Today there is a tension in migration policy between the historically rooted cultures of the nation states and the challenges that arise from the common European single market. On the one hand, there is the want of every single nation state to control its territory. On the other hand, the regulation of migration movements on the European level has increased in volume due to the creation of the European single market. Thus, a compromise has to be found between a general need for security and the necessity to regulate labor migration because of aging societies in Europe. In the ZEI Discussion Paper “Die Migrationspolitik der EU. Herausforderungen zwischen nationaler Selbstbestimmung und europäischer Konvergenz” (C 196), Ina Hommers analyzes different approaches developed by both the European nation states and the EU to cope with this challenge. As a basis for her study, she presents an evaluation of the migratory situation in all 27 EU member states.

Vasko Naumovski graduated with a Master of European Studies from ZEI in 2004. He continued his studies at “Justijan Prvi” Law School in Skopje and was awarded a Ph.D. in the field of Law in 2008. His research focused on the influence of the European Institutions and the enlargement process of the EU in the western Balkans. In the same year he became assistant professor for international and EU law.

The Master of European Studies at ZEI was founded with the objective of preparing its students for an international career in the field of European affairs. Along with Vasko Naumovski and Antonio Milososki many alumni have reached remarkable positions in national and international affairs. Glori Husi for example is advisor to the Prime Minister of Albania. Katharina von Schnurbein is spokesperson of EU Commissioner Vladimir Spidla. Patrick Schäfer is working for the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the EU. Many other alumni have succeeded in getting into EU institutions like the European Court of Justice or the European Parliament.

Tax revenue sharing between the states and the federal government and the fiscal equalization mechanism (Länderfinanzausgleich) together reduce differences in per-capita state incomes by 36.9 percent during period 1970 to 1994. This is one result of an empirical study by economists Ralf Hepp (Fordham University, USA) and Jürgen von Hagen (Bonn University) that was published in summer 2009. The ZEI Working Paper entitled “Fiscal Federalism in Germany: Stabilization and Redistribution Before and After Unification” examines the risk sharing and redistributive properties of the German federal fiscal system based on data from 1970 until 2006, with special attention to the effects of German unification.
ZEI's new project examines the meaning of globaliziation and globality from the perspective of social and cultural studies. In doing so, ZEI moves beyond the economic meaning of globalization. The project aims at redefining traditional approaches of universal and global nature based on a European perspective that have claimed universal validity for a long time. The interdisciplinary research project under the title "The shaping of globality in Europe: controversies in interpretation, the symbolization of meaning, humanities within a new era " has been developed with several professors of the Faculty of Arts of Bonn University. At the same time, it is based on the prior work of ZEI. Since its inception, the center has been exploring different aspects of European identity, as well as in comparison to other identities and within the context of the dialogue among civilizations.

As the first result of previous project colloquia, ZEI has published its latest Discussion Paper C 195 entitled "Die Gestaltung der Globalität. Neue Anfragen an die Geisteswissenschaften" (German). It summarizes the articles of nine professors of the Faculty of Arts at Bonn University and is edited by ZEI Director Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt and ZEI Fellow Prof. Dr. Tilman Mayer, Professor at the Institute for Political Science and Sociology at Bonn University.

Prof. Tilman Mayer, together with Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt, is coordinating the project in the academic year 2009/2010.

**ZEI Regional Integration Observer: The Gulf Region**

The second edition of the “ZEI Regional Integration Observer” in 2009 is dedicated to the situation in the Gulf region. The Gulf Cooperation Council, as the local integration organization, was founded in 1981 and has developed to an important actor in different policy fields. Articles analyze the costs and benefits of regional integration in the Gulf in general, as well as the prospects for a monetary union, the engagement of the European Union in the region and the foreign policy of the GCC. András Inotai, ZEI Senior Fellow and director of the Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, additionally takes a closer look at the conditions of an optimal currency area. Moreover, the RIO contains an interview with the director of international studies of the Gulf Research Center in Dubai.

**Study Group on the Regulation of European Health Care Markets**

More competition, less state in the health care system – Experts discussed the influence of European competition and antitrust law on the distribution of medicines in the national healthcare system

With a plea for stronger market structures in the health care system, the President of the Federal Cartel Office, Dr. Bernhard Heitzer opened a roundtable of the ZEI-based “Study Group on the Regulation of European Health Care Markets” on June 29, 2009 at the “Gästehaus Petersberg” near Bonn. The participants of high-ranking panels discussed the influence of European competition and antitrust law on the distribution of medicine in the national healthcare system. Lectures were also given by Dr. Christopher Hermann, Co-Chairman of the AOK Baden-Württemberg, the chairwoman of the 3rd Federal Public Procurement Chamber, Dr. Gabriele Herlemann, and Dr. Alexander Natz from the Federal Association of Pharmaceutical Industries. ZEI Director Prof. Dr. Christian Koenig lauded the added value of a regular exchange on the topics dealt with by the study group.

**MES and MERNI: Final Ceremony of the Class of 2009**

Final Ceremony of the Class of 2009 of the Master of European Studies (MES) and the Master of European Regulation of Network Industries (MERNI)

On June 26, 2009 the final ceremony of the Master of European Studies (MES) and the Master of European Regulation of Network Industries (MERNI) Class of 2009 took place at ZEI with 180 international guests. 42 graduates from 22 countries were honored for their achievements. They were welcomed by the deputy chairmen of the supervisory board of Bonn University, Dr. Georg Schütte, and the Mayor of Bonn, Peter Finger. ZEI Directors Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt and Prof. Dr. Christian Koenig expressed their gratitude to all supporters and friends of ZEI, especially the Europe-wide faculty and the sponsors of scholarships. Richard Crowe, European Court of Auditors and Prof. Dr. Ryszard Rapacki, Warsaw School of Economics, were awarded “best lecturer” of the Master of European Studies Class of 2009. Swenja Bartkowski, Federal Network Agency was awarded “best lecturer” of MERNI’s Class of 2009.

Senior Vice President of EnBW and MERNI lecturer Dr. Bernd-Michael Zinow concentrated his key note speech on the current European challenges to network industries. He especially stressed the issue of renewable energies, which he claimed will play an increasingly important role in Europe. At the same time, however, he stressed the significant new challenges that renewable energies will present for users and suppliers. Dr. Zinow expressed his conviction that the ZEI Fellows of the Class of 2009 are now well prepared for the international job market.
**Mediation as political task: Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, visits ZEI**

Dr. Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, meets with ZEI-Director Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt and Dr. Andreas Marchetti, Editor of the ZEI EU-Turkey-Monitor.

The task of the European Commission in ongoing accession negotiations consists not only in the technical conduct of negotiations, but to an increasing degree in the mediation between different expectations and demands attached to enlargement policy. This mediation is an important factor in adequately responding to European as well as to partner’s interests. During his visit to the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) on 24 June 2009, Commissioner Olli Rehn particularly acknowledged the moderating function of ZEI's EU-Turkey-Monitor, accompanying accession negotiations between the EU and Turkey ever since their launch in late 2005. The reinforcement of mutual understanding and recognition in this as well as in other policy fields with particular external implications plays a major role in any successful European policy formulation.

**ZEI Discussion Paper**

Wiebke Drescher: The Eastern Partnership and Ukraine. New Label – Old Products?

**ZEI Discussion Paper C 194/2009**

On 7 May 2009 the heads of state or government and representatives from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, EU member states as well as EU officials met in Prague to jointly present the “Eastern Partnership” initiative. This latest EU foreign policy instrument aims to upgrade the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). However, the new approach has not been discussed without controversy. In her Discussion Paper, written in the framework of the ZEI project “European Neighbourhood Policy”, ZEI Research Fellow Wiebke Drescher attempts to give an answer to the question if the “Eastern Partnership” can give fresh impetus to the relations between the EU and Ukraine in particular.

**ZEI Discussion Paper**

Aschot L. Manutscharjan: Der Berg-Karabach-Konflikt nach der Unabhängigkeit des Kosovo
In the framework of the ZEI-project on the “European Neighbourhood Policy” Dr. Aschot Manutscharjan, independent author and scholar, develops the idea that permanent threads from Azerbaijan and the intransigent negotiations prove that a right to secession, similar to the case of the Kosovo-Albanians, seems to have remained as the only option to secure the existence and the dignity of the Armenians in Berg-Karabach. A Turkish-Armenian approximation could contribute to a peaceful solution of the Berg-Karabach-Conflict. The option that Russia may recognize Berg-Karabach as it has recognized the Georgian provinces Abkhazia and South-Ossetia as independent states is not very likely. Rather, Dr. Manutscharjan argues, that Russia will continue to instrumentalize this conflict against Azerbaijan and Armenia to prevent Baku’s approximation to the US and to NATO and to tie Armenia as military ally to Russia.

The Master of European Studies at the Center for European Integration Studies wins Michaele Schreyer, former member of the European Commission, as a new lecturer.

Michaele Schreyer was member of the European Commission 1999 – 2004 and responsible for the European Budget and Anti-Fraud. In the Master of European Studies Program she is teaching the module „Public Finances of the EU – the European Budget“ in May.

Currently the Master of European Studies is running in its eleventh year. The class of 2009 is composed of 28 students from 15 countries. Renowned and high ranking experts with strong international experience teach in the fields of political science, law and economics and prepare the students for a career in European administration, business or politics.

The „Eastern Partnership“ of the European Union opens new potential for a stronger policy-orientation of European Studies in Russia in the context of pan-European policy processes, according to the perception of responsible personalities of the Center for German and European Studies at St. Petersburg State University. During a visit on May 6, 2009 the Russian guests expressed interest in the innovative structure of Bonn University’s Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI), especially its graduate training activities. In their conversation with ZEI Director Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt the Russian experts in European Studies asked for long-term cooperation with ZEI and underlined the growing interest in Russia in comparative regional integration studies.

**Partner France - 13th Europe Colloquy: Bilateral relations between crisis and relance**
Franco-German cooperation has always been subject to periods of better as well as of strained relations. Nonetheless, participants in the 13th Europe Colloquy (17/18 April 2009) realized that innumerable formal and informal structures linking the two countries guarantee the continuous functioning of Franco-German bilateralism. To a certain degree, different positions and even tensions seem to be fundamental for the Franco-German duo to assume its traditional role of preparing compromises on the European level. Dr. Claire Demesmay, German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) and ZEI Junior Fellow Andreas Marchetti discussed the modes and perceptions of the bilateral relationship. ZEI Junior Fellow Daniela Vogt presented the “ultraperipheral” heritage of France; discussions highlighted the different perceptions in France and in Germany in this particular context. ZEI Director Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt, having organized the event in Münstertal with financial support of the Hanns Martin Schleyer Foundation, expressed the expectation that despite the absence of an undisputed current “formative idea” for Europe, Franco-German relations will continue to advance the making of Europe.

Schriften des ZEI - New Book Release

Andreas Marchetti, Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik. Politikformulierung im Beziehungsdreieck Deutschland – Frankreich – Großbritannien.


Since 1998, the European Union has been enhancing its crisis prevention and crisis management capacities. Despite the continuous development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and the conduct of civil as well as military missions, the aims of major EU member states do not necessarily comply. Because of the intergovernmental setup of ESDP, the author investigates why and how the policy has been developed over the past ten years, focussing particularly on France, Germany and the United Kingdom, without, however, neglecting the role of EU institutions. The study first examines the motivations formulated on an inner-state platform in order to illustrate how these have been influencing the modalities to formulate the ESDP on the EU level. With regard to the concrete effects of the ESDP, the study reveals in how far the results and the national commitments correspond to the initial motivations. This enables a further systematisation of factors that can be considered essential for a member state to take a lead role within the EU. This systematisation hints well beyond the ESDP.
ECOWAS - ZEI Academy in Comparative Regional Integration successfully concluded

Simulating EU Negotiations: Participants with
Monika Pottgiesser (GTZ Program Coordinator)
and Matthias Vogl (ZEI Program Coordinator)

From 16 to 27 March 2009, the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) hosted successfully a mid-career-academy for high-ranking civil servants coming from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). This contribution to strengthen the West African integration process was conceptualized by ZEI together with German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and financially supported by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Leading personalities of the “national units”, which deal with ECOWAS affairs on the national level of the governments of each of the 15 member states, participated in the academy along with representatives of the ECOWAS Parliament, the ECOWAS Court of Justice and the ECOWAS Commission, based in Abuja (Nigeria).

The ECOWAS ZEI Academy in Comparative Regional Integration gave participants the opportunity to discuss the different facets of regional integration with renowned experts from academia, think tanks and politics. Furthermore, field trips to the European Central Bank in Frankfurt am Main and to the EU institutions in Brussels made it possible to take a close look at the mechanisms and daily business of regional integration in Europe.

The ECOWAS-ZEI-Academy in Comparative Regional Integration in March 2009 has been the first step of cooperation between the Center for European Integration Studies and ECOWAS.

The ECOWAS-ZEI Academy in Comparative Regional Integration 2009 was kindly supported by:

ZEI Discussion Paper

Frank Decker / Jared Sonnicksen: The Direct Election of the Commission President. A Presidential Approach to Democratising the European Union

ZEI Discussion Paper C 192/2009

A great deal has been written on democracy in Europe. But with the fate of the Treaty of Lisbon still uncertain, the issue of the EU’s democratic quality could hardly be more relevant than now. A great deal of the malaise in Europe can be boiled down to a continuing lack of citizen influence and mechanisms for making EU decision-makers accountable to the European electorate. In the following, the authors examine which model of government most closely coincides with the European Union. In doing so, they catch up on a widely neglected reform option for enhancing democracy in European governance: the direct election of the Commission President.

ZEI Regional Integration Observer: Research and Education

The first edition of the “Regional Integration Observer” in 2009 focusses on “Research and Education” in comparative
regional integration. On the one hand, the articles ask for the general challenges in this field and on the other hand, they present some examples from different world regions, like the "West Africa Institute" in Cape Verde and "CARICOM Park" in Barbados. Moreover, this RIO contains a number of short commentaries of renowned experts dealing with the question, why European integration issues are also of great importance in the academia outside Europe.

New Vice Rector of Bonn University

ZEI-Director Prof. Dr. Jürgen von Hagen has been elected as one of the new Vice Rectors of Bonn University.

ZEI-Director Prof. Dr. Jürgen von Hagen has been elected by the University Council as one of the new Vice Rectors of Bonn University, in charge of research and post graduate education. With the summer term 2009 he will assume his new office to which he will also bring his enormous commitment in developing ZEI in the past decade. The internationally renowned economist brings outstanding and comprehensive experiences in research and teaching to his new task.

ZEI Summer School in Macroeconomics: Heterogeneity in Macroeconomics

The purpose of the “ZEI Summer School in Macroeconomics” is to bring together young economists for a series of lectures covering the current frontiers of research in their area of interest and to create an opportunity for stimulating discussion and presentation of their own research to a group of international scholars. The next event under the title “Heterogeneity in Macroeconomics” will take place from 21-30 June 2009.

Schriften des ZEI - New Book Release

Thomas Demmelhuber, EU Foreign Policy in the Mediterranean and the Reform Process in Egypt. From Partnership to Neighbourhood.


EU foreign policy in the Southern Mediterranean aims at fostering prosperity, stability, and democratic reform, based on a consensus with the Arab partner countries in the region. In the Barcelona Declaration of 1995 and in various documents of the European Neighbourhood Policy both parties have formulated common objectives and established mechanisms to ensure their sound implementation. To achieve these ambitious interests there is a wide-spread consensus in academics and politics that a comprehensive socio-economic development and eventually democratic reform in the authoritarian strip of the Southern Mediterranean are essential preconditions. However, are the established strategies and instruments on the ground sufficient for the EU to implement this diverse agenda together with its partners in the South? Focusing this core
question the book aims at analyzing the genesis and results of EU-Egyptian cooperation since 1995 in the context of Egypt’s political, economic, and social reform process.

Dr. Thomas Demmelhuber earned his doctorate degree in Political Science from the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg. He was awarded a three-year scholarship sponsored by the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation in 2006. Furthermore, he participated in the Junior-Fellow-Program under supervision of Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt at the Center for European Integration Studies.

The academic roots of ZEI in the Political Science at Bonn University

50 years ago, the Seminar for Political Science and Contemporary History was founded at Bonn University by Prof. Dr. Karl Dietrich Bracher. The seminar – today named Institute for Political Science and Sociology - has become a pillar of the political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany. With his historical analysis of the dissolution of the Weimar Republic, the totalitarian system of Nazi Germany, and his research on contemporary history in the Bonn Republic and on history of ideas, Karl Dietrich Bracher has laid the foundation of this worldwide reputation. Today, Prof. Bracher is the only living member of the Order Pour le Merite from Bonn. With his description of the “post-national German democracy” he has analytically opened Germany’s post-war democracy to Europe and European integration. Bonn political scientists Hans-Peter Schwarz and Karl Kaiser were instrumental in shaping the initial academic concept for the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) during the 1990s. ZEI-Director Ludger Kühnhardt has dedicated a programmatic study to the work and effect of Karl Dietrich Bracher, his academic teacher. It appeared in a study published to commemorate 50 years of Political Science at Bonn University: Tilman Mayer/Volker Kronenberg (eds.), Streitbar für die Demokratie. “Bonner Perspektiven” der Politischen Wissenschaft 1959-2009, Bonn: Bouvier 2008, 645 pages.

Picture:
Current and past Political Science Professors at Bonn University at the ceremony celebrating the opening of the Political Science Department on February 5, 2009: from left to right: Wolfram Hilz, Ludger Kühnhardt, Christian Hacke, Karl Dietrich Bracher, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, Hans-Peter Schwarz, Karl Kaiser, Tilman Mayer, Frank Decker.

Lecture: The Turkish Armed Forces and Kemalist ideology

A. Marchetti (ZEI) and former brigadier general E. Lisec

“Can the Turkish Armed Forces still be the guardian of Kemalism?” This question was examined by former brigadier general Eckhard Lisec in the House of German History in Bonn on 27 January 2009. The joint event called “ZEI-
“Europadialog” was organized by the Deutsch-Türkische Gesellschaft Bonn (German-Turkish Association, DTG), the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations, DGAP) and the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI). Lisec quoted a wide range of examples – from the beginning of the Kemalist ideology to nowadays times – to substantiate his theses. Moreover, he could draw on experiences he had gained as Deputy Chief of Staff Support in the NATO corps in Istanbul. The lecture was followed by a lively discussion among the numerous attendants on two questions in particular: who has the power in Turkey today and what are the prospects for the future of the country?

Former Secretary General of the Council of Europe teaching at ZEI

The Master of European Studies at the Center for European Integration Studies wins Daniel Tarschys, professor in political science and public administration at the University of Stockholm, as a new lecturer.

Daniel Tarschys was Secretary General of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg from 1994 – 1999. Before, he held positions among others as Secretary of State in the Swedish Prime Minister’s Office and as Advisor in the Ministry of Finance. In the Master of European Studies he is teaching the module „Policies for Coherence and Structural Change“.

Currently the Master of European Studies is running in its eleventh year. The Class of 2009 is composed of 28 students from 15 countries. Renowned and high ranking experts with strong international experience teach in the fields of political science, law and economics and prepare the students for a career in European administration, business or politics.

New Book Release

Ludger Kühnhardt (ed.), Crises in European Integration


While the major trends in European integration have been well researched and constitute key elements of narratives about its value and purpose, the crises of integration and their effects have not yet attracted sufficient attention. This volume, with original contributions by leading German scholars, suggests that crises of integration should be seen as engines of progress throughout the history of European integration rather than as expressions of failure and regression, a widely held assumption. It therefore throws new light on the current crises in European integration and provides a fascinating panorama of how challenges and responses were guiding the process during its first five decades.

ZEI Discussion Paper

Meredith Tunick: Promoting Innovation in the European Union- On the Development of Sound Competition and Industrial Policies

ZEI Discussion Paper C 191/ Bonn 2009

The 2010 deadline is fast approaching for the EU’s Lisbon Strategy goal of being the most “competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth.” Given the current global economic environment, policy makers are challenged now more than ever to create policies that can sustain economic growth and promote competitiveness. The author suggests this may require fresh thought and presents an argument emphasizing a policy infrastructure based on innovation. The author calls on European policymakers to establish an adequate competitive environment where innovation activities are most likely to flourish. Works of Schumpeter and Hayek provide the economic reasoning for this argument.

National Positions in France and Germany
Despite the often discussed function as “engine” of the European integration process, the ideas of political actors in France and Germany do not necessarily comply with each other. A detailed identification of areas of accord, difference and antagonism is the central aim of the analysis of positions articulated in France and in Germany. To this end, German and French scientists work jointly together in the framework of the bilateral research project “France, Germany and European Crises”. Interviews conducted with decision makers and opinion leaders since summer 2008 serve as reference points for the analysis of national positions. The first results were presented during a Franco-German workshop on 16 December 2008 at Ifri (Paris). The involved scientists, working in Franco-German teams, had a first chance to meet during the workshop and outlined their individual contributions to the project. During 2009, the authors will look into the details of prominent policy areas, leading to a book to be published jointly by ZEI and Ifri in fall 2009. The coordinators of the project, Dr. Claire Demesmay (Ifri) and Andreas Marchetti (ZEI), pointed to the importance of these analyses for the generation of political scenarios in the second part of the research project.

**ZEI EU-Turkey-Monitor examines developments in the Caucasus region**

After the Georgian-Russian escalation in August 2008, new possibilities for the peaceful development of the region and the solution of its "frozen conflicts” need to be discussed. In the latest issue of the “ZEI EU-Turkey-Monitor”, former ambassador Geert Ahrens discusses the chances of a Stability Pact for the Caucasus. Likewise, Georgian, Russian and Turkish authors comment on the developments since summer 2008. In addition, the new issue of the “ZEI EU-Turkey-Monitor” offers an historical approach to the understanding of the Cyprus dispute, an analysis of the Commission's Progress Report and insights into the impact of the international financial crisis on Turkey.