

**TGAE**  
**Think Global – Act European**

**PRESS PACK**

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## Extracts from the preface

**Thirteen think tanks come together to make recommendations to the next trio of EU's presidencies.**

From July 2008, France, the Czech Republic and Sweden will form the next trio of European Union presidencies. If ratified, the Treaty of Lisbon will create a stable European Council presidency and reinforce the role of the Trio at the head of sectoral Councils of Ministers in order to assure greater continuity. [...]

In this context, **Notre Europe** and the **Fondation pour l'innovation politique** decided to bring together a group of European think tanks in order to produce ideas and proposals which might assist the next Trio's preparation, and in this way, help with the implementation of the new treaty. The project, entitled *Think Global – Act European*, [...] received the support of the French, Czech and Swedish governments. [...]

There is a widely-shared feeling that a **new phase of the European project** is beginning. If the Treaty of Lisbon succeeds in unblocking the institutional machinery, the Trio Presidencies will need to give meaning and content to the European project. [...]

The implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon could produce very different outcomes depending on how much political will is invested. 2009 will see the campaign for the European elections and the renewal of the European Commission; at the same time Europeans will be asked to prepare the post-2013 reform of the budget. [...] The Lisbon Strategy will expire in 2010 and the Kyoto Protocol in 2012. Simultaneously, a new impetus must be found in the quest to address two ambitious EU objectives – the question of climate change and energy security, and the need to boost the EU's competitiveness without damaging its strong social model.

At the beginning of the 21st century the EU is entering a period of **reconstruction**. After a first phase of internal development and of the extension of Europe's model by means of enlargement, this new phase is one for consolidating existing policies; for launching initiatives which might create new European solidarity; and for moving forward onto the world stage through the creation of a new, inspirational common project.

*Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, President of Notre Europe*

*Jean-Claude Paye, President of Fondation pour l'innovation politique*

## Summary notes

*These notes are drawn from the introductory summary, which reflects the proposals in the contributions of the 13 think tanks but is not written collectively and remains the sole responsibility of Gaëtane Ricard-Nihoul (Notre Europe) and Elvire Fabry (Fondation pour l'innovation politique).*

### I. THINK GLOBAL : An overarching project to respond to global challenges

The initial objectives of European integration, peace, democracy and an increasing standard of living, have been largely met. The EU is now facing **new challenges**, in a world where the boundaries between internal and external policies are more permeable than ever. Europe's citizens, noticing the growing impact on their environment of global phenomena, need their political representatives to give meaning to tomorrow's Europe and to mark out a path for the EU in a globalised world.

Europeans need to find common answers to migratory pressures, aging population and labour shortages. They also have to increase their cooperation to deal with security issues and secure access to natural and energy resources. Climate change in itself is a formidable challenge which Europeans have met by setting the ambitious "20 20 by 2020" goal – but it is a challenge which calls for a clear strategy, in order to maintain the competitiveness of European business. Finally, the emergence of new areas of instability could further require the EU's own stabilisation efforts.

It is the affirmation of **European solidarity** and confidence in the role that the EU can play in the world which will allow Europe to remain open to globalisation, to reap its benefits and to contribute to the regulation which can attenuate its negative effects.

### II. ACT EUROPEAN : Resolute European action to make the EU a global player

The first task of the next trio will be **consolidating and revisiting the acquis**, which is still not fully exploited, and in particular:

- Pursue the completion of the single market, specifically through the creation of a European energy market.
- Give new substance to the Economic and Monetary Union, and in particular its external representation.
- Instigate a thoroughgoing debate, without taboos, on the common agricultural policy.

At the same time, **new European solidarities** have to be initiated, to address challenges such as competitiveness, climate change, migration, which take an entirely different aspect in a globalised world and thus ask for a more active regulatory role of the EU. This spirit of solidarity has to unfold in different ways :

- Give teeth to the Strategy of Lisbon in order to move towards the creation of a genuine space of research and development, starting with an analysis of the

competitiveness, sustainable development and social model's challenges confronting Europeans.

- Define an action plan to achieve the "20 20 by 2020" climate-change objectives.
- Develop a broad approach to legal and illegal immigration.
- Draw up an ambitious budget reform oriented towards the financing of European common goods.

Yet all these initiatives will fail to mobilise citizens as long as the European project does not rest on **more solidly democratic foundations**. The next trio of presidencies will have to resolutely commit itself to pursuing the "Europe of results", highlighting the relevancy of the European project for its citizens. It is imperative not to widen the persistent gap between a project advocated by elites and those ideas espoused by populations – which sometimes find it difficult to keep up with the pace of European integration. In this perspective, the trio should:

- Make the 2009 European elections an event of genuine significance, and politicise the debate.
- Give priority to those tools which might create genuine Europe-wide deliberation.

Finally, internal and external objectives must be both complementary and well coordinated in order to **project the EU's normative power** beyond Europe's frontiers and to increase the EU's influence in the international arena.

Europe's problems stem not so much from lack of power as from fragmentation. The EU must move from a sectoral-policy approach to a more integrated approach that will allow it to become a global actor and help shape a world order inspired by European values. The trio will have in particular to:

- Rapidly implement (once the treaty is adopted) the measures stipulated by Lisbon concerning the common external policy, starting with the European External Action.
- Work towards a better coordination of all foreign-policy instruments.
- Ensure that the normative principles which have guided the European project up till now prevail in the EU's external relations.
- Give the EU real military means.
- Maintain and reinforce the EU's strategic partnership with the United States.

### III. The council presidency in the post-Lisbon era

Analysts and the media have often spoken of a "Presidency of the EU" when referring to the Presidency of the EU Council, which is filled by each member state for a period of six months. This linguistic shortcut will now need to be used with care, because the Treaty of Lisbon will profoundly modify the **EU's governance**. The treaty creates a stable presidency of the European Council together with a High Representative for foreign and security policy who will be the stable president of the Foreign Affairs Council. Other sectoral Councils of Ministers will retain their six-monthly rotating presidencies, but in this new context the

treaty underscores the importance of the 18-month common program established by groups of three successive presidencies (trios or troikas).

Assuming the Treaty of Lisbon enters into force in 2009, the next trio of presidencies, will therefore be the first under the **new arrangements**. To ensure the best possible transition, the trio will have to :

- Choose a genuinely European figure for the position of **stable president** of the European Council.
- Consider the citizen's need to **understand the system** of governance, and avoid any agreement which does not take account of the result of the European elections.
- Demonstrate the importance of **cooperation** between three presidencies, increased by the need to coordinate the work of the stable president with that of the rotating presidency. The new troika will also have to carry out the smoothest transition possible between the preceding and subsequent presidencies and work closely with the Commission and the European Parliament.

The presidencies must approach their mission with humility and in a spirit of constructive collaboration, playing the role of mediator. In this respect this troika is of particular interest, because France, the Czech Republic and Sweden are three countries that exemplify European diversity. The need to encourage a genuine effort of coordination between the three successive presidencies will therefore be decisive in conducting negotiations among the 27 member states.

The TGAE group hopes that the detailed contributions presented in the report – with their convergences and divergences – will help strengthen this coordination between the members of the trio, between member states, and between the Council and other European institutions. **The EU's successful entry into the post-Lisbon era, and the construction of a newly inspiring European project, depend on it.**

# Issues

## Part I – Treaty of Lisbon, democracy, budget

- Treaty of Lisbon

- Democracy

- Budget

## Part II – Growth

- Lisbon Strategy

- Internal market

- Monetary Union

- European social vision

## Part III - Justice, freedom, security

- Immigration

- Justice and home affairs

## Part IV – Sustainable development

- Energy-environment

- CAP health check

## Part V – Europe in the world

- External relations

- Defence

- Enlargement

# Treaty of Lisbon

The Treaty of Lisbon, if ratified, will have a significant impact on the *modus operandi* of the European institutions. The trio will have to prepare carefully for the **transition into the “post-Lisbon era”**, focusing on who will fill the new posts created and on the need to preserve a certain institutional balance.

First, the trio has to monitor closely the **ratification** process, outline different scenarios and anticipate the consequences.

It also will have to negotiate with the Commission and the European Parliament a sort of **“code of conduct”** to define the principles to guide the choice of individuals to fill key posts and in the way these new functions will be incorporated into the existing institutional framework.

The three presidencies must establish a practice of a strong **coordination** between them and work hand in hand with the Commission and the European Parliament to prepare the new decision-making mechanisms, the system of subsidiarity control, the revised budgetary procedure and the permanent structured cooperation of the ESDP.

Finally, the trio will have to ensure that the new **stable President** will not become a rival to the President of the European Commission. He or she should be a prominent European figure respected by all member states capable of having authority *vis-à-vis* the exterior and at the same time, of building a consensus within the community.



Concerning the next Commission President, it is important to avoid giving an impression that the choice is part of a pre-cooked package deal that was struck long before the European elections. »

Sebastian Kurpas, CEPS

« The imminent shift to post-Lisbon rules makes it more important than before for each presidency to co-ordinate its programme with the Commission's and the European Parliament's agenda. »

Carl Fredrik Bergström, SIEPS

« New game rules for the “cohabitation” of the presidency and the Permanent President of the European Council must be found. »

Vraiháková, Europeum

« France should seek to make sure that the new President will be a truly European figure of undisputed respect and stature among member states. »

Panayiotis C. Ioakimidis, Eliamep

« The method of implementing these changes will decide the added value of the new Treaty.

Paweł Wieboda, DemosEuropa



# Democracy

After the French and Dutch rejections of the European Constitution, all member states, except Ireland, have chosen to ratify the Treaty of Lisbon in their respective parliaments. Although ratification by elected representatives is just as democratic as a referendum, one serious disadvantage is that **public debate on European issues** has once again become inaudible.

The distance between European citizens and decision makers and the depth of ongoing **Euroscepticism**, which is taking increasingly varied forms, shouldn't be underestimated. Therefore the Trio Presidency must seek ways of enhancing the democratic processes at the heart of the Union.

The **European elections** in June 2009 will be crucial. The issues relevant to this election must be clearer to voters. That is why it is important to respect the new method for appointing the President of the European Commission, an appointment that must depend on the results of the elections.

The EU system **needs politics**, faces and debates and European citizens need information and clearly presented choices. European political parties will have to present common political platforms and candidates for the job of President of the Commission.

Attention should be focused on the best ways to use and inform people about the tools of **representative and participatory democracy** at the European level. Not all have the same capacity to elicit a genuine deliberation on a strict and fair basis.



The Treaty of Lisbon contains an important innovation that should not be sacrificed on the altar of intergovernmental pragmatism – the election of the Commission president by the European Parliament. »

Gaëtane Ricard-Nihoul, Notre Europe

« To win public support, the troika needs to abandon the aspiration of pan-European communication and instead target it to the particular Euroscepticism situations of individual member states. »

Catharina Sørensen, DIIS

« The Union needs a breath of fresh political air; and politics means fights and faces. »

Loukas Tsoukalis, Eliamep

« Direct forms of European democracy are needed, but due to their poor effectiveness, emphasis should be given to indirect principles and to better explain the rights connected to EU citizenship. »

Tereza Hořejšová, Europeum

« Notre *Europe* proposes the establishment of an Observatory for European Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy.

Stephen Boucher, Notre Europe





# Budget

The review of the European budget launched by the Commission in the autumn of last year should not generate major changes in the 2007-2013 program. However, the opportunity should not be wasted to lay the foundations of a proactive and **far-reaching reform** of the budget affecting its income, its expenditure and its procedures.

With regard to **negotiating methods**, member States should avoid concentration on net balances, which distracts negotiators from the real issues at stake, the financing of European “common goods”, and leads to a minimalist and static budget.

The question of the Union’s **own resources** must be entirely reviewed. Beyond the economic considerations, it is important to consider the democratic mechanisms, that is to say the need for a direct link with citizens in order to legitimise the process of European construction.

The **budget’s inertia** is also criticised. The Treaty of Lisbon will enhance the democratisation of the negotiation procedure with an increased role for the European Parliament, but it will be necessary to go further to give the European budget a real capacity for self-renewal.

The **budget’s contents** also attract the sharpest critiques, particularly with regard to the Common Agricultural Policy and the Lisbon Strategy. The negotiation of the budget is not simply a financial task; it is above all an expression of a political ambition, of a common future shared by member states and European citizens. In this way, it should correspond to the EU’s political priorities.



The challenge is building alliances for genuinely common European initiatives, for which national “net flows” cannot be calculated because the gains are evenly spread across all member countries. »

Daniel Tarschys, SIEPS

« Synchronised budgetary and political cycles of the EU institutions are critical. »

Sara Hagemann/Fabian Zuleeg, EPC

« The EU budget should be coherent with the aims of the EU, policies that were commonly agreed and instruments that were chosen. »

Jaroslav Pietras, DemosEuropa

« The European Union needs to adapt its resources to address the challenges ahead. »

Jorge Núñez Ferrer, CEPS

« It is time to have an indepth, realistic and constructive discussion on how to move towards an EU own-resource based financing system.

Eulalia Rubio, Notre Europe



## Lisbon strategy, EMU and Internal market

As the Lisbon Strategy approaches its principal deadline in 2010 a reflection on its future has begun, in order to **overcome its blocks**.

The adoption of objectives must go hand in hand with a definition of **clear action priorities**. A **differentiation of the objectives** may be considered for different countries in order to take into account the persistent heterogeneity of Member States' economic situations.

Above all, the Trio Presidency should work to ensure the **coherence** of the economic, social and environmental aspects of the Lisbon strategy and of EU's internal and external policies. **Civil society** should also be more closely associated.

**Financial and political incentives** should be introduced to supplement the existing strictly institutional incentives. Member States should be rewarded for the real political efforts they make.

At the institutional level, pragmatic solutions should be considered to improve economic governance, such as the organisation of a **summit** for Heads of **Euro-zone** States in addition to the European Council.



The introduction of a Eurozone summit should be a priority. »

Daniela Schwarzer, SWP

« It is important to complete the institutional incentives by material incentives, to “reward” states which implement structural reforms. »

Frédéric Allemand, Fondapol

« A “fifth freedom” needs to be established – the free movement for knowledge. »

Hans Martens/Fabian Zuleeg, EPC

« Stimulating structural reforms may better be accomplished via a system of financial incentives rewarding effective policy efforts. »

Nikos Koutsiaras, Eliamep

« The trio should put all major presidency issues under the umbrella of revised Lisbon Strategy beyond 2010. »

Lukáš Pachtá, Europeum

« The Lisbon Strategy must pay greater attention to the prosperity gap between the old and new member states in the EU. »

Peter Becker, SWP

« If long-term objectives are essential to a bold and visible Lisbon Strategy, short-term economic developments must be taken into account.

Yann Echinard/Damien Tresallet, Fondapol



## European social vision

Whether or not actively encouraged by each Member State, the **social dimension** of European construction is nevertheless a reality that should prompt the Trio Presidency to intervene over the coming months.

In fact, while the promulgation of a single European social model is not the objective, the negative consequences of other sector policies, the constraints related to globalisation, the demographic trends and the societal transformations all create **new demands** on the European Union.

Each Presidency will naturally have a different vision of the responses that such pressures elicit; however, they should all bear in mind the following facts.

Firstly, the *acquis communautaire* is a living thing and it's necessary to remove hurdles to essential reform.

Also, faced with new challenges, regions, sectors and individuals are not all on an equal footing and the EU should find ways to offset or **anticipate such inequalities**.

Finally, despite their diversity, the national systems share **common foundations** which shape a shared understanding of social progress and within which the local communities, groups, authorities and civil organisations play an increasingly important role.

The renewed Social Agenda constitutes a real challenge for the upcoming Trio Presidency.



Subsequent Presidencies should focus on encouraging a discussion about development paths for individual social models and about ways of involving the Community level in the implementation of actions aimed at coping with demographic challenges. »

Maciej Duszczyk, DemosEuropa

« Taking better account of civil society and local and regional authorities would reinvigorate substantially the social sphere.

Marjorie Jouen, Notre Europe



# Immigration

In the context of an aging population, a rapidly evolving labour market and increasing migratory pressures, the EU needs a **common policy** on irregular and skilled immigration. National differences make it difficult to adopt common positions on integration and circular migration issues.

Frontier controls and sanctions imposed on employers of **unlawful immigrants** being insufficient, a new approach is needed, based on the search for a European consensus, a balance between frontier controls, humanitarian standards and a European framework for regularisation, the evaluation of ethical implications of new technologies, information campaigns for informal networks of migrants and the recognition of the links between legal and illegal migration.

A European strategy to make Europe competitive on the global market for skills is needed, but the “**European Blue Card**” proposed by the European Commission in September 2007 doesn’t satisfy everyone. It should better guarantee migrants an access to the entire European labour market and be accompanied by national measures for the promotion of infrastructures for expatriates, reform of the labour market and greater investment in R&D.

A **global** coherent and integrated **approach** is necessary to manage different types of immigration in a concerted way and to take into account the inter-dependence of all states and the need of coordination between and within the trios and between European institutions.



The EU agenda on irregular migration must be balanced to succeed, combining tighter controls with humanitarian standards and agreement on a path to regularisation. »

Jakob von Weizsäcker, Bruegel

« Establish whether the envisaged measures are truly necessary and proportional and live up to the common vision of an open and welcoming Union that is founded on the principles of liberty, respect for human rights and the rule of law. »

Elspeth Guild/Sergio Carrera/Florian Geyer, CEPS

« Approach the prospective migrants, not their governments. »

Anna Triandafyllidou, Eliamep

« EU's strength will be in taking a multi-pronged approach to immigration policies. »

Elizabeth Collett, EPC

« The conditions under which a temporary stay can be converted into a permanent stay should be clarified.

Steffen Angenendt/Roderick Parkes, SWP



## Justice and Home Affairs

The Justice and Home Affairs area is subject to contradictory tensions.

The **Lisbon Treaty** makes significant advances by ending the pillar structure, generalising the ordinary legislative procedure, broadening the legal basis, the mutual recognition of judicial decisions, and through the consideration of a European Public Prosecutor. But, at the same time, this area is still subject to restrictions such as unanimity in certain domains, transition periods for instruments adopted before the Treaty of Lisbon and opt-out mechanisms.

Moreover, whereas JHA may be seen as an example of a “**Europe of results**” reconciling public opinion with the notion of European integration, the difficult balance sought between security and the protection of individual freedoms can also make the EU project less popular.

Lastly, even if it is quite unlikely that there will be any further **legislative proposals** before the application of the new Treaty, the European Commission is pressing for the adoption of pending decisions, so that they won't become void with the modification of the legal basis.

With this objective in mind, it will be necessary that the three presidencies agree on a **common agenda** and a distribution of tasks, and that a balance is found between Commission, Council and Parliament.

The **institutions have to prepare** for the application of the new Treaty, with the definition of the composition and responsibilities of the COSI (Standing Committee on Internal Security), the coordination of the European Council's work groups and the reorganisation of the European Commission's Justice, Freedom and Security DG and of the European Parliament's civil liberties and JHA (LIBE) Committee.



If the new Lisbon regime is to be successful from the beginning, the transition will have to be well prepared. »

Jérôme Bacquias, EPC

« The new working relationship must involve a new *modus vivendi*, where MEPs learn the language of state security and where the member states become more convincing with their use of the language of liberty.

Hugo Brady, CER



## Energy-environment

Since the publication of the Green Book in 2006, the development of an **integrated energy** and climate change policy has been one of the key priorities for the European Commission. The EU promotes a global strategy including internal energy market, energy resource security, energy efficiency, solidarity between Member States and compliance with international commitments.

This approach enjoys public support, but the difficulty with which concrete proposals are being adopted and implemented should not be underestimated given the interests at stake.

The **reduction of greenhouse gas emissions** remains the primary goal. The first task is the establishment of an emission permit exchange system for the EU, which doesn't penalise high energy-consuming European industries. The creation of specific rights to import energy-intensive products is not a panacea, but is less likely to evoke accusations of hindering international trade. As far as energy efficiency and the use of renewable energies are concerned, the targets already set have to be made obligatory.

At the global level, Europe's position at the head of the **negotiating table** is only tenable if the EU can succeed in bringing with it a large number of countries, including the United States, through the adoption of a flexible attitude, allowing for exceptions which reflect the specificities of different countries.

As far as **energy security** is concerned, foreign affairs and trade policies play just as important a role in the managing risk as do internal policies concerning infrastructure, R&D policy and the regulation of the domestic market.



A post-Kyoto agreement has to be reached that manages to attract as many countries as possible and is, in particular, sensitive to developing countries' demands. »

Juan Delgado, Bruegel

« The EU should ensure coherence between EU and member-state actions and better integrate energy policy and foreign policy. »

Arno Behrens, CEPS

« The setting of legally binding targets and the growing prospect of US actions means that the industrialised economies could soon deliver substantive cuts in emissions. They will then be in a far strong position to demand action from China and India. »

Simon Tilford, CER

« To overcome the dominance of national interests the EU not only needs the completion of the internal energy market, it also requires a system of energy solidarity.

Oliver Geden/Susanne Dröge, SWP



## CAP health check

The Communal Agricultural Policy has come to a **fork in the road** requiring careful negotiation by the upcoming Trio Presidency. The review of the CAP in 2008 and 2009 and a re-examination of the European budget will determine what the CAP will look like after 2013.

The CAP is operating in new territory: the Treaty of Lisbon will give the European Parliament decision-making powers on the agricultural budget, all 27 member states will fully participate in the negotiations and the constant **increase in demand** for agriculture produce has resulted in an increase in world commodity prices, allowing Europeans to review the level and nature of support for their agricultural markets.

The **opening to the international market** implies at the same time that more must be produced in a more competitive way and from fewer inputs, as environmental constraints will play a structural role.

In addition, the shift of attention towards the development of rural areas appears to satisfy neither the CAP's supporters nor its detractors.

All these requirements and constraints – some of which are contradictory – will no doubt be used as **bargaining chips** in the context of budgetary discussions on EU policies. Europeans will have to ask themselves some fundamental questions: What food model and agricultural model do we wish to follow? What level of territorial balance should we aspire to and what role should agriculture play in it? The upcoming EU Presidencies will need to overcome their national preferences and remind those at the negotiating table that the historic opportunity must not be missed.



The definition of a new common agricultural project must precede negotiations over the instruments and the budget of the policy. »

Nadège Chambon, Notre Europe

« It is necessary to strengthen EU agriculture and improve its competitiveness, decrease CAP spending and pay more attention to the situation outside the EU.

Tereza Sva inová, Europeum



## External relations

The priority given to bilateral relations with non-EU countries by member states has led to inconsistent positions, particularly in relations with Russia.

The EU's external strategy should nevertheless make a significant qualitative leap over the coming years. On the one hand, Europeans have become aware of the urgent need to speak with one voice on the international scene. On the other hand, the institutional advances of the Treaty of Lisbon favour a single representation of the Union and the emergence of common positions.

The upcoming Trio Presidencies must pay a specific attention to the establishment of the European External Action Service: it should be linked to internal security matters and coordinate the different players involved in the EU's external policies.

The EU should promote its core principles on the international scene, as well as those developed in the Lisbon Strategy, to strengthen Europe's influence in the world and its competitiveness on global markets. Europe should also promote environmental standards based on a strong partnership between its institutions and its exporters.



Moscow or Beijing will only speak to a High Representative whom they recognise as having political clout. »

Hugo Brady, CER

« The general aim over the next three presidencies must be to ensure that the EU's normative power is consolidated and developed through the coherent and consistent application of its normative principles. »

Ian Manners, DIIS

« If the EU wants to turn Russia into a dependable and cooperative neighbour, it must build its partnership on the same foundations that made European integration a success – interdependence, transparency, and consensus. »

Mark Leonard, ECFR

«The EU and member states should stop engaging or disengaging with countries in what appears to be an arbitrary fashion. »

Richard Youngs, ECFR

« To prosper in a globalised context, the EU needs a far-reaching strategy on external policies in order to expand its normative influence worldwide. »

Elvire Fabry, Fondapol

« The EU will need to come up with clearer positions on the translation of the Lisbon Strategy's objectives into external policy interests, in order to prioritize potentially conflicting goals.

Anna Michalski, SIEPS





## Defence

To strengthen its credibility, its influence and its capacity for intervention on the international scene, Europe needs to acquire an effective defence capability. The EU suffers in fact from a deficit of operating means, a poor exploitation of its resources and an unbalanced distribution of responsibilities between its member states.

To match its ambitions, Europe must upscale its commitments to existing operations, both in terms of personnel (military and civilian), and financial assistance. A substantial increase in the defence budgets being unlikely, the only realistic option is better management of existing resources via mutualisation and rationalisation: the development of a European defence market, a multiplication of common R&D programmes, and the implementation of permanent structured cooperation.

The EU should also try to establish more equitable burden sharing, not just between Europeans, but also between the EU and NATO.

The need for a more consistent and integrated defence policy also implies an update of the current European Security Strategy, to adapt the EU's common foreign policy instruments to the requirements of a reinforced ESDP, and to enhance coordination between European institutions, between civilian and military personnel, and between NATO and the EU.



La France a l'opportunité de résoudre le dilemme de l'Europe de la défense (institutions ou capacités), améliorer les relations entre l'UE et l'OTAN et renforcer la coopération entre civils et militaires. »

Tomas Valasek, CER

« L'Union ne peut à elle seule redéfinir la stratégie mise en oeuvre par la coalition. Mais une Europe unifiée peut promouvoir une approche internationale renforcée et mieux coordonnée. »

Daniel Korski, ECFR

« La *présence* accrue de l'UE dans le monde doit se traduire par une *influence* comparable. »

Antonio Missiroli, EPC

« European Union has been very good at speaking softly, but left the big stick at home. Without an effective security and defence policy the EU will not rid itself of the image of a 'political dwarf'.

Tomáš Weiss, Europeum



# Enlargement

For the time being, the question of EU enlargement is absent from the front pages or EU news. This absence is caused by the laborious integration of 12 new member states; the characteristics of the current candidates, and by the persistent political instability in potential candidates.

The question confronting the Trio Presidencies is not one pertaining to the next enlargement, but rather how to maintain the pace of current negotiations without abridging core requirements, such as democracy.

The fact that the three presidencies may not have the same ideas and ambitions regarding EU enlargement suggests that the three governments should approach this issue with prudence and pragmatism so as not to distort the external message.

France, Czech Republic and Sweden have to ensure that neither the work of the “High Level Advisory Group” nor the Union for the Mediterranean project be allowed to interfere with the issue of the EU’s enlargement. The positive results of the last two enlargements must be more positively communicated to the general public. A strategic revision of the enlargement program must be launched. Finally, the EU must not relax its pressure in the Balkans and the potential of Neighbourhood policy instruments must be more intensively exploited.



European Neighbourhood Policy should not be sold as a policy alternative to accession to the Union. »

Alan Mayhew, DemosEuropa

« What is lacking, is an optimistic approach, an enthusiasm and a vision regarding the kind of Union an EU 27+ can become. »

Janis A. Emmanouilidis/Ruby Gropas, Eliamep

« Initiatives such as the Mediterranean Union or the high level reflection group should in no way undermine the enlargement process and the existing commitments of the EU towards candidate countries.

David Kral/Vladimír Bartovic, Europeum



# Think tanks and authors

## Organisers

### Fondation pour l'innovation politique, Paris

The Fondation pour l'innovation politique ([www.fondapol.org](http://www.fondapol.org)), established in 2004, is an independent institute for research and public policy debate. In addition to its permanent researchers, the Foundation draws on many writers and advisers with different backgrounds from many nations. The Foundation enjoys strong links with similar think tanks across the world. The Foundation identifies and analyses contemporary public policy issues for France in the context of globalisation, the growth of Europe and social change. The Foundation offers decision-makers concrete proposals for reform, inspired by reform pursued in other countries. Currently, the Foundation concentrates its work in two key domains: Politics and Society and Europe and International Affairs. The Foundation publishes the work of its researchers and those of its external collaborators, hosts regular round table discussions, seminars and conferences and publishes a triannual review called "2050".

*Contributors: Elvire Fabry, Frédéric Allemand, Damien Tresallet*

### Notre Europe, Paris

Notre Europe ([www.notre-europe.eu](http://www.notre-europe.eu)) is an European independent think tank dedicated to promoting closer European unity. Under Jacques Delors' leadership, the association's aim since 1996 has been to "think a united Europe." This involves participating in current debates from a vantage point of informed positions based upon thorough policy analysis and relevant policy proposals that are designed to help Europeans achieve closer unity. It also entails fostering the active involvement of citizens and civil society in the process of European integration and in the emergence of a European public space. Its analyses and policy proposals focus upon four themes: visions of Europe, European democracy in action Cooperation, competition and solidarity Europe and world governance Successively headed by Jacques Delors (1996-2004), Pascal Lamy (2004-2005), and Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa (since November 2005), Notre Europe is committed to maintaining strict independence of thought as well as work, in keeping with the spirit of promoting the public good. For this reason, all of its work is available free of charge and in French and English through its Internet website.

*Contributors: Gaëtane Ricard-Nihoul, Stephen Boucher, Marjorie Jouen, Eulalia Rubio, Nadège Chambon*

## Other think tanks

### Bruegel, Brussels

Bruegel ([www.bruegel.org](http://www.bruegel.org)) is a European think tank devoted to international economics. It was created in Brussels in early 2005 with the intention of bringing a new voice into Europe's economic policy discussions. Its governance and funding model makes Bruegel unique, being the only think tank partly funded by EU member states. It is supported by 16 European governments, as well as a number of leading private corporations. Bruegel does not represent any particular policy doctrine. It aims to contribute to economic policymaking in Europe through open, fact-based and policy-relevant research, analysis and discussion.

*Contributors: Juan Delgado, Jakob von Weizsäcker*

## **CEPS, Brussels**

Founded in Brussels in 1983, the Centre for European Policy Studies ([www.ceps.be](http://www.ceps.be)) is among the most experienced and authoritative think tanks operating in the European Union today. CEPS serves as a leading forum for debate on EU affairs, but its most distinguishing feature lies in its strong in-house research capacity, complemented by an extensive network of partner institutes throughout the world. CEPS' funding is obtained from a variety of sources, including membership fees, project research, foundation grants, conferences fees, publication sales and an annual grant from the European Commission.

*Contributors: Sergio Carrera, Sebastian Kurpas, Elspeth Guild, Arno Behrens, Florian Geyer, Jorge Núñez Ferrer*

## **CER, London**

The Centre for European Reform ([www.cer.org.uk](http://www.cer.org.uk)) is a think tank devoted to improving the quality of the debate on the European Union. It is a forum for people with ideas from Britain and across the continent to discuss the many political, economic and social challenges facing Europe. It seeks to work with similar bodies in other European countries, North America and elsewhere in the world. The CER is pro-European but not uncritical. It regards European integration as largely beneficial but recognises that in many respects the Union does not work well. The CER therefore aims to promote new ideas for reforming the European Union.

*Contributors: Tomas Valasek, Simon Tilford, Hugo Brady*

## **DemosEuropa, Warsaw**

DemosEuropa – Centre for European Strategy ([www.demoseuropa.eu](http://www.demoseuropa.eu)) is an international, non-partisan, policy-oriented research institution which aims to provide answers to the challenges facing the European Union, its Member States and the citizens. It is a forum for ideas about the political, social and economic dimension of European integration and international relations. DemosEuropa – Centre for European Strategy has four programmes which have to do with the political aspects of European integration, economic reform in the EU, sustainability and the EU's role in the world. The think-tank publishes policy papers and reports formulated on the basis of interactive discussions, conferences and seminars.

*Contributors: Paweł Świeboda, Maciej Duszczczyk, Alan Mayhew, Jarosław Pietras*

## **DIIS, Copenhagen**

The Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS, [www.diis.dk](http://www.diis.dk)) is an independent research institution engaged in research in international affairs. The institute draws up reports and analyses and follows developments in international affairs continuously in order to assess the security and foreign policy situation of Denmark. DIIS also communicates research findings, analyses and knowledge and performs functions concerning documentation, information and library services. Furthermore, DIIS contributes to the education of researchers, supports the development of research capacity in developing countries and establishes contacts between Danish and international research environments. The institute started activities on 1 January 2003.

*Contributors: Ian Mannings, Catharina Sørensen*

## **ECFR, London-Madrid-Berlin-Paris**

The European Council on Foreign Relations ([www.ecfr.eu](http://www.ecfr.eu)) was launched in October 2007 to promote a more integrated European foreign policy in support of shared European interests and values. With its unique structure, ECFR brings a genuinely pan-European perspective on Europe's role in the world. ECFR was founded by a council whose members include serving and former ministers and parliamentarians, business leaders, distinguished academics, journalists and public intellectuals. ECFR's pan-European work through advocacy, the mass media and campaigns make the necessary connections between innovative thinking, policy-making and civic action..

*Contributors: Mark Leonard, Daniel Korski, Richard Youngs*

## **Eliamep, Athens**

Established in 1988, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy ([www.eliamep.gr](http://www.eliamep.gr)) is an independent, non-profit and policy-oriented research and training institute situated in Athens, Greece. Eliamep's mission is to provide a forum for public and political debate on issues of European integration and international relations and to conduct scientific research that supports policy makers in making informed decisions. Eliamep provides decision-makers, both in the public and private sectors in Greece, Europe and beyond, with authoritative and independent information, analysis and proposals for action.

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## **EPC, Brussels**

The European Policy Centre ([www.epc.eu](http://www.epc.eu)) is an independent, not-for-profit think tank, committed to making European integration work. The EPC works at the "cutting edge" of European and global policy-making providing its members and the wider public with rapid, high-quality information and analysis on the EU and global policy agenda. In line with its multi-constituency approach, members of the EPC comprise companies, professional and business federations, trade unions, diplomatic missions, regional and local bodies, as well as NGOs representing a broad range of civil society interests, foundations, international and religious organisations.

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## **Europeum, Prague**

Europeum Institute for European Policy ([www.europeum.org](http://www.europeum.org)) is a non-profit, non-partisan and independent institute. It focuses on the issues of European integration and its impact on the transformation of political, economic and legal milieu in the Czech Republic. Europeum strives to contribute to a long-lasting development of democracy, security, stability, freedom and solidarity across Europe. Europeum formulates opinions and offers alternatives to internal reforms in the Czech Republic with a view of ensuring her fullfledged membership and respected position in the European Union. Its mission statement is: "Czech visions for Europe, European visions for the Czechs".

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## **SIEPS, Stockholm**

The Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies ([www.sieps.se](http://www.sieps.se)) conducts and promotes research on European policy and policy-making. SIEPS acts as a link between the academic world and policy-makers at various levels. By publishing reports and arranging seminars and conferences, SIEPS aims to deepen the understanding of the challenges facing Europe.

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## **SWP, Berlin**

The Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – German Institute for International and Security Affairs – ([www.swp-berlin.org](http://www.swp-berlin.org)) is an independent scientific establishment that conducts practically oriented research on the basis of which it then advises the Bundestag (the German parliament) and the federal government on foreign and security policy issues. The analyses and publications produced by SWP researchers and their participation in national and international debates on key issues help to shape opinion in their respective domains. Since January 1965, the Institute has been federally funded. This support is supplemented by contributions from other research sponsors.

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**Report, press pack, press release and conference's summary available  
(French and English version) on [www.tgae.eu](http://www.tgae.eu)**

The TGAE report will be used as the basis of discussion for the European Think Tank Forum to be held by Institut Aspen France, in partnership with Notre Europe and Fondation pour l'innovation politique, on the 19 and 20 of September 2008 in Paris, and is planned to be discussed later on in Prague and Stockholm.