



Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA)

Zagreb EU Pre-Presidency Conference EUROPE AT A CROSSROADS

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Library of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Croatia

REPORT

Composed by Hrvoje Butković, IRMO

*Under the patronage of the
Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia*



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

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I. Introduction and acknowledgments

On the occasion of the Croatian EU Council Presidency starting on the 1st January 2020, the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) and the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) held the Zagreb EU Pre-Presidency Conference – Europe at a Crossroads. The Conference was held at the Library of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts on the 28th and 29th of November 2019. Such conferences are part of the long-standing tradition of TEPSA's Pre-Presidency Conferences (PPCs), which take place twice a year in the capital of the country holding the EU Council Presidency prior to the beginning of its mandate.

The goal of the PPCs is to bring together academics and researchers from EU Member States and EU candidate countries, policymakers, civil society representatives, and the general public in order to discuss the agenda and the challenges of upcoming Presidencies. The Zagreb EU Pre-Presidency Conference focused on the priorities of the Croatian Presidency, but it also addressed the most important issues on the EU's agenda. Therefore, it analysed topics such as EU enlargement in the Western Balkans, the new composition of the EU's institutions, the enlargement of the EMU, connectivity in the EU and beyond, differentiated integration, Euroscepticism, the demographic crisis, etc.

The PPC gathered more than 60 foreign experts from 32 European countries. The keynote speech was given by Andreja Metelko-Zgombić, State Secretary for European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. Following the keynote speech, and according to an established tradition, recommendations from the TEPSA researchers to the upcoming Presidency were presented. The speakers from the ranks of the policymakers included Vladimir Drobniak, Foreign Policy Advisor to the Croatian Prime Minister, Jim Cloos, Deputy Director-General of the Council's General Secretariat, Maja Bakran Marcich, Deputy General Director of DG MOVE in the European Commission, as well as Michael Faulend, Vice Governor of the Croatian National Bank.

The organisers would like to thank the Croatian Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs for taking this event under its patronage. A sincere and warm thank you also goes to the financial supporters of the event, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation – Zagreb Office, the UK Federal Trust, the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Croatian Postal Bank, the Croatian Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Croatian Ministry of Science and Education, the HEP Group, and the Embassies of Finland and Spain in the Republic of Croatia. This TEPSA Pre-Presidency Conference was further financed by the Europe for Citizens Program of the European Union as well as the Horizon 2020 Programme within the framework of the InDivEU and SEnECA projects. Sincere thanks go to Mr. John Stevens from the UK Federal Trust, who delivered an inspiring lecture about James Madison and US Federalism during the Conference Dinner. The lecture was made in the honour of the late European federalist John Pinder.

The PPC was well attended and received positive feedback from most of its participants. Thus, it actively contributed to the cross-sectoral fertilization of ideas and shaping of a genuine European public sphere. The opinions expressed in this report are those of the speakers and do not necessarily reflect the positions of TEPSA or TEPSA Member Institutes. Please note that this is a summary, not a verbatim report.

II. Opening remarks

Velimir Neidhardt, President of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, officially opened the Conference by warmly welcoming all the attendees. He stressed that the Presidency of the Council is of great significance for Croatia, which can now present itself as a reliable and efficient Member State. He also noted that Zagreb and Croatia could be further promoted during the Presidency as interesting and unique business and tourist destinations. In his words, the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts has chosen to support this event due to its truly cross-sectoral character and its potential to bring citizens closer to the EU and in this way, reduce Euroscepticism.



In her introductory words, **Sanja Tišma**, Director of the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO), noted that IRMO became a TEPSA member in 2007 and has benefited very much from its membership. Thanks to its TEPSA membership, IRMO researchers have had the opportunity to participate in numerous conferences, round tables, and EU-funded projects. The Conference, in her words, represents the opportunity for a deep analysis of the four pillars of Croatian Presidency: A Europe that is developing, a Europe that connects, a Europe that protects, as well as a Europe that is recognised globally. In her concluding remarks, she thanked all the conference supporters.



On behalf of TEPSA, the Conference participants were greeted by **Jaap de Zwaan**, Secretary General of TEPSA and Emeritus Professor of the Erasmus University at Rotterdam. He noted that the aim of the Pre-Presidency Conferences is to provide a high-quality debate about challenges in front of the upcoming Presidency, based on a so-called triple-A formula consisting of analysis, assessment, and advice. He noted that these are crucial

times for Europe, with the new European Commission just starting its work and a relatively new European Parliament whose composition is quite different from the previous one. He concluded by praising the slogan of the Croatian Presidency, “A strong Europe in a world of challenges”, which, in his words, could be of inspiration to all conference participants.

Türkan Karakurt, Director of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung - Zagreb Office, indicated that her organization was very happy to support this conference and particularly the panel on the Western Balkans. She noted that the conference programme covered all the work that lies ahead for the European Union as a whole and at the same time represented a kind of a roadmap for the Croatian Presidency. She concluded by noting that it is a welcomed coincidence that Croatia’s first Council Presidency will be followed by the German Presidency in the second half of 2020. This, in her words, will forge close cooperation between all governmental institutions and, at the same time, provide the bases for nongovernmental organizations and academia to work very closely in the future.

III. Plenary session I: The priorities of the Croatian EU Council Presidency

Chaired by Višnja Samardžija, Former member of the TEPSA Board, Emeritus Researcher, IRMO

Speakers:

- *Andreja Metelko-Zgombić, State Secretary for European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia – MVEP*
- *Petr Kratochvíl, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations Prague*

Višnja Samardžija, Emeritus Researcher in IRMO and moderator of the introductory panel, welcomed the participants in the capacity of former TEPSA Board member and underlined the importance of cooperation with TEPSA for IRMO's scientific and analytical work.



In her keynote speech, **Andreja Metelko-Zgombić** started by saying that the world today is in a very fragile period but that, at the same time, it is approaching the revolution in development that could solve even the most difficult problems. She noted that today there is an abundance of opportunities for development and growth if we better connect our ideas and policies. In her own words, the problems of today should be taken seriously but also with confidence, knowing that we have the financial, technological, and human resources to resolve them.

She noted that the slogan of the Croatian Presidency “A strong Europe in a world of challenges” could be achieved through work on four basic pillars of the Presidency, namely i) a Europe that is developing, ii) a Europe that connects, iii) a Europe that protects, iv) an influential Europe.

Referring to the first two pillars, she said that Europe needs to embrace the challenges of the fourth industrial revolution and become better connected in regard to energy, transport, and digitalization. Concerning the third pillar, the State Secretary indicated that Europe needs to provide better control of its external borders and strengthen its resilience to external threats. Therefore, the Croatian Presidency will try to find a comprehensive framework for the effective management of migration and asylum policy in the EU. Furthermore, the Presidency will try to foster EU development in the areas of justice and the rule of law. Regarding the fourth pillar, which focuses on “a Europe that is influential”, she indicated that we need a Union that is a global player and a visible and self-confident partner. Such Union should use all the tools at its disposal to provide development assistance, offer humanitarian aid, and promote international trade. The EU also needs to build its credibility by assuming responsibility for its immediate neighbourhood in the East and the South, and particularly in South-East Europe.

The Croatian Presidency, in the words of the State Secretary, will strive to develop an effective and credible enlargement policy as a pledge towards better security and further economic development and integration of South-East Europe into the EU. Therefore, in May 2020,

Croatia will host the summit in Zagreb, where leaders of the EU and those of the countries of the region will join together. In continuation of her address, she listed several important topics on the agenda of the Croatian Presidency, such as the negotiations on the Multiannual Financial Framework, the further development of the pillar on social rights, and stopping negative demographic trends. According to the State Secretary, the Presidency will provide Croatian civil servants with an in-depth insight into the EU legislative process and the opportunity to build stronger issue-based alliances with representatives of other like-minded Member States. The address was concluded by saying that, from the Croatian perspective, it is important to emphasize that the EU was founded as a project for peace, which should never be taken for granted.

Following the keynote speech, **Petr Kratochvíl** presented the recommendations from the TEPSA researchers to the incoming Croatian Presidency. He coordinated the process of writing these recommendations, which were thematically divided into four policy areas: i) the renewed attention to enlargement; ii) the novel focus on migration; iii) the strategy regarding cohesion; iv) connectivity. While he presented the recommendations concerning migration and connectivity himself, the recommendations about the other two policy areas were presented by their authors: **Maja Bučar** from the Centre of International Relations, University of Ljubljana (cohesion) and **Hrvoje Butković** from the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) of Zagreb (enlargement).

Concerning the area of cohesion, the recommendations call for a long-term comprehensive strategy. They suggest reformulating the content of the regional policy so it can be adjusted to the specific needs of the less developed regions. However, the document stresses that financial support for the cohesion policy should not be endangered, despite commitments in other important areas such as the new Green Deal. In the area of enlargement, the recommendations call for the serious rethinking of the accession process, which has become overly politicized and thus unpredictable. They underline that the French proposal for the reform of the enlargement methodology is a welcomed development that should be further worked upon. With equal importance, they view the issue of resolving the bilateral issue between the Western Balkan countries, as these tend to be among major obstacles to enlargement.

In the area of migration, the TEPSA researchers recommended that Croatian Presidency should second the Commission's consultation process on migration, connecting the results to the discussion about the next multiannual JHA guidelines. They also stressed that the Croatian Presidency is best placed to keep the regional cooperation high on the agenda and to interconnect the asylum and migration systems in the Western Balkan countries with those of the EU and its Member States. Finally, concerning the connectivity, it was recommended that the Presidency focus on the four connectivity dimensions (soft infrastructure, decarbonization, building new networks, awareness rising and impact assessment). In these areas, it was

stressed that the Presidency should seek to elaborate roadmaps and launch concrete plans for action.

State Secretary Metelko Zgombić responded that the TEPSA recommendations were welcomed and would be useful for the Croatian Presidency.

IV. Plenary session II: The new EU institutional reality

Chaired by Petr Kratochvíl, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations Prague

Speakers:

- *Vladimir Drobňjak, Foreign Policy Advisor to the Croatian Prime Minister*
- *Jim Cloos, Deputy Director-General for the General and Institutional Policy, General Secretariat of the EU Council of Ministers*
- *Michael Kaeding, Former Chairman of the TEPSA Board (2016-2019), Professor, University of Duisburg-Essen*



The first speaker, **Vladimir Drobňjak**, started his presentation by saying that Croatia is taking the Council Presidency in a very specific moment, which is the beginning of the new institutional and legislative cycle. Furthermore, the world is full of challenges, which range from the fourth industrial revolution to migration, terrorism, etc. He noted that today the world is multipolar and global at the same time. Therefore, two opposing processes are happening simultaneously: integration and disintegration (Brexit). In this context, he noted, we need to rethink how to keep the EU project on track with its high trajectory. He raised some practical issues that merit a deep debate, such as the way we elect the EU leaders or when to expect the new EU Treaty. In his concluding remarks, he noted that the Europe of tomorrow will certainly be different from the Europe of today. However, it will have to stay firmly rooted in its values and principles as well as on multilateralism, which is stemming from the rules-based international order.

Jim Cloos indicated that EU Presidencies represent a great opportunity to bring new energy into the EU. Reflecting upon the EU bodies, he stressed that institutions are hugely important. However, with all the challenges the EU is facing, it should look at policies first and then, only if there is a need, create new institutions. He expressed his scepticism concerning the *Spitzenkandidaten* system for reasons of political philosophy because it doesn't fit well with the present structure of the EU. Talking about the role of the Presidency, he indicated that its key role now is to negotiate new legislative deals in trilogues with the European Parliament and the Commission. Reflecting upon the upcoming priorities, he said that a lot of effort will need to be invested in finalizing the new Multiannual Financial Framework because the Finnish Presidency has not managed to put the negotiating box on the table.

In his presentation, Michael Kaeding focused on the European Parliament and on the potential changes in the EP during the new legislative period. He noted that, unlike before, we now have a lot of completely new MEPs. The extreme right in the EP has never been as powerful while the extreme left lost MEPs. Overall, as indicated, one-third of the MEPs are considered to be Eurosceptic. The EPP and the S&D lost their majority in the EP. On top of that, the Liberals are now differently composed, and they will be more reluctant to form majorities with the EPP and S&D. Therefore, as a general conclusion, it seems that forming majorities will become much harder. Concerning Brexit, things also don't look promising for the EP because the main effect of the British MEPs leaving will be strengthening of the extreme right MEPs. In concluding his presentation, he indicated that the EP has changed dramatically, which will have an impact on the new EU institutional reality.

In order to make discussions more interactive, the online platform Slido was used. As a result, numerous questions reached the speakers while the discussion tended to be particularly lively and interesting.

V. Parallel session I

Topic 1: The prospects for EU enlargement in the Western Balkans (Panel supported by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Chaired by Senada Šelo Šabić, Senior Research Associate, Institute for Development and International Relations, IRMO

Speakers:

- *Florent Marciacq, Senior Fellow, Centre International de Formation Européen – CIFE, Nice*
- *Florian Bieber, Professor, Centre for South-Eastern European Studies, University of Graz*
- *Irena Rajchinovska Pandeva, Associate Professor, Faculty of Law Iustinianus Primus, University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Skopje*



Florent Marciacq started his presentation by saying that the new methodology for enlargement will not change the process of enlargement. This is because, in his words, EU integration as we have it now is not the means for an intrinsic transformation of societies. However, the countries of the region are fully integrated into the EU's value production chain. He stressed that, in the current circumstances, the EU has to be prepared to incorporate the countries of the region into the EU at some moment despite the fact that they may not be fully ready for membership. At the same time, the EU will need to prepare them for the post-accession challenges. Perhaps the way forward with the enlargement policy is not to test the "recipe" on the Western Balkan countries but to look for a better one jointly. He concluded by saying that the vision of the regional countries for the EU is of crucial importance. This vision needs to be regionalized and then discussed with the EU in order to change the overall approach to enlargement.

Florian Bieber indicated that the problem with enlargement is much deeper than the French refusal to start the accession talks with North Macedonia and Albania. The good thing which could be taken out of this situation is that now there is a discussion about enlargement in the EU again. He was critical of the French non-paper because it only appeared after the accession talks were blocked, so it could be argued that it was a way of dealing with this diplomatic disaster. However, some suggestions in the non-paper, such as providing financial assistance earlier or more structured reporting on assessment, are useful. Still, he noted, the non-paper doesn't have a good roadmap when it comes to combating State capture. It doesn't really know what to do about it. Instead of highly diplomatic reports, we would need an expert-based assessment of what is going on. Another problem is that the non-paper doesn't address the abuse by Member States of the enlargement process. He concluded that granting every Member State the veto power over every step of the enlargement process is not a good approach.

Irena Rajčinovska Pandeva said that the French blockade to the accession process of North Macedonia was a historic mistake and a profound injustice towards a small country that sacrificed a lot to come closer to the EU membership. The decision as such resulted in a strong anti-EU sentiment and resentment in North Macedonia due to the general belief that the

name of the country had been sacrificed in exchange for the accession. The bright side of the French non-paper, she noted, is the fact that it indicates that accession is the final goal of the enlargement process. The negative aspect, however, is that this new methodology will change the game, and playing the game while rules keep on changing is difficult. In her words, there is something unconventional in the French blockade of the accession process with North Macedonia because the EU is debating the accession of the country that has fewer than two million people. She concluded by saying that postponing the enlargement to North Macedonia is risky because such approach puts at stake the political stability of the country, its democratic consolidation, its capacity to manage migration, etc.

Topic 2: Challenges for EU connectivity in its immediate neighbourhood and in Central Asia: Energy, security, and sustainability (Panel organised in the framework of SEnECA project)

Chaired by Ana Maria Boromisa, Research Advisor, Institute for Development and International Relations, IRMO

Speakers:

- *Maja Bakran Marcich, Deputy General Director of DG MOVE - DG Mobility and Transport*
- *Sinikukka Saari, Senior Associate Analyst at the EU Institute for Security Studies, EUISS, Paris*
- *Alica Kizeková, Senior Researcher at the Institute of International Relations Prague*



Maja Bakran Marcich presented DG MOVE's perspective on enhancing connectivity, with a particular focus on enhancing connectivity between Europe and Asia. In September 2018, the EU adopted the Strategy for connecting Europe and Asia. The four pillars of this strategy are transport, energy, digital, and human dimension. In May 2019, the EU Strategy for Central Asia was also adopted. These strategies promote sustainable connectivity which means that all links should be built with respect to the environmental rules. It also means that connectivity

needs to bring social benefits to all countries affected. Finally, these links need to be financially and fiscally sustainable. Presenting concrete examples of the DG MOVE's work she presented the Indicative TEN-T Investment Action Plan for Eastern Partnership countries and the EU-ASEAN Comprehensive Air Transport Agreement. The crucial aspect of these plans is that they promote work on searching new sources of investment which are very much needed. She indicated that these and other EU incentives are based on a network approach, firm standards, procurement rules, and the availability of investment instruments that allow efficient maintenance improvements. Talking about China, she indicated that the EU and China have launched the EU-China Connectivity Platform in 2015. The main objective of this initiative is to explore the opportunities for further cooperation in the area of transport. The logic is to find synergies between China's Belt and Road initiative and the EU's TEN-T.

In her presentation, **Sinikukka Saari** noted that to be successful in Central Asia the EU needs to navigate very carefully in the "jungle" of partly overlapping and partly complementary networks. She indicated that there are many challenges to connectivity in Central Asia such as the difficult functioning of connectivity in the region, the existence of unofficial networks, or the presence of China and Russia, which have different missions to that of the EU. In terms of regional connectivity, she indicated that there has been a lot of progress in recent years. Railway links were reopened, flight connections reintroduced, some electricity networks became functional again, etc. However, the development is still very uncertain, so there is a space for the EU to engage in a political dialogue with these countries. In terms of unofficial networks, she stressed that they are widespread and even the change of government doesn't help in their eradication. Organised crime and trafficking networks do play a significant role in the region. Central Asia is a key hub along the Afghan opium trafficking routes. Focusing on what all this means for the EU, she indicated that the EU is not a major player in the region. Therefore, it needs to think about what would be a niche where it could add some value. One of such issues is certainly regional cooperation, as the EU could encourage the establishment of regional links. The advantage of the EU, in this respect, is that it is seen by the regional countries as neutral and without a hidden geopolitical agenda.

Alica Kizeková indicated that connectivity in Central Asia is not developed, despite some recent progress. It has one-fifth of connections compared to the EU. Very little progress has been made in the area of energy diversification and developing energy-transport corridors between Central Asia and Europe. The natural EU partner in the region is the US, but its strategy in the region has gone so much back and forth depending on the administration there, that it is difficult to rely upon it. She noted that one of the like-minded global players that the EU can work with is Japan, which has invested a lot in the region. Another country is South Korea, which is also present with its know-how and ideas. She indicated that all the Central Asian countries are more focused on their own identity-building rather than regional building. Overall the approach to the region needs to be flexible because a one-size-fits-all approach

does not work there. In terms of governance, she indicated that the EU has to move towards a bigger goal step by step. It has to be patient and work with the local people.

VI. Parallel session II

Topic 1: The future of the European Monetary Union (EMU) and the enlargement of the Eurozone

Chaired by Jakša Puljiz, Research Associate, IRMO

Speakers:

- *Iain Begg, Former Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science, LSE*
- *Michele Chang, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, College of Europe, Bruges*
- *Michael Faulend, Vice Governor at Croatian National Bank*
- *Ramunas Vilpisauskas, Professor, Vilnius University*



Iain Begg focused his presentation on the consequences of a prolonged period of low-interest rates for the euro. This policy destroys the motivation for savings and makes the banks unable to make profits. Therefore, it generates political opposition, particularly in Germany. Low-interest rates are usually defended by the argument that recovery is still very fragile and that there is a risk of deflation that would undermine price stability. However, the problem is that, if a crisis were to strike again now, the ECB would have very few tools to fight it. He noted that the problem today is that monetary policy lacks the scope to act, while structural policies are worthwhile but slow in delivering benefits. He added that, in recent times, various prominent EU politicians said that we need to have a fiscal complement to the monetary policy, but that there are

numerous political and economic objections to taking such approach at the national level. He concluded by noting that in order to strengthen the euro, monetary policy cannot be the only answer. In addition to it, a credible Eurozone fiscal capacity is now urgently required.

Michele Chang started her presentation by saying that, in order to overcome the crisis that the euro faces, the EU has to go further with its political integration. She noted that, historically, the monetary union was expected to make the ground for a political union much easier. In reality, beyond the European Central Bank, there was resistance by the Member States to the further centralisation of the monetary union. The euro crisis has led to the

creation of some new instruments in the realm of the monetary union, but as a rule, they all have inbuilt strong intergovernmental elements. EU politicians now talk about the fiscal union but, as noted, it has a very different meaning to different people. She concluded by saying that risk sharing, as opposed to risk reduction divide, has slowed further integration in terms of the euro area budget and the completion of a banking union. The monetary union and the political union, as indicated, are likely to be furthered only through some form of differentiated integration.

Michael Faulend presented Croatia's path to the monetary union and explained the primary reasons why Croatia is eager to join the Eurozone. The first reason is that the country is the smallest EU Member State which still hasn't adopted the euro as its currency. The second reason is that savings in Croatia are mostly kept in euros due to the instability which historically burdened the national currencies. The third reason is the high level of financial integration of Croatian with the Eurozone economies. In such an environment, he noted, any kind of independent monetary policy would be detrimental for the economy as a whole. Among the challenges that Croatia is facing on its path towards adopting the euro, he mentioned the building of fiscal space (capacity) in good times so that counter-cyclical policy measures can be deployed in times of crisis. Another challenge is the creation of a stimulating environment for the labour force while maintaining export competitiveness. Finally, he also mentioned the challenge of making progress in completing the Banking Union while maintaining the high capitalization of the banking system.

The last presentation on the Baltic States' experience in introducing the euro was by **Ramunas Vilpisauskas**. He stressed that the primary reason for joining the Eurozone was the history of fixed exchange rates tested under severe conditions of the Great Recession. In that sense, the introduction of the euro in the Baltic States served as the last step of exiting the 2009 crisis. Other important factors behind the decision to introduce the euro were the flexibility of domestic businesses and the structural fiscal surpluses in these countries. Last but not least, since their accession to the EU, all three countries managed to achieve extremely fast convergence within the EU, which helped to introduce the single currency. In conclusion, Professor Vilpisauskas noted that the earnings from losing the currency exchange were overestimated and that the period when prices were indicated in two currencies needed to be longer.

Topic 2: Socio-demographic and migration aspects – towards a balanced EU development

Chaired by Hrvoje Butković, Senior Research Associate, IRMO

Speakers:

- *Carmen González Enríquez, Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid*
- *Jaap de Zwaan, Secretary General of TEPSA, Professor, Erasmus University Rotterdam*
- *Adriaan Schout, Senior Research Fellow and Coordinator Europe, Clingendael Institute*

- *Ivan Rimac, Professor, Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb*



As the moderator, **Hrvoje Butković** underlined that demographic and migration challenges represent an important part of the Croatian Presidency priorities. He noted that the panel would focus on the possibilities for mitigating the economic consequences of the demographic crisis which is destabilizing the labour market across the EU.

According to **Carmen González Enríquez**, the problem in Europe is how to maintain the pension system with the current age pyramid structure. The solution to this problem cannot be achieved only through demographic tools. On the other hand, the problem with the current spontaneous migrants from Africa is that their qualifications are low and it is very hard to integrate them into the European labour market. She noted that the whole debate in Europe concerning migration is extremely polarized and unproductive. In continuation, she mentioned that the African population is going to double in three decades, while the divergence in income between Europe and Africa is still increasing. In the best-case scenario, Europe will receive 30 million African migrants by 2050 but it is currently doing very little to prepare for their integration. In order to increase the return of irregular migrants to Africa, the EU needs to increase its economic presence in Africa and create the networks to allow confidence-building and political communication, which currently do not exist. One of the things that African States would like is the opening of channels for legal migration, which now affects a very small percentage of their labour force. She concluded by saying that Europe must also focus on improving education in Africa, which would allow the successful integration of African migrants into the European labour markets.

Jaap de Zwaan concentrated on the need for developing a common legal migration policy in the EU context. One of the problems in that respect is that there is no common EU labour

market policy. As long as salaries, pensions, social security rights, and all these other areas are within national responsibility, the EU as an entity cannot do very much concerning the labour market. Mentions to third-country nationals even in the Lisbon Treaty are very vague and sporadic. Nonetheless, the EU has achieved a number of important legal instruments with regard to procedures, facilitation of migration, as well as the rights of third-country nationals who already have a legal residence in EU Member States. In order to make progress concerning legal migration, the dilemma is either to give more competences to the EU in this area or to coordinate much more between Member States. He noted that the EU can also profit more from the role and expertise of the European Commission, which has a lot of experience on how to overcome the current divides concerning the topic of legal migration.

Adriaan Schout noted in his presentation that the EU is facing an enforcement crisis, which is best visible when looking at the asylum system. He continued by saying that enforcement entails monitoring of the national implementation, monitoring its effects, and investigations. In the EU there is a difference between direct and indirect enforcement. Since the EU is based on a subsidiarity system, the first line of enforcement lies with the Member States. The second line of enforcement lies with the European institutions and the Commission in particular. However, in the practice, there is very little respect for these two lines of enforcement. What we see is the trend in the EU of moving towards direct control of enforcement, which is controversial and dangerous. There are lacking capacities both at the national and the EU level when talking about enforcement. More recently, in addition to the legal and political approach to implementing enforcement, a managerial approach has also emerged. It allows more funds for the countries which comply. However, for political reasons, when it comes to asylum and migration it often does not work. He concluded by saying that there are some areas that the EU has managed to regulate, such as food safety. Therefore, in order to strengthen enforcement concerning the asylum, we need to rely on good examples from other policy areas.

The presentation of **Ivan Rimac** indicated that almost every country that accessed the EU after 2004 faced the problem of losing its labour force to the more developed countries. In his opinion, we need a mechanism at the EU level to track the internal movement of the labour force in order to build a system to support the less developed parts of the EU. If we don't solve this, there will be no investments in these depopulated parts of the EU. He noted that importing the labour force from third countries entails costs in the adaptation of those people and that could only be provided by the Member States that have a strong production. The new Member States simply cannot afford it. In his words, those new Member States that are lacking from labour force could now only attract migrants from third countries with much lower standards of living. The solution, in his words, entails: i) tracking the free movement of the labour force within the EU; ii) enforcing discussions between the Member States about the aims of importing migrants from the third countries; iii) re-directing more investment towards education. The EU should include those who are willing to move from third countries

in its education systems. Some of them will stay and, as adopted citizens, improve the EU demographic pyramid while the others will return and change their own countries.

VII. Plenary session III: Future of the EU: Is differentiated integration a good answer to Euroscepticism? (Panel organized in the framework of the InDivEU project)

Chaired by Paul Schmidt, Austrian Society for European Politics – ÖgfE, Vienna

Speakers:

- *Frank Schimmelfennig, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor and Head of European Politics Group, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology – ETH Zürich*
- *Dr. Funda Tekin, Member of the TEPSA Board, Director of the Institut für Europäische Politik – IEP, Berlin, Project Director, Centre of Turkey and European Union Studies – CETEUS, University of Cologne*
- *Juha Jokela, Member of the TEPSA Board, Programme Director, Finnish Institute of International Affairs – FIIA, Helsinki*
- *John Stevens, UK Federal Trust*



According to **Frank Schimmelfennig**, some would say that differentiated integration reduces Euroscepticism because it allows those countries who want to proceed further with integration to do so, while others can be left behind. Others would indicate that differentiated integration does little to reduce Euroscepticism because it discriminates against some Member States and their citizens. However, since in most cases differentiated integration is not enforced upon the Member States but represents their own choice, it could be argued that it creates support for European integration both among the Euro-sceptics as among the Europhiles. In continuation, he presented the case of a 2015 referendum on ending the Danish opt-out in justice and home affairs. This was supported in Denmark by the mainstream parties, while the fringe parties opposed it. The referendum showed that most citizens opposed the ending of the opt-out system, so everything stayed as it was. The public opinion surveys implemented after the referendum showed that Euro-sceptics (winners) significantly increased their perception of the legitimacy of the EU. He concluded by saying that the Danish

case shows that differentiation can narrow the gap between Eurosceptic and Europhile citizens. However, it remains questionable if this temporary rise of confidence in the EU could be sustained.

At the beginning of her presentation, **Funda Tekin** indicated that, at first sight, differentiation could be viewed as a good tool for addressing Euroscepticism. However, there are some Eurosceptic parties that operationalise differentiated integration to their own means and ends. She also said that, when talking about Euroscepticism, we need to clarify whether we are talking about political parties or public opinion because these are different aspects. The question is always whether public opinion grasps the whole consequences of Euroscepticism. In continuation, she talked about the goals and work within the Horizon 2020 project InDivEU – Integrating Diversity in the European Union. She explained that the project identified two overarching narratives which both focused on how to achieve political unity in the EU. The first one developed around the 2004 enlargement. It was very much focused on the benefits of European integration and saw differentiated integration as something of a temporary duration. This positive perception has changed over the years. Today we have a different perspective where we still focus on unity, although divisions have emerged. The root cause for this second narrative lays in the fact that the Member States were differently hit by the crisis and had different perceptions on how to solve it. The optimism of the pre-2004 period promoted temporary forms of differentiated integration while the post-2009 period actualised more permanent forms of differentiated integration.

She concluded by saying that differentiation is an answer to Euroscepticism, but whether and in which form it is a good one is difficult to answer by looking at these narratives.

Juha Jokela talked about the EU's differentiated integration in the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). He indicated that, when looking at the Eurobarometer, it is clear that the citizens support the EU in its CSDP and CFSP. There are two priority areas within CSDP which are of particular interest to the citizens: terrorism and migration. The narrative in the EU has been that if the EU achieves some progress in these areas, this will provide some answers to Euroscepticism. Still, in reality, it has been very difficult for the Member States to move on in these policy areas. He continued by saying that even though some of the differentiated integration instruments in CSDP and CFSP have a treaty base, they have not been put into use. In the field of defence, PESCO was included in the treaty base in 2009 but only launched in 2016. It allows cooperation and even integration, but the question is whether it represents a kind of differentiation that was meant when the constitutional treaty was negotiated. Important cooperation in the fields of defence and security takes place on the margins and outside of the EU structures. One of such example is the role that the UK, France, and Germany played in negotiating the Iranian nuclear programme. He indicated that the proposal of the European Security Council to move to a qualified majority voting in the CSDP is not yet concrete. It remains unclear who will be included in this Security Council and how that would steer the EU's official CSDP.



John Stevens indicated that Brexit is proof that differentiation is not a successful policy concept. The essential question is whether differentiation is a delay or whether it is leading towards different outcomes. European integration, he indicated, can only work if its purpose is an ever-closer union. He argued that the path that led to Brexit was prepared through agreements to concede the British desire for opt-outs. In his words, the decision not to adopt the Euro, in particular, was a fatal moment that allowed Brexit to happen. Talking about the policy aspects, he addressed the issue of low growth in Europe which he argued is caused by the lack of a culture of risks in the markets. This is not allowing Europe to take advantage of huge economies of scale and, as such, it is fuelling the Eurosceptic sentiments. Referring to Euroscepticism itself, he indicated that on a rhetorical level it could be argued that even the Eurosceptic parties are not hostile to the European project and ideas per se, but to the European Commission, which is seen as an elitist institution. He concluded by saying that the critical part of the difference between federalism in the US and in Europe since the Treaty of Rome has been the poor status of the European Parliament compared to the US Congress. As long as the EU parliamentary context is anchored in the national level, we will have a major problem in addressing challenges such as the Euroscepticism.

VIII. Concluding remarks

Lucia Mokrá, Chairperson of TEPSA, Associate Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences of Comenius University in Bratislava



Lucia Mokrá thanked the IRMO and all the collaborators who cooperated with TEPSA in order to make the successful organization of the 24th Pre-Presidency Conference possible. She praised the fact that most panels and parallel sessions of the conference saw the participation not only of academics but also of politicians and people from the executive sphere. She made a quick review of conclusions from the various panels and parallel sessions. Referring to the first plenary session, she noted that the composition of the new European Parliament raises concerns about the growing influence of the Eurosceptic parties. In that sense, it should continually be underlined that the EU is a peace project which should not be taken for granted. Concerning the session on enlargement, she indicated her strong appreciation of its core message about the need for continuous enlargement. As noted, even some countries which are currently EU

Members do not fully satisfy all the existing enlargement criteria which need to be addressed when talking about the new enlargement policy.

The panel on connectivity addressed the issues of sustainable transport, energy, and digitalization in EU's Eastern Neighbourhood and Central Asia. There, the EU has Russia and China as very strong competitors, which should be taken into account when developing new EU proposals. Referring to the panel on the monetary union, she indicated that the euro is connected with the notion of deeper integration. She underlined the main message of that panel, which stated that the Eurozone is open for the Member States that fulfil all criteria. The message of the panel about demography and migration was that Europe needs to be more active outside of its borders in order to be able to address the root causes of migration. This needs to be done through the promotion of fundamental values of the EU, such as solidarity and human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. Addressing the plenary session on differentiated integration, she said that there are differences between Member States, as they are sovereign countries. In that sense, the EU has to find more effective ways of cooperation and to become more visible in the world. She concluded by saying that there are plenty of tasks in front of the EU concerning its research and citizens. The EU is a project that helps

every individual: therefore, if there is no interest from the individuals, the work of the politicians will not be sufficient to preserve this successful project. In the end, she wished success to the Croatian Presidency in addressing and communicating all of these questions.



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Zagreb EU Pre-Presidency Conference

EUROPE AT A CROSSROADS

28-29 November 2019, Zagreb

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THURSDAY, 28 NOVEMBER

9:30-11:30 **TEPSA Board Meeting**

11:30-12:30 **Registration and Lunch**

12.30-12.45 **Welcome and opening remarks**

- Velimir Neidhardt, President of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts - HAZU
- Sanja Tišma, Director of IRMO
- Jaap de Zwaan, Secretary General of TEPSA, Emeritus Professor, Erasmus University Rotterdam
- Türkan Karakurt, Director of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Zagreb

12:45 -13.45 **Plenary Session I: Priorities of Croatian EU Council Presidency**

- Keynote speaker: Andreja Metelko-Zgombić, State Secretary for European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia – MVEP
- Petr Kratochvíl, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations Prague, Recommendations for Croatian EU Presidency
- Debate with the keynote speaker
- Moderator: Višnja Samardžija, Emeritus Researcher, IRMO

13:45-15:15 **Plenary Session II: The new EU institutional reality**

- Vladimir Drobnjak, Foreign Policy Advisor to the Croatian Prime Minister
- Jim Cloos, Deputy Director-General, General and Institutional Policy, General Secretariat of the EU Council of Ministers
- Michael Kaeding, Former Chairman of the TEPSA Board (2016-2019), Professor, University of Duisburg-Essen
- Moderator: Petr Kratochvíl, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations Prague

15:15-15:30 **Coffee Break**

15.30 – 17.00 **Parallel Session I**

Topic 1: The prospects for EU enlargement on Western Balkans

- Florent Marciacq, Senior Fellow, Centre International de Formation Européenne – CIFE, Nice
- Florian Bieber, Professor, Centre for South-Eastern European Studies, University of Graz
- Irena Rajchinovska Pandeva, Associate Professor, Faculty of Law Iustinianus Primus, University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Skopje
- Moderator: Senada Šelo Šabić, Senior Research Associate, IRMO

Topic 2: Challenges for the EU connectivity in its immediate neighbourhood and in Central Asia - energy security and sustainability (Panel organised in the framework of SEnECA project)

- Maja Bakran Marcich, Deputy general director of DG MOVE - DG Mobility and Transport
- Sinikukka Saari, Senior Associate Analyst at the EU Institute for Security Studies – EUISS, Paris
- Alica Kizeková, Senior Researcher at the Institute of International Relations Prague
- Moderator: Ana Maria Boromisa, Research Advisor, IRMO

17:00-20:00 **TEPSA General Assembly**

20:30 **Conference Dinner (per invitation)**

FRIDAY, 29 NOVEMBER

9:00-10:30 **Parallel Sessions II**

Topic 1: Future of the EMU and further enlargement of the Eurozone

- Michael Faulend, Vice Governor at Croatian National Bank
- Iain Begg, Former Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, London School of Economics – LSE
- Michele Chang, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor, College of Europe, Bruges
- Ramunas Vilpisauskas, Professor, Vilnius University
- Moderator: Jakša Puljiz, Research Associate, IRMO

Topic 2: Socio-demographic and migration aspects – towards balanced EU development

- Adriaan Schout, Senior Research Fellow and Coordinator Europe, Clingendael Institute, The Hague
- Jaap de Zwaan, Secretary General of TEPSA, Professor, Erasmus University Rotterdam
- Carmen González Enríquez, Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid
- Ivan Rimac, Professor, Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb
- Moderator: Hrvoje Butković, Senior Research Associate, IRMO

10:30-10:45 **Coffee Break**



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10:45-12:45

Plenary session III: Future of the EU: is differentiated integration a good answer to Euroscepticism? (Panel organised in the framework of the InDivEU project)

- John Stevens, UK Federal Trust, London
- Frank Schimmelfennig, Member of the TEPSA Board, Professor and Head of European Politics Group, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology – ETH, Zürich
- Dr. Funda Tekin, Member of the TEPSA Board, Director of the Institut für Europäische Politik - IEP, Berlin, Project Director, Centre of Turkey and European Union Studies - CETEUS, University of Cologne
- Juha Jokela, Member of the TEPSA Board, Programme Director, Finnish Institute of International Affairs – FIIA, Helsinki
- Moderator: Paul Schmidt, Austrian Society for European Politics - ÖGfE, Vienna

12:45-13:00

Closing and concluding remarks by Lucia Mokrá, TEPSA Chairperson, Professor, Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University in Bratislava

13:00

Farewell buffet lunch

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Recommendations

FROM THE
MEMBERS
OF THE

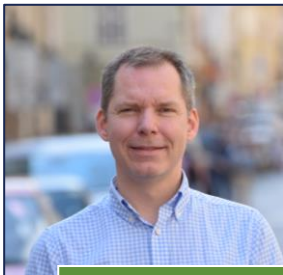
TEPSA NETWORK

TO THE
INCOMING

CROATIAN PRESIDENCY



The Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) has a tradition of formulating recommendations to the incoming Council Presidency. These recommendations are formulated by experts from the TEPSA network, without necessarily representing the views of TEPSA or its Member Institutes. They will be presented to the incoming Croatian Presidency on the occasion of the TEPSA Pre-Presidency Conference on 28-29 November 2019 in Zagreb. The conference is organised by the Institute for Development and International Relations, Zagreb (IRMO) and TEPSA, with support from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Croatia and the European Commission – namely from the Europe for Citizens and Horizon 2020 programmes (in the framework of the SEnECA and InDivEu projects).



PETR KRATOCHVÍL

Institute of International Relations, Prague, and TEPSA Board member, coordinated the process and composed the recommendations.

Introduction

November 2019

The Croatian Presidency will be defined by its ambitious programme, which is further complemented by the informal plans revealed by Croatia's Prime Minister Andrej Plenković. The Presidency faces a number of difficult challenges, ranging from the currently stalling enlargement process to the need to conclude the negotiations about the new Multiannual Financial Framework. Croatia is not a neutral mediator in these matters, as it has a clearly spelt-out position regarding both the enlargement process and, as a Friend of Cohesion, also the future budget.

The priorities of the Croatian Presidency are closely linked to the overall tenor of the Presidency trio, and the priorities clearly overlap with those of the other members of the Presidency troika, i.e. Finland and Romania. This also defines the four priorities we have chosen as we discussed some of the above-mentioned topics in our recommendations for the previous presidencies. The four policy areas on which our recommendations focus are:

- 1) the renewed attention to enlargement;
- 2) the novel focus on migration;
- 3) the strategy regarding cohesion as a sensitive socio-economic problem;
- and 4) connectivity as an overarching topic of utmost importance.



Rethinking the enlargement process and the Eastern Partnership strategically

HRVOJE BUTKOVIĆ

Institute for Development and International Relations, Zagreb



The current standstill regarding enlargement shows that the accession process needs to be seriously re-thought as it has become overly politicized and thus unpredictable. Instead of relying on the practice of member states blocking a decision on enlargement in the Council, the EU should focus on making the fulfilment of the membership criteria more transparent and on developing **new instruments to monitor the rule-of-law after the accession**.

The Croatian Presidency should strongly endorse the Berlin Process, which is still an initiative of only several member states, as it aims at **boosting regional cooperation among the Western Balkan countries and their EU counterparts**. The Process should be used as a tool to achieve goals of common interest and ensure the sustainability of reforms in these countries.

The Croatian Presidency should use the opportunity of the Western Balkan Summit in May 2020 to give a new impetus to the current enlargement policy. The French proposal for the reform of the enlargement methodology is a welcome development and should be further worked upon. Equally importantly, the Presidency should work on **resolving bilateral issues** between the Western Balkan countries as these tend to be among the major obstacles on the path towards the EU membership. It should also foster positive attitudes towards further enlargement, which at the moment is not very popular among the EU citizens. As the only SAP country that entered the EU Croatia possesses relevant experiences with the accession process.

The Presidency should work on improving the sharing of these experiences with all the countries in the region.

The high-level meeting between the leaders of the EU and the leaders of the six Eastern Partnership countries should be used to further the process of bringing these countries closer to the EU. The Presidency should insist

upon furthering the principle of a merit-based progress towards closer ties with the EU, which would be measured by reform progress. This would imply that **reform efforts are rewarded by reachable aims**. For example, the EaP countries which persist on the path of reforms should be offered a membership in the EU's Customs Union, Energy Union or Digital Single Market.

The accession process needs to be seriously rethought as it has become overly politicized and thus unpredictable.

Preparing for the future of the EU's migration policies

PATRÍCIA LISA

Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid

The Croatian Presidency is taking place in challenging moments for the EU project, but the start of a new Commission is always an excellent occasion for advocacy and strategic planning. Additionally, Croatia will be the last country of the presidency's trio, the other two being Romania and Finland, and will have to take stock of the last eighteen months of the working programme of the Council. The exercise can be a good departing point for the debate on the future of migration and asylum policies. The relative stabilization of the migration pressures to pre-2015 crisis levels did not help with the still persistent cleavages between the member states. The debates continued to be strongly emotional, with a subsequent negative impact on the EU's interinstitutional decision-making process. Nevertheless, the EU has managed to deliver partial reforms, with important outcomes for strengthening the EU's operational and coordination capacities, mostly through the relevant EU agencies: EASO and the EBCG.



The President-Elect Ursula von der Leyen is endeavouring "a fresh start on migration". A consultation process is taking place to prepare the communication of the Commission. Twenty years after their first inception in the EU Council conclusions in Tampere, the EU's migration and asylum policies will have to readdress the integrity of the European common borders in a new solidarity-based approach with an obvious interlinkage with the design of the Schengen system.

The Croatian presidency should second the Commission's consultation process on migration, connecting the results to the discussion about the next multiannual JHA guidelines.

Croatia is an important geostrategic front-line member state. The cooperation on border control and the partnerships with third countries on migration are among its main priorities. Within this framework, the Croatian presidency should second the Commission's consultation process with a **high-level debate on the possible fundamental axes for the future of the EU's migration and asylum policy and the protection of the common borders**. This work can also feed the discussion for the next multiannual JHA guidelines, which should ideally be approved by the European Council in the spring of 2020.

As for the partnerships with third countries, the recent setbacks in the enlargement process in the Western Balkans should not undermine the geostrategic importance of the region for the EU. The Croatian presidency is best placed to keep this regional cooperation high on the agenda and to **build bridges between member states and the Western Balkan partner countries to strengthen and interconnect their asylum and migration systems**, as well as their operational capacities and migration diplomacies. Furthermore, the current EU-Turkey partnership, which was established under very special circumstances in 2016, is going to have to be reassessed as the corresponding funding is going to run out by the end of 2020. The presidency can work through future sustainable solutions to continue to **strengthen the cooperation with Turkey** in migration matters.



Strengthening the EU's growth and cohesion

MAJA BUČAR

Centre of International Relations, University of Ljubljana



In line with the new Strategic Agenda of EU, the Croatian Presidency lists the balanced, sustainable and inclusive growth of the EU as one of its priorities. Implementing this priority is of utmost importance, but here the Presidency is also faced with a number of challenges, including the consequences of Brexit as well as the pressing need to complete the agreement on the MMF 2021-2027. The latter is crucial for starting the planned programmes aimed at strengthening the economic base of the EU and its competitiveness.

Balanced growth suggests a need to strengthen a whole array of policies which strengthen the cohesion of the EU. This requires not only significant financial support for the regional policy through the currently hotly debated cohesion funds but also an appropriate **long-term comprehensive strategy** in this area. The financial support for the Cohesion Policy should not be endangered in spite of other important commitments of the EU, like the new Green Deal. But the content of the regional policy needs to be reformulated as well so that it would be adjusted to the specific needs of the less developed regions. Thus their gradual convergence could be assured. The Croatian presidency is well placed to understand the importance of cohesion funds for regional development due to its own experience with the implementation of the on-going financial perspective. At the same time, the absorption capacity of the less developed regions, along with the continuous removal of barriers to a more efficient allocation of resources, deserves specific policy attention.

The financial support for the Cohesion Policy should not be endangered, other important commitments of the EU notwithstanding. Having said this, the content of the regional policy needs to be reformulated.

The consequences of Brexit along with economic uncertainties in global markets suggest that ensuring the sustainability of EU growth is not a simple task for 2020. In particular, the **deepening of the Single Market** in all its dimensions can be an important tool to offset short-term economic difficulties and enable the EU to follow an ambitious long-term development strategy. The EU model of growth, with its emphasis on quality

employment and inclusiveness, is based on **investing in its people** through upgrading their skills and education. This requires that the digital transformation the EU is undertaking be shaped in a way that embodies our societal values and promotes inclusiveness and not only based on the technicalities of the digitalisation. This is a matter to which the Presidency should pay appropriate attention.

Developing a comprehensive and rules-based connectivity

ROMAN VAKULCHUK

Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Connectivity is among Croatia's priority areas for its 2020 EU presidency. Sustainable, comprehensive and rules-based connectivity is at the core of the EU's 2018 Connectivity Strategy, and is now higher on the agenda than it ever was before in European history. The Strategy draws on the EU's four comparative advantages: a strong internal market; experience in creating cross-border networks; the capacity to build strong partnerships; and a robust financial market. By the end of 2019, the EU's approach to connectivity has been sharpened, concretized and better operationalized, giving the partners a clearer view of the EU's internal and external interests and development priorities.



Still, one particular challenge that poses risks to the connectivity agenda is the EU's limited anticipatory and adaptive capacity when dealing with internal problems (e.g., those related to Brexit, migration, and macroeconomic stability) and reacting to external ones (e.g., China's economic slowdown, the US-China trade war, global security challenges). In this situation, issues become more dynamic and multi-dimensional, problems more complex and actors more numerous. **Better anticipation of and preparedness for internal and external risks** requires higher flexibility on the part of the EU and its approach to connectivity.

For Croatia's presidency, we suggest prioritizing four connectivity dimensions for the EU relations with the Eastern neighbourhood, the Western Balkans, Asia and other parts of the world, which means elaborating roadmaps and launching concrete plans of action. First, the EU should boost its **soft infrastructure cooperation** in the form of educational mobility partnerships, human networks, knowledge communities, and cross-border business and cultural partnerships. This is the area where the EU has a distinct advantage compared to other global connectivity initiatives in which the soft infrastructure dimension is often downplayed and lags behind a massive hard infrastructure investment (e.g., China's Belt and Road Initiative).

Croatia's presidency should focus on four connectivity dimensions – soft infrastructure, decarbonization, building new networks, and awareness-raising and impact assessment – and elaborate roadmaps and launch concrete plans of action in these areas.

Second, the EU's connectivity measures that accelerate **decarbonization** are of vital importance. The world is facing mounting pressure from climate change. Given the EU's solid decarbonization track record, large epistemic capacity and experience, the EU is well placed to take a

leading global role in building and fostering bilateral, regional and international **decarbonization-based partnerships and networks**, and in promoting clean energy and environmental standards. Third, the EU should focus on building new bilateral and multilateral **networks in digital infrastructure and financial markets as well as in transport**, including the EU's Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T). Last but not least, it should expand *awareness-raising* and *impact assessment* measures across all the dimensions of the connectivity strategy. This is necessary for *building trust* internally and with external partners, achieving higher economic spillover effects, better anticipating risks and strengthening the adaptive capacity. The EU needs to identify what works and what does not, zoom in on success stories and failures, and broadly communicate this information to societies within Europe as well as those of partner countries, including through the networks built as part of the soft infrastructure cooperation.

John Pinder Lecture 2019

John Stevens

Treasurer and Trustee, The Federal Trust

First published at the webpage of the Federal Trust:

<https://fedtrust.co.uk/john-pinder-lecture-2019/>



Zagreb, 28th November 2019

It is a great pleasure to be back in Croatia after so long. What I have seen already since my arrival this afternoon constitutes the most eloquent exposition of the positive, transformative, peace and prosperity producing power of the European project. Our Croatian hosts will understand my saying this since the last time I was here was in January 1992, during your war of independence. I saw then things I shall never forget. Terrible things and wonderful things. And some of you saw, even then, your European destiny. That time remains the only occasion I have witnessed a European flag carried into battle. But we can talk of these things afterwards.

My purpose now is to speak in honour of the founder of the Federal Trust, John Pinder. He had of course a federal vision of European unification, by which he meant that the experience of the creation and early development of the United States of America had direct lessons for the creation and development of the European Union. To be precise he believed the European Union should adopt what he and many others call Madisonian Federalism, after the vision of the real inventor of federalism and principal architect of the US Constitution, James Madison. John founded the James Madison Trust before he founded the Federal Trust. So I thought I should talk a little about James Madison and his conception of federalism in America, before addressing the question to what degree that conception of federalism may be appropriately applied to the EU.

In doing so I am indebted very much to the recent, brilliant work by Noah Feldman, Professor of Constitutional Law at Harvard Law School, who has divided Madison's intellectual evolution into three distinct phases: 1786-9, the creation and ratification of the United States Constitution, when he was the ally of James Hamilton with whom he wrote "The Federalist Papers" and created the United States federal government: 1790-1803, when he became the opponent in alliance with Thomas Jefferson of James Hamilton's more centralising ambitions for the federal government: and 1803-1817 when first as Jefferson's Secretary of State and then as President himself he accepted some of Hamilton's ambitions and rejected others to create the compromise of Madisonian federalism which defined the United States up until the crisis of the Civil War and its replacement by the much more centralised Lincolnian federalism.

On achieving independence from the British Empire, the thirteen colonies faced a situation not unlike, well, Brexit: you see I will not be able to evade the subject. The issue was how to get Britain to open up the vital trade relations which independence had severed. They could not use military force for they were far too feeble. They could only act as one in trade matters using their common market as a lever to force concessions from the British and other

European powers, all of whom were protectionist and mercantilist. This common trade policy vested in Congress was the birth both of the United States and of federalism. It was Madison's invention, his achievement, as Supreme Court Judge Anthony Kennedy said, "to split the atom of sovereignty". To add to mainstream enlightenment political principles of the vertical separation of powers which had inspired the American rebellion against Britain: "No taxation without representation", a horizontal separation of policy, with trade decided in the centre by Congress and the Presidency, and effectively everything else reserved to the states.

It is important to record at this stage that though this arrangement came to be described as "federal", Madison and his then ally Hamilton actually described themselves as "nationalists" in that they both wanted more power vested in the centre in Congress and the Presidency. Madison, for example, wanted a Congressional veto over states' laws. Hamilton famously wanted a fully central government like that of Britain. Much has been written of the personal and personality differences between Madison and Hamilton. Suffice it to say that Madison was definitely not someone about whom it would be possible to write a hip-hop musical, whereas Hamilton definitely was. Hamilton had a genius for publicity in everything except for himself and it is to him that we owe the term "federal" which he devised to cloak the nationalist nature of the centralisation entailed in the new constitution to sell it to the states' legislatures and secure its ratification against the "confederal" states' rights interests: the inspired advocacy of "The Federalist Papers".

After ratification, Washington became President and Hamilton became his Secretary to the Treasury. There began a sustained effort to furnish the federal government with more powers, notably in finance, with a central bank, and a national debt, but also in defence, with the start of a national navy. Madison resisted these developments bitterly. He, like his fellow Virginia plantation owner Jefferson, with whom he now allied, shared an essentially agrarian, pastoral vision for the United States: a rural, pacific, isolationist republic. In sharp contrast to Hamilton's ambitions that the United States should become an industrial society on a continental scale. Madison did not prevent Hamilton's agenda, but he drastically curtailed it taking proper root, by leading a most effective opposition culminating in securing the Presidency for Jefferson in 1800 and for himself effective control over all American trade and foreign policy.

But then, in 1803, came the Louisiana Purchase. Madison did not find it hard to get Jefferson to recognize that they simply had to take up Napoleon's offer to double the size of the United States and were grateful to Hamilton's national debt that made this possible. Thereafter increasing trade restrictions imposed by the British blockade and the Napoleonic Continental System made mere trade negotiation without military capacity increasingly impotent. Madison succeeded Jefferson as President in 1809 and supported a further development of the navy. However, he balanced this by allowing the charter for Hamilton's Bank of the United States to lapse in 1811.

Shortly thereafter pressures for a renewed war with Britain increased as the Royal Navy harassed America's Continental European commerce. In 1812 Madison declared war on Britain in the expectation, which was widely shared, that the United States would be able to drive the British from North America. The two US attempts at an invasion of Canada which followed failed completely, revealing the gross inadequacy of the states-based militia as an

instrument of offensive warfare. Peace was restored, largely due to the British defeat of Napoleonic France removing the restrictions on trans-Atlantic trade, but Madison now accepted a greater federal role not just in finance, but he also allowed the re-establishment of a central bank in 1816 to manage the accumulated war debt, and defence with a proper national army as well as navy. And he was again saved by another genius for, this time, self-publicity, Andrew Jackson, the victor of the last battle of the war at New Orleans, which actually took place after peace had been signed in Ghent, that gave to the war the appearance of a successful resistance to British aggression. Madison left office more popular than any of his predecessors: he was hailed as initiating “The Era of Good Feelings”. Jackson of course, went on to become President in 1829, and can be seen to have completed Madisonian federalism after the distortions of the war of 1812 by removing the charter of the Second Bank of the United States in 1833.

As I said, John Pinder regarded Madisonian federalism as the appropriate model for a federal EU, so let me just run through a comparison between it and where European institutions now are. The present EU is more integrated than Madisonian federalism in one key respect: the European Central Bank. The United States did not establish the Federal Reserve until 1913. It is true that the US, even under Madisonian federalism, issued debt in its own name, though before 1861 this was very modest, but I would argue that the Quantitative Easing deployed by the ECB since 2010 is broadly comparable to that level of pre-Civil War federal financing. I think a case can be made that the role of the European Court of Justice is more significant than that of the US Supreme Court prior to the 14th Amendment of 1868.

The present EU has essentially the same powers over trade both internationally and in the regulation of inter-state commerce as were given by Madison to the US Congress. There was in the US no equivalent to the European Commission, but I think it is becoming increasingly clear that a bureaucratic body for guiding common policy in this, and certainly in other areas is structurally weaker than a more directly democratic one. The underdevelopment of the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, and thus of the status of the Presidency of the Commission compared with the US Congress, House of Representatives and Senate, and thus of the status of the US President, is the most striking difference between Madisonian federalism and the EU today, to Europe’s disadvantage. One must also obviously add to that the US having a proper military capacity under Madisonian federalism and a monopoly of external diplomatic representation.

John Pinder would certainly have wanted this comparison to be a spur for the EU to develop those areas in which it fell short of the level of integration provided by Madisonian federalism. He was, however, cautious of the areas, essentially surrounding European monetary union, in which the EU exceeds the integration provided by Madisonian federalism. As a strong advocate of the power of EMU, I often debated with him the potential merits of an EU equivalent to the US Treasury market, to little effect. This caution was the result of his conviction that the EU could never become a United States of Europe, because of the deep differences of history and culture and complexity between Europe and America. In essence that America was a new immigrant society aspiring to be a melting pot of culture, whereas Europe was an ancient rooted society determined to remain culturally as Victor Hugo described it “Un sac de billes” – a bag of marbles. America was, he believed, an intrinsically more homogeneous society, more naturally disposed to unity, than Europe.

Of course, Madisonian federalism broke down in America and was replaced, during and after the Civil War, with Lincolnian federalism, which, following its further iteration by Roosevelt's New Deal and Johnson's Great Society, has left us with the very powerful federal government that the US has today. One dominated by Hamilton's military and financial priorities, and perhaps even more by his national debt. But, contrary to John's analysis, this process of "Ever Closer Union" was not the product of the growing homogeneity of American society, but of its growing diversity. The dispute over slavery masked a divergence between agrarian and industrial interests, between established Americans and new immigrants, which in its modern version between finance and technology and the mainstream economy, and over race and American identity, persists to this day. Instead of the former division between South and North, these pit the two coasts of America against its interior. President Trump can be seen as a Jeffersonian or certainly a Jacksonian figure. Mr Bloomberg is very definitely a Hamiltonian figure.

The Civil War is the critical development which destroyed Madisonian federalism. Secession was always an option prior to Lincoln's decision to fight, rather than acquiesce in, the formation of the Confederacy in 1861. It is now largely forgotten, but in December 1814, with war raging against Britain, there was a convention called at Hartford Connecticut, in which the New England States, who were suffering particularly from the British naval blockade, sought to secede from the United States. Madison did not try to prevent the convention from taking place, nor did he brand its instigators, in the New England Federalist Party, as rebels and traitors. He did however press for peace with Britain, which was signed in April of the following year. Lincoln, on the other hand, did choose to destroy the Confederacy in 1861. Why? The answer is the key to what made the United States a world power.

Lincoln and the Republicans knew that the diversity of America had made any secession the precursor to the total dissolution of the United States. But they also knew that this diversity, if it could be contained and focussed to create a vast continental-scale integrated economy, would make Americans the richest and most powerful people upon Earth. They had before them the example of Latin America, where independence had led to fragmentation and foreign domination. They saw the rapacity of European powers, rising upon the incoming tide of industrialisation and populist imperialism, not just in Britain, but spreading to France, Germany, Russia. They had to ensure that the Confederacy failed.

And so, in conclusion, to Brexit. I could not avoid it. Britain's departure from the EU is Europe's Confederacy. There are many parallels in the divergence of economic, social and political principles between Britain and the EU today, and between the Confederacy and the Union in 1861. And Europeans today, like Americans in 1861, are in possession of the enormous opportunities of creating, and keeping for themselves, excluding the rapacity of outsiders, a gigantic continental-scale integrated economy, which could make them by far the most fortunate people on the planet. But that will only be if they stick together and Brexit is demonstrably a failure, and is at some point reversed.

To the surprise of many in England, the EU has stuck together very well in the Withdrawal Agreement negotiations and I am sure this cohesion will continue and guarantee the failure of Brexit. Brexit is anyway doomed by its own internal economic, political and cultural contradictions and by the divisions it has already incited, and will continue to incite, to an

increasing degree, within the United Kingdom. Obviously it will be for the EU to balance its perhaps contrasting interests of making sure on the one hand that Brexit fails and on the other protecting as far as possible its important trading and other relationships with the UK. But the EU would surely be well advised, at the very least, to adopt with regard to Brexit Arthur Clough's famous dictum on dealing with the terminally ill: "Thou shalt not kill, but need not strive officiously to keep alive."

And when Brexit has failed, and is reversed, we can see how Madisonian or not the European federalism which follows will prove to be.

Thank you.



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Zagreb EU Pre-Presidency Conference EUROPE AT A CROSSROADS 28-29 November 2019, Zagreb

SPEAKERS' BIOGRAPHIES

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DAY 1: THURSDAY 28 NOVEMBER 2019

Words Of Welcome



VELIMIR NEIDHARDT

Velimir Neidhardt (1943), architect, president of the Croatian academy of Sciences and arts since 2019. From 1998-2018 he presided academy's foundation. Diploma, master and Ph. D. earned at University of Zagreb, continuing his academic career there, to honor of professor emeritus. He spent one academic year 1974-75 at Harvard University as Baloković scholar. Then joined Skidmore, Owings and Merrill at Chicago architects-engineers office 1975-76. His Zagreb architectural works received many awards, specially National and university library, INA and Croatia insurance office headquarters, and recently Zagreb airport new passenger terminal. He presided the Croatian architects' association 1995-99 and later has become Associate of American institute of architects. In 1996 he has founded architectural design studio NEIDHARDT arhitekti in Zagreb leading its practice to present days.



SANJA TIŠMA

Ms. Sanja TIŠMA, Ph.D. in Economics, is the Director of the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) Zagreb, Croatia, as well as the Head of Resource Economics, Environmental Policy and Regional Development Department. Ms. Tišma has 30 years of professional experience as a scientist, project manager, particularly in the field of sustainable development, environmental economics and environmental policy. During the last ten years, Mrs. Tišma has been engaged as a lecturer at the Faculty of Economics at the University of Zagreb, the Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb and the Faculty of Geotechnical Engineering, University of Zagreb. Ms. Tišma is, among other memberships, the member of the New York Academy of Science, as well as the member of the Scientific Council for Transport and Environment of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.



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TÜRKAN KARAKURT

Türkan Karakurt has an M.A. in Sociology and Political Sciences from the Westfälische Wilhelms Universität Münster, Germany and postgraduate degree from the Institute for Development Studies, Berlin. She has been working for Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung from 1990 with postings to Southern Africa, Israel, Paris and Geneva. Her main areas of work are political and democracy education, migration policies and minorities rights. For one mandate she served as councillor in the city council of Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany. She has been directing the Zagreb office of the FES since 2018.

Plenary Session I: Priorities Of Croatian Eu Council Presidency



ANDREA METELKO-ZGOMBIĆ

Andreja Metelko-Zgombić is the State Secretary for European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia. Prior to assuming this position in 2017, Metelko-Zgombić held several prominent posts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Chief Legal Adviser and Assistant Minister for European Law, International Law and Consular Affairs. Metelko-Zgombić served as a representative and co-agent of the Government of the Republic of Croatia in arbitral proceedings and cases brought before the International Court of Justice and the European Court of Justice. Andreja Metelko-Zgombić is also the Senior Representative of the Republic of Croatia on the Standing Joint Committee on Succession Issues and the President of the Commission of the Government of the Republic of Croatia for Borders. She holds a law degree from the University of Zagreb.



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PETR KRATOCHVÍL

Professor Petr Kratochvíl is a Senior Researcher at the Institute of International Relations and a lecturer at several Czech universities. He is the Chairman of the Academic Council of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic as well as a member of a range of academic and scientific councils. Petr Kratochvíl represents the IIR in various international associations such as the Trans European Policy Studies Association or the European Consortium for Political Research. He has published extensively on European integration, EU-Russian relations, institutional reform and the EU enlargement, the role of religion in international affairs, and international relations theory. The book *The European Union and the Catholic Church: Political Theology of European Integration*, co-authored by Tomáš Doležal and published in 2015 by Palgrave Macmillan even won the prestigious Religion and International Relations Book Award of the American International Studies Association. He is also often called upon to present his analyses by various Czech and foreign media.

Plenary Session II: The new EU institutional reality



VLADIMIR DROBNJAK

Vladimir Drobňak is a Croatian career diplomat, specialized in a field of multilateral diplomacy, holding a rank of Ambassador since 1995. He served as the permanent representative of Croatia to the United Nations in New York (2003–2005 and 2013–2019) and as the permanent representative of Croatia to the European Union (2000–2003 and 2012–2013). Since 2005 (until 2012) he was the Chief Negotiator for Croatia's accession negotiations with EU. Before becoming a diplomat (in 1992) he was a journalist (since 1980); from 1988 until 1992 he was permanent correspondent for Croatian media from United States and United Nations, based in New York. Born in 1956, he graduated from the University of Zagreb's Law School.



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JIM CLOOS

Jim CLOOS is Dep. Director General for General and Institutional Policy at the General Secretariat of the EU Council of Ministers. Between 2001 and 2006, he was a close collaborator of High Representative Javier Solana. From 1995 to 1999, he was Head of Cabinet to the President of the European Commission and his G7/8 Sherpa. Between 1993 and 1995, he headed the Cabinet of the Commissioner in charge of agriculture. He took an active part in the drafting of the Maastricht Treaty during the Luxembourg Presidency in the first half of 1991. In 1983, he co-authored 'Les Allemands au coeur de l'Europe' (Fondation pour les Études de Défense Nationale, Paris). 'Le traité de Maastricht: genèse, analyse, commentaires' by Cloos, Reinesch, Vignes, Weyland, Bruylant appeared in 1993. In 2015, he was one of the co-authors of "National Leaders and the Making of Europe" (John Harper Publishing).



MICHAEL KAEDING

Michael Kaeding is Professor for European Integration and European Union Politics at the Department of Political Science of the University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany and holds an ad personam Jean Monnet Chair. He is a former Chairman of TEPSA (2016-2019), a Visiting Fellow at the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA, Maastricht) and Guest Lecturer at the College of Europe (Bruges), the German-Turkish University (Istanbul).



Parallel session I

Topic 1: The prospects for EU enlargement on Western Balkans

	FLORENT MARCIACQ Florent Marciacq is Senior Fellow at the Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) and Deputy Secretary General of the Vienna-based Austro-French Centre for Rapprochement in Europe. He cofounded and coordinates the “Western Balkans Reflection Forum” initiative, launched in 2016 in support of the Berlin process, and “Eastern Partnership Reflection Forum” initiative, launched in Minsk in 2017. Florent Marciacq holds a Ph.D. in political sciences from the University of Vienna and Luxembourg. He previously worked as an Associate Researcher at the European Governance Research Group of the University of Luxembourg, OSCE Researcher in residence in Prague and Guest Researcher at the Austrian Defence Academy in Vienna.
	FLORIAN BIEBER Florian Bieber is a Professor of Southeast European History and Politics and Director of the Centre for Southeast European Studies at the University of Graz, Austria. He holds a Jean Monnet Chair in the Europeanization of South-eastern Europe and is coordinator of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group (BiEPAG) and has been providing policy advice to international organisations, foreign ministries, donors and private investors. He is also a Visiting Professor at the Nationalism Studies Program at CE and has been a Visiting Fellow at the LSE and New York University, and held the Luigi Einaudi Chair at Cornell University. He recently published <i>The Rise of Authoritarianism in the Western Balkans</i> (Palgrave).



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IRENA RAJCHINOVSKA PANDEVA

Irena Rajchinovska Pandeva is an associate professor in political science at the Justinianus Primus Law Faculty at the Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. She is also vice-dean for science and international cooperation of the Faculty, Faculty Erasmus Coordinator, local coordinator of the CEEPUS network Ethics and politics in European context, and project manager of the Refugee Law Clinic at the Faculty.

Topic 2: Challenges for the EU connectivity in its immediate neighbourhood and in Central Asia – energy security and sustainability



MAJA BAKRAN MARICICH

Maja Bakran Maricich held various positions in the Croatian Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs between 1996 and 2016. Based in Brussels from 1999 until 2011, she was responsible for horizontal coordination of the Croatian accession negotiations. In 2011, she moved back to Zagreb and was responsible for setting up and management of the system of national coordination of European Affairs. In 2015 she became Assistant Minister for Europe in the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. On 1 December 2016, she became Deputy Director-General in the Directorate-General for Mobility and Transport, responsible for coordinating the activities related to investment, innovative and sustainable transport, in support of the Commission President's political priorities.



SINIKUKKA SAARI

Sinikukka Saari is a Senior Associate Analyst at the EUISS. Her area of expertise is the post-Soviet region: Russia, the Eastern Partnership countries and Central Asia. Prior to joining the EUISS, Sinikukka worked at the Policy Planning and Research Unit of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland; at Mission Analytical Capability Unit of the European Union Monitoring Mission



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	(EUMM) in Georgia, and in the Russia and Eastern Neighbourhood Programme at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs. Sinikukka holds a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.
	ALICA KIZEKOVÁ Dr. Alica Kizeková is a Senior Researcher at the Institute of International Relations in Prague in the Czech Republic and a Guest Lecturer at the Faculty of Society and Design at Bond University in Queensland in Australia. Previously, she was an Adviser to the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament in Prague and a Head of Department of Asian Studies at Metropolitan University Prague. Her research interests include Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Russian and Chinese regional politics, Central Europe, regionalism and great power relations in the Greater Central Asia and the Indo-Pacific, multitrack diplomacy, security and soft balancing. She is the author of <i>Soft Balancing in the Indo-Asia-Pacific: from ASEAN to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization</i> (Routledge, Forthcoming).



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DAY 2: FRIDAY 29 NOVEMBER 2019

Parallel session II

Topic 1: Future of the EMU and further enlargement of the Eurozone

	MICHAEL FAULEND Michael Faulend is Vice governor of the Croatian National Bank in charge of international relations. Prior to that he served as Executive director of International Relations Area at the Croatian National Bank (2004 – 2013). He was Assistant to the Executive Director of the IMF Dutch constituency (2001 -2003). He started his career as economist at the Research department at the Croatian National Bank in 1997. He holds a PhD in Economics from Zagreb Faculty of Economics and Business, where he also received his master's degree in International Economy as well as his undergraduate degree. He published a number of articles as well as book chapters. His current fields of interest are monetary systems, dollarization and economics of monetary unions.
	IAIN BEGG Iain Begg is a professorial research fellow at the European Institute and co-director of the Dahrenforf Forum, London School of Economics and Political Science. His main research work is on the political economy of European integration and EU economic governance, and since 2015 he has contributed extensively to analysis of Brexit. He has served as a specialist adviser to the House of Lords European Communities Committee for a number of inquiries and has undertaken a variety of other advisory roles.



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MICHELE CHANG

Michele Chang is Professor in the Department of European Political and Governance Studies at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. She has published extensively on euro area governance, including editing a recent special issue on European economic governance in the *Journal of Contemporary European Research* and the volume, *The Political Economy of Adjustment Throughout and Beyond the Eurozone Crisis* (Routledge). She is currently writing a monograph on the European Central Bank for Oxford University Press. She is a member of the TEPSA Board and previously was vice chair of the European Union Studies Association.



RAMUNAS VILPISAUSKAS

Ramūnas Vilpišauskas is a professor of the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University. From 2009 to 2019 he was a director of the Institute. In 2004-2009, he has worked as a Chief Economic Policy Advisor to the President of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus and Head of Economic and Social Policy Group, he has also been appointed as a Chief of Staff to the President (2006-2009). His main research interests include political economy of European integration, policy analysis of public sector reforms, international political economy. He has been a visiting fellow at several universities in the USA (Syracuse University) and Canada (Carleton University), has been a Fulbright scholar at the Columbia University, conducted research at a number of European institutions including European University Institute (Florence).



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Topic 2: Socio-demographic and migration aspects – towards balanced EU development



ADRIAAN SCHOUT

Dr. Adriaan Schout is Senior Research Fellow and Coordinator Europe. He combines research and consultancy on European governance questions for national and European institutions. He has worked on projects addressing issues of the EU presidency, EU integration and Improving EU regulation, amongst others. Prior to joining Clingendael, he served as an independent expert in the field of EU governance for the Economic and Social Committee (2006) and for the Directorate-General for Research of the European Commission, supporting the multilevel coordination questions in the process of writing the White Paper European Research Area (European Commission, 2007). He is Honorary Fellow at the Centre for Social and Economic Research on the Global Environment (CSERGE) of the University of East Anglia (UK). He graduated from Groningen with a master's degree in Economics and completed his PhD in Political Science at Leiden University. He has (co-)authored numerous books and international articles. He won the UACES price for 'Best Book in European Studies 2007' for *The coordination of the European Union: Exploring the capacities of networked governance* (Oxford University Press).



JAAP DE ZWAAN

Prof. Dr. Jaap de Zwaan is an Emeritus Professor of European Union Law at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam and former Lector in European Integration at The Hague University for Applied Sciences. He started his career as member of the The Hague bar in 1973. From 1979 until 1998 he worked for the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Hague (European Integration Department and Legal Service) as well as in Brussels (Permanent Representation of the Netherlands at the EU). In 1993 he obtained his PhD degree in Law at the University of Groningen with a thesis entitled 'The Permanent Representatives Committee, its role in European Union decision making'. In 1998 he was appointed full time professor of the Law of the European Union at Erasmus University Rotterdam. From



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	2005 to 2011 he was Director of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'. Since May 2011 he is again (part-time) Professor of the Law of the European Union at the Law School of Erasmus University Rotterdam. As from May 2012 he is appointed Lector European Integration at the The Hague University for Applied Sciences.
	CARMEN GONZÁLEZ ENRÍQUEZ In recent years she has taken part in several research projects on migration funded by the European Commission, including ITHACA (Integration, Transnational Mobility and Human, Social and Economic Capital Transfers), METOIKOS (Circular Migration Patterns in Southern and Central Eastern Europe: Challenges and Opportunities for Migrants and Policy Makers), CLANDESTINO (Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable) and POLITIS (Active Civic Participation of Third Country Immigrants), while she has also participated in the first European research programme on the current migration from southern Europe (New Emigration in Europe: The Effects of the Economic Crisis in Southern Europe and Ireland). She has furthermore conducted several research projects on immigration in Spain.
	IVAN RIMAC Ivan Rimac, professor of research methodology and principal of Study centre for social work, is active researcher with very long record in research of social and public policy. Participation in European Values Study project for two decades and membership of Methodological board of project gives him great experience on changing dominant values in Europe as well as political issues and need of new policy solutions. Nowadays interest is oriented on research of topic of education and employability in which he actively participates in new directions of EU policy in graduate tracking and policy of labour force movement.



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Plenary session III: Future of the EU: is differentiated integration a good answer to Euroscepticism?



JOHN STEVENS

John Stevens (64) was educated at Winchester and at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took a degree in law. In 1989 he was elected Conservative MEP for the Thames Valley and became Vice Chairman of the European Parliament's Economic & Monetary Affairs Committee. He conducted all the legislation for the creation of the Euro through the European Parliament from 1989 to 1999. He was the European Parliament's representative on the EBRD and on the European Monetary Institute which became the European Central Bank. He is the Treasurer of the Federal Trust, an educational and research foundation which is the UK partner of the CEPSA network of European policy think tanks. He contributes regularly to a number of publications on European politics and economics. Since the European referendum he has become closely involved in the campaign for another referendum and is now actively campaigning to stop Brexit. He speaks fluent French, German and Italian, and since his marriage to Isabel in 2017, some Spanish. His recreational activities include riding, fencing, playing the piano, the study of history and religion and travel, principally in Europe.



FRANK SCHIMMELFENNIG

Frank Schimmelfennig is Professor European Politics and member of the Center for Comparative and International Studies. He is also a Schuman Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute in Florence and chairs the Scientific Board of the Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin. His research focuses on European integration and, more specifically, integration theory, EU enlargement, differentiated integration, democracy promotion and democratization. His book "Ever looser union? Differentiated European integration" will be published with Oxford University Press in 2020.



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FUNDA TEKIN

Dr. Funda Tekin is Director at Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin. Her research fields include EU-Turkey relations, the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, Euroscepticism as well as differentiation of EU integration. Funda Tekin was the Project Director of the H2020 Project "The Future of EU-Turkey Relations" and currently directs the Jean Monnet Network 'Enhancing Visibility of the Academic Dialogue on EU-Turkey Cooperation' (VIADUCT), 'TRIANGLE – Blickwechsel in EU/German-Turkish Relations Beyond Conflict' (Stiftung Mercator) and leads research groups within the H2020 Project EU-IDEA. She is Senior Research Fellow at Centre for Turkey and EU-Studies, part of the Flying Faculty of the German-Turkish University and member of the Board of the Trans European Policy Studies Association.



JUHA JOKELA

Dr. Juha Jokela is the Director of the European Union research programme at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs. His current research interests include political implications of Brexit, differentiated integration (in EU's external relations), and EU's sanctions policy. His previous projects and publications include security developments in the Arctic, EU's role in the G20, EU's Asia policy, Europeanization of foreign and security policy, and Finland's EU policy. Previously Jokela has worked in the EU Institute for Security Studies as a Senior Associated Analyst, Advisor in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, and Research Fellow and Director of the Network for European Studies in the University of Helsinki. Dr. Jokela holds a PhD from the University of Bristol (UK), and he is a member of the board of Trans-European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA).

Closing and Concluding Remarks



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LUCIA MOKRÁ

Prof. Lucia Mokrá is the Dean of the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences at Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia. Her main research interests regard the wider concept of European citizenship, fundamental rights after the Lisbon Treaty, the principle of non-discrimination in EU law, humanitarian aid and development cooperation. Having served in the Board of TEPSA since November 2016, Prof. Mokrá has taken office as Chairperson of the Board since 1 July 2019 for a 3-year mandate, after being elected nemine contradicente by TEPSA's General Assembly in June 2019.

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