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Introduction

This is the first issue of the “Lisbon Watch”, an annual report mapping the state of the art of and progress on research and teaching regarding the new legal foundations of the European Union: the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), referred to as “Lisbon Treaty” in short. As integral part of the LISBOAN¹ project, the Lisbon Watch offers a unique multi-disciplinary perspective on the Lisbon Treaty’s impact on integration studies.

37 LISBOAN member institutes from 27 countries have answered an open questionnaire which was distributed in December 2010. The contributions cover activities at the respondents’ own institutes, but also address research efforts and political debates in each country as a whole. While the focus is on the period of autumn 2010 - spring 2011, developments around the coming into force of the LT in December 2009 are also included whenever applicable.

Following the structure of the questionnaire, the report is divided into four parts. Parts one and two cover the teaching and research activities at each contributing institution. This pertains both to EU studies in general and the Lisbon Treaty in particular. Part three deals with the debate on the Treaty of Lisbon in the respective country. Finally, part four provides the contributor’s personal assessment of topical issues linked to the EU’s new legal foundation. Have there been remarkable/counterintuitive developments following the Treaty’s coming into force? What challenges will the EU have to face in the short term, and does the Lisbon Treaty offer a better framework to cope with these challenges? In which areas are pressures for continued treaty reform likely to emerge?

The Lisbon Watch is produced annually over the full life span of the LISBOAN project from 2010-2013. All contributions are synthesised by the project management team at the University of Cologne, Germany. Contact persons are Tobias Kunstein (tobias.kunstein(at)uni-koeln.de) and Johannes Müller-Gomez (johannes.mueller-gomez(at)uni-koeln.de). Building on experiences from the preparation of this first issue, the questionnaire as well as the production process will be reviewed and possibly adapted. Feedback is therefore welcome.

¹ LISBOAN (Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Academic Network) is a network of 67 partner institutions from all EU member states as well as Croatia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Turkey. Its aim is to strengthen cooperation between institutions of higher education and research in Europe with a view to teaching and researching the Treaty of Lisbon, the European Union’s legal foundation since December 2009. LISBOAN is funded under the European Union’s Lifelong Learning Programme, contract 177316-LLP-1-2010-1-DE-ERASMUS-ENWA, from October 2010 - September 2013. See www.lisboan.net for more information.

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Executive Summary

The first mapping of teaching activities at LISBOAN institutes has revealed a number of noteworthy features. Part one of the report shows that, quite unsurprisingly, the Lisbon Treaty plays an important role in teaching EU studies. While no partner institution actually dedicated a full course to the document, it was the basis for at least a number of sessions in most EU-related courses. Teaching material was routinely updated in order to take into account the new legal framework. Interestingly, no contribution explicitly mentioned the transitional periods which apply to a number of changes from Nice to Lisbon. This seems to indicate that both the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ rules still are of equal importance in the partners’ teaching of EU studies. Had the Lisbon rules already fully replaced Nice as the basis of teaching, these transitional exceptions would most probably have been referred to.

Almost all institutes supplemented their regular course programme with extracurricular activities, including (public) guest lectures, press conferences and roundtables. In a few cases, these events were also further disseminated using radio and TV (radio by a Bulgarian and a Spanish partner, television by a Swedish partner).

Turning to teaching methods, the contributions clearly show that “classical” forms of teaching, that is classroom-style seminars, are still prevalent as far as EU studies in general and the Lisbon Treaty in particular are concerned. However, this proposition needs to be qualified in two ways: Firstly, seven institutions report the organization of simulation exercises or moot courts. Secondly, although PowerPoint presentations have been hardly mentioned in the report, this can probably be attributed to the fact that they have become so common. It is, however, somewhat surprising that relatively new systems which allow the combination of electronic presentations and notes written on special paper or a tablet PC are reportedly used in a single case only. In terms of innovative teaching in the area of EU studies, there clearly is a need for spreading such methods; a task which the LISBOAN network is well-placed to tackle.

Interestingly, continuing and professional education play a role not only for those LISBOAN partners which, as training institutions, are explicitly dedicated to this area (European Institute of Public Administration in Maastricht, European Institute in Romania and also a number of research-focused institutes). Several universities (six in total) also reported to offer such courses in the reporting period.

Part two of the report deals with research activities of LISBOAN institutes. Their main areas of EU-related research are as diverse as the European Union itself. A slight emphasis on external aspects is observable, but topics also include democracy, European Neighbourhood policy, the institutional architecture and theoretical approaches to EU integration, to name just a few.

When asked which Lisbon Treaty innovations were of special interest to them, respondents most frequently mentioned the EU’s external action in general and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy as well as the European External Action Service in particular (20% of all responses, multiple answers permitted). Governance and the inter-institutional balance post Lisbon also attracted above-average attention (13%), as did the role of national parliaments against the background of subsidiarity (11%) and the reforms concerning Council and European Council presidencies (9%). Two additional institutional innovations that were mentioned several times are the solidarity clause and the citizens’ initiative. As far as specific policies are concerned and apart from external action, energy policy seems to be a relatively salient topic.

The vast majority of institutes participating in the Lisbon Watch have already produced publications on Lisbon innovations, including articles in leading academic journals such as the *Journal of Common Market Studies* or the *Journal of European Law*. A number of monographs has also been published which focus exclusively on the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty.

Part three of the Lisbon Watch analyses the Lisbon Treaty from a national perspective. The contributors focus on the academic debate in their country since the treaty's coming into force in December 2009, and link its innovations to topical issues that have been discussed in their respective political arena.

Corresponding to the long and tenacious process of redrafting the EU's primary law, ratification proved difficult in several countries. Although, in general, parliamentary votes showed stable majorities in favour of the new treaty (for example in Hungary, Italy or Sweden), frequent calls for public referenda also reflected deep cleavages between political parties. Austria and Germany are showcases of sporadic but sustained opposition that the Lisbon Treaty has been met with, including constitutional complaints.

The intensity of the public debate and media coverage also varied markedly between countries. For instance, discussions on the sovereign debt crisis caused strong criticism of treaty provisions (or rather, non-compliance with them) in some countries. In contrast, in Ireland, Greece and Portugal, economic difficulties seem to have blocked out any major debate on the Lisbon Treaty. In this respect it is interesting to see that in Luxembourg, the country with the highest per-capita income of the EU, the notion of 'transfer union' is avoided and the bail-out of those countries is not criticized as much as, for instance, in Germany.

Two other topical policy debates of the reporting period, namely immigration policy and energy policy, have been cited only infrequently as being linked to the Lisbon treaty. The former was mentioned in contributions from Denmark, Italy, Spain and Sweden; the latter in Hungary, Romania and Spain.

In part four, contributors optionally provide their personal assessment of Lisbon innovations and their past, present and future impact on policy debates. Overall, it is fair to say that the debate on the Lisbon Treaty has remained a national one. It is difficult to identify any overarching issues that can be characterized as defining a European perspective on the Lisbon Treaty. Obviously, the absence of a cross-border debate on the Lisbon Treaty is rooted in the persistently large differences between individual (member) states. Indeed, recent elections and court rulings indicate that the 'period of reflection', announced by the European Council in 2005 after the failure of the Constitutional treaty, has spawned a new treaty but failed to breathe new life into the process of European integration. The changes introduced are relatively modest and technical when compared to the seminal treaty revisions of the Maastricht Treaty or the Single European Act, and initial enthusiasm seems to have evaporated.

It is certainly too early to stick the label of "irrelevance" to the Lisbon Treaty, in a sense that "Lisbon leftovers" will be resolved by a new treaty in two or three years time. However, the fragmented debate underlines that there is a need to streamline research across borders and disciplines and to focus more on explaining the current and ever more complex legal framework of the EU to its citizens.

Finally, from a perspective of academic self-discipline, it is important to keep in mind that while legal texts such as the Lisbon Treaty certainly are a rewarding object of scientific interest, they are written by policy makers. Therefore, and notwithstanding all the valuable insights the Lisbon Treaty promises, its content should not be taken as the sole determinant of the academic agenda.

1. Teaching the Treaty of Lisbon

- 1.1) Please describe broadly the range of courses on the EU in general you (where applicable: your institution/department) offered in the reporting period.
- 1.2) Was there a course which focused exclusively on the Lisbon Treaty? Which aspects of the Lisbon Treaty came up in courses focusing on another topic how many times (can you estimate a percentage?).
- 1.3) Please describe any single events (lectures, roundtables; also for the interested public) which dealt with the Lisbon Treaty organised by you (where applicable: your institution/department).
- 1.4) Please describe any other means of teaching (electronic material, scripts, textbooks, ...) dealing with the Lisbon Treaty which were developed or used by you (where applicable: your institution/department).

Austria (University of Salzburg)

Courses on the EU in general

The Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies (SCEUS), University of Salzburg, offers the Master programme “European Union Studies” (currently 109 students inscribed) which focuses on the legal foundations of the European Union, the institutional structure, the socio-historic development, the macro-economic developments in the internal market and the dynamics of integration. The courses offered in this cover European law, European economic integration, history of European integration and politics of the European Union. Courses cover Common Market Law, the European Court System, International Trade Law and EU External Relations, EU Competition Law; and International and European Economic Policy but also courses on European Migration Law, European Asylum Law, European Environmental Law, Energy and Climate policy of the European Union, European Criminal law and Anti-Trust Law. Two special seminars simulate European decision making processes. In the winter term 2010/11 these courses were on the “Directive on Services in the Internal Market” and “Regulating the European Financial Markets as Reaction to the Financial Crisis”.

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Studying European integration is also a central aspect of the curriculum of Political Science at the University of Salzburg. Special courses offered in the teaching programme at the Political Science Department were “Problems of a Strategic Partnership: the European Union and the Russian Federation”, “Basic texts on European Integration” (preparatory course for master exam) and “CFSP: Eastern and Southern Europe” and “Concepts of Democracy”.

The Treaty of Lisbon as subject of teaching

All of the aforementioned courses focus on the situation as it is after the Lisbon Treaty entered into force and highlight the changes the treaty brought about in the framework of the European Union. There are of course some courses which particularly deal with the implications of the treaty.

European Polity Building and Legitimacy (Sonja Puntscher Riekmann) – 30 students

The seminar starts from the premise that European integration is a process of polity building rather than traditional international cooperation and raises particular problems of legitimacy. It is common knowledge that the citizens of the European Union have moved from “permissive consensus to constraining dissensus” (Hooghe/Marks). Contestation of EU decision-making may be interpreted as a sign of a lack of legitimacy, but also as an instance of a vital democracy. The constitutional debate leading to the Treaty of Lisbon gave special attention to raising the democratic standards.

Basic texts on European Integration (Doris Wydra) – 17 students

The aim of this seminar is to analyse the European integration basing on the articles of leading scholars on European integration, but also on original documents and speeches. Issues discussed with the students in this seminar concerning especially the Treaty of Lisbon are “the nature of the beast” after Lisbon, the constitutionalisation process, the Treaty of Lisbon as multilevel constitutionalism, the decision of the German Constitutional Court regarding the Treaty of Lisbon, institutional reform, the role of national parliaments after Lisbon and multi-level democracy.

Regulating the European Financial Markets as Reaction to the Financial Crisis (Doris Wydra, Christian Dirninger, Clemens Kerle, Werner Tschiderer) – 25 students

Basing on the framework of the Treaty of Lisbon the member states had to find decisions which could absorb the worst short-term effects and ensure the competitiveness of the European economy in the long run. This course especially highlights the role of solidarity, which has been introduced as a key term into the treaty of Lisbon, the discussions on the bail-out clause, the need for a European economic government and necessities of a treaty revisions for establishing a permanent mechanism for crisis management.

Concepts of Democracy (Reinhard Heinisch) – 25 students

In contemporary European democracies critics argue that the constraints imposed on government by market integration and the transfer of sovereignty to the supranational level reduce the political capacity of democratically elected officials so as to render them as powerless technocrats. In response the Lisbon Treaty has not only sought to increase transparency and accountability but also reaffirmed the power of member states to order its own affairs under the principle of subsidiarity. The Seminar examines the state of European Democracy in the Post-Lisbon Era.

Further activities

5*Public Lecture Heinrich Schneider “Verfassungsrichter – Totengräber der Europäischen Integration?” (Constitutional Courts – Grave Diggers of European Integration?)*

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the AuPSA, Heinrich Schneider, founder of the Political Science Institute at the University of Vienna, held a lecture on 20th April 2010 on the role of the constitutional courts for the European integration process. He critically assessed the judgment of the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany on the compatibility of the Lisbon Treaty with the German Basic Law and its implications for the process of continued integration.

ECSA-Austria Conference: Legal Questions on the Implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon (10th-11th June 2010)

After entering into force of the Treaty of Lisbon a number of legal questions arise which are of crucial importance for the functioning and the future organization of the European Union. Against this background, the ECSA-Austria, the University of Innsbruck and the University of Salzburg (SCEUS) held a conference on 10th-11th June 2010, at the University of Salzburg. Issues addressed were amongst others: the transformation from Nice to Lisbon; the democratic principles and the citizen’s initiative; institutional re-organisation; legal succession of the Union into the rights and duties of the European Community and the dynamics of the CFSP.

Press conference by Stefan Griller and Sonja Puntischer Riekmann on the occasion of the presentation of the book “Rechtsfragen der Implementierung des Vertrags von Lissabon” (Springer Verlag)

The press conference (21st March, 2011) centered on the main questions addressed in the book, discussing the European Union after the Treaty of Lisbon, the changes the treaty brought about, but

also the provisions which might prove to be problematic in practice. Has the European Union changed after the Treaty of Lisbon, is it now more capable to act, especially in times of crisis?

Civic Education

During the last semesters the SCEUS has put more emphasis on civic education in general. Lectures in training programmes were established together with the VHS Salzburg (Volkshochschule – adult education centre) on various aspects of European Integration, two courses have been especially held concerning the Treaty of Lisbon.

Austria (Diplomatic Academy Vienna)

A wide range of the courses taught at the DA in 2010-2011 dealt with the EU. The courses are trimester-courses (one trimester = nine weeks). Although the main teaching language at the DA is English, courses are also offered in French and German. The total student population is 152.

In Political Science and International Relations, Professor Wessels's course on the "Evolution of the EU System – The Institutional Architecture: Perspectives from the Lisbon Treaty" was attended by 18 students; the seminar "The European Union in the International System – the Lisbon Architecture for a Global Actor" by five. The Lisbon Treaty was central in the course and the seminar. Christian Franck dealt with the Lisbon Treaty in great detail in his "Analyse politique de la construction européenne". This course was attended by 25 students, the second course on European Foreign Policy by 38 students and the seminar on special EU issues by 15 students. The courses by Hanspeter Neuhold on "European Security after the Cold War: Concepts, Challenges, Institutions" (lecture) and "Old and New Options for Security in a Changing Europe" (seminar) include detailed discussions of CFSP and CSDP both before and after Lisbon. These courses were attended by 39 and 31 students and nine students, respectively. Markus Kornprobst's course on "The EU's Management of International Crises" was attended by 32 students. Ludger Kühnhardt's seminar on "Region Building: The Global Proliferation of Regional Integration" was attended by 13 students.

In the field of International and European Law, all EU courses taught by Hubert Isak, the Lisbon Treaty is central: "Institutional Law of the European Union" was attended by 80 students, "External Economic Relations and Foreign Policy in the EU" by 25 students, the seminar on the same topic by nine students, and his course on "The EU as an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice" by 13 students. The Lisbon Treaty was also central in Gerhard Hafner's course on the legal status of the EU as a global player, which was attended by 16 students. Georg Stillfried's course on "Selected Areas of Substantive EC-Law" was attended by 13 students. Gerhard Loibl's course on "International Environmental Law and Institutions" was attended by 52 students, his course on "European and Global Challenges in Environmental Law" by ten students, and the seminar on the same topic by 19 students. The course by Manfred Nowak on the "Protection of Human Rights" also deals with different standards and procedures for the protection of human rights developed by the EU and was attended by 14 students.

In the discipline of Economics, the lecture co-taught by Werner Neudeck and Georg Winckler on the "Economics of the EU" was attended by 27 students, the seminar on "Developments in South Eastern Europe" by seven students. Professor Kohler's seminar on the "Economics of European Integration" was attended by eight students.

In the field of history, Thomas Angerer's seminar on the "Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours" was attended by eight students, the seminar on "Europe as Cultural Space", convened by Alfred Pfabigan, by 30 students.

In addition to our Masters programs, the DA teaches a broad range of special courses on the EU and Lisbon. These include the three-weeks “Executive Training Programme in European and International Affairs for 16 Master Students from Israel, Palestine and Jordan” (one day seminar on “EU Institutions and Decision Making Processes” by Hans Brunmayr, two hour seminar on “Current Status of European Integration” by Hans Winkler, ½ day seminar on “The Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union” by Franz Josef Kuglitsch, and a one day workshop on “Negotiating with the European Union” by Mark Rhinard).

The four-week “Executive Training Programme on European Integration and Cooperation for Junior Diplomats and Civil Service Officials from the Southern Caucasus Countries and East and South-East Europe” is designed to familiarize 18 junior diplomats and civil service officials with the workings of the European Union in order to enable them to deal more effectively with the EU. The three-week training programme in Vienna was followed by a five-day study visit to Brussels, which included presentations and discussions at the European Commission, the Council Secretariat and the European Parliament.

In 2010-2011 the Diplomatic Academy, as part of a Consortium, developed and carried out successfully the specialised training on practical aspects of participation of Polish governmental administration in the EU decision making process in Warsaw and Brussels. In two-day-seminars participants dealt, among other things, with the most important tasks of the rotating EU presidency under the Lisbon Treaty. The DA also offered three-day seminars on negotiation techniques in the European environment and interpersonal skills.

Belgium (Ghent University)

The Treaty of Lisbon occupies a prominent place in the academic curriculum of the LLM programme in European law (Faculty of Law), on the one hand, and the Master in European Studies (Faculty of Political and Social Sciences), on the other hand. Even though there are no special courses on the Treaty of Lisbon as such, the impact of this new legal framework is of fundamental importance for a wide range of courses (for example EU institutional law, EU external relations, EU judicial protection, EU political integration, EU decision-making etc.). All course material has been updated in order to take into account the new legal realities after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. Students have been involved in simulation games and prepared a series of master papers on this topic.

On 29th January 2010, the European Institute of Ghent University organised a one-day seminar on the implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the practicing lawyer (<http://www.law.ugent.be/gandaius/gpv/100129-VerdragLissabon.html>). During this day, the academic staff of the European law department presented the major institutional innovations, discussed the consequences of a legally binding Charter of Fundamental Rights and reflected on the potential influence of the new Treaty in areas such as competition and trade law. The audience consisted of approximately 100 lawyers and practitioners.

The Treaty of Lisbon also formed a core theme within the international teaching activities of the Ghent University academic staff. Professor Peter van Elsuwege taught an introductory course on EU law after Lisbon within the summer programme of the College of Europe (Natolin campus) in August 2010 and provided a guest lecture on “The Legal Framework of EU External Relations after the Lisbon Treaty” at the University of Groningen (20th October 2010). Professor Inge Govaere provided a guest lecture on the same topic at Cambridge University (10th November 2010). On 25th February 2011, the annual “Thorbecke Lecture” – a formal cooperation between the universities of Ghent and Leiden – focused on the Treaty of Lisbon. After a lecture given by Professor Inge Govaere on the

autonomy of the EU legal order post-Lisbon, law students from both universities competed in a moot court on a hypothetical inter-institutional conflict between the Council and the Commission.

Belgium (Université Catholique de Louvain)

The Institut d'Études Européennes/UCL is associated with the Institut d'Études Européennes/Facultés universitaires Saint Louis (here referred as IEE/FUSL). Both Institutes belong to the Académie Louvain which groups the UCL, the FUSL and two other universities. Both organise together teaching programmes and research, conferences and colloquiums activities. They are supposed to merge when their respective university will merge into one single Université Catholique de Louvain. In the meantime, they act together as associated partners. The data presented hereunder refer therefore to the activities of both institutions.

The IEE/UCL and IEE/FUSL organise together two programmes:

- Master (120 ECTS) in European Studies (according to the Bologna regime),
- Advanced Master (60 ECTS) in interdisciplinary analysis of European construction.

Both programmes are attached to the Political Science with an interdisciplinary approach. In both programmes, the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty has requested adaptations in the courses on EU institutional law and EU external action. The growing role of the European Council, the rise in power of the European Parliament and the new decision making in the field of external action, and the new provisions concerning Trade policy, Common security and Defence Policy are matters of specific investigation.

The main themes related to the Lisbon Treaty and dealt with in conferences and symposia activities were as follows:

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Citizenship

- Symposium in Louvain-la-Neuve, 19th February 2010, on: “Les modes d’expression de la citoyenneté”, legal aspects including the “Citizen’s Initiative”, public opinion (Eurobarometers), the voting in the EP elections,
- Conference in Brussels (FUSL), 10th October 2010, by Martin Westlake, Secretary General of the EU Economic and Social Committee, on: “La démocratie représentative et participative”,

Belgian Presidency

- Conference in Brussels (FUSL), 10th October 2009, by Jean De Ruyt, Belgian Permanent Representative to the EU, on: “L’Union européenne à la croisée des chemins après le Traité de Lisbonne”,
- Conference in Louvain-la-Neuve, 6th October 2010, by Steven Vanakere, Belgian Foreign Minister, on: “Un premier bilan de la présidence belge à mi-parcours”,
- Symposium in Louvain-la-Neuve, 5th May 2011, on: “L’Europe après Lisbonne: quels défis pour l’UE après l’entrée en vigueur du traité?”,

European Social Model and Economic Governance

- Symposium in Brussels (FUSL), 12th-13th May 2011, on: “La crise, l’avenir des modèles sociaux en Europe et les réponses européennes”; topics like Strategy Europe 2020 for the employment and growth, Economic Governance, Social Model have been discussed (in

cooperation with the Département d'économie appliquée (DULBEA) of the Université Libre de Bruxelles,

External Action

- InBev-Baillet Latour Chairs on EU-Russia and EU-China relationship: courses included in the Master (120 ECTS) programme, conferences and research activities,
- Symposium, IEE/FUSL, programme EuropaPlus and the Institut de Prospective Économique du monde Méditerranéen (IPEMED), Brussels (FUSL), 29th March 2011, on: "L'Union pour la Méditerranée, bilan et perspectives, outils et méthodes".

Besides, continued training activities are organised:

- Programme EuropaPlus, IEE/FUSL: training for French high level military officers, basic knowledge about the EU institutions, specialised analysis of the Common Security and Defence Policy (two yearly sessions with about 20 participants),
- Programme International Master in European Studies, IEE/UCL and Belgian-Italian Chamber of Commerce in Brussels; it is an intensive full-time programme that provides the participants with the professional tools and practical competences required by the job market (two yearly sessions with about 30 participants).

Bulgaria (Plovdiv University)

As a basic element, Plovdiv University offers a regular lecture of the module on EU integration. The final part of the offered course (five hours) is dedicated to the Lisbon Treaty amendments and recent developments. Issues related to Lisbon Treaty developments form regularly part of MA courses in International Relations.

In April 2011, a team of the Plovdiv University participated in a on-air discussion of recent Lisbon Treaty features at the regional section of Bulgarian National Radio – Plovdiv. Besides, two round-tables with the Belgium Ambassador to Sofia, H.E. Mark Micheilsen, were organised. Some of the topics of the discussion covered the Lisbon Treaty. One round-table was held at the EU Permanent Mission in Sofia in December 2010, another one at the Plovdiv University in January 2011.

Croatia (Institute for International Relations)

The Institute for International Relations (IMO) is not offering a specific course on the Lisbon Treaty but the institutional issues covered by the Lisbon Treaty are an integral part of some courses held on a regular basis by IMO researchers within different university programmes. For example, within her course "Economy of Enlargement" which is part of the postgraduate studies "Advanced Master of European Studies" at the Faculty for Political Sciences, University of Zagreb, Dr. Visnja Samardzija presented and discussed key issues of the Lisbon Treaty and its relevance for Croatia's accession with the group of 15 students that are attending the course (December 2010).

Seminar "Introduction into the Lisbon Treaty", Bosnia and Herzegovina

The IMO took part in implementation of the seminar "Introduction into the Lisbon Treaty", organised by the Foreign Policy Initiative, Sarajevo on Vlasica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 30th-31st March 2011. The seminar was financed by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The seminar was organised for the members of legislative bodies from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its aim was to raise the level of understanding of the Lisbon Treaty impacts among the members of the secretariat and the commission

for European integration in the parliaments of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its entities. The project started in April 2010 and will last until September 2011.

Dr. Visnja Samardzija took part in the seminar and gave lectures on the role of the Lisbon Treaty for the accession and future membership of the Republic of Croatia. She focused her lectures on the Lisbon Treaty from the perspective of future EU member states, evaluated the importance of institutional changes for future member states, particularly those of small size, and focused on provisions that are relevant for the further enlargements. The seminar was attended by 45 parliamentarians and other government staff of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The two other lecturers were: Dr. Zoran Pajic, King's College, London and Professor Nevenko Misita, Faculty of Law, Sarajevo.²

Roundtable "European Diplomacy and European External Action Service - EEAS"

The Institute for International Relations (IMO) organised together with the Diplomatic Academy of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration (MFAEI) and in cooperation with the Hanns Seidel Foundation on 1st June 2010 in Zagreb the round table "European Diplomacy and European External Action Service - EEAS". The event was part of the joint project "Zagreb, EU – lunch & debate". Mr. Andrej Plenković, the State Secretary for European Integration at the MFAEI, elaborated the background of the EU goal to establish its diplomatic service that is being implemented with the EEAS. Main part of the round table was devoted to the lecture "EEAS – Challenge for the Lisbon Treaty?" delivered by Professor Eckart D. Stratenschulte, Director of the European Academy, Berlin, with Dr. Visnja Samardzija from the IMO acting as commentator. The round table was concluded by the words that in order for the EEAS to succeed it will have to inherit the spirit of the EU, namely the spirit of cooperation and solidarity.³

Public lecture "European Union after Coming into Force of the Treaty of Lisbon: Towards Federation?"

On 16th June 2010 the Institute for International Relations (IMO), the French Embassy in Croatia, and the association Alumni of the European studies (ALES) in cooperation with the Delegation of the European Union in Croatia organised the public lecture "European Union after Coming into Force of the Treaty of Lisbon: Towards Federation?". The lecture was held by Professor Jean-Denis Mouton, University of Nancy. It was part of the broader joint project "European Perspectives: French and Croatian Partnership for Promoting European Integration". The lecture took place at the EU Info Centre of the Delegation of the European Union in Croatia, and it was opened by H. E. Jérôme Pasquier the French Ambassador in Croatia and by representatives of other partner institutions. Dr. Butkovic from the IMO acted as commentator.⁴

Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)

The Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) is an independent research institution for international studies, financed primarily by the Danish state. Teaching is thus not one of its tasks. However, the DIIS does arrange many public seminars each year and the series of sessions "Lighthouse Europe" does in particular focus on EU external relations after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. "Lighthouse Europe" attracts prominent speakers from the worlds of academia, public policy, diplomacy, business and civil society to stimulate and generate debate on key issues of strategic foreign policy relevance for Europe.

² See: http://www.vpi.ba/bos/uvod_u_lisabonski_sporazum.html.

³ For more details, see: <http://www.imo.hr/node/892>.

⁴ The full report available at: <http://www.imo.hr/node/918>.

In November 2010, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lene Espersen, and the Finnish Foreign Minister, Alexander Stubb, participated in a public session under the title “Bouncing Back? EU Foreign Policy in a New World Order”. The effects of the Lisbon Treaty were widely discussed.

In February 2011 another seminar with focus on the EU’s external relations was held. This time the topic was the EU and the uprisings in North Africa and the audience engaged in a vivid discussion with the panel.

Most recently, the DIIS organised a large conference in cooperation with the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on “EU’s Eastern Neighbours” with the participation of the Commissioner for Enlargement and ENP, Stefan Füle. The conference brought together experts and practitioners in order to discuss different aspects of the relations between the EU and its neighbours in the East.

Estonia (University of Tartu)

At the University of Tartu the following institutes teach courses on the EU: Faculty of Social Sciences (Institute of Government Studies), EuroCollege, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Philosophy (Department of History), Faculty of Economics, Pärnu College.

During the period under observation, in the institute of Government Studies five courses (total 26 ECTS) related to the EU were taught. The courses on MA level were: “Theories of European Integration”, “Colloquium in EU Integration Theories”, “The member states of the European Union” and “European Union on the International Arena”. The course on BA level taught was basics of EU-course “European Union”.

In cooperation with the EuroCollege additional thirteen courses were taught (total 66 ECTS) “Historical dynamics of European-Russian Relations”, “EU External Relations and External Trade”, “Single Market Law and Policy”, “Economic Integration in Europe”, “EU Enlargement, Transition and Neighbourhood Policy”, “EU Competence and Decision Making in Different Policy Fields”, “EU Monetary and Fiscal Policy”, “European Union’s Regional Policy and Projects”, “EU Terminology in Three Basic Languages”, “The Official Documents and Databases of the European Union”, “EU Migration and Asylum Law and Policy”; three basic courses that teach EU from A to Z (total 11 ECTS), “EU Background, Policies and Future Perspectives” and “EU Governance and Policies (EU-INTRO)” (both in Estonian and in English). All courses in the EuroCollege are on MA level.

The Faculty of Law taught seven courses in total 30 ECTS of EU-related courses: among them “Legal Remedies in Europe” (6 ECTS), “MA Seminar in International and European Law” (3 ECTS), “Protection of Human Rights in Europe” (3 ECTS), “Seminar on European Environmental Law” (3 ECTS), “Developments in European Private Law” (3 ECTS), “European Contract Law” (3 ECTS), “Special Seminar on European and International Law” (3 ECTS), “European Union Law” (6 ECTS).

The Faculty of Philosophy (Department of History) taught two courses (12 ECTS in total) of EU-related courses: among them “Contemporary European Politics” (6 ECTS), “History of European Integration” (6 ECTS).

The Faculty of Economics taught two courses (total 8 ECTS) of EU-related courses: “Modern Tax Policy in Europe” and “Taxation in Estonia and EU”.

The Pärnu College taught one course of 3 ECTS related to the EU: “Economic Policies in the EU”.

There is no course that focuses exclusively on Lisbon Treaty.

The main issues related to the Lisbon Treaty in teaching EU are the changes that came along to the decision-making process and the changes in competences of the EU. All basic courses about the EU (both on MA and BA level) involve Lisbon Treaty introduction.

All course materials have been renewed to reflect the changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty. Renewing involved making changes into reading materials, PowerPoint slideshows and updating of electronic lecture notes. The text and excerpts of the Lisbon Treaty are used in materials both in EU introductory courses and special courses on single policy fields.

The University of Tartu is arranging annual events with Estonian members of the European Parliament and the members of the committee on EU-affairs of the Estonian Parliament; in 2010 the topics were related with EU-related knowledge (including updated knowledge about the Lisbon Treaty). The events are public with more than 200 persons attending every year.

Guest lectures by state officials are public and open also to those who are not currently involved in studies. Some of the guest lectures have been recorded for the wider public to get access to the information.

Finland (University of Tampere)

The range of courses offered on the EU in general in the School of Management at the University of Tampere (UTA) varied from EU institutions to integration theory; applications of integration theory to the enlargement of EU/Europe from a multidisciplinary perspective, advanced IR theory on European integration, and on to EU foreign and security policy, European-Russian relations, European energy policy and European law.

No explicit course on the Lisbon Treaty (LT) was arranged at the UTA. However, several aspects of the treaty were taken up in several individual courses in different disciplines. In politics and international relations, Jean Monnet Professor Pami Aalto coordinated the multidisciplinary module “Jean Monnet Module on European Integration and Enlargement” (autumn 2010), and himself offered a course on “External and Internal Aspects of European Integration”, including the effects of the Lisbon treaty regarding the creation of the EU external service and decision-making in the field of foreign and security policy (spring 2011). Dr. Mikko Vähä-Sipilä offered a course on “European Union and the Baltic Sea Region: a Pilot Case for EU Macro-Regions?” and a course on “The European Commission: Introduction to the Workings of the EU Executive EU Institutions”, the institution where he worked for several years (both courses in autumn 2010). Dr. Hiski Haukkala gave a course on “European Security” (spring 2011).

In Public Law, the study requirements of the programme, for which Pauli Rautiainen is the responsible teacher, include material on the Lisbon Treaty in modules on the fundamentals of public law; European law; basic and human rights; and the special course on European law. Approximately a fifth of BA theses is on aspects of the Lisbon Treaty. Dr. Jukka Viljanen taught two courses wherein the Lisbon Treaty and its amendments and effects were discussed: “International Law and the Protection of Human Rights” and “EU Charter of Fundamental Rights”. The consolidated version of the Lisbon treaty was made available electronically to the students.

In Regional Studies, the course “Europe in Transition”, coordinated by Professor Ilari Karppi, included several elements related to the Lisbon treaty.

Scholars and lecturers of the UTA were also invited to talk on aspects of the Lisbon Treaty in other Finnish universities and fora. For example, Professor Tapio Raunio was invited to give lecture courses

on “Borders and Identities in Europe”, Helsinki Summer School, University of Helsinki; “The European Union as a Political Phenomenon: History and Politics of European Integration”, University of Turku; and “Introduction to the European Union”, University of Helsinki. Raunio also gave a seminar talk on the European Parliament’s new role in the consultancy NetEffect.

France (CERI, Sciences Po)

The CERI is one of the research centres of Sciences Po. For this reason, it does not deliver its own teaching programs, but its researchers take an active part in the teaching activities of Sciences Po. They teach in particular

- within the College of undergraduates at Sciences Po;
- within the Paris School of International Affairs, in particular for the courses: EU Foreign Policy Making and Actorness: How to Manage Diffuses Diplomacy, European Foreign & Security Policy, the policies of widening and the policies of vicinity, The Trade Regime of the EU: Arguments and Settlements;
- within the Master of European Studies at Sciences Po, in particular for the courses France’s EU Policy in the Union of 27, minorities in Europe, Politics and Society in Central and Eastern Europe and Post-Soviet States, Foreign and Security Policy: What Kind of Power is the EU?, Trajectories of democratization and European integration: Central Europe and Balkans, migrations in widened Europe.

The students also follow courses on the legal and political aspects of the institutional system of the European Union, within this framework the changes operated by the Treaty of Lisbon are systematically approached.

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In addition, the CERI organises a great variety of research seminars and conferences on the European questions throughout the year. One can in particular note:

- “Europe, great power? To evaluate the performances of the European foreign politics” (29th March 2011) with Justin Vaïsse, Christian Lequesne, Bernard Guetta;
- “Europe after 2013: the day before the budgetary decisions” (26th November, 2010), with Danuta Hübner.

In addition, the CERI published two specific works on the Treaty of Lisbon:

- Chopin, T./Macek, L., “Après Lisbonne, le défi de la politisation de l’Union européenne”, in: *Les études du CERI*, n°165, CERI / Sciences Po, May 2010.
- Lequesne, C./Doutriaux, C., “Les Institutions de l’Union Européenne”, Paris: La Documentation française, eighth edition, 2011.

Germany (Trier University)

Courses on European Union affairs at Trier University in 2010/11

Winter term 2010/11:

- BA-level Lecture: “The Political System of the European Union” (Professor Joachim Schild)

- BA-level advanced course: “French Foreign and European Policy” (Professor Joachim Schild / Thomas Siemes, M.A.)
- BA-level advanced course: “The importance of Asia for the Foreign Policy of the EU” (Dr. Manuel Schmitz)
- MA-level course: “Citizens’ Attitudes towards the European Union” (Professor Joachim Schild)

Summer term 2011:

- BA-level advanced course: “Policy analysis: The environmental policy of the European Union” (Professor Joachim Schild)
- MA-level course: “Franco-German Relations in the European Union” (Professor Joachim Schild)
- MA-level course: “German Foreign Policy: Europeanization and Domestication” (Dr. Siegfried Schieder)

There was no course dealing exclusively with the Lisbon Treaty, but the introductory lecture on the EU’s political system and institutions covered major aspects of the institutional innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. The courses on French Foreign and European Policy and on EU-Asia relations covered central aspects of the changed EU institutional framework in the field of foreign and security policy.

Extensive Power-Point documentation accompanying the lecture “The Political System of the EU” covering and summarizing changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty into the EU’s primary law, especially with regard to the institutional setup and the procedures of the EU.

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Germany (University Duisburg-Essen)

In 2010/211, the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Duisburg-Essen offered the following courses related on EU history:

- Seminar: “Europe in the energy crisis of 1973/74”, Dr. Henning Türk
- Course: “European Integration and mass media: The case of the Marshall Plan”, Dr. Claudia Hiepel
- Seminar: “Historical consciousness in France and in Germany in comparative perspective”, Dr. Claudia Hiepel
- Research seminar, Professor Wilfried Loth

None of these courses focused exclusively on the Lisbon Treaty. However, the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy as well as the questions of a European public sphere, a European identity and the problems of legitimization in EC/EU’s policy making process were also set in a contemporary perspective. In the research seminar, participants discussed the emergence of the EC/EU as an actor in the Cold War and its aftermaths (with Dr. Angela Romano, London School of Economics) and the modernization of the Common Agricultural Policy during the 1970’s and 1980’s (with Dr. Carine Germond, University of Maastricht).

Furthermore, the Department of History of the University of Duisburg-Essen participated in several events of the “Year of Culture Capital of Europe” in Essen and the Ruhr area 2010. A brochure on “Europe: History and Culture” was published which discussed, among other topics, the image of the EU in public discussions and the teaching on Europe in school textbooks.⁵

Germany (University of Cologne)

The Institute of Political Science at the University of Cologne includes four Chairs. Its Jean Monnet Chair focuses exclusively on EU studies. While other institutes and faculties also deal with EU-related questions, the following will cover the Jean Monnet Chair’s activities. In the reporting period, covering the winter semester from October 2010 – March 2011, the Jean Monnet Chair offered the following courses:

BA-level:

- seminar: “Geschichte, Institutionen und Verfahren des politischen Systems der EU“ [History, Institutions and Procedures of the Political System of the EU], Katharina Eckert and Thomas Maschke, attended by 20 students;
- seminar: “Der Haushalt der EU - Akteure, Verfahren und Politikfelder” [The EU’s Budget – Actors, Procedures and Policies], Dr. Kerstin Funk , attended by eight students;
- seminar: “Deutsche Europapolitik? Akteure, Positionen und Strukturen” [Germany’s Policy on Europe? – Actors, Positions and Structures], Matthias Belafi, attended by seven students;
- seminar: “Die EU-Erweiterungspolitik am Beispiel der Türkei“ [The Enlargement Policy of the EU and the Turkish Example], Professor Erol Esen, attended by twenty students;
- seminar: “Bedeutung, Rolle und Einfluss von Lobbying und Interessenvertretung auf europäischer Ebene” [The Importance, Role and Influence of Lobbying and Interest Groups at the European Level], Dr. R. Prunzel and Professor Ralf von Ameln, attended by twelve students;
- seminar: “The Political System of the EU: Governance and Institutions – Europe at work: Berlin and Brussels” , Professor Hartmut Marhold and Thomas Traguth, attended by 30 students;
- seminar: ”The Political System of the EU: Governance and Institutions – Erweiterung und Vertragsrevisionen als Formen der EU-Systemgestaltung” [Enlargement and Treaty Revision as two Ways of EU System Making], Professor Burkard Steppacher , attended by 25 students;
- seminar: “Aktuelle Fragen der Wirtschafts- und Sozialforschung: Europa erforschen und erfahren“ [Current Issues of Economic and Social Research: Explore and Experience Europe], Thomas Traguth, attended by three students;
- seminar: “Elaboration of the Bachelor Thesis: the Academic Dealing with Issues Concerning European Integration”, attended by two students;

⁵ Loth, Wilfried (ed.), ”Unikate Duisburg Essen, vol. 34: Europa – Geschichte und Kultur“, Wissenschaftsverlag Universität Duisburg Essen.

MA-level:

- seminar: “The Political System of the EU - EU Institutional Architecture Post Lisbon”, Jean Paul Jacqué (THESEUS-guest lecturer), attended by 15 students;
- lecture: “The Political System of the EU: Strategic and Conceptual Approaches – The EU in the International System - Lisbon and Beyond”, Professor Wolfgang Wessels, attended by 100 students;
- complementary and compulsory course: “The Political System of the EU: Strategic and Conceptual Approaches – The EU in the International System - Lisbon and Beyond”, Thomas Traguth, attended by 40 students ;
- seminar: “Elaboration of the Master Thesis: the Academic Dealing with Issues Concerning European Integration”, attended by 18 students;

PhD-level:

- ”Vertiefte Analysen integrationswissenschaftlicher Probleme“ [Advanced integration studies], Professor Wolfgang Wessels, attended by 20 students;
- Moreover, in the framework of the “Marie Curie Integrated Training Network” EXACT, five additional PhD seminars were offered: ”Theories, Strategies and Polity of European Integration”, Professor Wolfgang Wessels; “Economics of European Integration”, Professor Alfred Tovias, Hebrew University Jerusalem; “EU institutional law”, Professor Ramses Wessel, University of Twente; “Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to EU External Action”, Dr. Anne Faber, University of Frankfurt/Oder; “Professional Approaches to Foreign and Security Policy”, Dr. Elfriede Regelsberger, Institut für Europäische Politik Berlin; each of them attended by 13 students on average.

The courses provide both a historical overview and an analysis of the current situation. For example, the introductory lecture covers the developments during the post-war period and dedicates the remaining part of the lecture to the current institutional architecture, based on the Treaty of Lisbon. About 70% of the introductory course refers directly to this legal document, and articles are frequently cited in full. At the MA level, two courses focused on the LT analysing, on the one hand, the institutional innovations established by the LT and, on the other hand, the new role of the EU in world politics post-Lisbon.

The courses offered by the Jean Monnet Chair in EU Studies can be attended by students from a broad thematic range of study programmes, like social and political sciences, area studies, economics or management. In addition, the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences offers a Double Master’s degree in European Studies and Political Science in cooperation with the University of Maastricht.

In customary lectures and seminars, PowerPoint slides are the usual medium. In two seminars, PowerPoint has been supplemented with a system that allows to combine the presentation with written notes. In terms of teaching methods, the chair also offers two special courses: the “Europe at work seminar” combines classroom sessions with two field trips to Berlin and Brussels (one of which is compulsory). “Proteus” is a multinational and interdisciplinary course in law and politics of the European Union which uses a simulation exercise to promote the students’ ability to work and communicate in multi-national teams.

Besides these courses that are part of the regular study programmes of the University of Cologne, the Jean Monnet Chair regularly organises additional events, for example round-tables and lectures, that

deal with current issues of European integration and frequently also touch upon the Lisbon Treaty. The Chair is an active contributor to the “European Online Academy”, an online based Master programme in EU studies managed by the Centre de Formation Européenne in Nice.

Greece (University of Athens)

During the reporting period (December 2009 - April 2011), Professor P.C. Ioakimidis and Dr. Anna Vallianatou, the researchers participating in the LISBOAN – Erasmus Academic Network on behalf of the Institute of European Integration and Policy (IEIP), taught five courses at the undergraduate level and two courses at the postgraduate course.

Professor P.C. Ioakimidis taught four courses on the European Union at the undergraduate level and two courses at the Postgraduate level. At the undergraduate level, Professor P.C. Ioakimidis taught the compulsory course “European Organisation: Institutions” (fall semester, academic year 2010-2011)⁶ attended by 120 students. The aim of this course is to provide basic knowledge about the history of European integration, about EU institutions (with emphasis to the Lisbon Treaty), about the way the EU functions and about the future of the Union. In addition, Professor Ioakimidis also taught the course “EU Policies” (spring semester, academic years 2009- 2010 and 2010-2011), a compulsory course of the International and European Studies (IES) specialisation cycle⁷ attended by 50 students. This course examines EU common policies (structural policy, EU budget, single market, CAP as well as cooperation in justice and home affairs), with particular reference to the developments that took place after the implementation of the Treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon. In addition, this course presents the impact of EU policies on Greece as well as the impact of the new enlargement to the Union. Professor P.C. Ioakimidis also taught the optional course for all specialisations⁸ “E.U. External Relations and Policy” (fall semester, academic year 2010-2011) attended by 30 students. The aim of this course is to provide a systematic analysis of external relations and policies of the European Union. Broadly, it examines the position and the role of the European Union in the international economic and political system, in view of the recent global challenges and the provisions of the Treaties (Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice, Lisbon) regarding the Common Foreign Policy and Policy of Defence and Security. Finally, Professor Ioakimidis taught the optional IES specialisation course “Greece in the E.U.: Political Aspects” (spring semesters, academic years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011) attended by 30 students. This course presents the political aspects related to the participation of Greece in the European Union. It covers the europeanisation of Greece, and, in particular, the europeanisation of Greek foreign policy, the contribution of Greece to the EU, the problems that arise from transferring deeper integration to the national level and, finally, the prospects of the Greek European policy.

⁶ Teaching and research in the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration revolve around four sub-disciplinary fields: Political Analysis, Social Theory and Sociology, Administrative Science, and International and European Studies. Subjects from all four fields belong to the compulsory core curriculum for all students, independently of their specialisation in the last two years of the four-year undergraduate course leading to the degree of Political Science and Public Administration.

http://www.pspa.uoa.gr/node.php?n=2_3_curriculum&lang=en

⁷ The students of the undergraduate level at the third year of their studies chose one of the three specialisations offered by the Faculty: Political Analysis, Administrative Science, and International and European Studies.

⁸ The Faculty of Political Studies and Public Administration offers a list of optional courses for students of the 3rd and 4th year of their studies. From this list the students should choose in each semester two (2) specialisation courses, one (1) specialisation optional course (from a different list for each specialisation), and two (2) two optional courses free to choose from a single list for all specialisations.

At the postgraduate level Professor Ioakimidis taught⁹ the course “Policy and Institutions of the European Union” (fall semester, academic year 2010-2011), a compulsory course of the Postgraduate Programme “European and International Studies” (EIS)¹⁰ attended by 25 students. This course is focused on the current institutional edifice of the European Union, after the Lisbon Treaty. Its primary objective is to provide a critical assessment of the institutional system and the decision making process of the European Union (EU). Professor P.C. Ioakimidis also taught¹¹ the optional course “Europe in the International System” (spring semesters, academic years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011) attended by 20 students. This course examines the role of the European Union in the international system, with emphasis on EU neighbourhood countries – the Balkans, Turkey, the Mediterranean countries. It also presents the EU relations with Russia, the United States as well as EU development policy. In addition, it analyses the position of the EU in the international economic institutions and assesses the Common Foreign Security and Defence Policy (especially after the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty).

Finally, Professor Ioakimidis also gave two regular guest lectures on “The Nature of the European Union Political System”, “The Lisbon Treaty and After” to the 24 students of the English speaking Postgraduate Programme in Southeast European Studies (fall semester, academic year 2010-2011).

Dr. Anna Vallianatou taught the optional course “European Policies of the Member states” (autumn semester, academic year 2010-2011)¹² attended by 7 students, under the supervision of Professor P.C. Ioakimidis. This course analyses the phenomenon of European integration, tries to assess the different national approaches and the various factors that formulate them. The aim of this course is to familiarize the students with the countries of the European Union and to deepen their knowledge on the phenomenon of European integration. At the postgraduate level Dr. Anna Vallianatou participated in the teaching of Professor P.C. Ioakimidis courses “Policy and Institutions of the European Union” and “Europe in the International System” (see above).

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There are other courses on the EU offered by the Faculty of Political Studies and Public Administration during the reporting period. The course “The Political System of the EU” is offered as optional IES specialisation course (spring semester, academic year 2009-2010). It examines the political system of the EU, the other existing political systems and, finally, it tries to assess the ad hoc nature of EU political system. In addition, “Theory of European Integration” (spring semesters, academic years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011) is a compulsory IES specialisation course. This course introduces the students to the methodology of the analysis of the European System of cooperation, in the light of the new theories and of the subsequent Treaty revisions. In addition, the courses “European Integration Law” (spring semester, academic years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011) and “European Convergence: Theory and Practice” (spring semester, academic years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011), IES specialisation compulsory courses, were also taught. Finally, the optional courses for all specialisations “European Integration and the Greek Economy” (fall semester, academic year 2010-2011) and “European Economy” (fall semester, academic year 2010-2011) were also taught during the reporting period.

⁹ With the cooperation of Dr. Anna Vallianatou.

¹⁰ This postgraduate programme leads to the Master’s Degree in European and International Studies. The duration of the studies are two years (three semesters of taught courses and one semester dedicated to the postgraduate dissertation. See <http://eis.pspa.uoa.gr> (in Greek).

¹¹ This course is offered to the students of the 2nd semester of the postgraduate Programme.

¹² Replacing Professor Susannah Verney who, was on academic leave.

At the postgraduate level, the compulsory course “Theories of European Integration” (fall semester, academic year 2010-2011) for EIS postgraduate programme was also taught. In addition, the optional courses “European Union Law” and “European Integration and Greece” (spring semesters, academic years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011) were offered in the framework of the Postgraduate Programme mentioned above.

Examining this wide variety of courses offered by the Faculty of Political Studies and Public Administration on the European Union, both at the undergraduate and the postgraduate level, we come to the conclusion that the course “Policy and Institutions of the European Union” is dedicated almost 90% to the Lisbon Treaty. The Lisbon Treaty came up approximately for the 50% of the time dedicated to the taught courses “European Organisation: Institutions”, “EU Policies” and “E.U. External Relations and Policy”. The rest of the courses on the EU deal with various aspects of EU studies. The Lisbon Treaty comes up approximately for the 15% of the teaching time.

IEIP has organised a number of small workshops on the Lisbon Treaty during the reporting period (December 2009-April 2011)¹³. Professor P.C. Ioakimidis has also given numerous lectures on various aspects of the institutional reforms initiated by the Lisbon Treaty (for example, as member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP, he participated in several ELIAMEP conferences but, apart from that, he participated in the events of several Greek and European institutions).¹⁴ In addition, Dr. Anna Vallianatou represented IEIP at the 40th UACES Annual Conference 2010 (*see below*). IEIP also publishes a monthly Newsletter on European Developments in order to inform the interested public in Greece on the institutional reforms and the repercussions of the Lisbon Treaty in the European and the national level (*see below*).

As far as other means of teaching dealing with the Lisbon Treaty are concerned, Professor P.C. Ioakimidis has published a specialised book entitled “Treaty of Lisbon: Presentation, Analysis, Evaluation”¹⁵ used as a text book both at the undergraduate (for the courses “European Organisation: Institutions” and “EU Policies”) and at the postgraduate level (for the course “Policy and Institutions of the European Union”). In the context of the postgraduate course “Policy and Institutions of the European Union”, Professor P.C. Ioakimidis organises a series of debates in English on the main challenges of the institutional construction of the European Union. Postgraduate students are confronted among each other in these debates, following the model of the EU decision making process and negotiations (Council simulation). PowerPoint presentations, notes diffused in class as well as small up to date scientific articles are also used in teaching the Lisbon Treaty.

Hungary (Institute for World Economics)

The Institute for World Economics (IWE) is a research institute which is engaged in different projects, in organising workshops and conferences, and in publishing the research results. Due to its special academic status, the Institute is not involved in higher education or training activities. At the same time, most of the researchers do teach at different universities on a regular basis, and some of them actually teach European studies. While none of these colleagues has had a course dedicated exclusively to the Lisbon Treaty, its major innovations are inherent part of their lectures or seminars when they explain the developments of primary law as well as the institutional set up and decision-making system of the Union.

¹³ IEIP (in collaboration with EKEME) has organised a Roundtable discussion on the a discussion on “The Post-Nice Institutional Changes of the EU” in December 2007, at the European Parliament Information Office in Athens <http://eeep-pspa.uoa.gr>.

¹⁴ See: <http://www.eliamap.gr/en/>.

¹⁵ Publisher: Themelio (Athens 2010), a renewed edition of the book published in 2008.

In teaching the Lisbon Treaty, the mentioned colleagues usually use the explanatory texts on the EU website as well as explanations published on the “Euvonal” (EU Line) which is a website sponsored by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, one of these colleagues has also contributed to a textbook on the EU including changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty. This textbook is used at the biggest business school in Hungary (Budapest Business School).¹⁶

In 2009, the IWE participated in a project – financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – which aimed at explaining topical issues of the EU to the citizens throughout the country. Three researchers were involved in this project, one of them presenting the Lisbon Treaty. The team travelled to six towns across Hungary and had a total audience of some 250 participants (from varied age groups and professional backgrounds) plus the local media which were usually present at those occasions.

Iceland (University of Iceland)

In the academic year 2010-2011, the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Iceland offered eight courses on European integration in general. These courses dealt with a variety of subjects related to the EU, for example institutional structure, decision-making processes, particular policy sectors and small states. Many other courses dealt partly with the European project (at least six courses) such as courses on Iceland’s foreign policy, security and defence and globalization.

None of the courses deals exclusively with the Lisbon Treaty. Lecturer Rebhan partly dealt with the Lisbon Treaty in six of thirteen sessions in his course “Institutions and Decision-Making in the EU” (thus it came up in 40% of all lectures). Aspects of the Lisbon Treaty that came up concerned in particular the changes from CT to Lisbon Treaty, new institutional structures (removal of the pillar structure, change of QMV provisions, EEAS, High Representative of the Union for CFSP, European Council President) and their impact on the development of the EU, the Irish accommodation (no reduction of Commissioners) and other opt-outs.

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Professor Conrad took up the Lisbon Treaty in his European integration course, both as part of the historical development of the EU and in terms of its impact on the institutional architecture of the EU (15% of the course). In his other three courses, Conrad explained the EU as it works today and occasionally pointed out changes that have come into effect with the Lisbon Treaty (5%).

In Professor’s Bailes course on European Security Institutions, the Lisbon Treaty came up as a major topic in two out of thirteen sessions (15%), for example ESDP/CSDP and the EU’s internal security policies. Art. 222 of the Lisbon Treaty is also discussed in the EU internal security session of Bailes’ course on “New Security Challenges and Security Governance” taught at the College of Europe in Bruges (spring 2010 and spring 2011). This accounts for one of twelve sessions or 8% of the course. Also, Kristjánsson and Richter discussed the Lisbon Treaty in relation to the role of small states in the EU in their courses on small states and European integration and their students gave presentations on the Treaty.

The Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small State Studies organised a European lecture series in autumn 2010 and spring 2011. The series, titled “Europe: Dialogue with Academics” included 13 lectures each term, related to European affairs in general. The Lisbon Treaty was featured and Art. 42.7 and 222 directly quoted in Professor Bailes’ public lecture “Is the EU and Will It Ever Be a Defence Alliance?” given in the lecture series on 17th September 2010. Professor Conrad will give a presentation on the European Citizens’ Initiative as part of the Europe Dialogues in April 2011.

¹⁶ Káldyné, E. M./Vida, K./Kruppa, É./Ferkelt, B., “Integrálódó Európa I.” [Europe getting integrated I.], Budapest: Perfekt, 2010.

He gave one 45-minute presentation for the Yes-Movement in Iceland that was exclusively about the Lisbon Treaty. In this presentation, he discussed the Lisbon Treaty as a step in the on-going institutional reform process that, as he has argued, has been going on since the Single European Act. The IIA/CSSS has also organised several other lectures, workshops and conferences on European affairs. Some of the lectures have dealt with the EU's institutional development and touched on the Lisbon Treaty and its implementation. Most speakers have been academics, from Iceland and abroad, but a number of EU officials and European politicians also spoke at these events.

Lastly, the Centre runs an Erasmus Summer School in Reykjavík, with 14 partner institutes, which entirely focuses on small states in the EU.

Ireland (University College Dublin)

UCD has a wide range of modules on the European Union at undergraduate and graduate level. None of these modules are exclusively on the Lisbon Treaty but all would have dealt with the Lisbon Treaty as an intrinsic part of the modules.

Masters Programmes at the UCD

- Master of Economic Science: European Public Affairs and Law;
- Master of Science: International Relations;
- Master of Laws.

Undergraduate modules at the UCD

- Theories and Concepts in International Relations (INRL20040);
- Politics of the European Union (INRL20160);
- Integration, Fragmentation and the Global System (INRL30050);
- The European Union: Polity, Politics & Policy (INRL30210);
- EU Constitutional Law (LAW20330);
- EU Economic Law (LAW20340);
- Public International Law: The Principles of State Sovereignty.

Events

- “Measuring Poverty in the EU: a Debate”: On Thursday 19th May, the UCD Social Science Research Centre hosted a seminar on Measuring Poverty in the EU: a Debate. How should poverty be defined and measured in a European Union in which some member states are much richer than others? Does poverty in the rich member states have the same meaning and significance as poverty in the poorer member states?
- “The Future of the European Court of Human Rights”, on 1st April 2011, by Mr. Michael O’Boyle, B.L.
- “Career opportunities with the EU institutions”, European Commission Representation in Ireland, European Union House, 18 Dawson Street, Dublin 2, on 10th March 2011.

- Conference on Citizenship and Voting Rights in Europe, Dublin European Institute, on 3rd December 2010.
- "European Unions after the Crisis", research colloquium, by Dr. Roland Erne, UCD.
- "This House believes the European Project has failed us", by UCD Literary and Historical Society, on 24th November 2010.
- "Still Punching below its Weight? Exploring the Actorness-Effectiveness Nexus in EU Foreign Policy", by Dr. Daniel Thomas, DEI Colloquium, on 17th September.

Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

The Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) organises a course on the External Action of the EU at the University of Roma Tre in Rome. The course takes place every spring and it is intended for graduate students in International Relations. It covers all the different strategies, policies and instruments that the EU uses to ensure security, understood in its broad sense. The course puts much emphasis on how the Lisbon Treaty may change the security policies of the EU. The textbook of the course (Gianni Bonvicini (ed.), "L'Unione europea attore di sicurezza regionale e globale", Milano: F. Angeli, 2010, 164 p., Quaderni del Centro Altiero Spinelli) has been edited by Gianni Bonvicini, Executive Vice President of the IAI, and the contributions have all come from IAI researchers and lecturers in the above mentioned course (Michele Comelli, Nicoletta Pirozzi, Nathalie Tocci).

In addition, different IAI researchers have given conferences, seminars and classes on topics directly or indirectly related to the EU, and particularly on the Lisbon Treaty. Some IAI researchers (Michele Comelli, Raffaello Matarazzo) were also asked to explain the innovations brought about by the Lisbon Treaty in European foreign policy to diplomats from non-EU diplomatic missions.

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In the course of 2010, a number of events were organised by the IAI on the topic of the Lisbon Treaty, including:

- Seminar on "The State of Democracy in the EU after the Lisbon Treaty", in cooperation with Notre Europe, Centro Studi per il Federalismo and the Representation of the European Commission in Italy, Turin, 3rd November 2010;
- Seminar on "The Democratic Control of the European Foreign, Security and Defence Policy", in cooperation with TEPSA, Brussels, 15th November 2010 (The seminar put a lot of emphasis on the changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty in the field of the foreign and security policy);
- Lecture "The EU one Year after Lisbon: Reshuffling the European Balance of Power", with Piotr Maciej Kaczynski, senior fellow, Ceps, Rome, 13th December 2010.

From January 2010 to June 2010 and from January 2011 to June 2011 Raffaello Matarazzo, researcher at the Iai, has been teaching Government and Politics of Western Europe at the St. John's University of New York, Rome Campus, as adjunct professor. Each semester Matarazzo devotes at least six classes to the EU institutional set up and specifically to the innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. The 2010 course was followed by 10 undergraduate course, the 2011 course by 15 undergraduate students.

Moreover, Michele Comelli produced a lecture's note for the students of the above mentioned course on the main innovations brought about by the Lisbon Treaty in the field of foreign and security policy.

In addition, the IAI carried out a number of different studies on the Lisbon Treaty, one of which was specifically intended for students:

- Bonvicini, Gianni (ed.), “L'Unione europea attore di sicurezza regionale e globale”, Milano: F. Angeli, 2010 (Quaderni del Centro Altiero Spinelli).

Italy (LUISS Guido Carli)

BA level

- Marzia Basili and Pierpaolo Settembri, in the framework of their undergraduate course on “Public Policy” (2009-2010) for the BA in Political Science, organise a simulation exercise based on the new rules introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. The students are asked to negotiate and agree on a Regulation on the basis of a proposal by the Commission, following the rules of the ordinary legislative procedure and taking into account the negotiating dynamics both in the Council of the EU and in the European Parliament.
- “History of Political Doctrine from the State to the EU”, course by Mario Telo’ for the BA in International Relations

MA level - The Lisbon Treaty in the academic programme of the Master in European Studies 2009/10

In the first semester of the current academic year three courses have dealt with the Lisbon Treaty.

- The core course on “European Institutions”, held by Professor Roberto Mastroianni, covered all the changes that the Treaty of Lisbon has made to the European institutional framework. The Course dealt with the new system of distribution of competences between the EU, on one side, and the member states, on the other side. A particular attention was given to the new balance of powers between the various political institutions and to the involvement of the national Parliaments in the legislative procedure.
- The elective course “European Energy Economics and Policy”, held by Professor Christian Egenhofer, outlined the fact that the Lisbon Treaty for the first time establishes a legal base for an EU energy competence. This has major implications for the development of a genuine EU energy policy both internally and externally. In the course, the content and the possible implications of this new competence were discussed. Particular focus was the link between energy market integration and the new and emerging external energy competencies. Students were asked to make presentations on EU energy policy including the implications stemming from the Lisbon Treaty.
- Finally, in the elective course on “European Foreign and Security Policy”, held jointly by ambassador Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo and Frédéric Mérand, it was stressed that perhaps the most important practical innovations were the enhanced powers of the European parliament and the external relations. It is a dramatic change to merge the authority of the High Representative with the weight of the Commission: a new “European service”, all representations abroad, a substantial budget, all under the same person. Nonetheless it was stressed that there were grey areas and that these new European Service had to be proved in practical application. A 3-hour simulation of the General Affairs Council was made, where students had to defend national positions on the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty at the UN.

Doctoral level

- A specialized course in European Studies held by Mario Telo’,
- The perspective, the role and the features of the European party system in the light of the new rules introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon; some lectures and a seminar within the course of Comparative Politics held by Domenico Fracchiolla.

Latvia (Riga Stradins University)**Courses on EU issues, including the Lisbon Treaty’s provisions:**

- Professor Inna Dovladbekova, “International and European Monetary System”, Master course of lectures, October 2010, two days (4+6 academic hours), 16 students;
- Professor Eugene Eteris, “European Union Law”, a course of lectures for Master students, four weeks, 40 academic hours, September-October 2010;
- Professor Eugene Eteris, “European Union: Taxation Policy”, a course of lectures for Master students, October 2010, two weeks, 20 academic hours;
- Professor Eugene Eteris, “European Union-Economic policy and business environment”, a course of lectures for master students, four weeks, 40 academic hours, April-May 2011;
- Professor Dovladbekova I., lectures for Master students, “European Fiscal and Monetary Policy: Lisbon Treaty priorities”, in Riga Technical University, two days, six academic hours, February 2011;
- Professor Eugene Eteris, lectures for Bachelor students, general course on “EU institutions, policy, law and decision-making”, April-May 2011, 20 academic hours.

24**Special and exclusive course on the Lisbon Treaty**

“Institutions, economy and decision-making” is being elaborated for the autumn semester course at European Studies Faculty 2011.

Round-Table

A round-table on “It and ICT- new direction in the EU policy and legislation” took place on 27th April 2011 (four hours). It has been organised by the Baltic International Academy, Latvian Employers Association and International Web-Magazine “The Baltic Course”. Professor Eugene Eteris presented a paper on ICT policy and legislation at the round-table.

Public Lectures

- Professor Eugene Eteris: Public lecture at the European Commission Representation in Latvia, Riga (European Union House- European Public Space) on “European Union: Science and Technology Policy in view of the Lisbon Treaty”, 28th September 2010 (1,5 hours);
- Professor Eugene Eteris: Lecture at the European Commission Representation in Latvia on “Doing Business in Europe: EU politics and law”, 17th May 2010 (1,5 hours); supplement information materials and power points: www.eiropainfo.lv.

Textbook

The textbook “Economic and Financial Crisis and Latvian problems” by Dovladbekova I., Eteris E. and Zelmenis D. is being prepared.

Luxembourg (Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research)

The CERE (Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research) is affiliated to the Ministry of State under the Luxembourgish Prime Minister. Teaching belongs not to its tasks. The tasks to be carried out by the Robert Schuman Centre are:

- to promote knowledge on European unification history and stimulate research on that subject;
- to facilitate the publication of such work;
- to draw up bibliographical lists and research results;
- to further the dialogue and cooperation between institutes and seminars grouped in the Centre;
- to organise colloquiums on problems applying to the Centre's activities as well as study meetings between teachers and students;
- to study any question pertaining to the context of international relations that the Government considers worth to submit to the Centre.

Most recently, on may 6, 2011, the Institute has organized in cooperation with the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) a seminar on “The role of the EUCJ in EU integration after Lisbon” which took place at Court of Justice of the European Union, Luxembourg. The European judges Franklin Dehousse, Lars Bay Larsen, Koen Lenaerts and Jean-Jacques Kasel, as well as the Advocate General of the EUCJ Yves Bot offered their vision of the role of the European Court from the perspective of court members. The academic world was represented by Jaap de Zwaan (Director Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’, The Hague, and Professor in European Law, Erasmus University, Rotterdam), Marianne Dony (Professor in European Law and President of the Institute of European Studies, ULB, Brussels), Dominik Hanf (Professor at the European Legal Studies Department and Director of the European General Studies, College of Europe, Bruges) and Herwig Hofman (Professor of European and Transnational Public Law at the University of Luxembourg).

The seminar was chaired by Jean Paul Jacqué (Secretary General of TEPSA, Brussels). The opening address was delivered by Jean-Marie Majerus (CERE).

The first session was dedicated to the “The Court of Justice as EU legislator”. Franklin Dehousse amplified in his presentation the triple role of the EUCJ as “supervisor, generator of ideas and as legislator”, stressing that the latter role devolved on the Court as a result of a lack of political decisiveness. Herwig Hofman raised the question of the Court's role considering the growing number of executive agencies, attracting competencies of national governments and administrations.

With respect to “The role of the EUCJ in Justice and Home Affairs after Lisbon”, Jaap de Zwaan draw during the second session attention to the growing role of the Court in the area previously subsumed under Pillar three. Yves Bot addressed the subject of mutual recognition of judgments passed by national courts in the respective member states. This highly delicate issue was taken up by the judge Lars Bay Larsen.

“The contribution of EUCJ to the development of European citizenship” stood in the focus of the third session. Marianne Dony cast light on cases brought before the Court dealing with the freedom of movement and non-discrimination with regard to family names. Koen Lenaerts took up with this

presentation and commented on EUCJ decisions linked with the concept of EU citizenship. He spoke in particular about non-discrimination of students from another member state, the deprivation of nationality, and the right of residence of parents from third countries whose children are EU citizens. In this context, Dominik Hanf pondered over the right leeway in decision-making of the EUCJ judges.

In his concluding remarks, the Luxembourgish judge Jean-Jacques Kassel, previously Permanent Representative to the European Communities, expressed his concern about the future of the Union, deploring growing nationalism amongst its member states. In this context, he stressed the role of the EUCJ in order to avoid that fundamental principles are scrapped.

Malta (University of Malta)

The Lisbon Treaty has been fully incorporated in the teaching effort at the European Documentation and Research Centre, at both the undergraduate and postgraduate level. Although no course is offered which focuses exclusively on the Treaty, it features prominently as an integral part of a number of study-units. Briefly, these study-units include those on the EU Institutions and policies, economics and EU law, many of which are mandatory for European Studies students.

In this report a list has been included of the study-units taught at the EDRC with the number of students registered in each, where the Lisbon Treaty features as an integral part of the course. EDRC academic staff members have updated their teaching material to include the changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty, and the nature as well as the most salient implications of these changes are made clear to the students.

The EDRC has not held any other public event or one-off activity specifically on the Treaty during the reporting period.

Below is the list of study-units in which the Lisbon Treaty has been fully incorporated in the teaching and research material/information:

- EST 1020 – Legal Order of the EU (Semester 1 & 2), 44 students;
- EST 1032 – Institutions of the EU, 84 students;
- EST 1030 – Introduction to Comparative Politics of Europe, 110 students;
- EST 2170 – Malta in the European Union, 113 students;
- EST 2070 – European Union Competition Law, 48 students;
- EST 2060 – The Law of the Internal Market of the European Union, 51 students;
- EST 2110 – The History of European Integration, 101 students;
- EST 2140 – Politics of the EU, 58 students;
- EST 2040 – The Development of the EU's CFSP, 25 students;
- EST 2210 – Development Studies and the EU, 47 students;
- EST 2100 – The Social Policy Agenda of the EU, 16 students;
- EST 2080 – Biotechnology in Europe, 20 students;

- EST 2190 – Concepts of European Foreign Policy, 20 students;
- EST 3010 – The Economics of European Integration, 48 students;
- EST 3020 – European Union Trade Policy, 26 students;
- EST 3180 – Legal Safeguards for Human Rights in Europe, 31 students;
- EST 3190 – European Environmental Law and Policy, 72 students;
- EST 3150 – EU Policies and Political Dynamics, 68 students;
- EST 3090 – Euro-Mediterranean Relations, 39 students;
- EST 3100 – Federalism in Europe, 59 students.

Masters Programme in European Studies

- EST 5530 – European Union Cohesion Policy, four students;
- EST 5470 – Lobbying in the European Union, three students;
- EST 5480 – Current Issues in European Union Politics, eight students;
- EST 5520 – The European Union and Climate Change, eight students;
- EST 5310 – Theories of European Integration, two students;
- EST 5410 – European Union Trade Policy, four students;
- EST 5510 – European Union Migration and Asylum Law, four students;
- EST 5330 – The European Union in World Politics, four students;
- EST 5350 – The European Union and its Mediterranean Neighbourhood, seven students;
- EST 5370 – European Union Environmental Economics, four students;
- EST 5570 – European Union Enlargement, four students;
- EST 5460 – European Union Development Policy, eight students.

It does not need stressing that the Lisbon Treaty featured most strongly in those study-units focusing on the political and legal aspects of the EU institutions. However, efforts were made to factor in the effects of the Lisbon Treaty in other courses based on other disciplines, such as economics.

Students are also made aware of the EU Human Rights Charter which is attached to the Treaty and which forms an integral part thereof. Thus, for example, in the study-unit EST3180 on legal safeguards for human rights in Europe, the Charter of Fundamental Rights is being given due attention in the course. In the course EST3100 on Federalism in Europe, the Lisbon Treaty is discussed from a European Federalist perception, namely the extent to which the Treaty pushes the EU towards a federation.

These examples are included to show the way the Lisbon Treaty is being presented in the relevant study-units. A similar approach is being applied in the rest of the study-units.

Similarly, in those study-units which include a strong external relations aspect such as those covering external relations, the CFSP, the Mediterranean etc., reference is made to the impact of the new positions created by the Lisbon Treaty, namely the President of the European Council, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy, as well as the creation of the EEAS, and how these developments complicate the management of the EU's Mediterranean policy. Emphasis is laid on the potential gap between the Treaty's objectives and practice.

In the economics courses, as for example in EST3010, reference is made to the change regarding the objective of the single market ('highly competitive social market economy') and how this is being reflected in the new strategy for the single market; the new article and protocol on services of general interest and the formalisation of Eurogroup and its President for the Euro Area. EST3020 on the EU Trade Policy, also covered aspects of investment, as the Lisbon Treaty has included investment as a new EU competence. In the MA study-unit EST5530, reference was made to the objective of territorial cohesion, which was introduced by Lisbon Treaty. In the area of research on EU economic policies, the main innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty which are of special interest involve the role of the Eurogroup and economic integration for services of general interest.

Both in the undergraduate dissertations (10,000 to 15,000 words) involving 45 students and the MA dissertations (15,000 to 20,000 words) involving eight students, the 'switch' to the Lisbon Treaty was evident and as complete as in the taught study-unit. Hence, even in student research the Lisbon Treaty is undoubtedly the point of reference.

Netherlands (University of Twente)

European Studies at the University of Twente is structured in accordance with the internationally accredited Bachelor-Master model. The program consists of two parts: a three-year Bachelor's program and a one-year Master's program. The first year consists of introductory courses in the different disciplines and in application of these disciplines to Europe. At the same time, different insights are already combined. The basic idea, however, is to introduce students to all the dimensions of Europe. In the second year, the European Union will be put into perspective and the context is taken into account. Students look at Europe in a global context and approach the EU from a 'governance' perspective, looking at the different levels of decision-making and the different actors involved.

There is no course which focused exclusively on the Lisbon Treaty although it forms the basis and the focus of all EU law courses. In general, the Lisbon Treaty also received abundant attention in several courses of the European Studies curriculum. In the courses "Institutional Development of the EU", "European Political Integration", and "European Legal Integration", attention was paid to the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty with regard to rules, procedures and institutions. In the courses "European Economic Integration" and "European Social Integration", more substantial attention was paid to the EU integration, also with regard to the changes introduced in the Lisbon Treaty. In the second year of the ES programme, the courses "European Legal Governance", "EU External Legal Relations", "EU External Economic Relations" and "EU External Political Relations" deal with the Lisbon Treaty, which also forms a large part of the teaching in the ES Master programme at the University of Twente. Courses in which attention is paid to the Lisbon Treaty are "European Union Law" and "International Relations Theory and EU Foreign Policy".

Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo)

As a research institute, ARENA has not been involved in teaching the Treaty of Lisbon.

ARENA is the coordinating institution of the RECON project on Reconstituting Democracy in Europe. As such ARENA is organizing a RECON “outreach conference” at the Résidence Palace, Brussels on 19th May 2011; many ARENA researchers will participate. The theme of the conference is, “Where is European Democracy Heading?” and it will address a number of issues that relate to the Lisbon Treaty – in particular EU constitutionalism, representative democracy and foreign policy.

Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)

Since the activities of the European Institute in Lodz concentrate more on training (mainly for public administration) and information rather than regular academic courses on the EU, the activities with respect to teaching on Lisbon Treaty are addressed more to general public and schools in the region than to academic society as such. The topics of training and information services provided cover the broad range of EU-related topics including history of EU integration, institutions and decision-making and EU sectoral policies. The scope of training and information activities in the reporting period are two-fold: one strand regarding the specialism in European Social Fund and its implementation in Poland, the other one covering open lectures and seminars for the general public as well as lessons and other forms of support for schools, NGOs and other interested societal groups, with the latter being implemented mainly by the Regional Centre for European Information at the Institute (being part of the network administered and co-financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - MFA).

The centre offers a lecture on the topic “Lisbon Treaty and the institutional reform“, which is, however, rarely asked for by clients as a separate topic. Still the Lisbon Treaty is part of the following lectures: for example, “European Integration Process“, “EU Institutional System“, “History of the EU“, “EU from the Treaty of Paris to the Lisbon Treaty“, “Functioning of the EU“, “Polish Presidency in the Council of the European Union“, “Getting to know the Treaty of Lisbon”. The Institute is open to organise any kind of activity: lecture, seminar, workshop related to the Treaty of Lisbon and institutional reform for all interested subjects according to the needs.

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Since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the following number of lectures, school lessons, open meeting were organised. All listed below included the information on Lisbon Treaty, as part of the EU history overview/ EU institutional development:

- 1st- 31st December 2009 – 6 events for the total of ca. 260 participants (mostly school youth);
- 1st February-31st December 2010 – total of ca. 60 events (1600 participants in total – mostly schools but also general public, NGOs, PA). Two of the events were devoted exclusively to the presentation of the Treaty.

Information materials provided by MFA, booklets, internet resources, textbooks published in Poland devoted exclusively to Lisbon Treaty or addressing post-Lisbon state of the art are used in all training and information activities.

Portugal (Istituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Technical University of Lisbon)

During the autumn semester of the 2010/2011 academic year ISEG offered two courses in European Law to its students, taught by Professor Antonio Goucha Soares.

The first course was devoted to undergraduate students, it was taught in English and was mainly concentrated in the core phases of European integration, since the creation of the European Community in the 1950’s until the Treaty of Lisbon. Then, it focused on the institutional framework of the European Union. Hence, the Treaty of Lisbon was a central topic of this course. Some 25

students attended the course. They were all incoming Erasmus students from different countries with a majority of German students.

The second course was offered within the framework of the Masters programme in International Economics and European Studies. This was an intermediate level course of European Law, taught in Portuguese. It focused both in institutional issues and EU policies, such as external relations, foreign and security policy, free movement of goods, right of residence and free movement of people within the EU. More than 30 students attended the course. Most of them were national students, but there were also some South American and African students. There was a vast bibliography concerning the Treaty of Lisbon for this course, and among it Antonio Goucha Soares' article on the Lisbon Treaty.¹⁷

During the same academic semester Professor Antonio Goucha Soares organised three sessions of the ISEG PhD programme in Development Studies, focused in European issues related with the Treaty of Lisbon: a first session on the role of the European Commission during the International Governmental Conferences; a second session on the EU external action, after the Treaty of Lisbon; and a third session on the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)

The Faculty of European Studies, part of Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, includes in its curriculum a large variety of courses pertaining to the EU. At the Bachelor level, these courses range from "European Construction", "Governance and Institutions" to "Community Law". At the Master level, specialized courses refer to "Decision Making in the EU", "The EU and the Global Economy" as well as "European Policies". At the PhD school subjects such as "Modeling the New Europe" are taught, while Postdoctoral studies focus on research on "The Crisis of Values within the EU?".

Although there has been no course dedicated solely to the Lisbon Treaty, significant information about it has been included in the abovementioned courses, as follows: EU Construction - innovations brought forth by the Lisbon Treaty (25%); EU Governance - the Lisbon and Post-Lisbon Agenda (50%); Decision Making in the EU - legal instruments and procedures within the Lisbon Treaty (66%); EU Institutions - up-to-date information as stipulated in the Lisbon Treaty (75%); EU Policies - reforms in the Lisbon Treaty and areas of EU competence (50%).

The European Documentation Centre of our Faculty has held conferences on the Lisbon Treaty, including one for the general public in October 2010, and another dedicated to Master students, in November 2010. Professor Nicolae Paun's Jean Monnet ad personam chair holds monthly lectures on the Lisbon Treaty, such as those titled "The Lisbon Treaty in 27 Reading Keys" and "The Lisbon Treaty - National Agenda, European Agenda". Within the Chair of European Administration, Governance and Projects, a roundtable was held in February 2011 on the Post-Lisbon Agenda, with the participation of students from the Faculty of European Studies. The Society of European Students from our Faculty is currently conducting an international project entitled "The Simulation of the European Parliament", where the Lisbon Treaty comes into question within a dedicated panel with regard to its structure, functioning, legitimacy, transparency and decision making process. Also, a student contest was held on the Treaty in March 2011 with a series of prizes. Last but not least, in May this year, the Faculty of European Studies aimed to initiate a major research endeavour based on the Central and East-European debate on the Lisbon process.

¹⁷ "O Tratado Reformador da União Europeia", *R:I Relações Internacionais*, nº17, 2008.

Other means of teaching related to the Lisbon Treaty include up-to-date readers and documents, made available for students at all times, as well as PowerPoint slides meant to render the comprehension of this subject easier. A periodical quiz on the Lisbon Treaty is organised, in order to encourage students to conduct personal research in this regard. Furthermore, the European Documentation Centre of our Faculty provides information materials on the Lisbon Treaty, including fliers, posters and handbooks. Students themselves are currently contributing to a brochure dedicated to the Treaty with original points of view and valuable opinions.

Beyond these curricular activities, the Faculty of European Studies of the Babes-Bolyai University has held cultural and press events dedicated to this matter (radio and TV talk-shows participations, permanent editorials in national newspapers, such as *Romania libera* and local press, like *Monitorul de Cluj*, debated with young politicians).

Romania (European Institute of Romania)

Although the European Institute of Romania (EIR) has not organised in the reporting period specific training courses dealing exclusively with the Lisbon Treaty, it has held general training on European affairs, during which some elements dealing with the Lisbon Treaty were tackled. The classes aim to provide public servants with detailed information on the workings of the EU.

The European Institute of Romania has held general training on European affairs classes dealing with EU institutions and decision-making processes, the legal system of the EU, changes brought by the Treaty of Lisbon on justice and home affairs, environmental policy, social policies and the employment policy, internal market of the EU, the economic and cohesion policy, and the EU budget.

The European Institute of Romania organised on 30th March 2011 the conference entitled “Launch of Strategy and Policy Studies – SPOS 2010”, aiming to promote the research conducted in the framework of this project in 2010, among which a study dealing with the Lisbon Treaty, entitled “The Treaty of Lisbon: impact on Romanian institutions and policies“. During the session of presentations devoted to this study, several Romanian officials commented on the results of the study. Leonard Orban, Presidential Counsellor for European Affairs and Honorary President of EIR, presented to the public a number of considerations concerning the implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon. Taking into consideration the extended period of the Treaty implementation process, it is very important the way in which it is implemented. Another remark concerned the fact that, although the Treaty has been conceived to support the deepening of the integration process, certain measures rather support the intergovernmental method. At the same time, the speaker mentioned Romania among the states that manage to successfully transpose the new Community laws.

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Romania (University of Oradea)

The University of Oradea has pursued an intensive agenda in EU studies during the reporting period, notably by offering study programmes such as the Master programme entitled “European Economic Relations“. Within the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Oradea, a broad range of courses on the EU were taught, part of them being organised during the reporting period, such as:

- “European Economics” (Winter Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Adriana Giurgiu and Dr. Anca Dodescu to all students of the Faculty enrolled in the second year (more than 600 attendants) – Bachelor level;
- “EU External Trade and the Custom Union” (Winter Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Adriana Giurgiu to Master students of the Faculty enrolled in the second year (more than 90 attendants);

- “Competition and Competitiveness” (Summer Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Mihai Berinde to Master students of the Faculty enrolled in the second year (more than 90 attendants).
- “European Union in the International Context” (Winter Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Mihai Berinde to all students of the Faculty enrolled in the first year of the Master programme entitled “European Economic Relations” (more than 40 attendants);
- “The Economics of the European Integration” (Summer Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Anca Dodescu to all students of the Faculty enrolled in the first year of the Master programme (more than 40 attendants);
- “EU Internal Market and the Acceding Negotiations” (Summer Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Mihai Berinde to students of the Faculty enrolled in the first year of the Master programme (more than 20 attendants);
- “The Common Trade Policy and the EU External Trade” (Summer Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Mihai Berinde to students of the Faculty enrolled in the first year of the Master programme (more than 20 attendants);
- “Economic and Monetary Union and Fiscal Policy in EU” (Summer Semester course), which was taught to students of the Faculty enrolled in the first year of the Master programme (more than 20 attendants);
- “EU Enlargement – Study Cases” (Winter Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Adriana Giurgiu to the students of the Faculty enrolled in the second year of the Master programme (more than 20 attendants);
- “EU Common Policies” (Winter Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Anca Dodescu to all students of the Faculty enrolled in the second year of the Master programme (more than 20 attendants);
- “The Romania's EU Accession Process and the Post-accession Economic Integration” (Winter Semester course), which was taught by Dr. Mihai Berinde to all students of the Faculty enrolled in the second year of the Master programme (more than 20 attendants);

All of the above described courses focus on different aspects of the Lisbon Treaty, and especially within the “European Economics” course taught at Bachelor Level, there were eight teaching and seminar hours (out of a total of 56 hrs.) dedicated exclusively to the Lisbon Treaty. During these four hours, the Lisbon Treaty was presented and debated together with students, who have prepared in teams projects and presentations on the content of the Lisbon Treaty.

Students can rely on an IT-assisted virtual platform which contains course objectives, scheduled activities, teaching materials, evaluation methods and material, study guides for seminar and applicative activities, and recommended / indicative further readings for each course and subject (<http://distance.iduoradea.ro>). For staying in touch with students, but also for establishing a good communication and feedback between the teaching staff and students, a *Forum* facility developed for each existing subject on this IT-assisted virtual platform has been used.

In support of teaching activities, staff have prepared electronic materials, scripts, textbooks, PowerPoint presentations, etc. for each course dealing with the Lisbon Treaty.¹⁸

On 23rd November 2010, with the occasion of celebrating “The Day of the Romanian Economist”, the university organised a Scientific Session on “Romania and the Challenges of the Economic Crisis. The Answer of the Young Economists”, dedicated to the Ph.D. students in Economics, where scientific papers and research results on different topics directly or indirectly related to the Lisbon Treaty were presented by the Ph.D. students, and debated with the participants.

Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)

At the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, there are two undergraduate programs and one master program where Lisbon Treaty is studied within different individual courses. Within the framework of European studies undergraduate program, no specific course is oriented only towards the Lisbon Treaty novelties, but there are the following courses mentioning the new treaty provisions where applicable: Basic course on the European Union, European Law, Common Foreign and Security Policy, External relations of the EU, EU Diplomacy, European protection of Human Rights, EU in the World Economy, EU Policies, Lobbying in the EU and Interest Groups. Within the framework of International Relations undergraduate program, no specific course is oriented only towards the treaty innovations, but there are the following courses mentioning the new treaty provisions where applicable: Basic course on the European Union, EU Diplomacy, International Protection of Human Rights, EU in the World Economy, International Minority Protection, and International Negotiations. Within the master programme of European Studies, the Lisbon Treaty is studied as a legal framework for individual policies the students decide to focus their attention of master thesis on.

No specific course on Lisbon Treaty exists, but aspects of the LT cover minor percentages of individual courses. Examples: institutional arrangements of the EU within Basic course on the EU (8 %), Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms within the International Minority Protection (5 %), TRIO presidencies of the EU within the International Negotiations course (5 %), EU external trade within two courses: External relations of the EU and EU within the world economy (5 %).

No single events which exclusively dealt with the Lisbon Treaty took place during the reporting period. In terms of teaching methods, teaching assistant Jure Požgan, MA and Assistant Professor Ana Bojinović Fenko use Oxford University Press Online Resource Centres for the Basic course on the EU.

Spain (Institute of European Studies/Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona)

The Lisbon Treaty has been at the very core of the IUEE teaching activities, especially in the framework of the Official Master on European Integration. The Master, which has had 45 students this academic year, is organised in Specialties (European Economy, Legal Integration, External Action and European Governance), giving each student the opportunity to study the European Integration from a disciplinary perspective. Additionally, a common introductory module is imparted which gives an overview of the EU Integration processes, policies and institutions. In this particular

¹⁸ These include, for example, 80 copies of the book entitled Adriana Giurgiu: Comerțul intraeuropean – o nouă perspectivă asupra comerțului exterior al României (The European Trade – A New Perspective onto the Romanian External Trade), on-line edition posted on the virtual platform of the course “The EU’s Common Trade Policy and External Trade” (<http://distance.iduoradea.ro>) and 250 printed exemplars of the book Anca Dodescu / Adriana Giurgiu: Economie Europeană (European Economics), 2010, also available on-line on the web site of the course “European Economics” (<http://distance.iduoradea.ro>).

module, Professor Gregorio Garzón, coordinator of the modules, gave a two hours course on “The Institutional Balance in the Lisbon Treaty”.

Practically, all the four Specialties of the Master have gone through a curricular update of the new EU reality triggered by the Lisbon Treaty. Naturally, the Specialty on Legal Integration has given a more in-depth attention to the changes brought by the Treaty to the European Union regarding the legal sphere (30% of the 110 hours).

The other Specialties have also scheduled at least one course dedicated exclusively to the Lisbon Treaty implications on specific aspects of their disciplines. For instance, the External Action Specialty organised a five hours seminar titled “The New Model of Council Presidencies: an Evaluation of the First Post-Lisbon Spanish Presidency in the Field of External Action”.

In the framework of the European Governance Specialty, Dr. Susana Beltran gave a two hours course on the “Local and Regional Entities in the Lisbon Treaty”.

Apart from the regular courses, the Master invites distinguished visiting professors or practitioners to give lectures. A specific reference to the Lisbon Treaty was given by the following guest speakers:

- Iñigo Méndez de Vigo (MEP): “The Lisbon Treaty: Several Institutional Implications” (2h)
- Joaquim Roy (Chair “Jean Monnet” in International Relations and Director of the EU Centre, Univ. Miami): “The Lisbon Treaty: American Reverberations” (2h)

Spain (University of Malaga)

During the reporting period, the Chair Jean Monnet of European Economy of the University of Malaga, whose holder is the teacher Dr. Pablo Podadera Rivera, has given in his section Higher Education eight courses on general and specific topics of the European Union. Four of them belong to the official education of Master and Doctorate programs: “The Institutional System and the Main Policies of the EU for the Service of the Internal Development”; “The Development Cooperation Policy in the EU”; “The Humanitarian Aid in the EU”, within the subject “European Union and Development” of the Official Master on International Cooperation and Development Policies; and the course “The Development Cooperation Policy and the Humanitarian Aid in the European Union”, within the framework of the “Inter-University Master in Culture of Peace, Conflicts, Education and Human Rights”. Other four courses belong to official educations of the Graduate Degree Program, in the subject “Economy and Politics of the EU”: “Generalization of the European Education in the Technical High Schools”; “Politics of Cohesion in the EU”; “Common Market, Freedoms and the Competition Policy in the EU”; “Economic Analysis of the Trade Policy and the Development Cooperation of the European Union”.

All of them have multidisciplinary character and are included in the programme of homologation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA).

Likewise, from the Chair Jean Monnet section on formation and information, there have been given courses addressed to development actors and the public in general about: employment and social policy in the EU, constitutive Treaties and process of integration of the EU, environmental policy in the EU, territorial cohesion policy in the EU, rural policy in the EU, policies on research, innovation and development in the EU.

In all the indicated educations, the Treaty of Lisbon has taken a special attention as a new reference point in the construction process of the European Union. Nevertheless, in this period, coinciding with

the start-up of the new Treaty, the Chair Jean Monnet has given two specific seminars on the Treaty of Lisbon addressed the general public with the aim to spread among the population the knowledge on the new Treaty. In the mentioned events, the institutional aspects and the governance have stood out, as well as those of citizenship of the EU, as 80%, in compare of the other topics. One of them, "The Treaty of Lisbon. Precedents and Global Valuation", was given in the conference series "Democracy and Economy in Europe. From an unsuccessful Constitution to the Treaty of Lisbon ", in collaboration with the Provincial Office of European Information (Europe-Direct Project) of Malaga; and was directed to development agents and province's municipal authorities and attendance of 50-60 persons.

On the other hand, through the "Provincial Permanent Training Room on European Resources for the Local Development" created by the mentioned Chair Jean Monnet, periodic informative meetings (three in the indicated period) on the new Treaty of Lisbon were offered. Moreover, diverse interviews and radios gatherings concerning the thematic of the new Treaty of Lisbon were arranged on the occasion of Europe Day.

The Chair's Webpage (<http://www.uma.es/jeanmonnet/>) has been in use as an on-line method to complement the educations and the attending classroom formation, where the references and necessary information on the different activities have been placed.

Sweden (Karlstad University)

The Department of Political and Historical Studies at Karlstad University offers three dedicated EU courses covering undergraduate levels of study: The first is a Level A introductory course on European studies including dedicated weeks discussing institutional and policy aspects of the Lisbon Treaty, including a two week assignment. The Lisbon Treaty represents around 40% of the content of the module. The second course is a LLP funded Jean Monnet module on "Regional Action in the EU" offered in both campus and distance learning modes; and in this module, the implications of the Lisbon Treaty from a micro and macro regional perspective, and for fusion approaches, in terms of uploading, cross-loading and downloading are addressed. The Lisbon Treaty represents around 10% of the content of the module. This is complemented by a Level B course on International Relations that includes studies of the EU as a global actor, with reference to the Lisbon Treaty changes in EU external and foreign policy competencies. The Lisbon Treaty represents about 20% of the content of this course. At the postgraduate level, there is also the INTERREG-funded Masters in Public Administration, taught for Swedish and Norwegian regional policy-makers and practitioners. This programme includes courses that include sessions discussing the public administration and theories of European Union (5% of content on Lisbon Treaty).

There are no specific courses dedicated to the study of the Lisbon Treaty. The Department takes a holistic approach to the study of the EU and, thus, believes that studies of the Lisbon Treaty must be integrated into wider teaching patterns of the EU in order to enable students to evaluate the Lisbon Treaty's importance to the trajectory of the EU. Nevertheless, the historical importance, institutional and policy implications of the Lisbon Treaty are fully integrated into respective courses and thus represents around 40% of the existing teaching content.

There were no specific events focusing solely on the Lisbon Treaty. However, a guest seminar on Swedish and European intervention in Afghanistan with Pierre Schori as guest speaker (April 2011) includes a notable Lisbon Treaty content.

As part of departmental staff's participation (Lee Miles, Hans Löden, David Olsson, Magnus Lindh) in the EU-PO-LIS (European Union Post Lisbon) Jean Monnet Multinational Research Group funded

by the EU LLP (2009-2011), the Department contributed materials and publications to the production of a EU-PO-LIS Reader that focused on the Lisbon Treaty and fusion approaches to understand it, produced by the University of Cologne in February 2011.

Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

The Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI) has had Carl Bildt, the Swedish Foreign Minister, visiting several times to speak about the EU, including the Lisbon Treaty (LT). The last time Bildt visited the UI to speak on this topic was on 23rd November 2010, which was also broadcasted by the Swedish National Television and online. Moreover, Birgitta Ohlsson, the Swedish Minister for EU Affairs, visited the institute to present a speech on 7th February 2011. Among other things, an interview with Hanna Ojanen on the topic of the Lisbon Treaty was published on the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency webpage on 19th November 2010. The purpose of this website (www.sakerhetspolitik.se) is to provide information about issues of common security to the public and interested parties.

Twice a year, the UI organises a course for professionals who wish to gain broader and deeper understanding on foreign policy matters. Within this framework, Professor Mark Rhinard (UI) held a presentation on “The EU’s Role in the World: the New External Action Service” on 21st October 2010. Rhinard has also given a lecture at College of Europe, Brugge, Belgium, on “The EU and Societal Actors” with focus on the Lisbon Treaty’s Solidarity Clause.

On 7th-9th September 2010, the UI was the local host for the SGIR 7th Pan-European Conference on International Relations. With more than 1100 participants and 900 papers, this is the biggest International Relations conference in Europe to date. The general theme of conference was the politics of the global financial crisis. The programme also contained a great number of other international relations themes, including security and conflict studies, global governance, international cooperation and foreign policy analysis, several of which were related to the Lisbon Treaty. Two papers presented and discussed explicitly dealing with the Lisbon Treaty were “A Security Actor under Construction: Inputs from the Lisbon Treaty” by Ana Paula Brandao, University of Minho, and “Introducing Post-Lisbon, the Case of Pension Policy” by Claes A Belfrage, Swansea University. Among the highlights of the conference were further the speeches by Peter Gourevitch on the financial crisis and by Jan Eliasson on conflict mediation.

Furthermore, a smaller international conference was organised together with the Swedish Foreign Ministry on 7th June 2010 on the topic “European Solidarity in Sight?”. Moreover, together with the Folke Bernadotte Academy, the UI organised an event where Professor Mark Rhinard (UI) gave a speech on “European Foreign Policy Post-Lisbon: State of Play” in Stockholm on 5th May 2010. The UI organised further, together with Folk och Försvar, the embassies of Denmark, Finland, Island and Norway, Finlandsinstitutet as well as Norden i Fokus, a seminar on the topic “Stoltenberg-rapporten i ljuset av Lissabon-fördraget” [The Stoltenberg Report in the light of the Lisbon Treaty] on 6th May 2010. Moreover, Rhinard held a speech entitled the “Perspectives on the EU’s Ability to Act during Crisis” at the Association of Foreign Affairs Uppsala, Sweden, on 4th February 2010.

In addition, within the framework of Stockholm Forum for Security Studies (SFSS), a thematic research group has been founded entitled “Searching for Solidarity – Pathways for Change in European Security Cooperation”. SFSS was founded in the autumn of 2008 to gather researches with an interest in security policy in a wider sense. The aim of this forum is to strengthen cooperation between researchers both nationally and internationally, in part through the creation of a research group. The above mentioned research group has studied the Lisbon Treaty and in particular the Solidarity Clause since the turn of the year 2009/2010. Special attention has been paid to how, where

and when the EU shall act in case of for example a terrorist attack or a natural disaster. The project is lead by Professor Mark Rhinard (UI) together with Professor Magnus Ekengren (FHS), Simon Hollis (FHS) and Professor Alyson Bailes (Icelandic Institute of International Affairs).

Turkey (Middle East Technical University)

The Centre has two Masters Programmes entitled European Integration (EI) and European Union Studies (EUS). Within the reporting period under EUS, courses covering politics, economics and law of the European Union were offered. More specific courses on the European Union were available as well. Examples include Common Agricultural Policy, EU Environmental and Natural Resources Policy, Regional Politics in Europe and Politics of Migration in Europe.

In addition, there were courses which provided the students with the opportunity to further their studies by thematically focusing on issue-areas such as Theories of European Integration, Development of European Identity, Theory and Practice of Democratization in Europe.

Within EI, courses which provided the opportunity to focus on Turkey-EU relationship were available, such as Accession and Negotiation Process in the EU, Turkey-EU Relations, European Economic Integration and Turkey. Other courses aimed to provide a better understanding of the EU in general, Principle of EU Law, Process of European Integration, International Relations of the EU, Citizenship and Identity in the EU, Economics of European Integration and Sectoral Policies of the EU, and Globalization and Europe. 96 students took these courses during the last academic term (2010-2011 Autumn Semester) in total in both programmes, the number is 76 students in total in the present academic term (2010-2011 Spring Semester).

None of the courses offered focused exclusively on the Lisbon Treaty. However, all courses that cover the policies of the European Union touch upon the changes introduced by the Treaty. Unfortunately, giving an estimate of coverage in percentages is not possible.

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There was not a single event dedicated to the Lisbon Treaty itself at the Center. A number of speakers touched upon the implications of the Lisbon Treaty for their areas of specialty within the framework of CES seminar series. A group of Masters students, on the other hand, participated in the seminar series entitled “EU@work Seminar Series: Post Lisbon – post crisis?” in Brussels organised by CES-METU JMCE and the JMCE University of Cologne, Professor Wolfgang Wessels, between 2nd-4th June 2010.

The Centre did not develop any special means of teaching for the Lisbon Treaty, except for the PowerPoint presentations that the Lecturers individually prepare and use in their courses.

Turkey (Sabanci University)

Lisboan Activities concerning teaching: The following courses are taught at the Sabanci University on the European integration and the Lisbon Treaty. The first of these courses was offered in the Autumn semester of 2010-2011 Academic year and the other three in the Spring semester. These courses were taken by Post Graduate students in the Master programme of European Studies, PhD and Master programs in Political Science and undergraduate students from Social and Political Studies and Economics.

“The European Union: Politics, Policies and Governance”: This course was taught by Meltem Müftüler-Baç as a graduate level course and the course was 14 weeks long, with 3 hours contact time a week, total of 42 hours contact and 3 hours office hours a week a total of 42 hours office hours, and the total time for the course was 84 hours contact. As one of the main compulsory courses in the

master of European Studies programme at Sabanci University, this course covered the process of political integration. The students who took the course were mostly master of European Studies students and PhD or master students in Political Science. The course covered institutional reform in the European Union and focused on the institutional changes with the treaty reforms. A significant emphasis was on the road to the Lisbon Treaty, the intense classroom discussions on the institutional changes that the 2004 Constitutional Treaty has foreseen. The changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty were discussed in detail.

“Major Issues in the European Union”: The course was 14 weeks long, 3 hours contact time a week, total of 42 hours contact and 3 hours office hours, the course is team taught by Joost Langerdjik, Meltem Müftüler-Baç and invited speakers. The first seven weeks of the course are all dedicated to the impact of the Lisbon treaty on the integration process. This is 50% of the course. Joost Langerdjik as a former Member of the European Parliament was able to present a practitioner’s view of the Treaty negotiations. Especially with regard to the Lisbon Treaty related readings, the students had to read the following for their course requirements.

- CEPS/EGMONT/EPC, *The Treaty of Lisbon: A Second Look at the Institutional Innovations*, Brussels, 2010.
- Jean-Claude Piris, *The Lisbon Treaty. A Legal and Political Analysis*, Cambridge, 2010.
- Gian Luigi Tosato, “The Shape of Post-Lisbon Europe” in Stefano Micossi and Gian Luigi Tosato (ed), *The European Union in the 21st Century*, Brussels, 2009.

“Turkey’s Place in Europe”: The course was 14 weeks long, 3 hours contact time a week, total of 42 hours contact and 3 hours office hours. Meltem Müftüler-Baç taught the course in Spring 2011 for undergraduate students. The course focused on the Turkish relations with the European Union and with specific emphasis on the EU’s decision making on the Turkish integration process. The institutional changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty and its implications on Turkey’s place in Europe constituted around 20% of the course material.

“Turkey and the European Union Relations”: The course was 14 weeks long, 3 hours contact time a week, total of 42 hours contact and 3 hours office hours. Meltem Müftüler-Baç taught 5 weeks of the class, with 20 hours in lectures, around 20 hours in contact with the students in tutorial fashion, for a total of 40 hours.

Post Graduate thesis on the Lisbon Treaty

Under the LISBOAN activities at Sabanci University, the following master’s thesis and postgraduate papers focused on the different aspects of the Lisbon Treaty.

Doga Taslardan Ersoy completed her master’s thesis titled “The Impact of the Financial Crisis to the Collective Interest of the European Union” under the supervision of Meltem Müftüler-Baç and defended the thesis in February 2011. She analysed the collective interest of the European Union and how the EU member states dealt with economic crisis in the institutional framework created by the Lisbon Treaty. The institutional framework for common decision making in dealing with economic crisis after the Lisbon Treaty was especially important in her analysis.

Beyza Berat Aybat began her master’s thesis on the impact of the Lisbon Treaty on the EU’s neighbourhood policy in March 2011. She is writing her thesis in Spring 2011 with a projected defence date in August 2011. The thesis is written under the supervision of Meltem Müftüler-Baç.

Talks and Seminars on the Lisbon Treaty

In addition to these teaching activities, the following talks and seminars at the Sabanci University in 2010-2011 were delivered on the Lisbon Treaty.

- 22nd September 2010, Meltem Müftüler-Baç gave a seminar on “Turkey, the European Union and Lisbon Treaty”, to students who arrived under the Erasmus exchange programme at Sabanci University.
- 26th October 2010, Meltem Müftüler-Baç gave a training session to the business community leaders and presented the evolution of the European integration process and the institutional changes in the EU with the Lisbon Treaty. The attendees were CEOs and executives from a leading company in Turkey. This constituted an outreach activity to the stakeholders in the Turkish society with respect to teaching the Lisbon Treaty.
- 24th November 2010, Meltem Müftüler-Baç participated in the Third European Union-Kagider Days at the Women’s Entrepreneurs Association in Istanbul along with an official representative from the European Commission. This one day long session was a training session for women entrepreneurs in Turkey and aimed at increasing their knowledge on the EU and the Lisbon Treaty.
- 25th November 2010, Meltem Müftüler-Baç gave a seminar at Kadir Has University in Istanbul on the Turkish accession to the EU and the impact of the Lisbon Treaty and its institutional reforms on Turkey’s accession.
- 29th December 2010, Meltem Müftüler-Baç gave a seminar at Middle East Technical University in Ankara on the Lisbon Treaty and the enlargement policy.

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All these talks and seminars have acted in advancing the outreach capacity of the Sabanci University for teaching the Lisbon Treaty and diffusing knowledge on the Lisbon Treaty and the integration process to the larger society and different stakeholders.

United Kingdom (University of Sheffield)

The Treaty of Lisbon occupies a prominent place in two specialist Masters programmes taught in the Faculty of Social Sciences. These are the MA in European Governance and Politics (EGP) and the MA in European Law, Governance and Policy (ELGP). Although no module dedicated to the Lisbon Treaty is offered on these programmes, a compulsory module common to both is ‘The Governance and Politics of the EU’, which was fully updated to take account of the revised treaty base. The ELGP programme comprises compulsory modules offered by the Law School in EU Constitutional Law and Legal Protection in the EU. Within the Department of Politics and the School of Law other optional modules are offered within these and other MA programmes covering such topics as Europeanisation, Freedom, Security and Justice in the EU, EU Social Law, EU Health Law, EU Internal Market Law, Competition Law, and Legal Aspects of the EU’s External Relations. Depending on the specific impact of the Lisbon Treaty upon the subject matter, appropriate updating has been undertaken for all these modules.

At undergraduate level optional modules are offered in Politics (the Politics and Government of the EU) and Law (e.g. EU Law), as well as in other social science departments, e.g. Economics (the Economics of the EU), and Sociological Studies (The Sociology of the EU). Teaching of the Politics and Government of the EU was able to benefit from the publication in February 2011 of the fully updated textbook, Politics in the European Union, which is co-authored by past (Stephen George) and

present (Ian Bache, Simon Bulmer) academics in the Department of Politics, plus a guest chapter on environmental policy by a former Ph.D. student (Vasilis Leontitsis).¹⁹

On 13-14 January 2011 Paul Cardwell of the School of Law organised a workshop, co-sponsored by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies, on 'EU External Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era'. The workshop was attended by some 30 academics and research students from across the EU, with over 20 papers given. At a joint seminar co-organised between research centres in Politics and Law on May 2011 Professor Jörg Monar (Sussex/College of Europe) presented a paper on 'The EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: The Lisbon Treaty as a Paradigm Shift'. In October 2010 Paul Cardwell gave an invited lecture at the University of Leicester on 'The Treaty of Lisbon and External Relations'.

¹⁹ Bache, Ian/ George, Stephen/ Bulmer, Simon, "Politics in the European Union", 3rd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, xxvii + 616 pp..

2. Researching the Treaty of Lisbon

- 2.1) What is your (where applicable: your institution/department's) main area of EU-related research?
- 2.2) Which innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty are of special interest to you (where applicable, please refer to the respective article numbers in the Lisbon Treaty)?
- 2.3) Have you (where applicable: your institution/department) produced research results on the Lisbon Treaty in the reporting period? Please give a short abstract or provide a list of publications you consider important.

Austria (Universität Salzburg)

Main area of research

Since summer 2010 the SCEUS is undergoing a structural reform in order to strengthen the interdisciplinarity of its research agenda. It is now trying to link under a common roof all research related to European integration at the University of Salzburg. The research programme, which is envisaged for the next years is now grouped into six thematic areas: Institutions and Politics (EU-POL), European Union and Constitutional Law (EU-LAW), Globalisation, European Integration and the Welfare State (EU-GLOB), Economic Policy Making and Regulation in selected European Markets (EU-ECON), European Culture and Society (EU-CULT) and Europe and the Wider World (EU-INT).

Research on Lisbon Treaty

Again, most of the project now summoned under this common roof, tackle questions brought about by the Treaty of Lisbon, but some are more directly linked to the innovations after Lisbon. Examples are:

Colliding Forms of European Governance. Constitutional Perspectives of the "Triple Presidency" (Researchers involved: Sonja Puntischer Riekman, Thomas Eilmansberger, Günter Herzig)

The project will focus on the role of the European Council and the newly conceived presidency as European agenda-setter in its relations to the rotating Council presidency and the Commission presidency. What effects will the "triple presidency" have on European agenda-setting? How will the potential pendulum swings between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism affect European politics? The underlying assumption is that the new power structure is prone to rivalry and thus leading to a governance of many hands producing sub-optimal outcomes or even inaction.

The 2010 European Sovereign Debt Crisis and its Implications (Researchers involved: Sonja Puntischer Riekman, Hannes Winner, Andreas Dür, Werner Tschiderer)

The 2010 European sovereign debt crisis has the potential to have a major impact on European governance in the next years. In this project, we will draw on expertise at SCEUS to cast light on the causes and consequences of the debt crisis and the legal implications of the response agreed upon within the EU.

How Do National Parliaments Cope with their New Powers? An Austrian Case Study (Researchers involved: Sonja Puntischer Riekman, Stefan Griller, Reinhard Heinisch)

It is unclear how national parliaments will handle their new powers, whether they will use them at all and, if so how they will invest resources in new institutions and procedures in order to tackle problems of information, interpretation, evaluation and internal as well as external co-ordination. Based on legal assessments of the constitutional and procedural provisions, this case study aims at investigating change or persistence of the Austrian parliament and analyzing actors and their rationale for possibly different forms of behaviour as well as the consequences stemming thereof (for parties, party groups, relation with government and administration etc).

The ambiguous Concept of Solidarity in EU-Law: Legal Duty or Moral Orientation (Researchers involved: Sonja Puntischer Riekmann, Kirsten Schmalenbach, Doris Wydra)

In the Lisbon Treaty, the notion “solidarity” is applied rather lavishly if not inflationary. In contrast, the principle of loyalty – on paper a rather vague concept – has been successfully animated by the European Court of Justice, much to the detriment of Member states. The proposed project deals with the principle of solidarity as introduced by the Lisbon treaty in all its aspects. Obviously, the principle of solidarity still awaits its litmus-test in European Court rooms. One of the core aims of the project is to fathom the principles of political or legal expediency in order to promote further integration, and its suitability to introduce a new dimension of in-depth integration, which is commonly connected with the statehood.

From Rome to Lisbon: Power of EU member states and the EU’s Capability to Act in Light of the Interplay between EU Commission, (European) Council, and Parliament – An Interdisciplinary Assessment (Researchers involved: Stefan Griller)

Starting from an interdisciplinary survey of the present legal, political science, and economic, literature, we next address issues related to changes in voting power of the MS from the treaties of Rome till Lisbon. Second, we analyse the interplay between the key institutions of the EU (Commission, European Council, Council, EP) and further players that have been neglected so far in the literature (for example, the national parliaments), and which are gaining weight under the Lisbon Treaty. We then provide both a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the EU’s capability to act and its evolution over time, again with a particular emphasis on the consequences of the Lisbon Treaty.

The Democratic Challenge Facing Europe (researchers involved: Reinhard Heinisch)

The basic research question is: What accounts for the emergence and electoral performance of Eurosceptic political parties in the domestic party systems of Central and East Europe (CEE)? This goes to the heart of the question raised in the Laeken Declaration and which informed the Lisbon Treaty process as to the extent to which the involvement of Europe threatens or is perceived to threaten local and national identities, thereby provoking anti-integration sentiments and politics. This study proposes a theoretical model linking Europeanization to mainstream party convergence on one hand, and mainstream party convergence to electoral outcomes on the other.

List of Publications

- Eilmansberger, Thomas/Griller, Stefan/ Obwexer, Walter, “Rechtsfragen der Implementierung des Vertrags von Lissabon”, Wien: Springer (Legal questions on the implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon), 2011.
- Damjanovic, Dragana, “Welfare Integration through EU Law: The Overall Picture in the Light of the Lisbon Treaty”, in: EUI-working papers, and subsequently in: Neergard/Nielsen/Roseburry (eds), *Integrating Welfare Functions into EU-Law? From Rome to Lisbon*, 2009, 53-97 (with Bruno de Witte).
- Puntischer Riekmann, “Constitutionalism and Representation: European Parliamentarism in the Treaty of Lisbon”, in: Dobner, Petra/Loughlin, Martin: *The Twilight of Constitutionalism?*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, 120-137.
- Wydra, Doris, “Ein kritischer Blick auf den Solidaritätsdiskurs in der Europäischen Union“, in: Clemens Sedmak (ed.), *Grundwerte in Europe. Band 1: Solidarität. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft*, 2019.

- Eilmansberger, Thomas/Herzig, Günter, “Jahrbuch Europarecht 11“, Wien, 2011.
- Eilmansberger, Thomas, “Die Anwendung der EU-Grundrechte durch nationale Gerichte (und Behörden)“, *ecolex* 11, 2010, 1024 – 1028.
- Dür, Andreas, “The EU’s Foreign Economic Policy: Limits to Delegation”, in: Richardson, Jeremy (ed.), *Constructing a Policy-making State? Policy Dynamics in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Austria (Diplomatische Akademie Wien)

The Resident and Adjunct Faculty teaching at the DA have published a special issue of the *Favorita Papers* 02/2010 entitled “Quo Vadis Europa? Twenty Years after the Fall of the Wall”. The volume deals with the EU and the Lisbon Treaty in comprehensive manner. The contributions range from discussions on great power politics to the EU’s role in the global environmental regime.

Markus Kornprobst’s research agenda is heavily focused on EU foreign policy and the manner in which the Lisbon Treaty changes the foreign policy making process. He is currently writing a book on the “EU’s Management of International Crises” and is also conducting research on related projects on the EU and the balance of power as well as the EU’s grand strategy. He has presented these on-going projects at various conferences, including this year’s International Studies Annual Convention and at an invited lecture at the Center of European Studies, University of Minnesota.

Belgium (Ghent University)

The research activities of the European Institute mainly focus on the external relations of the European Union. In the reporting period, specific attention has been devoted to the institutional consequences of the new Lisbon Treaty and, in particular, on the implications of the new treaty framework for the coherence of the EU’s external action. This has resulted in the publication of the article “EU External Action after the Collapse of the Pillar Structure: In Search of a New Balance between Delimitation and Consistency” by Professor Peter van Elsuwege in *Common Market Law Review* 47(4): 987-1019, August 2010. This article analyses the relationship between the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and its other external policies after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. It discusses the implications of the EU’s single legal personality and the institutional innovations to enhance the coherence of the EU’s external action in light of the division of EU external powers and competences. The potential for inter-institutional conflicts is illustrated with the new rules for the adoption of restrictive measures against individuals. A research paper on “The Adoption of ‘Targeted Sanctions’ and the Potential for Inter-Institutional Litigation after Lisbon” was later presented at the international conference “European Law and Politics after Lisbon”, organised by the Centre for European Constitutionalization, Copenhagen University (11th-12th November 2010). Three members of the European Institute (Peter van Elsuwege, Purdey De Visscher and Anneleen van Bossuyt) also published an article on the Charter of Fundamental Rights and its implications for the national legal order (in Dutch), in the *Tijdschrift voor Privaatrecht* 47 (2010) 2: 529-588.

In the reporting period, a new researcher (Hans Merket) started his PhD research on “The Implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the Delimitation of EU Development and Security Competences: a Case Study on Sub-Saharan Africa”. This research essentially aims to analyse the implications of the post-Lisbon legal and institutional framework for the delineation of the EU’s security and development competences in its policies towards Sub-Saharan Africa. The focus is twofold, namely on how this dichotomy affects the relations among EU institutions and policies

(horizontal delimitation of competences) and between the EU and the member states (vertical delimitation of competences). Based upon a legal-institutional approach, this research will contribute to the wider academic debate about the implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the coherence of EU external action.

Belgium (Université Catholique de Louvain)

The main themes related to the Lisbon Treaty and dealt with in research activities are as follows:

Citizenship

- Françoise Massart-Pierard, “Le Parlement européen: l’irrésistible mouvement de conquête des pouvoirs”, in: *Revue internationale de Politique comparée*, vol. 16, n° 4, 2009, 545-557.
- Christian Franck, Lisa Isnard, “Un vote-sanction asymétrique en juin 2009”, in: *Revue internationale de Politique comparée*, vol. 16, n° 4, 2009, 607-621.

Belgian Presidency

- Christian Franck, “La politique européenne de la Belgique”, in: *Questions internationales, La documentation française*, Paris, septembre-octobre 2010, 100-107.
- Work in progress: the new role of the rotation presidency in the light of the 2010 Belgian Semester: Researches and publications are in preparation on this topic.

Bulgaria (Plovdiv University)

The perspective for the civic referendum as one of the new features of the Lisbon Treaty is part of recent research of Professor V. Petroussenko in the area of democratic capacity provided by the Lisbon Treaty and part of a future survey. In March 2011, a paper related to this research was presented at a conference of the University of World Economy in Sofia.

Croatia (Institute for International Relations)

As a part of the Institute for International Relations (IMO), the Department for European Integration is mostly devoted to the European integration issues. Its interdisciplinary scientific research is focused on the economic, legal and political development of the European Union and its relations with candidate and non-member countries. Internal reforms within the EU, the enlargement process and relations with South-eastern Europe, including the accession negotiations between Croatia and the EU, are at the centre of research interests. Thematically, the Europe 2020 Strategy is currently at the primary research focus. The Department takes part in various European academic networks. In addition to scientific research, the Department's activities include the development of an information infrastructure and education in the field of European Studies. It closely cooperates with the EU i-Documentation Centre and helps in promoting its activities as well as facilitating a continuous flow of information to the end users through the EnterEurope web portal.

The reform of the Lisbon Treaty in the context of opening the possibility for further enlargement was of particular interest for the IMO research and the overall debates in Croatia. This was particularly relevant during negotiations on institutional issues of Croatia's membership in the EU.

Regarding functioning in the EU, the changed total number of the MEPs due to the Lisbon Treaty (Art. 14 of TEU, consolidated text) and application of the principle of “degressive proportionality” on the number of Croatian MEPs have been in focus of the research interest. In that respect the outcomes of accession negotiations in chapter 34 “Institutions” (chapter closed in November 2010) have been followed. Although the number of Croatian MEPs has been set at twelve, this number will be

renegotiated in 2014 before next elections for the European Parliament. Similarly, the research interest was focused towards Art. 5 of the TEU according to which “national parliaments ensure compliance with the principle of subsidiarity” in accordance with the Protocol on the Application of Principles of Subsidiarity and Proportionality. This raises the question on the future role of Croatian Parliament, and its’ structural and functional capacity for the performance of the tasks envisaged by the Treaties.

The adoption of the Europe 2020 coincided with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. In that respect, the IMO research issue is to what extent the constitutional and institutional architecture of the Lisbon Treaty aids the realization of governance reforms to be undertaken in the context of Europe 2020.

The functioning of the EU’s EEAS is of special interest to IMO (TEU Art. 27). Within the LISBOAN project, the IMO will organise the workshop “Impact of the European External Action Service on the EU’s relations and policies towards South East Europe” to discuss impacts of the newly formed EEAS on the region of South East Europe.

Regarding research results on the Lisbon Treaty, IMO recently published the book “From the Lisbon Strategy to Europe 2020”.²⁰ The book is a result of the wider research group and it encompasses analyses on the selected aspects of the Europe 2020 which in the form of soft law reflects provisions of the Lisbon Treaty. In that regard, the book offers analyses on different dimensions of Europe 2020, such as the energy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth (a policy that was officially introduced by the Lisbon Treaty), environmental policy, investing targets in R&D and education, social inclusion and solidarity and competitiveness of the EU on the global market. The research results brought by the book are relevant not only for the promotion of economic and social progress in the EU, but also for securing the sustainable development, within the context of accomplishment of the internal market and of reinforced cohesion and environmental protection. These determinations are named in the Preamble of the consolidated version of the Treaty on the European Union, amended by the Lisbon Treaty. In introductory part of this book the section entitled “The Lisbon Treaty and meta-governance in the EU” deals specifically with impacts of the Lisbon Treaty for the governance of the Europe 2020 Strategy.

Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)

EU-related research at the DIIS is mostly focused on the external relations. This is both in terms of the regular CFSP, European Neighbourhood Policies as well as the study of enlargement policies. In addition to this, the asylum and immigration policy of the EU also plays a substantial role in the DIIS’s EU- research. As well as the consequences of the Danish EU-opt outs is various policy areas.

Therefore, the innovations introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon that are of special interest to the DIIS are all those pertaining to the EU foreign policy (Art. 23 TEU – Art. 55 TEU) as well as those concerning the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. (Art. TEUF-89 TEUF).

Recently, the DIIS has produced the following publications on the Treaty of Lisbon:

²⁰ Samardzija, Visnja and Butkovic, Hrvoje (eds.), “From the Lisbon Strategy to Europe 2020, Institute for International Relations, Zagreb”, 2010. Full text available at: <http://www.imo.hr/files/From%20the%20Lisbon%20Strategy%20to%20Europe%202020.pdf>, last accessed on 5th April 2011.

- Tassinari, Fabrizio/Holm, Ulla/Malmvig, Helle, Growing Jasmines: “What Should the EU do in Tunisia Now?”, Policy Brief, 2011.
- Tassinari, Fabrizio/Holm, Ulla, “Values Promotion and Security Management in Euro-Mediterranean Relations: ‘Making Democracy Work’ or ‘Good-Enough Governance’?”, DIIS Working Paper 2010:17, 2010.
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas, “Acces to Asylum: International refugee law and the globalisation of migration control”, *Cambridge Studies in International and Comparative Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas, “Outsourcing European Migration Control and the Reach of International Refugee Law”, in: Minderhoud, Paul/Guild, Elspeth (eds.), *Citizens and Third Country Nationals: Examining Ten Years of the EU’s Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, A Celebration of Ten Years of the European Journal of Migration and Law*, The Hague: Brill, forthcoming 2011.
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas, “Straitjacket or Sovereignty Shield? The Danish Opt-Out on Justice and Home Affairs and Prospects after the Treaty of Lisbon”, in: Mouritzen, Hans/Hvidt, Nanna (eds.), *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2010*. (with Rebecca Adler-Nissen):
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas, “Dansk Asylpolitik 1983-2011”, in: Smith Nielsen, Signe/Vitus, Katrine, *Asylbørn*, Copenhagen: Molly & Paul. (with Zachary Whyte)

Estonia (University of Tartu)

The Institute of Government Studies’ research focuses on comparative politics and theories of international relations; the EuroCollege’s research focus is on European policies, decision-making and EU-Russia relations.

The main focus of the research is on EU-Russia relations (both political and economic); the second priority research topics are related to the challenges of EU enlargement and its relations with its neighbourhood; third priority research is related to the impact of the Lisbon Treaty on EU foreign relations together with impact of the changes in EU institutional system are the main topics under research.

No publications have been issued on Lisbon Treaty during the period under observation (autumn 2010-spring 2011).

Finland (University of Tampere)

At the UTA the teaching and research interests on the EU are closely interlinked. Research priorities include EU institutions and decision-making (most pronouncedly the European Parliament); europeanization; EU energy policy and external energy relations (in particular vis-à-vis Russia, Turkey, Caspian region); wider Europe including neighbourhood policy and EU-Russia relations; human and basic rights in the EU, plus the European Court of Justice; EU tax law; cross-border interactions and EU structural funds vis-à-vis the Baltic Sea region; and environmental problems and cooperation in the Baltic Sea region.

The institutional ‘innovations’ of the Lisbon Treaty are not of primary interest at the level of individual articles of the treaty at the UTA but rather the consequences of the treaty reform. These research interests include the external action service, the conduct of energy policy and new decision-

making procedures as well as the consequences of the treaty reform for the relationship between supranationalism and national-level developments in the Union, including the degree of europeanization. Regarding human and basic rights, research cooperation is underway by Pauli Rautiainen and Dr. Jukka Viljanen on the transatlantic dialogue in these questions, coordinated by the Ecologic Institute, Berlin. Another similar start-up project is underway with the Jean Monnet Centre of the Vrije Universiteit, Brussels.

Research results on issues of direct relevance for the Lisbon Treaty include:

- Raunio, Tapio, “Destined for Irrelevance? Subsidiarity Control by National Parliaments”, Real Instituto Elcano Working Paper 36/2010, Madrid, 2010.

Abstract: The Lisbon Treaty introduced the “early warning mechanism”, with national legislatures assigned the right to monitor whether initiatives for EU laws comply with the principle of subsidiarity. Does the mechanism really empower national parliaments by giving them a collective veto in EU politics or will it remain largely unused by domestic MPs? This paper leans towards the latter interpretation, arguing that the whole mechanism was mainly introduced in response to legitimacy concerns. It is a rather harmless procedure with only a marginal impact on the EU’s legislative process. The incentive structure simply works against individual MPs, political parties or parliaments making active use of this instrument. When placed in the larger context of the role performed by national parliaments in EU politics, the early warning mechanism can be seen to reinforce the perception of domestic MPs acting as the “gatekeepers” of European integration.

Research results with indirect relevance include:

- Rautiainen, Pauli, “Argumentation on Basic Rights in the Finnish Art Policy” (in Finnish), *Synteesi* 3/2010, 2010.
- Rautiainen, Pauli, “The Freedom of Art in Europe” (in Finnish), *Niin & Näin* 2/2010, 2010.

France (CERI, Sciences Po)

Concerning the European policies, one can distinguish three issues, which interest the CERI particularly:

- The foreign policies of the European Union and its security policy

Irondelle, B., “European Security since the Fall of the Berlin Wall”, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010. (with Frédéric Mérand et Martial Foucault).

Lequesne, C., “France: From Rejection to Return?”, in: Maurizio Carbone (ed.), *National Politics And European Integration From the Constitution to the Lisbon Treaty*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010. (with Helen Drake).

Lequense, C./Rupnik, J., “1989: Europe and the World transformed”, London: Routledge, 2011.

- Minorities in Europe
- Migratory flux in Europe

From this point of view, all the articles of the Treaty of Lisbon concerning the European foreign policy seem of particular importance (TEU 15, 17, 18, 21, 24, 26, 27, 32, 36, 38, 43, 44 and TFEU 220, 221, 234, 243, 246, 328).

Germany (Trier University)

The work of Joachim Schild on the European Union is mainly dedicated to issues of Franco-German relations and French European policy. He also deals with issues of institutional reform during the negotiations on the European Constitutional and Lisbon Treaty and with broader issues of constitutionalising the EU. His collaborator, Thomas Siemes, M.A., works mainly on French foreign policy in a European framework. Other colleagues in the political science department work on the EU as a global actor (Professor Hanns W. Maull; Dr. Siegfried Schieder), on the European Neighbourhood Policy (Christine Normann, M.A.) and on the Euro-atlantic security relations (Dr. Cornelia Frank).

With a view to the Lisbon Treaty, the main interest lies in changes in the institutional setup: the high representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (Art. 18 TEU), the European External Action Service (Art. 27 TEU), the president of the European Council (Art. 15 TEU) and Title XXI (TEC) on energy are main areas of research.

Important publications

- Schild, Joachim, "Pariser Pragmatismus. Französische EU-Vertragsreformpolitik von Amsterdam bis Lissabon", in: Leïße, Olaf (ed.), *Die Europäische Union nach dem Vertrag von Lissabon*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010, 23-41.
- Schild, Joachim: "Mission impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU", in: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48. Jg., H. 5, 2010, 1367-1390.
- Sauger, Nicolas/Schild, Joachim: "Différentes manières d'être pro-européen: les positions des partis français et allemands", in: Demesmay, Claire/ Marchetti, Andreas (eds.), *La France et l'Allemagne face aux crises européennes*, Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010, 235-256.
- Schild, Joachim, "Quel leadership franco-allemand en matière de gouvernance économique européenne?", in: *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales 2011*, Vol. XII, La documentation Française/Bruylant (forthcoming).

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Germany (University Duisburg-Essen)

The research of the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Duisburg-Essen is focused on the history of the EU. The Lisbon Treaty is seen as the result of many years of discussions, decisions and experiences of institutional questions in the process of European integration which needs an historical explanation. In 2010/11, we contributed on several points of such an explanation (in chronological order):

- Loth, Wilfried, "Der Schuman-Plan und die Zukunft der Europäischen Union", in: *Integration* 33, 2010, 349-357.
- Loth, Wilfried, "Die Gemeinschaftsmethode von Jean Monnet", in: Lucia Scherzberg (ed.), *Gemeinschaftskonzepte im 20. Jahrhundert zwischen Wissenschaft und Ideologie*, Münster, 2010, 345-366.

- Bajon, Philip, "Die konstitutionelle Krise der Europäischen Gemeinschaften 1956-66. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen", Diss. Essen/Paris IV, 2010.
- Türk, Henning, "The European Policy of West Germany's Grand Coalition, 1966-1969: Economics, Politics and Actors", in: Rasmussen, Morten/Knudsen, Ann-Christina Lauring (eds.), *The Road to a United Europe. Interpretations of the Process of European Integration*, Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2010, 119 – 134.
- Hiepel, Claudia, "Willy Brandt und Georges Pompidou. Deutsch-französische Europapolitik und Europakonzeptionen 1969-1974", Habilitationsschrift Essen, 2010.
- Hiepel, Claudia, "The Hague Summit of the European Community, Britain's Entry, and the New Atlantic Partnership, 1969-1970", in: Schulz, Matthias/Schwartz, Thomas A. (eds.), *The Strained Alliance. U.S.-European Relations from Nixon to Carter*, Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 105-124.

Germany (University of Cologne)

The Jean Monnet Chair has focused its research activities on two mayor areas:

- The EU's institutional and constitutional evolution;
- The EU's role in the international system.

One of the main theoretical pillars of research at the Jean Monnet Chair is the "fusion approach", pioneered by Professor Wessels in the late 1990s. The Chair is particularly interested in European integration and the transformation of the European system of states, which was coined "macro-fusion" approach by some authors. Against the backdrop of this research agenda, one of the main challenges remains the identification of reliable indicators that allow a robust measurement of the developmental trajectories. Analysing the Lisbon Treaty's innovations in the light of assumptions generated by the fusion approach is one of the main areas of research for the chair. Prior to the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, Professor Wessels published an assessment of the institutional innovations.²¹

One guiding principle of the research is to carefully distinguish between the legal words of treaty provisions and its real world impact. Informal practices often result – over a longer period – into the revision of treaty provisions, in many cases accompanied by a strengthening of supranational policy modes.

Current publications with Lisbon relevance of the Jean Monnet Chair

- Traguth, Thomas/Wessels, Wolfgang, "Der hauptamtliche Präsident des Europäischen Rates: "Herr" oder "Diener" im Haus Europa?", in: *integration* 4/2010, 297-312.
- Klein, Nadia/Kunstein, Tobias/Reiners, Wulf, "Assessing EU Multilateral Action: Trade and Foreign and Security Policy within a Legal and Living Framework", MERCURY E-Paper No. 6, October 2010, available at http://www.mercury-fp7.net/fileadmin/user_upload/E-paper_no6_2010.pdf.
- Glaeser, Cyril, "Nationale Parlamente", in: Weidenfeld, Werner/Wessels, Wolfgang (eds.): *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration* 2010, Baden-Baden, 311-316.

²¹ Hoffmann, Andreas/Wessels, Wolfgang, "Der Vertrag von Lissabon. Eine tragfähige und abschließende Antwort auf konstitutionelle Grundfragen?", in: *integration* 01/2008, p. 3-20.

- Wessels, Wolfgang, “The Making of the European Union System: Reflections and Suggestions for Academic Contributions”, in: *20 Years of Support for European Integration Studies: From the Jean Monnet Action to the Jean Monnet Programme*, Luxembourg, 2011, 130 - 150.
- Weidenfeld, Werner/Wessels, Wolfgang (eds.), “Europa von A bis Z. Taschenbuch der Europäischen Integration“, 11. Auflage, Baden Baden, 2011:
- Hofmann, Andreas/Wessels, Wolfgang, „Die Europäische Union nach dem Vertrag von Lissabon - ein weiterer Schritt auf der Suche nach Problemlösungsfähigkeit und demokratischer Legitimität“, in: Hentges, Gudrun/Hans-Wolfgang Platzer (eds.): *Europa - quo vadis?*, Wiesbaden, 2011.
- Weidenfeld, Werner/Wessels, Wolfgang (eds.), “Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2010“, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag, 2011.

Research projects with Lisbon relevance managed by the Jean Monnet Chair

Lisboan

Lisboan (Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Academic Network) is a network of 67 partner institutions from all EU member states as well as Croatia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Turkey. Its aim is to strengthen cooperation between institutions of higher education and research in Europe with a view to teaching and researching the Treaty of Lisbon, the European Union's legal foundation since December 2009.

Eupolis

The Eupolis (European Polity Post Lisbon) Jean Monnet Multilateral Research Group aims to stimulate academic debate on the evolution of the EU by treaty reforms, focusing especially on the Lisbon Treaty. The project will analyse the ‘quasi’-constitutional evolution of the European polity from an interdisciplinary (political science, law, history) and trans-national perspective based on the fusion thesis.

Exact

Exact is a Marie Curie Initial Training Network providing an EU wide Ph.D. and professional training programme for twelve young researchers and professionals in the field of EU External Action. In the period from October 2010 to September 2013 nine European network partners will implement a training approach that intends to bridge the gap between Ph.D. training within academia, on the one hand, and concrete practical demands from potential employers in consulting and advisory circles on the other.

Mercury

Mercury (Multilateralism and the EU in the Contemporary Global Order) is a consortium of academic partners formed to examine critically the European Union's contribution to multilateralism. It explores multilateralism as a concept, an aspiration, and a form of international order.

Greece (University of Athens)

The main research interests of Professor P.C. Ioakimidis on EU lie in the study of the European integration process and its evolution, the assessment of the negotiating position of Greece and of the other member states in the major EU policy-making procedures (as for example in the IGCs), and EU external action. Professor P.C. Ioakimidis' special interest on the Lisbon Treaty is focused on its impact on all EU policies, especially the external action, and on Greece. The main area of EU related

research of Dr. Anna Vallianatou is CFSP, democratic deficit and Council Presidencies. As far as the Lisbon Treaty is concerned, its impact on CFSP²², the new institutional reforms on the Council Presidency and their subsequent impact on the role of small and big states as well as the enhancement of the EP role in the EU decision making are of special interest for Dr. Anna Vallianatou.

Professor P.C. Ioakimidis published his research results in the book “Treaty of Lisbon: Presentation, Analysis, Evaluation”. This study attempts to present, analyse and evaluate the Treaty of Lisbon and to become a guide of the new EU institutional structure for the interested public. Dr. Anna Vallianatou presented a working paper entitled “The Reforms of the Lisbon Treaty on the Rotating EU Presidency: Braking the powers of small member-states in CFSP Affairs?” at the 40th UACES Annual Conference 2010, (6th-8th September 2010), in Bruges²³.

Since May 2010, the IEIP participated in the European Management Partnership Program²⁴ through its cooperation with the Hellenic Centre of European Studies (EKEM) and the publication of the monthly newsletter “European Developments”. The objective of this Managing Partnership is to support the communications programme of the member states (at the national, regional or local level) through closer cooperation with the institutions and agencies of the European Union.

The monthly newsletter “European Developments”²⁵ is published by the IEIP since 2004 under the scientific supervision of Professor P.C. Ioakimidis (Editor: Dr. Anna Vallianatou). This newsletter covers the discussions on the main institutional innovations of the Lisbon Treaty, the challenges of its implementation as well as the most important European developments. Recipients of this Newsletter are the Greek Ministries, the main Greek institutes on European and International Studies, the Members of the European Parliament, academia and, of course, students. This newsletter diffuses information on the Lisbon Treaty to the interested public.

In addition, the IEIP is holding a scientific project funded by the Greek Ministry of Economy, Competitiveness and Shipping. In this context, the IEIP project team is preparing briefing notes on a quarterly basis and a monthly e-newsletter, both submitted to the Greek Ministry²⁶. The IEIP is monitoring reports of international organizations and the academic literature on issues concerning the Greek economy and the EU Structural Funds²⁷. The Lisbon Treaty is indirectly linked to this scientific project.

Apart from the researchers participating in the LISBOAN – Erasmus Academic Network, other members of the IEIP Academic Board have produced research results linked with the Lisbon Treaty. Professor Napoleon Maravegias edited the book “Uncertain Future of Europe”²⁸ and Lecturer Dr.

²² Art. 23 -31(TEU).

²³ The paper examines whether the enhancement of the role of supranational actors restrict the impact of the learning process on the country holding the EU Council Presidency on CFSP affairs and whether the enhancement of the role of supranational actors reinforce integration in the European Union, enhancing also the role of small EU member states (<http://eeep-pspa.uoa.gr/publications/working-papers.html>).

²⁴ “Implementing the Information and Communication Strategy for the European Union” (COM (2004) 196 of 20th April 2004).

²⁵ See: <http://eeep-pspa.uoa.gr/newsletter/archive.html>.

²⁶ See: http://eeep-pspa.uoa.gr/research_1/research-projects/ongoing.html.

²⁷ Macroeconomic policies and performance, Lisbon Strategy/ Strategy “Europe 2020”, Structural reforms (labour and product markets) and competitiveness, Education, Social policy, Regulatory system and bureaucracy, EU cohesion policy, Regional policy, CAP, Sustainable development.

²⁸ Maravegias, N., “Uncertain Future of Europe”, Kritiki 2010 .

Nikos Koutsiaras published the scientific article “How to Spend it: Putting a Labour Market Modernization Fund in Place of the European Globalization Adjustment Fund”²⁹.

Hungary (Institute for World Economics)

At the IWE each research fellow has usually a geographic and a functional area to cover. While practically all EU countries are being monitored, the main areas of current EU-related research are the following: the crisis of the Euro area, the integration performance of the new ex-socialist member states, EU external trade, EU external relations, the common agricultural policy, the EU budget, EU competitiveness issues (R&D&I, human capital, education, the role of the state), infrastructure and energy.

The most important innovation of the Lisbon Treaty relevant for IWE has been the reform of the presidency system as the Hungarian presidency is also being analysed by the Institute (see more on this under point 4). However, no special research was dedicated to the Lisbon Treaty so far at the IWE.

Iceland (University of Iceland)

The main research activities of the Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small State Studies are related to European integration. The IIA/CSSS has published a number of books and working papers dealing with different aspects of the European project. It is also involved in a number of research and teaching activities related to the EU. Three academics at the Faculty of Political Science, all of them associated with the IIA/CSSS, focus almost exclusively on the EU in their research. Other academics in the Faculty have also increasingly been working on particular projects regarding the EU.

Professor Bailes’ research areas are the general strategic role of the EU, EU security and defence, EU internal security and civil emergency management in a ‘societal security’ perspective, the role of the EU in Nordic and Arctic security and defence, and (most recently) the relevance of the EU to small-state security needs and security strategies.

Professor Conrad’s research focus is transformation of democracy/democracy beyond the nation state, democracy in the EU, European public sphere and European constitutional patriotism.

Professor Thorhallsson’s area of EU-related research is in the field of small state studies (European small states inside and outside the EU). He has also written extensively on Iceland’s engagement with Europe. Professor Thorhallsson is a Jean Monnet Chair and has received several ERASMUS teaching grants. A number of Ph.D. students and Master students have written theses about European integration in this period. None of them focused explicitly on the Lisbon Treaty though some of them dealt with the EU institutional structure and decision-making processes.

Part-time lecturer and PhD student Rebhan has a particular interest in the right of member states to secede from the Union (Art. 49a TEU) and enhanced cooperation procedure (Art. 280h TFEU).

Professor Bailes takes a close look, in particular, at Art. 42.7 and 222 as well as at the institutional changes in the Council sphere, the provisions on JLS and other dimensions of security.

²⁹ Koutsiaras, Nikos, “How to Spend it: Putting a Labour Market Modernization Fund in Place of the European Globalization Adjustment Fund”, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48:3, 617-640, 2010.

Professor Conrad is mainly interested in the European Citizens' Initiative, the role of the European Parliament (co-decision/ordinary legislative procedure) and national parliaments (orange card procedure, surveillance of the subsidiarity principle).

LT changes in the defence/security field were discussed in two of Professor Bailes' main publications in 2010: "NATO and the EU in the North: What is at stake in current strategy development?" published in the Lithuanian Foreign Policy review, no. 23/2010; and "Euro-Atlantic Security and Institutional Rebalancing in the midst of global change", a chapter co-written with Dr. Andrew Cottey (Univ of Cork) for the SIPRI Yearbook 2010, pub OUP Aug 2010.

In addition, Professor Bailes took part in a research project of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI) on the Lisbon Treaty solidarity clauses – see webpage <http://www.ui.se//forskning/eu/the-next-step-in-european-integration-implementing-the-solidarity-clause> – which mentions the two resulting publications. Bailes' contribution included in particular, elite interviews in Finland and Sweden and research in Denmark to clarify these countries' attitudes to Art. 42.7 and 222 and to "solidarity" in general. Since January 2010, she has been working on a sabbatical project to co-write (with Graham Messervy-Whiting) an occasional paper for publication by the Egmont Institute in Brussels, tentatively titled "Death of an institution: The end of the WEU, a future for European defence?". A central research question is whether and why Art. 42.7 of the Lisbon Treaty opened the way for denunciation of the Modified Brussels Treaty, and this aspect is being pursued through elite interviews with the Brussels organs and a number of nations. The publication is planned for summer 2011. Finally, Professor Bailes will be chairing a series of expert workshops (Feb-Sept 2011) at the European Policy Centre in Brussels on practical fields of work for the EEAS (crisis management, arms control, energy etc) where it will be asked what the Lisbon Treaty changes should mean, and are actually meaning, for the quality of EU strategy and coherence of EU action in each selected field.

Ireland (University College Dublin)

There are a significant number of scholars at UCD working on the dynamic of European integration and hence on the implementation of the Lisbon treaty. The research includes work on the role of national parliaments post-Lisbon (Dr. Gavin Barrett), the evolution of the EAS (Professor Ben Tonra), the international role of the Union (Professor Daniel Thomas, the political economy of the EU (Dr. Roland Erne) and referendums and Ireland in Europe (Professor Brigid Laffan).

The following research publications produced by the UCD are worth mentioning:

- Laffan, Brigid, "Ireland and Europe 2010: An Unwelcome Critical Juncture?", The Institute of International and European Affairs.
- Barrett, Gavin, "Reviewing the Role of the Oireachtas in European Affairs", School of Law, University College Dublin.
- Barrett, Gavin, "First Amendment? - The Treaty Change to Facilitate the European Stability Mechanism", The Institute of International and European Affairs, 2011.

Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

The IAI has the following two departments that deal with EU-related issues:

- European Affairs (governance and institutions), including topics such as democracy in the EU and the institutional dimension of European foreign and security policy,

- European Union policy towards the neighbourhood.

In addition, the security and defence department deals, among other things, with the institutional and policy developments of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

The Lisbon Treaty innovations that mostly interest the IAI are those related to the field of European democracy, European foreign policy, with a specific focus on the EU policy towards Eastern and Southern neighbours, and to the Common Security and Defence Policy. The most important articles for the Institute's research are the following:

- Art. 8 TEU: European Neighbourhood Policy
- Art. 23-46 TEU: specific provisions on the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and in particular:
- Art. 27 TEU (creation of the new High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice President of the European Commission and of the European External Action Service).
- Art. 32 TEU: EU delegations.
- Art. 36 TEU: Consultation power of the European Parliament in CFSP/CSDP and relationship with the High Representative.
- Art. 41 TEU: Budget: urgent financing of CFSP initiatives; preparatory activities not charged to the Union budget should be financed by a start-up fund made up of Member states' contributions.
- Art. 42 TEU: Permanent structured cooperation and EU defence clause.
- Art. 43 TEU: The tasks of the CSDP include not only humanitarian, peace-keeping and crisis management tasks, but also disarmament operations, military advice, assistance tasks, post-conflict stabilisation; all these tasks may contribute to fight against terrorism, also by giving support to third countries in this field.
- Art. 44 TEU: The Council may entrust the implementation of a task to a group of member states that are willing and capable of carrying it out.
- Art. 46 TEU: Procedures of permanent structures cooperation.

The following are the main research publications produced by the IAI that deal with the innovations brought about by the Lisbon Treaty:

- Alcaro, Riccardo (a cura di), "Osservatorio transatlantico [n.s.5]: l'evoluzione delle relazioni tra Stati Uniti ed Europa", Roma: Istituto affari internazionali, 2011.
- Benedetti, Simona, "Il nuovo Trattato per l'Europa: la fine dell'impasse", Roma: Istituto affari internazionali, 2008.
- Bonvicini, Gianni, "Europa: attore o comparsa? Il ruolo internazionale dell'Unione europea", Roma: Istituto affari internazionali, 2007.

- Bonvicini, Gianni (ed.), “L'Unione europea attore di sicurezza regionale e globale”, Milano: F. Angeli, 2010 (Quaderni del Centro Altiero Spinelli).

The book aims at explaining how the external action of the EU is organised and works. It examines the instruments and the procedures of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), in particular after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. It then provides a conceptual analysis of the EU as an international actor as well as the policies employed by the EU to attempt to stabilize its neighbouring countries and to solve the so called frozen conflicts.

- Briasco, Luca/Capuano, Davide A./Gianniti, L. (a cura di), “Il Trattato di Lisbona: nota introduttiva e testo a fronte con le disposizioni dei Trattati vigenti”, Roma: Senato, 2007.
- Carbone, Luigi/Gianniti, Luigi/Pinelli, Cesare, “Le istituzioni europee”, in: Bassanini, Franco/Tiberi, Giulia, *Le nuove istituzioni europee – Commento al Trattato europeo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010.
- Comelli, Michele, “Il nuovo Trattato di riforma dell’Ue e la politica estera e di sicurezza europea: cosa cambia?”, Ufficio Affari Internazionali del Senato della Repubblica Italiana, 2007.
- Comelli, Michele/Matarazzo, Raffaello, “La coerenza della politica estera europea alla prova: il nuovo Servizio europeo per l’azione esterna” [Consistency of European foreign policy put to the test: The new External Action Service], *DOCUMENTI IAI 10, 10 – May 2010*.

The newly created European External Action (EEAS) is one of the most important innovations brought about by the Lisbon Treaty in order to strengthen the consistency and efficiency of European foreign policy. After the agreement reached among the Member states, an intense negotiation on the organization of the new service has been launched, involving in particular the High Representative and the European Parliament. The latter has been trying to obtain a capacity for exercising accountability over European foreign, security and defence policy. What really matters is that the High Representative will be able, through the EEAS, to ensure action. This will greatly benefit the reputation and credibility of the EU on the international arena; <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1010.pdf>,

- Gianniti, Luigi, “Il meccanismo di stabilità e la revisione semplificata del Trattato di Lisbona: un’ipoteca tedesca sul processo di integrazione?”, *DOCUMENTI IAI 11, 02 – febbraio 2011*, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1102.pdf>.
- Comelli, Michele, “Italy's love affair with the EU: between continuity and change”, Roma: Istituto affari internazionali, 2011.
- Matarazzo, Raffaello/Leone, Jacopo, “Sleeping Beauty Awakens: The Italian Parliament and the EU After the Lisbon Treaty”, in: *The International Spectator, Vol. 46, No. 3*, forthcoming September 2011.
- Matarazzo, Raffaello, (ed.), “The State of Democracy in the EU After the Lisbon Treaty”, Roma: Nuova Cultura, forthcoming May 2011 (IAI research papers).
- Matarazzo, Raffaello, “New Power Players or Mr NO in the EU Decision-making? National Parliaments in the European Union After the Lisbon Treaty”, in: Matarazzo, R. (ed.), *The*

State of Democracy in the EU After the Lisbon Treaty, Roma: Nuova Cultura, forthcoming May 2011 (IAI research papers).

- Matarazzo, Raffaello, “La politica estera europea e le potenzialità del Trattato di Lisbona” [EU's foreign policy and the potentials of the Lisbon Treaty], in: Gualtieri, R./Rhi-Sausi, J.L. (eds.), *Rapporto 2010 sull'integrazione europea*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010, 229-245.

Italy (LUISS Guido Carli)

Lap – Research

- A diachronic and synchronic analysis of levels of Europeanism and Europeization of Italian party political programmes for EP elections of 2009, considering the support for the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty
- An interpretative analysis of the EU perception of Italians in the last twenty years, using the dataset of the Eurobarometer, also dealing with the support for the innovations of the Lisbon Treaty.

Lap – Publications

- De Mucci (a cura di), “Election day: Il parlamento europeo come “luxury parking” dei politici italiani”, Rome: Luiss University Press, 2010, chap.6 and 7.

Centre of Ethics and Global Politics – Research

- Erasmus Mundus PhD on Globalization, Europe, and Multilateralism

Centre of Ethics and Global Politics – Publications

- Maffettone, “The Legacy of the Enlightenment and the Exemplarity of the EU Model”, *Monist*, 2009, 92, 2.
- Marchetti/Vodivic (eds), “EU and Global Democracy”, Zagreb: CPI, 2010.

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Latvia (Riga Stradins University)

Main areas of research at the European Studies Faculty

The following represents the priority spheres of research:

- Interrelations between EU's politics, economics and legislation;
- Understanding the Lisbon Treaty;
- Economic and Monetary Union;
- Baltic Sea Region developmental strategy.

Lisbon Treaty innovations researched at the European Studies Department

- Lisbon Treaty innovations in the Baltic States social-economic development: Professor Eugene Eteris, research paper, “Lisbon Treaty Innovations in the Baltic States Social-Economic Development”; Professor Eugene Eteris, research paper, “European New Initiatives and the Baltic States Development” at the RSU Scientific Conference, 14th-15th April 2011.
- “Modern Latvian legal development: facing Treaty of Lisbon's challenges”, Turība Business school Conference, March 2010 (together with V. Blusma).

- “The EU legal Development after Lisbon Treaty”, Publication in the European Commission SENT Project, Rome, September 2010.
- Professor Dovladbekova I, research paper on “Modern international financial crisis: development and exist factors”, RSU Scientific Conference, 14th-15th May 2011.

Research results

- Numerous articles by Professor Eugene Eteris in the *Baltic Course* (www.baltic-course.com) and a series of articles on “Understanding Lisbon Treaty” in this magazine, several articles in “All Europe Magazine” in Russia (www.alleuropa.ru).
- “The new EU Parliament’s Competences in the Lisbon Treaty”, research paper and a lecture at the European Commission Representation in Latvia, 12th October 2010.
- “The EU law “images”: Following the Lisbon Treaty”, in Conference Proceedings, 21st-23rd October 2010, Bratislava, Faculty of Law, Comenius University.
- “EU-2020 Strategy through new European Initiatives”, Professor Eugene Eteris’ article for the Lisbon Conference in Budapest, May 2011, Section “EU 2020 Strategy”.

PhD research level

Professor Eugene Eteris participated at the PhD students Conference (Assessment Panel) concerning the Lisbon Treaty issues at the European Studies Institute (Moscow State University of International Relations, MGIMO), Russian Federation, two days, 28th-29 Marchth 2011, Moscow.

Luxembourg (Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research)

The institute is basically pursuing historical research, following two main directions:

- long-term European construction (convergences and divergences, solidarities and conflicts) and medium-term perspectives (creation and development of the European Communities);
- Luxembourg and European integration, by case studies (the iron and steel industry and the Schuman plan, agriculture and the Treaties of Rome, the question of the European seats).

In addition to that, the Robert Schuman centre is in charge of the editorial secretariat of the “Journal of European Integration History - Revue d'histoire de l'intégration européenne”, under the leadership of Professor Charles Barthel. (The Journal has been published half-yearly by the publishing house NOMOS – Verlagsgesellschaft in Baden-Baden since 1995.)

One assistant of CERE is currently working on the involvement of the Luxembourgish parliament in EU affairs, before and since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. The starting point of this study is the question whether the revaluation of the national parliaments is from a Luxembourgish perspective an adequate answer to an (allegedly) perceived democratic or legitimacy deficit.

In general terms, it must be questioned if the revaluation of the national parliaments is the right instrument to cope with the before mentioned deficit. According to Eurobarometer surveys, national legislatures in EU member states enjoy almost without exception less credibility than EU bodies. In addition, the findings for the Grand-Duchy suggest so far that in the national discourse the legitimacy problem is of minor importance. This might explain the fact that the Luxembourgish *Chambre des Députés* ranked among the ‘slow adapters’ to Union legislation, allowing for growing involvement of the national legislatures in EU affairs.

However, the parliament took up the challenges provided for by the Lisbon Treaty. A parliamentary Committee has been set up in order to adopt the parliament's Rules of Procedure to the new treaty provisions. An official Memorandum laid down statutes for cooperation between the *Chambre des Députés* and the government. Despite modest human and technical means of a 'tiny' parliament with 60 members, the President of the European Affairs Committee feels confident that the parliament will be able to cope with the challenges linked with the subsidiarity check.

Malta (University of Malta)

The full-time academic staff members, five in all, are engaged in research which focuses on the following principal areas: Malta in the EU, small states and the EU particularly their participation in the institutions, Euro-Mediterranean Relations (Economic and Political), the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Common Security and Defence Policy, climate change, development policy and migration. What follows is a non-exhaustive outline of the relationship between these research areas and the corresponding party of the Lisbon Treaty:

- Malta in the EU / small states in the EU: Institutional aspects and QMV; solidarity clause (Art. 222, Declaration 37) and mutual assistance clause (Art. 42 (7)); EU citizenship; Art. 170 – linking islands to European networks; Art. 174 (Economic, social and territorial cohesion); Declaration 33 on island-states;
- Euro-Mediterranean Relations: External Relations;
- CFSP/CSDP: Title V, TEU, particularly Art. 42 (Petersberg) as well as Art. 222 (TFEU) and 42 (7) TEU;
- Climate Change: Art. 191 (environment) and the implications for EU policy;
- Development Policy: Art. 212;
- Migration: TFEU, Title 5, ch.2;
- European Monetary Union: Title VIII, TFEU – Stability Pact.

Netherlands (University of Twente)

At the Centre for European Studies of the University of Twente, research on the Lisbon Treaty is approached from different disciplines (Law, Political Science, Economics and Sociology). All researches involved published on European integration aspects and in many cases the changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty featured in the publications. The following examples are indicative: Professor Nico Groenendijk recently published on enhanced cooperation under the Lisbon Treaty. Professor Ramses Wessel has published on the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty with regard to the EU Common Foreign and Security Policies. Dr. Rik de Ruiter paid attention in his research to the new role of national parliaments and the EP assigned by the Lisbon Treaty. Dr. Shawn Donnelly extensively followed the new measures on financial regulation in the framework of the financial crisis in the EU.

Publications

- Wessel, Ramses, "Initiative and Voting in Common Foreign and Security Policy: The New Lisbon Rules in Historical Perspective", in: Blanke, Herm.-J./ Mangiameli/Stelio (eds.), *The European Union after Lisbon: Constitutional Basis, Economic Order and External Action*, Heidelberg/New York: Springer, forthcoming 2011.

- Groenendijk, Nico, “Enhanced cooperation under the Lisbon Treaty”, in: von Dörsenrode, S. (ed.), *The European Union after Lisbon: Polity, Politics, Policy*, Ashgate, forthcoming in 2011.
- De Ruiter, R./Neuhold, C., “The winner takes it all? The implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the EPs legislative role in co-decision”, in: Laursen, F (ed.), *The Lisbon Treaty: Institutional Choices and Implementation*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Lisbon Treaty, forthcoming 2011.
- Donnelly, S.D., “The Regimes of European Integration: constructing governance of the single market”, Oxford: University Press, 2010 (nominated for the UACES Best Book Prize).

Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo)

Researchers at ARENA are interested in all aspects of EU-related research, with particular focus on the EU’s institutional structure, constitutionalism and democracy in the EU, and EU foreign policy. Numerous researchers at ARENA study various aspects of the Lisbon Treaty – both the document itself and the long process that brought it into being – and the institutional changes it brings to the EU system. Ian Cooper has a particular interest in the new role for national parliaments under the treaty (Art. 11 TEU, Protocols 1 and 2); he is also looking at discerning the meaning of the differences between the Treaty of Lisbon and the Constitutional Treaty. Rafal Riedel is looking at the changing perception of the role of the rotating Council presidency after treaty change. John Erik Fossum and Augustin Menendez produced a book, *The Constitution’s Gift*, that is a history of the constitutional development of the EU, which features a discussion of the Treaty of Lisbon, including a critique of the process which brought it about. Christopher Lord is looking at the interpretation of the referendums that have occurred in the long process that culminated in the Treaty of Lisbon; he is also looking at the constitutional reform process as part of a new and updated “democratic audit” of the EU. John Erik Fossum and Erik Oddvar Eriksen have looked at the ruling of the German constitutional court on the Treaty of Lisbon.

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Selected Publications

- Fossum/Menendez, “The Constitution’s Gift”, Boulder, Co.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011.
- Eriksen/Fossum, “Bringing European democracy back in - Or how to read the German Constitutional Court’s Lisbon Treaty ruling”, *European Law Journal* 17(2), 2011.
- Menendez, Agustin José, “Governance and Constitutionalism in the European order”, in: Birkinshaw, Patrick/Varney, Mike (ed.), *The European Legal Order after Lisbon*. Wolters Kluwer, 2010, 65–90.

Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)

Major fields of interest of the European Institute include recently: institutional and decision-making questions, intercultural dialogue, Eastern Partnership, European Neighbourhood Policy, implementation of regional politics and utilization of structural funds, European Social Funds and its implementation system in Poland.

With regard to the Lisbon Treaty, the issues of interest for our organization are: citizens’ initiative, greater involvement and new role of national parliaments, qualified majority voting, energy policy.

In the reporting period we have not produced research results on the Lisbon Treaty.

Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Technical University of Lisbon)

The ISEG has a number of faculty members that work on EU affairs, from an historical perspective to an institutional, to a legal and to an economic perspective. The Masters programme in International Economics and European Studies provides a broad cover to the research of these faculty members.

During the period in question, Professor Antonio Goucha Soares wrote a comment of some provisions of the Lisbon Treaty devoted to the division of competences between the EU and the Member states: Art. 2, 3 and 4 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. The comment is to be forthcoming in Manuel Porto (ed.), “Comentário ao Tratado de Lisboa”, Coimbra, 2011.

There will be also an article written by Professor Antonio Goucha Soares about the changes on EU foreign policy by the Treaty of Lisbon, to be published in the first 2011 issue of the *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* (vol. 54, nº1). The article is entitled “Is the European Union a global power? The Lisbon Treaty and the foreign and defense policy”, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* (vol. 54, nº1, 2011). The abstract of the article is as such: The article analyses the amendments introduced by the Lisbon Treaty concerning foreign and defense policy, in the framework of a strategy to make Europe a global power. It starts by contextualizing this policy in the acting of the European Union, and then it reviews the main changes provided by the Treaty of Lisbon.

Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)

The Faculty of European Studies focuses chiefly on European Institutions and decision making although the history of European construction plays an equally important role within the curriculum.

In our view, the most interesting aspect germane to the Lisbon Treaty for our research programmes is the new beginning it sets for *Europa Magna*, as a reunited continent. Also, we are greatly interested in the possibility given to Central and East-European states to take part in the modeling of the New Europe, with equal rights and responsibilities. Hence, the Lisbon Treaty has the merit of closing the historical bracket of the Two Europes and therefore of bringing an end to the thorny process of transition in this part of the old continent. Speaking strictly from the point of view of the articles included in the Treaty, we are mostly interested in the provisions of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, the withdrawal clause, the ordinary legislative procedure and the new definition given to QMV, so as to endow states with a single voice in this respect.

The Faculty of European Studies has provided numerous research papers dedicated to the Lisbon Treaty, as well as international conferences with the purpose of its thorough analysis. The next one is to be organised between 8th and 11th June 2011, under the title “The EU in a Global World”, dedicated to the Post-Lisbon Agenda and the institutional/administrative reform of the EU. Perhaps, the most significant concrete result of our research in this regard is the volume called “European Integration, Regional Integration: Bistrita, at European Confluences” (Efes Edition, 2010, 311 pages).

Romania (European Institute of Romania)

Our institute’s research interests cover mainly EU institutions and decision-making processes, the Economic and Cohesion policy, social policies and the employment policy, and the Foreign and Security Policy.

Particular interest throughout our research projects has been given to the analysis of the implications of the Lisbon Treaty upon the role of the national parliaments, and more specifically the changes which need to be operated at the level of the Romanian national parliament in order to function more efficiently and be able to actually carry out its role as guarantor of the subsidiarity principle.

The European Institute of Romania has coordinated the elaboration of the study “The Treaty of Lisbon: impact on Romanian institutions and policies“, in the framework of its annual Strategy and Policy Studies (SPOS) project. This paper has analysed among others, the division of competencies, the subsidiarity principle, the role of regions and local communities, the Europe 2020 Strategy, and the state of play in Romania, from the perspective of the necessity to enhance the administrative capacities. The study analysed the institutional changes brought along by the Lisbon Treaty, such as the triple capacity of Catherine Ashton (High Representative, President of the External Affairs Council, Vice-President of the Commission), the significance and implications of the creation of a permanent President of the European Council position, the role given to the national parliaments as guarantor of the national competences in relation to the Union and the establishment of monitoring procedures over the conformity of the common action with the proportionality and subsidiarity principles.

In the reporting period, EIR experts Agnes Nicolescu and Mihai Sebe have contributed with input resulting from a questionnaire conducted at the level of the Romanian central administration to the elaboration of a CEPS report entitled “Paper tigers or sleeping beauties? National Parliaments in the post-Lisbon European Political System“. As the paper’s abstract points out, the national parliaments should guard the principle of subsidiarity in EU legislation, which now constitutes about one quarter of all laws adopted in member states. Confusion arises over how many of the new post-Lisbon prerogatives belong to individual national chambers, and how many require a collective response. Until the “collective” voice is organised effectively, national parliaments will remain “paper tigers” in the EU decision-making process. The national chambers’ powers could have far-reaching consequences, however, as one of their roles is to contribute to the “good governance” of the European Union. The paper can be downloaded at <http://ceps.be/book/paper-tigers-or-sleeping-beauties-national-parliaments-post-lisbon-european-political-system>

Romania (University of Oradea)

The main area of EU-related research of the Research Centre for Competitiveness and Sustainable Development of the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Oradea, Romania, are as follows: EU economics, competitiveness and sustainable development; EU integration and enlargement; EU budget; EU Common Policies; EU institutions and the decision procedure; EU External Affairs; EU citizenship; EU law, etc.

Among the innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, of special interest for us are the “General Provisions on the Union's External Action and Specific Provisions on the Common Foreign and Security Policy” (Art. 1, paragraphs 23-50).

In December 2010, the 2nd Issue of the Scientific Journal entitled “Analele Universității din Oradea – Secțiunea Științe Economice” – *Tom XIX, 2010*, ISSN: 1582-5450, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2010, <http://anale.steconomieuoradea.ro/en/journal-presentation/> has been published. For more scientific papers focusing on research results on the Lisbon Treaty see <http://anale.steconomieuoradea.ro/en/journal-archive/>.

Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)

The main areas of EU-related research of researchers in the Centre of International relations are: EU enlargement (to Western Balkans and Turkey), EU-Mediterranean Policy, Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, Common Agricultural Policy, EU External Relations, EU development policy, EU energy policy, Role of TRIO in Slovenian EU Presidency.

Treaty provisions which are of particular interest are the general provisions on EU External Action and Common Foreign and Security Policy (Art. 1), the European Council (Art. 15) and the Council (Art. 16).

Associate Prof. Maja Bučar has taken part in an expert evaluation of a EUROSTARS programme, a form of EU Commission-member states co-operation, defined by Art. 185 of the Lisbon Treaty (previously Art. 169).

Spain (Institute of European Studies/Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

As a research centre focused on European integration, the IUEE specialises in areas related to European law, EU multilevel governance (especially focused on environment and energy policies), European territorial cooperation, the Economic and Monetary Union, the role of the EU as an international actor (in particular the relations between Europe and Latin America, the Mediterranean and East Asia), European policies in the environmental field, international cooperation for development, and EU social policy and accessibility. The research team of the IUEE is composed of permanent and associated researchers (71 researchers as of July 2010).

In the past academic year, several IUEE researcher areas focused their attention on the Lisbon Treaty. In this sense, the EU Law research area issued a joint publication co-edited by Dr. Montserrat Pi and Esther Zapater³⁰. The book underlines the role of the Lisbon Treaty in progressively transforming the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice in an instrument for the construction of a common European political space. Especially relevant is the chapter on the method and programme of the Lisbon Treaty in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, by Blanca Vilà, that emphasises the reform brought by the Treaty on the Title IV (currently Title V) by undertaking the inter-governmental method for areas such as judicial and police cooperation. Implicitly, such a reform implied a new conceptualization of the term “Communitarian”.

In turn, the Observatory of European Foreign Policy edited two joint publications that make reference on the Lisbon Treaty impact on the EU external action. The first one is a result of a R+D project and focuses on the EU Neighbourhood Policy and its role in the transformation of the Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean from the position of a “normative hegemon” – in a context of institutional reinforcement provided by the Lisbon Treaty to the Foreign Policy and a general loss of influence of the EU in the international arena³¹.

The second joint publication of this group analyses the first Spanish presidency post-Lisbon³². In the context of the new institutional architecture regarding the EU external action established by the Lisbon Treaty, Spain had a difficult task in implementing the changes brought about by the Treaty which meant a trade-off between the international relevance of its mandate and the institutional learning therein.

The research line on European Energy Policy has also paid a special attention to the Lisbon Treaty on this field of study. For instance, Solorio and Varela³³ underline that the three mutually reinforcing

³⁰ Pi M. y Zapater E., “Hacia una Europa de las personas en el espacio de libertad, seguridad y justicia”, Institut Universitari d’Estudis Europeus y Marcial Pons, Madrid, 2010.

³¹ Barbé E., “La Unión Europea más allá de sus fronteras: ¿Hacia la Transformación del Mediterraneo y Europa Oriental?”, Tecnos, Madrid, 2010.

³² Barbé E., “Entre la irrelevancia internacional y el aprendizaje institucional: la presidencia española de la Unión Europea” (2010). Institut Universitari d’Estudis Europeus, Bellaterra, 2010.

³³ Solorio & Varela, “New Dawn Fade? The ups and downs of the EU Renewable Energy Policy after Lisbon”, to be presented at Rejkyiaik ECPR Conference 2011.

goals of energy policy are now laid down in the Lisbon Treaty with the expected (unprecedented) improvement in policy coherence: (i) increasing security of supply; (ii) ensuring the competitiveness of European economies and the availability of affordable energy; and (iii) promoting environmental sustainability and combating climate change.

Luigi Carafa, visiting researcher of the IUEE, elaborated an article in which he analyses the variations in scope of the EU external governance of energy in the neighbourhood between “before” and “after” the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. He concludes that the post-Lisbon era sees an increased scope of the EU external governance of energy in the neighbourhood, however coupled with a continuous anxiety between transgovernmental networks and renewed interstate cooperation in energy security.³⁴

Last but not least, Andrea Ciambra, IUEE visiting researcher, published an online policy brief that evaluates the Lisbon Treaty influence on the European Energy Initiative.³⁵ The TFEU now explicitly lists energy as a “shared competence between the Union and its Member states” – an attribution that was completely absent in the previous Treaty system. According to the new rules, moreover, member states can autonomously legislate only in the absence of earlier EU norms on energy policy. This “copernican revolution” is completed by the introduction of a Treaty title (XXI, Art. 194 TFEU) specifically dedicated to energy. Art. 194 broadens the EU’s room for manoeuvre by scrapping the previous label of “internal market” in favour of that of “energy market”. This rule, consequently, allows the EU to take on new competencies on energy external relations.

Spain (University of Malaga)

The principal areas of investigation of the University of Malaga, related to European Union, are the economy and the politics of the European Union, the development and the territorial cohesion, and the international cooperation, within the framework of the Chair Jean Monnet. In addition, the Research Results Transfer Office (OTRI in Spanish) of the UMA, created in April 1989, has entrusted the responsibilities of promoting and managing the interrelationship activities of the UMA’s researchers with the business and social environment. In this respect, the OTRI has a great specialization in the technological and business area, centred on financed projects in the area of the Framework Programme RD&T (Research, Development and Technology of the EU, developing and managing projects as Optimization of organic thin-film transistors for plastic electronics towards transparent components in new devices (Organic electronics); Optical technologies for the identification of explosives (OPTIX); In-situ analysis of hot dip galvanizing baths (ZINCANA); Secure Process-oriented Integrative Service Infrastructure for Networked Enterprises (SPIKE); Privacy and Identity Management for Community Services (PICOS); Manual Work Support Throughout System Lifecycle by Exploiting Virtual and Augmented Reality (ManuVAR); Wireless Sensor and Actuator Networks for the Protection of Critical Infrastructures (WSAN4CIP), for example.

The Treaty of Lisbon introduces innovations that, undoubtedly, will influence the results of the present and future researches. In this respect, the following innovations are outlined:

- A special attention is granted to the territorial cohesion, which strengthens this slope of the community cohesion policy.

³⁴ Carafa L, “The Emergence of a Post-Lisbon Strategy of Governance”, to be presented at Rejkyaik ECPR Conference 2011.

³⁵ Ciambra A., “The EU ‘2020 Energy Initiative’: The post-Lisbon pattern of change in EU energy policy”, in Briefs on European Affairs, 2011.

- New jurisdictional titles are introduced in matters as energy or climate change, which connects directly with some of the main real worries of the European citizens. This reinforces the commitment of the EU for the promotion of a most sustainable development.
- The process of decisions speeds up and improves the efficiency as well as reinforces the role and the implication of the national parliaments in the process of the European construction.
- More international cooperation and diplomatic and consular protection for all the EU citizens.
- The implication of the citizenship in the process of European construction is facilitated across the creation of the "Civil European Initiative".

In the period to which the Report refers, the Chair Jean Monnet's main research result, which in despite the fact that it is not specific on the Treaty of Lisbon, is a universal concept in it, is the publication of the monographic document: "The Construction of the Social Europe. An Economic Balance", Journal: *Studies of Applied Economy*, Valladolid, 2010. The publication has a multidisciplinary viewpoint (political, institutional, economic, juridical ...) and diverse experts from different universities and institutions have taken part in it.

Sweden (Karlstad University)

Main Areas of EU-related research

Refining Fusion Approaches for the Study of national and regional perspectives towards the Trajectory of European Integration

There is a notable research cluster of staff exploring and refining fusion approaches to the study of European integration (Miles, Löden, Lindh and Olsson), and in particular refining fusion techniques for application at the national and regional levels. Work has focused on the development of a "micro-fusion framework" that takes a holistic approach in combining understandings of the behaviour and attitudes of national and regional policy-makers in order to explain national and regional perspectives towards the on-going evolution of the post 2007 Lisbon Treaty EU. Funded work includes participation in the EU-funded Jean Monnet Multinational Research Group on the European Polity Post-Lisbon (2009-2011) and now the Lisboan Erasmus Academic Research Network (2011-2013).

National Foreign Policy Adaptation to European Integration, with reference to the Nordic Countries

This research cluster examines the foreign policy evolution of the Nordic countries, and especially Sweden in relation to the Lisbon Treaty. Work is facilitated by the Department's position as base for the academic journal, *Cooperation and Conflict*, being home to the Scandinavian Politics Specialist Group of the PSA and the base for the *Europe and the Nation State* book series published by Routledge. Staff are presently involved in projects on the (i) the Europeanization of national policy-makers (Miles, Löden, Olsson) towards the Lisbon Treaty, (ii) studies of the Swedish Left in relation to the 2007 Lisbon Treaty (Miles, Löden), (iii) comparative work on the 'euro-outsiders' examining British, Danish and Swedish approaches to being outside the Euro (Miles) and (iv): on-going Nordic security policy, and non-alignment questions as affected by Lisbon Treaty changes (Miles, Löden).

Regional Action and Paradiplomacy: The Development of Regional Foreign Policies in the EU

This research cluster utilizes "bottom-up" approach to understand how regional actors "get the best out of the EU" and the development of regional foreign policies affecting relations horizontally (cross-loading) across regional and trans-borders, and vertically with national and international institutions (uploading and downloading) in post Lisbon EU. The policy-applied research (Lindh, Miles, Löden, Räftegård, Stegmann McCallion) introduces Regional Action (synthesising

paradipomacy) and the LIRP (Leadership, Institutions, Resources and Policies) conceptual tools to aid regional policy-makers. International funding includes Nordic Council of Ministers (Fusing Regions, 2007-2009) and EU (Jean Monnet Module on Regional Action in the EU, 2008-2011), INTERREG (GRESS, 2010-201) as well as national funding (SNES) and Swedish regional development funds (Fusing Regions Plus, 2011-2015; and FUSE-TRAIN, 2011-2012). The results of these projects have been presented to the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Swedish Ministry of Enterprise, and the Committee of the Regions in Brussels.

The International Politics of Innovation: Investigating Successful Leadership of Internationalised Regions and Innovation Clusters

This new research cluster examines the internationalisation of innovation politics (Europe 2020, Innovation Union) as a key influence on regional foreign policy change (Miles, Rönnblom, Lindh, Stegmann McCallion, Aflaki, Säll, Mitander, Olsson, Tengeland, Öjehag). The research is particularly novel in recognizing the role of innovation cluster organisations and university-industry collaboration as key drivers in modernising the international actions of regional actors. The research has already attracted Swedish regional and national funding (SLIM, EVO-SLIM (2011-2014) and EVO-INNOVA (2011-2014). In addition, the Department is a consortium partner in the FP7 funded, European University Association (EUA) directed EUIMA project reporting directly to DG Research.

Main Interests

The main interests of the Lisbon Treaty pertain to the new institutional innovations included in the 2007 Treaty (introduction of EAS, High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy and new EU Presidency arrangements), plus policy capacity changes relating to EU external relations, defence policy and crisis management functions.

Publications

- Miles, L., "The 2009 Swedish European Union Council Presidency", in: Copsey, N./ Houghton, T. (eds), *The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union in 2009* (published in association with the Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS), Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, 81-93.
- Miles, L., "Nordic Europe" in: Dyson, K./Sepos, A. (eds.), *Whose Europe? The Politics of Differentiated Integration*, Palgrave: Houndmills, 2010, 200-230.
- Miles, L., "When a Fusing Europe and a Globalizing World Meet", in: Wunderlich, J.-W./ Bailey, D. J. (eds), *The European Union and Global Governance*, London: Routledge, 2010, 19-27.
- Miles, L., "Thinking Bigger: Fusion Concepts, Strengths and Scenarios", in: Diedrichs, U./ Faber, A./Umbach, G./Tekin, F. (eds.), *Europe Reloaded: Fusion or Differentiation?*, Berlin: Nuomos, 2011, 187-210.
- Miles, L., "Looking Back on Sweden's "Twin Faces": Reflections on Sweden and European Integration", in: Alvstam, C./Jännebring, B./Naurin, D. (eds.), *I Europamissionens tjänst: Vänbok till Rutger Lindahl*, Göteborg: CERGU, 2011, 265-273.
- Lindh, L./Miles, L., "Fusing Regions? Nordic Regional Action in a Fused Europe", in: Reynaert, H./Steyvers, K./Van Bever, E. (eds.), *The Road to Europe: Main Street or Backward Alley for Local Governments in Europe*, Belgium: Vanden Broele Publishers, 2011 (with M. Lindh).

- Miles, L./ Olsson, D., “National Political Elites and the Lisbon Treaty: Altered or Unaltered Expectations?”, in: *EUPOLIS Final Paper No. 2*, Köln: Universität zu Köln, 2011.
- Miles, L./Lindh, M./Guderjan, M., “Regional Political Elites and the Lisbon Treaty: Investigating Regional Action in a Fusing Europe?”, in: *EUPOLIS Final Paper No. 4*, Köln: Universität zu Köln, 2011.
- Stegmann-McCallion, M., “Paradiplomacy – Competing, Reinforcing or Coexisting Regional Action?”, in: Herrschel, T./Tallberg, P. (eds.), *The Role of Regions?*, Kristianstad: KB, 2011, 35-43.

Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

The Head of Research of the Globalization Research Programme the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI), Hanna Ojanen, holds a Doctorate in Political and Social Sciences from the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, and she is also Adjunct Professor (Docent) in International Politics at the University of Helsinki. In her research, she has concentrated on European security and defence integration, inter-organisational relations (notably EU-NATO and EU-UN), theories of European integration, Nordic security policy and Turkey in European security.

The Defense, Security and Development Policy Research Program, headed by Professor Jan Joel Andersson, is also producing EU-related research at the UI. Andersson and Professor Fredrik Doeser, UI Research Fellow, have among other things contributed to a research project, led by the European Council on Foreign Relations, on the first comprehensive annual assessment of Europe’s performance on the world stage. The “European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2010” examines the successes and failings of Europe’s foreign policy, defined as the sum of member states and EU institutions.

At the UI, there is further the Europe Research programme studying the ways governments and societies in Europe cooperate to achieve common goals. The EU finds itself in a time of change and transformation. The Lisbon Treaty has created entirely new conditions for EU member states and for EU’s relations with the rest of the world. As a unique peace project and as an economic and political union, the EU and knowledge of how the EU functions are of central importance to Sweden. The European programme conducts research in the following areas:

- EU cooperation on specific issues, such as security, public health, trade, the environment, policing, disaster relief and critical infrastructure protection.
- Specific forums for cooperation and organizations, such as the EU and NATO, with a focus on the institutional architectures of those forums and organizations.
- Studies on the effects of institutions on cooperation and the dynamics of institutional change.

The Europe Research Programme consists of researchers with masters and doctoral degrees, working on projects of both an independent and collaborative nature. Research is conducted at an international standard so as to provide a foundation for both academic insights and policy relevant advice. The Head of programme and Senior Research Fellow is Mark Rhinard. The programme is active in promoting new ideas and policy debates within Sweden, Europe and the world, engaging regularly with academics and policymakers.

The Research Projects within the Europe Research Programme include the projects: “Building Societal Security in Europe: A New Paradigm in Practice”, “Protecting People through Societal Security: A Brussels Perspective”, “The Next Step in European Integration? Implementing the

Solidarity Clause” and “Analysing the Swedish Presidency of the European Union”, all managed by Professor Rhinard.

Other projects in the programme are: “The European Union and Global Environmental Governance” and “Designing International Institutions” managed by Gunilla Reischl, “The EU Presidency of Hungary and Poland” lead by Jakub Swiecicki, “The EU as a Global Counterterrorism Actor” and From “External to Internal Security: Comparing EU and US Approaches” by Mark Rhinard and Erik Brattberg as well as “EU Institutions After the Lisbon Treaty” by Mark Rhinard and Malin Häggqvist.

Innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty of special interest to Mark Rhinard are the changes to the European Commission’s external relations, including the introduction of the European External Action Service and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

The last project mentioned above, “EU Institutions after the Lisbon Treaty”, examines the constitutional changes currently underway in the EU as a result of the Lisbon Treaty agreement of December 2009. Not since 2003, when the Treaty of Nice entered into force, have the European institutions undergone major reform. Since then, enlargement, new global policy challenges and a heightened climate of Euro-scepticism have called into question the institutional effectiveness of the EU. The changes inherent to the Lisbon Treaty thus deserve close scrutiny to determine how they affect (a) relations between EU institutions, (b) the functioning of the EU legislative process and (c) EU’s capacity for leadership on a global stage. As part of the project, these three issues are explored by studying the three main institutions involved in EU policymaking: the European Commission, the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament.

The project has given rise to a number of publications, both completed and in progress, related to the EU institutions. The European Commission is a central focus of this project, with a manuscript under contract with Palgrave Macmillan, and another manuscript on the policymaking strategies of the Commission being published by Brill Academic Publishers. A number of policy briefs and policy papers on EU institutional matters have been published in partnerships with Brussels think tanks.

Rhinard has further taken a special interest in the Solidarity Clause (Art. 222 TFEU). With the Lisbon Treaty now in force, Rhinard’s project “The Next Step in European Integration? Implementing the Solidarity Clause” seeks to jump-start a debate on the implications of the Solidarity Clause and to highlight key policy challenges. It does so through complementary sub-projects that builds our understanding of the Solidarity Clause’s impact on European security cooperation.

Publications a propos the Lisbon Treaty of the UI researchers in the reporting period include:

- Andersson, Jan Joel, “Industry and Technology”, in: Biscop, Sven/Whitman, Richard (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of European Security*, London: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Andersson, Jan Joel, “EU-NATO: It Takes two to Tango!”, in: Biscop, Sven/ Andersson, Jan Joel, *The Power of Europe. Affirming the EU as a Global Actor*, London: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Ojanen, Hanna, “The EU as a Security Actor: in and with the UN and NATO”, in: *The EU Presence in International Organisations*, London: Routledge, 2011, 61-77.
- Ojanen, Hanna, “En ny utrikespolitik” [A New Foreign Policy], in: *Internationella Studier* 3/2010, 14-20.

- Rhinard, Mark, “The European Commission”, 2nd edition,. Manuscript under contract, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan Press, forthcoming (with Neill Nugent).
- Rhinard, Mark, “The European Commission and the European Union’s External Relations after the Lisbon Treaty”, paper prepared for the Twelfth Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association, Boston, 3rd-5th March 2011 , Manchester Metropolitan University. (with Neill Nugent).
- Rhinard, Mark, “The Lisbon Treaty’s Solidarity Clause”, in: *Europe’s World*, Issue No. 17, Spring 2011, www.europesworld.org, (with Sara Myrdal).
- Rhinard, Mark, “Haiti Relief Effort Reveals Uncomfortable Truth”, in: *European Voice* newspaper, Brussels, www.europeanvoice.com, 28th January 2010 (with Arjen Boin).
- Rhinard, Mark, “The EU as a Counter-Terrorist Actor Abroad: Finding Opportunities, Overcoming Constraints”, *Issue Paper No. 60*, published by European Policy Centre, Brussels, September 2010, (with Peter Wennerholm and Erik Brattberg).
- Rhinard, Mark, “Framing Europe: The Policy Shaping Strategies of the European Commission”, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 2010.
- Rhinard, Mark, “Framing Europe: Agenda Setting Strategies of the European Commission”, Dordrecht: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010.
- Rhinard, Mark, “Paper Tiger or Power Tool? The European Union’s Solidarity Clause”, Policy paper published as *UI Occasional Paper*, No. 1. July 2010 (with Sara Myrdal).
- Rhinard, Mark, “The European Union’s Solidarity Clause: Empty Letter or Effective Tool?”, Policy paper published as *UI Occasional Paper*, No. 2. July 2010 (with Sara Myrdal).
- Rhinard, Mark, “The EU’s Solidarity Clause: Implications for Sweden”, Research report delivered to the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm. May 2010 (with Alyson Bailes, Emma Hallencreutz and Sara Myrdal).
- Rhinard, Mark, “Crisis Management in an Age of Globalisation”, in the internal newsletter of the European Commission’s Bureau of European Policy Advisors (BEPA), BEPA Monthly Brief, Issue 37, May 2010 (with Bengt Sundelius).

Turkey (Middle East Technical University)

The Centre for European Studies focuses on the European Union and wider Europe in its research and publications. The Faculty specializes on the process of European integration, theories of European integration, politics of identity, politics of migration, foreign and security policies within Europe, and Turkey and EU relations. Thematic focus can be summed up as comprehensive security, neighbourhood policies and governance.

Articles, which specify values and principles governing the European Union, for instance Art. 1a, Art. 2 and Art. 3a, are of particular interest for the Centre. The changes introduced to Foreign and Security Policy-Making of the EU, in particular, the sections on “General Provisions on the Union’s External Action and Specific Provisions on the Common Foreign and Security Policy” are also of interest. Institutional changes in this regard, such as the introduction of the Presidency of the European Union

and double-hatting of the High Representative, increasing powers of national parliaments and the European Parliament as well as new voting procedures have been remarkable.

The Centre has joined the effort to publish EU-27 Watch (no. 9, July 2010 available at www.EU-27Watch.org) which had a specific section on perceptions of the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty in Turkey, which found that the limited public debate on the Treaty focused on its possible impact on Turkey's accession to the EU.

Turkey (Sabanci University)

The main areas of EU related research at the Sabanci University are the EU's enlargement policy, the institutional reforms in the EU, the EU's foreign and security policies and the Turkish accession process to the European Union.

At Sabanci University, the innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty were of special interest for the research activities are mostly on the following articles:

- Title 2 - Provisions on democratic principles, Art. 9-12
- Title 4 - Provisions on enhanced cooperation Art. 20,
- Art. 205, 208-214 and the Solidarity Clause Art. 222.

The changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty on these matters are especially important in shaping the Turkish relations with the EU and its accession process.

United Kingdom (University of Sheffield)

The research interests of academics and research students at the University of Sheffield are wide-ranging. In politics one focus is on EU governance generally, for which the whole Lisbon Treaty is central. The main focal point of research is on Europeanisation, EU-member state relations and multi-level governance, affecting five members of academic staff interested in the impact on Britain, Germany, and South Eastern Europe (Greece, Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia-FYROM). Five Ph.D. students in Politics are working on aspects of Turkey-EU relations, while other topics include small states in the EU (Malta and Ireland), transnational parties as foreign policy actors, and the Europeanisation of environmental policy in Croatia and Bulgaria. Another concentration of research is on the Area of Freedom Security and Justice, with academics working on both immigration policy and on cooperation in criminal law. Other areas of interest include EU law and minority rights, children's rights in the EU, the EU and health systems governance, and EU external relations. Although the Lisbon Treaty features in publications relating to many of the above subjects, it does so in a secondary manner rather as the centre-point of publications.

3. Current Debates on the Treaty of Lisbon in European Countries

3.1) In your country, what issues in relation to the Lisbon Treaty and its innovations have shaped the political debate since its coming into force? Which have been the primary opponents/proponents of the Treaty? Have there been major rulings by (constitutional) courts with a view to the Lisbon Treaty and/or its implementation?

3.2) Would there be examples of topical policy issues (for example the financial and economic crisis) discussed in your country where important cross-linkages to the Lisbon Treaty have emerged?

3.3) Have other academics/institutions in your country produced research results on the Lisbon Treaty? Please give a short description or cite publications you consider important.

Austria (Universität Salzburg)

Although the decision to ratify the Treaty of Lisbon was taken with a clear majority in the Austrian National Council (parliament) (151 – 27 votes), the preceding political debates highlighted the deep cleavages between parties concerning the reform treaty. While SPÖ (Social-democratic party), ÖVP (Austrian people's party) and the green party clearly favoured the ratification, the Treaty was opposed by the FPÖ (Austrian Liberal Party) and the BZÖ (Union for the Future of Austria). The FPÖ demanded for a referendum on the Treaty (as did the BZÖ). In their opinion, the Treaty brought major changes to the Austrian constitutional system by hollowing out Austrian neutrality through the solidarity clause and doing away with national sovereignty through the principle of primacy of EU law. The extension of qualified majority voting made it especially difficult for smaller states like Austria to oppose the centralist tendencies of the Union.

Since 2008, several complaints (also on behalf of the FPÖ) have been filed against the Treaty of Lisbon at the Austrian Constitutional Court. The main issues of these complaints were: 1) no referendum has taken place, although envisaged by Art. 44 para. 3 B-VG (Austrian Constitutional Law) for an overall revision of the constitution; 2) limitation of competencies of representative function as member of parliament as the EU develops into a federal state, but without democratic legitimacy. All complaints were rejected by the Court as the plaintiffs were not infringed in their rights. Although the right to take part in a referendum exists, there is no individual right for a referendum to be held. What concerns the position as a member of parliament, the Court held that members of parliament act within a legally protected area, which shall guarantee that they can fulfil their duties without external influence. But this protection of the legal position of members of parliament does not guarantee a certain protected area of legislative competence for the national council itself, but only protects the participation of individual members of parliament in the legislative process as such.

During the debates in the Austrian parliament, FPÖ and BZÖ also criticized the subsidiarity complaint as ineffective and as a means of creating additional work for national parliaments as the threshold for a mandatory reaction of the Commission is unlikely to be met. The passerelle clause was also regarded as additional means to undermine national sovereignty.

Three issues came up since the entering into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, where cross-linkages were made in the political debate to the provisions in the Treaty: the rescue package for Greece and the following agreements on the financial stability facility, plans to exit EURATOM and the reform of the Austrian armed forces.

Especially BZÖ and FPÖ opposed the financial packages as this induced heavy burdens on the Austrian tax payer. One proposal by the BZÖ was that instead of installing a rescue package, a European core of net-payers had to be created with adjusted steps of integration for net-receivers. The

FPÖ also brought up the issue of the “no bail-out clause” in the National Council. Again there was the demand that Austria could only give any guarantees after a referendum has taken place. The establishment of a permanent financial stability facility was qualified as a major change of the Lisbon Treaty leading to a major revision of the Austrian constitution, therefore a referendum was regarded as mandatory.

Another issue which popped up during the discussions on a financial transaction tax was a proposal by the SPÖ to start a European citizen’s initiative on the introduction of such a tax.

As Austria has no nuclear power plant, a political debate started whether it made sense to stay within Euratom (and finance its structures). One question raised during these discussions was if Art. 49a also covers a single exit from Euratom, without leaving the Union as such.

Basing on the budgetary constraints a political debate started on possible reforms of the Austrian armed forces (“Army light”) and on a possible abolition of the compulsory military service. The BZÖ argued that the solidarity clause of the Treaty of Lisbon (Art. 42 para.7) created a security alliance, where Austria had to contribute in an adequate way, which would only be possible if a professional army was created.

Further literature

- Pfefferle, Roman/Schmidt, Nadja/Valchars, Gerd, “Europa als Prozess. 15 Jahre EU-Mitgliedschaft Österreichs. Festschrift für Peter Gerlich“, Wien: Lit Verlag, 2010.
- Fischer, Klemens H. , “Der Vertrag von Lissabon. Text und Kommentar zum Europäischen Reformvertrag“, Baden-Baden, Wien, Bern: Nomos Verlag, 2007.
- Hilpold, Peter, “Solidarität und Neutralität im Vertrag von Lissabon – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Situation Österreichs“, Wien: Facultas, 2010.

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Austria (Diplomatische Akademie Wien)

The DA is a major forum for debates on the EU and Lisbon in Austria: among faculty and practitioners, including the diplomatic community in Vienna. Here are some highlights of our public lectures and events:

- Inauguration of the Academy Year by Johannes Hahn, Commissioner for Region Policy, European Commission, 8th October 2010;
- “Schwerpunkte der sozial-wirtschaftlichen Regierungspolitik der Ukraine sowie Regierungstätigkeit im Rahmen der EU-Strategie für den Donauraum“, by Andrii Berezhny (Ukrainian Embassy), 12th October 2010;
- “The Liberty of the Postmoderns – Market and Civic Citizenship with the EU”, by Richard Bellamy (University College London), 29th November 2010;
- Panel discussion “Eastern Partnership – A Contribution to the Modernisation of the Eastern Neighbourhood of the EU“ with Andreas Breinbauer (University of Applied Sciences bfi Vienna), Marie-Lena May (German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin), Katarzyna Pelcznska-Nalecz (Centre for Eastern Studies, Warsaw), Nicu Popescu (Prime Minister’s Office, Moldova), Walter Siegl (Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe), Elisa Vass (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation), 1st December 2010;

- “Warum soll Mazedonien EU-Mitglied werden?“, Gjorgij Filipov (Embassy, Macedonia), 12th January 2011;
- “Morocco-EU Strategic Relations: Perspectives of a Global and Strategic Partnership“ with Abdesslam Aboudrar (Central Authority for the Prevention of Corruption, Morocco), Ahmed Herzeni (Advisory Council of Human Rights, Morocco), Laris Erik Lundin (EU Delegation to International Organisations in Vienna), Abdelhay Moudden (Faculty of Law, Morocco), Hans Winkler (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), 26th January 2011;
- “Bilan des la présidence belge du Conseil : Situation de l’Union européenne et nouvelle gouvernance européenne“, Xavier Demoulin (Foreign Affairs, Belgium), Elisabeth Bertagnoli (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), Christian Franck (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), 22nd February 2011;
- “Frankreich, Österreich und die Zukunft der EU-Integration: Warum Österreichs Rolle für uns wichtig ist“, Philippe Carré (Botschaft Frankreich), Walter Siegl (Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa), Hans Winkler (Diplomatische Akademie Wien), 21st March 2011;
- “Albania’s Priorities on its way towards EU integration“, Vili Minarolli (Embassy, Republic of Albania); Elisabeth Bertagnoli (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), Andreas Brandstätter (Uniqa Versicherungen AG), Friedhelm Frischenschlager (Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europa), 4th April 2011;
- “Migrant Integration Policy Index III“, Julia Bock-Schappelwein (Österreichisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung), Michel Cullin (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), Martin Gilbert (British Council Austria), Simon Ionu (M-Media), Johannes Kopf (Arbeitsmarktservice Österreich), Elin Landell (Swedish Ministry of Labour, Stockholm), Jan Niessen (Migration Policy Group), Nurten Yilmaz (City of Vienna), 13th April 2011;
- “Der Integrationsweg der Republik Kosovo in die EU“, Sabri Kiqmari (Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo), Elisabeth Bertagnoli (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), 14th April 2011;
- Europe Day: “Fragen und Antworten zur aktuellen Europapolitik“, Werner Fasslabend (Politische Akademie), Elisabeth Köstinger (MEP), Werner Mück (journalist), Michael Spindelegger (Federal Minister for European and Foreign Affairs), Wolfgang Waldner (Undersecretary at the Federal Ministry for European and Foreign Affairs), Hans Winkler (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), 9th May 2011;
- “EU-Bosnia and Herzegovina: Mutual Challenges“, Igor Davidović (Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the International Organisations in Vienna);
- “Territorial Pacts to make the ‘Europe 2020’-Strategy a Success“, Elisabeth Bertagnoli (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), Kristijan Schellander (Steiermärkische Bank und Sparkassen AG), Walter Siegl (Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe), 11th May 2011; Markus Kornprobst (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), Brigitte Marcher (Renner Institute), Mercedes Bresso (Committee of Regions); Comments: Petra Draxl (Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs), Thomas Weninger (Austrian Association of Cities and Towns), Elisabeth Vitouch (Vienna City Council, Committee of Regions), 18th May 2011;

- “20 Jahre Unabhängigkeit Kroatiens: Ausblick in die Zukunft in der EU“, Gordan Bakota (Embassy of the Federal Republic of Croatia in Austria), Elisabeth Bertagnoli (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna), Gabriele Matzner-Holzer (Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe), Kristijan Schellander (Steiermärkische Bank und Sparkassen AG), 26th May 2011.

Belgium (Ghent University)

Belgium took on the six-month rotating Presidency of the European Union on 1st July 2010 with a caretaker government in charge. Despite the difficult internal situation and the complications of the Lisbon reforms, the Belgian EU Presidency was widely considered to have been a success. According to Foreign Affairs Minister Steven van Ackere “it was of great importance to ensure that the innovations of the Treaty of Lisbon were subject to full implementation and compliance and would be put to maximum use. The Presidency therefore functioned completely within the framework of the Treaty and the changes that it brought to the exercise of the rotating presidency, particularly at the level of the European Council, which has become a fully fledged institution with a permanent president, as well as at the level of the Council for Foreign Affairs which is now chaired by the High Representative”.³⁶ Following this logic, the Belgian Presidency adopted a pragmatic, low-profile approach and played its role as mediator between the Commission, the European Parliament and the Council. The main achievements of the Presidency concerned the adoption of a range of measures for better supervision and regulation of the banking sector, the agreement on the EU budget, progress on the introduction of an EU-wide patent and the establishment of the European External Action Service.

Contrary to expectations abroad, the domestic political situation had little impact on the Belgian EU Presidency. This can be explained by a number of factors such as the new role of the rotating presidency under the Treaty of Lisbon, the experience of Belgian civil servants and diplomats, and the active involvement of the regional governments in the implementation of the EU agenda. Notwithstanding the numerous internal political cleavages, there is a general pro-European consensus within the Belgian political landscape. As observed by Edith Drieskens, Steven van Hecke and Peter Bursens, “The EU is hardly an issue among the larger public, the mass media seldom report on substantive EU issues, and political parties scarcely lay out their positions on the EU in party platforms, during electoral campaigns or through parliamentary activity”.³⁷ Reflecting this so-called “permissive consensus”, there has never been a genuine public debate about the Treaty of Lisbon or the policy choices of the Belgian EU Presidency.

Bulgaria (Plovdiv University)

Most recent implications are coming with the current crisis in the Maghreb countries. The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry initiated in early May 2011 the Sofia Platform – an on-going process of discussion and policy making with approximately 30 invited Arab representatives from the media, universities and NGOs. This initiative will be developed further regularly.

In view of endangering economic and financial crisis (including neighbouring Greece), regular debates in the press and government interventions have taken place since 2010 in order to analyse the crisis implication to Bulgaria and possible measures to be taken. The Lisbon perspective has been one of the key points in these debates.

³⁶ Steven van Ackere, An Assessment of the Belgian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, available at: http://www.eutrio.be/files/bveu/media/documents/Press_release/Bilan_EN.pdf.

³⁷ E. Drieskens, S. van Hecke and P. Bursens, The 2010 Belgian Presidency: Driving in the EU’s Back Seat, Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (SIEPS), 2010: 2op, available at: http://www.sieps.se/sites/default/files/2010_2op.pdf.

More events could be listed which dedicated partially or full time to Lisbon Treaty deliberations – Euro-clubs of high schools, youth seminars about the implications of migration, for example. Besides, the EU representation in Bulgaria was also very active with different activities.

Croatia (Institute for International Relations)

The Lisbon Treaty itself is not a highly debated issue in Croatia at the moment. The focus of academic and wider public interest is directed to finalization of negotiations between Croatia and the EU, and to future ratification of the accession treaty. In this context, the eventual impacts of the close timing between the ratification of the Protocol on Decision on Irish guarantees to be attached to the Lisbon Treaty and the ratification of Croatian Accession Treaty is being discussed. The same applies to the need for ratification of minor changes in the Lisbon Treaty regarding the European stability mechanism for the countries of the Euro zone. Namely, when at the end of October 2010 the EU member states agreed some minor changes to the Lisbon Treaty, the Croatian media reported about the possibility that these changes could be ratified in parallel with the Croatian Accession Treaty.

However, there were some events where the Lisbon Treaty was discussed. On 21st February 2011 at a round table organised in Rijeka, the president of the association Volim Hrvatsku (I love Croatia) Mr. Roko Sikic criticised the fact that the official translation of the Lisbon Treaty to Croatian does not exist yet.³⁸ However, the Croatian Academy of Sciences published the translation of the Lisbon Treaty already in 2009.³⁹

On 29th September 2010, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration held a two day seminar on “Changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty with special overview on the areas of CFSP and cooperation in penal matters”. The seminar was organised in cooperation with the European Institute for Public Administration and formed part of the technical support of the Luxemburg government to the Republic of Croatia.

In the period 10th-16th April 2011, the Department for the European Public Law of the Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb, organised the 9th session of its yearly “Advanced Issues of European Law” seminar. This year’s seminar held in Dubrovnik was entitled “The First Year of the Treaty of Lisbon – Consolidation and Enlargement”. The seminar dealt with some highly relevant topics such as: the absorption capacity of the EU after the Lisbon Treaty, the principle of solidarity after the Lisbon Treaty, European citizenship and the Lisbon Treaty, national parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty, EEAS, European Court of Justice and the Lisbon Treaty, etc.

Research results of other institutions in Croatia which partly cover the Lisbon Treaty were published in a book “The Final Step for Croatia – How to Function Successfully in the European Union” (December 2010).⁴⁰ The book was published by the Croatian Government, supported by the British Council and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Two articles are relevant for the analyses of the Lisbon Treaty – “The legacy of the National Committee’s Experience in the Context of European Union Membership”, written by Dr. Vesna Pusic, Head of National Committee for Monitoring EU Accession. She analyses the political role and competences of the Croatian Parliament to perform the

³⁸ See: <http://www.volim-hrvatsku.hr/najave-i-dogadanja/1-najave-i-dogadanja/154-odrzana-informativna-tribina-udruga-volim-hrvatsku-u-rijeci>, last accessed on 5th April 2011.

³⁹ Lisabonski ugovor Europske unije. Konsolidirani tekst. Adrias. Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Institute for Scientific and Artistic Work in Split. Volume 16. Zagreb and Split 2009.

⁴⁰ Vlašić Feketija, Mirna/Goran, Petar (eds.), 2010: The Final Step for Croatia – How to Function Successfully in the European Union, Government of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb. Full text available at: <http://www.britishcouncil.org/croatia-projects-ntc-brosura.pdf> (last accessed on 5th April 2011).

task of monitoring the activities of Government in the Council of the EU (scrutiny procedure) and the subsidiarity check procedure. The other article was written by Professor Sinisa Rodin from the Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb, entitled “The Constitutional Role of the Parliament”, in which he discusses the competences of the Croatian Parliament in the context of the national EU coordination mechanism and the Lisbon Treaty.

Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)

Debates in Danish media directly relating to the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty have been scarce. In general, the Danish EU-debate is limited to participation of the political extremes of the hardcore opponents or the federalists. The general public rarely debates EU-related issues.

One issue which has generated some debate is the European Civic Initiative. The new initiative has been criticised for being too complex and having too high standards, which will demand an amount of resources that is only available to larger cooperations. The initial idea of creating a democratic instrument which was accessible to all European citizens seems hard to spot.⁴¹

Both the new President of the European Council and the High Representative are also a topic of discussion. Recently, a Danish director, Christoffer Guldbrandsen, has made a documentary movie about the process that led to the appointment of Herman van Rompuy as the President of the Council. The movie shows how van Rompuy was not interested in the job but ended up accepting the post after heavy pressure from all EU member states.⁴² Even though the Guldbrandsen-movie is a rather unique case, it shows that topics covering the EU can indeed generate interest and debate if presented in an untraditional manner.

As a result of the uprisings in the Arab world, the role of the EU in North Africa has been subject to debate. The general opinion is that the EU has supported stability over democracy – a position which has left the EU with a damaged credibility vis-à-vis the North African countries. The EU has been criticised for missing out on the opportunity of playing an important role as a strong regional actor – a role that it should have the best possibility to pursue after the Lisbon Treaty.

During the summer of 2010, the French expulsion of 93 Roma people and the Danish expulsion of 23 was a much debated topic in the EU and in Denmark. Several Commissioners and Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) have expressed their concern and dissatisfaction with the expulsions, claiming that the French and Danish governments have forgotten that the Romas are EU citizens, too – with the same rights to move and reside freely within union borders.

A related issue also generated debate recently with the Toprak and Zambrano cases. The ruling of the European Court of Justice is undermining the Danish policies on immigration, which have turned increasingly strictly during the past decade. This has sparked critique of the ECJ from researchers as well as from members of the ruling parties that the court is going beyond its competences.⁴³

The DIIS considers the following recent Danish publications on the EU and the Lisbon Treaty important:

⁴¹ Søren Søndergaard: Keep it Simple, Stupid. Available at http://www.folkebevaegelsen.dk/spip.php?page=soren-aktuelt&id_article=3255, last accessed on 10th April 2011.

⁴² EUObserver: New TV documentary: How Europe got its first president, available at <http://euobserver.com/9/32147>, last accessed on 8th April 2011.

⁴³ Berlingske Tidende, Venstrefolk i intern splid om EU-domstolen, available at: <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/venstrefolk-i-intern-splid-om-eu-domstolen> last accessed on 13th April 2011.

University of Copenhagen

- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca: "EU's Diplomatic Service: State Nobility, Supranational Bureaucracy and Symbolic Power", in: Kauppi/Niilo, Madsen, Mikael Rask (eds), *Global Power Elites*, London: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, European Diplomats: Inventing a New Foreign Policy Elite", in: Kauppi, Niilo/Madsen, Mikael Rask (eds.), *Transnational Power Elites: The New Professionals of Governance, Law and Security*, London: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Nedergaard, Peter, "Lissabontraktaten - en politologisk analyse", København: Djøf Jurist- og Økonomforbundet.

Århus University

- Christensen, JG 2010, "EU Legislation and National Regulation: Uncertain Steps towards A European Public Policy", in: *Public Administration*, vol. 88, nr. 1, 3-17.
- Knudsen, TB & Nielsen, CA 2010, "International Trusteeship and Democratic Peacebuilding: The EU in the Balkans", in: Blockmans/Wouters/Ruys (eds.), *The European Union and Peacebuilding: Policy and Legal Aspects*, T.M.C. Asser Press, Den Haag, 407-438.
- Christensen, JG 2010: "Keeping in Control: The Modest Impact of the EU on Danish Legislation", in: *Public Administration*, vol. 88, nr. 1, 18-35.

Roskilde University

- Manners, Ian: "As you like it: European Union Normative Power in the European Neighbourhood Policy", in: Whitman, Richard/Wolff, Stefan, *The European Neighbourhood Policy in Perspective: Context, Implementation and Impact. Red*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Estonia (University of Tartu)

The debate about the Lisbon Treaty has been very weak in Estonia both before and after the introduction of the Lisbon Treaty. The most debated change in academic circles has been the selection process of the President of the European Council, the changes in the seating of the European Parliament and the role of the High Representative on Foreign Relations. The biggest concern in Estonia related to the Lisbon Treaty has been the possibility of small nations being left out of the list of countries having a commissioner (with the rule of the number of commissioners in the European Commission being 2/3 of the number of member states in the EU).

Policy issues related to the Lisbon Treaty discussed in the academic circles involve the changes and limits in the competences of the EU – it is debated that in the light of the Lisbon Treaty and deeper integration there is a tendency that small states give in on common or influential member states' pressure on change even though that might not be the competence of the union.

Finland (University of Tampere)

In Finland, in a small country where supporting the Commission has been important, and where EU membership has been seen as a security measure, the creation of the post of the Permanent President of the European Council, the external action service and the new position of the Union's High Representative have attracted attention, just as has the "solidarity clause" of the Lisbon Treaty. Finnish foreign policy is in many fields equivalent or close to EU foreign policy and, therefore, expectations regarding the service and High Representative are relatively high for lifting the EU's foreign policy profile (in the absence of NATO membership). The Treaty was passed in the Finnish

Parliament by votes 157-21. Part of the socialist wing (the Left Alliance), the populist party True Finns, that has since then approached the 20% mark in support levels just prior to the April 2011 parliamentary elections, and Christian democrats opposed the treaty.

The financial crisis and debate on the temporary and permanent stabilisation fund have prompted references to the Lisbon Treaty in Finland. Finland has been hesitant to tie itself to increasing financial commitments to southern European member states which are seen to have messed their economies and be unwilling to reform their “corrupt”/“non-transparent” economies and societies as profoundly as Finland itself did during its severe financial crisis of the early 1990s. A small thread in the debate taken up by the True Finns in the April 2011 election debate has concerned the legal justification (or lack thereof) of the stabilisation mechanisms vis-à-vis the Lisbon Treaty. The opposition forces, including the True Finns and the leftist parties (Left Alliance and the Social Democrats), have argued against the EU’s financial aid packages to its member states.

Other research institutions of note in Finland regarding the Lisbon Treaty include the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA; www.fia.fi). The FIIA publications of relevance include mostly short policy briefs and commentaries.

France (CERI, Sciences Po)

During the last year in France, the European issues have regularly been raised in public debates. Indeed, last summer the French government set up a policy relating to Romas, which was severely criticized by the European institutions. The EU Commissioner Viviane Reding’s awkward declarations created a polemic and a sharp tension between Paris, Brussels and Bucharest.

Revolutionary movements in Maghreb also raised some issues related to the EU. On the one side, France and the United Kingdom decided to intervene militarily in Libya without the implication of the European Union as such, which questioned the reality of EU foreign policy and defence. On the other side, the migratory movements generated by the revolutions, in particular from Tunisia, pushed the French government to require a transformation of the Schengen system.

Lastly, the last aspect of the debate in France turns around the creation of an economic government for the EU. The Treaty of Lisbon is considered to be insufficient in this field. It does not set up the institutions, which would allow tackling more efficiently the Euro crisis.

On these three questions, the Treaty of Lisbon is not in the heart of the debate, but many commentators note that it does not provide all the necessary tools.

Other institutions work on European questions in France. For the university level, one should acknowledge the work of the Centre of European Studies of Sciences Po:

- Dehousse, R., “European governorship after Lisbon”, *International Questions*, n°45, 2010
- Laidi, Z., “Europe as a risk averse power”, *Garnet Policy Brief*, n°11, 2010

In addition, Notre Europe and the Robert Schuman Foundation also regularly publish on EU affairs, EU institutional system and EU policies.

Germany (Trier University)

After the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the political debate in Germany has been shaped by an evaluation of its advantages and shortcomings in practical use. The German government consistently

stressed the necessity of the institutional reforms especially for a better and streamlined functioning in the enlarged EU-27+.

A recurring topic became the potential decrease of Germany's influence in the European Council or the European Union in general. Furthermore, efficiency and efficacy aspects were discussed frequently in the public discourse. Especially the new balance of institutional power between Commission, Council and Parliament received a lot of attention by the media and the public.

In fact, the first example for the expansion of co-decision rights and the veto powers of the European Parliament was its rejection of the so-called SWIFT agreement. The majority of MEPs denied their support so that the former accord between the Council of Ministers and the United States government could not be implemented as foreseen.⁴⁴ In this case, the European Parliament strongly emphasised its role and self-conception as advocate of citizens' rights. Another example for its new self-confident behaviour in areas where the EP has veto powers was the failure of budgetary negotiations in November 2010 between the two branches of the budgetary authority.⁴⁵ The new European posts which came into existence with the Lisbon Treaty also received a high amount of public interest. The designation of Catherine Ashton as High Representative and Herman van Rompuy as President of the European Council, however, had a rather sceptical reception in the German public due to both candidates' lack of notoriety.⁴⁶ Since their appointment, the performance especially of Catherine Ashton was considered as colourless and weak.⁴⁷ This can be seen as a symptom of a general problem of the European Union's foreign policy, which has not significantly been improved by the Lisbon Treaty.

Accordingly, the latest revolutionary events in North Africa demonstrated once more the EU's apparently lacking capacity to act swiftly and coherently in situations of international crisis. The difficulties lie in the horizontal coordination among the various responsible EU-level actors and institutions, and vertically between the levels of the EU and its 27 member states. Thus, the EU was not able to speak with one voice. The case of Egypt demonstrates that there have been significant but independent statements from at least three different EU institutions, namely the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the European Council and the Foreign Affairs Council, and also from different subgroups of member states. Ultimately, it seems that the Lisbon Treaty's stipulations are still insufficient in streamlining the institutional efficiency by a clear separation of responsibilities in this policy area.

Primary opponents and proponents

As a matter of fact, the Lisbon Treaty became a frequently politicised topic in Germany. After the Irish rejection of the Treaty and the problems concerning the German ratification process, the public

⁴⁴ Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, "Europas Parlament entdeckt seine Macht. Die EU-Abgeordneten bieten den USA im Bankdaten-Streit selbstbewusst Paroli", 11th February 2010, p. 8, "Im Zweifel für die Freiheit. Das Europäische Parlament zeigt seine Macht und achtet auf Datenschutz und Bürgerrechte", 12th February 2010, p. 4., and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, "Die Einladung nach Washington reichte nicht", 12th February 2010, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, "Keine Einigung auf EU-Haushalt für 2011", 17th November 2010, pp. 1f..

⁴⁶ Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, "Die EU tastet sich ins Lissabon-Zeitalter. Mit Ashton und van Rompuy / Merkel: Geben Sie den Leuten eine Chance", 21st November 2009, p. 1, "Treuhänder mit Respekt für die Hackordnung", 21st November 2009, p. 4, "Die nette Labour-Baronin. Die erste Fast-Außenministerin der EU ist auch in ihrer Heimat keine Berühmtheit", 21st November 2009, p. 4 and "Ein Brüsseler für Brüssel", 21st November 2009, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, "Geschäftig inmitten realpolitischer Zwänge", 4th February 2011, p. 4.

and media interest increased notably. In general, political parties as well as societal actors felt a strong need to take a clear stance either for or against this reform treaty. As a consequence, the Lisbon Treaty became a salient issue in the public discourse.

The group of proponents encompassed primarily the major political parties represented in the German Bundestag with the only exception of the Left Party (Die Linke).⁴⁸ The public debate was significantly shaped by statements from these parties' leading politicians. In addition, industry associations, like the Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie (BDI)⁴⁹, and employer associations, namely the Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände (BDA)⁵⁰ have also been very supportive. Even the great religious denominations in Germany, the Protestant⁵¹ and Catholic Church⁵², both welcomed the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, although it lacks a reference to god.

The influential German trade unions, like the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB) or the Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft (Ver.di), were not fundamentally opposed to the Lisbon Treaty but stressed its insufficient social component, especially with regard to employees rights in cross-border economic activities and in multi-national companies.⁵³ Thus, the German unions can be described as rather critical proponents of the Lisbon Treaty.

However, anti-globalisation movements like attac, have to be mentioned in the first place on the opponents' side. Attac's criticism was of a fundamental kind: the member states blatant contempt of the Irish rejection and the on-going ratification process were harshly criticized. They asked for an open dialogue and the better opportunities for citizens' participation, for example by referenda.⁵⁴ In addition, they called for a more democratic and social Europe.

The German ratification process

The parliamentary ratification process turned out to be more problematic than anticipated. Remarkably, five of the six parties in the 16th German Bundestag formed a broad majority supporting the Treaty. The governing parties CDU (Christlich Demokratische Union), CSU (Christlich-Soziale Union) and SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands) strongly supported the Treaty and defended it against any kind of qualified or unqualified criticism. The CDU considered it to be a solid basis and an important step for the future of European integration.⁵⁵ Expectedly, the CSU followed a

⁴⁸ For further details please notice the following section.

⁴⁹ Cf. http://www.bdi.eu/Institutionelle-Ordnung_1397.htm, last accessed on 11th April 2011.

⁵⁰ Cf. the press release: <http://www.bda-online.de/www/arbeitgeber.nsf/id/6504482D124FEA6BC12573B1004EF0A7?open&ccm=200050005>, last accessed on 11th April 2011.

⁵¹ Cf. the press release of the EKD: http://www.ekd.de/aktuell_presse/news_2009_11_05_1_felmberg_eu_vertrag.html, last accessed on 8th April 2011.

⁵² Cf. the press release of the Conference of Catholic Bishops: <http://www.dbk.de/presse/details/?presseid=456&cHash=afa4098df54019d871a5afadac9bfe44>, last accessed on 8th April 2011.

⁵³ Cf. the press release of the DGB: http://www.dgb.de/presse/++co++73b32b8c-155f-11df-4ca9-00093d10fae2/@/@index.html?tab=Pressemeldung&display_page=70&start_date=2011-11-01&end_date=2007-06-30 / Ver.di: http://fm1.apm.ag/verdi_news_wcms/pdf/news_10_2008.pdf [last accessed on 11th April 2011].

⁵⁴ Cf. <http://www.attac.de/aktuell/lissabon/aktuelles>, last accessed on 9th April 2011.

⁵⁵ Cf. Angela Merkel (leader of the CDU) in the speech to the German Bundestag, 24th April 2008. Source: <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btp/16/16157.pdf>, last accessed on 9th April 2011.

similar rationale⁵⁶ and, among other things, the SPD referred to the EU's improved capacity to act.⁵⁷ Highly supportive was also the FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei) by speaking of an improved functioning of Europe due to the Lisbon Treaty.⁵⁸ Also the Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) was supportive: it stressed democratisation effects, the strengthening of national parliaments and the extension of citizens' rights.⁵⁹ As already mentioned earlier, the Left Party was the only parliamentary group in the Bundestag that opposed the Lisbon Treaty on ideological grounds. First of all, it criticised the Treaty's lacking progress towards a "social Europe". Furthermore, it criticised the Treaty's far too neoliberal direction in a globalizing economy. Moreover, based on pacifist reasoning, they criticised the alleged tendency towards a militarization of the EU enshrined in the treaty.⁶⁰

On 24th April 2008, the Bundestag voted with a broad majority (515 yes votes, 58 no votes, 1 abstention) for the Lisbon Treaty.⁶¹ The subject of voting consisted of three separated laws: the ratification act (Zustimmungsgesetz), an act changing the Basic Law (Grundgesetz-Änderungsgesetz) and an accompanying act strengthening the powers of the Bundestag and Bundesrat to control the European policy-making of the German executive (Begleitgesetz).⁶² One month later, on 23th May, the German Bundesrat, the chamber of the German Bundesländer, accepted the acts unanimously. 15 of the 16 Bundesländer voted in favour of the Treaty⁶³, only Berlin abstained due to the participation of the Left Party in the government.⁶⁴

The Ruling of the Federal Constitutional Court

Immediately after the ratification in both parliamentary chambers, Peter Gauweiler (Member of the Bundestag; CSU) brought a complaint of unconstitutionality to the German Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe.⁶⁵ The Left Party also joined the complaint.⁶⁶ This was not Gauweiler's first legal action concerning European Treaties, he also filed a suit against the Constitutional Treaty in 2005. The attention of the German media was quite broad in both cases. Gauweiler attested the Lisbon Treaty democratic deficits. Furthermore, he argued that it would undermine the German Basic Law (Grundgesetz) as well as the sovereignty of the German state.⁶⁷

⁵⁶ Cf. Günther Beckstein (CSU, then prime minister of Bavaria) in the speech to the German Bundestag, 24th April 2008. Source: *ibid*.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kurt Beck (then leader of the SPD) in the speech to the German Bundestag, 24th April 2008. Source: *ibid*.

⁵⁸ Cf. Guido Westerwelle (then leader of the FDP) in the speech to the German Bundestag, 24th April 2008. Source: *ibid*.

⁵⁹ Cf. Jürgen Trittin (deputy chairman of the parliamentary group Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) in the speech to the German Bundestag, 24th April 2008. Source: *ibid*.

⁶⁰ Cf. Lothar Bisky (then leader of Die Linke) in the speech to the German Bundestag, 24th April 2008. Source: *ibid*.

⁶¹ Vote results: http://webarchiv.bundestag.de/archive/2009/1022/bundestag/plenum/abstimmung/20080424_168300.pdf, last accessed on 9th April 2011.

⁶² Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, "Drei Bundesgesetze für den Lissabon-Vertrag – und nur ein Problemfall für Karlsruhe", 1st July 2009, p. 3.

⁶³ Vote results: http://www.bundesrat.de/cln_179/nn_992666/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Plenarprotokolle/2008/Plenarprotokoll-844.templateId=raw.property=publicationFile.pdf/Plenarprotokoll-844.pdf [last accessed on 9th April 2011].

⁶⁴ Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, "SPD: Die Linkspartei ist nicht regierungsfähig. Wowereit muss sich bei Bundesratsabstimmung über Lissaboner Vertrag enthalten", 24th May 2008, pp. 1f..

⁶⁵ The legal opinion: <http://www.peter-gauweiler.de/pdf/Vertr%20Lissabon%20Gutachten.pdf>, last accessed on 25th March 2011.

⁶⁶ Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, "Verfassungsklage gegen EU-Vertrag. Linke sieht Demokratiedefizit und Parlamentsrechte verletzt", 27th June 2008, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, "Gauweiler klagt gegen EU-Vertrag. Wegen 'Demokratiedefiziten' soll Karlsruhe dem Bundespräsidenten untersagen, das Reformwerk zu unterzeichnen", 24th May 2008, p. 1.

On 30th June 2009, the German Constitutional Court delivered its ruling.⁶⁸ It considered only the “Act Extending and Strengthening the Rights of the Bundestag and the Bundesrat in European Union Matters” (Gesetz über die Ausweitung und Stärkung der Rechte des Bundestages und des Bundesrates in Angelegenheiten der Europäischen Union) to be incompatible with the German Basic Law.⁶⁹ Consequently, this law had to be changed in a way that the Bundestag and the Bundesrat were guaranteed further capabilities to control the government’s European policy-making.⁷⁰ The Federal Constitutional Court thus reaffirmed its critical attitude towards a transfer of powers to the EU-level without an explicit act of the German parliament and its role as a guardian of the substance of national-level democracy already known from its famous Maastricht decision.

With the acceptance of the modified accompanying law by the Bundestag (8th September 2009; 446 yes votes, 46 no votes, 2 abstentions)⁷¹ and the Bundesrat (18th September 2009) the parliamentary ratification process was successfully finished. Officially, the ratification process was completed with the signing of the instrument of ratification by the then Federal President, Horst Köhler, on 25th September 2009.⁷²

The financial and economic crisis

The financial and economic crisis increased public attention for the European Union. In the aftermath of the sovereign debt crisis in Greece, the focus shifted towards the deficit and debt problems in the Euro zone. The €110 billion financial assistance for Greece and the €750 billion safety net for the rest of the Euro zone were received very critically by the media and the German public. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel justified these actions as being without any alternative (“ultima ratio”).⁷³ Although Art. 125 TFEU explicitly prohibits any kind of bail out policy, the safety net’s purpose is to guarantee the solvency of financially weakened states in the Euro zone. The emergency actions were heavily disputed in Germany, even in the academic debate. A remarkable amount of protest emerged. Shortly after the decision of the European Council, an application for a temporary injunction to prevent the Euro rescue package was brought to the German Federal Constitutional Court. On 10th June 2010, it was rejected.⁷⁴ Regardless of legal questions, concerns emerged that the EU is irreversibly turning into a “transfer union”, implying financial redistribution from rich to poor member states to stabilize the common currency and to level out the differences in economic performance among the member states. Moreover, the latest crisis of the Euro zone shows that important modifications of the Stability and Growth Pact become necessary. This must be accompanied, according to the German government, not only by a “pact for competitiveness”, but also by a minor treaty reform to establish a legal basis for a permanent European rescue fund (European Stability Mechanism). The major political actors in Germany are well aware that restarting

⁶⁸ Fulltext of the judgment: BVerfG, 2 BvE 2/08 vom 30.6.2009, Absatz-Nr. (1 - 421), http://www.bverfg.de/entscheidungen/es20090630_2bve000208en.html, last accessed on 6th April 2011.

⁶⁹ Federal Constitutional Court: press release no. 72/2009 of 30th June 2009.

<http://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/en/press/bvg09-072en.html>, last accessed: 6th April 2011.

⁷⁰ Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, “Ein arbeitsreicher Sommer in Berlin. Ein neues Begleitgesetz zum Lissabon-Vertrag muss geschrieben werden – und zwar bis Ende August”, 1st July 2009, p. 3.

⁷¹ http://webarchiv.bundestag.de/archive/2009/1022/bundestag/plenum/abstimmung/20090908_lissabon.pdf, last accessed on 9th April 2011.

⁷² For an overview see Müller-Graff, Peter-Christian, “Das Lissabon-Urteil: Implikationen für die Europapolitik“, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 18/2010.

⁷³ Cf. Angela Merkel in the speech to the German Bundestag, 19th May 2010. Source: http://www.bundesregierung.de/nr_1502/Content/DE/Regierungserklaerung/2010/2010-05-19-merkel-erklaerung-eu-stabilisierungsmassnahmen.html [last accessed on 9th April 2011].

⁷⁴ Cf. the press release: <http://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/en/press/bvg10-038.html> [last accessed on 9th April 2011].

treaty reforms is a difficult endeavour for the European Union, based on the experiences of the Lisbon Treaty's problematic ratification process. But it was seen to be without a real alternative because of the danger that a successful complaint be filed at the German Constitutional Court objecting to Germany's participation in the European rescue packages due to the lack of a proper legal base in the Lisbon Treaty.⁷⁵

Academic research results

- The University of Cologne (Lisboan Project with Lisbon Watch).
- The Institut für Europäische Politik: widely published on the Lisbon Treaty and its application, especially in its quarterly journal *integration*.
- The Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (dossier: "The EU after Lisbon" [Die EU nach Lissabon]).
- The Walter Hallstein-Institut für Europäisches Verfassungsrecht at the Humboldt University in Berlin widely published on the Lisbon Treaty and its impact.

Important publications

- Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (ed.), "Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte – Europa nach Lissabon" (APuZ 18/2010), URL: <http://www.bpb.de/files/JWF71E.pdf> [last accessed: 4th April 2011].
- Lieb, Julia/Maurer, Andreas, "Der Vertrag von Lissabon", Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin, 2010.
- Lieb, Julia/Ondarza, Nicolai von, "Der Vertrag von Lissabon und seine Umsetzung. Zusammenfassung des ehemaligen Onlinedossiers der Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. Stand vom April 2010", Berlin.
- Pernice, Ingolf, "Does Europe Need A Constitution? Achievements And Challenges After Lisbon", 2010, URL: <http://www.whi-berlin.de/documents/whi-paper0210.pdf> [last accessed on 10th April 2011].
- Wessels, Wolfgang/Traguth, Thomas, "Der hauptamtliche Präsident des Europäischen Rates: ‚Herr‘ oder ‚Diener‘ im Haus Europa?", in: *Integration 4/2010*, 2010, 297-311.

Germany (University Duisburg Essen)

In Germany, the political debate around the Lisbon Treaty was focused on the judgment by the Federal Constitutional Court of 30th June 2009, stating that further transfer of competences on the EU would not be possible without a revision of the German constitution. This judgment was and continues to be criticised by lawyers, politicians, political scientists and historians as based on an oversimplified dichotomy between national democracy and supra-national non-state. The current state of this debate can be seen at a discussion on "Europe and the new German question", organised by the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) and the Mercator-Stiftung which took place in Berlin on 6th April 2011. The keynote speech held by Jürgen Habermas on this occasion was published in

⁷⁵ Cf. Nicolaus Heinen, Constitutional Complaints. Germany's Rejection of rescue packages unlikely, Deutsche Bank Research, Research Briefing Economics & Politics, 17th March 2011. Source: http://www.dbresearch.de/PROD/DBR_INTERNET_DE-PROD/PROD0000000000271154.pdf.

Süddeutsche Zeitung on 7th April 2011. Parts of the discussion are published in *Blätter für deutsche und international Politik*, May 2011, 45-66.

Germany (University of Cologne)

The German political debate with regard to the main Lisbon Treaty innovations – namely, the High Representative Catherine Ashton and the European External Action Service; the permanent President of the Council Herman van Rompuy; the enhanced roles of the European Parliament and of national parliaments as well as the introduction of a citizens initiative – has been shaped by three external factors: 1) proceedings before the German constitutional court 2) the financial and sovereign debt crises and 3) the EU's performance in dealing with external challenges.

Several complaints to the German constitutional court with direct or indirect bearing on the Lisbon Treaty have received considerable news coverage and thus influenced the German political discourse. The first was filed on 23rd May 2008 on behalf of Peter Gauweiler, member of the German Bundestag, and questioned the compatibility of the new EU treaty with German constitutional law. The two other complaints (the first one was filed on May 7, 2010 by a group around law Professor Eberhard Schachtschneider, the second one on 1st June 2010 on behalf of a group referred to as 'Europolis') claimed that the financial rescue schemes introduced in response to the sovereign debt crises violate the no-bail-out clause (Art. 125 TFEU) and the German constitution.

The Gauweiler complaint was partly successful insofar as the Constitutional court ruled on 30th June 2009⁷⁶ that the German bill ratifying the Treaty required modification before entering into force. The swift revision of the law and subsequent German ratification of the Lisbon Treaty notwithstanding, the judgement illustrates basic lines of argument in the German debate, closely related to Germany's key role in the process of European integration. The judgement's main implication was that the German parliament must exert more control on decision-making in Brussels. Despite criticisms that this might reduce the effectiveness of the EU political system,⁷⁷ commentators also expressed the hope that an intensified domestic debate on EU issues would result.⁷⁸ However, at the present junction it remains doubtful whether this has indeed materialised. While a few topical issues at the EU level (in particular the financial bail-outs) have elicited a strong media response, the (fairly arcane) legislative process itself remains separated from the national public.

A ruling on both complaints against the rescue schemes is still pending but is expected for 2011. Although it is unlikely that the Court will overturn German participation in the financial rescue schemes, the complaints reflect the salience of the topic for the German debate. Following a deep recession caused by the financial crises (August 2007 – September 2009), Germany has enjoyed a period of economic prosperity ever since. With growth in the rest of Europe remaining lacklustre, and with public finances in a number of southern Member States in turmoil, the debate in Germany centred on the need for solidarity within the EU and particularly the Eurozone. Fears that a de-facto

⁷⁶ Cf. Müller-Graf, "Das Karlsruher Lissabon-Urteil: Bedingungen, Grenzen, Orakel und integrative Optionen", in: *integration*, 4/09, 331-360, 2009.

⁷⁷ Die Zeit, "Neue Barrieren für die Einigung. Das deutsche Bundesverfassungsgericht hat ein zwiespältiges Urteil über den Vertrag von Lissabon gefällt", 6th October 2009, p. 12.

⁷⁸ Financial Times Deutschland, "Ein wertvolles "Ja, aber"", 30th June 2009, p. 1.

‘transfer union’ is being established – with Germany perceived as a “paymaster”⁷⁹ – have elicited much discussion.⁸⁰

Institutional changes introduced by Lisbon also received a lot of attention, albeit more so in academic circles than in the public debate. Through an increased use of the co-decision procedure, the treaty has altered the institutional balance between European Commission, Council of the EU and European Parliament in favour of the latter.⁸¹ This development has been met with approval by most German commentators in terms of a more democratic union. However, with the European Council underlining its claim to leadership, the parliament cannot take its position in the institutional architecture after Lisbon for granted.⁸²

The public discourse on the position of the High Representative corresponded to some extent with the incumbent’s low profile. As a relatively unknown politician, at least in European circles, Catherine Ashton’s ratings remained rather ambivalent.⁸³ The same holds true for the Permanent President of the European Council, Herman van Rompuy. 18 months after the Lisbon treaty has entered into force, one may conclude that instead of increasing its capacity to act, leadership in the European Union has become more complex instead.⁸⁴ The EU’s incoherent reactions to the events in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya have been taken as a case in point to illustrate that political reality may differ markedly from the Lisbon Treaty’s words.

Greece (University of Athens)

The political and academic debate in Greece is dominated by the bad domestic economic situation. Therefore, academic and political discourse includes the items relating to economic governance of the EMU, the institutional set up governing the single currency (Euro) and, more generally, the instruments or lack thereof in the Lisbon Treaty for handling the economic crisis. To a lesser extent, the “no bail-out” clause included in the Lisbon Treaty (TFEU, Art. 125⁸⁵) and the article of withdrawal from the European Union (TEU Art. 50⁸⁶) are also discussed.

It could be argued that due to the economic crisis, most conferences and public discussions deal with the economic crisis and the challenges of the public sector in Greece. However, apart from the IEIP and the Department of International and European Studies, the Hellenic Foundation for European &

⁷⁹ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, “In Haftung”, 7th May 2010, p. 13.

⁸⁰ Süddeutsche Zeitung, “Verwirrend klar”. 17th March 2010, p. 4; Süddeutsche Zeitung, “Regierung streitet über Hilfe für die Griechen”, 26th April 2010, p. 1; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, “Europa in der Bewährung”, 14th December 2010, p. 10.

⁸¹ Kietz/von Ondarza, “Das neue Selbstbewusstsein des Europäischen Parlaments“, SWP-Aktuell 57, July, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 2010.

⁸² Financial Times Deutschland, „Europäisches Parlament probt den Aufstand“, 16th June 2010, p. 9.

⁸³ Süddeutsche Zeitung, “Auf Bewährung“ (19th February 2011, p. 8).

⁸⁴ Von Ondarza, “Koordinatoren an der Spitze. Politische Führung in den reformierten Strukturen der Europäischen Union“, SWP-Studie S 8, April, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 2011.

⁸⁵ “1. The Union shall not be liable for or assume the commitments of central governments, regional, local or other public authorities, other bodies governed by public law, or public undertakings of any Member State, without prejudice to mutual financial guarantees for the joint execution of a specific project. A Member State shall not be liable for or assume the commitments of central governments, regional, local or other public authorities, other bodies governed by public law, or public undertakings of another Member State, without prejudice to mutual financial guarantees for the joint execution of a specific project.
2. The Council, on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the European Parliament, may, as required, specify definitions for the application of the prohibitions referred to in articles 123 and 124 and in this Article”.

⁸⁶ “1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.” (Art. 50).

Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) has some research projects on the Lisbon institutional reforms (European Seminars, Think Global Act European project, “An EU ‘fit for purpose’ in a global age”, etc.)⁸⁷.

Two and a half years after the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty by Greece⁸⁸, the main opponents and proponents of the Lisbon Treaty remain the same. The ruling party PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) and the main opposition party New Democracy (ND) are in favour of the Treaty of Lisbon. The left parties KKE (the Greek Communist party) and Syriza (Coalition of the Radical), and the populist, radical right party of LAOS (Popular Orthodox Rally) are against the new treaty. The main argument of the KKE and Syriza is that the Treaty of Lisbon demolishes the social state and prioritise the rules of the free market. The main argument of LAOS is that the new Treaty restricts the powers of the national parliaments and creates a European super state.

Hungary (Institute for World Economics)

The Lisbon Treaty was first ratified by Hungary – the parliament fully backed the Treaty in December 2009. Since the 2010 elections, there is a radical and eurosceptic (oppositional) party in the parliament which is criticising the Treaty (and Hungary’s EU-membership in general) from time to time. But in Hungarian politics, the Lisbon Treaty is usually not in the centre of attention, let alone in public discourse. However, recently light was shed on the Lisbon Treaty as the parliament adopted the new Hungarian constitution. In the new basic law of Hungary, the catalogue of fundamental rights was actually designed according to the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights which is an integral part of the Lisbon Treaty.

No other academic institutions in Hungary have had research projects on the Lisbon Treaty to our knowledge although the Institute of Legal Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences had a project on the Constitutional Treaty concluded in 2007.

The most important comprehensive book on the topic in Hungary is:

- Horváth, Z./Ódor, B., “Az Európai Unió Szerződéses reformja, az Unió Lisszabon után” [Treaty reform of the European Union, the Union after Lisbon], 2nd ed., Budapest: HVG-ORAC, 2010.

Further important analyses on the innovations of the Lisbon Treaty include articles in the journal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Európai tükör” [Europe mirror] in their numbers of November and December 2009 and April 2010 on issues of EU close to the citizens, security and defence policy and energy policy. These publications in Hungarian language can be found and freely downloaded here: <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/kum/hu/bal/Kulugyminiszterium/Kiadvanyaink/Eur%C3%B3pai+T%C3%BCk%C3%B6r/>.

Iceland (University of Iceland)

There has been very little discussion about the Lisbon Treaty in Iceland. The public is badly informed about the Treaty and the EU in general. Despite Iceland’s on-going negotiations talks with the EU, the Icelandic government and the EU have done very little, so far, to inform the public about the EU. This has given the No-Movement in Iceland an opportunity to misinterpret the Lisbon Treaty and put

⁸⁷ See: <http://www.eliamap.gr/en/?cat=4>.

⁸⁸ The Lisbon Treaty was ratified by the Greek Parliament on 11th June 2008 with 250 votes in favor and 42 against. Deputies from both ruling New Democracy (ND) and main opposition party PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) are in favor of the Treaty of Lisbon, while (KKE), Syriza (Coalition of the Radical Left) and LAOS (Popular Orthodox Rally) outvoted the Treaty of Lisbon.

forward all kinds of nonsense about it. For instance, the Icelandic No-Movement continues to argue that since the Lisbon Treaty no EU member state can leave the Union, small states have no influence in the EU, Icelanders will have to join the European army if they join the Union and that the EU is less democratic. The IIA/ESS and associated academics have tried to do their best in informing the public objectively and encouraging serious debate, but with no funds yet received for EU information work from the Icelandic government or the EU the resources are very limited. Also, the Yes-Movement and the Social Democrats have made a modest attempt to correct these fabrications about the Treaty. However, they are on the defensive and the No-Movement – which has supporters in all other major political parties and various sectoral lobbies – has had the upper hand in interpreting the Treaty so far.

Ireland (University College Dublin)

The financial and economic crisis in Ireland provides the context within which the Lisbon Treaty is being discussed. Having secured a yes vote in the referendum in October 2009, public debate in Ireland on the EU has hardened. This has a number of dimensions. First, there is considerable opposition to the terms of the EU/IMF bailout, particularly to the high interest rates that are being charged which make it more difficult for Ireland to remain solvent and to return to the financial markets. Second, there is deep anger at the issue linkage that is taking place between the bailout and pressure to change Ireland's corporate tax rate. Third, there is considerable uncertainty about the future of the Euro Zone area. In many ways the Lisbon Treaty has been overtaken by events in the economy with a result that Lisbon is seen neither as the cause nor the solution to the multiple crises facing the EU and Ireland.

Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

Despite the unanimous parliamentary support for the Lisbon Treaty, its ratification did not trigger a public debate in the country⁸⁹. As rightly lamented by the commentator Andrea Romano⁹⁰, at a time when both the European project and the Italian political landscape are undergoing deep change and crisis, such a debate is badly needed. The national media did not really cover the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in Italy while wider coverage was instead given to the first Irish referendum in June 2008 and to the appointments of the President of the European Council and of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in November 2009. In particular, the fact that an Italian politician, Massimo D'Alema, was a candidate for the latter post, aroused some interest among the broad public. However, even on this occasion, a public debate on Italy's role in Europe did not take place. Similarly, the first appointments of senior ambassador at the EEAS received some coverage from the press, highlighting that Italy did obtain many senior positions for its candidates.

Besides that, only the following two EU-related issues, although only indirectly connected with the topic of the Lisbon Treaty, made the headlines in Italy:

- Immigration: the expectations for a stronger EU role in this issue following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the conflict between Italy, France and the EU over the management of massive migratory flows from North Africa as a result of the Arab spring and the war in Libya; the proposals for a change of the Treaty of Schengen;

⁸⁹ Comelli, M., "Italy's Love Affair with the EU: Between Continuity and Change", IAI WORKING PAPERS 11 | 08th April 2011, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iaiwpl1108.pdf>.

⁹⁰ Romano, Andrea, "L'Italia si guarda nello specchio rotto del sogno europeo", Il Sole-24 Ore 7th June 2009.

- The impacts of the economic and financial crisis on the Euro and the reform of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).

A hot debate has taken place in Italy about the cooperation (or, better, the lack of it) between EU member states and between the latter and the EU on how to manage the wave of immigrants fleeing from North Africa in early 2011. The coverage of the debate by the Italian media was mostly focused on the comments of the events by the politicians, rather than by an attempt to explain the issues.

After the fall of the North-African regimes, Italian politicians levelled many critiques to the action of the European Union, judged as not incisive at all.

Most of these critiques came from members of the governing coalition. In particular, according to the Italian Minister of Justice, Angelino Alfano, contrasts between different countries of the Union are implausible, as in the case of the block to immigrants by France. Such cases according undermine the credibility of the very values on which the European Union is founded.

On the other side, the EU blamed Italy for not having sent a concrete request of immediate help to Brussels, and at the same time it defended itself, claiming to have continuously been in touch with the Italian authorities and to have already activated (last February) the European Agency for the Management of external borders (Frontex) and the European Asylum Support Office. Nevertheless, the Italian government was disappointed by what it considered to be a slow and bureaucratic approach by the Union, which, according to the Italian Interior Minister, Roberto Maroni, had a very different attitude with respect to the Greek request of controlling the borders with Turkey.

According to the Italian Interior Minister Roberto Maroni, the “temporary travel permits” issued by the Italian authorities to migrants in order for them to freely circulate within the Schengen free area, should be obligatorily acknowledged by the other EU countries, which should not reject immigrants landed and passed through Italy for the first three months of their stay. However, it was clear from the beginning that the other member states would not easily accept what the Italian government considered to be a “redistribution” of the immigrants, while other countries, starting from France, considered to be a sort of device to deviate migrants from Italy to other countries. The EU declared that the temporary permits did not automatically allow migrants arrived in Italy to freely circulate inside the Schengen borders. Finally, in a Franco-Italian Summit Silvio Berlusconi and Nicolas Sarkozy agreed on the need to propose some modifications to the Treaty of Schengen, considered not to adequate to face the current situation.

Also the topic of the impact of the economic and financial crisis on the Euro and on the governance of the European Monetary Union (EMU) received a large coverage by Italian media and prompted a political debate. However, most of the political debate and news focused on the response to the situation of Greece and other EU countries in a difficult financial situation and the Italian contribution to the reform of the Growth and Stability Pact, rather than on the reform of the Treaty of Lisbon itself decided by the European Council in December 2010 to allow countries from the euro area to build a permanent mechanism aimed at safeguarding the financial stability of the euro area (Art. 136 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union).

The reform of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) aimed at reinforcing the economic and monetary governance, as proposed in late September 2010, gave some worries to Italy. The Italian government official position on the reform of the SGP was that the EU should consider other relevant factors of the economic and financial situation, such as the low private debt of the Italian families, when deciding on a country’s compliance with the SGP criterion on the public debt. Many Italian

businessmen and experts supported this proposal, such as Giuseppe Mussari, President of the Italian Banks Association. Finally, Italian media gave much coverage to the acceptance by the EU Council of the proposal by the Italian Finance Minister Giulio Tremonti to take into consideration also the private debt.

Besides the consideration of the amount of the national private debt, the Italian Minister of Economy and Finance Giulio Tremonti also put forward the proposal for the so-called Eurobond in order to work against an excessive external debt. In the same direction goes the Budget Committee of the Italian Senate, declaring in a resolution that the conditions of the project for the reform of the Stability and Growth Pact are pointlessly too rigid and highly penalizing for Italy. The same committee also underlines the importance of considering more indicators than just the public debt of countries, as also of considering the opportunity of the Eurobonds.

Publications on the Lisbon Treaty by other academic and non-academic institutions in Italy:

- Briasco, Luca/Capuano, Davide, A./Gianniti, L. (a cura di), "Il Trattato di Lisbona: nota introduttiva e testo a fronte con le disposizioni dei Trattati vigenti", Roma: Senato, 2007.
- Cangelosi, Rocco Antonio, "Il ventennio costituzionale dell'Unione europea. Testimonianze di un Diplomatico al servizio della causa europea", Venezia: Marsilio (collana Idee d'Europa), 2009.
- Carbone, Luigi/Gianniti, Luigi/Pinelli, Cesare, "Le istituzioni europee", in: Bassanini, Franco/Tiberi, Giulia, *Le nuove istituzioni europee – Commento al Trattato europeo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010.
- Gianniti, Luigi, "Il meccanismo di stabilità e la revisione semplificata del Trattato di Lisbona: un'ipoteca tedesca sul processo di integrazione?", Roma: Istituto affari internazionali, 2011.
- Laschi, Giuliana/Telò, Mario (a cura di), "L'Europa nel sistema internazionale: sfide, ostacoli e dilemmi nello sviluppo di una potenza civile", Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009.
- Mastronardi, Francesco/Spanò, Anna Monica, "Conoscere il Trattato di Lisbona: una riforma che conferma e smentisce la Costituzione europea - Guida alla lettura del Trattato firmato a Lisbona il 13 dicembre 2007", Napoli: Simone, 2008.
- Micossi, Stefano/Tosato, Gian Luigi (a cura di), "The European Union in the 21st century: perspectives from the Lisbon Treaty", Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2009 (Trad. di: L'Unione europea nel XXI secolo - "Nel dubbio, per l'Europa", Bologna, Il Mulino, 2008).
- Mignolli, Alessandra, "L'azione esterna dell'Unione europea e il principio della coerenza", Napoli: Jovene, 2009.
- Paruolo, Silvana, "2020: la nuova Unione europea: l'UE tra allargamento e vicinato, crisi, vertici, vecchie e nuove strategie", Lulu, 2011.
- Pinelli, Cesare, "Perché Karlsruhe non convince sul Trattato di Lisbona", Astrid Online: http://www.astrid-online.it/Riforma-de/Documenti/Corte-cost/Pinelli_Relaz_Convegno-21_09_09.pdf.

- Pinelli, Cesare, “Il Preambolo, i valori, gli obiettivi”, in: Bassanini, Franco/Tiberi, Giulia, *Le nuove istituzioni europee – Commento al Trattato europeo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010.
- Pinelli, Cesare, “Le “Disposizioni relative ai principi democratici” ”, in: Bassanini, Franco/Tiberi, Giulia, *Le nuove istituzioni europee – Commento al Trattato europeo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010.
- Pinelli, Cesare, “Il deficit democratico europeo e le risposte del Trattato di Lisbona”, in: *Rassegna parlamentare*, rivista trimestrale ISLE, 2008, fascicolo 4, 925-939.
- Risi, Cosimo (a cura di), “L'azione esterna dell'Unione europea”, Napoli: Editoriale scientifica, 2010.
- Rossi, Lucia Serena, “Les rapports entre la Charte des droits fondamentaux et le Traité de Lisbonne”, in: *Chemins de l'Europe - Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean Paul Jacqué*, Paris: Dalloz, 2010, 609-625.
- Rossi, Lucia Serena, “I principi enunciati dalla sentenza della Corte costituzionale tedesca sul Trattato di Lisbona: un'ipoteca sul futuro dell'integrazione europea?”, in: *Rivista di Diritto Internazionale*, 2009, 993-1020.
- Rossi, Lucia Serena, “Il rapporto fra Trattato di Lisbona e Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'UE”, in Bronzini, Giuseppe, Guarriello, Fausta, Piccone, Valeria (a cura di), *Le scommesse dell'Europa - Diritti, Istituzioni, Politiche*, Roma, 2009, 73-89.
- Rossi, Lucia Serena, “How Fundamental are Fundamental Principles? Primacy of the EU Law, Principles of the national Constitutions and Fundamental Rights after Lisbon”, in: *Liber Fausto Pocar - Diritti individuali e giustizia internazionale*, Milano, 2009, 801-822.
- Rossi, Lucia Serena, “Coerenza ed efficacia dell'azione esterna dell'Unione europea: le innovazioni previste dal Trattato di Lisbona”, in: Laschi, Giuliana/Telò, Mario, *L'Europa nel sistema internazionale*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009, 289-303.
- Senato della Repubblica, “The Lisbon Treaty: commentary and comparative text”, Roma: Senato, 2009.
- Servizio Affari Internazionali del Senato, “L'autorizzazione alla ratifica del Trattato di Lisbona: Legge 2 agosto 2008, n. 130 (G.U. 8 agosto 2008, n. 185, S.O.)”, Roma: Senato della Repubblica, 2008.
- Tosato, Gian Luigi, “L'architettura del nuovo Trattato”, in: Bassanini, Franco/Tiberi, Giulia, *Le nuove istituzioni europee – Commento al Trattato europeo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010.
- Tosato, Gian Luigi, “Il Trattato di Lisbona: una riforma completata?”, in: Bassanini, Franco/Tiberi, Giulia, *Le nuove istituzioni europee – Commento al Trattato europeo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010.

Latvia (Riga Stradins University)

Generally, the Lisbon Treaty issues are discussed in Latvian academic community alongside important economic sectors for Latvian and Baltic States development. With this in mind, the RSU's

European Studies Faculty actively participated in the national conferences, round-tables and public lectures to deliver up-to-date knowledge on recent Lisbon Treaty's implementation.

Of extreme importance for Latvia (due to the EU-IMF support for the country) are the financial and economic issues, in particular those concerning European economic and Monetary Union.

These aspects of political debate have been covered by the Department's professors in a recent textbook financially supported by the European Commission (published in May 2011).

National Awards

The Latvian Journalist Union awarded a diploma and prize to Professor Eugene Eteris for the EU issues' extensive and productive coverage in mass-media (April 2011).

Malta (University of Malta)

The political debate on the Lisbon Treaty was perhaps the calmest of any EU-related debates in Malta in the last three decades. The Constitutional Treaty was ratified in Parliament with the governing Nationalist Party and the Opposition Labour Party both voting in favour in 2005.⁹¹ Then when the Constitution was shelved, the Lisbon Treaty was ratified unanimously in 2008.⁹² On both occasions the Labour Party, which had strongly opposed membership up to 2004, declared that when voting in favour of the treaty it was doing so under five main conditions: (1) that the treaty does not compromise Malta's Constitutionally enshrined neutrality; (2) that none of the Constitutional provisions requiring the approval of two thirds of the members of parliament to amend, are compromised; (3) the right to grant state aid for social purposes; (4) Malta's social policy is not threatened; (5) the situation of the island of Gozo is not prejudiced.⁹³ These conditions were originally articulated with respect to the European Constitution but were re-invoked in the 2008 Parliamentary debate on the Lisbon Treaty.

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Following the approval of the Treaty in the Maltese House of Representatives, the political debate disappeared from the radar screen. Media interest shifted to the second Irish referendum and most references to the Treaty tended to be made in that context.

After the Treaty came into effect, Dr Simon Busuttil Member of the European Parliament (EPP), ran a series of weekly articles in the Maltese language daily *In-Nazzjon*, in all some sixty articles were published in this newspaper. These articles consisted of an informative expose of different parts of the Treaty in a style that made its contents accessible to readers and to a wider public.

Luxembourg (Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research)

The financial and economic crisis which turned also into a crisis of the Eurozone stood in the center of the public debate. However, in opposition to the Euro-skeptical discourse which gained ground in a series of EU member states, solidarity with Greece, Ireland and Portugal was never at stake. At the same time, the notion of a 'transfer union' is avoided by the main political actors dealing with EU affairs and being present in Luxembourgish mass media.

Yet, the Luxembourgish Prime Minister and President of the Eurogroup, Jean-Claude Juncker, and the Foreign Minister, Jean Asselborn, advocated very early the issue of Eurobonds. Therefore, German

⁹¹ Debates of the House of Representatives, Sitting 288, Wednesday 6th July 2005.

⁹² Debates of the House of Representatives, Sitting 613, Tuesday 29th January 2008.

⁹³ Sitting 288, 2005, p.31.

reluctance to the issue of common bonds provoked a rather harsh reaction of the Prime Minister, blaming his German counterparts for their anti-European attitude.⁹⁴

In line with the Luxembourgish stance to find a common European answer to the challenges of the Euro-crisis, the common statement of Chancellor Merkel and President Sarkozy, who urged at a bilateral summit in Deauville in October 2010 changes to the Lisbon Treaty in order to prevent future sovereign debt crisis, encountered little enthusiasm. However, severe criticism was rather directed against the open French-German claim to leadership than against the endeavor to stabilize the Eurozone. The proposal of political sanctions such as the withdrawal of voting rights in the Council for countries that do not respect their budgetary obligations under the Stability and Growth pact was rejected.⁹⁵ The need for the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), built on the existing European Financial Stability Mechanism (EFSM) was never called into question.

Apart the debate on the common currency, the issue of Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship in the EU attracted considerable attention in the Luxembourgish media. Especially the row with the French government over the expulsion of Roma in autumn 2010 was covered by the press, which is partly due to the fact that the first Justice Commissioner Vivian Reding comes from the Grand-Duchy.⁹⁶

Relevant publications include those of the University of Luxembourg, for example:

- Hofmann, Herwig, “Legislation, Delegation and Implementation under the Treaty of Lisbon: Typology Meets Reality,” *European Law Journal* 15 (2009): 482-505.

Netherlands (University of Twente)

Academic debates on European integration did not really change after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. The political debates did change, but this already started at the time of the referendum on the European Constitution in 2005. Topics that were started then (for example on the influence of ‘Brussels’, the legitimacy of the decisions) continue today.

Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo)

Norway isn’t of course a member of the EU, and so the Lisbon Treaty itself has not been very important in political debate. However, as part of the European Economic Area and Schengen, Norway is necessarily affected by changes within the EU brought about by the Lisbon Treaty – most notably, the abolition of the “pillar” structure. Recognizing this, in January 2010 the Norwegian government established a committee of experts (including Professor Helene Sjørusen of ARENA) to “...undertake a broad and thorough assessment of the political, legal, administrative, economic and social impacts (including welfare and regional policy) of the EEA Agreement.” To this end, a number of external reports have been commissioned and public meetings held (many involving ARENA researchers), some of which have concerned changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty.

Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)

The support for the Lisbon Treaty since its signature has largely followed the lines of division between major political forces in Poland, which was reflected, for example, in the Parliamentary

⁹⁴ Lëtzeburger Journal, 9th December 2010

⁹⁵ L’essentiel, 30th October 2010; Luxemburger Wort, 30th October 2010.

⁹⁶ Luxemburger Wort, 30th September 2010, 22nd October 2010, 28th October 2010; Tageblatt, 28th October 2010, 29th October 2010.

voting over the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. With the majority of Civic Platform, Left Democratic Alliance and Polish People's Party voting in favour, a slight incoherence in the Law and Justice Party with divided voting could be observed.⁹⁷ Still the opinions voiced by non-parliamentary parties after the voting confirmed their stance towards the Treaty (right-wing League of Polish Families and Real Politics Union voicing their clear anti-treaty standpoint). The developments in the reporting period presented below have their direct precedence in the period before December 2009. The successful ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in the Senate was followed by the signature of the President of the Republic, Lech Kaczynski, on 10th October 2009. Just a month later, a group of Law and Justice MPs (and a month later a group of Law and Justice Senators) brought two cases before the Constitutional Court related to the question of conformity of the Treaty with the Polish Constitution. The Senator's application was examined⁹⁸ and on 24th November 2010 the Court adjudicated on conformity with the Constitution of the questioned Art. 1(56) and Art. 2 of the Treaty⁹⁹. The representatives of Civic Platform, Left Democratic Alliance and Polish People's Party welcomed the ruling stressing the need for modern understanding of sovereignty while the representatives of Law and Justice announced the plan to bring the MPs case again to the Constitutional Court¹⁰⁰.

Most recently, on 13th February 2011 the new law on cooperation of the Council of Ministers with the Sejm and the Senate on issues related to Poland's membership in the European Union entered into force. The law is the result of the new role granted to national parliaments by the Lisbon Treaty. On 25th February 2011, the respective change in the Sejm rules of procedures followed.

Apart from the general issues related to the contents of the Treaty (including also the question of conformity of the Treaty with the Constitution of the Republic of Poland), recently the most important issue raised in the academic and political debate has been the linkage between the forthcoming Polish presidency and the Lisbon Treaty. The most important questions raised in relation to this problem concentrate upon 1) building up new practices in conducting the presidency in the context of the Lisbon Treaty institutional changes; 2) practical aspect of the Presidency in the EU-27, with particular importance attached to Polish Presidency priorities and 18-month-long functioning within the trio; 3) further implementation measures related to solutions introduced by the Lisbon Treaty as well as practices to be built up in the coming years by the new Presidencies and the role of Poland in this respect¹⁰¹.

As regards the Lisbon Treaty results/debates, it is worth mentioning that all major publishing houses specialized in legal and EU literature¹⁰² as well as the Bureau of Analysis of the Sejm have published

⁹⁷ Results of the Sejm (Lower house of the Polish Parliament) voting on 1st April 2008 quoted after Gazeta Wyborcza daily, www.gazeta.pl, last accessed on 4th April 2011.

⁹⁸ The MPs application was turned down due to the absence of the applicant at the hearing causing inadmissibility of the judgment.

⁹⁹ Press release after the announcement of the judgment concerning the Treaty of Lisbon, www.trybunal.gov.pl, last accessed on 4th April 2011.

¹⁰⁰ Source: Gazeta Prawna: www.gazetaprawna.pl, last accessed on 4th April 2011.

¹⁰¹ See for example Artur Niedzwiecki, *Przewodnictwo Polski w Radzie UE w 2011 r.* {Polish Presidency in the Council of the EU in 2011}, Warsaw, 7-11 Feb. 2011. Report prepared for the Amicus Europae Foundation (http://uniaieuropejska.org/unia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=501%3Aa-niedzwiecki-przewodnictwo-polski-w-radzie-ue-w-2011-r&catid=104%3AAszuflada&Itemid=75 – last accessed on 11th April 2011); Jan Barcz, *Prezydencja w Radzie Unii Europejskiej* {Presidency in the Council of the European Union} [http://www.cie.gov.pl/HLP/files.nsf/0/F3B2783F3D881D02C125775F004C56D2/\\$file/Prezydencja_w_Radzie_UE_13.07.2010.pdf](http://www.cie.gov.pl/HLP/files.nsf/0/F3B2783F3D881D02C125775F004C56D2/$file/Prezydencja_w_Radzie_UE_13.07.2010.pdf) - last accessed on 11th April 2011. Publication prepared for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Konstanty Adam Wojtaszczyk (Ed), *Prezydencja w Radzie Unii Europejskiej* {Presidency in the Council of the European Union}, Warsaw, 2010.

¹⁰² For Example Wolters Kluwer, C.H Beck, Polish Scientific Publishers and others.

documents and commentaries related to changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty (mostly on institutional, decision-making, constitutional and foreign policy issues, too numerous to be mentioned¹⁰³).

A number of conferences and seminars devoted to the Lisbon Treaty have been taking place before and since the entry into force of the Treaty. Most recent ones organised both by universities and major think-tanks (also the Sejm) concerned the question of the Polish Presidency under the Lisbon Treaty, for example:

- Foundation Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), Conference on "Parlament Europejski: rok po wyborach, rok przed polską prezydencją" [European Parliament: year after the elections, year before Polish Presidency], - Warsaw, 7th June 2010;
- Foundation Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), Conference on "Sejm i Senat w Unii Europejskiej: udział w procesie decyzyjnym i Prezydencji polskiej" [The Sejm and the Senate: participation in decision-making and the Polish Presidency], Warsaw, 13th December 2010;
- National School of Public Administration, Conference on "Europejskie standardy w administracji – wnioski dla Polski" [European standards in administration – lessons for Poland], Warsaw, 23rd February 2011;
- The Chancellery of the Sejm, Conference on "Polska Prezydencja w obszarze współpracy rozwojowej" [Polish Presidency in the area of development cooperation], Warsaw, 30th March 2011;
- The Polish Institute of International Affairs has inaugurated on 4th April 2011 a series of seminars devoted to Polish Presidency, with the first meeting devoted to the topic of "EU Presidency after the Lisbon Treaty".

The Sejm and the Senate opened a joint website (www.parl2011.pl) devoted to the parliamentary dimension of the Polish Presidency.

The Institute of Public Affairs implemented a project "Nowa rola parlamentów narodowych w UE po wejściu w życie traktatu lizbońskiego" [New role of national parliaments in the EU after entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty] between January and December 2010. Website: <http://www.isp.org.pl/projekty,nowa-rola-parlamentow-narodowych-po-wejsciu-w-zycie-traktatu-lizbonskiego,585.html> (last access on 11th April 2011). The same Institute has operated a website devoted to Presidency issues with collection of relevant publications: <http://www.isp.org.pl/obszary-tematyczne,polska-prezydencja-w-radzie-unii-europejskiej-w-2011-roku,246.html> (last access on 11th April 2011).

Selected publications (recent and related to post-Lisbon presidency)¹⁰⁴:

¹⁰³ Extensive list of LT-related publications including Polish ones accessible on the website of the Sejm Centre for European Information and Documentation: http://oide.sejm.gov.pl/oide/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=514&catid=14, last accessed on 12th April 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

- Czachor, Zbigniew/Tomaszyk, Mikołaj (eds.), “Przewodnictwo państwa w Radzie Unii Europejskiej - doświadczenia partnerów, propozycje dla Polski” [Presidency in the Council of the European Union – experience of partners, proposals for Poland], Poznań, UAM, 2009.
- Barcz, J., “Prezydencja w Radzie UE - aspekty prawne i instytucjonalne” [Presidency in the Council of the EU – legal and institutional aspects], *Europejski Przegląd Sądowy*, no. 7, 2010.
- Barcz, J. “Prezydencja w Radzie Unii Europejskiej” [Presidency in the Council of the EU], Warsaw, 2010.
- Błaszczuk-Zawiła, M., “Przewodnictwo Polski w Radzie Unii Europejskiej - przygotowania i priorytety” [Polish Presidency in the Council of the EU – preparing and priorities], *Wspólnoty Europejskie*, no 4., 2010.
- Gromadzki, G., “Jaka Prezydencja? Uwagi po wejściu w życie traktatu lizbońskiego” [What presidency? Notes after entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty], *Analizy i Opinie*, no. 109, June 2010.
- Nowak-Far, A. (ed.), “Prezydencja w Unii Europejskiej. Instytucje, prawo i organizacja” [Presidency in the European Union, Institutions, law and organisation], Warsaw, 2010.
- Husak, T./F. Jasiński (eds.), “Prezydencja w Unii Europejskiej. Perspektywa praktyczna” [Presidency of the European Union. Practical aspects], Warsaw, 2010.
- Fuksiewicz, A./Szczepanik, M., “Parlament Europejski jako partner polskiej prezydencji” [European Parliament as the partner of Polish Presidency], *Analizy i Opinie ISP*, wrzesień, no. 112, 2010.
- Jesień, L./Kołątek, R., “Prezydencja grupowa UE: doświadczenia z lat 2007-2009” [Group presidency of the EU: experience from 2007-2009], *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny*, t. 10, no. 3, 2010.
- Fuksiewicz, Aleksander, “Sejm i Senat rok po wejściu w życie Traktatu Lizbońskiego – dostosowanie do reformy instytucjonalnej” [The Sejm and the Senate after a year from entry into force of the Lisbon treaty – adjustments to the institutional reform], Warsaw: ISP, 2011.
- Jesień, Leszek, “The European Union Presidency”, A report for the Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw, 2011.

Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Technical University of Lisbon)

Concerning the issues that have dominated the political debate in Portugal, regarding European integration and the Treaty of Lisbon, one must say that the Portuguese public sphere has been fully dominated by the so-called sovereign debt crisis in the Euro area, which took place since the advent of Greek crisis in May 2010.

It is well-known that Portugal was one of the Euro countries that were deeply affected by the contagion of the sovereign debt crisis to the periphery of the Euro area. As a consequence, Portugal had to adopt three economic and financial packages in order to speed up its plans to reduce the budget deficit.

Those economic and financial packages implied severe reductions on public expenditures – that affected the most vulnerable social groups in the country – and a strong raise on taxation. Despite the positive results achieved by these government measures in the meantime, they seemed not suffice to calm financial markets. As a result, Portugal went through all the year of 2010 facing very hard conditions to sell its sovereign bonds in international markets.

At the same time, there is a widespread conviction throughout the country that the negative situation Portugal is facing in the international markets is not only due to domestic political mistakes related with fiscal measures taken in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crash, but it is also part of a systemic crisis that is affecting the whole Euro area.

The lack of action of the Euro countries in the first phase of the Euro sovereign debt crisis and the slow EU response that followed – in order to achieve a system of economic governance for the monetary union – end up weakening the level of support and trust of Portuguese people in European integration and in the Euro, and on the benefits the country could withdraw from its membership.

In fact, it is becoming harder to explain to the citizens that the Treaty of Lisbon was a step forward in European integration. In particular, the attitude of some EU member states and national leaders is perceived by the public opinion as an attempt to dictate guidelines to Portugal on fiscal and economic policies, whose implementations have a strong impact in sensitive sectors like the health system, education and welfare benefits.

During this period, Professor Antonio Goucha Soares often went to different Cable News and TV programs to comment on EU events related to European integration and to the EU area sovereign debt crisis.

Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)

The issues pertinent to the Lisbon Treaty chiefly discussed in Romania have been: reinforced cooperation possibilities, the expansion of the QMV and the attribution of more power to national parliaments. There have been no prominent opponents to the Treaty as support for it has gathered consensus in Parliament, the civil society and academic environments. There has been no ruling by the Romanian Constitutional Court on issues germane to the Lisbon Treaty since no incompatibilities have been noted between it and the national legal framework.

Topical policy issues discussed with reference to the Lisbon Treaty have included debates on the Neighbourhood Policy, the Schengen agreement and the energy sector. Another significant area discussed with regard to the Treaty is the future membership of Romania to the Eurozone.

Apart from the Faculty of European Studies of the Babes-Bolyai University, which has produced considerable research on the Lisbon Treaty and has held cultural and press events dedicated to this matter (see above), important endeavours have been conducted by the following institutions: The Universities of Iasi, Oradea and Targu-Mures (on matters related to cross-border cooperation, for instance) and the Academy of Economic Sciences from Bucharest (an economic perspective on the Lisbon Treaty).

Romania (European Institute of Romania)

The recent debates in Romania on topics derived from the Lisbon Treaty revolve around the shaping up of a cooperation mechanism between the executive and the legislative bodies in the field of European affairs, in the context of the new attributions given to the national parliaments. There is a general feeling that the national parliament should have more influence in the shaping up of draft laws

which are relevant for the sphere of European affairs. At the same time, the legislative body should put more effort into following the activity of the working groups in Brussels from an early stage of the elaboration of the relevant documents in order to be able to exert a certain influence on the process. This fact is likely to be increasingly more difficult to achieve since more and more decisions are taken with a qualified majority. In connection to this topic, independent experts and journalists involved in the analysis of European affairs are concerned about the evolution of the draft law aiming to formalize and render more transparent the relationship between the executive and the legislative, as institutions with attributions in the national decision-making process. This draft law is expected to be finalized somewhere in May. There are high expectations that the new parliamentary *modus operandi* with two distinct parliamentary commissions, instead of the current setting – with one common commission – will turn out to be much more efficient. Another major topic of concern for authorities and researchers involved in this field is the lack of sufficient domestic expertise at the level of the structures with attributions in this field.

A significant example in this case is the recently adopted Euro Plus pact, which has hardly benefited from a proper debate in Romania, and whose implications for the countries that are parties to it are significant.

Romania (University of Oradea)

Unfortunately, in Romania, there is a gap between the academic and political debates on the Lisbon Treaty. While the academics do focus on the Lisbon Treaty and its innovations, the large public and the politicians seem not to be so interested on this topic. As a consequence, only a few issues in relation to the Lisbon Treaty and its innovations have shaped the political debate since its coming into force, for example the strengthened role for the European Parliament and national parliaments.

Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)

During the reporting period there has been a debate about EU External Action Service in terms of its staffing from national diplomatic services. No rulings with regard to the Lisbon Treaty have occurred.

No cross-linkages between national political debates and the Lisbon Treaty have emerged.

Research results on the Lisbon Treaty produced in Slovenia include the following publications:

- Slovenian expert journal *Pravnik* (Lawyer), vol. 64, issue 11/12 (2009);
- Accetto, Matej et al. *Lizbonska pogodba: z uvodnimi pojasnili* (Lisbon Treaty with Introductory remarks). 2010. Ljubljana, GV Založba;
- Accetto, Matej, *Lizbonska pogodba med mistiko in pragmatizmom* (Lisbon Treaty between mystic and pragmatism). *Pravnik* Vol. 64, issue 11/12, 2009.

Spain (University of Malaga)

It has corresponded to Spain to initiate the changes introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon with the exercise of the Presidencies since 2010. In this respect, the concrete protocols on the new way of presiding the European Councils have been developed largely during the Spanish Presidency. On the other hand, Spain has also inaugurated the scheme of Trio Presidency, which involves a planning and coordination of three Presidency periods, in this case, together with Hungary and Belgium. Hereby, the principal aspects of the Treaty of Lisbon regarding to the political debate in Spain have been considered within the framework of the Presidency and have been concerning to: the start-up of the new institutions of the European Union (President of the Council, President of the Commission,

President of the Council of the European Union, the High Representative); the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS or EAS), the European Popular Legislative Initiative, the Adhesion of the EU to the European Convention on Human Rights and the Solidarity Clause.

In addition, there are topics of special political and academic debate, in which the Treaty of Lisbon is always a reference: the EU 2020 Strategy for the reactivation of the economic sustainable growth and the creation of employment, the Treaty of Lisbon and the economic government (related to the European Mechanism of Stability in the Euro zone), the economic recovery and the solution to the crisis, the economy and knowledge society, the fight against the climate change and the European energy policy, the statute of the European citizens (Charter of Fundamental Rights, EU Social Policy Agenda, equality between women and men, the freedoms, Justice and Security, European policies on immigration and asylum) and the aspects of the European Union as global actor (Foreign Policy, Security and Cooperation, Euro-American policy, European Neighbourhood Policy, the Union for the Mediterranean and the enlargement of the Union).

Parallel, the academic and social debate has provided some critical lessons concerning the application of the Treaty of Lisbon, some of which remain summarized in the following phrases: "Inheritor of the old and unsuccessful Constitutional Treaty", "Old-fashioned on not having allowed a suitable democratic control of the finance", "deregulation ..." with reference to the Bolkestein directive or to the proposal of 65 hours labour week, "incapable facing the climate change and the answer to the crisis", "excesses of neoliberalism in the economic proposals for the rescues of countries with deficit"... Many of those can be accessed through the newscasts of the International Association attac-Spain.

Equally, different universities, public and private, have produced research results on the Treaty of Lisbon in the period of analysis; mentioning some work titles: "Estudios sobre el Tratado de Lisboa", "La Europea que viene. El Tratado de Lisboa", "Derecho Administrativo Europeo en el Tratado de Lisboa",... (consult www.lisbrosaulamagna.com). "Tratado de Lisboa. Carta de los Derechos Humanos" by Enrique Barón Crespo, edited in 2010 and translated into several languages, is prominent.

Maybe one of the research results in the analysed period that, though it is not directly about the Treaty of Lisbon, really supposes a reference is: "La protección de la democracia y los derechos humanos en la acción exterior de la Unión Europea (un compromiso renovado tras la reforma de Lisboa)", the 4th Andalusian Prize of Research on European Integration of the European Information Network of Andalusia (Spain) (www.andaluciaeuropa.com).

Sweden (Karlstad University)

Sweden ratified the Lisbon Treaty on 20th November 2008, and the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty was finally secured at the end of the Swedish EU Presidency (see Miles, 2010), and thus to some degree, the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty was seen as being a success of the Swedish EU Council Presidency. It also represented to some extent the end of serious attempts by those in Sweden opposed to the Lisbon Treaty to link the discussion of a Lisbon Treaty renegotiation with the general unease over the future of Swedish collective agreements governing the labour market in Sweden after successive judgments of the European Court of Justice (Laval, Viking and Ruffert cases) that questioned their compatibility with EU law.

For the most part, specific discussion on the impact of the Lisbon Treaty has been muted with only limited intermittent discussions – most notably on Sweden's role in the evolving External Action Service (EAS) and the appointment of Swedish diplomat, Christian Leffler, to a senior post in the

EAS in 2010. For the most part, Swedish debates on the EU have focused on the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and Swedish responsibilities towards the instability of the Euro zone as a “euro-outsider” – although there have been few linkages to the Lisbon Treaty in these debates.

The autumn of 2010 was dominated by the September General Election that saw the return of the non-socialist Alliance government to power and the electoral rise of the populist, anti-immigration, Sweden Democrats – who secured parliamentary representation in the Swedish Riksdag for the first time. Indeed, the major on-going debate in Sweden in relation to the Lisbon Treaty has been in the content of debates on migration, including on its future, state control and the viability of border controls. In May 2011, this debate took the form of a discussion of Swedish responses to the Danish decision to re-impose border controls on the Danish-Swedish border.

With the onset of the Libyan crisis in Spring 2011, Lisbon Treaty profiles were also indirectly part of Swedish debates surrounding the government’s decision to make available Swedish military JAS-39 Gripen jets for NATO-led task of implementing a no-fly zone, which were seen by many of testimony of the flexibility of Swedish non-alignment and the growing integration of Sweden into Europe’s security architecture, affecting both future roles in NATO and to a lesser extent in the EU. This view was reinforced given the Reinfeldt government’s continuing commitment to maintain a small Swedish contribution to peace-keeping forces in Afghanistan.

Recent publications include the various works on Swedish public opinion published by the SOM Institutet at Göteborg University, a new yearbook by the Swedish Network of European Studies (SNES) on “Can the EMU Survive Without a Fiscal Union?” and various reports of the Swedish Institute of European Policy Studies (SIEPS) on EU economic governance (2011), the financial crisis (2011) and Swedish court attitudes to ECJ Rulings (2011) as well as two dedicated reports on national and regional political elites and the Lisbon Treaty (published under the auspices of EU-PO-LIS project from Karlstad University researchers).

Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

In Sweden, issues in relation to the Lisbon Treaty and its innovations that have shaped the political debate since its coming into force are the disagreement between political leaders in Brussels, the possibilities of making development policy more efficient, migration, EU as a security actor and popular opposition as well as the outcome of the voting in Poland, the Czech Republic and on Island respectively. Other such topical policy issues discussed in Sweden have been the Swedish Presidency, EU-NATO relations, the Solidarity Clause and disaster management.

The Swedish government took pride in handing over the Presidency to Spain with the Lisbon Treaty having entered fully into force. Moreover, EU-NATO relations have long been an issue in Sweden. Moreover, in 2010, a vigorous debate took place in the Swedish government offices (centred in the Ministry of Defence) on the various security obligations posed by the Lisbon Treaty. Debate focused on (a) the Solidarity Clause, Art. 222 of the TFEU, and (b) the so-called mutual defence clause, Art. 42 of the TEU. Both clauses have the potential to interfere with Sweden’s historical non-alignment principles. In the end, it was concluded that both obligations do not fundamentally change Sweden’s stance but close observations of future developments of both clauses was recommended.

Since 2009, the Swedish Agency for Civil Contingencies (MSB) has focused strongly on the Lisbon Treaty and its implications for European cooperation on issues related to disasters. Part of the debate in the MSB examined how the Lisbon Treaty affected counter-terrorism policy, international disaster relief, critical infrastructure protection and research funding. The agency has entered into debate with

other government agencies, along with governmental ministries, on whether Sweden should accelerate EU attention on these issues.

List of other academics and publications on the Lisbon Treaty:

- Hillion, Christophe Professor of European Law, University of Leiden, visiting Professor at Stockholm University and Researcher at the Swedish Institute of European Policy Studies.
 - “The Post-Lisbon EU system of external relations: Implications for EU–Ukraine relations”, *Wider Europe Working Paper* 5/2010.
 - “The Creeping Nationalisation of the EU Enlargement Policy”, *SIEPS* 6/2010.
- Lysén, Göran, Professor Emeritus of Public International Law, Uppsala University. “Det nya EU efter Lissabonfördraget” [The New EU after the Lisbon Treaty], Stockholm: Iustus, 2010.
- Tallberg, Jonas, Professor at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, “Party politics in the European Council”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2008, Vol. 15 (8), 1222-1242.

Turkey (Middle East Technical University)

Informed opinion on the Lisbon Treaty saw it as a necessary step for an EU that is less introspective and closer to a political unity, with the warning that Turkey now needs a full-fledged accession strategy as the political identity of the Union is getting stronger.¹⁰⁵ However, the Treaty did not receive special attention or full coverage in the press or in the public debate. The failure of the former Constitutional Treaty and the perception that the Lisbon Treaty is a watered-down version of it, changes in Turkish foreign policy which shifted Turkey’s attention mainly to the Middle East and Asia, the frustration and disappointment with the EU as well as a general feeling of aloofness from the EU and Europe resulting from the problems in the Turkish accession process to the EU¹⁰⁶ have all contributed to this result.

Analyses of the results of the Lisbon Treaty and their implications for Turkey came from research institutes and think tanks mostly focusing on its implications for future enlargements. The Turkish parliament’s external relations and protocol administration’s briefing report, for instance, drew attention to the system of enhanced cooperation as a potential tool in the hands of those who argue in favour of a privileged partnership with Turkey instead of full Turkish membership to the EU.¹⁰⁷ Another report by the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV) argued that the double majority voting system established by the treaty could alleviate some of the concerns regarding Turkey’s “potential weight” in the Council. In addition, increasing involvement of national parliaments in the EU’s decision-making received a positive note in the report as this would work towards calming down a segment of Turkish society which associates EU membership with loss of sovereignty.¹⁰⁸ Others, however, considered this as something that might obstruct Turkish accession

¹⁰⁵ Bahadır Kaleağası (Coordinator of the Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association (TUSIAD) quoted in *Hürriyet Daily News*, 19 November 2009.

¹⁰⁶ İKV’s Nas: EU Future with Lisbon Treaty Should Concern Turkey, Interview with Çiğdem Nas by Yasemin Poyraz Doğan, *Today’s Zaman*, 21 December 2009, available at: <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-196138-8-ikvs-nas-eus-futurewith-lisbon-treaty-should-concern-turkey.html> (last accessed on 17th May 2010).

¹⁰⁷ Sumru Bilcen: AB’de Önemli Bir Adım: Lisbon Antlaşması, TBMM Dış İlişkiler ve Protokol Müdürlüğü, 24 April 2010.

¹⁰⁸ Nilgün Arısan Eralp, “Lisbon Treaty and Turkey at a First Glance”, in: *TEPAV Evaluation Note*, December 2009.

to the EU.¹⁰⁹ Yet, another commentary argued that this system would prevent the votes against Turkish EU membership by any three of the four larger EU member states (France, the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy) from prevailing.¹¹⁰

It is interesting to see that even the nomination of Herman van Rompuy as the President of the European Council was evaluated with the idea of Turkish accession in mind. One commentary saw this as a victory of those in the Union who argue for a privileged partnership with Turkey due to his past statements against Turkish EU membership. His previous statement that Turkish membership to the EU would undermine current universal values in Europe, which are also fundamental Christian values, received major attention. For some commentators his appointment even confirmed the idea that the EU is a civilisation project, calling into question Turkey's belonging to the EU.¹¹¹

In addition to these, other participants of the debate on Lisbon Treaty focused on its implications for the Common Security and Defence Policy of the EU and drew attention to the possibility of conflict between the High Representative of the Union (due to the role within the European Commission) and the President of the European Council due to the blurred lines of authority in representing the Union.¹¹² Eventually however, attention was drawn by informed observers of the European integration to the possibility of resolution of Turkey-EU problems in the accession negotiation process - which is a result of the Cyprus conflict - since the Lisbon Treaty increases the European Parliament's voting power and, thus, provides the potential to circumvent (Southern) Cypriot vetos (this will be explained later).

Overall, it can be concluded that public debate on the content of the Treaty and its implications for the subsequent working style and structure of the EU was limited as a result of the aforementioned factors. Therefore, the latter two questions cannot be considered relevant to the debate in Turkey, a candidate country whose accession prospect is problematic.¹¹³

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It is widely known that the Cypriot issue haunts not only the Turkish accession negotiations but also NATO-EU relations in international politics.¹¹⁴ In Turkey, sensitivity on the Cyprus issue and the criticisms against the way the EU became a party in this problem make it hard for the government to officially extend the Customs Union fully vis-à-vis Cyprus as the EU demands. The majority in Turkey share the belief that the Turkish Cypriots proved their willingness for the resolution of the conflict by their vote in favour of the 2004 UN's Annan Plan while the Greek Cypriots proved their intransigence by voting against the Plan. For the Turks and Turkish Cypriots, the fact that the Greek Cypriots were rewarded by the EU membership whereas the pledge by the EU for direct trade with the Turkish Cypriots never materialised more than justifies Turkey's position on not extending the Customs Union towards Cyprus – even at the cost of being unable to open numerous chapters blocked by Cyprus and to close any chapter in the accession negotiations. Some segments of Turkish society may continue to criticise extending Customs Union towards Cyprus even if the EU Direct Trade Regulation with Turkish Cypriots becomes possible, arguing that the EU's double standards should be

¹⁰⁹ Bilcen, op.cit.

¹¹⁰ Cuneysel Yuksel: Lisbon'dan Sonraki Birlik ve Türkiye, 16th October 2009, available at: <http://www.abhaber.com/ozelhaber.php?id=4457> (last accessed on 26 April 2010).

¹¹¹ Hilmi Yavuz: Avrupa Birliği Bir Medeniyet Projesidir, Zaman Online, 22nd November 2009, <http://www.zaman.com.tr/yazar.do?yazino=918811> (last accessed on 26th April 2010).

¹¹² Ömer Kurtbağ: ATAUM AB Analiz, 26 November 2009, available at: <http://www.ataum.tk> (last accessed on 26th April 2010).

¹¹³ The answer presented above relies on the Center's contribution to EU-27 Watch mentioned before.

¹¹⁴ The following answer draws upon the forthcoming contribution of Prof. Atila Eralp and Dr. Zerrin Torun to the European Council on Foreign Relations publication on "What does Turkey think?"

rejected. Accordingly, in their view the EU's approach to interpret access of Cypriot transportation to Turkish ports as part of the Customs Union while holding Turkish transportation outside the realm of the Customs Union just goes to show the EU's consistent unfairness towards Turkey.

However, the Turkish proposal to open Turkish ports to Cyprus in return for the EU action to end the isolation of Turkish Cypriots is still at the table, and if the EU opens the way for direct trade, the Turkish government will be then be able to change its current position at a relatively low cost in terms of electoral support.

In other words, the final decision of the EU concerning the Direct Trade Regulation with northern Cyprus will be just as historical as the decision on Turkish candidacy since it holds the potential to undo the current deadlock in accession negotiations.

In this framework, analysts have drawn attention to the increasing role of the European Parliament as a result of the Lisbon Treaty and the potential that the Parliament may use this role to unblock the deadlock in Turkey-EU relations by putting an end to the isolation of Northern Cyprus and deciding in favour of direct trade between the EU and them.

Scholarly journals of the Turkish Universities, in particular, published numerous articles on the changes introduced by the Treaty. Scholars analysed these changes as they pertain to their respective fields of study, for instance, legislation, CFSP, budgetary procedures, local and regional government and protection of minorities. These examples are as follows:

- Topal, Emre, "Lizbon Antlaşması ile Avrupa Birliği'nde Yasama Niteliğindeki İşlemler ve Yasa Yapım Süreçlerine Getirilecek Değişikliklere Genel Bir Bakış", in: *Yasama Dergisi*, Sayı 9, Mayıs-Haziran-Temmuz-Ağustos 2008, 17-34.
- Zhussipbek, Galym, "2007 Lizbon Antlaşması, Avrupa Güvenlik ve Savunma Politikası'nın Tanımı ve Özellikleri, Güvenlik Aktörü Olarak AB'nin Nitelikleri", in: *Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi*, Cilt 8, No1, 2009, 139-164.
- Akar, Sevda, "Lizbon Antlaşmasının Avrupa Birliği Bütçe Sürecine Getirdiği Yenilikler ve 2010 Avrupa Birliği Bütçesi", in: *Marmara Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi*, Cilt XXVIII, Sayı I, 2010, 161-170.
- Kerman, Uysal, "Avrupa Birliği: Yerel ve Bölgesel Yönetimler", in: *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi*, C. 14, S 1, 2009, 273-286.
- Arsava, Füsün, "Avrupa Birincil Hukukunda Azınlıkların Korunmasının Hukuki Dayanağı", in: *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika*, Cilt 6, Sayı 23, 2010, 1-14.

Turkey (Sabanci University)

There are not many arenas of debate in Turkey on the Lisbon Treaty. Mostly, debate revolves around the EU itself and the Turkish accession negotiations. The Lisbon Treaty only receives academic attention. The outreach activities conducted at the Sabanci University aimed at informing the stakeholders on the implications of the Lisbon Treaty and the path of European integration after the Lisbon Treaty.

United Kingdom (University of Sheffield)

The political debate

The Lisbon Treaty has had some significant implications for British politics and these in turn might quite possibly impact on the EU as well. The impact on British politics can be traced back to the divisions within Parliament at the time of the Treaty's ratification. Specifically, there was significant criticism of the Treaty from within the Conservative Party, which has become a much more Euro-sceptic party than when it was last in power under Prime Minister John Major. Specifically, the Conservative Party in opposition had made a commitment to hold a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. It paid particular attention to the Labour Government's commitment (under Tony Blair) to hold a referendum on the Constitutional Treaty, and what Euro-sceptic opinion regarded as its failure to honour this commitment during the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. The long-standing British concern over national and parliamentary sovereignty had been re-activated during the decade-long constitutional 'episode'. Having been unable to force a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, the party was keen to ensure that any future transfers of sovereignty would be subject to a 'referendum lock'.

The UK general election of May 2011 presented a new situation at Westminster: the crafting of a coalition agreement, namely between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. These parties represent the most Euro-sceptic and most Euro-phile of the British parties represented in Westminster.¹¹⁵ In the ensuing coalition agreement the Conservatives had to abandon some potentially controversial plans to repatriate powers from the EU in favour of a promise to be a 'positive participant' in the EU. However, a commitment was made not to make any further transfer of sovereign powers during the current parliamentary term and, moreover, to establish a 'referendum lock' to cover any future treaty reform, while considering a UK Sovereignty Bill to make clear that sovereignty resides in Parliament. Influential in some of this thinking was the role that the German Federal Constitutional Court has been able to play in connection with EU treaty reform, notably in requiring explicit votes in the German Parliament, should there be transfers of sovereignty under the simplified procedures contained within the Lisbon Treaty.

The resultant European Union Bill was introduced in Parliament and by spring 2011 was at committee stage in the House of Lords (and en route to completing its passage into law). The Bill:

- Provides for a referendum throughout the United Kingdom on any proposed EU treaty or treaty change which would transfer powers from the UK to the EU,
- Ensures that an Act of Parliament would have to be passed before a 'ratchet clause' or a passerelle (bridging clause) could be used. In addition, if the passerelle involved a transfer of power or competence from the UK to the EU, this would also be subject to a referendum before the government could agree to its use,
- Enables the UK to ratify a Protocol to allow additional European Parliament seats for the UK and 11 other Member States during the current European Parliament term, and to legislate for the extra UK seat,

¹¹⁵ The Euro-sceptic United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) is represented in the European Parliament but has failed to secure seats at Westminster under the first-past-the-post electoral system.

- Provides for a clause that affirms that EU law takes effect in the UK only because Parliament wills that it should. This confirms the principle that Parliament is sovereign.¹¹⁶

As can be seen, the legislation would come into play if the Lisbon Treaty's so-called ratchet clauses are put into effect. Although there is some limited scope for discretion on the part of the government—and this has been a matter of contention during its passage through Parliament—the potential is opened up for the UK's Euro-sceptic public opinion to prevent future EU institutional reform. The legislation has already had an impact upon the form that has to be taken for any treaty changes needed in connection with financial mechanisms necessary to support the euro-zone. In other words, it was necessary to ensure that there would be no applicability to the UK in order to avoid the risk that such reform needs approval through a referendum.

The academic debate

The principal academic venue in the UK for discussion of the Lisbon Treaty was a conference held on 31 January/1 February by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies. This conference comprised five thematic panel sessions, a keynote lecture by Helen Wallace and a round table session.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Sourced from Parliament's website: <http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2010-11/europeanunion.html>.

¹¹⁷ Many of the papers (and/or podcasts) are available online at:
<http://www.uaces.org/events/conferences/lisbon/programme/abstracts.php>.

4. Assessment

4.1) What strikes you as surprising and remarkable with regard to the Lisbon Treaty's first 18 months? This may also pertain to the academic debate in your country.

4.2) Anything else you might want to add.

Austria (Universität Salzburg)

The first 18 months of the Lisbon Treaty have renewed the discussion about European forms of democracy, legitimacy and solidarity. Still there is a discrepancy between market and monetary integration, and democratic quality of decision-making on the other hand, which is a major source of dissent. The discussion of supranationalism vs. intergovernmentalism is still going on, and the complaints before national constitutional courts clearly highlight that the member states are struggling to define their position within the Union. Citizens' loyalties remain fixed to the national state. The financial crisis has put a finger on the weaknesses of the Union's structures and procedures; it has triggered intensive debates about European economic governance and better modes of co-ordination of economic policy, mutual surveillance and sanctions.

Although solidarity is one of the key-words of the Treaty of Lisbon, and was especially stressed during the financial crises, it remains a fragile concept. As a community transcending an economic minimal consensus the EU has to define further commonalities, besides plain economic interdependence. But is this "solidarity" mainly a political guiding principle and moral reminder or holds enough legal substance in order to impose legal obligations on Member states? The problem of solidarity as principle for the European Integration is thus clearly connected to questions of legitimacy. But deliberation about solidarity is mainly limited to the national level, and it is this national arena that sets and restrains the content of solidarity within Europe. An important question thus is how this solidarity concept of the Lisbon Treaty can be connected to European democracy concepts and to pluralism.

Austria (Diplomatische Akademie Wien)

Before its entry into force, the Lisbon Treaty was heralded, not only among practitioners but also in the scholarly community, as a major step forward in terms of policy making, perhaps especially in the field of foreign policy. Much of this initial enthusiasm seems to have evaporated, however, giving way to an increasing Euroscepticism.

Belgium (Ghent University)

A core objective of the Treaty of Lisbon is to increase the coherence and consistency of the EU's external action. In this respect, the Treaty introduced institutional innovations such as the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security and a European External Action Service. Moreover, the formal abolition of the pillar structure, the express attribution of a single legal personality to the Union and the reshuffling of the EU's external competences all aim to create the impression of a fully integrated EU external action. In practice, however, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) remains subject to specific rules and procedures. In this area, the member states remain in the driving seat. This has been clearly illustrated in the wake of the revolutions in the Arab world. The Member states, France in particular, rather than the EU and its High Representative, played a crucial role in responding to those events. It is perhaps too early for a final judgment but at first sight it seems that this first test case for the EU's post-Lisbon external action was not very successful. Moreover, it also became evident that the Treaty of Lisbon did not reduce the potential for inter-institutional conflicts. This is clearly illustrated with the discussions surrounding the adoption of amendments to Regulation

881/2001 imposing restrictive measures directed against certain persons and entities associated with Usama bin Laden, the Al-Qaida network and the Taliban. The dispute between the European Parliament and the Council regarding the appropriate legal basis of those amendments, either Art. 215 (2) TFEU on CFSP or Art. 75 TFEU on the EU's counter-terrorism policy, resulted in a pending case before the European Court of Justice (Case C-130/10).

Bulgaria (Plovdiv University)

There is still a deficit of democracy, for example the unclear dimension of the dialogue with the civil society and institutional limitations to the procedures of public referendum.

Another point that is worth mentioning are the implications for more active and responsible EU external policy (including the urgently provided action plan towards Arab countries and the quest for democratization).

Croatia (Institute for International Relations)

The increased role of the national parliaments within the political system of the EU is one of the most important innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. It will soon become particularly relevant for Croatia. Apart from some exceptions, the academic community has not analysed much in depth how this increased role has been implemented in practice. In the upcoming period such research would be very useful and welcomed.

Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)

The first 18 months after the Lisbon Treaty entered into force should have been, if not a victory for EU foreign policy, then at least indications of what impact the new foreign policy tools could have in the future. This has, however, not been the case. The establishing of the European External Action Service was subject to a fierce power struggle between the different institutions which delayed the launching of the service considerably. The HP has been criticised for lacking experience in the foreign policy field and for being too passive in formulating new policy initiatives.

The revolutions in the Arab world have been the most challenging foreign policy event since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. Unfortunately, the EU has been divided, slow and not very responsive. Most initiatives have been driven by head of member states – not Catherine Ashton. If the Arab revolutions have been a test case for post-Lisbon EU foreign policy, the result has not been very convincing.

Opt-out debate and the forth coming presidency

The forthcoming Danish EU-presidency in the first half of 2012 is once again bringing up the debate on the Danish opt-outs. The notion of a weaker Danish presidency due to the opt-outs is stirring speculations on a referendum before the end of 2011. The Euro pact has also had implications on this debate – would Denmark be able to retain its influence in the Euro pact while still being restricted from joining the Euro?

With general elections coming up – November 2011 at the latest – much speculation has taken place on whether a referendum would be held right before or after the elections. At the moment of writing, there is no clarification on this issue.

Another issue which has attracted some media attention in the past year is the decrease in EU coverage in the Danish media. Only 13 Danish journalists are permanently accredited to the institutions in Brussels. A part of the explanation is a lack of resources and different editorial

priorities. Another argument is that the news stories that have to cover the complex EU-structure are not easy to transfer to the modern media, where most stories are written in headlines and few words.

However, Danish politicians also refrain from debating EU-issues despite the fact that an increasing amount of legislation adopted in Denmark derives from the EU.¹¹⁸ Concerns over this development have been raised and have partly resulted in the addition of EU-coverage in the public service contract of the Danish National Broadcasting.

Estonia (University of Tartu)

The personal assessment is that not enough attention is brought to the Lisbon Treaty and the changes it brought to the EU's functioning.

The financial crisis and the establishment of the EFSF and the ESM are topics under discussion but more in relation with the Euro-zone rules and activities rather than in connection with the Lisbon Treaty.

Not enough discussion is held how much the Lisbon Treaty changed the balance between member states' and EU's common interest.

There were courses to the public servants that involved changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty, but they were not open to wider public. The wider public as well as the academia has not been involved neither in the communication nor the analysis of policy or institutional change that came along with the enforcement of the Lisbon Treaty.

Upcoming topics related to the Lisbon Treaty are: the involvement of the national parliaments and the opportunities achieving the aims and protecting the interests of small states:

- the role of the national parliament in the EU decision-making process will probably be a topic of the coming couple of months as the new members of the Estonian Parliament elected in March need to get acquainted with policies of the EU and the Lisbon Treaty;
- during 2011, a new Estonian EU strategy for the period of 2012-2016 will be developed and consulted with the public, which involves explanation of the Lisbon Treaty.

Finland (University of Tampere)

In my personal view, there is not much that is particularly surprising or remarkable in the Lisbon Treaty nor in its first 18 months – given the much more dramatic history of the Union before that. It largely represents an incremental reform at the face of the 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the EU, and the changes it ultimately introduces are relatively minuscule and technical compared to the Maastricht Treaty (or the single European act), and have for long been coming or have been possible to foresee. This fairly technical nature of this treaty has also prevented it from becoming a major item in the more popular debate – unlike the process of drafting the Constitutional Treaty which prompted a much more values-based discussion on the purpose, destiny and polity of the Union.

In some sense, the treaty is an effort to make the EU function better institutionally, and many of its clauses only make sense or are of interest to those inside the machine. Thus it is a vehicle for policy-makers and politicians themselves to be able to go about their business and make decisions on matters for which they have been given public licence. To ensure that these people are able to perform their

¹¹⁸ ”Medier svigter EU-dækning”. Politiken, 1st April 2011.

jobs properly and deliver to the tax payers should not concern much the average citizen as for them that is a basic thing to expect. The remarkable thing is the somewhat surprising expectations within the EU, or at least signs of such, that the Treaty should matter much to the citizens in general. The EU is not yet very strong in all areas of direct concern to daily life – or at least it is not visible (tax policy, education, employment, social policy).

One further remarkable thing is how the current continuing financial crisis in the EU is something to which the present Lisbon Treaty and its mechanism are not ideally suited vis-à-vis resolving the situation, and that this type of crisis was not foreseen when the Treaty was drafted.

I regard this Lisbon project as a useful exercise of which the result can be a cold shower of sorts to the Union. Namely, I would expect that the majority of teaching and scholarship will concentrate on analytical themes of European integration, not on individual treaties such as the Lisbon Treaty. The treaties are relevant for most important areas of research but cannot be the centre piece of research aggregates or otherwise academics are taking their agenda directly from policy-makers (as has happened, admittedly, in part of the EU studies and the terminology used).

Germany (Trier University)

What is most striking is the gap between the place of debates on improving the cohesion and coherence of the EU's foreign and security policy by creating new Brussels-based institutions during the entire treaty reform process of the last decade, on the one hand, and the choice of candidate as well as the quite limited added value of these new institutions in the conception and conduct of foreign and security policy since the Lisbon Treaty entered into force. This process of "institutionalizing" the European foreign and security policy seems to be another example of widening the expectations-capability gap in EU foreign policy.

Germany (University Duisburg Essen)

It is remarkable (while not surprising) that the debate on the Lisbon Treaty was overshadowed by a partly hysteric and mostly superficial debate on the so-called "Euro-crisis". The debate on achievements and limits of the Lisbon Treaty remains restrained on a minority even among academics.

Germany (University of Cologne)

There are several remarkable points with regard to the Lisbon Treaty:

First, the primary feature of the Treaty of Lisbon is its complexity, intended to allow for compromise and consensus. The Treaty was meant to increase the institutions' capacity to act and to improve democratic participation and control. During the first 18 months after its coming into force, it remains to be seen if the aims will be achieved and whether as a whole they will reinforce themselves or lead to mutual obstruction.

Second, given the fact that almost a decade was needed to complete this latest EU treaty revision, it is disturbing that changes to the Treaty are already imminent.

Thirdly, the Lisbon Treaty has not been present in the public discourse, up to a point where it could be regarded as almost "irrelevant". Its coming into force was overshadowed by the global financial crisis and the Euro crisis. Journalists as well as academics have been primarily dealing with these crises. The academic debate surrounding the Lisbon Treaty has focused on the European External Action Service and, more recently, on the role of national parliaments and the citizens' initiative. The speech by Angela Merkel at the College of Europe in Brussel in October 2010 where she first mentions the

“union method” as an alternative to the “Gemeinschaftsmethode” was discussed in Germany neither in the public nor in the academic debates while it received broad interest in Brussels.

Finally, there were high expectations regarding the institutionalisation of the Common Foreign and Defence Policy, but the turn of events in North Africa and the incoherence of the Union and its member state’s policy towards this regard made the existing shortcomings within this policy field once more apparent.

Greece (University of Athens)

The first 18 months of life of the Lisbon Treaty can be characterized as an implementation period. The development of the dynamic offered by the Lisbon Treaty depends on the way the main actors will implement the provisions included in this legislative document and on the way the public opinion will actually interpret them. Due to the geographic position of Greece, normally, discussion should have focused on the development of the European External Action Service, on the establishment of the criteria for activating the “mutual assistance clause”, the “solidarity clause” as well as the “structured cooperation” in European defence policy. In addition, the enhancement of the role of the European Parliament, the most democratic and federal EU institution and the extension of its budgetary powers to all expenditure (compulsory and non-compulsory) should normally have dominated the debate in Greece, a small/medium EU member-state. However, as it is mentioned above, the public opinion in Greece is disorientated due to the emergence of the economic crisis. For example, the European Citizens Initiative (Art. 11, TEU), whose implementation rules are now formulated and which is about to get launched in 2012, would be of great interest of the Greek public otherwise. The new instrument allows more than one million citizens from at least seven member states to demand from the European Commission to submit a legislative proposal for the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty. However, it seems that this is not given as much attention as it could. Thus, the dynamic offered by the Lisbon Treaty is not widely comprehensible to the Greek public.

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Hungary (Institute for World Economics)

The most important change made by the Lisbon Treaty and directly felt by Hungary is of course the changed role of the Council presidency. Hungary is currently holding the presidency of nine Council formations and all working groups and COREPER meetings under those Council formations. But Hungary is presiding neither over the Foreign Affairs Council nor over the European Council as both have their permanent presidents thanks to the Lisbon Treaty. But it must be highlighted that according to the experience so far, the Hungarian presidency had an absolutely smooth and fruitful cooperation with both Herman van Rompuy and Catherine Ashton. Good examples for that are economic governance and the revolutionary events in North Africa. In both cases, competences to act belonged partly to Mr. van Rompuy and partly to Lady Ashton respectively, but partly also to the acting presidency. Within both broad and challenging policy areas, the Hungarian diplomacy worked very closely and efficiently with the European Council President and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

Iceland (University of Iceland)

According to Professor Bailes, the development has been slow and confused, and attention has focussed more on the construction of machinery than on substantive aspects. Analysts’ pessimism about, for instance, the EEAS has got in the way of exploring practical questions such as how well van Rompuy has performed on economic crisis-related business, whether the Commission has benefited from Ashton’s initial low profile, what if any impact she is having on CSDP, etc.

According to Professor Conrad, most striking is the way the Treaty has been received and misconstrued by the Icelandic no-movement – highly speculative, no connection to the actual experience of the first 18 months of the Treaty (and evidently a lack of knowledge thereof) and a lot of copy/paste from Eurosceptic arguments used in other states during the ratification period.

Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

What strikes me is the gap between the expectations raised by the entry into force of the Treaty, especially in the realm of foreign, security and defence policy, and the poor results of its implementation so far. In particular, it seems that in the foreign, security and defence sectors, member states are not paying attention to the opportunities provided by the Lisbon Treaty innovations and prefer to focus on their national foreign policy. For example, the important provisions of the Lisbon Treaty on the permanent structured cooperation have not been implemented at all, and it seems that member states are not even taking into consideration such a move. On the contrary, some member states, such as France and the United Kingdom, are relaunching bilateral military cooperation. Also the choice by the European Council of a low-profile and inexperienced person like Mrs Catherine Ashton to hold the position of the EU's High Representative for Foreign Policy and Security Affairs is a clear sign that member states do not want strong common institutions in foreign policy, and this surely represents a step back from the time of the European Convention when bold, although not revolutionary, proposals for reform were tabled and the need for a stronger common foreign and security policy was shared by many member states.

The uncoordinated reaction of the EU to the democratic revolts in North Africa and the Middle East, and the decision by some EU member states to launch an operation in Libya against the regime of Muammar Gaddafi are a further sign of the weakness of European foreign policy and the temptation by some member states to privilege national and not European foreign policy.

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On the other hand, it is interesting to note that when the crisis of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), following the global economic and financial crisis, put at risk the Euro and indirectly the EU itself, member states were capable, although with delay, to take bolder decisions to save some EU countries (Greece, Ireland and Portugal) from default, thereby saving the EMU. This is the only realm where member states, under huge pressure, have been able to make important, although not certainly historical, decisions that preserve and even advance European integration. However, as myself and other authors have pointed out¹¹⁹, they have done so not out of a clearly-defined political project but out of an impelling necessity. Therefore, we can say that we have passed from a “Europe of choice” to a “Europe of necessity”¹²⁰.

Latvia (Riga Stradins University)

The European Studies Faculty is very interested in numerous Lisbon project guidelines, in particular, the concept of the PhD Schools and Lecture series. As to the latter, the RSU's staff made several lectures within the “European Public Space Program” in the European Commission Representation in Latvia, Riga. The reaction was quite positive with a lot of participants present.

Another Lisbon project idea for “Schools and for Lectures” seems highly reliable and positive.

¹¹⁹ Merlini, C., “Europe on the International Scene: A Union of Necessity after a Union of Choice?”, in: Micossi, S./Tosato G.L., *The European Union in the 21st Century*, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, 2009, 120-141; Comelli, M., “From a Union of Choice to a Europe of Necessity?”, in: *The International Spectator*, Vol. 45, No. 3, September 2010, 151-153.

¹²⁰ Ibidem.

There are some worries, however. The Project's subtitle is "teaching & researching the LT". To our opinion, the project contents lack adequate and sufficient attention to the issue. Would not it be appropriate to arrange at least a small working group on that theme? For example, the European universities' exchange of Syllabus on the EU economics, law, politics, etc. would be a good idea with "an award" for a best one to follow.

The following could be some priority directions:

- The idea to prepare PhD students within the kind of "Baltic Studies Academy/Summer University" sounds great; it could be coped with the Baltic Sea Strategy, 2009;
- Information materials preparation, with the adoption of an ultimate "model syllabus" for EU Economic Policy courses (for master students) and EU Law courses (for master students);
- Of special interest is the idea (both research and academic) of following "integration" within the interconnections of an economic policy sector, politics, decision-making and resulting regulatory instruments.

Among other spheres, the following are of interest to our team:

- exchange of teaching and syllabus in European integration studies;
- participation in annual conferences;
- research papers within the study sectors, for example sectoral EU policies.

Netherlands (University of Twente)

All debates are not so much related to the Lisbon Treaty, but rather to European integration and its possible boundaries. In that respect, the Lisbon Treaty did not occupy a special position in the debate, apart from perhaps the changes it brought about in relation to certain policy areas (CFSP/CSDP, the AFSJ). Although the term Lisbon Treaty is still used once in a while, most academics (in EU law in particular) use the correct terms Treaty of the European Union (TEU) and Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)

Taking into account the fact that, under the Lisbon Treaty arrangements, the EU has been functioning for only 18 months, it's difficult to assess clearly its consequences in the context of improved Union's efficiency. Nevertheless, it's worth pointing out some doubts regarding the EU position – or rather the lack of it – for example towards the situation in Libya or the EU reaction vis-à-vis Haiti earthquake.

During discussions and meetings with students of European Studies at the University of Lodz, serious hopes regarding the possibility of the Union "speaking in one voice" and taking more active stance in current international issues of key importance were expressed. Most of the youth expected the EU to add more dynamics to its activities vis-à-vis globalization challenges and hoped that the Lisbon Treaty should clearly contribute to improvement of the EU standing in the world. An important, positively assessed element was the creation of the EEAS. Similarly, the chance of the Union of becoming more transparent and closer to the citizen was welcomed alongside the vital interest in the forthcoming first presidency under the new post-Lisbon rules.

Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Technical University of Lisbon)

Since the coming into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, Professor Antonio Goucha Soares delivered the following seminars and conferences on issues related with the Lisbon Treaty:

- Conference on “The Europeanization of Portugal and the EU Economic Crisis”, European Union Studies Center, City University of New York – Graduate Center, New York, November 2010;
- Communication on “Europe in a changing world”, Seminar on “Economic Diplomacy: From Domestic to International Politics”, Instituto Camões Centre at Oxford with the Department of Politics and International Relations, St John’s College, University of Oxford, May 2010;
- Communication on “Os cidadãos no quadro da democracia representativa: o papel dos Parlamentos nacionais” [the role of national parliaments], in the seminar “Os Cidadãos e o Tratado de Lisboa”, Assembleia da República (Portuguese Parliament), Lisbon, March 2010;
- Moderator of the panel “The Role of the European Parliament in Europe’s Foreign Policy and Bilateral Relations”, in the conference “The European Parliament and the Future of Democracy after the Treaty of Lisbon”, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, March 2010;
- Communication on “O Tratado de Lisboa e a Política Externa e de Segurança Comum”, in the conference “O Tratado de Lisboa. Aspectos Centrais”, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, February 2010;
- Seminar on “Carta dos Direitos Fundamentais da União Europeia”, Centro de Direitos Humanos do Ius Gentium Conimbrigae, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Coimbra, February 2010;
- Communication on “The Treaty of Lisbon”, in the conference “Portugal, Southern Europe and the European Union in Perspective”, Instituto Camões Centre at Oxford with the Department of Politics and International Relations, St. John’s College, University of Oxford, autumn 2009.

Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)

The first 18 months of application of the Lisbon Treaty have considerably shaped the national agenda of Romania as young decision makers have proven to show significantly more interest towards institutional reform in Romania, within the context set by the Lisbon Treaty. For instance, the Neighbourhood Policy has fostered a series of major academic and public debates, as the thorny issues of energy efficiency and supplies of natural resources, for instance with reference to the Nabucco Project.

It is also striking to assess the level of preoccupation towards the stabilization of the Euro zone amid the economic downturn, even by furthering reforms provided by the Lisbon Treaty. Finally, it is equally useful to evaluate the positive effects, but also the shortcomings of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, as defined by the Lisbon Treaty, in connection to the troubling events that have occurred recently on an international scale.

The Lisbon Treaty has a prominent role in both the teaching and research preoccupation of the Faculty of European Studies. It is a topic of great interest to our students and a very suitable one for an interdisciplinary approach to education, which we have always favoured. Hence, the Treaty is analysed in depth by taking into account its various dimensions, ranging from the historical, institutional, policy and decision making to its impact on economic policies as well as on community law.

Romania (University of Oradea)

With regard to the Lisbon Treaty, we find remarkable the increasing power of the European Parliament and the European citizens. During the first months under Lisbon, we have noticed a shift in power and leadership from the Commission to the European Council with its new President and budget.

Spain (University of Malaga)

Although the Lisbon Treaty has introduced mechanisms intending to reinforce national democracy and the EU, to strengthen the role of the citizen, to legitimize political decisions, and to increase the effectiveness, uniformity and institutional coherence, in the opinion of the author, the running balance still remains negative. The following aspects support this view:

- Coincidence of the implementation of the Treaty with the outbreak of the crisis in Greece and its subsequent consequences for the financial system in the Eurozone: This has prevented an outburst that, maybe in other circumstances, would have had other results, but also has demonstrated the ability of the process itself to defend its currency. This means that the Treaty was already born with the deficiency of lacking the necessary tools to address such pressing problems.
- Lack of visibility of the European Union's presence abroad, a unique voice in its relations with the world and confusion of responsibilities among its representatives in a context of international crisis, not only economic, but also political (Arab States, Mediterranean...) when it involves some of the major objectives of the Treaty.
- This may have resulted in a lack of effective implementation of the new institutional system which, in the current crisis, is vital. In fact, I would say that they meet the appropriate circumstances to verify the feasibility and effectiveness of its operation.

Nonetheless, the period since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty is not yet enough to take conclusive assessment although it is sufficient to bring out lessons learned and to have a bearing, to correct and to reinforce those aspects already required.

Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

Will the changes, including the new actors, introduced by the Lisbon Treaty truly make the EU more coherent and efficient?

Turkey (Middle East Technical University)

The possibility that Art. 207 of the Lisbon Treaty (which requires “co-decision” by the European Parliament and a qualified majority in the Council, and bypassing a possible Cypriot veto) offers on EU Direct Trade Regulation with Northern Cyprus and the fact that the European Commission tried to steer a way out of the impasse in Turkish accession negotiations by putting this article into practice have been remarkable.

Despite the fact that European Parliament's Legal Affairs Committee (JURI) voted against the interpretation of the European Commission in favour of making this route possible, there is still a chance that after the presidents of the Parliament's political groups decide to table the Direct Trade Regulation for a plenary vote, the European Parliament may unblock the deadlock in Turkey-EU relations by deciding in favour of the DTR.

Turkey (Sabanci University)

The EU's increased presence in international politics through the External Action Service and the foreign minister post are remarkable developments in the European Union and the first 18 months of the Lisbon Treaty. It has been unfortunate for the EU that there was an overlap between the financial crisis in the EU and the Lisbon Treaty's first years. Most of the attention – both scholarly and journalistic – that could have been paid to the institutional changes and breakthrough that the Lisbon Treaty brought was diverted to the economic problems and the financial instability in the European Union.

United Kingdom (University of Sheffield)

Three key observations emerge from evaluating the Lisbon Treaty. Essentially, these observations amount to a 'tale of three discrepancies'. First, the Treaty clearly enhanced supranational governance through making the Ordinary Legislative Procedure (co-decision between Council and EP and qualified majority voting in the former) the default position in the legislative process. However, in the wider public arena it has been the strengthening of the European Council, with the creation of the 'permanent' president, Herman Van Rompuy that has had the greatest resonance. The indications are that the European Council has been a big 'winner' from the Lisbon Treaty, although the need to contend with the euro-zone crisis as well as the 'Arab Spring' has doubtless pushed this institution to the fore. It has been meeting more often than in the past, and it has had some extremely tough issues to deal with, notably the euro-zone crisis, which is far from having been resolved.

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Similarly, in the foreign policy domain the creation of the High Representative for Union Foreign and Security Policy (HRUFASP) suggested a new coherence in the EU's external role. The reality as revealed by the Arab Spring is that government heads wish to play a leading role, such as President Sarkozy and Prime Minister Cameron with the Libyan crisis. Strikingly, it was Germany that played the reluctant partner. In any event, the discrepancy with the greater coherence apparently promised by the Lisbon Treaty is particularly striking.

The third discrepancy lies with the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ). Here again the shift of police and judicial cooperation to the 'Union method' suggested a shift away from intergovernmentalism. However, the actions of the French, Italian and Danish governments has been to challenge the Schengen regime of open borders, one of the cornerstones of the EU's '*acquis*'.

Commentators have sometimes referred to the bicycle theory of European integration.¹²¹ This perspective holds that 'on a bicycle you must keep moving, or you fall off'.¹²² The decade-long constitutional debate culminating in the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty appears to have exhausted those with ideas for forward momentum in European integration, even in the historically most pro-integrationist member state, Germany.¹²³ With the challenges facing the euro-zone and the

¹²¹ For instance, Emerson, M., "1992 and after: the bicycle theory rides again", in: *Political Quarterly*, 59/3, 1988, 289-299.

¹²² Emerson, 1992 and after, p. 289.

¹²³ Bulmer, S./Paterson, W., "Germany and the European Union: from "tamed power" to normalized power?", in: *International Affairs*, 86/5, 2010, 1051-1073.

AFSJ the EU looks to be entering a phase of intergovernmentalism despite the achievements of the Lisbon Treaty.