK institutions at ministerial, technical, parliamentary and judicial levels. The judicial tribunal is the more tricky to design. The European Court of Justice will have to drop its opposition to sharing its jurisdiction with a privileged partner state through the mechanism of an EU-UK joint court. Among other things, the joint court will resolve many of the first phase's remaining difficulties concerning citizens' rights.



#### **EVENTS**

Brexit: What framework for future EU-UK relations?

60-minute Briefing – 4 December

The Withdrawal Bill and the impending constitutional crisis

Policy Briefing - 17 November

Updating on political progress in Northern Ireland

60-minute Briefing – 6 November

European Economic Area or Customs Union: What is the best option after Brexit?

Brexit Forum - 18 October

How Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland view Brexit

Policy Dialogue – 17 October

Launch Event

Brexit Forum - 6 July

The results of the Special European Council on Brexit

Post-Summit Briefing – 2 May

Brexiting the Energy Union: What options for EU-UK energy and climate relations?

Policy Dialogue - 19 April

#### PUBLICATIONS

Brexit: Launching satellite Britain

Discussion Paper – 5 December Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

Brexit: Towards a deep and comprehensive partnership?

*Commentary – 5 December* Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Brexit: Terra Nova to explore together

Discussion Paper – 7 November Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

After Brexit: Prospects for UK-EU cooperation on foreign and security policy

Policy Brief – 30 October Fraser Cameron, Senior Adviser Better safe than sorry: Time to prepare for a 'no deal scenario'

Commentary – 20 October Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Brexit: Sufficient Unto the Day

Discussion Paper – 3 October Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

May's Florence speech: Much ado about nothing

Commentary – 22 September Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Reversing over the cliff edge?

Commentary – 18 September Fabian Zuleeq, Chief Executive

Brexit: Dealing with withdrawal symptoms

Discussion Paper – 5 September Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

Reality bites: The Brexit negotiations seen from

the other side of the Channel Commentary – 24 July

Fabian Zuleeq, Chief Executive

**Brexit: No ordinary third country** 

Discussion Paper - 6 July Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

What now? Options for Brexit

- And a cry for help

Discussion Paper – 15 June Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

Uncertainty in the UK

Commentary – 9 June

Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Brexit: time for Plan B

Discussion Paper – 30 May Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

The UK's general election: Mandate for a softer Brexit or preparation for going over the cliff edge?

Commentary – 18 April Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Brexit: après May, le déluge Discussion Paper – 12 April Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow Northern Ireland and Brexit: the European Economic Area option

Discussion Paper – 7 April Brian Doherty, Christopher McCrudden, Lee McGowan, David Phinnemore, Dagmar Schiek and John Temple Lang

No deal is the worst deal yet

*Commentary – 29 March*Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Brexit: How to manage the talks and the transition

Discussion Paper – 27 March Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

Ulster says 'Remain' – Brexit and the Northern Irish election result

Commentary – 10 March Frank Mc Namara, Policy Analyst

What kind of divorce: A clean, hard Brexit or a messy, confrontational Brexfast?

*Commentary – 9 March* Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive

Brexit and Europe: A new entente

Discussion Paper – 23 February Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

**Brexit: The launch of Article 50**Discussion Paper – 9 February

Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

Will Brexit revive the Franco-German engine?

Policy Brief – 27 January

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, Policy Analyst

How Europe sees Brexit

Discussion Paper – 24 January Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow



#### **European Politics and Institutions** | Future of Europe

### Examining the scope for a window of opportunity



In 2017, the European Union celebrated its 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary and the European Parliament elected a new president. Throughout the year, there was a growing sense of optimism about the Union's future. The unifying effect of Brexit and Donald Trump's election; the return to economic growth; the upswing of citizens' confidence in the European project; and the fact that 2017 was not the political *annus horribilis* that many feared it would be, have all fuelled hopes that the European project could be given new momentum after years of crises.

Pivotal elections were held in Austria, the Netherlands, France and Germany. Following the defeat of extremist parties in both France and the Netherlands, pro-European forces regained confidence, and there was hope that EU leaders would seize the window of opportunity. But while optimism is cautiously returning to the European scene, it is far too early to celebrate. The discussions held under the NPE framework underline concerns that the EU27 might not, at the end of the day, take advantage of the renewed confidence.

The Union must not only tackle the unresolved poly-crisis and its collateral damage but also face a much more fundamental threat: a surge in authoritarian populism that is testing the basic foundations of liberal democracies. The influence of those advocating simplistic solutions to complex problems is growing steadily.

Many have stressed the importance of finding common solutions to the EU's problems before the next European Parliament elections in May 2019.

#### **EVENTS**

Post-Summit Briefing

18 December

The priorities of the Bulgarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union

Breakfast Policy Briefing - 24 November

Europe's future

Peace, prosperity and democracy in an uncertain global environment

60-minute Briefing - 10 November

Post-Summit Briefing

23 October

The German election results Implications for Germany and the EU

25 September

The road to the EP elections 2019: The president's plans and priorities

Breakfast Policy Briefing – 6 September

Populism: Fact or fad?

Policy Dialogue - 5 September

The priorities of the Estonian Presidency

Breakfast Policy Briefing - 27 June

Post-Summit Briefing

26 June

Europe's future

What do the public and the elite really think?

Policy Dialogue - 20 June

The UK General Election

What does it mean for Brexit and the EU?

EPC Election Monitor - 9 June

The French elections

What consequences for the EU?

EPC Election Monitor - 10 May

Post-Summit Briefing

27 March

The Dutch vote: Setting the tone for key elections across Europe?

EPC Election Monitor - 16 March

From Rome to Rome via Maastricht: Where to next?

Policy Dialogue – 8 March

Habemus Presidentum! Prospects after the election of the new EP President

Policy Dialogue - 31 January

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

The Juncker Commission past midterm: Does the new setup work?

*Discussion Paper – 18 October*Paul Ivan, Senior Policy Analyst

Crans-Montana: A 'now or never' moment for a Cyprus settlement?

Commentary – 26 June Amanda Paul, Senior Policy Analyst

The rise of post-national democracy: Macron, Brexit and the electoral reform of the EP

Discussion Paper – 10 May Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

Europe's reform opportunity

Commentary – 8 May Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

The French presidential election: an (E)U-turn in the making?

Commentary – 4 May

Robin Huquenot-Noël, Policy Analyst

Germany and the next French president: In search of the best partner

Commentary - 20 April

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, Policy Analyst

### The Rome Declaration: An imperfect display of unity

Commentary – 27 March Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Director of Studies Fabian Zuleeq, Chief Executive

### The 2017 elections across Europe: facts, expectations and consequences

Discussion Paper – 14 March
Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Francesca Fabbri,
Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, Adriaan Schout, Corina
Stratulat and Fabian Zuleeq

The Romanian protests: Democratic progress or a ride on a rocking horse?

Commentary – 27 February Corina Stratulat, Senior Policy Analyst

After Schulz: The election of the new president of the European Parliament

Discussion Paper - 9 January Andrew Duff, Visiting Fellow

#### PUBLICATIONS

Preserving or strengthening Schengen? Commentary – 10 November Marie De Somer, Senior Policy Analyst

### An Australian 'model' for the EU's migration crisis?

Commentary – 2 June Yves Pascouau, Senior Adviser on migration and mobility policies

### Tackling irregular migration through development: A flawed approach?

Discussion Paper – 22 May Marco Funk, Frank Mc Namara, and Romain Pardo, Policy Analysts; and Norma Rose, Programme Assistant

#### European Parliament mid-term election: What impact on migration policy? Commentary – 16 March

Commentary – 16 March Marco Funk, Policy Analyst

#### EU external migration policy: In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king

Commentary – 6 February Yves Pascouau, Senior Adviser on migration and mobility policies Frank Mc Namara, Policy Analyst

#### **EPIM Policy Updates**

February, April, July, October, December

#### **European Migration and Diversity**

## Informing developments in migration and asylum

In 2017, the European Migration and Diversity (EMD) Programme analysts closely followed EU policy developments in asylum and migration. EMD events and publications stimulated public debate and provided a multistakeholder platform to discuss both the immediate day-to-day policy issues and the overarching, long-term developments on the migration agenda.

A total of 12 events were organised. Speakers included Matthias Ruete, European Commission Director-General for Migration and Home Affairs; Catherine Woollard, Secretary General of the European Council on Refugees and Exiles; Birgit Sippel, Member of the European Parliament, and a variety of other actors from European institutions, civil society, diplomatic representations and academia

The EMD programme authored a total of ten publications, covering both the internal and external dimensions of migration policies: issues ranged from internal border controls, asylum regulations to foreign and development

policies. Our analysts also cooperated closely with those in the Sustainable Prosperity for Europe Programme to publish a multidisciplinary Discussion Paper entitled 'Tackling irregular migration through development: A flawed approach?' It was well-received and widely referred to during the 2017 edition of the European Development Days, Europe's premier forum on development cooperation.



Ahead of the deadline for lifting internal border controls on 11 November 2017, Head of programme, Marie De Somer, published a commentary 'Preserving or Strengthening Schengen?' She questioned whether the latest attempt to reform the Schengen Border Code would be enough to reduce internal border controls in the EU.

A variety of stakeholders, including multinational corporations such as UPS and IKEA, but also trade unions and chambers of commerce cooperated with the EMD programme on refugee integration into the labour market, a project that is managed jointly with the EPC Social Europe and Well-Being Programme.



Thanks to the support of the Finnish Foreign Ministry and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, the EMD team launched a project on the management of the EU's external borders with the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS). The project includes research missions and dissemination events in four countries (Greece, Belgium, France and Finland).

EMD analysts also shared their analysis with external stakeholders through participation in high-level public events and expert consultations. In 2017, they were invited to participate in three working groups at the European Parliament

As part of its cooperation with EPIM, the EMD Programme kept its diverse audience informed about EU policy developments in the field of migration with quarterly anslyses.

Members of the EMD team have provided insights, background information and opinions to various European and international news websites. Its activities and analysis were featured extensively in national, European and international media including in L'Opinion, Euranet Plus, Euractiv, Welt, The Local, Le Monde, News-H24, Les Observateurs, Bnr, Jyllands Posten, La Tercera, EuroZprávy and Politiken.

#### **EVENTS**

Refugee integration into the labour market: The role of employers Roundtable – 14 December

**Border management and foreign policy in the Central Mediterranean** Roundtable – 13 December

EU resettlement policies: Past, present, future

Policy Dialogue - 12 December

Is Schengen fit for purpose? Discussing updates to the Schengen Borders Code Policy Dialogue – 29 November

**High-level Franco-German Reflection Group meeting on migration**Roundtable – 4 September

**Harm-free migration policies** Workshop – 26 June

Two years after the migration and security agendas: Where do we stand?
Policy Briefing - 21 June

#### Migration without violence

Three project workshops from March to May with Doctors without Borders and the Norwegian Refugee Council

The EU-Turkey statement: Success or failure?

Head-to-Head - 21 March

#### **SCHENGEN**

### Preserving or strengthening Schengen?

Commentary – 10 November Marie De Somer, Senior Policy Analyst

When the latest deadline for lifting internal border controls was approaching on 11 November 2017, five countries had already signalled their intention to continue internal border checks after that date (Austria, Denmark, Germany, Norway and Sweden). Against this backdrop, Marie De Somer explained why the Commission's latest attempt to reform the Schengen Borders Code was not the way forward.

The Commission's new proposal followed the same balanced but ineffective line as the one taken for the reform of the code in 2013. It was agreed then that member states would have the right to reinstate border controls if they fulfilled explicit necessity and proportionality requirements to be controlled by the Commission. The justifications that member states had provided for reintroducing border controls since 2015 showed that these rarely offered the level of detail required for earnestly assessing their proportionality and necessity.

In short, the lack of scrutiny by the Commission had led to transform the spirit of Schengen from an area of freedom of movement to a licence to near-permanent border controls.

#### **MIGRATION**

### Tackling Irregular Migration Through Development: A Flawed Approach?

Discussion Paper – 22 May Marco Funk, Frank Mc Namara and Romain Pardo, Policy Analysts; and Norma Rose, Programme Assistant

Faced with a large influx of asylum seekers in recent years, but little agreement among member states on how to share the burden, the EU is increasingly turning to third countries to reduce the number of irregular migrants arriving in Europe. The Union's approach consists of addressing the 'root causes of migration' as well as strengthening third countries' migration management, and is based on the premise that increasing development aid to developing countries will reduce the stimulus for emigration.

This Discussion Paper considered whether this premise is in fact true, and analysed the effectiveness of recent EU efforts in this regard. It argued that, despite the constraints of the current approach (including an oversimplified understanding of migratory dynamics), more effective cooperation with third countries to reduce irregular migration was still possible: instead of conditionality, the EU could offer other incentives, such as work/visa schemes, governance aid, trade agreements and/ or decreasing the cost of remittances. And finally, there should be more options for migrants to come to Europe legally, in order to challenge smugglers' markets and damage their business model.





### **European Migration and Diversity / Social Europe and Well-Being** | Labour markets

### Securing jobs for refugees: Learning from employers

### **EVENTS**

Refugee integration into the labour market: The role of employers Roundtable – 14 December

**How to turn digitalisation into opportunities for all?**Policy Dialogue – 4 May

Integration of refugees into the labour market

Project partners meeting - 4 April

In 2017, the EPC worked on the subject of refugees' integration into the labour market and the role of employers. The project seeks to raise the employment level of refugees by better understanding the obstacles that prevent them from being hired and identifying ways to improve and scale up EU policies and programmes in this area.

Under the joint coordination of the Social Europe and Well-being and European Migration and Diversity programmes, EPC analysts have

designed an online questionnaire and organised several meetings to gather input from employers.

The EPC also prepared the ground for a new project on the future of work to be launched in 2018 that aimed at reviewing the ongoing transformations in the labour market. The focus is on access to social protection schemes for workers in new forms of employment.



### **PUBLICATIONS**

European social rights need more than a proclamation: Recommendations for an ambitious social summit

Commentary – 15 November Claire Dhéret, Senior Policy Analyst

Achieving social triple A: What role for EU cohesion policy?
Policy Brief – 31 May

Claire Dhéret, Senior Policy Analyst

### **EVENTS**

EU Structural Funds: Fit for social convergence?

Workshop with Social Progress Imperative – 21 March **Social Europe and Well-Being** | Social convergence

## Going beyond the rhetoric on social convergence

Can European welfare systems achieve a social triple-A rating? The Social Europe and Well-Being programme tried to answer this question by exploring whether current EU policies and financial instruments support upward social convergence in member states in terms of employment, education and the fight against poverty.

The EPC organised a workshop in collaboration with the Social Progress Imperative to investigate the extent to which EU Structural Funds can foster social convergence, while taking account of other indicators than GDP in the distribution methodology.

The question of social convergence was raised again ahead of the European Social Summit of November in Göteborg, which saw the adoption of the European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR).

The SEWB team also shared their expertise with external stakeholders. In September, Claire Dhéret was invited to a hearing of the European Economic and Social Committee to share her views on the European Pillar of Social Rights, a topic she had already discussed with the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in June. In April, she spoke at a roundtable discussion organised by MEP Maria João Rodrigues in the European Parliament.

### Social Europe and Well-Being

The Social Europe and Well-Being programme continued to examine the social dimension of European policies in 2017.

Created in 2016 in response to the growing disconnect between European citizens and the EU institutions, its activities mainly cover three policy areas: health, employment, and social policies. The SEWB team also looks into the social implications of EU regulatory initiatives and financial instruments across all policy areas.

In 2017, the Social Europe and Well-Being programme produced four publications and organised 20 events on five themes: health, labour markets, social investment, social convergence, and energy poverty.





### Social Europe and Well-Being | Health

### Building sustainable health systems

The EPC continued to promote debate and carry out research on the sustainability of European health systems thanks to the support of Johnson & Johnson under its well-established Coalition for Health, Ethics and Society (CHES).

Chaired by Hans Martens, EPC Senior Adviser, CHES fosters a dialogue with relevant stakeholders on how to optimise the role of the EU in health policies. Three aspects were addressed in 2017: the role of EU governance e.g. the European Semester and the EU budget for health; eHealth literacy and self-care in Europe; and the impact of other EU policies e.g. migration, transport, food safety on the general health conditions of European citizens and migrants.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

Sustainable Development Goal on Health (SDG3): The opportunity to make EU health a priority

Discussion Paper – 18 May Paula Franklin, Policy Analyst

### **EVENTS**

Health in all policies: Moving from media headlines to policy actions

CHES Conference – 29 November

Health check of EU policies: Food quality

and safety in Europe

CHES workshop - 29 November

Health check of EU policies: Good air quality for better health outcomes CHES workshop – 29 November

Health check of EU policies: Preserving

migrants' health

CHES workshop - 29 November

Health check of EU policies: Preserving

good mental health

CHES workshop - 29 November

Strengthening the EU added value in health

CHES Policy Dialogue – 18 May

Self-care and eHealth literacy: Key components in the transition to sustainable health systems?

CHES Policy Dialogue – 29 March

CHES Steering Committee

10 February

New Global Burden of Disease study results: Implications for Europe (outside CHES)

Roundtable – 25 January

Achieving sustainable European health systems: The way forward Annual Lecture Breakfast Briefing –

24 January

### **Social Europe and Well-Being** | Social investment

### Turning social investment into a reality

### **PUBLICATIONS**

Social investment first! A precondition for a modern Social Europe

Issue Paper – 3 March Claire Dhéret, Senior Policy Analyst Lieve Fransen, Senior Adviser on health, social and migration policies

### **EVENTS**

**The Investment Plan for Europe: Investing in social care and support** One-day conference – 27 November

**Universal basic income: Pros and cons** Head-to-Head – 29 September

**Building a fairer Europe: Can the education package help?**Breakfast Policy Briefing – 19 September

Towards a strong social investment narrative for Europe: How to get there? Policy Dialoque – 3 March In March 2017 the expert group on social investment, created in 2015, presented its final report and policy recommendations. The group was chaired by Lieve Fransen, Senior Adviser on health, social and migration policies, and supported by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (CESI).

The expert group put forward a set of policy recommendations to turn social investment into a reality by building a toolkit that can help to make social investment effective and operational on the ground.

Following up on the work of the expert group, the EPC continued to explore how the concept of social investment could be translated into more concrete policies in the areas of education and social welfare.

How financial instruments, in particular from the EU budget, could support social investment was also explored. A one-day conference was jointly organised with the European Association of Service Providers for People with Disabilities. It focused on the financial instruments that can promote investment in social care and infrastructures.





### **SOCIAL EUROPE**

Social Investment first!
A precondition for a modern Social Europe

Issue Paper – 3 March Claire Dhéret, Senior Policy Analyst Lieve Fransen, Senior Adviser on health, social and migration policies

The EU is in need of a new project. Something that can generate new momentum, regain citizens' trust and change the EU's tainted image of austerity and gridlock to one of progress and positive change. In this Issue Paper, Claire Dhéret and Lieve Fransen presented their vision for the future and advocated a push towards a strong, modern and sustainable Social Europe. They argued that the best way to address Europe's challenges was to put social investment at the heart of the EU agenda.

Beginning with a thorough analysis of the European welfare states' growing weaknesses, the authors delved deeper into the concept of social investment and explained how it could address rising socioeconomic divergences between and within member states, as well as provide social protection for all EU citizens in a sustainable way.

Because it would require a radical change of mindset regarding the scope of social policies, the way in which they are delivered, and the Union's role in this area, the authors acknowledged that some might be concerned that such an ambitious push forward could further embolden Eurosceptic forces.

But not so according to our authors: they argued that too much time had already been wasted, and that the absence of a coherent social policy framework at EU level partly explained the economic, social and political crises the Union is facing. If the EU is to convince its citizens that it has their best interest at heart and that it can improve their well-being and quality of life, it will have to reinforce its social dimension with a robust strategy on social investment.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

### The long journey to end energy poverty in Europe

Policy Brief – 16 June Claire Dhéret, Senior Policy Analyst Marco Giuli, Policy Analyst

### **EVENTS**

### Lifting people out of energy poverty: How to measure progress?

Third Workshop of the Energy Poverty Task Force – 31 March

### Tackling energy poverty in Europe: What more needs to be done? Policy Dialogue – 16 June

Social Europe and Well-Being / Sustainable Prosperity for Europe | Energy poverty

### Tackling energy poverty in Europe



In June 2017, the EPC Task Force on Energy Poverty concluded its work. Chaired by Lieve Fransen, Senior Adviser on health, social and migration policies, it was launched in 2016 with the support of the Schneider Electric Foundation and the King Baudouin Foundation

The Task Force brought together policymakers, practitioners, researchers, civil society organisations, business and social innovators. It formulated a series of policy recommendations on tackling energy poverty at EU level.

Building on the 2016 Clean Energy for All Europeans Package, it reviewed the leverage potential of social innovation instruments and of the next Multiannual Financial Framework in reducing energy poverty in Europe.

The activities of the Task Force culminated in the launch of the EU Energy Poverty Observatory (EPOV) in January 2018. In recognition of its active role in raising awareness about energy poverty and in pushing the issue to the top of the European agenda, the EPC was invited to become

a founding member of the EPOV consortium.

EPC analysts continued to be active in the debate about energy poverty. In November, Marco Giuli spoke at the 12<sup>th</sup> 'Rendez-vous Européen de Strasbourg' on the topic and Claire Dhéret moderated a lunch debate on the risks associated with energy poverty and the lack of electrical safety, which was organised by the European Copper Institute (ECI) and the International Federation of Safety of Electricity Users (Fisuel).

### **Sustainable Prosperity for Europe**

The programme continued to examine the drivers of Europe's competitiveness, prosperity, and welfare; and address the growing challenges and potential crises of tomorrow. It facilitated multi-stakeholder dialogues on achieving growth that is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable.

In 2017, activities focused on:

- 1. EU economic governance with a focus on the tools at the disposal of the EU institutions (e.g. budget, EMU) in supporting and improving the economic prospects of member states, regions, and citizens.
- 2. Policies that support a cleaner, smarter, and more sustainable European economy, namely smarter use of resources, the circular economy, climate change mitigation and sustainable, competitive and secure energy systems.

**3.** How enablers for progress - e.g. the Single Market, digitalisation and trade - and better regulation can bring about sustainable prosperity and enhance European competitiveness.

In 2017, the team organised 43 events ranging from expert workshops to highlevel panel discussions. 15 publications were produced on related topics. In addition, analysts contributed to over 40 external discussions. Our events and analysts were featured, for example, in media outlets from Azerbaijan, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Estonia. France, Italy, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Kingdom.

### **EVENTS**

Preparing the North Sea for a low carbon future in Europe: Prospects and challenges Policy Dialogue –

Policy Dialogue – 5 December

COP23: Outcomes and next steps

Policy Dialogue – 28 November

Nord Stream 2: Assessing the economic and security impact on Central and Eastern Europe

Policy Dialogue – 18 October

**Germany and the Energy Union: Lessons and prospects** Policy Dialogue – 6 October

Transatlantic Challenges: The changing geopolitics of gas markets: Implications for the EU and the US Policy Dialoque – 4 October

A mandate to negotiate Nord Stream 2: Exploring pros and cons Roundtable – 2 October

Transatlantic Challenges:
Developing sustainable road
transport systems in the EU
and the US: Lessons learned
and prospects for deeper
cooperation

Policy Dialogue – 15 September

What role for nuclear in the energy transition? Policy Dialogue – 14 September

Tackling energy poverty in Europe: What more needs to be done?

Policy Dialogue – 16 June

Energy and climate scenarios towards 2050

Policy Dialogue – 15 June

The EU ETS and national carbon pricing policies: Addressing overlaps and complementarity Roundtable – 20 April

Brexiting the Energy Union: What options for EU-UK energy and climate relations? Policy Dialoque – 19 April

Lifting people out of energy poverty: How to measure the progress?

Third Workshop of the Energy Poverty Task Force – 31 March

The impact of climate change: Is Europe ready? Policy Dialogue - 25 January

**Towards a future-proofed electricity market design?** Policy Dialoque – 24 January

### PUBLICATIONS

Access to clean and efficient energy in developing countries: The need for EU action to implement SDG7

Discussion Paper – 24 November Romain Pardo, Policy Analyst Johannes Hügel, Research Associate, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

### Germany's energy transition: Making it deliver

Discussion Paper – 9 October Annika Hedberg, Senior Policy Analyst

Trump's gas doctrine: What does it mean for the EU? Commentary – 26 July

Marco Giuli, Policy Analyst

The US exits Paris: Can the EU drive international climate action?

*Discussion Paper – 12 July* Romain Pardo, Policy Analyst

### The long journey to end energy poverty in Europe

Policy Brief – 16 June Marco Giuli, Policy Analyst and Claire Dhéret, Senior Policy Analyst

Brexiting the Energy Union:
What do the negotiation positions imply?
Commentary – 19 April
Marco Giuli, Policy Analyst

Russia's nuclear energy diplomacy in the Middle East: Why the EU should take notice Policy brief – 21 February Marco Giuli, Policy Analyst

The market design proposal: The journey has only begun Commentary – 19 January Marco Giuli, Policy Analyst

### **Sustainable Prosperity for Europe** | Climate and energy

## Reducing emissions and meeting our energy needs

Through its Climate and Energy Platform, the EPC is contributing extensively to the debate on how to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in a cost-effective way; and secure cheaper and more sustainable energy.

In 2017, the EPC continued to evaluate the positions of various member states regarding the EU Energy Union, as well as regional energy developments, namely in the UK, Germany and the North Sea region. The Sustainable Prosperity for Europe programme also analysed and discussed the prospects for gas production, distribution and consumption in the European Union. This included analysing the divisive Nord Stream 2 project.

More generally, the EPC engaged in a debate on the European Union's long-term climate and energy prospects, including its vulnerabilities in the face of climate change. The EPC also continued discussions on the Commission's 'Clean Energy for All Europeans' package (published in November 2016), namely on the electricity market design, as well as the reform of the European Emission Trading System.

Another strand of research focused on the implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement. The Sustainable Prosperity for Europe team closely followed the international climate change negotiations in Germany (COP23) and advocated that the EU take the lead in helping developing countries implement the seventh Sustainable Development Goal – "ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all" – in a way that is consistent with climate objectives.

EPC experts also shared their analysis with external stakeholders. In June, Annika Hedberg spoke about the consequences of Brexit for the EU Energy Union and for the UK's climate and energy agenda before Eurochambres' Energy and Environment Committee. In November, Marco Giuli presented the results of the EPC Energy Poverty Task Force at the 12<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Rendez-vous européens de Strasbourg*.



### Germany's energy transition: Making it deliver

*Discussion Paper – 9 October* Annika Hedberg, Senior Policy Analyst

In this Discussion Paper, Annika Hedberg assessed the successes and failures of Germany's energy transition, and evaluated the national developments in a wider European context. She argued that the German experiences provided valuable lessons not only for Germany but also for others that are looking to transform their energy systems.

Germany's Energiewende has received international attention because of the ambitious effort to increase the share of renewables in the energy mix. Some have even gone as far as portraying it as a model for building a renewable future. But this is not the complete story: while Germany's vision and objectives are commendable, implementation has been mixed. While progress has been made in the electricity sector, little has been done to bring about an energy transition in the heating and transport sectors. Fossil fuels continue to dominate as the principal sources of energy for the country, and Germany is expected to miss its target of reducing

greenhouse gas emissions by 40% by 2020. So a truly green and renewable future is still far from a reality.

While it is often forgotten, the German energy transition is not happening in isolation. Germany's domestic measures have implications across borders. The EU provides a wider framework and drivers that can influence the success of the energy transition. While the commitments and measures taken at the EU level are shaped by Germany, they also have implications for it.

Hedberg put forward a set of policy recommendations for both Germany and the EU, and argued that Germany could be a key player in leading EU and even global climate action. However, Germany can only provide a credible and attractive model for others if it can prove that the transition can be cost-effective and bring significant economic, societal and environmental benefits. To make the energy transition a real success, she recommended that Germany collaborate more with its European partners and align its actions with the agreed EU objectives. Stepping up its efforts on the energy transition would start with an adoption of a comprehensive vision, complemented with an all-inclusive strategy for its achievement.

### **EVENTS**

Ensuring availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation in developing countries: Time for a new EU approach?

Workshop - 30 November

The circular economy and digitalisation: Prospects for a joined-up approach Policy Dialoque – 20 November

Agriculture in Europe: New pathways to environmental sustainability Workshop – 31 October

Water and agriculture in Europe: Improving policies to preserve resources Policy Dialoque – 28 September

A sustainable future for our oceans: Can the EU set the course? Policy Dialoque – 27 June

Towards water reuse in the EU: Learning from European and Israeli experience

Roundtable - 26 April

**The circular economy and digitalisation**Roundtable – 25 April

The circular economy: Closing the loop on plastics

Roundtable - 29 March

Turning waste into energy: A real opportunity or a fall-back option? Policy Dialogue – 21 February

Making production smarter: The potential of eco-design

Policy Dialogue – 14 February

### **Sustainable Prosperity for Europe** | Circular economy

## Promoting the smarter use of resources and the circular economy

In 2017, our circular economy events continued to attract a large audience and to engage policymakers and stakeholders. The EPC launched the Task Force 'Digital Roadmap for a circular economy', with a view to exploring the contribution of digitalisation to the transition to a circular economy. To that end, it intends to develop a roadmap on how to maximise synergies between the Union's circular economy and digital agendas. Other activities were organised on the prospects for ecodesign, waste-to-energy and plastics.

The EPC also led discussions on the sustainable management of resources, with a special focus on water. Drawing on innovative experiments in Israel, it explored the prospects for large-scale water reuse in the European Union. The EPC also facilitated an event allowing stakeholders to engage directly with Phil Hogan, European Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development, on the contribution of a revised Common Agricultural Policy in boosting smarter use of water resources.

In collaboration with the Commission's Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development, the

EPC brought together experts from the water and sanitation sectors to reflect on instruments, policies and strategies to implement the sixth Sustainable Development Goal – "ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all" – in developing countries.

On the implementation of the fourteenth Sustainable Development Goal – "conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources" – the EPC organised a discussion with Karmenu Vella, European Commissioner for Environment, Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, to identify the various actions required to improve ocean governance.

EPC analysts also contributed to discussions in Brussels and beyond. In September, Romain Pardo spoke about the circular economy at the Environment Ireland Conference 2017 in Dublin. In November, Annika Hedberg discussed the prospects for European agriculture at an expert workshop organised by the *Institut du développement durable et des relations internationales* (IDDRI) in Brussels.

### Sustainable Prosperity for Europe | Digital Agenda

### Digitalising the economy

The digitalisation of products and services, industry and public sector has an important role to play in contributing to the European Union's economic growth and its competitiveness. In this context, the EPC engaged with a wide range of industry players and stakeholders in 2017 by providing a platform for constructive discussion about the future of Europe in an increasingly digital economy.

A particular focus was placed on the use of data in a smarter economy and the mid-term review of the Digital Single Market strategy. It also facilitated a debate on how member states can turn digitalisation into an opportunity for all and prevent it from becoming another fault line polarising

European societies. It also examined how digitalisation could contribute to the transition towards a more modern, resource-efficient and circular economy. (see page 46 on the left).

EPC analysts also engaged with external partners on these issues. In March, Iva Tasheva participated in an EU-China expert-to-expert discussion on the digital economy in Leuven. In May, she addressed the European Economic and Social Committee at their Single Market Observatory meeting in Brussels on the mid-term review of the Digital Single Market. She also presented a report on the trends and prospects of cybersecurity policy in Europe at an International Conference organised by the New Bulgarian University in Sofia.

### PUBLICATIONS

European cybersecurity policy: Trends and prospects

Policy Brief – 8 June
Iva Tasheva, former Junior Policy Analyst

### **EVENTS**

Transatlantic Challenges – Europe's response to growing cybersecurity threats: Lessons from the US experience Policy Dialoque – 12 October

The Digital Single Market strategy mid-term review: Are we on track? Policy Dialogue – 1 June

How to turn digitalisation into opportunities for all?

Policy Dialoque – 4 May

Digital enlargement: Empowering public administrations and businesses in aspiring EU countries

Policy Dialogue – 30 March

Are we building a real Digital Single Market for consumers?

Single Market Roundtable – 28 February

Fostering the use of data for a smarter and stronger EU economy Policy Dialogue – 2 February

### PUBLICATIONS

### Can the EU structural funds reconcile growth, solidarity and stability objectives?

Issue Paper – 10 October Robin Huguenot-Noël, Policy Analyst Alison Hunter, Senior Adviser on regional policy, regional innovation and industrial growth, Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Economist

### Europe's reform opportunity

Commentary – 1 June Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Director of Studies, Herman Van Rompuy, President, Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Economist

### EU budget post-Brexit: Confronting reality, exploring viable solutions

Discussion Paper – 7 March Ewa Chomicz, (former) Economic Research Assistant

### EVENTS

The future of the eurozone and growth in Europe Workshop – 25 October

Water and agriculture in Europe: Improving policies to preserve resources Policy Dialoque - 28 September

The role of structural funds in EU economic governance: Towards increased structural reforms and macroeconomic conditionality?

Workshop - 31 May

**The European economic outlook 2017**Policy Dialogue – 14 February

**Regional policy beyond 2020: Gearing up for the new MFF**Policy Dialogue – 7 February

### Sustainable Prosperity for Europe | EU Budget

## Improving economic governance and EU spending

Economic governance is the process through which EU institutions support economic development in Europe and aim to address the root causes of economic shocks. The EPC has made important contributions to the debate by organising debates, for example, on how to improve the Economic and Monetary Union, while addressing the political realities.

EPC analysts presented their research findings to a wide variety of stakeholders. In October, Fabian Zuleeg spoke about 'The Future of the Economic and Monetary Union' at the 8th Limassol Economic Forum, the biggest and most important business gathering in Cyprus. In March, Robin Huguenot-Noël participated in a conference on 'Social investment and the Juncker Plan' organised by the Jacques Delors Institute in cooperation with the French Economic, Social and Environmental Council in Paris. He also presented the findings of policy papers on public spending in the Euro area in conferences held by the German Federal Foreign Office and the German think tank Das Progressive Zentrum in Paris and by the Young Scholars' Initiative in Brussels in April. Brexit has also accelerated the

need to discuss a comprehensive reform of the EU budget and the Multiannual Financial Framework. The EPC thus continued to share its recommendations on how to reform the EU budget and focused on how EU Structural Funds could contribute to aligning the EU's economic governance objectives and its cohesion policy, i.e. its commitment to improve economic, social and territorial cohesion.

In that regard, Robin Huguenot-Noël, Alison Hunter and Fabian Zuleeg worked on a study commissioned by the European Commission: 'Can the EU structural funds reconcile growth, solidarity and stability objectives?'. The main findings were presented in Brussels to over 60 EU regions in October; to the Committee of the Regions in December, as well as in several EU member states (Edinburgh and Riga).

The EPC also organised a discussion on future-proofing the agricultural sector, ahead of the publication of the Commission's Communication on the future of the EU's common agricultural policy.



On 9 October, the Commission launched its 7th Cohesion Report in the context of the European Week of Regions and Cities (EWRC). As the debate about the post-2020 Cohesion Policy was picking up, the EPC published a report that offered a fresh contribution and a new direction for the policy's future at the heart of the EU's economic growth agenda.

The report examined the role played by conditionalities and how these have impacted perceptions and delivery of the EU Structural and Investment Funds (ESI). The EPC proposed that the future Cohesion Policy be positioned within a more comprehensive EU economic governance system, encompassing all EU growth-enhancing policies and geared by a new EU growth strategy.

- re-position Cohesion Policy as an enabler for the delivery of the EU's growth-enhancing reform agenda;
- acknowledge the different delivery capacities among EU member states and regions in the implementation of the EU structural and investment funds.

EPC recommendations highlighted how Cohesion Policy could help to drive reforms and direct investments that would achieve greater economic and social benefits. They would thus give the Cohesion Policy community a new enabling environment to deliver on its economic, social and territorial cohesion objectives.

### **EVENTS**

An Industry Action Plan for the European Union

First steering committee meeting of the Task Force – 11 December

### Sustainable Prosperity for Europe | Industrial transformations

## Developing an industrial strategy for Europe

Driven by globalisation and innovation, European industries are facing heightened international competition and an unprecedented level of technological transformations. While the EU is promoting industrial competitiveness across sectors and policies, arguably more could be done to coordinate member states' actions to ensure successful industrial transformations. This requires addressing the possibilities and challenges related to innovation, digitalisation and sustainability across industrial value chains.

With this in mind, the EPC launched a Task Force to develop a pan-European 'Industry Action Plan for the European Union' and raise awareness, across Europe, about the drivers and implications of industrial transformations and look at the scope for EU action

Building on the factors driving industrial transformations and evidence of best practices in the field of industrial innovation, the EPC Task Force engages with practitioners, stakeholders and experts both in Brussels and in the member states. The findings of the project will be integrated into a final publication – to be released in the summer of 2019. It will set out concrete recommendations for the newly appointed European Commission to drive this agenda forward.

EPC analysts also engaged with external partners on industrial issues. On 27 September, Robin Huguenot-Noël spoke before the Industrial Affairs Committee at BusinessEurope about ongoing trends and prospects for the development of an EU industrial strategy. His presentation focused on the reception of the Commission's recent Communication on a 'Renewed EU Industrial Policy Strategy' and how the review of the EU's Multiannual Financial Framework could better reflect the transformations facing Europe's industry.





### **Sustainable Prosperity for Europe** | Single Market

## Calling for a better governance of the Single Market

A better functioning Single Market will help to restore growth in Europe as well as boost the competitiveness of our industries. In the long run, this will benefits citizens, consumers and businesses alike. It is therefore pivotal to continue closing the loopholes and streamline the governance of the Single Market for the European Union to reveal its full potential in terms of growth and jobs.

The day-to-day reality encountered by citizens and businesses reveals how wide and serious the gap is between the EU vision and its implementation. Member states need to commit to a new set of regulatory and governance reforms to realise the full benefits that a functioning Single Market can deliver.

Building on the Commission's 2015 Single Market Strategy and feeding into the ongoing policy debates, the EPC continued to examine the state of play and the necessary measures. In 2017, debates focused on the Digital Single Market, the Services Package, public procurement of innovation, and market surveillance. The EPC also looked into the future of taxation in the Single Market.

The EPC Single Market Roundtable, launched in 2015 and chaired by Malcolm Harbour, former Chair of the European Parliament Internal Market Committee, continued to facilitate frank and open discussion among leading policymakers, experts and other stakeholders on the future of the Single Market.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

Future of taxation in the single market
Policy Brief – 27 January
Iva Tasheva, Junior Policy Analyst
Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive and Chief
Economist

### **EVENTS**

How to improve market surveillance and conformity assessment in the single market?

Single Market Roundtable – 12 October

How to better promote public procurement of innovation in Europe?

Single Market Roundtable – 1 June

The Services Package: Is the EU on the right track?
Policy Dialogue – 1 March

Are we building a real Digital Single Market for consumers?

Single Market Roundtable – 28 February

Modernising tax policies in the EU single market

Policy Dialogue – 1 February

### **Europe in the World** | Neighbourhood Policy

### Firefighting in Europe's extended neighbourhood



In 2017, the EU continued to be confronted with serious challenges in both its Eastern and Southern neighbourhoods, placing the region high on the EU's foreign policy agenda.

The EPC dealt with the political, security, economic, and societal developments in the EU's extended neighbourhood, stretching from the Sahel to Russia and Central Asia through the Middle East. It examined Europe's foreign policy priorities in a wide array of areas, including democracy and the rule of law, energy security, conflict resolution, counter-terrorism cooperation, migration, and economic relations. EPC analysts scrutinised the Union's

Eastern neighbours (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine) both within the context of the EU's Eastern Partnership and on broader issues addressed in bilateral and regional fora through a series of public meetings, expert roundtables and publications. Some of these activities focused on conflict resolution in the former Soviet space, as well as Cyprus.

2017 saw the launch of the EPC Ukraine Forum, a platform for debate and exchange between the EU and Ukraine. The Forum also supports discussions and analysis on policy developments in the country. In 2017,

it examined Ukraine's relations with the EU, including the implementation of the Association Agreement and the free trade agreement. Another area of focus was the conflict in Crimea and the Donbas, and the broader Ukraine-Russia-EU triangle relationship.

Following the EPC's long track record of working on Turkey, EPC staff analysed the underlying trends in Turkey's domestic and foreign policy, including relations with the EU and issues of common interest such as migration, trade and regional security.

With the Middle East and North Africa continuing to face serious security, political and economic challenges, the EPC stepped up its focus and activity on the region in 2017. With the so-called Islamic State facing military defeat in Syria and Iraq, the focus shifted to post-ISIS scenarios, including for external players such as Russia, the United States, Iran, Turkey and the European Union. Particular attention was also paid to the issue of returning foreign fighters. How the nuclear agreement with Iran has affected relations with the EU and impacted on Iran's foreign policy more broadly has been another area of interest. Work on EU support for the reform process in Tunisia, and the European External Investment Plan for the Southern neighbourhood and the expectations regarding the post-ISIS Middle East is also ongoing.

### **EVENTS**

Outlook for the Turkish economy and real convergence with the EU Breakfast Policy Briefing – 8 December

**The day after IS military defeat**Roundtable – 6 December

Development and security in the Mediterranean: A critical nexus for a positive agenda Policy Briefing – 19 October

A shifting strategic balance in the Middle East: What room for new regional strategic cooperation?

EU-Israel Strategic Roundtable – 26 September

The future of Turkey-EU relations: Rethinking the dynamics to find a way forward

Expert Workshop – 12 July

Can Geneva II save the Cyprus settlement talks? Policy Dialoque – 20 June

**Launch of EPC Forum on Ukraine** Policy Dialogue – 27 April

Security sector reform in Georgia: Where are we?

Policy Briefing – 23 March

EU-Azerbaijan relations: Taking the relationship to a higher level EPC-LINKS Policy Dialogue – 7 March

Armenia's foreign and security policy in 2017: Challenges and opportunities Policy Dialogue – 22 February

Security in the South Caucasus and the role of the Euro-Atlantic community:
Time for a stocktake
ELLUS Security Forum Policy Dialogue.

EU-US Security Forum Policy Dialogue – 7 February

### Turkey: Heading towards an executive presidency?

Expert Roundtable – 27 January

Justice reform and anti-corruption in Ukraine: Assessing achievements and tasks ahead EPC-OSEPI Workshop – 26 January Constitutional changes in Turkey:

A presidential system or the president's system?

Commentary – 24 January

Amanda Paul, Senior Policy Analyst

Demir Murat Seyrek, Senior Policy Advisor,

European Foundation for Democracy

### PUBLICATIONS

The European External Investment Plan in the Southern Neighbourhood: How to make it work Commentary – 7 December Francesca Fabbri, Junior Policy Analyst

Eastern Partnership summit and Ukraine's 'return to Europe' at times of uncertainty

Policy Brief – 23 November Svitlana Kobzar, European Endowment for Democracy and Vesalius College Amanda Paul, Senior Policy Analyst

From Riga to Brussels: Georgia's hopes for Eastern Partnership

Policy Brief – 20 November
Ana Andguladze, Policy Researcher,
International Society for Fair Elections
and Democracy, Tbilisi

The EU should not turn its back on Turkey

Commentary – 17 October Amanda Paul, Senior Policy Analyst Demir Murat Seyrek, Senior Policy Advisor, European Foundation for Democracy

Targeting EU efforts in Tunisia: What approach to the fight against corruption and decentralisation?

Policy Brief – 17 July Francesca Fabbri, Junior Policy Analyst

### **TURKEY**

### The EU should not turn its back on Turkey

Commentary – 17 October Amanda Paul, Senior Policy Analyst Demir Murat Seyrek, Senior Policy Advisor, European Foundation for Democracy

Getting EU leaders to agree on a strategy for Turkey is like herding cats. While all member states are alarmed over the backsliding on democracy and the rule of law in the country, a common response is missing. At the forthcoming 19-20 October European Council meeting, EU heads of state and government are expected to have an open debate on the future of ties with Turkey as a first step towards developing a new strategy for relations with the country.

When weighing up the various options, it is important that the EU understands that a change in approach from Turkey's leadership ahead of the various elections in 2019 (local, presidential and parliamentary) is unlikely. Foreign policy choices will continue to be dictated by domestic political imperatives. Staying in power is the number one priority for President Erdogan. Hence Ankara's frequent jingoistic anti-EU rhetoric is likely to continue.

Representatives of the EU and its member states should not allow themselves to be caught in a perpetual war of words with Ankara, which unfortunately is currently the case. Rather, while maintaining a principled stance on civil liberties and freedoms, the EU should:

- first, look for avenues for constructive engagement that could help reduce tensions;
- second, find ways to boost support for Turkish democratic advocates, who also view EU engagement in the country as important.

### **UKRAINE**

### Eastern Partnership Summit and Ukraine's 'return to Europe' at times of uncertainty

Policy Brief – 23 November Svitlana Kobzar, European Endowment for Democracy and Vesalius College Amanda Paul, Senior Policy Analyst

Ukraine would have liked the Eastern Partnership summit in Brussels to have delivered a long-term strategy, including a clear European perspective for the country. But given the EU's uncertainty about its own future, the political climate in the Union was not conducive for such bold steps at that time.

In the Policy Brief, Svitlana Kobzar and Amanda Paul called for the EU to send a strong and positive message, reaffirming its commitment to the EaP, and argued that both Ukraine and the EU could do more to put Ukraine on a path to becoming a successful European state.

Ukraine needs to address its own shortcomings and keep up the reform momentum, despite the many internal and external challenges.

#### The EU should:

- Use a tough love approach when needed: the EU has significant leverage over Ukraine although it sometimes seems unwilling to use it. It should make clear that continued reform is linked to financial support.
- Invest more in the Ukrainian people, through boosting programmes such as the Erasmus+ programme for educational exchanges, training, youth and sport; developing a Future Leaders programme; improving interconnectivity; and providing extra tools for DCFTA implementation.
- Apply greater differentiation in its approach to the EaP states, and adopt the European Parliament's recent proposal to create an 'EaP+', which would open the way for associate states to join the digital union, energy union, and Schengen.

### **European Politics and Institutions** | Enlargement

### Monitoring progress on EU enlargement

The role of civil society in the Balkans, the promises of a new government in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as well as the new digital strategy in the Western Balkans as part of the European Union's neighbourhood policy were the focus of various closed-door and public meetings at the EPC.

Following the coming to power of a new government in Skopje, Nikola Dimitrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, talked about the country's recent crises, the new reform agenda, the change in political leadership, and the renewed hope to move forward on the path towards EU membership at an EPC event.

Senior Policy Analyst Corina Stratulat authored a chapter called 'Democratisation via EU integration: Fragile resilience and resilient fragility' in a book edited by Sabina Lange, Zoran Nachev and Florian Trauner ('Resilience in the Western Balkans', published by the EU-ISS Report n°36).

In her capacity as member of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group (BiEPAG), Corina Stratulat represented the EPC in various regional expert meetings, including in the framework of the Berlin process and the 2017 Trieste Summit. For example, she contributed to a reflection forum in Italy on 'The Western Balkans in the European Union: Perspectives of a region in Europe?'



### **PUBLICATIONS**

Balkan enlargement and the politics of civic pressure

Policy Brief – 5 October Corina Stratulat and Milena Lazarevic

Kosovo's EU candidate status: A goal within reach?

Discussion Paper – 28 June Corina Stratulat, Senior Policy Analyst

### **EVENTS**

The Macedonian 3-6-9 plan: A hop, skip and a jump to accession negotiations? Policy Briefing – 14 November

Public administration reform and EU enlargement The Balkan civil society perspective Policy Dialogue – 3 October

The new Macedonian government: Plans and prospects for EU accession Policy Briefing – 17 July 2017

Digital enlargement: Empowering public administration and businesses in aspiring EU countries Policy Dialogue – 30 March

### Counter-terrorism and radicalisation in Europe and beyond



Europe finds itself on the frontline in the fight against terrorism and jihadist radicalisation. The EU's Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy clearly highlights the importance of counter-terrorism and the prevention of radicalisation in boosting Europe's security and strengthening resilience in the EU's neighbourhood. Against this background, throughout 2017, the EPC deepened its work on counterterrorism and the challenge of jihadist radicalisation.

In partnership with the European Foundation for Democracy, the EPC brought together leading experts and edited a multi-author book entitled 'The Challenge of Jihadist Radicalisation for the EU and beyond'. It took stock of the various dimensions of radicalisation in schools, mosques, universities, and on social media. It also covered geopolitical aspects and compared national experiences across Europe.

The book was launched in Brussels on 22 March, on the first anniversary of the Brussels attacks, with the participation of the EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, Gilles de Kerchove, European Commissioner for the Security Union, Julian King, and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Security and the Interior of Belgium, Jan Jambon.

Leading officials as well as influential experts and practitioners participated in workshops and public events organised by the EPC. They focused on pivotal issues such as how to help vulnerable Muslim communities become more resilient; how to effectively counter extremist propaganda and promote alternative narratives (both on and off-line) and positive values and ideas; how to prevent/address radicalisation in schools, universities and prisons; and rehabilitation.

A new project assessing the role and effectiveness of EU Delegations in tackling terrorism and radicalisation in third countries was launched in November 2017 in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The final report will provide a comprehensive evaluation of EU action on the ground. It will draw lessons, identify best practice, expose possible failures and recommend concrete improvements. A team of experts led by the EPC will focus on six case countries: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jordan, Kosovo, Lebanon and Tunisia.

### PUBLICATIONS

The challenge of jihadist radicalisation - In Europe and beyond

Book - March

### **EVENTS**

The role of ideology in extremist violence and terrorism: What drivers? What solutions?

Policy Dialogue - 26 November

How to counter jihadist radicalisation in schools?

Policy Dialogue - 4 July

Countering violent extremism – Lessons learned and future challenges Policy Briefing – 17 June

How to counter jihadist propaganda effectively and promote alternative narratives?

Policy Dialogue – 17 May

One year after the Brussels attacks -The challenges of jihadist radicalisation in Europe and beyond

Policy Dialogue & Book Launch – 22 March

Monitoring radicalisation risks in Central and Southeast Europe: Shaping diagnostic tools for EU policymakers

Roundtable - 23 February

Identifying priorities for addressing jihadist radicalisation in and around Europe

Expert Workshop - 16 January

### **RADICALISATION**

The challenge of jihadist radicalisation in Europe and beyond

Book - March

Over the past years, Europe has found itself in the frontline in the fight against terrorism and jihadist radicalisation. The latter have become some of the most serious threats to European security, and to the values the European Union was built on.

In the wake of the November 2015 Paris attacks, the European Policy Centre, the European Foundation for Democracy and the Counter Extremism Project came together and decided to launch a project to analyse the rise of jihadist radicalisation in Europe and develop concrete policy recommendations to tackle the issue head-on.

The book, published exactly one year after the 2016 Brussels attacks, was the result of a series of multistakeholder events and workshops, and featured contributions from renowned experts. As terrorism and

radicalisation become ever more complex and multifaceted, the study went beyond a mere cause-effect analysis and looked at the problem from many angles, including radicalisation in schools, universities and mosques, geostrategic aspects, the nature of online extremist narratives, the nexus between the extreme right and jihadist radicalisation, and examples of effective countering violent extremism (CVE) measures.

The one thing all authors agreed on is that, in order to successfully address radicalisation and keep EU citizens (and others around the world) safe from further terrorist attacks, intensified cooperation and intelligence sharing between member states, and between the EU and its partners, is an absolute must. Equally important is that EU member states must offer marginalised and disillusioned vouths at risk of radicalisation a better alternative, and promote a positive counter-narrative based on its own founding principles of freedom and democracy.

Tahir Abbas, Senior Research Fellow, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)

Vlado Azinović, Associate Professor, School of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo

Roberta Bonazzi, Founder and President, European Foundation for Democracy

Marwa Farid, Head of Civil Society Programs, EDGE Foundation and Policy Advisor, European Foundation for Democracy

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Rupert Sutton, Director of Student Rights, the Henry Jackson Society

Herman Van Rompuy, President, European Policy Centre

Lorenzo Vidino, Director, Program on Extremism, George Washington University

### PUBLICATIONS

After Brexit: Prospects for UK-EU cooperation on foreign and security policy Policy Brief – 30 October
Fraser Cameron, Senior Adviser to EPC on international programmes

Trump's America:
The ordinary superpower
Discussion Paper – 13 June
Giovanni Grevi. Senior Fellow

### **EVENTS**

Security challenges for Europe and the transatlantic community in 2018 and beyond The President's Table – 14 December

The European Union in a challenging world: Priorities for action
The President's Table – 6 December

EU-NATO cooperation after the EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy and the NATO Brussels Summit

EU-US Security Forum Policy Dialogue – 16 October

The Trump administration and the EU international agenda: Climate change matters

EPC-FES Roundtable - 14 June

**12**<sup>th</sup> **China-EU Think Tank Roundtable** Roundtable – 10 May

The EU, Japan, the US, and the future of global trade governance
Workshop and Policy Dialoque – 21 April

The Trump administration and the EU international agenda: Defence matters Roundtable – 6 April

Global geo-economic competition: What implications for the EU? EPC-Eqmont Workshop – 28 March **Europe in the World** | Partnerships

### Advancing international cooperation

In 2017, the Europe in the World programme examined the EU's standing and interests in a very uncertain environment. We focused on the possibility of a more contested transatlantic partnership and on EU relations with key partners in Asia, alongside an innovative project dealing with Europe's economic diplomacy.

The election of President Trump has raised many questions about the future role of the US on the global stage and its partnership with the EU. The EPC made a strong contribution to the debate on the direction of a changing US foreign policy through targeted events and publications.

In cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the EPC held three workshops to look at possible developments in defence, trade and climate change. At the same time, it continued its partnership with the US Mission to the EU with a series of public events focusing on cyber security, EU-NATO relations, energy security and transport.

The EPC also carried out a range of activities on EU relations with China, Japan, and South Korea in cooperation with the respective Missions to the EU and other partners. The emphasis was on bilateral relations and on cooperation on regional and global challenges. For the 12th China-EU Think-Tank Roundtable in Brussels, the EPC partnered with the China Institute of International Studies, the EU-Asia Centre and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Analysts addressed recent developments in the EU-China political and economic agenda, debated EU-Japan economic and security cooperation, including their contribution to global trade governance, and reviewed the changing geopolitics of Northeast Asia and the role of South Korea and other key regional players.

In view of the rise of international tensions over trade and investment, the EPC launched a timely initiative on the evolution of EU economic diplomacy, in partnership with the Egmont Institute. Senior EU and national officials, alongside European experts and other stakeholders, came together for three workshops. They analysed the latest trends in global geo-economic competition, evaluated the approach of other major economic players and discussed Europe's economic interests and diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific.

The EPC concluded this rich set of activities with two important President's Table debates dedicated to the foreign policy agenda for the year to come. The High Representative for Europe's Foreign and Security Policy and Vice President of the Commission, Federica Mogherini, discussed the EU foreign policy priorities, while Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, assessed the common security challenges faced by the transatlantic community.

### **TRUMP**

### Trump's America: The ordinary superpower

*Discussion Paper – 13 June*Giovanni Grevi, Senior Fellow

This paper examined the main developments in US foreign policy since January 2017 and assessed the prospect of a structural shift of America's global role. After four months in office, the Trump administration had not triggered a revolution in US foreign policy but it had shaken up the status quo. While there was evidence of both a nationalist and a pragmatic track in the behaviour of the new administration, the former seemed to engulf and overshadow the latter.

The president defined American national interests more narrowly than his predecessors, saw international relations as predicated on power politics and strength, and took an *ad hoc* transactional approach to external affairs. On the other hand, the realities of interdependence and power balances put Trump's nationalist and unilateral instincts to the test. How this administration would react to sudden external shocks and crises remained unclear.

Beyond the tension between nationalism and pragmatism, this paper argued that Trump's foreign policy could be seen as another stage of a larger structural shift of the US' role in world affairs. This trend indeed shows a possible shift from the US seeking to exert a global leadership role informed by liberal values and founded on alliances and multilateral commitments – the 'exceptional' superpower – to performing more like an 'ordinary' superpower – one still invested in global affairs but more selective in its engagement and more focused on core national interests.

### The US exits Paris: Can the EU drive international climate action?

*Discussion Paper – 12 July* Romain Pardo, Policy Analyst

In this paper, Romain Pardo argued that the Trump administration's decision to withdraw from the Paris agreement would make its implementation more challenging.

The United States (US) had been instrumental in brokering a successful deal in Paris and speeding up the ratification process for an early entry into force of the agreement. But far from bringing international climate action to a standstill, the US government's position has, on the contrary, prompted decision makers around the world to reaffirm their commitment to the implementation of the Paris agreement.

This provides fertile ground for the European Union (EU) to play a leading role in the long process to turn the commitments made in Paris into concrete actions. To do so, the EU must:

- deepen existing partnerships and seek new ones;
- ensure that big emitters actively pursue policies aimed at lowering emissions;
- increase its support to developing countries including those that are most vulnerable to the effects of climate change;
- reach out to subnational actors in the US (who do not all agree with federal climate policies) to stimulate climate mitigation actions in the US.

### Trump's gas doctrine: what does it mean for the FU?

Commentary – 26 July Marco Giuli, Policy Analyst

The United States (US) has always been a key player in the EU's energy security, as a supporter of its gas supply diversification plans. The Trump administration is underlining the US' role as a gas exporter. This shift of tone from a strategic to a commercial approach risks furthering divisions and mistrust among European Union (EU) member states, with potential negative effects for the Energy Union.

First, the EU should firmly state that the addition of US LNG to the global market is a positive development, but that US gas plays no special role in the Union's energy policy choices, which are still determined by a liberal, market-based approach to external gas supply. To avoid wrong impressions, member states who attach strategic importance to US gas should refrain from suggesting that special gas relations can be crafted with the US, whose LNG exports are in fact not tied to any destination.

Second, within the political dialogue that the Energy Union initiative provides, the Commission and the member states should address the underlying reasons for the intra-EU race to host a gas entry point. Reaching clarity on these issues is essential if the Commission is to determine whether policy action should aim at a better gas market design or a more forceful implementation of existing provisions.

Finally, member states sharing the objectives of the Energy Union should help the Commission to counter the view, popular in Central and Eastern Europe, that LNG is the only long-term response to the EU's energy diversification needs.

A failure to adequately react to the shift of tone in the US will result in continued intra-EU competition that will only benefit third parties politically or commercially. Ultimately, it may also prevent Europe from taking advantage of the current benign global gas market conditions.

### US trade policy in the age of Trump: What role for Europe in the "New Nationalism"?

Commentary – 13 November
Peter S. Rashish, Senior Adviser on Transatlantic Economic Relations

A year ago, the US had just elected in Donald Trump, a Republican president whose hostility to business-as-usual in trade policy helped propel him to victory over his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton.

In the president's view, the economic pillar of the liberal international order – the World Trade Organization (WTO) and trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) – is not a generator of US prosperity, nor is it a multiplier of its national interest. Rather, these institutions and agreements had sapped US manufacturing prowess, encroached on its sovereignty, and allowed countries like China to unfairly dominate world trade.

It takes two to tango. On the US side, the administration will need to move beyond a focus on eliminating unfairness that it believes is built into existing trade arrangements (NAFTA, the WTO, the US-Korea Free Trade Agreement) to a more forward-looking approach that considers opportunities to shape the international economy to the benefit of the US and its like-minded trading partners.

The EU, for its part, will need to overcome any hesitations it has about cooperating with a US administration that does not appear to share its core trade policy convictions. In the long run, however, if the multilateralism to which the EU professes allegiance to is to become more than just a slogan, short-term cooperation on the nuts and bolts of trade policy with the US will need to be part of the order of the day.



### **Analysis**



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# GOVERNANCE

### **Governing Board**



CHAIR

Poul Skytte Christoffersen

Former Ambassador of Denmark to Belgium,
Former Permanent Representative

of Denmark to the European Union

The Governing Board is responsible for the management of the European Policy Centre and has all the associated powers. Day-to-day management is delegated to the Chief Executive, who acts as the EPC's Legal Representative and is accountable to the Board for the good functioning of the EPC.

The Board's main function, in practice, is to provide strategic oversight to the EPC as well as monitor and evaluate its operations. The Board meets four times a year.



JACKI DAVIS
Leading commentator and analyst on
European Union affairs



PHILIPPE DE BUCK
Senior Executive Advisor, Hill+Knowlton
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and Social Committee



**ANDREW DUFF**President of the Spinelli Group
Former Member of the European Parliament



**FRANÇOISE LE BAIL**Former Director-General for Justice, European Commission



**STEFAN SCHÄFERS**Head of European Affairs,
King Baudouin Foundation



YLVA TIVÉUS Former Director, Directorate General for Communication, European Commission



**GEORGE PAGOULATOS**Professor of European Politics and Economy,
Athens University of Economics and Business
Visiting Professor, College of Europe, Bruges



Fabian Zuleeg
Chief Executive,
European Policy Centre

### Strategic Council



**CHAIR** 

### Herman Van Rompuy

President Emeritus of the European Council President of the European Policy Centre The Strategic Council brings together experts, thought leaders and politicians from diverse backgrounds and nationalities. They bring fresh insights and forward-looking perspectives on the major challenges facing the European Union. Once a year, they meet to discuss strategic priorities and their implications for the work and strategic direction of the European Policy Centre.

#### **MEMBERS**

As of 1 July 2018

### Joaquin Almunia

Former European Commission Vice-President for Competition

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Europe Correspondent, Il Sole 24 Ore

#### Marta Dassù

Senior Director European Affairs, Aspen Institute

#### Anthony L. Gardner

Former United States Ambassador to the European Union

#### Danuta Maria Hübner

Member of the European Parliament

#### **Hywel Ceri Jones**

Former Chairman, European Policy Centre

#### Lord Kerr of Kinlochard

Member of the House of Lords

#### Gerald Knaus

President of the Executive Board, European Stability Institute

### **Brigid Laffan**

Director, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute

#### Jo Leinen

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#### Erika Mann

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#### Conny Reuter

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### António Vitorino

Director General, International Organization for Migration, Former European Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs

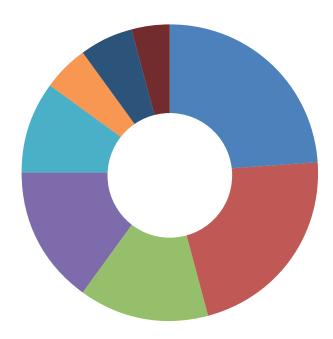
### Achieving sustainability

### Financing

The EPC ended the financial year 2017 on a positive trajectory with a surplus of €56,268, bringing the equity capital to €2,479, and wiping out the accumulated deficit.

The EPC is especially grateful to the following organisations:

- The King Baudouin Foundation, which awarded the EPC an annual grant of €350,000.
- The Stiftung Mercator, which awarded the EPC a grant of €385,060 for the Connecting Europe project.
- The European Commission. The EPC was awarded an operating grant of €250,000 for 2017 under the 'Europe for Citizens' programme.
- The Adessium Foundation for donating €150,000 to support two EPC programmes: European Politics and Institutions, and European Migration and Diversity.
- Fondazione Cariplo for awarding EPC €50,000 in financial support.
- Dechert LLP for its generous pro bono legal advice and support.



24% MEMBERSHIP	15% MERCATOR	6% ADESSIUM
22% PROGRAMME SUPPORT	10% EU GRANT	<b>4%</b> FUTURELAB
14% STRATEGIC PARTNER KBF	5% NEW PACT FOR EUROPE	

BALANCE SHEET			INCOME & EXPENDITURE STATEMENTS		
As on 31 December	2017	2016	As on 31 December	2017	2016
Fixed Assets			Income		
Intangible Assets	66.378	0			
Tangible Fixed Assets			Members' subscriptions	609.517	599.843
Net furniture & equipment	32.718	4.316	Grants and donations	1.178.735	779.175
Financial Fixed assets	848	848	Programmes & other	761.574	914.961
Total Fixed Assets	99.944	5.164	Total income	2.549.826	2.293.979
Current Assets			Expenditure		
Debtors	216.447	158.560	Office expenses	(661.192)	(554.627)
Banks	194.733	181.003	Personnel expenses	(1.832.366)	(1.620.532)
Accruals	249.399	161.746	Total expenditure	(2.493.558)	(2.175.159)
Total Current Assets	660.579	501.309			
Current Liabilities					
Creditor Loans & accruals	213.466	140.944	Surplus / (deficit) for the year	56.268	118.820
Deferred income	544.578	419.317			•
Total Current Liabilities	758.044	560.261	Surplus/(deficit) brought forward)	(54.214)	(173.034)
Net Current Liabilities	97.465	58.952	Net surplus/(deficit) carried forward	2.054	(54.214)
Net Assets (liabilities)	2.480	(53.788)	iver surprus/(uencit) carried forward	2.034	(54.214)
Accumulated surplus/(deficit)	2.054	(54.214)			

Auditor: Saskia Luteijn, Partner, L&S Registered Auditors

### Acknowledgements



The King Baudouin Foundation is a Belgian public benefit foundation that seeks to change society for the better by investing in inspiring projects and individuals. One of its aims is to foster cohesion and build bridges within Europe. With that objective in mind, it established a strategic partnership with the European Policy Centre in 2002.

The partnership contributes to the European integration process by setting the stage for informed debates about EU policies with a wide range of stakeholders.

The foundation's sustained support allows the EPC to have a long-term perspective whilst maintaining its independence.

The EPC, as part of a consortium of ten other European foundations, also closely cooperates with the King Baudouin Foundation on New Pact for Europe, a flagship project set up in 2013. The goal is to enable a public debate at national, transnational and EU levels among citizens, policymakers and experts and thus contribute to the debate about the future of the European Union.



The Europe for Citizens programme, funded by the EU budget, awarded the EPC an annual operating grant of €250,000 for several years (2014-17), alongside other similar think tanks and civil society organisations.

As a think tank engaged in European public policy research, the EPC contributed to the aims of the programme through its activities aimed at promoting citizens' understanding of the EU policymaking

process and their involvement in the European public policy debate, as well as through its work on the future of Europe.

In that context, the EPC focused on the causes and challenges of growing Euroscepticism and hostility of citizens towards the EU, as well as the impact on EU solidarity due to divisions in and among member states, not least as a result of the refugee crisis.

# MEMBERSHIP

PLATINUM - 3 GlaxoSmithKline PROFESSIONAL & BUSINESS Cosmetics Europe - The Personal **ASSOCIATIONS - 75** Care Association Google Danish Agricultural Council BT GPlus Europe Accountancy Europe Delegation of Chambers of Equinor HΡ Commerce and Industry Paris/Ile de **AGORIA** Johnson & Johnson Hyundai Motor Company France American Chamber of Commerce Iberdrola S.A. to the European Union (AmCham DIGITALEUROPE IFOK GmbH EU) E.F.P.I.A. **CORPORATE - 64 IKEA** Association of Chartered Certified economiesuisse - Swiss Business Accountants (ACCA) Kreab Federation **ABB** Europe Association of German Chambers Macro Advisory Partners LLP **ETNO** of Commerce and Industry (DIHK Amazon Europe Core Sarl Merck Sharp & Dohme EU-Japan Centre for Industrial APCO Worldwide cooperation Metsä Group Bio-based Industries Consortium Aurubis AG Miltton Brussels **EUROCHAMBRES** Brussels European Employee Bain & Company **EUROMETAUX** Mitsubishi Corporation Relations Group (BEERG) BASF SE International (Europe) Plc Brussels Office of the Swedish EUROMIL (European Organisation of Biogen Belgium NV/SA Trade Unions Military Associations) Mitsui & CO. BENELUX S.A./N.V. Burson-Marsteller BusinessEurope EuropaBio Naftogaz of Ukraine Cambre Associates CECIMO European Aluminium **Naspers** Caraill Cefic Nokia Corporation European Association of Long-Term Celgene International II Sarl CEN-CENELEC Investors (ELTI) Nord Stream 2 AG Chevron Corporation CESI European Automobile Oracle Corporation **Cultivate Partners** Manufacturers Association (ACEA) Computer and Communications Philip Morris International Industry Association Deloitte **European Bioplastics** ROPAC - ROPA Consultancies CONCAWE **DLA Piper** European Foundation for **GmbH** Confederation of British Industry Management Development (EFMD) Dow RTL Group (CBI) **European Major Exhibition Centres** Eamonn Bates Europe Salix Advisory SPRL Confederation of Danish Industry (DI) Association EDF - European Affairs Sanofi Confederation of European European Organisation for EMBRAER, Empresa Brasileira de Schneider Electric Community Cigarette Packaging and the Environment Aeronautica Manufacturers (CECCM) (EUROPEN) Shire eni Confederation of European Paper European Round Table of Siemens AG **FPPA** Industries Industrialists (ERT) Suez **EUK Consulting** Confederation of Finnish Industries **European Seed Association** Teneo cabinet DN EΚ **EUTOP Brussels SPRL European Trade Union** Teollisuuden Voima Oyi (TVO) Confederation of Netherlands ExxonMobil Confederation (ETUC) Industry and Employers (VNO-**UL (Underwriters Laboratories)** Facebook Federation of the German NCW) UPS Europe SPRL/BVBA Ferrero Waste, Water and Raw Materials Confederation of Norwegian **FIPRA** Vodafone Management Industry (BDE) Enterprise (NHO) FleishmanHillard Weber Shandwick Fertilizers Europe Confederation of Swedish

Enterprise

Finnish Energy

Zurich Insurance Company Ltd

FTI Consulting

Foreign Economic Relations Board Verband der Chemischen Industrie Chile Hungary (DEIK) (VCI) Chilean Embassy to Belgium and Permanent Representation of Hungary to the European Union Luxembourg-Mission to the EU Fur Europe World Employment Confederation-China Europe Gas Infrastructure Europe (GIE) Embassy of Iceland - Icelandic Mission of the People's Republic ZVEI - Zentralverband German Savings Banks and Giro Mission to the European Union of China to the European Elektrotechnik- und Association (Deutscher Sparkassen Communities Indonesia Elektronikindustrie und Giroverband) (DSGV) Embassy of the Republic Cyprus Ibec of Indonesia to the Kingdom Embassy of Cyprus to Belgium of Belgium Industrial Minerals Association Permanent Representation of Indonesian Mission to the EU (IMA-Europe) the Republic of Cyprus to the **DIPLOMATIC - 70** Iran International Federation of **European Union** Embassy of the Islamic Republic Inspection Agencies Czech Republic Albania International Federation of Permanent Representation of the Mission of the Republic of Albania Ireland Czech Republic to the EU Reproduction Rights Organisations to the European Union Permanent Representation of (IFRRO) Denmark Ireland to the European Union Andorra Permanent Representation of Japan Center for International Israel Embassy of the Principality of Denmark to the European Union Finance (JCIF) Embassy of Israel Andorra Estonia Japan External Trade Organization Israeli Mission to the EU Mission of Andorra to the Permanent Representation of (JETRO Brussels) European Union Japan Estonia to the EU Joint Brussels Office of the UK Law Mission of Japan to the EU Argentina Faroe Islands Societies Mission of Argentina to the EU Mission of the Faroes to the E.U. Korea International Trade Embassy of the Republic of Korea Australia Finland Association (KITA) and Mission of the Republic Australian Embassy to Belgium & Permanent Representation of of Korea to the EU MedTech Europe Finland to the European Union Luxembourg and Mission to the Kosovo Norwegian Shipowners' European Union & NATO France Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo Association Représentation Permanente Austria Kuwait **ORGALIME** de la France auprès de l'Union Permanent Representation of Embassy of Kuwait in Brussels Pack2Go Europe Européenne Austria to the EU Lithuania Starch Europe Georgia Azerbaijan Permanent Representation of Embassy of Georgia to the The Alliance for Beverage Cartons Mission of the Republic of Lithuania to the EU Kingdom of Belgium and the Environment (ACE) Azerbaijan to the European Union Luxembourg Mission of Georgia to the Permanent Representation of The Brewers of Europe Bosnia and Herzegovina European Union Luxembourg to the EU Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina The Danish Association of Lawyers Germany to the EU and Economists in Belgium (DJØF Permanent Representation of the Macao Economic and Trade Office Belgium) Brazil Federal Republic of Germany to Macedonia The European LPG Association Brazilian Mission to the EU the EU Mission of the Former Yugoslav (AEGPL) Brunei Darussalam Greece Republic of Macedonia to the EU The International Association of Embassy of Brunei Darussalam Embassy of the Hellenic Republic Malta Oil & Gas Producers (IOGP) and Mission to the European to the Kingdom of Belgium Embassy of the Republic Communities Turkish Industry & Business Hong Kong of Malta

Hong Kong Economic and Trade

Office

Association (TÜSIAD)

UNESDA, Soft Drinks Europe

Canada

Mission of Canada to the EU

Permanent Representation of

Malta to the EU

Moldova

Mission of the Republic of Moldova to the European Union

Montenegro

Permanent Mission of Montenegro to the EU

Morocco

Mission of the Kingdom of Morocco to the European Communities

Netherlands

Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

Pormanont Poor

Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the European Union and

New Zealand

New Zealand Embassy and Mission to the European Union

Norway

Mission of Norway to the European Union

Royal Norwegian Embassy

Philippines

Embassy and Mission of the Philippines to the EU

Poland

Permanent Representation of the Republic of Poland to the European Union

Quebec

General Delegation of Quebec

Russia

Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the EU

Saudi Arabia

Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Kingdom of Belgium and Mission to the EU

Serbia

Mission of the Republic of Serbia to the EU

Singapore

Embassy of the Republic of Singapore - Belgium, The Netherlands & Luxembourg and Mission of Singapore to the EU Slovakia

Permanent Representation of the Slovak Republic to the EU

Sweden

Permanent Representation of Sweden to the EU

Switzerland

Mission of Switzerland to the EU

Taiwan

Taipei Representative Office in the EU and Belgium

Thailand

Royal Thai Embassy to Belgium and Luxembourg / Mission of Thailand to the European Union

Turkey

Turkish Embassy to Belgium Turkish Mission to the EU

United Kingdom

UK Permanent Representation to the EU

Ukraine

Embassy of Ukraine in the Kingdom of Belgium Mission of Ukraine to the European Union

United States of America Embassy of the United States

of America

United States Mission to the European Union

Uruguay

Embassy of Uruguay to Belgium and the European Communities

#### **FOUNDATIONS - 23**

Alliance for Childhood European Network Group Bertelsmann Stiftung British Council EU Office Compagnia di San Paolo EGMONT-The Royal Institute for International Relations European Climate Foundation

European Cultural Foundation (ECF)

European Foundation Centre (EFC)

European Foundation for Democracy

Fondazione Cariplo

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian

Fundación Academia Europea de Yuste

German Institute for International

and Security Affairs - Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)

Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung

King Baudouin Foundation

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Madariaga - College of Europe Centre

Open Society European Policy Institute

Software AG - Stiftung Stiftung Mercator

Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS - 2

Bundesagentur für Arbeit Representative Office of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS - 14

Council of Europe EFTA Secretariat EFTA Surveillance Authority (ESA)

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

European Investment Bank (EIB)

International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

International Organization for

Migration (IOM)

Japan Bank for International Cooperation

NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Regional Cooperation Council

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

UNDP

World Bank EU Office

NGO PLATFORMS - 2

Confederation of European Senior Experts (CESES)

Platform of European Social NGOs

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS - 48

A Amnesty International

ANEC, the European Consumer Voice in Standardisation

Asylos

Belgian Cystic Fibrosis Association (BCFA)

Carbon Market Watch

Caritas Catholica Vlaanderen

Caritas Europa

Central Europe Energy Partners

Centre for Research and **Development Projects EcoDev** Centro Studi sul Federalismo Clean Europe Network Confrontations Europe Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) Danish Refugee Council (DRC) FLNFT-FU Equality and Human Rights Commission **EU-Japan Forum** European Academy of Sciences and Arts European Association of Service Providers for Persons with Disabilities (EASPD) European Confederation of Junior Enterprises (JADE) European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) European Public Health Association (EUPHA) European Stability Initiative European Youth Forum FOSTER EUROPE, Foundation for strong European Regions Goethe-Institut Brüssel International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) International Partnership for Human Rights (IPHR) International Rescue Committee International Security Information Service (ISIS) Europe Internet Society **Network of European Foundations** for Innovative Cooperation (NEF) NGO "Corporate Relations Research Center" NP "Industry Round Table for Cooperation with the European

Union"

NRC Europe ONE Oxfam International EU Advocacy Office Red Cross EU Office Regional Research Public Union Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) SAFE PASSAGE Social Progress Imperative SOS Children's Villages International The German Marshall Fund of the United States The Pew Charitable Trusts Uphold Europe VoteWatch Europe WWF European Policy Office

### REGIONAL BODIES AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES - 37

Central Denmark EU Office Central Sweden European Office City of Vienna - Liaison Office Conférence des Régions Périphériques Maritimes d'Europe (CRPM) **EUROCITIES** Government of Catalonia -Representation to the EU Hanse-Office Helsinki EU Office HM Government of Gibraltar -Representation to the European Union Liaison Agency Flanders-Europe Lombardy Region Government - EU Office

Mid Sweden European Office

Mid-Norway European Office North Sweden European Office NorthNorway European Office Office of the Northern Ireland Executive Oslo Region European Office Province of Limburg Region Östergötland Representation of Lower Saxony to the EU Representation of the Free State of Bavaria to the European Union Representation of the State of Baden-Württemberg to the European Union Representation of the State of Bremen to the EU Representation Office of Carinthia Scotland Europa Scottish Government EU Office Skåne European Office Steiermark-Büro Stockholm Region EU Office Tampere Region EU Office Turkish Cypriot Representation in Brussels Turku-Southwest Finland

### RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS - 8

West Finland European Office

ZealandDenmark EU Office

European Office

Niederösterreich

Welsh Government

West Norway Office

Verbindungsbüro Land

Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Union (COMECE) Conference of European Churches European Evangelical Alliance European Union Office of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints

Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland / Church Council Jesuit European Social Centre (JESC)

JRS-Europe

Protestant Church in Germany – Brussels Office

### ACADEMIC - 1

The Faculty of International Legal Relations, National University 'Odessa Law Academy'

#### OTHER - 1

International Committee of the Red Cross

### INDIVIDUAL-4

The European Policy Centre is an independent, not-for-profit think tank dedicated to fostering European integration through analysis and debate, supporting and challenging European decision makers at all levels to make informed decisions based on sound evidence and analysis, and providing a platform for engaging partners, stakeholders and citizens in EU policymaking and in the debate about the future of Europe.

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