



IED RESEARCH NOTES

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AVANT-PROPOS

Dear colleagues, partners, and fellow democrats,

It is with great pleasure that I introduce you to this publication, which gathers some of our best research which reveals our common steadfast commitment to the values that underpin the Institute of European Democrats. As the President of IED, I am honored to present the fruits of this collective efforts, as we are deeply grateful to all of our contributors, supporters, and the scientific community that has stood by our side.

At the very core of our foundation's mission lies a fervent desire for sound political decisions, rooted in evidence and research, rather than driven by fleeting emotions or short-term gains. As the world face unprecedented challenges and become increasingly complex, our dedication to Humanism and Democracy remains unshaken.

Throughout the years, our foundation has had the privilege of working with a diverse array of researchers, ambassadors, elected officials and scholars, each hailing from various backgrounds and representing all the countries of Europe. This diversity is not only a source of strength but also a testimony of our commitment to inclusivity and openness. Unity in diversity.

In these pages, we reaffirm our dedication to forging strong bonds with the scientific community. You will find a QR code directing you to our full research.

We hope that this publication will serve as a valuable resource for policymakers, academics, and citizens, fostering informed debates and responsible decision-making.

I extend my heartfelt gratitude to every individual who has contributed to our foundation's journey. Your dedication, expertise, and passion are the driving forces behind our engagement. Let us move forward keeping at heart our humanistic values, knowing that these principles of compassion, respect, and the inherent worth of every individual will continue to guide us on the path toward a united, strong, and more inclusive Europe.

Thank you for your support.

Sincerely,
Francesco RUTELLI

EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

EU as a green normative power: How could the European Green Deal become a normative tool in EU's climate diplomacy?

Dawid ARISTOTELIS FUSIEK

Energy taxation and the need for reform

Conor ROCK

European Green Deal: no urban infrastructure, no sustainable development

Nicola BILOTTA

The European Green Deal: An opportunity across national borders

Domenico BOVIENZO

Key climate allies from the east: Redefining the EU climate diplomacy strategy towards Asia

Angeline SANZAY

Democracy and ecological transition: Towards a holistic and citizens approach

Tsvetelina TSVETANOVA-WIJSBROEK

The international dimensions of the European Green Deal: the EU as a leader of the climate change diplomacy?

Konstantinos PAPANIKOLAOU



EU AS A GREEN NORMATIVE POWER: HOW COULD THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL BECOME A NORMATIVE TOOL IN EU'S CLIMATE DIPLOMACY?

IED RESEARCH NOTE EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

The European Green Deal poses a blueprint for the goal of climate neutrality and an excellent tool of normative diffusion promoting the EU's interests in the global arena. The research aims to combine normative power with the Green Deal and formulate policy recommendations on the ways the EU could achieve a successful green diplomacy. The policy paper will first introduce the concept of normative power and investigate the key norms underpinning the EU's climate policy. It then analyses how the EU could employ the Deal as a normative tool to promote its climate aims and diplomacy. The EU should: a) ensure the unhindered implementation of the Green Deal on the European level; b) utilise it to maintain the discussion on climate change amid the hostility of the US-China and diffuse European goals and values; c) employ it to forge new bilateral and global alliances, alleviate tensions emerging from its implementation, and establish its role in the global climate governance as a green normative power.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/green-deal/03_Dawid_Fusiek_EU_AS_A_GREEN_NORMATIVE_POWER_IED_Paper_2021.pdf

Available in: EN



Dawid ARISTOTELIS FUSIEK *Alumnus of the Utrecht University and of University of Piraeus, has an eclectic background in European Affairs, International Relations and History. Over the last years, he has collaborated with various think tanks all over Europe, worked with the European institutions, and has published articles and research papers ranging from EU foreign policy and security studies to political philosophy.*

ENERGY TAXATION AND THE NEED FOR REFORM

The need for a standard EU energy taxation to mitigate against internal competition and the undermining of the policy objectives of the EU Green Deal

IED RESEARCH NOTE EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

In 2019, President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen announced that Europe would be the first climate-neutral continent by 2050. This was followed with the details of the European Green Deal. The ambitious plan outlines key areas the European Union must address in order to reach its climate-continent goals. A central element of this plan is reform in the area of Energy Taxation. With a focus on the Energy Taxation Directive of 2003. This paper examines three aspects of the Energy Taxation Directive. First, the problems with the Directive and its current implementation. Second, the obstacles faced in trying to amend the Directive and bring it in line with the European Green Deal goals. Third, six policy recommendations are made in which the paper argues are required in part or in whole to achieve the reform needed to align Energy Taxation with the European Green Deal.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/green-deal/08_Conor_Rock_ENERGY_TAXATION_IED_Paper_2021.pdf

Available in: EN



Conor ROCK is a practising Barrister in the Republic of Ireland. He holds an undergraduate degree in History and Politics from University College Dublin, and the Barrister-at-Law degree from the Honorable Society of the King's Inns. He has an interest in European Union Law and policy.

EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL: NO URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE, NO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

IED RESEARCH NOTE EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

The European Green Deal's ultimate goal is to transform the EU economy paving the way towards a new model of sustainable development. To achieve this goal, however, the European Green Deal needs to put at the core of its vision cities and their infrastructure as fundamental factors to address sustainability. UE urban governments manage 1/3 of public spending and 2/3 of public investments. Even though urban governments have been provided with a key responsibility for infrastructure provision, they often lack the capacity and resources to properly translate their sustainable ambitions into practicable solutions. The European Green Deal offers a unique opportunity to mitigate these key challenges and, finally, unlock the potential of cities. However, within the framework of the European Green Deal, an effort should be put in further engaging with local authorities while improving their capacity and channelling private investments in sustainable infrastructure projects.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/green-deal/16_Bilotta_IED_Paper_2021.pdf

Available in: **EN**



Nicola BILOTTA is a researcher at the Istituto Affari Internazionali where he works on political economy, digital economy and geofinance. He is also Senior Research Analyst at the Banker Research Team (Financial Times). He was the coordinator of the T20 Task Force "Infrastructure Investment and Financing" in 2021. He co-wrote the paper "Reviving and Reorienting Growth after the Pandemic: The Role of Local Infrastructure Investments" mentioned in the Annex of the 3rd G20 Financial Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting 2021. He co-edited the volumes "The Rise of Tech Giants. A game changer in global finance and politics" and "The (near) Future of CBDCs. Risks and Opportunities for the global economy and society".

THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL: AN OPPORTUNITY ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS

IED RESEARCH NOTE EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

The European Green Deal (EGD) is an ambitious agenda designed to transform the EU into a prosperous, sustainable, competitive, and carbon-neutral society by 2050. This strategy is intended to encompass a wide range of economic sectors, making it a potentially game-changing policy tool in the battle against climate change in and beyond European borders. However, EU member states are still divided on some matters such as those related to the role of Europe's future energy mix, the use of renewable energies, energy efficiency, and reduction of the greenhouse gas (GHG). Energy implications are also expected to have international effects in terms of global energy trade and energy security with possible geopolitical consequences. This paper attempts to discuss and explore some of the energy challenges and opportunities the deal sees on the horizon to develop and corroborate future policy discussion(s).

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/green-deal/11_Domenico_Bovienzo_2021_IED_Paper_2021.pdf

Available in: **EN**



Domenico BOVIENZO is a PhD candidate in Science and Management of Climate Change at Ca' Foscari University and he is also a junior research member in the RAAS Division at CMCC (EuroMediterranean Centre on Climate Change). He holds a Master of Research in "Science and Management of Climate Change" from Ca' Foscari University of Venice, MSs in Political and International Sciences (Curriculum European Studies) from the University of Siena and a BSc in Economics from the University of Verona.

KEY CLIMATE ALLIES FROM THE EAST: REDEFINING THE EU CLIMATE DIPLOMACY STRATEGY TOWARDS ASIA

IED RESEARCH NOTE EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

Climate change has been brought forward as a crucial international priority and the European Green Deal well identifies the need for a global response. Given the leading role that the EU and Asian countries want to play in global climate governance, it is crucial for the EU to redefine its Climate Diplomacy Strategy towards Asia and better recognize the Asian countries as key allies in the fight against climate change. The climate context in Asia — China, India, Japan and South Korea study cases — and response to the EU's climate dialogue vary greatly across the region. Although most Asian countries have signed the Paris Agreement, they are experiencing transitional difficulties and socioeconomic challenges slowing down the introduction of an efficient EU climate discourse in the region. Our analysis revealed the need for tailored and coleading strategies from the EU, as well as promoting its assertiveness and national cross-sectoral climate initiatives.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/green-deal/01_Angeline_Sanzay_Key_allies_from_the_East_IED_paper_2021.pdf

Available in: EN



Angeline SANZAY is a young professional working who recently joined the Junior Professional Programme for the EU Delegation in Taiwan. She graduated from the College of Europe in 2019 with a degree in European Interdisciplinary Studies and a specialisation in EU environmental and climate policies. She has already written several pieces of paper tackling different aspects of the EU policies in the fight against climate change.



DEMOCRACY AND ECOLOGICAL TRANSITION: TOWARDS A HOLISTIC AND CITIZENS APPROACH

IED RESEARCH NOTE EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

The report underscores the worsening impact of climate change on global crises in agriculture, fisheries, health, and water supply, while also intensifying social conflicts and population displacement. It delves into various strategies for addressing these challenges, including environmental optimism, economic growth for poverty reduction, and alternative perspectives like green growth and degrowth. Emphasizing the need for a balance between growth and degrowth, the report highlights democracy's crucial role in this endeavor. It examines international institutions in climate governance, advocating for increased citizen and civil society participation, accountability, and transparency. The specific context of climate change in Europe and France, including initiatives like the European Green Deal and local efforts, is analyzed. The report concludes by exploring the concept of democratic ecological transition, emphasizing deliberative democracy, digital technologies, ecological education, and sobriety as democratic principles. It addresses challenges such as short-term political cycles, insufficient representativeness, and the influence of lobbying in ecological transition.

Read the full research

<https://www.iedonline.eu/publications/2023/democracy-and-ecological-transition.php>

Available in: **EN, FR**



Tsvetelina TSVETANOVA-WIJSBROEK is an internationally recognized expert in sustainable development/ESG, she combines teaching experience at Jules Verne University in Amiens with senior management roles in the private sector in France and Bulgaria. Specializing in equality and diversity, she has developed tools and publications in France and served as the director of a business club, fostering collaborations with various companies. Her contributions extend to drafting reports, notably with the Organization Internationale de la Francophonie, and collaborating on reports from international civil society initiatives. Notably, she authored the first "White Paper on the Circular Economy and Sustainable Development in the Balkans" and initiated training programs on ecological transition in collaboration with European universities. Currently, she plays a key role in formulating strategies, policies, and measurement tools for ESG factors in the private sector.

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL THE EU AS A LEADER OF THE CLIMATE CHANGE DIPLOMACY?

IED RESEARCH NOTE EU'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

The Green Deal is an effort to transform the European economy and the European consumption patterns. However, because it consists of a fundamental change of the European energy system and because it ranks highly on the EU policy agenda, it will also have consequences on the relationships between the EU and its partners as well as it will have a serious impact on Europe's global policy priorities. This article presents the major international dimensions of the European Green Deal while examining the European Union's climate change leadership in the contemporary international system.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/green-deal/20_Papanikolaou_IED_Paper_2021.pdf

Available in: EN



Konstantinos PAPANIKOLAOU is a Phd student at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. His Phd thesis refers to the balance of economic power between the EU and the other great powers during the global economic crisis. He holds a BA in European and International Studies from the University of Piraeus and an MA in European and International Studies from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. His main research interests include Global Political Economy and the External Relations of the EU.

| THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

The power of EU soft law

Hava YURTTAGÜL

Towards a Dual Copernican and Sovereign Revolution?

Jean-Louis BOURLANGES

For a renewed EU leadership in its neighborhood

Mihai SEBE

European digital sovereignty

Daniel INNERARITY

The case for limited European sovereignty

Stefano STEFANINI

Sovereignty of the EU, its energy policy, and the strategic
compass proces

Ivo KAPLAN

Current challenges for SMEs and regional banks in
the European Union

Horst GISCHER / Bernhard HERZ

THE POWER OF EU SOFT LAW

EU's global leadership in promoting multilateralism through soft law

IED RESEARCH NOTE

THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

The increasing use of soft law tools by EU institutions has given rise to a number of legal issues, from their status within the EU legal order to their legal value. Soft law being a particularly attractive instrument to govern international relations, this paper will provide a legal analysis of soft law in EU external relations and illustrate its role in promoting multilateralism and solidarity during the COVID-19 crisis. A look at the CJEU case-law will show that, notwithstanding their lack of binding force, the adoption of EU soft law acts are not freed from the principles enshrined in the EU Treaties. Reforms in the decision-making process of such instruments appear therefore desirable in order to address the challenges linked to the mostly unregulated area of EU soft law.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/geopolitics-values/14-Yurttagul_THE_POWER_OF_EU_SOFT_LAW_-_final_.pdf

Available in: EN



Hava YURTTAGÜL PhD in law. After an LL.M. in European and International law, with a specialization in human rights law, and different work experiences in international organizations, including the European Parliament and the United Nations, she decided to pursue a doctoral degree in the field of European whistleblower protection, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Giegerich.

TOWARDS A DUAL COPERNICAN AND SOVEREIGN REVOLUTION?

IED RESEARCH NOTE THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

It is a legal paradox to talk about sovereign power in relation to the European Union. Since Jean Bodin, sovereignty has been defined as a power bound only by itself, a power that has what German jurists instructively describe as “competence-competence”, something that the European Union is far from being able to claim. In fact, in the language used by our leaders and commentators on public life, there is almost an equivalence between the concepts of European sovereignty and independence. It is not a question of confiscating the powers of Member States to the profit of the Union, but of putting the European Union and its member nations in a position to effectively resist the threats, constraints and competition that challenge, surround and besiege it from the outside. This entails that the leaders and citizens of the Union must adopt the principle of a dual Copernican and sovereign revolution, that profoundly modifies the balances of the initial pact concluded between Member States.

Read the full research

<https://www.iedonline.eu/publications/2021/strategic-research-papers/towards-a-dual-copernican-and-sovereign-revolution-bourlanges>

Available in: **FR, EN**



Jean-Louis BOURLANGES *President of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Jean-Louis Bourlanges has been a Member of the French Parliament for the Hauts-de-Seine since 2017. A professor of literature, alumni of the French National School of Administration, and former associate professor at Sciences-Po, he is an honorary Master Counsellor to the French Court of Auditors. He was a Member of the European Parliament (1989-2007) where he was President of the Committee on Budgetary control, General Rapporteur on the Budget, President of the Committee on Liberties, Member - and then President- of the EU-Poland Joint Parliamentary Committee. He regularly takes part in the podcast “Le nouvel esprit public” by Philippe Meyer, published on www.lenouvelespritpublic.fr*

FOR A RENEWED EU LEADERSHIP IN ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

Bring a new life to the Eastern Partnership
and the Western Balkans

IED RESEARCH NOTE THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

The research project would analyse the political similarities between the Western Balkan states and the Eastern Partnership states. Even if the states from the two regions have been receiving a different political treatment from the EU - with the European membership option only for the Western Balkan states - in fact the similarities between them are more important than the differences. The DFCTAs states from the Eastern Partnership have been engaged in a difficult reform process. Yet their strategic goal is to become even closer to the EU. As such they are comparable with the Western Balkan states from the point of view of political indicators and they deserve a revision of the EU policies towards them. Keeping the statu quo can only generate disenchantment in these states and a possible democratic regress. A new EU leadership could see here the makings of an early win for its current foreign and security policy as well as a sign of the strength of the EU's soft power.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/2021/IED_SEBE_EaP_WB_31032021.pdf

Available in: **EN**



Mihai SEBE PhD, is an expert in European affairs and Romanian politics, currently working at the European Institute of Romania. He is also a member in the Scientific Committee of the Institute of European Democrats. His area of expertise includes topics such as: the history of the European idea; populism; future politics. He writes extensively on European politics both at home and abroad.

EUROPEAN DIGITAL SOVEREIGNTY

IED RESEARCH NOTE THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

The concept of “European digital sovereignty” does not seem to fit well with the global nature of digitalisation, but a closer look at the phenomenon reveals why this term makes sense. First of all, digitalisation is not a process antithetical to territorialisation, contrary to the logic of states or incompatible with the defence of the interests of the European Union, especially at a time when the digital space has become a geostrategic battlefield between countries and, above all, different models. The proposal advocated here consists of understanding this term not only as an ad intra protection but also as a capacity to assert the European model of digitisation on a global scale.

Read the full research

<https://www.iedonline.eu/download/2021/IED-Research-Paper-Innerarity.pdf>

Available in: EN



Daniel INNERARITY is a professor of political philosophy, “Ikerbasque” researcher at the University of the Basque Country, director of the Instituto de Gobernanza Democrática and part time professor at the European University Institute (School of Transnational Governance). Former fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation at the University of Munich, visiting professor at the University of Paris 1-Sorbonne, London School of Economics, and Georgetown University. Recent books: *The democracy in Europe*, *Politics in the Times of Indignation* and *A Theory of Complex Democracy*.

THE CASE FOR LIMITED EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNTY

IED RESEARCH NOTE THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

As the European Union raises its level of ambition on climate change, “technological sovereignty” or “strategic autonomy”, the underlying question is whether or not it is endowed with sovereignty and to what extent. The EU has no equivalent on the international scene, present or past. European sovereignty exists as a byproduct of transfers of sovereignty from Member States. Thus, it has to coexist with national sovereignties and operates within the boundaries of the transfers. Although it lacks many of fundamental elements of national sovereignty – such as monopoly of force on its territory – the EU has extensive and effective powers in important areas – such as trade. The result is a special mix of weaknesses and strengths. The sphere of European sovereignty is likely to widen in response to emerging supranational challenges but will remain a limited sovereignty. When Member States are not up to the task nationally, the EU should take over with additional transferred sovereignty from them.

Read the full research

<https://www.iedonline.eu/download/2021/IED-Research-Paper-Stefanini.pdf>

Available in: **EN**



Stefano STEFANINI is a former Italian diplomat and writes extensively on international affairs. He was Diplomatic Advisor to the President of Italy, Giorgio Napolitano; Permanent Representative at NATO; Deputy Chief of Mission, Washington Embassy. He served in Perth, Western Australia, New York, UN; Moscow; Washington; Brussels, NATO. Throughout his career he built an extensive expertise in Transatlantic affairs, security and defence, Russia, European and Mediterranean affairs.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE EU, ITS ENERGY POLICY, AND THE STRATEGIC COMPASS PROCESS

IED RESEARCH NOTE THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

How effective are EU policies in addressing energy insecurity? What role do defense, security, and foreign affairs policies play? Can we achieve this without changing EU institutions or relations with Member States' legislative and executive bodies? Linking defense, security, and climate change mitigation is crucial. The United Nations could lead in implementing Paris Agreement goals. A common council with UN Security Council members and delegates from regional groups could manage these issues. Delegates should represent ecological, civic, or expert organizations globally. COP26 in Glasgow (November 2021) highlighted global interdependence in energy sources, supply security, and long-term climate goals (net zero emissions by 2050, China and Russia by 2060, India by 2070). We need to store electricity for uninterrupted supply, and avoid crises of unpreparedness like during the 2020 pandemic.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/2022/IED_Research_Paper_Energy_Security_Strategic_Compass_Ivo_KAPLAN_FINAL.pdf

Available in: **EN**



Ivo KAPLAN Graduated from the University of Technology (Prague, 1985) in power energy. Experience in Facility Management (1986, 1995), Foreign Trade (1987-1994), Investment Banking (1996-2001). Established the Union of European Federalists in the Czech Republic and promoted the EU through seminars, discussions, and conferences in the Czech Parliament (2001-2006). Prepared officials for the Czech Presidency of the EU at the Institute of Public Administration. Edited a handbook on the history of integration in Europe and institution structure after the Lisbon Treaty (2007-2009). Attended the European Alpbach Forum and its Summer School focused on EU Law principles (2010, 2011). Organized conferences bridging the gap between institutions and citizens on defense, identity, security, social peace, and energy supply issues in cooperation with the Czech Senate Board since 2012. Researched radioactive waste mitigation technologies, participating in OECD-NEA and IAEA events worldwide (2009-2020) and organizing three conferences in Prague (2012, 2019).

CURRENT CHALLENGES FOR SMEs AND REGIONAL BANKS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

IED RESEARCH NOTE THE EU: A SOVEREIGN POWER

The European Union confronts three significant challenges: the impending COVID-19 pandemic, the underlying climate crisis, and the lingering effects of the ECB's unconventional monetary policy. Various entities such as households, businesses, markets, and regions experience these challenges differently. SMEs, critical to the European economy, are particularly affected by the pandemic, as they are heavily involved in affected service sectors. Simultaneously, they play a crucial role in addressing the climate crisis through decentralized, local solutions. SMEs depend on local banks for support. However, regional banks face difficulties due to negative interest rates and growing regulations. An analysis reveals a contradiction between national/regional diversity and supranational monetary and regulatory policies. To promote sustainable development, subsidiarity should be applied, harnessing diversity for the benefit of all. Adapting and refocusing public support programs for SMEs is necessary to overcome pandemic-related challenges. In the recovery phase, strategies must be developed to address emerging issues, including high debt burdens, to prevent financial problems later. Improving SME financing and regional bank conditions is a top priority.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/2021/IED2_Gischer_Herz_en.pdf

Available in: **EN, DE**



Horst GISCHER serves as a Professor of Economics at the University of Magdeburg and managing director of the Research Center for Savings Banks' Development. His fields of interest are: financial systems, new empirical industrial organisation, and public financial institutions.



Bernhard HERZ is a Professor of Economics at the University of Bayreuth and managing director of the Research Center on Banking Law and Banking Policy. His research topics include: international and monetary economics, as well as international banking systems.

RESHAPING EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

Transnational lists: an opportunity for the European Union in strengthening participatory democracy and addressing the democratic deficit

Asier AREITIO

Digitalization and deliberative democracy: Can the European Union embrace and export new forms of democracy

Lutjona LULA

Cross-legitimacies between ideology and nation

Sara S. VELASCO

Think european, act local: Empowering the voices of local governance within EU policy making

Matteo BRIZZI

TRANSNATIONAL LISTS: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION IN STRENGTHENING PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND ADDRESSING THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT

IED RESEARCH NOTE RESHAPING EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

This paper explores the potential of transnational lists as a means to strengthen participatory democracy and address the democratic deficit within the European Union (EU). Transnational lists, a novel electoral mechanism, may enable EU citizens to vote for candidates from various member states, transcending national boundaries in the selection of representatives for the European Parliament. However, implementing transnational lists presents a set of challenges. Striking the right balance between EU-level and national-level representation is a delicate task, as the lists should not undermine national democracy while enhancing EU-level democracy. Drawing from lessons learned from the Conference on the Future of Europe, several recommendations emerge. Gradual implementation, flexible electoral systems, public awareness campaigns, and a robust legal framework can facilitate the adoption of transnational lists. Strengthening participatory democracy within EU institutions involves enhanced public consultations, transparency initiatives, stakeholder dialogues, and civic education programs.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/2023/european-democracy/2023_IED_Report_ASIER.pdf

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Asier AREITIO *president of the YDE, has a bachelor's in business administration and a bachelor in laws on the UPV/EHU. He is committed to the European politics and has taken part in many movements in favour of the integration and federalism of the EU. Nowadays he works as an advisor for the presidency of the Basque Country, in the Secretariat for European Union and Foreign Affairs.*

DIGITALIZATION AND DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY: CAN THE EUROPEAN UNION EMBRACE AND EXPORT NEW FORMS OF DEMOCRACY

IED RESEARCH NOTE RESHAPING EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

Digitalization and technological advancements are an embedded part of the reality our societies operate in and shall do so in the future. Nevertheless, digital advancement shall serve the improvement of citizen's lives. However, if unprepared societies risk backlash and abuses from governments, with the introduction of new technologies in doing business, besides other external threats. Yet, democracy is a citizen-focused concept. Digital advancement has increased the way citizens can be included in policy making, shaping their policies and holding governments accountable, if the former is equipped with the right set of skills. However, the current representative democracy has long received criticism if it is adapting and if it is suitable to the contemporary societies, we live in. To unfold this topic and the potential that the EU has to adopt new forms of democracy, this policy paper provides concrete recommendations informed by desk research and qualitative expert interviews.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/democracy-autocracy/2022_IED_Lutjona.pdf

Available in: **EN**



Lutjona LULA is a researcher and communications professionals with a focus on European Union and the Western Balkans. She pursued her graduate studies at the Joint Interdisciplinary Master in South East European Studies, University of Belgrade and Karl Franzens University of Graz. She holds a bachelor's degree in political science from University of Tirana. In 2012 she has been awarded a Research Scholarship at Georgia Southern University, USA. With regard to South Eastern Europe related engagement, she has been actively involved in the Western Balkans Berlin Process, Youth Forums and EU integration related events. She has been actively engaged in research/consultancies with several bodies such as OSCE Presence in Albania, Westminster Foundation for Democracy, EU-CoE Youth Partnership etc. Her fields of interest vary from political parties, democratization, societies in transition, South Eastern Europe and the EU enlargement.

CROSS-LEGITIMACIES BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND NATION

A study of the positioning of political parties
with respect to transnational lists in the EU

IED RESEARCH NOTE RESHAPING EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

Ideologies have historically managed to bring people together to advance their agendas and political objectives, but in the case of the EU, these have been crossed by national tensions. MEPs have to comply not only with their ideals, but also with the wishes of their national constituencies, failing to be an institution of ideological representation. To overcome this weakness, and render the EU a true representative democracy, transnational lists may be an answer to leave behind the limitations of national constituencies, advancing the concept of a European identity represented in a European constituency. The issue is so complicated that it has managed to split the vote of the European People's Party, with some of its MEPs voting in favour and some against. The proposal for transnational lists is still in a limbo, however its implementation may soon become a reality for which some issues remain to be addressed, especially those dealing with getting around nations as a limitation to the way we conceive politics.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/2023/european-democracy/2023_IED_Report_VELASCO.pdf

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Sara S. VELASCO is a political scientist by Universidad Carlos III (Madrid, Spain) with a postgrad specialization in intelligence analysis and gender studies. She works as an advisor to the Spanish Minister of Transportation, Mobility and the Urban Agenda, and as an associate professor of political economy and international politics at Universidad Carlos III. She collaborates as an independent researcher with the Institute of European Democrats.

THINK EUROPEAN, ACT LOCAL: EMPOWERING THE VOICES OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE WITHIN EU POLICY MAKING

IED RESEARCH NOTE RESHAPING EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

This paper aims to understand whether an empowered engagement of local and regional representatives in EU affairs would have a positive effect on European democracy. The first step is the adoption of the multilevel governance approach (MLG) to analyze the process of European integration. MLG, based on the interdependence of (European) governments at different territorial levels, provides proper attention to the involvement of local governors within European policymaking. Afterwards, three European programs are selected as examples of fostered dialogue between the local and the European decision-makers. Building Europe with Local Councillors, the Young Elected Politician Programme, and BridgEU analyzed through qualitative interviews to 5 key informants, attempting to understand the main goals, features as well as to find possible improvements. The result of such analysis will indeed take the shape of 10 policy recommendations and institutional reforms aimed to better involve local leaders within EU policymaking and, ultimately, to strengthen European democracy.

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SPREADING DEMOCRATIC VALUES

The Nagorno-Kkarabakh war: A new reality in the South
Caucasus and its implications for the EU

Hasmik KHACHATRYAN

Democracy “with Chinese characteristics”?

Laia COMERMA

European interference in autocratic processes: the prospects for
the promotion of civil society in the eastern partnership countries

Thibaut LE FORSONNEY

THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH WAR: A NEW REALITY IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EU

IED RESEARCH NOTE SPREADING DEMOCRATIC VALUES

In 2004 the EU launched the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), and since 2009 the Eastern Partnership policy has been in place as a specific dimension of the ENP. The EU policy towards the Eastern and Southern neighbourhood has been guided by the objective of having a “ring of friends” in the neighbourhoods. However, instead of the desired “ring of friends”, the EU has faced a “ring of fire” in North Africa and the Middle East, and in the Eastern Partnership area. The Eastern neighbourhood has been, indeed, highly affected by complex and prolonged frozen and armed conflicts; the recently erupted Nagorno-Karabakh conflict constitutes one of those. The devastating war in Nagorno-Karabakh, in fact, has entailed major geo-strategic reshufflings in the South Caucasus. Meanwhile, the EU’s weak response to the war has clearly demonstrated the Union is far from being a “geopolitical”; i.e. strategic-security actor in the region. As a result of the weak response, the EU is sidelined in the South Caucasus in strategic terms.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/geopolitics-values/36-Khachatryan_The_Nagorno-Karabakh_war_A_new_reality_in_the_South_Caucasus_and_its_implications.pdf

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DEMOCRACY “WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS”?

Analysis of the ontological and political challenge China poses for European democracy

IED RESEARCH NOTE SPREADING DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Against the traditional understanding of “democracy”, China claims to have put in place a system of democracy “with Chinese characteristics”. This paper argues that this poses a double challenge to Western democracy: first, conceptual or ontological, by challenging the claim to universality of traditional democracy and arguing there are multiple models none of which is superior to the other, but instead more fitting to a particular reality; and second, political, to the democratic “health” of Western political systems, through a variety of tools ranging from soft power to cyberattacks. The paper discusses the historical origins of democracy with Chinese characteristics, proceeding then to present the set of tools that the European Union has at its disposal to counter the democratic challenge that China poses. It concludes with a set of recommendations that would equip the EU and its member states to better deal with the complexities of China and its political system.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/democracy-autocracy/2022_IED_Calatayud.pdf

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Laia COMERMA is a PhD candidate at the Pompeu Fabra University and a predoctoral research fellow at the Barcelona Institute for International Studies. Her PhD dissertation, “The Influence of the EU–China Economic Relationship towards the reconfiguration of the Economic Regime of Global Governance”, digs deeper on the perspective of norms, rules and institutions that structure the foreign policy relation of economic cooperation between China and the European Union and how they are being reformed due to their interaction in the fields of investment, trade, and finance. She has published on the future of EU–China relations, Chinese influence in the EU, Chinese democracy and the Belt and Road Initiative. Her research fields of interest are foreign policy analysis, Chinese foreign policy, EU foreign policy, and EU–China cooperation.

EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE IN AUTOCRATIC PROCESSES: THE PROSPECTS FOR THE PROMOTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP COUNTRIES

IED RESEARCH NOTE SPREADING DEMOCRATIC VALUES

In a moment where attention is caught between reflections on democratic vulnerabilities inside Europe and reaction to the authoritarian atrocities emanating from Russia, many stories from the Eastern Partnership region risk being underappreciated in the EU policy community. The countries of Ukraine, Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Armenia have undergone immense changes thanks to their democratic citizens and despite authoritarian governments. The EU has been eager to support their growing civil societies but unable to protect them in the face of violent government crackdowns. Authoritarian actors often perceive active citizenries as a threat. When in government, they face a trade-off between good relations and dealing with their perceived weaknesses. With this background, the EU has sought to broaden the benefits of cooperation. Yet this has proved insufficient deterrence to regimes in a crisis. The EU needs new policies to better protect those who share its values abroad.

Read the full research

https://www.iedonline.eu/download/democracy-autocracy/2022_IED_Le_Forsonney.pdf

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Thibaut LE FORSONNEY has previously held internships at the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Manila and the German Institute of Global and Area Studies in Hamburg. He graduated with a BA in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from the University of Exeter, where he held research assistant positions in the Economics and Management Departments. His research interests include marine pollution, emerging economies, and ethnic conflict in Europe, Asia, and Africa.



CLOSING REMARKS

Dear readers, colleagues, partners, and esteemed members of the Institute of European Democrats,

It is with sincere appreciation that I conclude this valuable production of ours, highlighting the paramount importance of research in shaping the future of our institution. As the Vice President, I echo the sentiments expressed by our esteemed President Francesco Rutelli. Our foundation is rooted in the pursuit of knowledge and evidence-based decision-making, as the bedrock upon which our collective engagement rests. Undoubtedly, the role of our foundation transcends mere academic endeavors; it is a trail guiding our members and elected officials through their political path.

The research presented in this publication are not an end in itself but rather a means to empower those who champion our democratic values. As we stand at the threshold of European elections, a pivotal moment in our European construction journey, those scientific analysis become the compass guiding us towards a future made of justice, equality, and unity. I share with you my excitement about the QR code provided within these pages. By flashing it, you will be directed to the whole research, and have the possibility to delve deeper into the issues that concern you the most. We are dedicated to use technology to improve accessibility and avoid the alienation it can generate. Through this tool, we weave strong bonds with the scientific community, aiming to make knowledge not only accessible but also beneficial.

With this publication we intend to promote and reach the youth of Europe. They took active part in the elaboration of this note, as they are the key of a stronger and improved European Union. They stand at the forefront of the fights of our century against global warming, extremism and inequality.

Policymakers, academics, and citizens alike can now engage in informed debates and responsible decision-making. I therefore extend my gratitude to all contributors, supporters, and partners, who continue to shape our engagement with their expertise and passion. As we navigate the complexities of the world, let us march forward with our humanistic values, understanding that compassion, respect, and the inherent worth of every individual will guide our steps toward a united, strong, and more inclusive Europe.

Thank you for your unwavering support.

Sincerely,

Gabi SCHMIDT

Vice President of the Institute of European Democrats



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