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## **LISBOAN**

### **Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Academic Network**

## **‘Lisbon Watch’ Annual Report, Issue 2**

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## Introduction

This is the second 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 LISBOAN project, the Lisbon Watch offers a unique multi-disciplinary perspective on the Lisbon Treaty’s impact on integration studies.

24 LISBOAN member institutes from 19 countries have answered an open questionnaire which was distributed in January 2012. 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 2011 - spring 2012, 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 October 2010 – September 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 has been adapted in a number of ways: (i) the individual parts are published separately, as they address different target groups, (ii) research projects at individual institutions are addressed more prominently in order foster exchange among researchers with similar research interests, (iii) contributors have been asked for examples of research-based teaching in order to lessen the gap between the two dimensions addressed by LISBOAN, (iv) part three followed a more structured approach by enumerating a number of issues and asking contributors to address those in the pre-given order, (v) a last question dealt with trends observable in EU studies, and (vi) an additional part uses a simple scale model which, while acknowledging the technical difficulties of this approach, allows for a more comparative perspective on the contributor’s personal assessment of trends in EU studies in general and research and teaching of the Lisbon Treaty in particular.

Feedback, as always, is very welcome.

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## Executive Summary

The second mapping of teaching activities at LISBOAN institutes does not show remarkable changes compared to the previous year. The overall picture is that the Lisbon Treaty plays an important role in teaching EU studies at the contributing institutions. While no partner actually dedicated a full course to the document, it was the basis for at least a number of sessions in most EU-related courses. Just as last year, 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. Especially public and academic seminars with practitioners continued to play an important role, including high-level speakers such as the German Minister of Finance. In a few cases, partners gave interviews to different media to reach a wider public.

Turning to teaching methods, the contributions again 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. In one case, a newly published book on the Lisbon Treaty was used as a textbook in courses. Teaching material such as Powerpoint slides were routinely updated in order to take into account the new legal framework. However, only two institutions (out of 24 contributors) reported the use of web-based platforms to manage their courses, distribute teaching materials and possibly interact with students. Five institutions report the organization of simulation exercises, a share more or less unchanged from the previous year. In terms of innovative teaching in the area of EU studies, this indicates that there is still a need for spreading such methods. The fact that this year’s LISBOAN Teaching Award goes to a simulation course at the College of Europe should encourage partners to take up more interactive means of teaching the Lisbon Treaty.

Continuing and professional education was less frequently mentioned this year. Besides partners dedicated to such activities such as the European Institute of Romania, only two universities also reported to offer professional/continuing education 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 and the institutional architecture, 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 (42% of all responses, multiple answers permitted). However, especially the EU’s dismal performance vis-à-vis the developments in the Arab world led to a rather pessimistic outlook on the effectiveness of Lisbon innovations in that area. Economic Governance and the debt crisis were the second topic frequently mentioned (38%). Here the general view on Lisbon innovations is however that the Lisbon Treaty did not equip the EU to effectively deal with the different crises when it came into force. The inter-institutional balance post Lisbon and the role of presidencies appeared less salient than in the previous year (12%). By contrast, the role of national parliaments against the background of

subsidiarity (21%) had a larger share than in 2011. Institutional innovations that were mentioned by four respondents each are the solidarity clause (Art. 222) and the citizens' initiative.

As a result of their research, partners produced a number of publications related to the Lisbon Treaty. These were partly research papers, but also contributions to edited volumes and renowned journals such as the *Journal of European Integration* and the *European Law Review*.

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.

Against the background of the persistent debt crisis and the bail-out of troubled euro states, the Commission's democratic legitimacy to tell countries how to conduct their economic policy has become a key issue in national debates. This is true for both fiscally (relatively) sound and heavily indebted states (Austria, Belgium, Finland).

In a number of countries, the role of national parliaments (the empowerment of parliaments was supposed to be a hallmark of the Lisbon Treaty) was part of the debate, whereas it was neglected in others. This is especially striking in the case of Greece, given that Greek budgetary sovereignty has come under pressure exerted by the troika of Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Linkages between energy policy and the Lisbon Treaty were cited only infrequently, for example in relation to the Hungarian Presidency during which an initiative in this sector was launched.

In the public debate in general, the Lisbon Treaty seems to slowly vanish from sight, although EU issues such as the financial crisis and EU accession are frequently discussed. In part, this can be attributed to the creation of new intergovernmental treaties outside the EU legal framework, such as the "Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance" which is supposed to promote fiscal discipline among its contracting partners. The new instruments "overshadow" the Lisbon innovations which, in the opinion of many observers, have proven insufficient to address the challenges the EU has been faced with recently. This assessment is also reflected in the results of the scaled questions introduced in part five of this Lisbon Watch issue: on average, respondents agreed to the statement that the Lisbon Treaty plays a less important role in the public discourse on the EU in my country compared to the time of its ratification and coming into force (question 5.6). Albeit less clearly, the answers to the questionnaire seem to indicate that respondents have (i) doubts whether the Lisbon Treaty has improved the Union's ability to react to unforeseen crises (question 5.4) and that (ii) the case for a complete revision of the EU treaties, possibly using the Convention method, has been strengthened over the past 12 months (question 5.5).

## 1. Teaching the Treaty of Lisbon

1. What is the LT's role in your teaching (semester courses, single lectures for the interested public, teaching materials etc.) in the reporting period?

### **Austria (Universität Salzburg)**

The Treaty of Lisbon is a reference point of all courses in the master's programme European Union Studies at the University of Salzburg and also when teaching courses on 'Politics of the European Union' for bachelor and master students of Political Science. Especially the course on 'Basic texts on European integration' (by Doris Wydra) extensively deals with the situation after Lisbon, especially concerning institutions, procedures, but also theories explaining the current constitutional basis of the Union. In the summer-term 2012 Klaus Gretschnann (former Director General for Competitiveness, Research, Industry, Internal Market, Energy and Transport of the Council) holds two seminars at the Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies. The seminar on 'EU 2020: Europe's growth Strategy: Goldmine or minefield' elaborates the corner stones of the strategy, evaluates the progress of the reform processes, but also tries to analyse to which extent the strategy is limited by the financial crisis. The Treaty of Lisbon is a constant reference point. The second course 'EU Laboratory: How the EU works in practice' introduces actors, institutions, decision making mechanisms and political processes by discussing examples from different policy areas. The aim is to provide students with a deeper understanding of the complex structures, the actual functions, the different approaches to solutions and power interests characterizing the political daily routine in Brussels after Lisbon. The lecture 'Constitutionalising the European Union between Treaty Reform and ECJ rulings' held by Doris Wydra leads students through the evolutionary process of EU law up to the 'constitutional compromise' represented by the Treaty of Lisbon. Issues discussed with the students in this lecture concern 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. The simulation 'Regulating the European financial markets in reaction to the financial crisis' (by Doris Wydra, Christian Dirninger, Werner Tschiederer) first gives an introduction into the legal, political, economic and historic basics, then the seminar focuses on the challenges posed by the financial crisis to the regulation of European financial markets. A central issue is how the whole integration project is put to a crucial test by the crisis of the Euro. 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. The students take over the role of member states of the European Union and simulate the decisions which had to be taken regarding the new European system of financial supervision, but also the European Financial Stability Facility. This course especially highlights the role of solidarity, which has been introduced as a key term in the Treaty of Lisbon, the discussions on the bail-out clause, the need for a European economic government and necessities of treaty revisions for establishing a permanent mechanism for crisis management.

During the last semesters SCEUS has put considerable emphasis on civic education in general. Lectures in training programmes were established together with the VHS Salzburg (Volkshochschule – adult education centre) and the Bildungswerk Salzburg on various aspects of European Integration, five courses have been especially held concerning the Treaty of Lisbon. In November 2011, Sonja Puntscher Riekmann also held a lecture for children (age 10-16) on the European Union, on the occasion of the children's university at the University of Salzburg, also focusing on the legal basis of the Treaty of Lisbon.

### **Belgium (Universiteit Ghent)**

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 EU 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 instance 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.

In spring 2011, European Council President Herman Van Rompuy and Commission President Barroso received a doctorate honoris causa at Ghent University. In this context, Herman Van Rompuy delivered a guest lecture on recent developments in the European Union for students of the master in EU Studies.

In the first half of 2012, the European Institute of Ghent University organised a lecture series on the post-Lisbon application of the EU internal market rules and its implications for the practicing lawyer (<http://www.law.ugent.be/gandaius/gpv/pucdelva/puc38-programmema.html>). During this series, the academic staff of the Universities of Ghent and Antwerp presented the new regulatory framework, discussed recent legal developments in areas such as EU citizenship, free movement of services, judicial protection and consumer protection. The audience consisted of approximately 80 lawyers and practitioners.

### **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 LT are an integral part of the course 'Economy of Enlargement' given by Dr. Visnja Samardzija within the postgraduate studies Advanced Master of European Studies at the Faculty for Political Sciences, University of Zagreb.

#### *Public lecture 'European Citizens Initiative'*

On the 9<sup>th</sup> June 2011, 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 a public lecture 'European Citizens Initiative'. The lecture was held by Mr. Cedric Bloquet, director of the French association 'Citizens participation in public life and democracy – CIDEM'. Mr. Bloquet referred to the Article 10 of the TEU as amended by the LT which introduced the mechanism of the European Citizens' Initiative which allows citizens direct participation in legislative process at the EU level. Bloquet stated that impact evaluation of the European Citizens' Initiative will not be possible before 2015 due to the length of the proposed process. Mr. Igor Vidacak, Head of the Office for NGOs of Croatian Government commented the lecture and stated that each citizen's initiative needs to be carefully prepared. Before starting with the collection of signatures an analysis should be made determining the degree of necessity for addressing a particular issue together with a detailed financial plan for financing the proposed initiative.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Roundtable 'Croatia, European Union and the Future of the European Project'*

The roundtable, held on the 21<sup>st</sup> October 2011 in the premises of the Croatian Journalist Association in Zagreb, was the fourth event that took place within the project 'Zagreb, EU – Breakfast & Debate', organised jointly by the Hanns Seidel Foundation, the Diplomatic Academy of Croatian Ministry for

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<sup>1</sup> The full report is available in Croatian at: <http://www.imo.hr/node/1359>

Foreign and European Affairs (MFEA) and IMO. Among other things the roundtable participants discussed innovations introduced by the LT. The main focus of discussion was targeted towards perspectives of greater fiscal integration that would involve stricter Commission's oversight over national budgetary policies.<sup>2</sup> This issue is relevant for Croatia even in the period before the country formally enters the EU membership. Visnja Samardzija from IMO took part in this roundtable.

*Conference 'Danube Strategy - An Impetus for Strengthening Regional Cooperation between Croatia, Hungary and Serbia'*

The international conference 'Danube Strategy - An Impetus for Strengthening Regional Cooperation between Croatia, Hungary and Serbia' was organised by IMO and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Zagreb, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 2011. The Danube Strategy adopted by the European Council in June 2011 represents the second EU's macro-regional strategy that is developed on the flux of current EU governance dynamics. It emanates basic principles of the Europe 2020 strategy and further enhances territorial cohesion, now an explicit EU goal enshrined in the LT. The purpose of the conference was to assess the Danube Strategy as potential facilitator of increased cooperation between three countries in the middle Danubian basin: Croatia, Hungary and Serbia. Taking into consideration that the Danube Strategy embraces six non-EU countries, it has important external dimension, especially for the region of South-East Europe where it can play valuable supplementary role in the EU enlargement process.<sup>3</sup>

There are no examples of the research-based teaching on the Lisbon Treaty in IMO.

### **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, DIIS does arrange many public seminars each year and the series of sessions 'Lighthouse Europe' does in particular focus on the EU external relations after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. The last seminar in the series was held in June 2011 where among others the current Prime Minister of Denmark, Helle Thorning-Schmidt, and Hans Kundnani, Editorial Director at European Council on Foreign Relations participated in the public seminar 'Europe as a Great Power? A Scorecard for the European Foreign Policy'.

In November 2011 the seminar 'How to Run a Presidency? Views on the EU from Denmark, Poland and Cyprus' was held. The seminar dealt with the effects of the Lisbon Treaty on the Trio-Presidency and the influence of the rotating presidency in the light of the formation of the permanent European Council Presidency and the High Representative for foreign policy.

Furthermore the 'TEPSA Pre-Presidency Conference' was held in December 2011. At the seminar the Trans European Policy Studies Association presented their recommendations to the Danish Presidency. Additionally the priorities of the Danish Presidency were announced as well.

### **Finland (University of Tampere)**

The University of Tampere offered courses on multidisciplinary perspectives on European integration and enlargement, northern European integration, Central and Eastern Europe, EU-Russia relations, European law, EU institutions, EU tax law, political mobility in Europe, police cooperation in Europe and European part systems. There was no specialized teaching on the Lisbon Treaty (LT) but it

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<sup>2</sup> The full report is available in Croatian at: <http://www.imo.hr/node/1420>

<sup>3</sup> The full report is available in Croatian at: <http://www.imo.hr/node/1353>

represented some 10% or more of the content of several courses. A special event was organised in April 2012 by the University's Jean Monnet Centre focusing on basic rights in the EU in post-Lisbon conditions, where MEP Sirpa Pietikäinen gave a talk. Another relevant event featured the German Minister for Finance Wolfgang Schäuble, Prime Minister of Finland Jyrki Katainen and Minister of Finance Jutta Urpilainen debating the future of Europe and need for institutional changes, organised in November 2011. Several courses on the European Union in the University use web-based platforms and study environments for distributing material to the students. Practically all teaching on this subject is research-based.

### **Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin)**

In 2011/2012 the Faculty of Law at Humboldt-University Berlin offered several courses that focused entirely or partially on the Lisbon Treaty:

#### *Winter term 2011/12*

- BA-level course: 'Europarecht', Professor Ingolf Pernice;
- MA-level course: 'Europäisches Verfassungsrecht', Professor Ingolf Pernice;
- MA-level course: 'Europäisches Wirtschaftsrecht, insbesondere Binnenmarkt- und Wettbewerbsrecht', Professor Ingolf Pernice.

#### *Summer term 2012*

- MA-level course: 'Rethinking the National/International Divide – Ist das Innen-/Aussenschema noch haltbar?', Professor Ingolf Pernice and Professor Matthias Kumm;
- MA-level course: 'Europäisches und Internationales Investitionsschutzrecht', Professor Tillmann Rudolf Braun and Professor Steffen Hindelang;
- MA-level course: 'Europäischer Grund- und Menschenrechtsschutz', Dr. Matthias Wendel;
- MA-level course: 'Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik – rechtliche Grundlagen und Perspektiven', Dr. Sebastian Graf von Kielmannsegg;
- 'Europäisches Strafrecht', Professor Martin Heger.

### **Germany (Universität Duisburg Essen)**

In 2011/2012 the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Duisburg-Essen offered the following courses related on EU history:

- Course: 'The European Capital of Culture and the development of European identity', Dr. Claudia Hiepel;
- Seminar: 'Willy Brandt as Federal Chancellor', Dr. Claudia Hiepel;
- Research seminar, Professor Dr. 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. At the research seminar we discussed the role of EPC in the defense of détente and the end of the Cold War (with Dr. Angela Romano, London School of Economics) and the establishment of EMU in the 1990's.

Furthermore, Dr. Claudia Hiepel held her inaugural lecture on ‘The European Capital of Culture and the development of European identity’.

### **Germany (Universität Trier)**

The following courses on European Union affairs were held at Trier University in 2011/12:

#### *Winter term 2011/12*

- MA-level course: ‘European Monetary Integration and Economic Governance of the Eurozone’, Professor Joachim Schild and Professor Christian Bauer;
- MA-level course: ‘The EU as an International Actor’, Dr. Manuel Schmitz.

#### *Summer term 2012*

- BA-level course: ‘Französische Außen- und Europapolitik’, Professor Joachim Schild;
- BA-level course: ‘Deutsche Außenpolitik unter den Bedingungen der Europäisierung’, Dr. Manuel Schmitz;
- BA-level course: ‘Das Politische System der EU’, Dr. Patrick Ziegenhain;
- BA-level lecture: ‘Politische Ökonomie europäischer Integration’, Professor Joachim Schild;
- MA-level course: ‘Europadiskurse und Euroskeptizismus in Vergleichender Perspektive’, Professor Joachim Schild.

There was no course dealing exclusively with the Lisbon Treaty, but the lecture on the ‘Politische Ökonomie europäischer Integration’ (‘Political Economy in the European Union’) will cover major aspects of the institutional innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. Furthermore, 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 PowerPoint documentation accompanying the lecture ‘Political Economy in the European Union’ 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.

### **Greece (University of Athens)**

The Institute of European Integration and Policy is a university institute that elaborates research in the framework of the Faculty of Political Studies and Public Administration and, specifically, in the framework of the Department of International and European Studies. The research that takes place in IIEP is linked to the teaching at the undergraduate and at the postgraduate level.

At the undergraduate level, the two first years of studies include core courses while the third and fourth years include courses of specialisation from three specialisation cycles: Political Analysis, Administrative Science and International and European Studies. At the undergraduate level, the compulsory course ‘European Organisation: Institutions’ (fall semester) dedicates 70% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty (instructor: Professor P.C. Ioakimidis). The aim of this course is to provide basic knowledge about EU institutional history, EU institutions and the way EU is functioning in the framework of the Lisbon Treaty. The book ‘Treaty of Lisbon: Presentation, Analysis, Evaluation’ written by Professor Ioakimidis is used as a text book of the course.

The compulsory course 'EU Policies' of the International and European Studies (IES) specialisation cycle (spring semester) (instructor: Professor P.C. Ioakimidis) dedicates 50% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty. This course examines EU common policies (structural policy, EU budget, single market, CAP cooperation in JHA and enlargement), with particular reference to the developments that took place after the implementation of the Treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon. The additional value of this course is that it examines the impact of EU policies in the framework of the Lisbon Treaty on Greece.

In the framework of the optional course 'EU External Relations and Policy' offered to students from all specialisations during the fall semester (instructor: Professor P.C. Ioakimidis) the Lisbon Treaty comes up approximately for the 40% of the time. This course provides a systematic analysis of external relations and policies of the European Union by examining 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 semester). 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. The Lisbon Treaty comes up approximately for the 25% of the time.

The course 'The Political System of the EU' (Instructor: Professor Michalis Tsinisizelis, member of IEIP Academic Board) offered as optional IES specialisation course (spring semester) examines the EU political system, the other existing political systems and, finally, it tries to assess the ad hoc nature of EU political system. It dedicates 25% of its time on the role of the Lisbon Treaty. The optional course 'European Policies of the member states' (fall semester) dedicates 15% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty (Instructor: Assistant Professor Susannah Verney, member of member of IEIP Academic Board). This course analyses the phenomenon of European integration and 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. In addition, 'Theory of European Integration' (spring semester) is a compulsory IES specialisation course (instructor: Professor Michalis Tsinisizelis, member of IEIP Academic Board). 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 and dedicates 15% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty. In addition, the optional course for all specialisations 'European Integration and the Greek Economy' (Napoleon Maravegias, member of IEIP Academic Board) dedicates 10% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty.

At the postgraduate level the course 'Policy and Institutions of the European Union' (fall semester), a compulsory course of the Postgraduate Programme European and International Studies (EIS)<sup>4</sup> (instructor: P.C. Ioakimidis, with the cooperation of Dr. Anna Vallianatou, IEIP researcher) is almost exclusively focused on the role of the Lisbon Treaty by dedicating 90% of its time to it. The course

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<sup>4</sup> 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)

primary objective is to provide a critical assessment of the institutional system and the decision making process of the European Union (EU). In the context of this postgraduate course Professor P.C. Ioakimidis organises a series of 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.

The optional course 'Europe in the International System' (spring semester) (instructor: Professor P.C. Ioakimidis, with the cooperation of Dr. Anna Vallianatou) examines the role of the European Union in the international system, with emphasis on EU neighborhood 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 EU in the international economic institutions and assesses the Common Foreign Security and Defence Policy (especially after the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty). It dedicates 15% of its time to the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty regarding the role of EU in the international system.

At the postgraduate level, the compulsory course 'Theories of European Integration' (instructor: Professor Michalis Tsinisizelis with the cooperation of Dr. Filippa Chatzistavrou) for EIS postgraduate programme was also taught (with indirect reference to the Lisbon Treaty). In addition, the optional courses 'European Union Law' (instructor: Dr. A. Metaxas) and 'European Integration and Greece' (instructor: Assistant Susannah Verney) were offered in the framework of the Postgraduate Programme mentioned above.

Finally, as it was the case last year, Professor Ioakimidis gave two lectures one of them dedicated 100% to the Lisbon Treaty (entitled 'The Lisbon Treaty and After') to the students of the English speaking Postgraduate Programme in Southeast European Studies. The other lecture was entitled 'The Nature of the European Union Political System'.

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A number of PhD seminars were also organised by the Department of International and European Studies, in which various aspects of the Lisbon Treaty were also examined according to the various topics of the PhD thesis. Professor P.C. Ioakimidis, Director of IEIP has given lectures on the institutional reforms initiated by the Lisbon Treaty (as for example the Guest lectures mentioned above at the English speaking postgraduate Programme of the faculty).

IEIP continues to publish 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.

### **Hungary (Institute for World Economics)**

The Institute of World Economics is a research institute which is not engaged in teaching. Nevertheless, several researchers are at the same time lecturing at different universities or colleges. Many of them do actually teach European integration but none of them has had a separate course on the Lisbon Treaty. The Treaty comes up in the framework of several curricula. For instance associate professor Krisztina Vida who is holding a two-semester course on the 'Political Economy of the EU' dedicates one occasion to the constitutional process and one to the Lisbon Treaty's innovations.

None of the researchers or professors of the Institute of World Economics had a course exclusively focused on the LT. This would be typical at the law faculties of different universities in Hungary (for example in Budapest, Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged).

IWE did not organise any event in connection with the Lisbon Treaty in the reporting period.

Currently in Hungary the following (text)books deal in depth with the Lisbon Treaty and are being used by teachers of European studies including European legal studies:

- Horváth, Z./ Ódor, B. (2010): *Az Európai Unió Szerződéses reformja, az Unió Lisszabon után* ('Treaty reform of the European Union, the Union after Lisbon'), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Budapest: HVG-ORAC.
- Blutman, L. (2010): *Az Európai Unió joga a gyakorlatban* ('EU Law in practice'), Budapest: HVG-ORAC.
- Horváth, Z. (2011): *Kézikönyv az Európai Unióról* ('Handbook on the European Union'), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Budapest: HVG-ORAC.
- Kecskés, L. (2011): *EU-jog és jogharmonizáció* ('EU law and legal harmonisation'), 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Budapest: HVG-ORAC.
- Szalayné, S. E. (2010): *Az európai jogrend 2010 után* ('The European legal system after 2010'), Budapest: HVG-ORAC (under edition).

Furthermore, one of the research fellows of IWE, namely Krisztina Vida has also contributed to a textbook on the EU including changes brought about by the LT. This textbook is used at the biggest business school in Hungary (Budapest Business School).

- Káldyné, E. M./ Vida, K./ Kruppa, É./ Ferkelt, B. (2010): *Integrálódó Európa I.* ('Europe getting integrated I. '), Budapest: Perfekt.

Those researchers who are lecturing in higher education are also using research results in their teaching. This is however more typical in the PhD programmes while the BA and MA courses are rather based on existing textbooks.

### **Iceland (University of Iceland)**

In the academic year 2011-2012, 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. Associate Professor Magnússon 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.

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%).

Adjunct Professor Alyson Bailes covered aspects of the Lisbon Treaty in three of the sessions in her MA course on European Security Institutions and Small States in autumn term 2011: these dealt respectively with the general external profile of the Union, with CSDP, and with internal security affairs (where Article 222 and the new Civil Protection chapter were mentioned).

Professor Bailes also taught a course in Spring 2012 on New Security Challenges and Security Governance as a guest lecturer at the College of Europe in Bruges. Lisbon Treaty amendments were mentioned under 3-4 of the sessions of this course dealing with European institutions. Further, a one-hour class exercise was held on an Article 222 scenario to explore whether EU states really would want to show each other solidarity in such a case, and what might be the main added value of EU involvement. The scenario was a dangerous chemical spill into the Danube at Bratislava during the Spring floods and three groups of students represented, respectively, the damaged countries, the Brussels organs and the other member states. The latter turned out to be very unwilling to help ia because of the risks of creating too generous a precedent!

Professor Bailes gave a talk on Iceland and the CSDP (in connection with Iceland's EU membership application) at Reykjavik in March 2012, in the weekly series of 'Europa' lectures held by the University's Institute of International Affairs and Centre for Small State Studies. In this she discussed article 42.7 at some length and also drew attention to Article 222. She mentioned the Lisbon developments in CSDP more briefly during a lecture on EU-NATO relations at the NATO School in Oberammergau in October 2011

The Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small State Studies organised a European lecture series in autumn 2011 and spring 2012. The series, titled "Europe: Dialogue with Academics" included 13 lectures each term, related to European affairs in general. The IIA/CSSS has also organised several other lectures, workshops and conferences on European affairs. Some of these 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 Reykjavik, with 16 partner institutes, which entirely focuses on small states in the EU.

### **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 has taken place every spring since 2008 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 broader sense. The course puts much emphasis on how the Lisbon Treaty has innovated the external action and specifically the security policies of the EU. The textbook of the course is the following: Gianni Bonvicini (ed.), *L'Unione europea attore di sicurezza regionale e globale*, Milano: F. Angeli, 2010, Quaderni del Centro Altiero Spinelli. The editor is Gianni Bonvicini, Executive Vice President of the IAI, and the contributions have all come from IAI senior fellows (Michele Comelli, Nicoletta Pirozzi, Nathalie Tocci).

The following events and seminars organised by the IAI relate, directly or indirectly, with topics linked with the Lisbon Treaty or, in any case, with the institutional dimension of the European integration process. Where not specified, all events have taken place at the IAI.

- Seminar: ‘The EU as a global actor: challenges for the European External Action Service’, in cooperation with Centro Studi sul Federalismo and European Policy Centre (EPC), 8<sup>th</sup> April 2011, Turin ([http://www.iai.it/pdf/Convegna/Torino-EEAS\\_110408.pdf](http://www.iai.it/pdf/Convegna/Torino-EEAS_110408.pdf));
- Seminar: ‘La politica estera dell’Unione Europea - il ruolo delle sanzioni’ (‘EU foreign policy - the role of sanctions’), with Francesco Giumelli, European University Institute, 16<sup>th</sup> May 2011;
- ‘Seminar on State of European democracy’, in cooperation with Epin and Ceps, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2011 ([http://www.iai.it/pdf/Convegna/EPIN-IAI\\_110520.pdf](http://www.iai.it/pdf/Convegna/EPIN-IAI_110520.pdf));
- Seminar: ‘La politica di sicurezza e di difesa comune: opzioni per l’Italia’, with the Italian Ministry of foreign affairs, 26<sup>th</sup> May 2011 ([http://www.iai.it/pdf/Convegna/PSDC\\_110526\\_prog.pdf](http://www.iai.it/pdf/Convegna/PSDC_110526_prog.pdf));
- Seminar: ‘The EU and the Libyan crisis: in quest of coherence?’, 28<sup>th</sup> September 2011 ([http://www.iai.it/pdf/convegna/Koenig\\_110928.pdf](http://www.iai.it/pdf/convegna/Koenig_110928.pdf));
- ‘Conference on Italy’s diplomacy and international integration’, 13<sup>th</sup> October 2011 ([http://www.iai.it/pdf/convegna/diplomacy\\_111013-en.pdf](http://www.iai.it/pdf/convegna/diplomacy_111013-en.pdf));
- ‘Debate on Il futuro della democrazia europea’ (‘The future of European democracy’), presentation of IAI Research paper n.2, 29<sup>th</sup> November 2011 (<http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=1&contentid=667>);
- Conference: ‘Opportunities and challenges of the EU enlargement to the Western Balkans’ 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> December 2011 (<http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=1&contentid=707>) (report of the initiative).

Other courses are organised by Italian teaching institutions focus mainly on the policies of the EU, rather than on its institutions. The teaching of the LT is quite common in master’s degrees’ courses on European Studies, the leading one being the MA given by the Collegio Europeo in Parma that features courses on the legal order in the EU and on the institutional developments in the post-LT era. Other institutions deliver this kind of graduate programmes, as well as courses in European project planning, such as the University of Siena, the University of Padua or the University Institute of European Studies in Turin. The University of Roma 2 Tor Vergata teaches a number of graduate and postgraduate courses on the EU, including a specific module on European foreign policy.

## Italy (LUISS Guido Carli)

### *MA level*

The course on ‘Comparative Constitutional Law’, held by Professor Carmela De Caro, aims at introducing and investigating comparative method; families of law (common law and civil law); constitution and constitutionalism; the forms of citizenship; specific items related the Rule of Law, constitutional review, constitutional guarantees and constitutional courts; forms of governments; federalisms and multilevel constitutionalism with particular concern with the case of the European Union after the Lisbon Treaty coming into force. A specific case-study has been dedicated to the role and functions of the European Parliament and national parliaments after the Treaty of Lisbon. Furthermore, the course has also made students acquired a critical overlook on the general impact assessment of the Lisbon Treaty in the member states’ legal orders. The topic of the Lisbon Treaty has been treated and analysed in relation to the Lisbon Strategy and the EU2020 Strategy, as important

complementary steps into the European process of integration-constitutionalisation as marked by the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty (2009). During the course, decisions and judgments delivered by constitutional and supranational Courts have been discussed in the classroom (by interactive lectures and role-playing games). Furthermore, the first part of each lesson has been committed to open debate on the constitutionally-relevant news of the week.

The course in ‘European administrative law’, held by Professor Vincenzo Antonelli, deals with the most important innovations concerning the organisation of the public administration Treaty in the EU and in Italy after the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty. Three seminars on the consequences of the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty were organised within the course:

- ‘The Regions, the State and the European Union’, Ciaffi, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2010;
- The European Judge and public administrations, Della Cananea, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2010;
- ‘The role and the perspectives of the Committee of Regions after the Lisbon Treaty’, Participants: Pella, Condorelli, Pietrangelo, 16<sup>th</sup> December 2010.

The courses of the ‘Laboratory of the economic, political and institutional dynamics of globalization’, held by Professors Miodrag Lekic, Antonio Badini and Domenico Fracchiolla give an insight to the main political and economic issues of the EU after the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty. The methodology provides a multifaceted approach that combines seminars and conferences with professionals, research and presentations of case studies introduced by students.

*MA level - The Lisbon Treaty in the academic programmes of the School of Government activities*  
Seminars within the Jean Monnet Course ad personam (Professor Manzella) in the Democratic Principle of the EU, MA on Parliament and Public Policy:

- ‘A che punto è l’UE?’ (‘The state of the EU construction today’);
- ‘Gli equilibri istituzionali dell’UE’ (‘Institutional equilibrium of the EU’);
- ‘La carta dei diritti fondamentali dell’UE’ (‘The EU chart of fundamental rights’).

#### *Summer school*

The 2012 edition of the Summer school (16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> July) ‘Parliamentary Democracy in Europe’ co-organised by the Luiss School of Government and the Nova Universitas, deals with the multifaceted dimensions of the principle of subsidiarity within the European Union, national parliaments, local government and civil society within the EU decision-making processes, and the control on the compliance with the Principle of Subsidiarity.

## **Lithuania (Vilnius University)**

### *Courses on the EU*

The Institute of International Relations and Political Science (IIRPS), Vilnius University, offers two general courses on the EU in frames of the Political science bachelor’s programme. The course ‘European integration’ is a compulsory course offered by Dr. Arūnas Molis and Lecturer Julius Pranevičius. The course is attended by 107 students and is focused on history and theories of EU integration, its institutional structure, and internal and external politics. The course ‘Economic and monetary union’ is offered as an elective course. This course is offered by associated Professor Stasys Kropas and is focused on principles, development and functioning of the EMU.

IIRPS offers the master's programme European studies (currently eleven students inscribed), which, during two academic years, gives deep and extensive knowledge on the processes in the European Union and its member states, and the skills necessary to forecast the impact and consequences of the EU membership. The programme has a wide scope, ranging from EU institutional structure, integration theories, legal basis to EU external relations, political economy, regional policy and security. The courses covered in this programme are EU law, European economy, public policy of European Community, theories of European integration, analysis of macroeconomic policy, the idea of Europe: identity and representations, political economy of European integration, Europeanization in Central and Eastern Europe, EU enlargement, European politics of EU member states, and EU external relations.

#### *The Treaty of Lisbon as subject of teaching*

All courses on the EU deal with the Treaty of Lisbon to the extent that is necessary for an adequate interpretation of the studied topics. This mainly means that the focus lies on the changes brought by the Treaty into the framework of the European Union and its further development.

IIRPS also offers a course centered on the Treaty of Lisbon: 'EU law'. This course is offered by Dr. Agnė Veršelytė and was attended by eleven students. All aspects of the EU legal framework are studied during this course having the Treaty of Lisbon as a main document.

#### *Events*

During the period of spring 2011 - spring 2012, IIRPS had no events dedicated exceptionally to the Treaty of Lisbon. Yet most of the events dealing with the EU topic had the context of the Treaty of Lisbon.

### **Luxembourg (Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman)**

The CERÉ (Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research) is affiliated to the Ministry of State under the Luxembourgish Prime Minister. Academic teaching does not belong to its tasks. The essential task to be carried out by the Robert Schuman Centre is historical research on the European integration process and the diffusion of knowledge about the Luxembourgish stance in this process. In pursuance of this task, the CERÉ:

- stimulates research on European unification;
- facilitates the publication of such work;
- draws up bibliographical lists and research results;
- furthers the dialogue and cooperation between institutes and seminars grouped in the Centre;
- organises colloquiums on problems applying to the Center's activities as well as study meetings between teachers and students;
- studies any question pertaining to the context of international relations that the Government considers worth to submit to the Centre.

In the reporting period, the Robert Schuman Centre provided support to the project of a handbook on the fundamentals of the European integration process ('Des bases pour comprendre la construction de l'Europe') and took part in its evaluation. The book was worked out in cooperation with the Institut Pierre Werner (L), the Maison de l'Europe, Paris (F), the German section of the European Association of Teachers (D) and the Center for International Relations, Warsaw (PL). The book, elaborated in the

framework of the Commission's programme 'Europe for citizens', is basically designed for teachers of secondary education. It addresses inter alia essential legal and institutional adjustments brought about by the LT.

### **Netherlands (University of Groningen)**

The University of Groningen, International Relations and International Organization Department, has a sequence of courses related to the EU which all students follow. The students begin with History of IR in the first semester of the first year, with one session on the history of European integration.

The main required courses related to the EU are in the second half of the first year and in the second year. The first year course 'International Organization 2' focuses on the EU, designed for the entire first year class of approximately 265 students. This is followed by the course 'Policy and Governance in the EU Context', in the second year. In the third year, there are a choice of courses the students may follow: 'International Negotiation' (with a number of preparatory lectures and then an all day simulation of intra-EU negotiations), 'History of European Integration', 'EU Enlargement', and 'EU Security'. There is also a pre-master course which focuses on the EU decision-making across a variety of policy areas.

The course titled 'International Organization 2', which focuses on the EU addresses the following topics in the seven lectures: 'Regional IOs: Europe and beyond', 'European single market', 'Economic and monetary union', 'Environmental policymaking and the role of NGOs', 'Interior policies', 'The European Human Rights regime'. Each student is also assigned to a tutorial group which meets an additional seven times to consider the material in depth. For example, in the week on interior policies, the students in their tutorials will use the European Charter of Fundamental Rights to suggest which articles may be used to defend the human rights of persons in a given scenario provided to the students. We estimate that between 15-20% of class time is spent discussing aspects of the Lisbon Treaty.

The course titled 'Policy and Governance in the EU Context' in the second year has seven lectures: 'Governance and policy in the multi-level system', 'Democracy and legitimacy in the EU', 'The institutions of the EU', 'The making of Dutch EU policy', 'EU and democracy', 'Lobbying in the EU', 'Environmental policy making at the national and EU levels', 'Interior policies and human rights in the EU'.

Most lecturers are given as part of regular, required courses at the University of Groningen.

The first year 'International Organization 2' course uses Rittberger, Zangl, and Kruck (2006): *International Organization*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Palgrave MacMillan.

The second year course 'Policy and Governance in the EU Context' uses: Hix and Hoyland (2011): *The Political System of the European Union*, Palgrave MacMillan, and Schmidt (2006): *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics*, Oxford.

#### *Examples of research based teaching*

Dr. Holzhaacker shared his experience organising the conference on AFSJ during a two hour lecture for first year students on interior policies of the EU, as part of the course 'International Organization 2'.

### **Netherlands (University of Twente)**

European Studies at the University of Twente is structured in accordance with the internationally accredited bachelor-master model. The programme consists of two parts: a three-year bachelor's

programme and a one-year master's programme. 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's 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'.

The institutional setting of decision-making in the European Union and its competences was also an issue at two excursions organised in the context of European Studies at Twente. In the first week of January 2012, 15 bachelor students from the University of Twente went to Wroclaw, Poland, to participate in a simulation of political decision making in the EU called EuroSim. For four days they took the role of MEP or national minister and learned the ins and outs of this year's theme, asylum policy. A second excursion was organised for the master students to Brussels, which featured visits to the European Commission and the European Council.

### **Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)**

Researchers of the European Institute continue their teaching of European integration activities at the University of Lodz, Faculties of Economics and Faculty of Sociology. The Lisbon Treaty did not come as a separate subject for teaching activities but it has been included into the content of each particular thematic lecture led by researchers of the European Institute. And thus:

- Maria Celina Blaszczyk offered a core and compulsory course for 60 students of the University of Lodz, Faculty of Sociology, on European integration, of a total number of 30 hours, 20% out of which was devoted to the Lisbon Treaty provisions.
- Maria Celina Blaszczyk offered a 30 hours course for 60 students of the University of Lodz, Faculty of Sociology, on Common Foreign and Security policy, 30% of teaching time being devoted to new elements of this policy introduced by the Lisbon Treaty.
- Monika Slupinska-Maj offered a course on EU Regional policy with Lisbon Treaty impact (1,5 hour within a 60 hours compulsory core lecture for 150 students of the University of Lodz, Faculty of Economics, entitled 'EU cohesion policy goals, structural funds and their implementation, EU institutions as cohesion policy actors (after Lisbon Treaty)').

Several teaching materials have been elaborated:

- Maria Celina Blaszczyk prepared a PowerPoint presentation on Common Foreign and Security policy under the Lisbon Treaty provisions as well as a presentation on European integration with a focus on new Lisbon Treaty regulations.
- Monika Slupinska-Maj prepared a PowerPoint presentation to the cohesion policy lecture (including Lisbon Treaty changes).
- Anna Jedrzejewska prepared a PowerPoint presentation on the Presidency under the Lisbon Treaty rules.
- Mariusz Wypych prepared a PowerPoint presentation on regional policy under the Lisbon Treaty provisions.

All these teaching activities have been based on previous research made by their authors on the basis of individual research framework.

As it concerns public events there were two of them during the reporting period:

- Last September Maria Celina Blaszczyk offered a half day seminar for regional authorities on ‘What is new under the Lisbon Treaty’, attended by approximately 50 public servants.
- Last December Maria Karasinska-Fendler offered a public lecture on ‘Polish Presidency’, embracing the issue of LT changes. The lecture was attended by approximately 200 pupils and teachers from secondary schools of Piotrków Trybunalski.

### **Romania (European Institute of Romania)**

Almost all of the more than 30 courses and seminars of the Training Unit (TU) held are EU oriented. The TU offers a wide range of programmes on various topics from a general training in European affairs to specialized courses in EU legislation or translation of legal texts issued by European institutions.

The TU does not – at least for the moment – offer a course exclusively focused on the LT, yet the LT is approached, for example, in the course on ‘General Training in European affairs’ quite extensively, not to mention the course on the space of freedom, security and justice (visas, asylum and immigration after Lisbon).

The Studies and Analyses unit together with the Communication and Marketing unit organises in the spring of each year a series of conferences in order to promote the strategy and policy studies elaborated in the previous year. Thus, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2012, the launch conference of the strategy and policy studies elaborated in 2011 was organised by the European Institute of Romania (EIR) in cooperation with the Representation of the EC in Romania, reuniting a number of officials with attributions in this field, such as the Minister for European Affairs, the Head of the Representation of the European Commission in Romania, as well as by the authors of the series of strategy and policy studies (SPOS) 2011 studies: Daniel Dăianu, professor at SNSPA, Member of the Romanian Academy, Moisă Altăr, professor at Bucharest AES, Valentina Vasile, Director a.i. of the Institute of National Economy, Cecilia Alexandri, Research Fellow at the Institute for Agricultural Economics. The event was chaired by Gabriela Drăgan, Director-General of the European Institute of Romania and by Agnes Nicolescu, Acting Head of the Studies and Analyses Unit of the EIR.

The SPOS published by the European Institute of Romania aims at offering elements for substantiating the policies after accession and the positions of Romania concerning the European

construction. Within the project carried out in 2011, the research covered topic areas relevant for the current European evolutions and in which Romania is involved: The reform of the Common Agricultural Policy in the context of the post-2013 budgetary perspective; Euro Plus Pact Adoption: Implications for Romanian Fiscal Policy; European semester: ensuring a sustainable economic growth through sound public finances: lessons for Romania from the perspective of the public finances' sustainability point of view; the analysis of the evolution of EU social policies in the last three years: supplementary/private pensions and the impact of an ageing population.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> December 2011, EIR organised together with Wallonie Bruxelles delegation the roundtable dealing with 'The Economic Crisis: The political roots of the Euro currency crisis', held by Professor Amandine Crespy, Free University of Bruxelles. On the 6<sup>th</sup> December, EIR organised a conference in cooperation with the French Embassy in Bucharest called 'The future of the Cohesion Policy in the EU: between convergence and competitiveness'. Some of the main ideas highlighted during the event were that the future of Europe is what the member states will want to make of it and the European cohesion policy does not neglect poorer regions, the aim being to bridge the gap between regions developed in an uneven way.

Another highlight conference hosted by EIR in 2011 took place on the 30<sup>th</sup> September, when, in partnership with the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), researchers and experts from numerous EU-based EU think-tanks met in Bucharest to discuss matters pertaining to 'Strategic Thinking in the EU'. The three sessions of the one-day conference dealt with topics such as EU's macro-regional strategies (Danube strategy and Baltic sea strategy), Europe 2020 strategy and those in the field of EU foreign policy. The event benefited from the participation of national and European officials and diplomatic members, as well as representatives of the NGO sector, academic and business communities, as well as mass-media.

Another important topic pertaining to the LT area – migration policy- was the focus of a conference organised on the 9<sup>th</sup> June 2011 by EIR and Soros Foundation Romania. The starting point for discussions was a study called 'Maximization of the Development Impact of Migration in Romania', conducted by the International Agency for Source Country Information and Soros Foundation Romania.

Last, but not least, it is worth mentioning the debate dealing with the impact of the Lisbon Treaty on Romanian institutions and policies, organised by EIR and the Commission for European Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament. The debate tackled the Strategy and policy study dealing with exactly this topic, elaborated under EIR's aegis in 2010.

In the case of the TU, the LT is present exclusively within the framework of the training courses.

The means of teaching the TU uses vary from using computers to printed materials. Participants are offered handouts and different support materials (for instance textbooks, guide books, etc.).

There is a recent programme the TU is working on starting from a comparative research on the labour law in Romania and the EU.

### **Romania (University of Oradea)**

One of the missions assumed by the Research Centre for Competitiveness and Sustainable Development of the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Oradea is to stimulate teaching, research and reflection in the field of European integration studies at the level of the University of Oradea, and to enhance knowledge and awareness among academics, students and

citizens of issues related to the European integration process, mainly for understanding that deeper integration between the EU Member States and sustainable development is taken very seriously by the European Union, in a constantly changing, ever more interconnected world, where Europe is grappling with new issues: globalisation, demographic shifts, climate change, the need for sustainable energy sources and new security threats.

In fact, we do believe that the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Oradea succeeded in the last years of activity, to raise the awareness of the students, academics and research staff about the EU, bringing knowledge of the internal and external dimension of the EU for its beneficiaries, too, resulting in a good perception of the Europe when it operates to accomplish its Lisbon Agenda and Lisbon Treaty (LT) goals, thus helping EU to be seen as a first rank global actor worldwide, as it is.

The University of Oradea, during the reporting period, offered study programmes such as the master's programme entitled European Economic Relations. In the framework of this programme students, academics and researchers assess the 'state of the art' of the European Union and its challenges, and enhance their ability to analyse the problems and obstacles still preventing the European Union to reach the goals established through the Lisbon Growth and Jobs Strategy, but also of the evolution of the European Union integration process.

Within the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Oradea, a broad range of courses on the EU are taught, partly being organised during the reporting period, such as:

- 'European Economics' (winter semester course), which was taught by Dr. Adriana Giurgiu to the students of the faculty enrolled in the second year (more than 200 attendants), bachelor's 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 80 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's programme entitled European Economic Relations (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's programme entitled European Economic Relations (more than 20 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's programme entitled European Economic Relations (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's programme entitled European Economic Relations (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's programme entitled European Economic Relations (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’s programme entitled ‘European Economic Relations’ (more than 20 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).

When it comes to the Lisbon Treaty’s role in the teaching activity developed within the University of Oradea in the reporting period, we have to mention that all above described courses focus on different aspects of the LT, and especially within the ‘European Economics’ course taught at bachelor’s level, there were eight teaching and seminar hours (out of a total of 56 hours) dedicated exclusively to the LT. During these four hours, the LT was presented and debated together with students, which have prepared team works projects and presentations on the content of the LT.

In order to support the individual study of each student participating into our above mentioned courses, we have further developed and used our IT-assisted virtual platform (<http://distance.iduoradea.ro>) containing each disciplines of audience, each of them with the course objectives, scheduled activities, teaching materials, evaluation methods and material, study guides for seminar and applicative activities, and recommended / indicative further readings for each subject we taught. For staying permanently in touch with our student, but also for establishing a good communication and feedback between the teaching staff and students, we have also used the Forum facility developed for each existing subject on this IT-assisted virtual platform (please, visit: <http://distance.iduoradea.ro>).

We believe that we have succeeded these ways, in disseminating information about the EU and the Lisbon Treaty to all participants in the activities developed through the reporting period, and that we have contributing at the raising the awareness of importance and responsibilities of the European economic development and recovery process, too. With respect to the teaching activities, we have tried to mingle scientific rigour with the appeal to practical and daily experience of the students, unveiling the way in which the Treaty of Lisbon provides the Union with the legal framework and tools necessary to meet future challenges and to respond to citizens' demands.

As support for our teaching activities, we have prepared electronic materials, scripts, textbooks, PowerPoint presentations etc. for each discipline of audience dealing with the Lisbon Treaty, such as:

- 80 copies of the book entitled Giurgiu, Adriana: *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 discipline of audience entitled ‘The EU’s Common Trade Policy and External Trade’, at the link: <http://distance.iduoradea.ro>.
- 250 exemplars of the e-book Dodescu, Anca/ Giurgiu (2010): Adriana, *Economie Europeana* (‘European Economics’), also available on-line on the web site of the discipline of audience entitled ‘European Economics’, at the link: <http://distance.iduoradea.ro>.

In addition to the above mentioned publications, in June 2011 and in December 2011, we have also published the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Issue of the Scientific Journal entitled *Analele Universității din Oradea – Secțiunea Științe Economice – Tom XX, 2011*, Oradea University Press, 2011 (please, visit: <http://anale.steconomieuoradea.ro/en/journal-presentation/>), where more scientific papers focusing on LT were published (please, visit <http://anale.steconomieuoradea.ro/en/journal-archive/>).

### **Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)**

At the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, there are two undergraduate programmes and one master's programme where Lisbon Treaty (LT) is studied within different individual courses. Within the framework of European studies undergraduate programme, no specific course is oriented only towards the LT 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 programme, no specific course is oriented only towards the LT novelties, 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's programme of European Studies, the LT is studied as a legal framework for individual policies the students decide to focus their attention of master's thesis on.

No specific course on LT exists. 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%). European External Action Service is covered within the course on 'EU Diplomacy' (13%), as well as within the course on 'Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU' (13%).

Teaching assistant Jure Požgan, MA and Assistant Professor Ana Bojinović Fenko use Oxford University Press Online Resource Centre for 'Basic course on the EU'. Textbooks used for the course material on LT are:

- Nugent, Neil (2010): *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cini, Michel (2009): *The European Union Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Oxford University Press.
- Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe/ Bailey, David J.. (2010): *The European Union and Global Governance*, A Handbook. Routledge.

Almost all teaching is research-based; stems from current issues, which are subject of teachers' research. All teachers (except teaching assistants) are partly employed also researchers. Good example is negotiation simulation of TRIO presidencies of the EU within the International Negotiations course and the role of small states in EU presidency.

### **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's and doctorate programmes: '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 programme, 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'.

Likewise, the Faculty of Economics has organised the Seminar 'Towards the Fiscal European Unit: Problems and Offers' which, in four sessions, discussed the current economic and financial crisis and developed the offers and problems of a fiscal European unit.

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

Likewise, the Chair Jean Monnet section on formation and information has given courses addressed to development actors and the public in general, in the frame of the activity 'Provincial Classroom of Permanent training in European Resources for the Local Development', created by the Jean Monnet Chair, about: 'Constitutive Treaties and Process of Integration of the EU', 'European Resources for an European Active Citizenship'.

In all the indicated educational activities, the Treaty of Lisbon has taken a special attention as a new reference point in the construction process of the European Union.

On the other hand, through the 'Provincial Permanent Training Room on European Resources for the Local Development' created by the mentioned Chair Jean Monnet, there have offered periodic informative meetings (three in the indicated period) on the new Treaty of Lisbon; there has been celebrated an Europe Day act with special reference to the Treaty of Lisbon and it has taken part in diverse interviews and radio gatherings concerning the thematic of the new Treaty of Lisbon.

There has been in use of the Chair's Webpage (<http://www.uma.es/jeanmonnet/>) 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 (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)**

The public event 'The EU as a Global Actor: Lessons from the Arab Spring', organised by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 2011, and featuring a panel consisting of both practitioners and scholars, took stock of the development of the European External Action Service (EEAS). It focused particularly on the implications of the Arab Spring on EU foreign policy after the Lisbon Treaty.

The following reports related to the LT were published by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs during the reporting period:

- Rhinard, Mark/ Brattberg, Erik (2012): 'The EU and US as International Actors in Disaster Relief', in: *Bruges Political Research Paper No. 22*, Bruges: College of Europe, January 2012.
- Rhinard, Mark/ Andersson, Jan Joel/ Ojanen, Hanna/ Brattberg, Erik/ Haggqvist, Malin: 'The European Security Strategy: Reinvigorate, Revise or Reinvent?', Policy paper published by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs as *UI Occasional Paper No. 7*, June 2011.

- Rhinard, Mark/ Brattberg, Erik/ Kajnc, Sabina (2011): 'Bridging Turbulent Times: Report on a Survey on the 2009 Swedish Presidency of the European Union', Policy paper published by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs as *UI Occasional Paper No. 6*, May 2011.

Some individual researchers at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs also engage in part-time teaching.

## Turkey (Sabanci University)

### *Lisboan Activities concerning teaching*

The following courses are taught at Sabanci University on the European integration and the Lisbon Treaty. The first of these courses was offered in the fall semester of the 2011-2012 academic year and the other two in the spring semester. These courses were taken by post graduate students in the master's programme of European Studies, PhD and master's programme in Political Science and undergraduate students from International Studies, Social and Political Studies and Economics.

'The European Union: Politics, Policies and Governance', this course was co-taught by Meltem Müftüleri-Baç and Joost Langerdijk as a graduate level course, and the course was 14 weeks long, with three hours contact time a week, total of 42 hours contact and three 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. In the five weeks that Joost Langderdijk taught, the main focus of the course was the changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty and the European Union post-Lisbon.

Especially with regard to the Lisbon Treaty related readings, the students had to read the following for their course requirements.

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

The course 'Turkey and the European Union Relations' was 14 weeks long, three hours contact time a week, total of 42 hours contact and three hours office hours. Meltem Müftüleri-Baç taught five 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. The course focused on Turkey's relations with the European Union, with specific emphasis on the new institutional dynamics in the EU in the post-Lisbon area. The institutional changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty and its implications on Turkey's place in Europe constituted around 20% of the course material.

The course 'European Politics' was 14 weeks long, three hours contact time a week, total of 42 hours contact and 3 hours office hours. Brooke Luetgert taught eight weeks and Joost Langerdijk was

responsible for five weeks of the course. The course focused on the European politics, especially the developments in the member states.

#### *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.

Elif Urgan completed her master's thesis titled 'Fading Credibility of the EU Political Conditionality and its Decreasing Effect on Democratic Consolidation: The Case of Turkey' under the supervision of Meltem Müftüler-Baç and defended the thesis in February 2012. She analysed the EU's impact on Turkish politics especially within the light of the Charter on Fundamental Rights.

Beyza Berat Aybat completed her master's thesis titled 'The Past and the Future of the European Neighborhood Policy- A Successful Cooperation or Just a Mehter Step?' on the impact of the Lisbon Treaty on the EU's neighborhood policy in August 2011 under the supervision of Meltem Müftüler-Baç.

Melis Atalay, completed her master's thesis titled 'The impact of EU criminal law: With a close examination of its impact on the privacy and security of EU citizens' in August 2011. She analysed the EU's criminal law and the changes in that aspect from the framework of legal amendments. The thesis was 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 Sabanci University in 2011-2012 were delivered on the Lisbon Treaty.

- On the 2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> June 2011, a workshop was organised at Sabanci University titled 'The European Union and Turkey, Far Away, so Close', Transformative power of the EU Workshop, Sabanci University and Free University Berlin, Istanbul. Around 35 academicians participated in the workshop where the Turkish accession was debated with the paper presentations. Meltem Müftüler-Baç delivered the keynote address in the workshop.
- On the 20<sup>th</sup> September 2011, 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.
- On the 17<sup>th</sup> December 2011, Meltem Müftüler-Baç gave a seminar on the EU and its role in international affairs to high school students at Sabanci University who came from different high schools from Anatolia.
- On the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2012, Meltem Müftüler-Baç attended the doctoral examination at Marmara University on the European integration where the main examination questions revolved around the post-Lisbon EU integration.
- On the 23<sup>rd</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> January 2012, Meltem Müftüler-Baç co-coordinated an Honours Academy by the Radboud Academy where 30 students – Dutch, Russian, Hungarian and Turkish – participated in the week long event. The lecturers from Sabanci University were Meltem Müftüler-Baç, Isik Ozel and Halil Berktaç. The Academy was hosted by the Sabanci University.

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.

## 2. Researching the Treaty of Lisbon

Guide questions:

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

### Austria (Universität Salzburg)

Since January 2012 the Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies is a priority programme of the University of Salzburg. The programme has set up a major interdisciplinary research programme touching upon the Treaty of Lisbon in many aspects. To give just some examples of research projects:

*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 (Stefan Griller, Harald Badinger)*

The inherent conflicts between a supranational entity and its constituent entities with competences of their own are typical for multilayer political entities such as the EU. Against that backdrop, a crucial question – not only from an academic point of view, but also for policy makers, the media, and maybe even the public at large – is the distribution of powers between the various players, both vertically and horizontally.

Yet there partly appears to be i) a somewhat uncritical use of power indices and a temptation to assign a comprehensive importance to single index numbers, which may have actually a rather limited relevance, and ii) an overweight on the discussion on voting mechanisms in the Council, which – apart from failing to account for all legal details (such as the Ioannina Compromise) – does not match the complexity of the legislative procedure in the EU with its interplay between the key institutions, namely the EU Commission, the Council, the European Council and the European Parliament (EP) and other important players such as national parliaments. A case in point is the history of the services directive, whose original version proposed by the EU Commission was heavily revised and substantially altered in its content by the EP, and where voting power of single MS in the Council played only a minor role.

Against this background the present, interdisciplinary research project aims at providing 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 analysis is then complemented by a comparative study of the EU's multi-layer federal system with those of the USA and Switzerland. Finally, as a key conclusion, the present project analyses to what extent supranational efficiency can be balanced against democratic legitimacy and adequate representation of the MS.

*National constitutional law and European integration (Stefan Griller)*

Many constitutions of the EU MS guarantee the essential characteristics of their constitution (including the political system). This produces an evident tension with the undisputed and increasing

impact of European policy-making both on national legislation and on the executive practice of national officials, judges and politicians. Against that backdrop and in view of the high standards, MS constitutions set for constitutional change that is crucial for further EU integration, the question arises, whether EU integration can step forward in the usual way in the future. This project tries to explore in detail the conditions for the future evolution of European integration, especially the limits to further transfer of competencies to the EU and the use of constitutionally sensitive EU competences already transferred.

*The 2010 European sovereign debt crisis and its implications (Puntscher Riekmann, Hannes Winner, Andreas Dür)*

The 2010 European sovereign debt crisis has the potential to have a major impact on European governance in the next years. This project will cast light on the causes and consequences of the debt crisis and the legal implications of the response agreed upon within the EU. To ensure a comprehensive assessment of different aspects of the crisis the project involves economists, lawyers and political scientists. In particular, two central aspects of the crisis are investigated:

- Legitimacy and legal basis of the 2010 financial package: Are there constitutional conditions commanding sufficient legitimacy to take binding decisions in policy fields which are not or only partly in the competence of the Union? The hypothesis guiding this part of the research is that legitimacy is precarious. It will largely depend on a shared feeling of European solidarity and on consensus/dissensus about fiscal discipline and austerity measures. Research will focus on parliamentary debates of such measures, the discourses emerging from them and guiding party competition in selected member states.
- Political-economic consequences of the debt crisis: In this project, we contribute to this issue empirically by analysing whether and to which extent the probability of a political competitor's success (as measured, for instance, by government duration or by the success of oppositional parties in elections) is affected by a country's budgetary situation among other influences (such as unemployment, inflation, etc.). For this purpose, we rely on a large cross section of countries over a time period of more than 30 years. Empirically, we regress the above-mentioned alternative measures of political success on a country's budgetary situation and other controls. In a second step, we perform an empirical thought experiment using the estimated parameters to predict country-wise the probability of political success with regard to the guidelines of the 2010 financial package. This, in turn, enables us to draw some conclusions on the sustainability of the current programmes to consolidate the public budgets.

*How Do National Parliaments Cope with their New Powers? An Austrian Case Study (Sonja Puntscher Riekmann, Andras Dür, Reinhard Heinisch)*

The Treaty of Lisbon offers new and/or enhanced powers to national parliaments in regard to the control of the subsidiarity and proportionality principle as well as to the flexibility clause and treaty revision. Some authors have dubbed it the 'Treaty of Parliaments' (Brok/Selmayr 2008). It is, however, unclear how national parliaments will handle these 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. In particular, what could be the legal and the political effects of the legislative proposal on the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty (Austrian Parliament, Antrag 978/A XXIV GP, 24 February 2010). 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). Research design and results could be used for envisaging a larger scale comparative project.

*The ambiguous Concept of Solidarity in EU-Law: legal duty or moral orientation (Sonja Puntscher Riekmann, Kirsten Schmalenbach, Doris Wydra)*

Within this project the EU's principle of solidarity will be put to a test from a legal and a political perspective. The principle of solidarity, all too often called for in word alone, was put to test when Europe struggled with the debt crisis. However, the legal value of the Treaty's references to solidarity as well as its relation to other principles such as the principle of loyalty (Article 4 para. 3 TEU) is far from clear. With respect to the political implications of the principle of solidarity the project will analyse specific policy programmes and decisions of the Union. A solidarity basing solely on economic criteria may thus not be enough if the expectations for economic development can no longer be fulfilled and problems of legitimacy might produce new concepts of differentiation. The European Union has the potential to extend solidarity beyond the nation state though the mobilizing potential of grand institutional ideas seems limited. But as many examples of democracy in deeply divided societies show, problem solution and political co-ordination are hard tasks to achieve when particular group interests (and in the European context 'state interests') interfere and are only in a limited way open to compromise. The assumption is that solidarity will become an important principle when concrete interests are at stake. This, so the hypothesis, holds especially true for the 'financial stabilisation mechanism' where the general interest of stabilising the financial market was combined with the more specific interest of saving non-Greek banks involved in the Greek crisis.

### **Belgium (Universiteit Ghent)**

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 implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the legal framework of the EU's relations with its neighbouring countries following the introduction of a specific 'neighbourhood clause' in the Treaty on European Union (Article 8 TEU). This has resulted in the publication of the article 'Article 8 TEU: Towards a New Generation of Agreements with the Neighbouring Countries of the European Union?' by Professor Peter Van Elsuwege and Dr. Roman Petrov in *European Law Review* 36(5): 688-703, October 2011. This contribution traces the origins of Article 8 TEU and analyses its objectives and potential application in practice. Professor Van Elsuwege also published an article on 'The Adoption of Targeted Sanctions and the Potential for Inter-Institutional Litigation after Lisbon' in the *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 7(4): 488-499, December 2011. In this article, it is argued that the procedural differences to adopt targeted sanctions in the framework of the EU's counter-terrorism activities (Article. 75 TFEU) and with regard to the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (Article 215 TFEU) increases the potential for inter-institutional litigation.

A collective volume on 'The European Neighbourhood Policy's Challenges', edited by Professor Erwan Lannon, was published in 2012 with Peter Lang Publishers. Professor Inge Govaere has edited a book on 'Trade and Competition Law in the EU and Beyond' together with Professor Reinhard Quick and Professor Marco Bronckers (Edward Elgar, 2011, 512 p.).

Professor Peter Van Elsuwege presented papers on 'The post-Lisbon Interface between the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice and the Common Foreign and Security Policy' and on 'The Principles of Loyalty and Consistency: The Role of the Court of Justice in Ensuring the Unity of the EU's International Representation' at the Lisbon workshops on 'Governance Changes in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice after Lisbon' and 'EU International Representation in International Contexts: Reform Practices after Lisbon' respectively.

Research on the Lisbon Treaty is also an essential aspect of ongoing PhD projects regarding inter alia the position of agencies in the EU's institutional framework (Merijn Chamon); the delimitation of EU development and security competences (Hans Merket) and the role of rotating presidencies in the EU (Bruno Vandecasteele).

Last but not least, Professor Marc Maresceau acquired a Jean Monnet ad personam chair with a project on 'Enhancing Teaching and Research on EU External Relations Law' whereas Professor Inge Govaere became Jean Monnet Chair in EU legal studies.

### **Croatia (Institute for International Relations)**

The IMO Department for European Integration is devoted to the interdisciplinary research of the European integration process. It focuses 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 EU accession and the role of Croatia as a future member state, are at the centre of research interests. Different aspects of Europe 2020 Strategy are in the research focus, particularly the dimension of industrial relations. Civil security issues are also focus of interest. In addition to scientific research, the Department's activities include the development of an information infrastructure and education in the field of European Studies through its' cooperation with the EU i-Documentation Centre.

The LT area of special interest for IMO was general provisions on the Union's external action (Articles 8, 21-22, TEU). These provisions were examined within the IMO research on perspectives of the EU's neighborhood policy. Within research of the EU Danube Strategy and its implementation in Croatia the IMO research team assessed provisions of the LT focusing on territorial cohesion. Specifically, Articles 174-178 of the TFEU as well as provisions of the Protocol 28 on economic, social and territorial cohesion have been of interest. Members of the research team in their work also focused on the EU's EEAS (Article 27, TEU), European social dialogue (Articles 151-161 of the TFEU) civil protection and security (Article 196. TFEU) as well as consumer protection (Article 169 TFEU).

The IMO European Integration Department has been involved in implementation of the following projects relevant to the LT:

- 'Europe 2020 – the Framework for Reforms in the EU and in Croatia', the long term project (2007-2013) financed by Ministry of Science Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.
- 'ANVIL - Analysis of Civil Security Systems in Europe' (FP7-SEC-2011, Theme: SEC-2011.6.1-1 (Analysis of the security systems in Europe)). This project will be implemented between March 2012 and March 2014. It is coordinated by the Research Management AS (RESMAN) from Norway while IMO participates as one of eleven project partners. Project aims to assess the quality of the civil security systems in Europe, both at the level of individual countries and regional security architectures. It seeks to establish a comprehensive and coherent methodology for analysing civil security systems by relying on the fields of crisis management (effectiveness of the system), public administration science (efficiency of the system) and political science (legitimacy of the system) that should result in appropriate indicators for studying civil security systems. The LT aims to facilitate the prevention and protection against natural and man made disasters within the EU. A new legal basis allows EU countries' actions in this field to be supported and operational cooperation to be promoted (Article 196. TFEU).

- ‘The Economic Crisis Impact on Industrial Relations National Systems: Policy Responses as Key Recovery Tools’ (Reference: VP/2011/001, Budget Heading: 04.03 03 01). This project is being implemented in 2012 within programme: Industrial Relations and Social Dialogue, DG for Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion, European Commission. The project coordinator is Centre for Economic Development, Sofia while IMO participates as one of the six project partners. The project involves research, intermediation and communication activities which are targeted to analyse the implications of the global economic crisis on the national industrial relations systems. The idea is to develop policy recommendations in European and comparative terms how national industrial relations systems can be further improved and integrated into the European social dialogue. This project has been inspired by the LT Article 151-161 of the TFEU which confirm the role of social partners and enhance the social dialogue.<sup>5</sup>

The IMO European Integration Department recently published the book ‘Croatia and the European Union Membership Advantages and Challenges’. This book published in Croatian and edited by Sanja Tisma, Visnja Samardzija and Kresimir Jurlin, is the result of work of IMO’s scientists and external collaborators. The book tries to answer the questions on what are the advantages, possible disadvantages or the key challenges of membership in the EU. Innovations introduced by the LT have particularly been examined in chapters on institutional aspects, European citizenship and on the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy.

The IMO researchers Sanja Tisma, Anamarija Farkas, Sanja Malekovic, Ana-Maria Boromisa and Andrea Ruk recently published a paper ‘A Small, Green Competitive Economy - Croatia’s Road to the EU’ in the proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Symposium on Environmental Management, Towards Sustainable Technologies, held in Zagreb in October 2011. The paper presents basic findings of the analysis of small and medium enterprises in Croatia in terms of the impact of their activities on the environment and nature. The LT sets out clear definitions, reinforcing the EU’s action in the fields of sustainable development and environmental protection, which was acknowledged in the analysis.

The IMO researcher Ana-Maria Boromisa published the book in Croatian ‘Strategic Decisions for the Future of Energy Sector in Croatia’. This book evaluates the energy policy in Croatia, which is determined by the process of EU accession and the new treatment of the energy policy within the LT. It gives recommendations for formulation of the future oriented energy policy in Croatia.

### **Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)**

The EU-related research at DIIS is mainly focused on the EU’s external relations. This is both in terms of the regular Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Neighbourhood Policies, EU-NATO relations as well as the study of enlargement policies and migration issues.

Consequently, the innovations introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon that are of special interest to DIIS are those pertaining to the EU foreign policy (Article 23-55 TEU) as well as those concerning the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (Article 67-89 TFEU).

Recently, DIIS has produced the following publications in relation to the Lisbon Treaty:

- Brønden, Birgitte Mossin/ Roderick, Parkes (2011): ‘The Rocky Road from Empty Prescriptions to Meaningful Policy: Four Imperatives for a Better Immigration and Asylum

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<sup>5</sup> Additional information available at: <http://www.imo.hr/node/1474>

Policy', in: *Think global – Act European: The Contribution of 16 European Think Tanks to the Polish, Danish, and Cypriot Trio Presidency of the European Union*.

- Christoffersen, Julie Herschend/ Bartovic, Vladimir/ Král, David/ Memisevic, Tija/ Slavikova, Eliska (2011): 'The EU enlargement to the Western Balkans: Time to put conditionality first again', in: *Think global – Act European: The Contribution of 16 European Think Tanks to the Polish, Danish, and Cypriot Trio Presidency of the European Union*.
- Nielsen, Julie Hassing (2011): 'The Citizens' Initiative: A Participatory Cure for Europe?', in: *Think global – Act European: The Contribution of 16 European Think Tanks to the Polish, Danish, and Cypriot Trio Presidency of the European Union*.

### **Finland (University of Tampere)**

The University's School of Management concentrates on EU politics and institutions, EU external relations with a special accent on EU-Russia relations, EU energy policy and EU law. While the Lisbon Treaty's institutional changes can overall be regarded as being quite modest, perhaps the one somewhat outstanding case of interest vis-à-vis research is the creation of the EU External Action Service.

In the University relevant large research projects are underway on 'Energy Policy in European Integration' (funded by the Academy of Finland, leader Jean Monnet Professor Pami Aalto). The project develops a new theoretical model of energy policy integration which facilitates interdisciplinary work on the subject and establishes a division of labour by reducing the complexity of energy policy to a relevant set of primary institutions, each of which is examined in light of different literatures, paying attention both to the social and material dimensions in energy policy integration. Another project is entitled 'Knowledge about the Economy: Analysing and Contextualizing the Construction of the Economy in the EU'. The project examines the construction of economy in the EU in the cross-section of economic sociology, sociology of knowledge and studies on governmentality (funded by the Academy of Finland, leader Professor Risto Heiskala).

There are several studies published by the University's scholars dealing indirectly with aspect of the Lisbon Treaty. Studies with direct relevance on the Lisbon Treaty, written in English, include:

- Raunio, Tapio (2011): 'The Gatekeepers of European Integration? The Functions of National Parliaments in the EU Political System', in: *Journal of European Integration* 33(3), pp. 303-21.
- Raunio, Tapio (2012): 'From the Margins of European Integration to the Guardians of the Treaties? The Role of National Parliaments in the EU', in: Kröger, Sandra/ Dawid, Friedrich (eds.), *The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 175-191.
- Raunio, Tapio/ Wiberg, Matti (2012): 'The Minor Impact of EU Legislation in Finland', in: Brouard, Sylvain/ Costa, Olivier/ König, Thomas (eds.), *The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures : The Empirical Implications of the Delors' Myth in Nine Countries*, New York: Springer, pp. 59-73.

### **Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin)**

The Walter Hallstein-Institute for European Constitutional Law at Humboldt-University Berlin focuses on researching the development of the Treaties of the European Union. Professor Ingolf

Pernice is the director of the institute. Dr. Mattias Wendel, Martin Mlynarski, and Lars Otto, LL.M. are working on the relation between EU and national law, Michael Schwartz on mutual recognition in federal type systems. Closely associated with the Institute is the DFG Research Training Group ‘Multilevel Constitutionalism: European Experiences and global perspectives’. Professor Pernice is as well coordinator of the European Constitutional Law Network (ECLN), which aims at facilitating, encouraging and fostering the ever growing interest in the idea of European Constitutionalism by strengthening the communication and the exchange of ideas with academic partners from the Member or future Member States of the EU, the United States of America and China.

Christoph Möllers is Chair of Public Law and Jurisprudence at the Faculty of Law of Humboldt-University Berlin. Professor Michael Bauer is Chair of Political Science and Administration at the Institute of Social Sciences, Policy and Administration at Humboldt-University Berlin.

#### *Important publications*

- Bauer, Michael (2012, forthcoming): *The European Commission of the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford University Press (with Hussein Kassim, Liesbet Hooghe, John Peterson, Renaud Dehousse and Andrew Thompson).
- Möllers, Christoph/ von Achenbach, Jalena (2011): ‘Die Mitwirkung des Europäischen Parlamentes an der abgeleiteten Rechtsetzung der Europäischen Kommission nach dem Lissabonner Vertrag’, in: *Europarecht* 46, pp. 39-60.
- Pernice, Ingolf (2012): ‘International Agreement on a reinforced Economic Union, Legal Opinion’, January 2012, see on [www.whi-berlin.eu](http://www.whi-berlin.eu) the category ‘EU-Reform 2012’.
- Pernice, Ingolf (2011): ‘Motor or Brake for European Policies? Germany’s new role in the EU after the Lisbon-Judgment of its Federal Constitutional Court’, in: Beneyto, José María/ Pernice, Ingolf, *Europe’s Constitutional Challenges in the Light of the Recent Case Law of National Constitutional Courts. Lisbon and Beyond*.
- Pernice, Ingolf (2011): ‘Der Schutz nationaler Identität in der Europäischen Union’, in: *AöR* 136, 185.
- Pernice, Ingolf (2011): ‘Does Europe need a Constitution? Achievements and Challenges after Lisbon’, in: Arnull, A./ Barnard, C./ Dougan, M./ Spaventa, E. (eds.), *A Constitutional Order of States? Essays in EU Law in Honour of Alan Dashwood*, Hart Publishing.
- Schwarz, Michael (2011): ‘Die Menschenwürde als Ende der europäischen Wertegemeinschaft? Eine realistische Perspektive auf das Schutzdefizit nach Article 1 der Grundrechtecharta’, in: *Der Staat* 50, Nr. 4, pp. 533-566.
- Wendel, Mattias (2011): ‘Permeabilität im europäischen Verfassungsrecht. Verfassungsrechtliche Integrationsnormen auf Staats- und Unionsebene im Vergleich’, in: *Schriftenreihe Verfassungsentwicklung in Europa*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 764 + XXXII Seiten incl. Textauswahl staatlichen Europaverfassungsrechts.
- Wendel, Mattias: ‘Lisbon Before the Courts: Comparative Perspectives’, in: *European Constitutional Law Review – EuConst – 2011, Issue 1*, pp. 96–137.

- Wendel, Mattias (forthcoming): 'Multilevel-Constitutionalism and Constitutional Pluralism', in: Avbelj, M./ Komárek, J. (eds.), *Constitutional Pluralism in the European Union and Beyond*, Oxford: Hart, pp. 105-127 (with Franz C. Mayer).

### Germany (Universität 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 2011/12 we contributed on several points of such an explanation (in chronological order):

- Loth, Wilfried (2011): 'Democratizing Europe, Reaching out to the Citizen?', in: *Journal of European Integration History* 17, pp. 5-12 (with Arélie Élisa Gfeller and Matthias Schulz).
- Loth, Wilfried (2011): 'La philosophie politique de Jean Monnet', in: *Une dynamique européenne. Le Comité d'Action pour les États-Unis d'Europe*, Paris, pp. 325-340.
- Loth, Wilfried (2011): 'Willy Brandt, Mikhaïl Gorbatchev et l'unité allemande', in: Wilkens, A. (ed.), *Willy Brandt et l'unité de l'Europe. De l'objectif de la paix aux solidarités nécessaires*, Brussels, pp. 415-435.
- Loth, Wilfried (2011): 'Abschied vom Nationalstaat? Willy Brandt und die europäische Einigung', in: Rother, B. (ed.), *Willy Brandt – Neue Fragen, neue Erkenntnisse*, Bonn, pp. 114-134.
- Loth, Wilfried (2011): 'Altiero Spinelli e l'Europa-Union: un disaccordo di strategie', in: Preda, D. (ed.), *Altiero Spinelli e i movimenti per l'unità europea*, Padova, pp. 51-66.
- Loth, Wilfried (2011): 'Kreativ, vor allem in der Buchführung. Wie Athen in die Eurozone gelangte und Berlin seinen Widerstand aufgab', in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* Nr. 37D, 18.9.2011, p. 11.
- Bajon, Philip (2011): 'De Gaulle finds his 'Master'. Gerhard Schröder's 'Fairly Audacious Politics' in the European Crisis of 1965-66', in: *Journal of European Integration History* 17 pp. 253-269.
- Bajon, Philip (2012): 'Europapolitik 'am Abgrund'. Die Krise des 'leeren Stuhls' 1965-66', Stuttgart.
- Hiepel, Claudia (2011): 'Willy Brandt, la France et l'Europe au temps de la grande coalition, 1966-1969', in: Wilkens, A. (ed.), *Willy Brandt et l'unité de l'Europe. De l'objectif de la paix aux solidarités nécessaires*, Brussels, pp. 213-230.

Furthermore, the Department organised an international conference on 'European Integration in a Globalizing World 1970-1985' which took place in Essen from the 22<sup>nd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> March 2012. 24 invited speakers from Europe and Asia discussed papers on 'Eastern Europe and the Process of Détente', 'North-South Relations and Development Aid', 'A New Global Actor: Asia', 'The EC and its Neighbouring States', 'Global Economy and the International Monetary System', and 'A New Policy Agenda'.

## Germany (Universität Trier)

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 Constitution and Lisbon Treaty and with broader issues of constitutionalizing 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. Manuel Schmitz) and on the Euro-Atlantic security relations (Dr. Cornelia Frank).

Since September 2011, the chair of Professor Joachim Schild offers the interdisciplinary Jean Monnet teaching module ‘Governance of the Eurozone’ (together with Professor Christian Bauer, Department of Economics, University of Trier). It focuses on the basic features of the Economic and Monetary Union, the empirical record since 1999, and especially on the current crisis problems and possible reforms, also with regard to possible treaty reforms. The project homepage provides a constantly expanding collection of external links to selected EMU-related materials, statistical databases, think tanks and a selection of online publications.

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 (Article 18 TEU), the European External Action Service (Article 27 TEU), the President of the European Council (Article 15 TEU) and Title XXI (TEC) on energy are main areas of research.

### *Important publications*

- Krotz, Ulrich/ Schild, Joachim (2012, forthcoming): *Shaping Europe. 50 Years of Elysée Treaty and Franco-German Embedded Bilateralism*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schild, Joachim (2011): ‘Quel leadership franco-allemand en matière de gouvernance économique européenne?’, in : *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales 2011*. Paris: La documentation Française/Bruylant, pp. 493-510.
- Harmsen, Robert/Schild, Joachim (eds.) (2011): *Debating Europe: The European Parliament Elections 2009 and Beyond*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag.
- Schild, Joachim (2011): ‘20 ans après: La France et l’Allemagne dans la nouvelle Europe’, in: *Regards sur l’économie allemande*, No. 100, spécial 20<sup>e</sup> anniversaire, March 2011, pp. 11-25.
- Schild, Joachim (2010): ‘Pariser Pragmatismus. Französische EU-Vertragsreformpolitik von Amsterdam bis Lissabon’, in: Leïße, O. (ed.), *Die Europäische Union nach dem Vertrag von Lissabon*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 23-41.
- Schild, Joachim (2010): ‘Mission impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU’, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, H. 5, pp. 1367-1390.

## Greece (University of Athens)

IEIP main research is based on the study of the European integration process, on its evolution and on the impact of all EU policies. Special emphasis is given on the environmental policy, on the

democratic deficit, on theorizing the functioning of the Common Foreign and Security Policy as well as on Europeanization of Greece and of the region.<sup>6</sup> The last years, due to the imminent economic crisis, the institutional set up governing the single currency (Euro) as well as the question of the economic governance of the EMU (and lately the fiscal compact) are included in the research of IEIP. Professor P.C. Ioakimidis published a chapter on Greece's European Policy (Greek Foreign and European Policy, 1990-2010 (editor: Professor Yannis Valinakis, I. Sideris Publishing House and Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence, 2011). Professor emeritus Panos Kazakos (ex Director of IEIP and member of IEIP Board) published the book 'After the Memorandum - Economic policy in Greece under international supervision' (Papazisis Publishers, 2011). This book presents an overview of the performance of critical economic and social policy after the 'Memorandum' and under the close supervision of Troika, giving answers to crucial questions. He also wrote a chapter on the Europeanization of financial policy (Europeanisation in the Mediterranean area, editor: N. Maraveyas, Publishers: Nomiki Vivliothiki) and a chapter on the significance of Lisbon Treaty in the book 'Employment as a factor of development' (editor: Rossetos Fakiolas, Papazisis Publishers, 2012). In spring 2011 Napoleon Maraveyas (member of the Board of IEIP edited the volume 'Europeanisation in the Mediterranean area' (publisher: Nomiki Vivliothiki). Assistant Professor Emmanouella Doussis wrote a chapter in the collective volume 'The law of International society' (editors: K. Antonopoulos, K. Magliveras, Publishers: Nomiki Vivliothiki, 2011).

In addition, 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 Ministry.<sup>7</sup> IEIP is monitoring reports of international organizations and the academic literature on issues concerning the Greek economy and the EU Structural Funds.<sup>8</sup> The Lisbon Treaty is indirectly linked to this Scientific Project.

Concerning the Lisbon Treaty, its provisions on external action (High Representative, EEAS) the enhancement of the EP role in the EU decision-making and the new institutional reforms on the Council Presidency (with a special regional interest on Greece) are of special interest for IEIP researchers.

At the end of 2010 Professor P.C. Ioakimidis published his research results to the book 'Treaty of Lisbon: Presentation, Analysis, Evaluation' (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) which is used as a textbook both at the undergraduate and at the postgraduate relevant courses and as a guide for the new EU institutional structure for the interested public. Professor P.C. Ioakimidis also wrote a chapter on the significance of the Lisbon Treaty for the Europeanization of the European Union (Europeanisation in the Mediterranean area, editor: N. Maraveyas, Publishers: Nomiki Vivliothiki). In January 2011 IEIP published on its website the working paper 'The Reforms of the Lisbon Treaty on the Rotating EU

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<sup>6</sup> IEIP Research Project: Integrated solid waste management on the Greek islands, Head of Research Programme: Emmanouella Doussis (Assistant Professor, member of IEIP Academic Board).

<sup>7</sup> Research team: Panos Kazakos, Nikos Koutsiaras, Emmanouella Doussis, Suzannah Verney, George Andreou, Dimitris Katsikas, Zisis Manuzas, Sofia Michalaki, Christos Tsapakides, Kyriakos Filinis  
[http://eep.pspa.uoa.gr/research\\_1/research-projects/ongoing.html](http://eep.pspa.uoa.gr/research_1/research-projects/ongoing.html)

<sup>8</sup> 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.

Presidency: Braking the powers of small member-states in CFSP Affairs?’ (author: Dr. Anna Vallianatou).<sup>9</sup>

The Director of IEIP as well as other members of the Academic Board have permanent columns on newspapers concerning the several partial repercussions of the Lisbon Treaty. IEIP continues the publication of the monthly newsletter ‘European Developments’. This newsletter is published by 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 public sector executives, students and interested public.

### **Hungary (Institute for World Economics)**

At IWE practically all EU countries are being monitored while, in parallel, the main areas of current EU-related research are the following: the crisis of the euro area, the integration performance of the ex-socialist member states, EU external trade, the common agricultural policy, the reform of the EU budget, EU competitiveness issues (R&D&I, human capital, education, the role of the state), infrastructure and energy, European Neighbourhood Policy.

The most important innovations include the institutional changes and the greater competences of the Union in some policy areas such as energy policy cooperation.

The new system of the presidency was highly relevant when IWE was monitoring the Hungarian Council presidency and reported on it (for instance a new division of labour between the High Representative and the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs when managing the Libyan crisis).

The Institute did not run any specific research related to the LT in the reporting period.

### **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’s Bailes main areas of EU-related research include EU external and internal security strategies, EU strengths and weaknesses as a multi-dimensional security actor, CSDP, EU-NATO relations, EU policies on arms control, export control and non-proliferation, EU policies on the defence industry and armaments collaboration, EU enlargement and in particular Iceland’s current entry negotiations; the future of the EEA. The evolution of EU policies and roles in the Arctic and prospective relations between the EU and other institutions and nations in this context. Relevant parts of the Lisbon Treaty include: provisions on CFSP and CSDP, JFS and Civil Protection, Article 222.

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<sup>9</sup> [http://eeep.pspa.uoa.gr/fileadmin/eeep.pspa.uoa.gr/uploads/IEIP\\_Working\\_Papers/WP\\_\\_2010\\_-\\_B0110.pdf](http://eeep.pspa.uoa.gr/fileadmin/eeep.pspa.uoa.gr/uploads/IEIP_Working_Papers/WP__2010_-_B0110.pdf)

During 2011 Professor Bailes chaired a series of expert workshops at the European Policy Centre in Brussels on the potential impact of the EEAS in different areas of EU policy, ranging from those like crisis management where the EEAS has a central role, to others like Migration and Energy where it might be an adjunct or a coordinating force. The results were published in an extensive report by EPC in early 2012, which professor Bailes co-edited and in which she contributed the chapters on arms control and on counter-terrorism.

Professor Bailes also co-edited a conference report published in late 2011 by the Flemish Peace Institute at Brussels on the question of 'Balancing Effectiveness with Responsibility' in the EU's armaments- related policies. She contributed an Afterword on the report's key question of whether there is a contradiction between the EU's arms control and export control goals, and its positive encouragement of an advanced European defence industry.

Professor Bailes worked during winter 2011-12 on a co-authored research article (with a former student' titled "Iceland and the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Challenge or Opportunity?". This includes new empirical research on the way that CSDP and other defence-related EU policies have impacted (or have failed to impact) upon 6 small states who are already members of the Union. The article is designed to be published in the June 2012 issue of the University of Iceland's political studies journal *Stjórnmal og Stjórnsýsla*.

Professor Conrad is mainly interested in democratic theory, postnational and transnational democracy, institutional developments, European identity, European constitutional patriotism, European Citizens' Initiative.

Professor Conrad is working on a research project on the ECI in 2012, funded by the University of Iceland research fund. It focuses on the transnational networks drawn on in (and possibly established for the purpose of) launching European citizens' initiatives. Planned interviews with members of citizens' committees organizing initiatives.

Conrad has published a conceptual article on the ECI (in *Stjórnmal og stjórnsýsla* June 2011). He presented a paper on "The ECI as an Exercise in European Demos Construction" at the ECPR Joint Sessions in Antwerp (April 10-15), workshop on "Re-Defining the Public".

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).

### **Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)**

The most important articles for the IAI research are the following: Article 8 TEU on the European Neighbourhood Policy; Articles 23-46 TEU (specific provisions on the Common Foreign and Security Policy), and in particular: Article 27 on the 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; Article 32 TEU on EU delegations; Article 36 (ex Article 21 TEU) on the consultation power of the European Parliament in CFSP/CSDP and relationship with the High

Representative; Article 41 (ex Article 28 TEU) on administrative budget and urgent financing of CFSP initiatives, stating that preparatory activities not charged to the Union budget should be financed by a start-up fund made up of Member States' contributions; Article 42 (ex Article 17 TEU) on permanent structured cooperation and EU defence clause; Article 43 on the tasks of the CSDP including not only humanitarian, peace-keeping and crisis management tasks, but also disarmament operations, military advice, assistance tasks, post-conflict stabilization; Article 44 on the Council, which may entrust the implementation of a task to a group of Member States that are willing and capable of carrying out it; Article 46 on the procedures of permanent structured cooperation.

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.

All the remaining departments (Transatlantic, Mediterranean and the Middle East, International Economics, Security and Defence) deal, at least indirectly, with EU-related issues. In particular, the Security and Defence Department deals, among other topics, with the institutional and policy developments of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

The Lisbon Treaty innovations that mostly interest IAI are those related to the field of European democracy and institutions, European foreign policy, with a specific focus on the EU policy towards Eastern and Southern neighbours, and to the Common Security and Defence Policy.

#### *EU institutions*

Here follow the projects on this topic concluded in 2011:

(<http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=2&contentid=278#2011>)

- 'Ensuring peace and security in Africa: implementing a new EU-Africa partnership';
- 'The EU as a global actor in the UN reform process';
- 'The Italian parliament and national parliaments after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty'.

Here follow the projects still in progress on the same issue:

([http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=2&contentid=276#in\\_corso](http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=2&contentid=276#in_corso))

- for the EU democratic accountability area: 'How to Enhance European citizens' participation in the European Integration', 'Democratic control of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)';
- for the EU governance area: 'The use of the European External Action Service (EEAS) for European foreign and security policy', 'Future prospects for the EU budget';
- for the EU's global role area: 'The European Union's contribution to the reform of the UN Security Council', 'EU crisis management missions and the role of Italy', 'Strengthening the Africa-EU partnership on peace and security: how to engage African sub-regional organisations and civil society';

- for the Research and Training area: ‘EXACT - ‘Integrated training programme for analysis, assessment and advice on EU external action and its institutional architecture’;
- ‘LISBOAN - Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Network’.

#### *EU policy towards the neighborhood*

Here can be found the projects concluded in 2011:

(<http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=2&contentid=442>)

- ‘EU4Seas: the European Union and sub-regional multilateralism in the European sea basins’;
- ‘MICROCON - Conflicts in the European Neighbourhood’.

Here follow the projects still in progress on the same issue:

([http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=2&contentid=292#in\\_corso](http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=2&contentid=292#in_corso))

- for the EU and conflict resolution area: ‘MEDPRO - Prospective analysis for the Mediterranean region’, ‘CORE - Cultures of governance and conflict resolution in Europe and India’;
- for the EU and multilateralism area: ‘MERCURY - Multilateralism and the European Union in the contemporary global order’, ‘The Arab Spring: social and economic challenges and opportunities’, ‘Azerbaijan, Caucasus and the EU: Towards Close Cooperation?’.

During the last year, IAI has dealt with many of the new issues arising from the post-LT scenario and especially the institutional developments and the political implications of the European sovereign debt crisis. There has been a renewed interest in the difficult path to more European integration, which has found solid grounds in the negotiation and signing of the new Treaties. At the beginning of 2012, IAI has set up a Reflection Group on the possible impact of the new Fiscal Compact Treaty on the process of European integration. The research team will focus on the following topics: the political, policy and institutional impact of the new Treaty; its effectiveness; its relationship with the LT and, more in general, with the whole process of European integration; the possible use of the EU institutions to implement the new Treaty; the democratic accountability of the new Eurozone governance and of the EU system; the contribution of Italy to the new Treaty and to the European integration process. A meeting with the Italian Minister of European Affairs Enzo Moavero Milanesi was held at IAI in February 2012 and the main lines of IAI's research activities on EU-related issues for the following months were outlined.

In the period spanning from June 2011 until April 2012, IAI has published many research and policy papers on EU-related issues, including the following:

#### *EU institutions and foreign policy*

- Matarazzo, Raffaello (ed.) (2011): ‘Democracy in the EU after the Lisbon Treaty’, Rome: Nuova Cultura, September 2011, (IAI research paper; 2).
- Outcome of the seminar ‘The State of Democracy in the EU after the Lisbon Treaty’, organised by IAI, CSF and Notre Europe in Turin, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2010.
- Garavoglia, Matteo (2011): ‘Democracy in Europe: Politicizing Champions for the European Public Sphere’, Rome: Istituto affari internazionali (IAI working paper; 1114).

- Gianniti, Luigi (2011): ‘Il meccanismo di stabilità e la revisione semplificata del Trattato di Lisbona: un’ipoteca tedesca sul processo di integrazione?’, Rome: Istituto affari internazionali (Documenti IAI; 1102).
- Zwagemakers, Fabienne (2012): ‘The EU’s Conditionality Policy: A New Strategy to Achieve Compliance’, Rome: Istituto affari internazionali, January 2012 (IAI Working papers; 1203).
- Weiss, Tomáš/ Mikhelidze, Nona/ Šlosarčík, Ivo (2011): ‘Multilateralism as Envisaged? Assessing European Union’s Engagement in Conflict Resolution in the Neighbourhood’, Edinburgh: MICROCON - University of Edinburgh, November 2011 (MERCURY E-paper; 14).
- Haubrich Seco, Miguel (2011): ‘Decoupling Trade from Politics: The EU and Region-Building in the Andes’, Rome: Istituto affari internazionali, July 2011 (IAI working papers; 1120).
- Balfour, Rosa/ Ojanen, Hanna (2011): ‘Does the European External Action Service Represent a Model for the Challenges of Global Diplomacy?’, Rome: Istituto affari internazionali, June 2011 (IAI working papers; 1117).
- Gross, Eva/ Rotta, Alessandro (2011): ‘The EEAS and the Western Balkans’, Rome: Istituto affari internazionali, June 2011 (IAI working papers; 1115).
- Comelli, Michele/ Matarazzo, Raffaello (2011): ‘Rehashed Commission Delegations or Real Embassies? EU Delegations Post-Lisbon’, Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali, July 2011 (IAI working papers; 1123).

#### *Economic governance*

- Comelli, Michele/ Villafranca, Antonio (eds.) (2012): ‘Il dibattito sulle prospettive dell’Ue e dell’Euro in Germania, Francia, Regno Unito e Spagna’ (‘The debate on the perspectives of the EU and the euro in Germany, France, United Kingdom and Spain’), Rome, Camera dei deputati-Servizio studi-Dipartimento Affari esteri, February 2012 (Approfondimenti / Osservatorio di politica internazionale; 50).
- Tosato, Gian Luigi (2011): ‘La Corte costituzionale tedesca e il futuro dell’euro’ (‘The German Constitutional Court and the future of the Euro’), Rome: Istituto affari internazionali (Documenti Iai; 1111), Article published in AffarInternazionali, 19/09/2011.

### **Italy (LUISS Guido Carli)**

#### *Lap: seminar*

- ‘The EU governance after the Lisbon Treaty’, using Lijphart model of consensual democracy.

#### *Lap: research*

- An interpretative analysis of the EU enlargement process to include Turkey, considering the development of the Turkish political system towards democracy, the monitoring of the respect for human rights, the change and the consequences for EU governance and the international relations sphere;
- The monitoring of the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty in the day to day policy making within leading EU countries.

*Publications*

- De Mucci, Raffaele: *‘La palude della partitocrazia: quale spazio per le eccellenze in politica’*, Rome: Luiss University Press (in corso di stampa).

*Research Center on Public Administration ‘V. BACHELET’: roundtables:*

- ‘Quale classe dirigente pubblica per il bene del Paese’ (‘Which public leadership for the good of the country’), roundtable organised for the presentation of the book ‘I dirigenti pubblici e i nodi del cambiamento. Scenari e prospettive in Italia e in Europa’, Vincenzo Antonelli and Antonio La Spina, LUISS University Press 2010.
- ‘Il diritto amministrativo tra ordinamento nazionale ed ordinamento europeo’ (‘The administrative law between the national and the european law’), roundtable organised for the presentation of the book by Giacinto Della Cananea and Claudio Franchini, ‘I principi dell’amministrazione europea’, Giappichelli, 2010.
- ‘I rapporti tra Stato e Regioni alla prova del diritto europeo’ (‘The european law and the relations between the State and the Regions’), roundtable organised for the presentation of the book by Paolo Zuddas, ‘L’influenza del diritto dell’Unione europea sul riparto di competenze legislative tra Stato e Regioni’, CEDAM, 2010.

*Research Center on Public Administration ‘V. BACHELET’: seminar*

- ‘L’intercomunalità in Italia ed Europa’ on the 30<sup>th</sup> May 2011, international meeting organised in cooperation with The Scuola Superiore della Pubblica Amministrazione Locale within the research project ‘Fenomeno e forme dell’intercomunalità in Europa tra piccoli comuni’.

*Research Center on Public Administration ‘V. BACHELET’: research*

The research centre on public administration ‘V. Bachelet’ developed a research on the theme ‘Fenomeno e forme dell’intercomunalità in Europa tra piccoli comuni’.

The main area of EU-related research concerns the impact and the consequences of the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty on the Italian and the European public administrations. The most interesting innovation is the introduction of the administrative cooperation.

*Research Center on Public Administration ‘V. BACHELET’: publications*

- Antonelli, V./ D’Aristotile, E/ Paolini, C. (2011): *‘Le autonomie locali e l’Europa’*, in: *Guida 2012 per le autonomie locali*, Bergamo, pp. 139-192.
- Antonelli, V. (2010): ‘Consigli regionali e Unione europea’, in: Il Filangeri. Quaderno 2009, Napoli, pp. 235-262.

*Center for Studies on Parliament: workshop*

- ‘National Parliaments in the European Union: What Kind of Role in What Kind of Europe?’

*Center for Studies on Parliament: seminar*

- ‘National Constitutions in the European Union: An Essential Foundation or Merely An Element?’

## Lithuania (Vilnius University)

### *Main area of EU-related research*

In 2009 the Council of IIRPS decided on five broad researches priority areas for forthcoming years. Two of those areas are EU-related: ‘Development of the EU after the Treaty of Lisbon: problems of economic integration, political consolidation and external relations’ and ‘Process of public policy and development of public administration in Lithuania after the EU enlargement’.

### *Research projects with relevance to the Treaty of Lisbon*

One of the projects currently carried out by the IIRPS has the most obvious relevance to the Treaty of Lisbon – ‘Vocational training of Lithuanian public servants, representing national interests at the EU level’ (researchers involved: assoc. Professor Klaudijus Maniokas, Professor Ramūnas Vilpišauskas, assoc. Professor Mindaugas Jurkynas, dr. Margarita Šešelgytė). Objective of this project is to improve knowledge, qualifications and expertise on the EU of Lithuanian public servants, as well as to develop skills relevant to representation of national interests at the EU level. 117 training sessions are to be organised during this project and 1200 public servants, later to be involved in Lithuanian EU Presidency in 2013, are to be trained. Legal framework of the EU, based on the Treaty of Lisbon, is one of the central points of these trainings.

### *Publications*

One publication in relevance to the Treaty of Lisbon was published in 2011 by the IIRPS researchers:

- Šešelgytė, Margarita/ Levičiūtė, Indrė (2011): ‘Lisabonos sutarties poveikis ES bendrai saugumo ir gynybos politikai’ (‘Impact of the Treaty of Lisbon on the Common Security and Defence Policy’). Lietuvos metinė strateginė apžvalga 2010-2011. Vilnius : Generolo Jono Žemaičio Lietuvos karo akademija, pp. 95-125.

## Luxembourg (Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman)

The institute pursues basically 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).

Under the direction of the Robert Schuman Centre a Festschrift was published to mark the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of its founder Gilbert Trausch:

- Leider, Jacques P./ Majerus, Jean-Marie/ Schoentgen, Marc/ Polfer, Michel (eds.) (2012): *Du Luxembourg à l'Europe*, Editions Saint-Paul.

In addition to that, the institute 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.)

## Netherlands (University of Groningen)

The main area of our EU related research at the present is related to AFSJ.

Dr. Holzacker continues to be interested in measures directed at increasing the national parliamentary scrutiny of EU matters.

Dr. Holzacker and Dr. Paul Luif, as part of the LISBOAN workpackage on AFSJ, organised a conference in The Hague from the 20<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> October 2011, entitled ‘Governance changes in the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice after the Lisbon Treaty: Internalization within the EU and the member states and externalization in foreign policy’. The first day of the conference took place at the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and the second day at the Dutch parliament, second chamber. High level civil servants spoke at the conference, gave comment on the papers, and participated in the extensive discussion about each paper. This was part of the effort of the LISBOAN network to reach out and engage with practitioners engaged in policy making under the new Lisbon Treaty, and also for us to benefit from their empirical experience to strengthen our academic papers. Opening Remarks of this conference were given by Mr. Melchior Bus, Head of Unit, International Affairs, Ministry of the Interior of the Netherlands, who remained with us the whole afternoon and was very engaged in our discussions between the practitioners and academics. The following papers were presented:

Introduction/Ronald Holzacker and Paul Luif - AFSJ after Lisbon: Internalization and Externalization

- Paper 1/ Stine Andersen: ‘Non-binding peer Review within AFSJ’, commentator: Pim Albers, Ministry of Security & Justice;
- Paper 2/ Luisa Marin: ‘The externalization of undocumented migration controls as a threat for the EU’s constitutional commitment to fundamental human rights? Legal analysis of migrants’ interception operations in the Mediterranean Sea’, commentator: Sander Luijsterburg; Dutch Permanent Representation to the EU; First Secretary Home Affairs;
- Paper 3/ Jeanne Mifsud Bonnici: ‘Redefining the relationship between security, data retention and human rights’, commentator: John Morijn, Ministry of the Interior, Dept. of Constitutional Affairs and Legislation; Dutch National Liaison Officer, EU Fundamental Rights Agency;
- Paper 4 / Sarah Wolff: ‘National Executive-led Agenda – Shaping and Implementing the External Dimension of JHA’;
- Paper 5/ Peter Elsuwege: ‘Interface between AFSJ and CFSP: Legal Constraints to Political Objectives’;
- Paper 6/ Claudia Engelman and Maarten Vink: ‘Asylum – Intergovernmental Exchange of Origin Information’;
- Introduction of PhD research related to AFSJ, Theodore Baird, Danish Institute for International Studies and Roskilde University.

This conference was funded by the LISBOAN network, as well as the funding for staff time provided by our respective universities.

Dr. Holzacker and Dr. Luif prepared a submission to a journal to serve as guest editors for a special issue on the issue of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ). Policy making in this area has increased considerably since the Lisbon Treaty has come into force.

Here are the opening few paragraphs of our submission for a special issue.

‘As the EU has evolved, it has also begun to address policy questions which are closer to the very heart of the state. From cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs, originally conceived as the third pillar of European cooperation, has emerged the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice (AFSJ). A unique aspect of policy in this area is the desire to integrate the internal and external dimensions of this policy area. One of the tensions in this policy area has been balancing the protection of fundamental rights and increasing security.

Many of the developments in the area of AFSJ have been driven by heads of state coming together in European Council meetings: The Hague Programme and the Stockholm Programme have been important to establishing the priorities in this area. Justice issues are also an area where national parliaments have at times played a strong role in scrutinizing developments. With the Lisbon Treaty, the European Commission and in particular the European Parliament play an increasingly important role in setting priorities and overseeing implementation. While we are interested in developments at the EU level, we believe that more research needs to look at the impact which the EU developments in this area have on policy and governance in the member states as part of the implementation process. These challenges involve also the accession countries and the neighbors of the EU. Thus, the external effects of the changes in EU rules will also be analysed.

This special issue emerged from a call for papers to the LISBOAN network of 67 European universities, a network funded by the EU’s Erasmus programme. What made the conference in The Hague different than most purely academic conferences, was our desire to reach out and also have a dialogue with civil servants in the government on the topics addressed. This was especially fruitful because our focus on AFSJ is at the national level, so having an exchange of ideas with government policy makers had the potential to bring in current controversies in this young field of policy making, and to gain insights typically shielded from academic scrutiny. Certainly the insights shared triggered theoretical concepts from political science, such as spill-over processes from one policy area to another, internal bureaucratic competition between ministries and political sensitivities in the member states to justice and home affairs issues. Our discussions took place the first day at the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, and the second day at the Dutch national parliament (Tweede Kamer).

The first part of this special issue focuses on the institutional relations of policymaking in AFSJ, both within member states and between member states. Thus, here we are interested in national executive control, national parliamentary scrutiny and peer review across the member states with regard to AFSJ. The second part focuses on specific policy areas which are part of AFSJ. Here we begin with two papers which highlight the tension found in this policy area between security and human or fundamental rights, the first related to data retention and the second policing external borders. The final two papers are concerned with data exchange between European countries (under the Pruem Treaty) and transatlantically with the US, and the interface between AFSJ and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).’

### **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. For example, Minna van Gerven (Sociology) is currently involved in research on Europeanization of social policies (through the open method of coordination and the structural/cohesion funds), particularly on the European social funds. Shawn Donnelly (Economics) is involved in several collaborative research projects on changes in economic

governance after the financial crisis. Nico Groenendijk (Economics) and Andreas Warntjen (Politics) attended a conference on ‘The European Union after Lisbon’, the contributions to which are now being published in an edited volume.

*Selected UT Publications on European Governance (post-Lisbon):*

- Chowdhury, Nuper/ Wessel, Ramses (2012): ‘Conceptualizing Multilevel Regulation in the EU: A Legal Translation of Multilevel Governance?’, in: *European Law Journal*, No. 3.
- Donnelly, Shawn (2011): ‘The Regimes of Financial Market Regulation in Europe’, in: *European Financial Review*, October issue.
- Donnelly, Shawn (2011): ‘The Public Interest and the Economy in Europe in the Wake of the Financial Crisis’, in: *European Political Science*, Vol. 10.
- Gerven, Minna van/ Ossewaarde, Marinus (2011): ‘The Welfare State’s Making of Cosmopolitan Europe’, in: *European Societies*.
- Groenendijk, Nico (2012): ‘Enhanced cooperation under the Lisbon Treaty’, in: von Dosenrode, S. (ed.), *The European Union after Lisbon: Polity, Politics, Policy*, Ashgate.
- Warntjen, Andreas (2012): ‘Designing Legislative Institutions’, in: von Dosenrode, S. (ed.), *The European Union after Lisbon: Polity, Politics, Policy*, Ashgate.
- Wessel, Ramses (2011): ‘Initiative and Voting in Common Foreign and Security Policy: The New Lisbon Rules in Historical Perspective’, in: Blanke, H.-J./ Mangiameli, S. (eds.), *The European Union after Lisbon: Constitutional Basis, Economic Order and External Action*, Heidelberg/New York: Springer.
- Wessel, Ramses/ den Hertogh (2012): ‘EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy: A Competence-Responsibility Gap?’, in: Evans, M./ Koutrakos, P. (eds.), *International Responsibility: EU and International Perspectives*, Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Wessel, Ramses/ Blockmans, Steven (eds.) (2012): *The Influence of International Organizations on the European Union: The EU as an Autonomous Legal Order?*, The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.

## **Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)**

Major field of activities of the European Institute included Lisbon embraced:

- Treaty of Lisbon impact on the Foreign and Security policy;
- Cohesion policy and its future;
- Presidency under the Lisbon Treaty.

And thus:

- Maria Celina Blaszczyk researched the question of Treaty provisions for the new shape of the Foreign and Security policy of the EU within the own research framework.
- Maria Karasinska-Fendler and Anna Jedrzejewska researched the question of presidency under the Lisbon Treaty provisions within own research framework.

- Monika Slupinska-Maj in the reporting period has realized a joint research project on the 'Future of the EU cohesion policy within the period 2014-2020', under the financial framework of grants offered by the National Centre of Science (Polish budget expenditure).
- Mariusz Wypych researched the dilemmas of regional policy of the EU.

Research results are immediately implemented into teaching programmes. Publications will come later during the current and next academic years.

### **Romania (European Institute of Romania)**

The various units of the European Institute of Romania deal in different degrees with EU-related issues. The Training unit organises training courses for a large audience, both professional and academic, on different issues pertaining to European affairs. The Studies and Analyses unit conducts on a rather constant basis effective research dealing with the Treaty of Lisbon areas, elaborating independent analyses and research papers or by subcontracting the conduct of such research projects by independent teams of experts (as part of the Strategy and Policy Studies project – SPOS). The recent topics tackled in the SPOS project are diversified and include: energy, financial issues, migration and immigration issues, etc.

Examples of independent papers, academic or policy-oriented, elaborated at the level of the Studies and Analysis unit deal with issues like political and regional cooperation, EU's foreign policy, enlargement and neighbourhood policy, transatlantic relations and EU relations with Russia.

The main changes brought by the LT and tackled in the research work of EIR pertain to the area of external action (please see the research papers and articles above).

The Studies and Analyses unit conducted in the period May-June 2011 a research project exploring the potential for regional bilateral cooperation between Romania and Poland ahead of the Polish EU Presidency. The paper, elaborated by Agnes Nicolescu (acting head of EIR's Studies and analysis unit), Gabriel Szekely (independent expert) and Jan Piekło (Director of PAUCI Foundation, Warsaw) was published in July 2011 raised a few issues relevant for the LT, from a comparative perspective: energy and security issues, the dynamics of transatlantic relations and the impact of the economic and financial turmoil upon the policy choices of the two EU member states. The paper can be accessed at: [http://www.ier.ro/documente/working\\_papers/WP\\_30\\_WEBSITE.pdf](http://www.ier.ro/documente/working_papers/WP_30_WEBSITE.pdf).

- Nicolescu, Agnes (2011): 'Russia's global power status inside BRIC Group. How can the EU deal with Russia's growth aspirations?' at 'New Frontiers in European Studies' conference, 29<sup>th</sup> June- 1<sup>st</sup> July 2011, Surrey University, Guildford, UK, available at: [http://www.uacesstudentforum.org/pdf/new\\_frontiers\\_papers/nicolescu.pdf](http://www.uacesstudentforum.org/pdf/new_frontiers_papers/nicolescu.pdf)

Abstract: Against a background in which the international order is increasingly a multi-polar one, the EU faces the difficult task of maintaining its relevance as a coherent geopolitical actor and at the same time, figuring out whether it can any longer do that in the context of a decreasing US involvement in Europe. We are facing in fact a revival of MacKinder's theory of the Heartland, in which the stakes for world power is being played between continental powers such as Russia and China, while the influence of the United States is likely to continue to decrease. The rising economic and military strength of Russia and China should be understood in association with the overall increasingly visible profile of BRIC countries. This raises for the EU a challenge as regards finding the proper political and economic instruments to counter the rising Russian profile, and - as a solution to this particular problem

- engage politically China in order to achieve this goal. The EU is more likely to cooperate with China, given its failure so far to extend its cooperation with Russia to sectors other than economy. However, Russia has considerably consolidated its economic and political dialogue with China over the recent years

- Nicolescu, Agnes (2011): 'EU's role in crisis management in Northern Africa', [presented at the 'Trans-border regional Cooperation – tool for consolidating European Security' seminar, 17 May 2011], 'Strategic impact', 2/2011, National Defense University of Bucharest.
- Nicolescu, Agnes (2011): 'Romanian MP's push for a greater post-Lisbon EU role', Europe's World, summer 2011, no. 18.

### **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.

Between the innovations introduced by the LT, 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' (Article 1, paragraphs 23-50).

In February 2012, the master students enrolled in the second year of the master's programme entitled European Economic Relations, coordinated by Professor Dr. Mihai Berinde, have published the impact study entitled 'Studiu privind modul de percepție a procesului de aderare a României la Uniunea Europeană de către cetățenii județului Bihor' ('Study regarding the way in which the citizens of the Bihor County perceive the Romania's EU membership'), Oradea University Press, Oradea, 2012 (Berinde, Mihai, coordinator; authors: Budau, Alexandra-Natalia/ Popovici, Monica-Delia/ Coda, Mihaela/ Pop, Zsuzsa/ Patcas, Cristian/ Gorgan, Raluca Geanina/ Horga, Adina-Georgiana).

Also, as before mentioned, in June 2011 and December 2011, we have published the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Issues of the Scientific Journal entitled 'Analele Universității din Oradea – Secțiunea Științe Economice' – Tom XX, 2011, ISSN: 1582-5450, Oradea University Press, 2011 (please, visit: <http://anale.steconomieoradea.ro/en/journal-presentation/>), where more scientific papers focusing on research results on LT were published (please, visit: <http://anale.steconomieoradea.ro/en/journal-archive/>).

### **Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)**

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

The general provisions on EU External Action and Common Foreign and Security Policy are of special interest to the University of Ljubljana.

- Kajnč, Sabina/ Svetličič, Marjan (2010): 'What it takes to run an EU presidency: study of competences in Slovenia's public administration zi', in: Halduskultuur 11 (1), pp. 84-109.

- Šabič, Zlatko (2010): 'Public support taken for granted: the Slovenian EU presidency, the democratic deficit, and the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty', in: *The Czech and Slovenian EU presidencies in a comparative perspective*, pp. 73-90.
- Udovič, Boštjan/ Svetličič, Marjan (2011): 'Trio matters?: the case of Slovene EU Council presidency', A paper presented at the WISC 2010 Conference in Porto, 17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> August. Available at: <http://www.wiscnetwork.org/porto2011/getpaper.php?id=729>.

### 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.

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:

- There grants a special attention to the territorial cohesion, which strengthens this slope of the community cohesion policy.
- 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:

- 'Política de Cooperación al Desarrollo en la Unión Europea VS Política Europea de Vecindad. El proceso EuroMediterráneo', in: *Revista Universitaria Europea*, Ed. AUDESCO-ECSA-España).
- 'Nuevos Recursos para Financiar la Union Europea. Una Cuestion de Nueva Ingenieria Presupuestaria', in: *Revista Universitaria Europea (RUE)*, Ed. AUDESCO-ECSA España.
- 'Crisis and Regional Distribution in the European Union. Considerations of Economic Policy', in: *Journal of Economic Issues*, EE.UU.

It is necessary to emphasize the participation of the Chair Jean Monnet, through his holder Dr. Pablo Podadera, in Annual Meeting in Chicago from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2012, Roots and Implications of the Eurozone Crisis, where there were debated, between others, aspects related to the Treaty of Lisbon and his aptitude to confront the economic and financial crisis of the EU.

### **Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)**

The main area of EU-related research carried out by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs concerns the EU's handling of emerging security issues. This includes research having been conducted on the role of the Union in counterterrorism (both internal and external), the role of the EU in disaster relief (both internal and external),

One innovation introduced by the LT which has been of special interest to researchers at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs has been the role of the so-called Solidarity Clause (Article 222 TFEU). Another one is the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the Committee for Internal Security (COSI). Finally, EU international disaster relief capacities after the LT has also attracted interest from researchers at SIIA.

One project on the Solidarity Clause was completed during the period. This project resulted in one occasional paper and a conference bringing together scholars and practitioners to discuss the potential implications of the new clause. The project was funded by the Swedish Foreign Ministry. Another project focused on whether the EU after the LT needs a new Security Strategy. This project found that such a document would be very helpful in promoting CSFP in general and CSDP in particular. Also this project received its funding from the Swedish MFA.

Research results relevant to the LT appeared in the following publications:

- Rhinard, Mark/ Brattberg, Erik (2012): 'The EU and US as International Actors in Disaster Relief', in: *Bruges Political Research Paper No. 22*, Bruges: College of Europe, January 2012.
- 'The European Security Strategy: Reinvigorate, Revise or Reinvent?'. Policy paper published by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs as *UI Occasional Paper No. 7*, June 2011.
- 'Bridging Turbulent Times: Report on a Survey on the 2009 Swedish Presidency of the European Union' (with Mark Rhinard and Sabina Kajnc). Policy paper published by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs as *UI Occasional Paper No. 6.*, May 2011.

### **Turkey (Sabanci University)**

The main areas of EU-related research at 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, Articles 9-12;
- Title 4 - Provisions on enhanced cooperation Article 20;
- Articles 205, 208-214 and the Solidarity Clause Article 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.

### 3. Current Academic and Political Debates on the Treaty of Lisbon

3.1) Guide questions:

3.1) The following is a (non-exhaustive) list of topical policy issues that have been discussed in the EU community over the past months. Please comment briefly on those where you believe important cross-linkages to the Lisbon Treaty have emerged in the debate in your country.

- a) Financial crisis
- b) EU reaction to the Arab Spring
- c) Immigration and Schengen Area
- d) Energy policy
- e) External action (Eastern Partnership, Russia, Transatlantic, ...)
- f) National Parliaments, Subsidiarity Check, Citizens' Initiative
- g) Enlargement
- h) ...

3.2) Have other academics/institutions in your country produced research results on the LT? Please give a few recommended readings (reference and one sentence why you liked this publication).

#### **Austria (Universität Salzburg)**

The debt crisis and the instrument decided upon on EU-level to tackle it, were a recurrent issue in Austrian parliamentary debates. Especially the opposition stressed that the guarantees given were in breach with the Lisbon Treaty and especially the Freedom Party increasingly pressed for referenda concerning all further guarantees or any amendment to the Treaty of Lisbon. The line of government is that the amendments likely to occur will not lead to a change in fundamental principles of the Austrian constitution, no referendum will be necessary.

Concerning the subsidiarity control in national parliaments, the effectiveness of these principles was put into question by the parliamentary opposition. It was stated that this is no more than 'writing letters to the editor' and only if all letters arrive at the same time (which is highly unlikely) the matter will be reconsidered.

At the end of February 2012 the Austrian parliament passed the law implementing the 'European citizen initiative' for Austria (with the votes of SPÖ, ÖVP and the Green Party). Starting with April 2012 such a citizen initiative can be initiated with 14.250 supporters. Preceding this decision, the constitutional committee in the Austrian parliament has held several debates and expert hearings, where especially the necessity of giving an ID-Number when supporting such an initiative was criticised as posing a special hurdle. The governing parties also urged for a uniform procedure at EU-level. This was also the reason why the Austrian Freedom Party and the BZÖ (Alliance for the Future of Austria) did not support the legislative proposal, as they held it as not being compatible with basic rights (data protection in first place).

#### **Belgium (Universiteit Ghent)**

The public debate in Belgium essentially focused on the implications of the financial crisis and the problems in the eurozone. Specific attention has been devoted to the European Commission's role in the excessive deficit procedure. After Olli Rehn, European Commissioner in charge of Economic and Monetary Affairs and the Euro issued a warning that Belgium might not comply with its duty to get the budget deficit under 3 % of GDP as required under the EU's fiscal rules and asked for additional austerity measures, Paul Magnette, Belgian Minister of Enterprise and Development, openly questioned the Commission's democratic legitimacy to tell countries how to conduct their economic policy. Even though his remarks were quickly countered by Prime Minister Di Rupo and vice-Prime

Minister Van Ackere, who stressed ‘the long pro-European tradition of Belgium, and our interest in maintaining it’, the open discussion about the democratic legitimacy of the EU and the European Commission in particular is rather exceptional in Belgium, which is known for its general pro-European consensus. The discussion also illustrates that despite the innovations introduced with the Treaty of Lisbon, such as the increasing powers of the European Parliament, the citizens’ initiative or the greater involvement of national parliaments in the scrutiny of the subsidiarity principle, the issue of the EU’s democratic legitimacy remains a fundamental challenge.

### **Croatia (Institute for International Relations)**

In the following selection of events organised by other institutions in Zagreb important cross-linkages to the LT have emerged as part of the debate. These events have been organised in the period between closing of accession negotiations between the EU and Croatia (June 2011) and the national referendum on the EU membership (22<sup>nd</sup> January 2012).

#### *Financial crisis*

‘The Euro Crisis, Governance and Social Cohesion: How Much are the European Values Worth’. This round table organised by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation has been held on the 2nd November 2011. Among other issues the panelists discussed the need to make changes to the LT which would allow for a better economic governance of the EU.

#### *Enlargement*

‘Croatia and the EU: What the Workers are Gaining and Loosing’. This conference organised by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Croatia and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung on the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of September 2011 discussed implications of the EU membership in the area of employment and social policy. Among other issues strong emphasis was placed on the EU role in the area of social dialogue after coming into force of the LT.

‘Accession of Croatia into the EU: Limitations of Sovereignty and Affirmation of Statehood’. The conference was organised by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 2011. Within this conference particularities of the LT have been discussed in the presentation about the European citizenship as well as in presentation assessing future of the euro zone.

‘Accession of Croatia to the EU: Challenges and Expectations’. The conference was organised by the European Movement in Croatia on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2012. Among various issues discussed changes in the EU foreign policy after the LT have been assessed.

Among publications researching the LT two in particular should be mentioned:

- Ivan Koprivic, Anamarija Musa and Goranka Lalic have written the book ‘European Administrative Space’ published in January 2012 by the Institute for Public Administration in Zagreb. This detailed study published only in Croatian assesses impact of the EU on development trends within public administrations as well as on policy making in the member states. The book also encompasses analysis of EU institutions after coming to force of the LT.
- The book ‘European Union’ edited by Ljerka Mintas Hodak has been published in 2011 by the publishing house Mate d.o.o. from Zagreb. The book published only in Croatian is a compilation of articles by different authors examining various aspects of Croatian accession to the EU. Several chapters analyse innovations introduced by the LT.

## **Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)**

Generally the EU debate in Denmark is of limited character which also concerns the domestic debate of the Lisbon Treaty. Nevertheless the Danish EU Presidency during the first half of 2012 has provided renewed dynamics to the EU debate including topics like the Fiscal Pact, Tobin tax, and the dispute about the Schengen Agreement.

The agreement on the Fiscal Pact was considered a success for the Danish EU Presidency in the sense that it reached its objective of being a bridge-builder between eight of the non-euro member states and the Eurozone. Furthermore, it has been discussed whether or not the Danish accession of the Fiscal Pact called for a referendum vote. This question was evaluated by legal experts who decided that there was no need for conducting a referendum.

Interestingly, the Fiscal Pact has also raised a debate concerning the balance of power between the national parliaments and the European Commission. The majority in the Danish Parliament who voted in favor of the Fiscal Pact noticed that a consequence of the common financial agreement would be a delegation of power from the national parliaments to the European Commission. In consequence there has been raised a proposal for a supervisory body which gives the national parliaments the opportunity to keep a check on the financial interventions from the European Commission on national fiscal politics. By this means the aim is also to strengthen the democratic legitimacy of the EU which also is an issue of concern.

The Tobin tax debate has also caught a lot of media attention due to the Danish government's clear stand in this matter. In the early stages of negotiations, the Danish Presidency made it clear that there were no willingness to support the proposal of establishing a European Tobin tax. Unless the taxation of financial transactions will be on a global level, the argument is that a European taxation will only result in a relocation of financial activities to areas outside of the European Union. The firm Danish position on the Tobin tax differs from the Danish bridge-building approach of the Fiscal Pact negotiations and the Danish government has been criticized for not playing more of a neutral broker role in the debate.

The Schengen Agreement has also been center of attention in the domestic EU debate. One of the first things the present Danish government did after its commencement in last years fall was to revoke the strengthening of the border control made by the former government. As the current European debate shows the Schengen Agreement is in general under pressure from the influx of refugees from North Africa. Nevertheless the former government's reinforcement of border control was seen as an undue breach of European law and with the primary aim to fulfill the engagement to the Danish right wing and at that time supporting party The Danish Peoples Party. The initiative was met with criticism on both national and European level. Both in terms of national politics and in the light of the Danish opt-in on the Schengen Agreement the present government has abrogated the enhanced effect of the border control.

Last but not least the Danish Presidency has put green growth on their agenda and is aiming to successfully negotiate the Energy Efficiency Directive in place. Unfortunately there doesn't seem to be a common European endorsement on the high ambitions on energy efficiency as raised by the Danish Presidency, but despite the outcome of the policy making green growth has been promoted by the Danish Presidency on both national and European level.

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

*University of Copenhagen*

- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca (2011): 'The EU's Diplomatic Service: Inventing a New Foreign Policy Elite', in: Niilo, Kauppi/ Rask, Madsen Mikael (eds.), *Transnational Power Elites: The New Professionals of Governance, Law and Security*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Grøn, Caroline/ Wivel, Ander (2011): 'Maximizing Influence in the European Union after the Lisbon Treaty: From Small State Policy to Smart State Strategy', in: *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 33, no. 5, pp. 523-539.

*University of Roskilde and Copenhagen Business School*

- Borrás, Susana/ Ejrnæs, Anders (2011): 'The legitimacy of new modes of governance in the EU: Studying national stakeholders' support', in: *European Union Politics*, Vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 107-126.

**Finland (University of Tampere)**

In Finland the financial crisis has been by far the most often commented occasion where cross-linkages to the Lisbon Treaty have emerged. In this connection the expert debate has concerned the relative lack of political and economic Union to support the monetary Union or the euro currency's plight. This imbalance in the institutional design, and the consequent violation of the euro area rules for financial and budgetary policy in the absence of an obligation to comply, or no penalties for non-compliance, has widely been seen as the reason for the uncontrolled rise in sovereign debt in several EU member states in the past decade or so. Particular attention in Finland's more political debates have been assigned to allegedly irresponsible budgeting and borrowing in southern member states across several years, when the interest rates of their loans have now shot up and some of which have received emergency funding or 'bail-out' packages.

In the Finnish expert debate Finland's situation has been highlighted as a country still possessing the AAA credit ratings, and therefore a model state that should not unnecessarily suffer from the ill financial discipline of others. While such argumentation has been heard across the political spectrum, an important line in the Finnish debate has concerned the widely perceived need to limit the country's responsibilities in the bail-out packages to the southerners, enforce austerity and expand tax collection capacities in these countries – as was done in Finland during its severe recession in the early 1990s. The Centre Party and the populist opposition party of 'the Finns' have called for halting the expansion of Finland's lending and guarantee commitments. In the extreme, it has even been proposed for the country to withdraw from the euro area and possibly form a union with the Swedish *krona* instead. Among the parties of power there seems to be, however, a quiet acceptance of a possible need for a post-Lisbon institutional re-arrangement (probably on an intergovernmental basis). The problem is that due to the strength of eurosceptics in the domestic debate since the election in spring 2011, the population has not been well prepared for any such moves for more integration. The terms of the Europe debate have to a significant extent been defined by the eurosceptic opposition. It is currently very difficult to become popular in Finnish politics by playing a strongly euro-friendly or federalist card.

In energy policy the Lisbon Treaty's shared competences in this area have some ramifications for the debate on the Finnish energy mix. The heavy industry favours nuclear power and suspects the feasibility of the Commission's targets for rising the share of renewables significantly by 2020 and 2050.

Similarly the Union's directive to commit for reducing sulphur emissions from sea vessels into the Baltic Sea has been criticized by the industrial lobbies as endangering their competitiveness in global comparison.

The creation of the EU external service and European foreign policy or enlargement issues have received very little attention in the country during the past year apart from a narrow expert debate.

Studies in other institutions that University of Tampere in Finland include policy papers by the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, such as:

- Behr, Timo (2012): 'Constructing a German Europe? Germany's Europe Debate Revisited', *FIIA Briefing Paper 99/2012*.
- Stocchetti, Marikki (2012): 'Between consensus and confusion: Institutional changes and policy challenges in the EU's development policy Post-Lisbon', *FIIA Briefing Paper 93/2012*.
- Salminen, Janne (2012): 'Legal order free of pillars: European Courts' jurisdiction in the post-Treaty of Lisbon setting', *FIIA Briefing Paper 90/2012*.
- Tiilikainen, Teija (2012): 'The empowered European Parliament: Accommodation to the new functions provided by the Lisbon Treaty', *FIIA Briefing Paper 91/2012*.

In addition, the Centre of Excellence on the Foundations of European Law and Polity at the University of Helsinki contributes regularly studies from a legal perspective.

### **Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin)**

The most discussed policy issue in regard of the Lisbon Treaty was the Financial Crisis and the further development of the stability mechanisms of the European Union. Especially from a German point of view the implementation of fiscal discipline by all Member States of the euro area as well as throughout the European Union was an important topic. Particularly the new Fiscal Compact, formally called 'Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union', drew high attention in public debate. The substance of this Treaty shall be incorporated according the Treaty within 5 years into the legal framework of the European Union. Further more, there was an ongoing discussion about the judgments of the German Federal Constitutional Court concerning the Lisbon Treaty and the subsequent judgment on the euro rescue package. In regard to the judgments there is a discussion about the question of sufficient involvement of the German Parliament into the decision making process of the rescue mechanisms. In the last year there have been several members of the German government as well as other senior politicians in Germany calling for further steps of European integration in order to contribute to a lasting solution of the euro crisis.

#### *Important publications*

- Habermas, Jürgen (2011): *Zur Verfassung Europas*, Berlin.

### **Germany (Universität Duisburg Essen)**

The public debate in Germany was focused on the financial crisis and the policies to prevent a collapse of Greece. The Department of History of the University of Duisburg-Essen contributed to this debate by researching on the establishment of the European Monetary Union and the entrance of Greece in the Euro-zone (see Wilfried Loth : 'Kreativ, vor allem in der Buchführung. Wie Athen in die Eurozone gelangte und Berlin seinen Widerstand aufgab', in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* Nr. 37D, 18.9.2011, p. 11).

The academic debate among historians was mainly focused on the emergence of Europe as a global actor. Further to the conference held in Essen in March 2012 see also the conference report on ‘The international history of European integration in the long 1970s’ in: *Journal of European Integration History* 17 (2011), pp. 333-360, and a volume edited by Antonio Varsori and Guia Migani: *Europe in the International Arena during the 1970s. Entering a Different World*, Brussels 2011.

Furthermore, the *Journal of European Integration* published a special issue on the development of the European Parliament (2011, N° 1).

### **Germany (Universität Trier)**

The Lisbon Treaty’s coming into force in December 2009 initiated a process of institutional reform. The main objectives of the Treaty of Lisbon encompassed the strengthening of the European Union’s (EU) democratic structures, as well as enhancing its weight as a homogeneous actor in the field of International Relations. Furthermore, it introduced major modifications to streamline decision-making procedures. Against this background, this contribution will discuss in brief the perception of the EU’s performance in two of the most prevailing policy fields of the last year: the sovereign debt crisis and the recent revolutionary changes in the Arab World<sup>10</sup>.

#### *The crisis in the euro zone*

What began as a sovereign debt crisis of Greece rapidly expanded to a far-reaching crisis of the euro zone. In Germany, the euro zone crisis is perceived primarily as an intergovernmental issue. Apparently, in the context of the crisis in the euro zone the Lisbon Treaty is not in the centre of attention. The media presentation mainly focuses on the controversial points in the negotiations between government officials of the member states. First and foremost, they are responsible in dealing with the effects of a massive sovereign debt crisis and possible ways of stabilizing the common currency. As further rescue packages, ever greater in scope, were required, a strong Franco-German leadership in terms of designing solutions emerged.<sup>11</sup>

Although not always of the same opinion, France and Germany recognized at last that a strong Franco-German partnership is necessary. In the German media, the influence of Chancellor Angela Merkel is considered to be very strong, even stronger than that of the French President Nicolas Sarkozy.<sup>12</sup> In a simplified view, it can be reduced to the image that Germany, due to contributing the largest part of credits and guarantees among the member states, is assigned to act as a ‘primus inter pares’ in the European Council.

So far the handling of the euro zone crisis displays a dominant intergovernmental mode of crisis management. Among the main supranational EU institutions, only the European Central Bank played a major and decisive role. The European Parliament tries to contribute to solving the euro zone crisis.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, it is unable to act as agenda setter. There is no important decision made without the backing of the Heads of State and Government or the Economic and Financial Affairs Council (Ecofin) respectively the ministers of finance of the euro group.

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<sup>10</sup> Within the limits of this contribution, we will only focus on the Libyan civil war and the Syrian uprising.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Berlin und Paris übernehmen die Führung. Schärfere Kontrolle der nationalen Haushalte geplant / Washington will mitreden, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2011, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, Bei Merkozys unterm Sofa. Es ist wie bei einer guten Ehe. Sie funktioniert, und keiner weiß, warum, 20<sup>th</sup> November 2011, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> For example, the European Parliament offered proposals concerning to the so-called blue bonds, the financial transaction tax and the design of an European Economic Government. For further information: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/topic/623?start=10> [last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

In the long run, the aftermath of this crisis may become a fundamental challenge for the cohesion among the member states.<sup>14</sup> The actions taken so far lead the European Union into a system of joint liability. Furthermore, the obligations of the rescue packages represent an additional economic charge, as the case of Greece illustrates.<sup>15</sup>

### *The change in the Arab World*

The Lisbon Treaty tended to improve the European Union's quality as an actor in the field of external relations. But with regard to foreign affairs, the European Union still lacks a common and audible voice and its many voices still appear to be quite dissonant.

An important innovation came with the post of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, sometimes referred to as the 'EU foreign minister'. Article 18 (2) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) clearly describes the role of the High Representative: 'The High Representative shall conduct the Union's common foreign and security policy. He shall contribute by his proposals to the development of that policy, which he shall carry out as mandated by the Council. The same shall apply to the common security and defence policy.'<sup>16</sup> So far, Catherine Ashton's main tasks appeared to encompass the external representation and the installation of the so-called European External Action Service (EEAS)<sup>17</sup> as the bureaucratic backbone of the EU's capacity in its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

However, the revolutionary events in Northern Africa subjected this new arrangement to a demanding test. The protests and revolutionary events in the Maghreb initiated a rapid process of rethinking among European governments and EU officials in matters of dealing with the regimes and rulers that they have been supporting over a long period. On the part of the European Union, the Maghreb states are of special interest due to their important role as oil exporters and the problem of migration and refugees. Against this background, it is self-evident that the European Union, besides the promotion of human rights, also pursued the aim of regional stability to ensure the own oil supply as well as the protection of the EU external borders in the Mediterranean.

Especially the civil war in Libya posed a challenge for the European Union and its member states. Furthermore, it publicly displayed the discordant positions of the EU member states. The civil war in Libya called for immediate action by the United Nations. On 17<sup>th</sup> March 2011, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1973<sup>18</sup> that legitimized a military intervention by NATO. At this moment, four EU member states were represented in the UN Security Council: France and the United Kingdom as permanent members and Germany and Portugal as non-permanent members. From these four Germany was the only one that abstained during the vote.<sup>19</sup> This disagreement caused a stir in Germany. The media harshly criticized the abstention ('a lowpoint of German statecraft') and worried

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sueddeutsche.de, Folgen der Schuldenkrise. Barroso warnt Europa vor einer Spaltung, 10th November 2011 [<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/folgen-der-schuldenkrise-barroso-warnt-europa-vor-einer-spaltung-1.1185464>, last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Dieter, Heribert/Frind, Annkathrin, Schiffbruch der Troika in Athen. Die Hilfe aus dem Ausland weist Griechenland nicht den Weg aus der Krise [[http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2012A14\\_dtr\\_frind.pdf](http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2012A14_dtr_frind.pdf), last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>16</sup> Cf. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0013:0045:EN:PDF> [last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>17</sup> For further information about the EEAS: <http://www.eeas.europa.eu> [last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>18</sup> Cf. [http://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?Open&DS=S/RES/1973%20\(2011\)&Lang=E&Area=UNDOC](http://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?Open&DS=S/RES/1973%20(2011)&Lang=E&Area=UNDOC) [last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>19</sup> Cf. faz.net, UN-Sicherheitsrat billigt Militäreinsatz. Paris: Luftschläge gegen Libyen in wenigen Stunden, 18<sup>th</sup> March 2011 [<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/arabische-welt/un-sicherheitsrat-billigt-militaereinsatz-paris-luftschlaege-gegen-libyen-in-wenigen-stunden-1612072.html>, last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

about a possible German isolation in foreign affairs.<sup>20</sup> Based on the UN Security Council's resolution, the European Union broadened its restrictive measures against the regime of Muammar al-Gaddafi.<sup>21</sup> But ultimately it was the non-fly zone combined with the airstrikes under the leadership of France and the United Kingdom that led to the collapse of the Gaddafi regime.

In March 2011, anti-government protests emerged in Syria. The regime of Bashar al-Assad answered with violence against civilians.<sup>22</sup> Almost a year later, the local uprising is still going on. The case of Syria shows that restrictive economic instruments, such as sanctions and embargos, count among the EU's main instruments for external action. Since the beginning of the crisis up to the end of March 2012, the EU introduced 13 sets of restrictive measures against the Syrian government. These included for instance an export ban for arms and an import ban on crude oil and petroleum products.<sup>23</sup> But unlike in the case of Libya, the European lead nations, first and foremost France and the United Kingdom, hesitated to take military action. This can be explained with the Chinese and Russian resistance in the UN Security Council and with internal considerations due to the costs and results of the Libyan intervention. Against this background and the underlying self-perception of the EU as a civilian power ('Zivilmacht'<sup>24</sup>), it is obvious that the only remaining option lies in economic and political sanctions. These instruments have to be decided and imposed by the European Council quickly and unanimously. Nevertheless, far-reaching results may not come quickly.

Furthermore, the weight and influence of the High Representative reflect the extent of consensus among the EU member states. As the Arab Spring underlines, the High Representative Catherine Ashton primarily implements Council resolutions without leaving a strong mark as some hoped would be possible on the basis of Lisbon Treaty. Would another incumbent with greater charisma and assertiveness be able to strengthen the role and clout of the HR? Even in the age of the Lisbon Treaty it seems likely that member states will remain the basic actors in the field of foreign policies. Furthermore, the underlying vertical (EU levels vs. member states) and horizontal conflicts (among the various EU-level actors and institutions) still prevail and affect the European Union's capacity to act as a collective actor in international relations. Especially in situations when quick decisions are needed, these structures reach their limits and slow down the process. The implementation of the Lisbon Treaty's innovations did not change these shortcomings so far.

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, Riss durch Europa. Deutschland sperrt sich gegen eine Flugverbotszone über Libyen und stellt sich damit gegen Frankreich und Großbritannien, 16<sup>th</sup> March 2011, p. 9, Sueddeutsche.de, Wie katastrophal die deutsche Diplomatie versagt, 18<sup>th</sup> March 2011 [<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/libyen-unerlauben-intervention-deutsche-diplomatie-katastrophal-versagt-1.1073956>, last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012], Süddeutsche Zeitung, An der Seite von Diktatoren. Der Bundesaußenminister hat Deutschland mit dem Nein zur Flugverbotszone ins Abseits manövriert, 19<sup>th</sup> March 2012, p. 4., Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Isolierung des Systems Westerwelle. Der Außenminister steht im In- und Ausland mit falschen Freunden da, 19<sup>th</sup> March 2011, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/120220.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/120220.pdf) [last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, Der Zorn der Syrer. Tausende gehen auf die Straße, die Regierung in Damaskus greift brutal ein – nun setzen die Stämme ein Ultimatum, 21<sup>st</sup> March 2011, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed overview please see:

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/128379.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/128379.pdf) [last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Dembinski, Matthias, Kein Abschied vom Leitbild 'Zivilmacht'. Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik und die Zukunft Europäischer Außenpolitik, HSKF-Report 12/2002 [<http://www.hsfk.de/downloads/rep1202.pdf>, last accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

*Conclusion*

Both policy fields share a striking similarity: Initiative and leadership mainly came from a rather small group of member states. At the moment, we are witnessing a period dominated by an intergovernmental mode of decision-making. Within the framework of the euro zone crisis and the CFSP, the European Commission and the European Parliament do not exert a major influence so far. This apparent lack of supranational governance may entail risks for the future of the European integration process, as leadership by a small group of member states is acceptable and legitimate only under exceptional circumstances.

**Greece (University of Athens)**

The political and academic debate in Greece is dominated by the crisis and the dramatic economic developments in Greece.

*Financial crisis*

The issues that prevail in all discussions is the reasons that led to the crisis (domestic and European), the repercussions of the financial crisis on everyday life, the adjustments to the crisis, the European response and the several scenarios for the future (in or out the eurozone). As far as the European response to the crisis is concerned, the debate in Greece is dedicated to the the new intergovernmental provisions adopted beyond the context of the Treaty (the EU decisions on the new mechanisms, the temporary European Financial Stability Facility and the European Stability Mechanism and, lately, on the intergovernmental financial compact). The Lisbon Treaty is referred to indirectly due to its lack of instruments for handling the economic crisis and due to the eventual slight changes needed. Therefore, the perception that prevailed in Greece was that the leaders of large member-states, mainly of Germany and France, dominate in EU affairs and formulate the European response to the crisis. The role of the two new positions initiated by the Lisbon Treaty (the President of the European Council and the President of the Eurogroup) in the handling of the financial crisis also emerges in the discussion in Greece but to a lesser extent. The President of the European Council (Herman Van Rompuy) convenes special meetings of the European Council and will be asked to chair eurozone summits in the future. The President of the Eurogroup (Jean Claude Juncker), another post initiated by the Lisbon Treaty (but set up even before its implementation), holds an even less prominent position in the debate.

*Immigration and Schengen Area*

The question of Immigration and Schengen Area prevails in the debate in Greece due to increasing migratory flows. However the debate is mainly confined in domestic politics, with no significant cross-linkages to the Lisbon Treaty. Only the last two months there were references to the Lisbon Treaty and to the possibility given to member states to drive away a country from the Schengen Area (by closing their borders). In Greece, ELIAMEP and the Institute for Migration Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens have research programmes on immigration as well as relevant publications<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> From *ELIAMEP*: Gropas, Ruby/ Triandafyllidou, Anna (2012): 'Migrants and Political Life in Greece: Between Political Patronage and the Search for Inclusion', *South European Society and Politics*, 17:1. & Vogell, Dita/ Triandafyllidou, Anna/ Düve, Franck (2011): 'Irregular Migration From A European Perspective', *International Migration*, Vol. 49 Issue 5 October 2011.

From *E.M.M.E.DIA*: Kontis, Antonios (ed.), 'Work As A Factor Of Development' *EMMEDIA Series for Migration*, Papazisis Publishers 2012 & Newsletter 'Immigration News'.

*Energy Policy*

The energy policy and the issue of energy security in the region has emerged in discussions in Greece under the auspices of several research institutes (ELIAMEP, International Centre for Black Sea Studies- ICBSS etc) mainly focused on the area of Southeast Europe and Black Sea.

*EU reaction to the Arab Spring*

Due to the predominance of the financial crisis, academic discussion did not deal with the EU reaction to the Arab Spring as widely and profoundly as expected, given Greece's geostrategic position. The disappointing reaction of EU to the Arab Spring was interlinked with the role of the High Representative, a new institution of the Lisbon Treaty.

*Control mechanisms*

As far as the new control mechanisms initiated by the Lisbon Treaty, the participation of national parliaments in EU policymaking did not emerge in the debate in Greece. It seems that the Greek Parliament is not as Europeanised as it should. The impact of the Citizens' Initiative<sup>26</sup>, the Lisbon Treaty instrument that will be used from 1 April 2012, was discussed more widely but not on the academic level.

**Hungary (Institute for World Economics)**

The financial crisis actually shed light on the deficiencies of the primary law (TFEU) and the EU institutions in general as regards the EU's capacity to react fast to the crisis and to mitigate the negative impacts of it more efficiently. While some key measures could be adopted on the basis of the LT (for instance the 6-pack) other measures had to be introduced outside the Treaty (for instance Euro Plus Pact, TSCG).

The immediate EU reactions to the Arab Spring were rather facilitated by the LT as the Union could react more coherently to it. However the protracted crisis in parts of the region seems to pose a challenge for the EU.

The LT has shortcomings in terms of tackling immigration challenges in a more integrated way (see the recent refugee problems of Italy and reactions in France). Related political sensitivities cannot be solved by the LT neither (see the protracted veto on Romanian and Bulgarian Schengen membership).

Energy policy is one of the big 'winners' of the LT and actually an unprecedented dynamism of energy policy cooperation was launched by the European Council of February 2011 (during the Hungarian presidency).

External action in general may become more efficient and more visible thanks to the innovations of the LT but this is not widely perceived as such yet.

The subsidiarity control of national parliaments is not being discussed yet by the domestic media. As regards the European Citizens' Initiative there was one topic to be initiated by the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party (on the closure of shops on Sundays) but later it was withdrawn. With the recent adoption of the implementing regulation the Hungarian media did deal with the issue shortly and drew attention of the citizens to this new right.

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<sup>26</sup> According to Article 11 of the treaty, 'not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of member states may take the initiative of inviting the [European] Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the treaties'.

Enlargement has always been among the top priorities of the Hungarian governments, and Hungary has been doing a lot to promote the membership of especially the Western Balkan countries, both before and after the entry into force of the LT. One of the main merits of the LT in this regard is that enlargement becomes easier from the institutional point of view.

No new research projects or publications could be found in the reporting period on the LT.

### **Iceland (University of Iceland)**

There is a considerable EU debate in Iceland related to the accession process. That said, there has been very little discussion about the LT in the last year. It is never mentioned in relation to the financial crisis, the euro, energy policy, immigration and Schengen Area etc. The public is badly informed about the Treaty and the EU in general.

The IIA/ESS and associated academics have tried to do their best in informing the public objectively and encouraging serious debate. Its weekly lecture series is followed by the media and its speakers, mainly academics from abroad, are often quoted in the media.

### **Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)**

It is difficult to think nowadays of a more complex situation for the European affairs debate in Italy. The majority of political parties and social forces are aware of the important decisions to be taken, but their constituencies appear to be reluctant to support big leap forwards towards closer European integration. The EU has played a major role in Italian politics during 2011 and in the first part of 2012 because of the constraining measures imposed to Greece and to other debtor countries, including Italy itself, and its image has suffered among public opinion. As it can be found in the Standard Eurobarometer data for the second half of 2011, the Italian positive perception of the Euro, for example, has decreased from 56% to 53%, while many other indicators (such as the trust in the EU, the belief of an European Union as the best actor to tackle the crisis) have also decreased.

The political debate has revolved around very different issues: the survival of the Euro, the problems with the Italian public debt and the requests coming from the EU, the question of input/output legitimacy of the EU, the democratic issue, Italian role in promoting further integration. As it can be easily seen, few attention is paid to other thorny issues such as EU foreign policy capabilities and external action, partly because of the scarce relevance they have in the domestic daily debate, partly because of the high-level discussion this issue needs.

The main issues deal with the recently signed Treaty, the so-called Fiscal Compact. Just to reconsider the main events during the year, the letter by Trichet and Draghi to the Italian government on the measures to be taken to tackle excessive debt for Italian economy, which was sent in the first days of August to the Italian government and later published by an Italian newspaper<sup>27</sup>, is undoubtedly the turning point of the political debate on Europe. Not only was in that occasion hindered the political power of PM Berlusconi, whose popularity was furthermore affected at the European stage by Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel laughing during a summit, but it was perceived to be also one of the first clear interventions directly into Italian politics by European political leaders. The continuous speeches also by EU officials and EU Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs Olli Rehn<sup>28</sup> in

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27 Here the article on 29 September 2011 by Italian leading newspaper *Corriere della Sera*  
[http://www.corriere.it/economia/11\\_settembre\\_29/sensini\\_documento\\_bce\\_e68f29d6-ea58-11e0-ae06-4da866778017.shtml](http://www.corriere.it/economia/11_settembre_29/sensini_documento_bce_e68f29d6-ea58-11e0-ae06-4da866778017.shtml)

28 Also a blog was created on a very well-known Italian newspaper:  
[http://www.corriere.it/direttasms/perfortunacheolli\\_47/index\\_perfortunacheolli\\_47.shtml](http://www.corriere.it/direttasms/perfortunacheolli_47/index_perfortunacheolli_47.shtml)

November, asking for new economic adjustments, were seen as an intervention by politicians and mainly by Italian Minister of Economy Giulio Tremonti, which had been targeted during the whole crisis for an alleged bad management of Italian economic policy. Italian politics got divided on this issue, between those that saw this as a necessary external constraint to put Italian public accounts in order and those that saw this as an interference in Italy's domestic political affairs.

The government change, with the former European Commissioner Mario Monti being appointed Prime Minister on the 16<sup>th</sup> November 2011, contributed greatly to a shift towards a bit more positive relationship with the European Union, and it was claimed that a former 'Eurocrat' could better solve Italian problems. The new parliamentary majority, a sort of 'große Koalition', including the three main political parties (the center-left Democratic Party, the center-right People of Freedom and the so-called centrist Third Pole) therefore represented an exception with regard to the formally bipolar system, one of the central tenets of the so-called Italy's ill-fated Second Republic). The new government agreed to the measures 'imposed' by the EU in order to reduce the burden of public debt and expenditure.

The debate has therefore revolved mainly around the new financial provisions and the consequences of the establishment of a renewed French and German leadership in the driving seat of the EU decision-making system. The necessity for all European countries to delete or at least to reduce their deficit in a few years were seen by some social and political forces as a symptom of an EU led by Germany<sup>29</sup>. Italy, which had been considered a problem for EU and the eurozone, did in the end undertake the efforts required from her during this year, in order to improve its economic and financial situation and reduce the spread between its national bonds and the German Bund, and is now on the way to recovery. The political reforms upon which the Monti government has embarked upon are part of an attempt to deeply reform a country that has too long avoided taking necessary but painful reforms. They cover labor laws, liberalization of services, liberalization of sectors of public economy and the struggle against corporations lobbying for interests, which are not part of the common good. To sum up, the political debate on the EU institutional issues has a lot in common with the debate taking place in other European countries: most of the centre-left Democratic Party components agree for example with French Socialists<sup>30</sup> on giving the new Treaty a more effective impact on growth and jobs, while trade unions and other political leaders tend to be quite skeptical about the new measures, reflecting a common position by their affiliates. Also the Italy's employers federation, although being in early 2011 a strong supporter of a European federation, has changed its position towards a more balanced one.

There has also been room for a number of appeals by some members of the European Federalist Movement and other personalities calling for more European integration, asking, for example, for the set up of a new Europe-wide Convention drafting a Constitution for the EU. These appeals have been published since October on Italian newspapers, webzine and websites.

Here follow some examples of these appeals:

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29 A great attention has been devoted to the German Chancellor in Italy because of the solutions she has outlined, which seemed to be 'too German' to work in countries that don't have the same political tradition.  
<http://www3.lastampa.it/focus/europa/sezioni/europa-dei-leader/articolo/1stp/439937/>

30 see: [http://www.repubblica.it/politica/2012/03/17/news/bersani\\_il\\_trattato\\_fiscal\\_compact\\_non\\_sufficiente-31709310/](http://www.repubblica.it/politica/2012/03/17/news/bersani_il_trattato_fiscal_compact_non_sufficiente-31709310/)

- appeal by more than 100 German and Italian personalities, October 2011 (<http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/economia/2011-10-11/appello-leuropa-202250.shtml?uuid=AaeDKBCE>),
- appeal by former PM Romano Prodi and Giuliano Amato and economists Alberto Quadrio Curzio and Paolo Savona, November 2011 (<http://archivio-radiocor.ilsole24ore.com/articolo-993775/crisi-fare-presto-bene-l-appello/>),
- appeal by Italian former PM and former vice-Chairman of the European Convention Giuliano Amato, February 2012 ([http://www.corriere.it/opinioni/12\\_febbraio\\_13/amato-roma-berlino-europa\\_25aa9ac8-5634-11e1-b61e-fac7734bea4a.shtml](http://www.corriere.it/opinioni/12_febbraio_13/amato-roma-berlino-europa_25aa9ac8-5634-11e1-b61e-fac7734bea4a.shtml)),
- joint letter by Italian PM Mario Monti and French MEP Sylvie Goulard, February 2012 ([http://www.corriere.it/opinioni/12\\_febbraio\\_15/monti-goulard-vista-corta-danneggia-europa\\_ece29c2e-57b2-11e1-8cd8-b2fbc2e45f9f.shtml](http://www.corriere.it/opinioni/12_febbraio_15/monti-goulard-vista-corta-danneggia-europa_ece29c2e-57b2-11e1-8cd8-b2fbc2e45f9f.shtml)),
- appeal issued on the occasion of Merkel's visit to Italy by former PM Giuliano Amato and personalities from the European Federalist Movement, March 2012 ([http://www.mfe.it/site/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=372%3Acomunicato-stampa-sul-vertice-monti-merkel&catid=40%3Anews&Itemid=37](http://www.mfe.it/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=372%3Acomunicato-stampa-sul-vertice-monti-merkel&catid=40%3Anews&Itemid=37)).

Here are some publications appeared on the IAI's Italian-language webzine, that exemplifies some of the topics most discussed in the academic debate on the new Treaty:

- Puri Purini, Antonio (2012): 'Cosa manca all'Italia nell'Ue', *Affarinternazionali*, 21/02/2012.
- Bonvicini, Gianni (2012): 'Italia ri-fondatrice dell'Ue', *Affarinternazionali*, 13/02/2012.
- Tosato, Gian Luigi (2012): 'Il nuovo trattato europeo e le istituzioni dell'Ue', *Affarinternazionali*, 03/01/2012.
- Tosato, Gian Luigi (2011): 'Qualche riflessione sul nuovo trattato europeo', *Affarinternazionali*, 21/12/2011.
- Rossi, Lucia Serena (2011): 'Quattro opzioni per il futuro dell'Ue', *Affarinternazionali*, 20/12/2011.
- Sarcinelli, Mario (2011): 'Euro, un grande futuro dietro le spalle', *Affarinternazionali*, 10/12/2011.
- Luigi Gianniti (2011): 'Il meccanismo di stabilità e la revisione semplificata del Trattato di Lisbona: un'ipoteca tedesca sul processo di integrazione?', Rome, Istituto affari internazionali, (Documenti IAI ; 1102).

Other publications dealing more specifically on the European architecture of the new economic governance and on the institutional changes of the new Treaty are the outcome of a seminar held at the European University Institute in Fiesole (Italy), organised and chaired by Giuseppe Martinico from Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales (CEPC), Madrid (here a link to the full programme: [http://stals.sssup.it/files/workshop\\_eudo\\_institutions-1.pdf](http://stals.sssup.it/files/workshop_eudo_institutions-1.pdf))

The EU reaction towards the Arab Spring has been described at least as weak, and it has implied a rethinking of its own positions for Italy. In May 2011 some members from the Italian government

urged the EU to have a ‘confident support’ towards the evolution of the Arab Spring, meaning that everything should be done in terms of aid and development to ensure future stability for the region. Prime Minister Berlusconi even called for a new Marshall Plan for the North Africa<sup>31</sup> during the Deauville G 8. Italian approach towards the Arab Spring has been somewhat rooted in the previous close relationship with Libya, generating a particular situation for the country. Not only the government has lost close allies (as the Gaddafis were before the revolution), but it had to reconsider its own policy in Libya. Moreover, the issue of illegal immigration and the prospected massive illegal immigration by Sub-saharan people sailing from the coast of Libya has been exploited by the anti-immigration party Northern League, that has strongly criticized the EU’s approach<sup>32</sup>.

The Eastern partnership and the European Union policy towards its Eastern neighborhood have been less important for the daily debate, also in consideration of Italy’s Russia-first policy. In fact, Russia has been a very important partner since Putin came to power in 2000, becoming one of Italy's best allies in the international scenario. In the field of energy policy, for example, there have been major achievements but also critics from the public opinion, because of the close relationships between Gazprom and ENI, the major energy suppliers in the two countries.

Italy has continued to be a strong support of enlarging the EU to Turkey and to the Balkans and it supported the decision to give Serbia the candidate status.

The Adriatic-Ionic Initiative, which is an attempt to coalesce by Adriatic Sea countries around common regional aims, has seen during the last year a possible relaunch. The transatlantic perspective has continued to be important, even though it has not made the headlines, as it was the case in previous years.

### **Italy (LUISS Guido Carli)**

The Italian constitutional order provides the parliamentary vote as ratification procedure for international treaties. The Lisbon Treaty has been ratified by the Italian Parliament in July 2008. In particular, the Senato della Repubblica (Italy’s upper House) unanimously approved it on 23<sup>rd</sup> July. The Camera dei Deputati (Italy’s lower House) approved the treaty unanimously too on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2008. Neither senators nor deputies voted against the treaty. Italian political parties and parliamentary caucus didn’t give raise to a long-standing critical debate on the Treaty.

Anti-crisis measures and frame-work solutions provided by the EU2020 Strategy represent a remarkable example of a matter strictly linked to the previous coming into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, so as to better improve the pro-integration agenda and decision-making in the enlarged EU.

- Bassanini F., Tiberi G. (2010): ‘Le nuove istituzioni europee: commento al Trattato di Lisbona’. Quaderni di Astrid.
- Il ruolo dei Parlamenti nazionali nel Trattato di Lisbona, Documentazioni per le Commissioni, Camera dei Deputati, 2010
- Griller S., Ziller J. (2008): ‘The Lisbon treaty : EU constitutionalism without a constitutional treaty?’, New York, Springer.

31 See at: [http://www.corriere.it/politica/11\\_maggio\\_27/frattini-berlusconi-frasi-obama-sofferenza\\_a364b5b2-8843-11e0-9f3b-7863374fa955.shtml](http://www.corriere.it/politica/11_maggio_27/frattini-berlusconi-frasi-obama-sofferenza_a364b5b2-8843-11e0-9f3b-7863374fa955.shtml)

32 As this appeal by the Italian branch of European Council on Refugees and Exiles shows, the issue has been in some respects treated as political both by public opinion and by political forces themselves, <http://www.cir-onlus.org/APPELLOECRECI.pdf>

### **Lithuania (Vilnius University)**

Past months were fruitful in discussions on the EU matters. Topics of the financial crisis and Arab Spring were the soundest. The financial crisis was the most important topic of political and academic debates in Lithuania over the past years. The EU's reaction to the Arab Spring was extensively covered by media and discussed in academic circles but had less attention from Lithuanian politicians.

Despite the fact that context of the Treaty of Lisbon is always somehow present in the discussions on the EU institutional framework and politics no important cross-linkages have emerged. Debates in Lithuania recently rarely concentrate on the Treaty of Lisbon as an independent variable when processes, taking place in the EU, are discussed.

### **Luxembourg (Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman)**

The political debate on European policy is largely dominated by the painful aftermath of the financial and the ongoing sovereign debt crisis. Luxembourg, which has known an average growth rate of about 5 per cent over the last two decades previous to the outbreak of the financial crisis, is in a less comfortable situation since it slipped into recession in 2009. On occasion of the presentation of the BCL<sup>33</sup> - Bulletin on the economic and financial situation of the Grand Duchy in December 2011, the Luxembourg Central Bank governor, Yves Mersch, called for budget and structural adjustments in order to tackle the problem of lasting annual deficits<sup>34</sup> and for reforms related to labour market and competitiveness. Moreover, the decoupling from German growth rates is considered as a major problem although differences are minimal compared to other countries of the Eurozone.

The consolidation of the budget is also at the centre of debate in the Luxembourgish Parliament, where the introduction of the European semester is considered beneficial both for the Eurozone as a whole as well as for the Grand Duchy.<sup>35</sup> According to the Minister of Finance, Luc Frieden, Europe is about to define itself anew, creating a form of economic governance desperately needed. Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker called into memory that he advocated a form of common economic governance already in Maastricht.<sup>36</sup> In line with the Luxembourgish stance to save the Eurozone, the implementation of budgetary control mechanisms in the EU-member states coupled with sanctions to be imposed on countries which do not obey common rules are considered to be essential. However, the possible exclusion of any of the southern Eurozone member states under strain was never discussed amongst the political class, nor was the step-up of national guarantees for the EFSF / ESM a matter of dispute. On the contrary, German reluctance to do so was criticized and seen as a lack of solidarity. The issue of Eurobonds was approved by the Luxembourgish government, when Commission president Barroso unveiled his plan in November 2011.<sup>37</sup>

The management of the Eurozone-crisis is perceived with mixed feelings. Luxembourg is well aware of the importance of the French-German tandem, but criticizes the intergovernmental approach of the 'Merkozy' couple. The president of the Eurogroup, Jean-Claude Juncker, openly asks Berlin and Paris to involve their EU partners in the management of the crisis at an earlier stage. The 2010 meeting between Sarkozy and Merkel in Deauville still in mind, the Luxembourgish Prime Minister is backed by the political class pleading in favor of an enhanced role of the Commission in the economic

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<sup>33</sup> Banque Centrale du Luxembourg

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2011/12/bcl-mersch-bulletin-2011-3/index.html> (retrieved 02.04.2012)

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2011/12/chd-budget2012/index.html> (retrieved 02.04.2012)

<sup>36</sup> Luxemburger Wort, 10.12.2011

<sup>37</sup> Luxemburger Wort, 22.11.2011

governance of the EU.<sup>38</sup> The fiscal pact agreed upon in December 2011 was endorsed by a large majority of the Luxembourgish Members of Parliament. Nonetheless, especially the socialist coalition partner of the Christian Democrats recalled the social consequences of the current austerity policy.

The so-called golden rule will not be incorporated in the Luxembourgish constitution, which would be contrary, according to Juncker, to its ‘philosophy’.<sup>39</sup>

The revolutionary waves of protests occurring in the Arab since December 2010 were followed by the Luxembourgish press with attention. Dissonances between the Anglo-French position and Germany in the UN Security Council over Libya were criticized and seen as a setback for the Common Foreign and Security policy. However, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jean Asselborn, stressed the Union’s capacity to find a common position in this dossier, putting sanctions on the regime, providing for humanitarian aid and urging Gaddafi to relinquish power.<sup>40</sup>

Most recently, Sarkozy’s threat to pull out the Schengen zone was severely criticized both in the Luxembourgish mass media as by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who blamed the French president for anti-Europeanism.<sup>41</sup> Already in June 2011, when France reintroduced border checks in order to control the flux of immigrants coming from northern Africa via Italy, and when Denmark reinstated controls along its borders with Germany and Sweden, the Luxembourgish Minister for employment and immigration, Nicolas Schmit, qualified reinstated widespread controls as a catastrophe.<sup>42</sup>

*Choice of research results on aspects of the LT produced by the University of Luxembourg*

- Dumont, P./ Spreitzer, A. (2012): ‘The Europeanization of domestic legislation in Luxembourg’, in: Brouard, S./ Costa, O./ König, T., (eds), *The Europeanization of Domestic legislatures: The empirical implications of the Delors’ Myth in nine countries*, New York: Springer.
- Ligeti, K. (2011): ‘The European Public Prosecutor’s Office: Which Model?!’, in: Klip, A. (ed), *Substantive Criminal Law of the European Union*, Antwerp: Maklu.

### **Netherlands (University of Groningen)**

There has been considerable debate over the past year about EU related issues, but much of this debate focuses on the domestic implications of these issues. Part of the reason for this is the government composition, where a minority government depends on the implicit support of a populist, extreme right party. The government has often had to rely on other parties in the national parliament for the support of its EU orientated policies, especially the PvdA Labour Party. This became a reason for the PvdA to replace its leader, because the party was increasingly forced to support the government in order for the Netherlands to continue with its EU policies, and the party found it difficult to play its role as an opposition party and present a profile to voters in contrast with the parties in power.

The financial crisis continues to be discussed in the Netherlands, but recent debate has been focused on new cuts to the budget in order to keep the deficit spending within EU guidelines. One of the areas that has suffered a new round of major cuts, is the foreign aid budget. The party of Geert Wilders

<sup>38</sup> Tagbeblatt, 28.9.11

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2012/01/chd-jcj-traite/index.html> (retrieved 29.03.2012)

<sup>40</sup> Lëtzebuenger Gemengen, 29.04.11

<sup>41</sup> tageblatt.lu, 11.03.2012, <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2012/03/schengen-sarkozy-reactions/index.html> (retrieved 02.04.2012)

<sup>42</sup> <http://delano.lu/news/it-would-be-catastrophe> (retrieved 29.03.2012)

continues to put pressure on the county to drastically reduce foreign aid. The American Bill Gates, as head of his foundation focused on development and health issues, has entered into the public debate, asking for the Netherlands to remain a model for giving and aid to developing countries.

Immigration issues at times continue to erupt into the public debate, and anything that Geert Wilders and his far right party says about the issue is widely reported in the press. Nonetheless, other issues, mostly economic issues and budgetary, have become more prominent of late and the immigration issue seems not to have the same saliency as a few years ago.

Finally, the Arab Spring should be mentioned, which continues to receive widespread press attention in the Netherlands, especially Syria. The University of Groningen is pleased that the Dutch embassy in Tunisia is involved in assisting the University in setting up a summer school to take place in Tunisia. This summer school will bring together both Dutch and Tunisian students, and perhaps others from the region, to discuss issues related to democratic transition, civil society, and citizen participation.

The latest development was reported April 23, when the Prime Minister Mark Rutte announced that the government could not agree on budget cuts to comply with EU deficit spending rules. The government said that Geert Wilders would not agree to the proposed changes after many weeks of negotiations. Now the government will become a caretaker government until either mid-July or in the Fall when new elections will be held. There has been opinions expressed in the media that this is a set back to the EU budget rules, because the Netherlands has traditionally been for tight regulations limiting deficit spending and excessive debt build up in the member states.

## **Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)**

### *Institutional changes*

Institutional changes introduced by Lisbon Treaty received a lot of attention, albeit more so in academic circles than in the public. Through an increased use of the co-decision procedure, the treaty has altered the institutional balance between the European institutions: Commission, Council and Parliament (Title 1 Article 2.2). Recently the most important issue raised in the Polish political and academic debate, has been the linkage between the Presidency and the Lisbon Treaty. The key problems in relation to the content of the Treaty referred to: building up of new practices in conducting the presidency in the context of the Lisbon Treaty institutional changes; the practical aspects of the presidency in the EU-27, with a particular importance attached to Polish presidency priorities and 18 months long presidency trio, 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 respect. In Poland, there were five major conference devoted to presidency organised by: Polish Institute of Public Affairs (Warsaw, October 2011), Polish Institute of International Affairs (Warsaw, October 2011), University of Adam Mickiewicz (Poznan, November 2011), Jagiellonian University (Cracow, December 2011), Warsaw University (Warsaw, January 2012).

### *Arab Spring*

The Arab Spring was present in public and private medias but was not substantially further developed within the academic environment, except for some individual researchers coming from: Institute of Public Affairs (1PHD researcher), Institute of Eastern Studies (two PHD researchers), Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Lodz (3 PHD researchers), Centre for European Studies of Jagiellonian University (1 PHD researcher).

*Financial crisis*

As it concerns the financial crisis it is worth mentioning that Poland – despite of the fact of not being member of euro zone - played an important role in the conceptualization of the new financial rules established with the aim to avoid any further crises at the European arena. Three major conferences, devoted to this subject took place in Poland in the reporting period, being organised by: University of Warsaw, Faculty of Economics (Warsaw, October 2011), University of Wroclaw (Wroclaw, November 2011), University of Gdansk, Faculty of Economics and Transport (Gdansk, December 2011).

*Energy*

Within the energy chapter (Title XXI Article 195), during the reporting period, in Poland, a great attention was paid to: feasibility of the Polish adjustments to the EU environment law, seen the great dependence on traditional coal energy source, the building up of a joint EU energy policy, providing substantial differentiation of energy sources, the common approach to the exploitation of European resources of shale gas and to the more general issue of the European energy security in the long run. Three major events were devoted to these issues: ‘Safe energy for Europe’ conference organised in Katowice by AGH Cracow University of Science and Technology (in November 2011), University of Gdansk academic debate on the ‘Future of shale gas sourced energy’ (held in January in Gdansk) and Nicolas Copernicus University in Torun a workshop on the security of exploitation of shale gas resources (December 2011).

*Eastern Partnership and further enlargements*

Eastern Partnership and further enlargements were highly debated subjects within the reporting period. The particular attention was given to democracy issues in the neighbouring countries like Ukraine and Bielarus. Violation of civic rights, limitations of free expression rights, punishment of Julia Timoshenko were vocally present in media and academic debate. Centre for Eastern Studies organised two workshops: one devoted to Ukrainian path to the EU (Warsaw, November 2011) and the second, raising the problem of Bielarus and the situation of Poles living there (Warsaw, December 2011). The Institute of Public Affairs organised a public debate on ‘Further Eastern Enlargements’ in November of 2011. Polish presidency and the Eastern Partnership Summit were excellent occasions to bring the democratic questions to the public daylight, under form of experts debates run by the key public TV channels. Within the reporting period there were at least 18 PHD dissertations linked thematically to the problem (4 in Cracow at the Jagiellonian University, 3 in Warsaw, at the University of Warsaw, 3 in Lodz at the University of Lodz, 1 at the University of Szczecin, 2 at the Academy of Economy in Poznan, 1 at the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan, 3 at the Catholic University of Lublin , 1 at Gdansk University, Faculty of Philosophy).

Other academics/institutions recent and recommended research outcomes and publications:

- Barcz Jan: ‘Traktat z Lizbony. Wybrane aspekty prawne działań implementacyjnych’ LexisNexis Polska, Warsaw 2012. This monograph sums up the full spectrum of necessary implementation efforts to make Lisbon Treaty work in the national legal system.
- Barcz Jan, Kawecka-Wyrzykowska Elzbieta, Michałowska-Gorywoda Krystyna: ‘Integracja europejska w świetle Traktatu z Lizbony. Aspekty ekonomiczne’, PWE, Warsaw 2012. This publication constitutes an outcome of University of Warsaw team research on economic aspects of the Lisbon Treaty.
- Cała-Wacinkiewicz Ewelina: ‘System instytucji Unii Europejskiej z uwzględnieniem postanowień Traktatu Lizbońskiego’ C.H.Beck, Warsaw 2011. The author presents

institutional aspects of Lisbon Treaty on the ground of own author's research. The value added of this book is its legibility for larger public.

- Fiszer Józef M.: 'Parlament Europejski po Traktacie z Lizbony. Doświadczenia i nowe wyzwania', Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warsaw 2011. The author researches the growing role of the European parliament over past decades with the focus on Lisbon Treaty provisions.
- Jesień Leszek: 'Prezydencja Unii Europejskiej. Zinstytucjonalizowana procedura przywództwa politycznego', PISM, Warszawa 2011. This book constitutes an outcome of research on institutional side of political leadership in the European Union, and refers especially to the changed role of presidency within the new European - Lisbon Treaty - legal environment.
- Sozański Jarosław: 'Umowy międzynarodowe Unii Europejskiej po Traktacie z Lizbony', IURIS, Poznań, 2011. This text refers to particular changes introduced by the new treaty to the legal framework of international agreements.
- Sozański Jarosław: 'Prawa człowieka w Unii Europejskiej (po Traktacie Lizbońskim)', IURIS, Poznań 2011. The book concentrates on human rights in the EU, pointing out changes introduced by the new treaty.

### **Romania (European Institute of Romania)**

The ongoing negative impact of the financial crisis has continued to be under close scrutiny in the Romanian media, with a focus on Greece's situation and Germany's efforts to strike the right balance between the need for legitimacy and efficient intervention in Greece's fiscal policy. Greece's impasse has sparked fierce debates both in the political and academia and research circles around the idea whether Romania is better off with signing the Fiscal pact, after adopting the Euro plus pact.

Romania's accession efforts to the Schengen area were widely covered throughout the last year, the predominant view being that the technical conditions are met, which has determined journalists to move the entire debate in the political camp. Many reports were quick to blame exclusively the political class in the Netherlands for Romania's bid to Schengen being delayed, but still there were also references to the need of improving the administrative capacity of the institutions involved in the border management.

As regards the external action dimension, both the media and academic environment became very much interested in analysing the latest sanctions imposed by the EU on Libya, and more recently on Siria and Iran. As regards the Eastern Partnership, a topic which quite dear to Romanian academics and journalists, it got a lot of attention during the Polish presidency of the EU, and especially around the date of the Eastern Partnership summit in Warsaw last autumn.

### **Romania (University of Oradea)**

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

### **Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)**

The financial crisis was treated as a policy issue in two aspects: a) the necessity of (and risks for) Slovenia as a slam economy to support Greek bail-out and b) the necessity, speed and modalities of lowering budget deficit within Maastricht criteria by 2013 as reminded by the European Commission.

Energy policy is put on the table in national policy debate in the context of Thermal Power Plant in Šoštanj and possible Italian gas terminal near Slovenian territorial waters. Once again the obvious lack of the Common Energy Policy of the EU was problematized.

External Action of the EU has been mainly debated with reference to the creation of the EEAS and the recruitment of (national) diplomats to the service, where the disappointment of smaller states with their underrepresentation in the diplomatic service (if compared to some bigger/older EU states) was problematized. The appointment of Samuel Žbogar as the Head of the European Union Office in Kosovo and the European Union Special Representative in Kosovo was seen as an acknowledgment of the Slovenian foreign policy and the experience of Mr. Žbogar, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the region.

Continuous support is given to EU enlargement to Western Balkans.

- Avbelj, Matej (2010): 'The Treaty of Lisbon: an ongoing search for structural equilibrium', in: *The Columbia Journal of European Law* 16 (3): 521–530.
- Nendl, Živa (2010) *Implications of the EU Charter of fundamental rights as an accession criterion: an assessment of certain forms of discrimination*. Bruges: College of Europe.
- Erbežnik, Anže (2010) 'Evropski parlament in kazenskopravni akti EU pred uveljavitvijo Lizbonske pogodbe in po njej', in: *Pravosodni bilten* 31 (4): 101–112.
- Rečnik, Maja (2011): 'Problematika dvostranskih sporazumov o naložbah po uveljavitvi Lizbonske pogodbe', in: *Podjetje in delo: revija za gospodarsko, delovno in socialno pravo* 37 (1): 128–138.

### **Spain (University of Malaga)**

There have becoming 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, of Security and of Cooperation, Euro-American policy, European Neighbourhood Policy, the Union for the Mediterranean and the enlargement of the Union).

The academic and social debate continues providing critical lessons concerning the application of the Treaty of Lisbon, concerning topics as: Agencies of qualification, instruments of rescue, banks, capitalism, systemic crisis, human rights, speculation, and neoliberalism.

From the different Universities, public and private, it has been producing research results of the Treaty of Lisbon in the period of analysis; mentioning some work titles: 'Dotze Lliçons sobre Europa' (Pascal Fontaine); Completely updated and with the incorporations derived from the application of the

Treaty of Lisbon. History, foundations and values; functioning of the institutions, policies, aims and results of the European project, explained of brief and understandable form.

Also one can emphasize the article ‘Parliamentary democracy and the Treaty of Lisbon’ (Enrique Barón Crespo). The mentioned article realizes a good explanation and synthesis of the paper of the Treaty of Lisbon in the reinforcement of the parliamentary democracy of the European Union.

### **Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)**

While there has been a considerable debate on the financial crisis in the EU in Sweden, this debate has not specifically focused on the LT. Rather the debate has been about the role of the ECB and the lack of common fiscal policy in the euro zone.

There has been a debate in Sweden on the role of the new High Commissioner for External Relations and the European External Action Service (EEAS) in coordinating Europe’s response to the Arab Spring. Many articles on the Libya crisis mentioned the lack of agreement on the intervention.

The immigration issue has featured prominently in the Swedish debate, no least following the last election when an anti-immigrant party became part of the national parliament. Similar trends have been observed in other EU countries as well.

The debate has for example revolved around the Nordstream pipeline through the Baltic sea and its environmental and geopolitical consequences, without focusing specifically on the LT.

The debate has paid attention to the attempts of the EU, after the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty, to create strategic partnerships with important rising powers such as Russia. The debate on the Eastern partnership has been mostly negative, with many articles concluding that the EU has failed to actively and effectively engage many of its Eastern neighbors. Regarding the transatlantic relationship, there has been some attention given to the bonds forged between HR Ashton and Secretary Clinton.

The Swedish debate has historically pointed to the potential democratic deficits in the EU constitutional treaty process.

Although enlargement is generally referred to as one of the EU’s great successes, several articles in recent time have pointed to the declining influence of the EU on countries in the East. In general, the debate has also concluded that the EU has failed to actively engage Ukraine and Turkey in recent years.

The Swedish Institute for European policy Studies (SIEPS) have produced several publications relating to the LT. Among these is ‘The European External Action Service: towards a common diplomacy?’.

Publications in Swedish by the Department for Government at Uppsala University include:

- Gustavsson, Sverker (2011): ‘Unionsmedlemskapet som grundlagsproblem’, in: Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift. Vol. 113 (3). pp. 351-374.
- Gustavsson, Sverker (2011): *Överlever EMU utan fiskal union?.* Stockholm; Santérus. pp. 25-55.

The Swedish National Defence College also has a number of publications relating to the EU and the LT, particularly on international security issues and on foreign policy.

## Turkey (Sabanci University)

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

The lack of public debate on the EU and LT is also related to two main developments in Turkey which impact the Turkish perceptions of the European Union:

First, the EU is no longer seen as an attractive magnet for Turkey given the economic crisis in certain countries. Specifically, as Turkey is able to meet the Maastricht convergence criteria much better than some EU members who are already in the Euro zone whereas Turkey's opening of the Chapter on Financial and Economic matters is vetoed by France in 2007, the EU does not seem credible to Turkey.

Second, the EU's inability to open chapters for negotiations where Turkey is fulfilling the EU accession criteria is decreasing the Turkish public's support to EU accession. All in all, the public debate has decreased in Turkey vis-à-vis the EU, let alone the Lisbon Treaty.

One area of specific debate is with respect to immigration. The Turkish public and government officials are extremely skeptical about the EU because of the EU visa policy towards Turks. Prominent business people, academicians, have to wait days to get a visa for entry into Schengen zone and the visas issued are only for a few days whereas countries in the Western Balkans which have not even began accession negotiations have visa free travel. Frequent reports of prominent Turkish people being rejected by the visa officers of the EU member states are constantly reported in the Turkish media. This also harms the EU's image in Turkey. Academicians, business people, prominent citizens are actually trying to change their travel plans to minimize European travel as a result of visa policies of the EU. This is a very significant challenge for the EU to deal with. There are cases where a very famous pianist - Fazil Say who travelled to Germany for a concert was sent back to Turkey even though he had a visa, a very famous novelist Ayse Kulin was denied a visa by the French consulate, and travelers entering the Schengen zone from Turkey –irrespective of their occupation, reputation – complain frequently about not being treated well at the border. This also constituted the main subject of European Stability initiative Report.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The time is now: Changing the EU visa policy on Turkey, 13<sup>th</sup> March, 2012.  
<http://www.esiweb.org/lists/lt.php?id=LUGBAQcIUgwGSFdraUUEBwIKAA%3D%3D>

## 4. Personal Assessment

Guide questions:

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

4.2) What are present trends observable in EU studies?

### **Austria (Universität Salzburg)**

Most striking probably is the fact that the financial crisis, breaking shortly after the Treaty of Lisbon has been concluded and spilling into a sovereign debt crisis just about the time of its entering into force, has sidelined discussion about the effects of the treaty on the constitutional architecture of the European Union, but rather presses for amendments to the existing treaty. Concepts like flexible integration become ever more likely, the concept of solidarity seems to be little more than 'cheap talk'. When following debates in national parliaments but also in public media, it gets visible that even speculations of the break-up of the Union loom large. Distrust prevails in an environment where net payers impose austerity measures on net receivers. And although the role of national parliaments has been considerably strengthened by the Treaty they get more and more sidelined by executives (relying on expert advice) deciding about necessary measures to take. The question remains whether the Treaty of Lisbon provides a sound basis for the solution of legitimacy problems arising out of this debt crisis.

### **Belgium (Universiteit Ghent)**

The Treaty of Lisbon entered into force after a long and difficult period of institutional reform, prepared by the European Convention and slightly adapted after the failed entry into force of the Constitutional Treaty. The aim of this Treaty revision, which formally started with the 2001 Laeken Declaration, was to create a long-term and stable legal and institutional framework for the Union. It is remarkable that within two years after its entry into force, this framework has been supplemented with a new 'Treaty on stability, coordination and governance in the Economic and Monetary Union'. This evolution not only illustrates how quickly legal and political realities can change but also raise interesting academic questions regarding the treaty amendment procedure, the scope for enhanced cooperation and the constitutional foundations of the Union.

### **Croatia (Institute for International Relations)**

The LT's first two years made remarkable changes in the EU functioning by providing legal personality to the EU, by turning the European Council into the official EU institution chaired by the elected President and by establishing the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR), occupying 'double-hatted' position representing both Member States and being the Vice-President of the European Commission. The LT-based establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), being the policy-arm of the HR and the EU-wide diplomatic service, fits into this revamped global EU posture. Essentially, the LT paves the way for a more coherent, credible and successful EU foreign policy at the global scene, that is significant leap forward in articulation and implementation of the EU single stance in political affairs.

Despite the fact that the EU has in the last two years been largely plagued by the economic and euro-crisis, the EU has still been able to exercise its increased and united foreign policy stance. This was particularly seen in imposing the sanctions towards Libya, Syria and in the most recent case against Iran, but also in handling relations with the EU's eastern partners like Ukraine. Although the EEAS establishment does not develop smoothly as envisaged and although EU Member States are still keen

to keep their competences in external relations (UN Security Council behavior being vivid example), the LT is essentially praiseworthy because it offers possibility for the affirmation of single EU posture in political affairs by providing the 'EU phone number'.

The LT adds the aim territorial cohesion as an official policy aim of the EU to the earlier aims of economic and social cohesion. Therefore, it sets the ground for further elaboration of this concept and its practical implementation within the new cohesion policy (2014-2020) and the EU macro-regional strategies.

The trend that could be observed in Croatia can be described as an ever increasing interest in the EU studies. This is evident in changes in existing curriculums and creation of new ones at both under and post graduate level at Croatian universities where topics related to EU studies become more present, an increased number of students in programmes which include the EU studies as well as an increased number of scientific and professional articles dealing with the different topics related to the EU. This trend is to some extent connected with the growing public interest in the EU as Croatia is set to join the Union on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 2013.

### **Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)**

Paradoxically, the general Danish EU debate is scarce. Denmark is one of the few member states which holds opt-outs on the European collaboration which concerns the four issues; Economic and monetary union, the Common Security and Defense Policy, Justice and Home Affairs and the citizenship of the European Union. The Lisbon Treaty has entailed closer cooperation in the fields of the Danish opt-out. In spite of the opt-outs, Denmark has in some areas, for instance Europol, been quite engaged and holds a substantial interest in proceeding the cooperation. In order to do so the government platform states that Denmark in the future will face referendums concerning the opt-outs on CSFP and JHA for which reason a more dynamic EU debate is preferable. Hopefully, the coverage of the Danish EU Presidency in Danish media will contribute to make EU and the Lisbon Treaty more present in the public debate.

### **Finland (University of Tampere)**

The relative demise of EU foreign policy issues on the agenda of the Union has been somewhat surprising given the creation of the External Action Service and its new capacities and competences. The complete inability of jointly and properly responding to the Arab spring – Libya and Syria being the most outstanding cases – is puzzling indeed. We now have on paper a useful service but we lack the political will to do much with it. This is predominantly a question for the member states and the mandates they give to the service.

The present trends in EU studies are somewhat worrying from the point of view of how little interest and expertise there is on the political economy. Most experts are concentrated on areas which now look exotic and even esoteric such as external relations. Also too much research seems to concentrate on the mere functioning of the Union's political institutions instead of examining the impacts of their functioning. A welcome trend is, however, the signs of a relative return to the 'big' integration theory of neo-functionalism in order to pay attention to stealth integration, driven by technical decisions, which may well be what will take place in the context of the financial crisis.

### **Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin)**

It is remarkable that, although the European Parliament and the European Commission were strengthened by the Lisbon Treaty, the European Council appears to have become the major institution within the European framework. The reason for this is of course the euro crisis. However,

one of the major aims of the Lisbon Treaty was to strengthen the community method and by this the democratic legitimacy of the European Union as a whole. Although there is more public interest in the European affairs than ever before, the European Parliament and the European Commission have not managed to draw sufficient attention.

### **Germany (Universität Duisburg Essen)**

It seems necessary to repeat the statement of 2011: The debate on the Lisbon Treaty was overshadowed by the 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. However, the debate on the financial crises showed more substance than in 2010/11. The deficits and problems of EMU were discussed more in depth, even if knowledge of the historical circumstances of its origins is still often missing.

### **Greece (University of Athens)**

The first two years of life of the Lisbon Treaty has been affected by the financial crisis. Especially in Greece, due to the severe aggravation of the economic situation, the debate has been restricted to the decisions of EU on the new financial mechanisms, on the new financial compact and on the preponderance of EU nations (Germany, Finland, France) in formulating these mechanisms. The significance of EU leaders' political élites on the decision making process, compared to the EU institutional setting, seems to gain ground.

EU analysts examine the intergovernmental arrangements and policies set up beyond the Lisbon Treaty. In some cases, EU studies put under consideration the provisions of Lisbon Treaty with some researchers even talking about EU disintegration. Due to euro crisis, EU is looking again the possibility to proceed to some limited changes to the Lisbon Treaty in order to strengthen euro. It is argued that this process of change should take place by making use of all possibilities offered by the Lisbon Treaty in view to improve fiscal discipline and deepen economic union. The lacking of the Lisbon Treaty on economic governance has become more evident than ever, due to the circumstances.

### **Hungary (Institute for World Economics)**

The most surprising issue might be the confusion the EU is still suffering from as regards its representation to the outside world. Namely, the EU can be represented by Herman Van Rompuy, by José Manuel Barroso as well as by Catherine Ashton. Another remarkable shortcoming seems to be the fact that the crisis of the euro area could not be tackled exclusively on the basis of the LT.

It is difficult to describe the present trends in EU studies in Hungary. In general this topic remains important and is usually compulsory in the majority of higher education institutions. A general challenge is however how to keep pace with the recent responses to the euro crisis (6-pack, European Semester, Euro Plus Pact, Fiscal Compact, the ESM Treaty, the 2-pack, etc.) and how to integrate them into the basic teaching material (as they are not part of any new textbooks yet).

### **Iceland (University of Iceland)**

In general, according to Professor Bailes it is surprising that there has been so little interest in (the weaknesses of) post-Lisbon follow-up in CSDP and also in the exploration of Article 222's potential; but on the other hand it is not surprising because it seems that the Euro-crisis and other problems of a more social kind have both diverted attention from the EU's other global functions and lowered the level of energy and ambition devoted to them. We are going through a period of narrowing down or tunnel vision in EU-related debates, and it is striking – for instance – that so little thought has been

given to how the Greek financial crisis could affect Greek/Turkish relations and general conflict risks in the East Mediterranean.

### **Italy (LUISS Guido Carli)**

The burst of the current eurozone crisis has imposed new constitutional changes, including the Treaty amendment at Article 136 TFEU (coming into force from January 2013) concerning the establishment of a future permanent mechanism to safeguard the euro area financial stability; and the so-called 'Fiscal Compact', the new intergovernmental treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union.

### **Lithuania (Vilnius University)**

The adoption process of the Treaty of Lisbon was long and intense, faced with skepticism and even resistance from some member states and yet need for revision already seems to be a fact. The Treaty of Lisbon was seen as a reform treaty but there is still lack of reliable and extensive evidence of what are the real consequences of those reforms and how did they affect the efficiency of the EU.

EU studies had long been criticized for its narrowness and tendency to explain all ambiguous research findings by the statement that EU is a sui generis formation. Recently ES studies tend to include more interdisciplinary standpoint, broader methodological and theoretical perspectives as well as step out of its formal frontiers (member states and neighboring countries) more often.

### **Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)**

We were positively struck by the abilities of the Polish government and public service to prepare properly to the first presidency as such, and especially to the presidency led under new rules introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. Previous presidencies' experience appeared to be of a limited relevance for the Polish one, seen the new institutional framework shaped by the LT. It is still under investigation how Poland works within the ongoing group presidency, which embraces the current Danish one and the Cypriot forthcoming one.

As it concerns the current trends observable in the European Studies in Poland we can state that the European Studies came as the key subject at the level of baccalaureate. Some years ago the key model of European Studies academic teaching was the basic education in the disciplines like economics, international affairs, law, political science, sociology, environmental studies etc. at BA level, after which students were offered to study towards a master European Studies degree. Nowadays there is a twofold model, mixing up a bachelor's degree offered in the European Studies and the former model of European Studies at master's level. All major public universities offer master of European Integration degrees (17 public universities). Six of them offer academic education in European Studies at the Undergraduate level (Poznan – University of Adam Mickiewicz, Krakow – Jagiellonian University, Warsaw – University of Warsaw, Lodz – University of Lodz, Faculty of Sociology, Szczecin – Faculty of Economics and Wrocław - Faculty of Political Science).

### **Romania (European Institute of Romania)**

The recent EU studies focus extensively on the impact of the economic and financial crisis on the EU's capacity to stick to its growth and stability objectives, set in the Europe 2020 agenda. There is also a growing concern that the continuation of this trend will also turn the EU' foreign policy into a scapegoat.

More EU studies should be dedicated to analysing the negative effect of the populist far- right movements in EU states with longstanding democratic tradition, such as Hungary or the Netherlands.

**Romania (University of Oradea)**

With regard to the Lisbon Treaty, we find remarkable the increasing power of the European Parliament and of the European citizens. During the first year under Lisbon we have noticed a shift in power and leadership from the Commission, to the European Council with its new President and budget.

**Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)**

Relative lack of the LT in the public sphere and the fact that the day-to-day politics of the EU itself makes little reference to the LT. The changes brought about by the LT in the academic debate have not been thoroughly discussed but rather taken for granted as 'business as usual'. Slovenian polity and politics is currently overwhelmed by the European Commission reminder to lower the budget deficit within the Maastricht criteria obligatory for the Eurozone states, and this seems to be the only observable reference of the national polity in relation to the EU.

Slovenian political science studies on the EU issues are divided in two fields; Policy Analysis of (common) EU policies and a more International Relations perspective on external action of the EU, including the EU enlargement, EU neighborhood policy, EU interregionalism, EU development aid, transatlantic affairs, EU diplomacy, EU in the UN etc. These two approaches to the EU studies, namely studying the EU as a political process/system and studying the intergovernmental aspects of the EU prevail in political studies. Other branches of EU studies are also: EU Law and human rights issues, EU internal market studies, financial arrangements and the fiscal union within Economics and Business studies, and Cultural studies of EU(rope).

**Spain (University of Malaga)**

In my opinion, not considering if the Lisbon Treaty has introduced mechanisms intended to reinforce national democracy and the EU, to strengthen the role of the citizen, to legitimize political decisions, to increase the effectiveness, uniformity and institutional coherence..., the running balance of it still remains negative, and it could be argued, among others, by the following aspects:

- 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 born yet 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.

**Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)**

When the Lisbon Treaty was adopted the expectations were enormous. Finally the EU would become more efficient and effective. This was assumed to especially be the case in the realm of foreign and security policy where the EU has traditionally found it difficult to reach consensus. The appointment of a new HR for external relations and the establishment of the EEAS promised a better coordinated

EU foreign policy. While progress has certainly been made, it does not appear to be as successfully as many had hoped. In fact, the EU's response to a host of recent international events confirms that national prerogatives still matter a great deal.

In the defense area it is noticeable that no permanent structured cooperation has occurred yet. Many European scholars had predicted that we would witness the rise of such cooperation on defense procurement after the LT, but so far nothing has occurred. This has largely to do with political reasons (there appears to currently exist a lack of political will among leaders to try and do something with the concept of Permanent structured cooperation).

Some studies have focused on studying the EU's role as an international crisis manager (both within and outside of Europe) with some case studies focusing on recent disasters such as the Haiti earthquake.

In terms of the EU's global role, one observed trend is the move away from studies merely concerned with 'characterizing' the EU. Instead researchers are increasingly turning towards trying to devise instruments for measuring the effectiveness of the EU's global impact.

### **Turkey (Sabanci University)**

There does not seem to be something remarkable about the Lisbon Treaty's first two years. The EU seems to be in a constant state of turmoil. The credibility of the EU has declined tremendously as the rules of the treaties – Maastricht for example – are seen not to be implemented by the EU members. Thus, if the EU is not able to monitor and implement rules for its own members, then one of its basic functions is not working.

In terms of EU studies in Turkey, there is a decreased demand as the EU's economic crisis, internal inconsistency, lack of coherence towards Turkey lessens its attractiveness so there are less students interested in EU studies.

## 5. Results of scaled questions\*

	strongly disagree (=-2)	disagree (=-1)	undecided (=0)	agree (=1)	strongly agree (=2)	Average	Result
5.1) "EU teaching must become more research-based"	0	2	2	10	6	1	"agree"
5.2) "EU teaching must focus more on non-academic target groups"	0	2	1	12	5	1	"agree"
5.3) "Two years after the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, EU teaching has fully incorporated its provisions into the teaching agenda"	1	7	5	5	2	0	"undecided"
5.4) "The Lisbon Treaty has improved the Union's ability to react to unforeseen crises"	1	10	2	7	0	-0,25	"undecided, but tend to disagree"
5.5) "The case for a complete revision of the EU treaties, possibly using the Convention method, has been strengthened over the past 12 months"	2	8	6	4	0	-0,4	"undecided, but tend to disagree"
5.6) "The Lisbon Treaty plays a less important role in the public discourse on the EU in my country compared to the time of its ratification and coming into force"			1	13	6	1,25	"agree and even tend to agree strongly"

\* Questions answered by 20 respondents