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## **LISBOAN**

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

## **‘Lisbon Watch’ Annual Report, Issue 3**

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## Introduction

This is the third 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.

27 LISBOAN member institutes from 23 countries have answered an open questionnaire which was distributed in January 2013. 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 summer 2012 - spring 2013, 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. These are also published separately, as they address different target groups. 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. In addition to the heuristic element, the aim is to foster exchange among researchers with similar research interests. Moreover, contributors have been asked for examples of research-based teaching in order to lessen the gap between the two dimensions addressed by LISBOAN. Part three deals with the debate on the Treaty of Lisbon in the respective country. In order to allow for a more structured approach, the questionnaire enumerated several issues and asked contributors to address them in the pre-given order. 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? These open questions are complemented with 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.

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@uni-koeln.de](mailto:tobias.kunstein@uni-koeln.de)) and Sebastian Reiter ([sreiter@uni-koeln.de](mailto:sreiter@uni-koeln.de)). Feedback, as always, is very welcome.

## Contents

|  |    |
|--|----|
| List of Contributors .....   | 6  |
| Executive Summary .....  | 7  |
| 1. Teaching on the Treaty of Lisbon .....  | 9  |
| Austria (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna) .....   | 9  |
| Belgium (Universiteit Ghent).....  | 11 |
| Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University) .....  | 11 |
| Croatia (Institute for Development and International Relations) .....                      | 12 |
| Denmark (Danish Centre for International Studies).....                                     | 13 |
| Estonia (University of Tartu) .....  | 14 |
| Finland (University of Tampere).....   | 15 |
| Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin).....   | 15 |
| Germany (Universität Trier).....   | 16 |
| Greece (Institute of European Integration and Policy) .....                                | 17 |
| Hungary (College of Business and Communication).....                                       | 19 |
| Hungary (Institute of World Economics) .....   | 19 |
| Iceland (University of Iceland).....   | 20 |
| Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali).....  | 21 |
| Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science).....                | 21 |
| Luxembourg (Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman) .....             | 22 |
| Malta (University of Malta) .....  | 23 |
| Netherlands (University of Groningen).....   | 24 |
| Netherlands (University of Twente).....  | 25 |
| Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael) .....                       | 26 |
| Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo).....  | 26 |
| Poland (Foundation for European Studies/ European Institute Lodz).....                     | 27 |
| Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon) ..... | 27 |
| Romania (Babes-Bolyai University) .....  | 28 |
| Slovenia (University of Ljubljana).....  | 29 |
| 2. Researching the Treaty of Lisbon .....  | 31 |
| Austria (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna) .....   | 31 |
| Belgium (Universiteit Ghent).....  | 31 |
| Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University) .....  | 32 |
| Croatia (Institute for Development and International Relations) .....                      | 32 |
| Czech Republic (Institute for International Relations).....                                | 34 |
| Denmark (Danish Centre for International Studies).....                                     | 35 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Estonia (University of Tartu) .....  | 35 |
| Finland (University of Tampere).....   | 36 |
| Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin).....   | 36 |
| Germany (Universität Trier).....   | 37 |
| Greece (Institute of European Integration and Policy).....                                 | 38 |
| Hungary (College of Business and Communication).....                                       | 39 |
| Hungary (Institute of World Economics).....  | 39 |
| Iceland (University of Iceland).....   | 39 |
| Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali).....  | 40 |
| Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science).....                | 41 |
| Luxembourg (Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman) .....             | 42 |
| Malta (University of Malta) .....  | 42 |
| Netherlands (Universtiy of Groningen).....   | 44 |
| Netherlands (University of Twente).....  | 44 |
| Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael).....                        | 45 |
| Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo).....  | 47 |
| Poland (Foundation for European Studies/ European Institute Lodz).....                     | 48 |
| Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon) ..... | 48 |
| Romania (Babes-Bolyai University) .....  | 49 |
| Romania (European Institute of Romania).....   | 50 |
| Slovenia (University of Ljubljana).....  | 50 |
| 3. Current Academic and Political Debates on the Treaty of Lisbon .....                    | 52 |
| Belgium (Universiteit Ghent).....  | 52 |
| Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University) .....  | 52 |
| Croatia (Institute for Development and International Relations) .....                      | 53 |
| Czech Republic (Institute for International Relations).....                                | 55 |
| Denmark (Danish Centre for International Studies).....                                     | 56 |
| Estonia (University of Tartu) .....  | 58 |
| Finland (University of Tampere).....   | 59 |
| Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin).....   | 59 |
| Germany (Universität Trier).....   | 60 |
| Greece (Institute of European Integration and Policy).....                                 | 60 |
| Hungary (College of Business and Communication).....                                       | 61 |
| Hungary (Institute of World Economics) .....   | 61 |
| Iceland (University of Iceland).....   | 62 |
| Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali).....  | 62 |
| Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science).....                | 63 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Luxembourg (Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman) .....             | 63 |
| Malta (University of Malta) .....  | 64 |
| Netherlands (Universitiy of Groningen).....  | 65 |
| Netherlands (University of Twente).....  | 65 |
| Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael).....                        | 65 |
| Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo).....  | 67 |
| Poland (Foundation for European Studies/ European Institute Lodz).....                     | 67 |
| Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon) ..... | 68 |
| Romania (Babes-Bolyai University) .....  | 68 |
| Romania (European Institute of Romania).....   | 68 |
| Slovenia (University of Ljubljana).....  | 70 |
| 4. Personal Assessment .....   | 72 |
| Belgium (Universiteit Ghent).....  | 72 |
| Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University) .....  | 72 |
| Croatia (Institute for Development and International Relations) .....                      | 72 |
| Czech Republic (Institute for International Relations).....                                | 73 |
| Denmark (Danish Centre for International Studies).....                                     | 73 |
| Finland (University of Tampere).....   | 74 |
| Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin).....   | 74 |
| Germany (Universität Trier).....   | 74 |
| Greece (Institute of European Integration and Policy).....                                 | 76 |
| Hungary (College of Business and Communication).....                                       | 76 |
| Hungary (Institute of World Economics).....  | 76 |
| Iceland (University of Iceland).....   | 77 |
| Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali).....  | 77 |
| Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science).....                | 77 |
| Luxembourg (Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman) .....             | 77 |
| Malta (University of Malta) .....  | 77 |
| Netherlands (Universitiy of Groningen).....  | 78 |
| Netherlands (University of Twente).....  | 78 |
| Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael).....                        | 78 |
| Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo).....  | 78 |
| Poland (Foundation for European Studies/ European Institute Lodz).....                     | 78 |
| Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon) ..... | 79 |
| Romania (Babes-Bolyai University) .....  | 79 |
| Slovenia (University of Ljubljana).....  | 79 |
| 5. Results of scaled questions.....  | 81 |

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## Executive Summary

The first part of the Lisbon Watch focuses on teaching activities at partner institutes. Just as in the previous years a wide variety of activities related to the Lisbon Treaty can be observed. There was one example of a course dedicated exclusively to the treaty (Lithuania), and partners from the discipline of law unsurprisingly addressed the EU's legal basis throughout their teaching. For other partners, while the treaty was not present in all parts of courses dealing with the EU, it nonetheless formed an important element. The regular course programme offered by partners was in almost all cases complemented with additional activities in which the Lisbon Treaty played a role, for example guest lectures and panel discussions. Besides students, these often included practitioners, external experts and the public.

In terms of innovative teaching methods, we find study visits to Brussels (2), lectures with MEPs broadcast live over the internet (1), simulation sessions (4) and teaching based on research results (2). Moreover, several partners published (or are in the process of doing so) textbooks on the Lisbon Treaty which they use in their teaching. Also noteworthy are training sessions for junior diplomats from abroad offered by two partners, and teaching of the EU at secondary schools. However, continuing education was not mentioned this year. All in all, "classical" forms of teaching (classroom seminars) are still prevalent as far as EU studies in general and the Lisbon Treaty in particular are concerned. For example, the share of simulation exercises has not increased from previous years.

Part two of the report deals with research activities of LISBOAN institutes. With a view to the Lisbon Treaty, the EU's foreign policy was again mentioned most frequently as main area of interest (31% of all 26 respondents). The EEAS, Articles 23–55 TEU and changes related to the CFSP were mentioned most frequently in that regard. In contrast to the previous year, the "Arab Spring" did not play a role anymore, whereas the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, greater role of the European Court of Justice; relationship of the ECJ with the European Court of Human Rights and migration policy were mentioned several times. Energy Policy was also a subject of research, as well as national parliaments and questions of representative democracy. These were, however, not linked to the euro area crisis as much as in the previous year. The euro area crisis itself was mentioned less frequently as primary area of interest (15%).

Part three of the Lisbon Watch deals with the national perspective on the Lisbon Treaty. It focuses on the academic debate in the home country of each contributor since the treaty's coming into force in December 2009, and links its innovations to topical issues that have been discussed in their respective political arena. As in the previous year the financial crisis commanded most attention in national EU-related discourses analysed in the Lisbon Watch Report. In this context (for example where the question of solidarity with the countries in financial difficulties is concerned) the growing nationalism in the EU was mentioned. This can also be linked to the topical issue of immigration and the Schengen Area, as well as the perception of German hegemony.

According to the contributions, the role of national parliaments played a role in the debates in Germany, the Netherlands and Croatia, but was apparently not very high on the agenda in other national arenas. Moreover, the subsidiarity protocol was mentioned as a major element in national debates in Denmark and Malta. Energy policy played a role in the debate in countries with an eastern dimension (Lithuania, Poland and Denmark). The Arab Spring was mentioned in only one country (Malta), as was the Citizens' Initiative (Slovenia) and Euroscepticism (Finland). Also the EEAS seems to be an object of interest rather for academics and was mentioned only once as far as national debates are concerned (Czech Republic). Linkages to the Lisbon Treaty are evident for only few of these

debates. In the public debate in general, the Lisbon Treaty seems to play a minor role only compared with topical issues such as the financial crisis, which absorb much of the public attention.

However, turning to the results of the scaled questions in part five of the Lisbon Watch, the number of respondents agreeing with 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” decreased markedly. Bearing in mind the rather low number of respondents and other possible sources of bias, this would indicate an opposite development. Compared to the previous year, the answers to question 5.5 of the questionnaire indicate that respondents feel that the case for a complete revision of the EU treaties, possibly using the Convention method, has been strengthened over the past 12 months. Concerning teaching, respondents continue to believe that there is a need for improving this particular dimension of EU studies: The majority agrees to the statements that “EU teaching must become more research-based” (question 5.1) and “EU teaching must focus more on non-academic target groups” (question 5.2).



## 1. Teaching on the Treaty of Lisbon

Guide questions:

Please describe broadly the range of courses on the EU in general you (where applicable: your institution/department) offered in the reporting period.

Was there a course which focused exclusively on the LT? Which aspects of the LT came up in courses focusing on another topic how many times (can you estimate a percentage?).

Please describe any single events (lectures, roundtables; also for the interested public) which dealt with the LT organized by you (where applicable: your institution/department).

Please describe any other means of teaching (electronic material, scripts, textbooks,...) dealing with the Lisbon Treaty which were developed or used by you (where applicable: your institution/department).

At your department/institution, are there examples of teaching based on your research on the Lisbon Treaty?

### Austria (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna)

A wide range of the courses taught at the DA in 2012-2013 dealt with the EU and Lisbon. The courses are trimester-courses (one trimester = nine weeks). Although the main teaching language at the DA is English, courses are also offered in French and German. The total student population is 173.

In Political Science and International Relations, Professor Wessels's course on the "Evolution of the EU System – The Institutional Architecture: Perspectives from the Lisbon Treaty" was attended by 12 students. The Lisbon Treaty was central in the course. Stefan Lehne dealt with European Foreign Policy after the Lisbon treaty; 11 students attended his course. Christian Franck dealt with the Lisbon Treaty in great detail in his "Analyse politique de la construction européenne". This course was attended by 17 students, the second course on European Foreign Policy by 28 students and the seminar on special EU issues by 7 students. The courses by Hanspeter Neuhold on "European Security after the Cold War: Concepts, Challenges, Institutions" and "Old and New Options for Security in a Changing Europe" include detailed discussions of CFSP and CSDP both before and after Lisbon. These courses were attended by 27 and 24 students, respectively. Christine Neuhold's Course on "EU Institutions and the EU Decision Making Process" was attended by 44 students, Elisabeth Tichy-Fisslberger's course on the same subject by 5 students; Markus Kornprobst's course on "The EU's Management of International Crises" was attended by 20 students. Ludger Kühnhardt's seminar on "Region Building: The Global Proliferation of Regional Integration" was attended by 4 students, Bello Oladrians seminar on "EU-Africa Relations" by 6 students, Beatrix Futak-Campbell's seminar on "European Neighbourhood Policy" by 14 students.

In the field of International and European Law, all EU courses taught by Hubert Isak, the Lisbon Treaty is central: "Institutional Law of the European Union" was attended by 89 students, "External Economic Relations and Foreign Policy in the EU" by 41 students. The Lisbon Treaty was also central in Andreas Kumni's course on the legal status of the EU as a global player, which was attended by 22 students. Gerhard Loibl's course on "International Environmental Law and Institutions" was attended by 37 students, his course on "European and Global Challenges in Environmental Law" by 7 students, and the seminar on the same topic by 28 students. The course by Wolfram Karl on "Human Rights in the International and European Perspectives" also deals with different standards and procedures for the protection of human rights developed by the EU and was attended by 19 students.

In the discipline of Economics, the lecture co-taught by Werner Neudeck and Georg Winckler on the “Economics of the EU” was attended by 29 students, the seminar on “The Western Balkans and ENP Partner Countries” by 8 students. Professor Kohler’s seminar on the “Economics of European Integration” was attended by 10 students.

In the field of History, Martina Steer’s seminar on “Paradigms of European History” by 12 students, Thomas Row’s seminar on “Rethinking Post-War Europe” focussed on the EURO crisis in context and was attended by 13 students, the seminar on “Europe as Cultural Space”, convened by Alfred Pfabigan, by 13 students.

In addition to its Master programs, the DA teaches a broad range of special courses which focus among other things, on the EU and Lisbon. These include the four-week “Executive Training Programme on European Integration and Cooperation for Junior Diplomats and Civil Service Officials from the Southern Caucasus Countries and East and South-East Europe” designed to familiarize 18 junior diplomats and civil service officials with the working of the European Union in order to enable them to deal more effectively with the EU (April 29th – May 25th, 2012 and a new group February 3rd – March 1st, 2013). The three-week training programme in Vienna was followed by a five-day study visit to Brussels, which included presentations and discussions at the European Commission, the Council Secretariat, the EEAS and the European Parliament.

Robert Boudewijn taught a workshop on “EU decision making and negotiation techniques” for the Regional School of Public Administration in Montenegro (June 5th-8th, 2012) and discussed with the 21 participants among other things the “Historical timeline analyses of the EU integration project”, “The EU integration process: an historical overview”, and “The EU institutions and its competences”.

The four-week “Executive Training Programme on European and International Affairs for Junior Diplomats and Civil Service Officials” for 22 participants from the Caribbean and Libya focused on EU affairs, international relations and modern diplomacy (June 10th – July 6th, 2012), while the nine-week “Special Course in European and International Affairs” for 15 junior diplomats and civil servants from South-East European Countries, the Danube Region and the Black Sea Region” centred on European Integration issues, international relations and diplomatic skills training (July 9th – September 7th, 2012). Both training programmes in Vienna were followed by a five-day study visit to Brussels, where participants had the chance to discuss current issues with representatives of the EU.

The special tailored three week “Executive Training Programme in European and International Affairs” for 22 master students from Israel, Palestine and Jordan (September 30th – October 21st, 2012) included amongst others a half day module on “Europe: still global region with high potential” by Laris Gaiser, while the two week “Executive Training Programme in International and European Affairs” for 7 Junior Officials from the Republic of Kazakhstan (October 28th - November 10th, 2012) organised by the DA during the reporting period comprised amongst others a lecture on “The External Relations of the European Union with a special focus on the strategic partnership of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the EU; History of the Treaties” by Prof. Christan Franck, DA, including a discussion on the Lisbon Treaty.

The Diplomatic academy regularly organises public lectures (18 in total over the reporting period) with high-level speakers. With a view to the Lisbon Treaty, the most relevant one was „Q-unanimity‘ and decision-making in the EU after Lisbon“, given by George Tsebelis (Anatol Rapoport Collegiate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan). Further the DASI-Conference on “The future generations of Europe” and a symposium "A changing European Union in a changing world" were organized by the Diplomatic Academy. The Lisbon Treaty however also came up during the discussions in other lectures.

## 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 (e.g. 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 the first half of 2013, the European Institute of Ghent University organised a Jean Monnet lecture series on the policy and practice of EU competition law in the post-Lisbon area. During this series, practitioners and academics presented their views on recent development in this field of EU law. The lecture series formed part of the specialist course on EU competition law, under supervision of Prof. Inge Govaere, Jean Monnet Chair holder.

In the framework of the course “EU external relations”, a student discussion on the implications of the Lisbon treaty has been organised. In addition, a guest lecture on the Common Commercial Policy after Lisbon was delivered by Prof. Youri Devuyt.

## Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University)

The below mentioned courses are part of NBU’s Political Science Department curriculum. NBU offers MA and BA programs in Bulgarian, English and in French. There are specific programs that focus on EU governance at NBU and deal predominantly with the LT rhetoric and agenda – MA in EU Governance, MA in Consultancy and Expertise in Public Policies (offered in French), MA in International Relations and Comparative Politics (in French) and MA in Diplomacy and International Relations (in Bulgarian). In the agenda of these programs, LT is studied, approached and investigated in various aspects including its influence on the more broad process of political integration within the EU, structuring of the EU and its institutions, relative and real “weight” of the power resources of EU’s institutions, EU as single foreign actor and factor, EU’s new foreign policy and relations, etc.

In the fall (2012) and spring (2013) semesters the courses which focus partially or entirely on the LT are as following:

BA courses (in English) that focus partially or entirely on LT or related issues:

- The Political System of EU by Ass. Prof. Katya Hristova-Valcheva, Ph.D. (35 %)
- Institutions and Governance by Ass. Prof. Lyubomir Stefanov, Ph.D. (20 %)
- EU’s Foreign Policy by Prof. Plamen Tsvetkov, Ph.D. (30 %)
- Theories for Democracy by Ass. Hristo Panchugov and Philip Dimitrov, Ph.D. (10 %)
- EU’s Institutions and Governance (in French) by Ass. Prof. Katya Hristova-Valcheva, Ph.D. (15 %)

BA courses in Bulgarian:

- EU’s Foreign and Security policy by Ass. Prof. Lyubomir Stefanov, Ph.D. and ass. prof. Ivan Nachev, Ph.D. (45 %)

- Political History of EU Integration by Ass. Prof. Irena Todorova, Ph.D. and Ass. Prof. Katya Hristova-Valcheva, Ph.D. (15 %)
- European Economic and Monetary Union by Prof. Margarita Shivergeva, Ph.D. (15 %)
- Political Theories for the EU Integration by Ass. Prof. Ivan Nachev, Ph.D. (25 %)
- Bulgaria in the EU by Ass. Prof. Ivan Nachev, Ph.D. (25 %)
- EU's Home and Justice Affairs by Ass. Hristo Panchugov (35 %)
- EU's Common Policies by Prof. Margarita Shivergeva, Ph.D. (30 %)

MA courses:

- EU's Political Development by Prof. Natalya Hristova, Ph.D. (20 %)
- The Institutional System of EU by Prof. Georgi Bliznashki, Ph.D. (25 %)
- Decision-making Methods or Topography of Power in the EU by Ass. Prof. Lyubomir Stefanov, Ph.D. (30 %)
- EU's Foreign Policy by Krasimir Kostov (35 %)
- Evolution of EU's Common Security and Defense Policy by Ass. Prof. Lyubomir Stefanov, Ph.D. and Ass. Prof. Ivan Nachev, Ph.D. (35 %)
- EU's Integration Strategies Ass. Prof. Ivan Nachev, Ph.D. (30 %)

Note: In the brackets following each course is the estimated allocation of time for teaching, studying and discussion on LT.

During the reported period Ass. Prof. Ivan Nachev, Ph.D. delivered series of lectures to groups of teachers in several secondary schools across Bulgaria aimed at improving the overall communication of EU to students there. He is a long-term serving member of the "Europe team" in Bulgaria working on improving the quality of apprehension of EU and LT precisely by local authorities and journalists through regular travelling seminars and discussions in the country.

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

IRMO is not offering specific course on the Lisbon Treaty but some aspects of the LT are covered by the courses held by IRMO researchers within different university programmes. Prof. Visnja Samardzija focuses on some LT issues within the course Economic and institutional aspects of EU enlargement (in English) at doctoral European studies programme at Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb as well as on doctoral European studies programme at University Josip Juraj Strossmayer in Osijek (in Croatian). Both programmes were introduced in 2012.

#### *Second LISBOAN Guest Lecture "The Role of the National Parliaments in the EU"*

On April 16th, 2012 the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) Zagreb organized a guest lecture of Prof. Thomas Christiansen from the University of Maastricht at the Croatian Parliament. This lecture organized within framework of the LISBOAN Guest Lecture program was entitled "The Role of the National Parliaments in the EU". The event was targeted primarily for Croatian MPs but was open to academic audience as well. The lecture moderated by Višnja Samardžija was opened with an introductory speech by Boris Šprem, the late president of

Croatian Parliament. Prof. Christiansen underlined that with coming to power of the LT the role of national parliaments in the EU affairs has been strengthened due to their empowerment in scrutinizing European legislation. It was stressed that the Early Warning System (EWS) introduced with the LT allows national parliaments to participate in the European legislative process from the very beginning initiating constructive national debates on the content of European directives.

*LISBOAN Workshop “Impact of the European External Action Service for the EU’s policies towards South East Europe”*

As an activity within the LISBOAN project the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) Zagreb organized the workshop “Relevance of the European External Action Service for the EU’s policies towards South East Europe”. The workshop was held on October 5th, 2012 at the Inter-University Centre (IUC), Dubrovnik. It focused on the impacts of the European External Action Service (EEAS) in the South-Eastern Europe (SEE), which finds itself at the crossroads between the EU's enlargement policy and EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The co-conveners of the workshop were Višnja Samardžija and Hrvoje Butković from the IRMO. Professor Wolfgang Wessels coordinator of the LISBOAN project also participated at the workshop, while the keynote speech was delivered by Jonas Jonsson, Head of the Western Balkans Division at the EEAS, Brussels. First panel was devoted to the EEAS and visibility of the EU foreign policy in the Western Balkans. Second panel dealt with the EEAS and its linkage with the Western Balkans’ enlargement process while the third panel focused on the views from the region regarding the EEAS. The workshop gathered prominent researchers, experts and decision-makers from the EU and the SEE and fostered debate between the academic networks and policymakers.

### **Denmark (Danish Centre 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 not one of its tasks. However, a core activity for the Institute is to disseminate its research findings to the media, political establishment and general public as well as participate actively in the public debate. One way that the DIIS aims to do this is by arranging a wide array of public seminars each year, inviting speakers from the worlds of academia, public policy, diplomacy, business and civil society to stimulate debate.

In the light of Denmark holding the EU Presidency in the first half of 2012, the DIIS launched a project called “EU 2012 – crisis and renewal”, which aimed at informing and engaging the Danish public on the Presidency, but also more generally on the EU. As part of this project, the DIIS held a seminar series highlighting the most important policy areas on the EU agenda during the Danish Presidency such as green growth, reforms of the CAP, EU budget negotiations, austerity measures in the Eurozone periphery etc. The seminars were accompanied by several DIIS policy briefs with analyses of the different policy issues. Furthermore, DIIS researchers also contributed to a weekly blog and biweekly newspaper columns in one of the major Danish daily newspapers, BerlingskeTidende. The project was funded by “Europa-Nævnet”.

DIIS also held several other seminars on the overall topic of the EU. In fall 2012, the seminar, “The EU as Provider of Stability and Prosperity in Neighbouring Regions” treated the challenges and opportunities that the crisis presents to the EU as a provider of stability and prosperity in the neighbourhood. Another seminar, “France and the EU – What has changed with Francois Hollande?” discussed what kind of European vision France will promote in the future. At the beginning of 2013, the seminar “The Transatlantic Relations during the Next Obama Administration” looked at EU-US relations, with a specific focus on the role that the EU will play in a future global governance perspective and taking into account the US priority of consolidating the “pivot to Asia” which was introduced during Obama’s first term. A similar topic was discussed in the seminar, “The Prospect of a

Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership” which assessed the challenges and opportunities deriving from a prospective transatlantic trade and investment partnership between the US and the EU. Within the area of EU aid, the seminar, “EU Development Cooperation in a Changing Global Context” discussed how the changing global environment requires the EU to rethink its approach to development cooperation and assessed the options and constraints for doing so. As part of the aforementioned project dealing with the Danish EU Presidency, “EU 2012 – crisis and renewal”, the DIIS has recently published a book in cooperation with the European Commission in Denmark, compiling a wide range of analyses and debate contributions from DIIS researchers which was produced when Denmark held the EU Presidency in the first half of 2012. The book provides a unique testimony to the Danish Presidency and on some of the most crucial issues on the EU agenda while Denmark was at the helm in the EU.

### **Estonia (University of Tartu)**

The latest development has been the successful launch of a Jean Monnet Teaching Module on energy and climate issues at the University of Tartu in 2013 coordinated by Dr Andrey Belyi, Senior Researcher in International Political Economy at the Institute of Government and Politics. The first Jean Monnet course, entitled “Energy Security Policies in Europe” (6 ECTS) was offered in the spring semester 2013. At the University of Tartu the following institutes teach courses on the EU: Faculty of Social Sciences (Institute of Government and Politics), EuroCollege, Faculty of Law, Institute of Archaeology and History, and the Faculty of Economics. During the period under observation, five courses (total 26 ECTS) related to the EU were taught in the Institute of Government and Politics. The courses on the MA level were: “Western European Politics”, “Theories of European Integration”, “The Member States of the European Union” and “European Union on the International Arena”. The course on BA level taught was basics of EU-course “European Union”. In cooperation with the EuroCollege additional thirteen courses were taught (total 66 ECTS) “Historical dynamics of European-Russian Relations”, “EU External Relations and External Trade”, “Single Market Law and Policy”, “Economic Integration in Europe”, “EU Enlargement, Transition and Neighbourhood Policy”, “EU Competence and Decision Making in Different Policy Fields”, “EU Monetary and Fiscal Policy”, “European Union’s Regional Policy and Projects”, “EU Terminology in Three Basic Languages”, “The Official Documents and Databases of the European Union”, “EU Migration and Asylum Law and Policy”; three basic courses that teach EU from A to Z (total 11 ECTS), “EU Background, Policies and Future Perspectives” and “EU Governance and Policies (EU-INTRO)” (both in Estonian and in English). All courses in the EuroCollege are on the MA level.

The Faculty of Law taught seven courses in total 30 ECTS of EU-related courses: among them “Legal Remedies in Europe” (6 ECTS), “MA Seminar in International and European Law” (3 ECTS), “Protection of Human Rights in Europe” (3 ECTS), “Seminar on European Environmental Law” (3 ECTS), “Developments in European Private Law” (3 ECTS), “European Contract Law” (3 ECTS), “Special Seminar on European and International Law” (3 ECTS), “European Union Law” (6 ECTS). The Institute of History taught two courses (12 ECTS in total) of EU-related courses: among them “Contemporary European Politics” (6 ECTS), “History of European Integration” (6 ECTS). The Faculty of Economics taught two courses (total 8 ECTS) of EU-related courses: “Modern Tax Policy in Europe” and “Taxation in Estonia and EU”. The main issues related to the Lisbon Treaty in teaching EU are the changes that came along to the decision-making process and the changes in competences of the EU. All basic courses about the EU (both on MA and BA level) involve introduction of the Lisbon Treaty. All course materials have been renewed to reflect the changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty. Renewing involved making changes into reading materials, PowerPoint slides and updating of electronic lecture notes. The text and excerpts of the Lisbon Treaty are used in materials both in EU introductory courses and special courses on single policy fields.



The University of Tartu (EuroCollege) arranges annual public events with Estonian members of the European Parliament. These events are broadcast live over the internet so that they can be followed by all those with an interest. Guest lectures by state officials are public and open also to those who are not currently involved in studies.

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

At UTA the teaching that is most relevant for the Lisbon Treaty has been mostly on fields of European law, comparative European politics and EU external relations, offered chiefly in the University's School of Management. In the Politics programme the course 'Introduction to the European Union' (Prof. Tapio Raunio, in Finnish) focuses on the Lisbon institutions among other relevant subjects. In European Law the students can take a book examination 5 ECTS where the text of the Lisbon treaty is one part of the requirements. In taught courses in European Law the Lisbon Treaty forms a central part of the landscape of institutions and regulation the students are expected to master, alongside relevant legal principles, reasoning and EU decision-making.

The event "The Euro Crisis - A Constitutional Crisis?" examined the legal implications of the crisis of the Euro, March 19th 2013, organised by the School of Management/Public Administration and Law programme. The Brussels excursion of the School of Management/Politics programme November 5th-7th, 2012 familiarised the students closely with the working of the Lisbon institutions in the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European External Action Service (EEAS). Also the symposium "European/Eurasian Political Economy", March 7th-8th 2013, organised by the School of Management/Politics programme dealt with many implications of the crisis of the Euro on the Lisbon Treaty and possible need for further integration or revisions to the Treaty.

The Politics programme at UTA started proceedings for a new basic textbook (in Finnish) where the Lisbon treaty's provisions on representation and governance in the EU and EU external relations will play an important role, to appear by the end of 2013. In the School of Management, for example the courses on European and EU public finance (Prof. Stephen Bailey), European taxation regulation (Prof. Seppo Penttilä, in Finnish), European public finance law (Dr. Jani Wacker, in Finnish) and "European and Eurasian energy policies" (Jean Monnet Professor Pami Aalto) are based on the course tutor's research.

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

The LT plays an outstanding role in the teaching at Walter Hallstein-Institute, as the treaty is the most important legal basis, which needs to be considered when dealing with EU law. Therefore, most of the offered lectures are first and foremost dealing with issues of the LT.

Winter term 2012/2013:

- Europarecht (European Law – introductory course) (Prof. Ingolf Pernice)
- Europäisches Verfassungsrecht (European Constitutional Law) (Prof. Ingolf Pernice)
- Europäisches Wirtschaftsrecht, insbesondere Binnenmarkt- und Wettbewerbsrecht (European Economic Law, Law of the Common Market and Competition Law) (Dr. Mattias Wendel)
- Model European Union Conference (Simulation of sessions of the European Council and the European Court of Justice) (Dr. Mattias Wendel)
- Europarecht in Fällen – Leitentscheidungen des EuGH (European Law in Cases – Leading Decisions of the ECJ) (Dr. Mattias Wendel, Ralf Kanitz)

- Arbeitsgemeinschaften im Öffentlichen Recht III - Verfassungsrecht mit Bezügen zum Europa- und Völkerrecht (Working groups in Public Law – German Constitutional Law and its relations to European and International Public Law) (Martin Mlynarski, Christin Bettge)

Summer term 2013:

- Seminar im Europarecht – Europäische Verfassungsprinzipien (Principles of European Constitutionalism) (Prof. Ingolf Pernice)
- Recht der Außenbeziehungen der EU (Foreign affairs law of the EU) (Prof. Ingolf Pernice)
- Europäisches Umweltrecht (European Environmental Law) (Prof. Ingolf Pernice)
- Private Ordering and Public Authority (Prof. Ingolf Pernice, Prof. Mattias Kumm)
- Europäischer Grund- und Menschenrechtsschutz (European Civil and Human Rights Law) (Dr. Mattias Wendel)
- Model European Union Conference (Dr. Mattias Wendel)
- Europäisches Wettbewerbsrecht (European Competition Law) (Prof. Stephan Wernicke)
- Europäisches und Internationales Investitionsrecht (European and International Investment Law) (Prof. Steffen Hindelang, Tillmann Braun)

Besides, Prof. Pernice and Dr. Wendel are engaged in the Master's Programmes of Cife ([www.cife.eu](http://www.cife.eu)). This institution offers different master programmes in European Studies, based on a range of interdisciplinary courses closely linked to LT issues.

### Germany (Universität Trier)

The following courses on European Union affairs were held at Trier University in 2012/13:

Winter term 2012/2013:

- MA-level course: 'Theories of European Integration' (Dr. Manuel Schmitz)

Summer term 2013:

- BA-level lecture: 'Politische Ökonomie europäischer Integration' (Prof. Dr. Joachim Schild)
- BA-level course: 'EU External Governance' (Julia Simon, M.A.)
- BA-level course: 'Die Außenbeziehungen der EU und ihrer Mitgliedstaaten gegenüber den BRIC-Staaten und anderen Schwellenländern' (Dr. Siegfried Schieder)
- MA-level course: 'European Monetary Union and the Governance of the Euro zone' (Professor Dr. Joachim Schild / Professor Dr. Christian Bauer)

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') covered major aspects of the institutional innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. Furthermore, the courses on EU external relations will cover 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 (Institute of European Integration and Policy)**

The Institute of European Integration and Policy is closely linked to the teaching of both the undergraduate and the postgraduate studies in the Faculty of Political Studies and Public Administration of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The Institute of European Integration and Policy functions under the auspices of the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens. Its main mission is to promote an interdisciplinary approach on the study of European integration through academic dialogue and to contribute in the upgrading of the teaching by incorporating in it the results of the research effectuated by the members of IEIP board and by its researchers. The members of IEIP board and the researchers teach a wide range of courses on the EU as well as specifically on the Lisbon Treaty.

As far as the courses of the undergraduate level are concerned, the teaching of the compulsory course “European Organisation: Institutions” (fall semester) is based on the in depth research of Professor P.C. Ioakimidis, Director of IIEP on the Lisbon Treaty. This course dedicates 70% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty. The book “Treaty of Lisbon: Presentation, Analysis, Evaluation” written by Prof. Ioakimidis is used as a text book of the course. The aim of this course is to provide profound knowledge on the way EU is functioning in the framework of the Lisbon Treaty as well as on the EU institutional history.

In addition, the compulsory course “EU Policies” of the International and European Studies (IES) specialisation cycle (spring semester) (Instructor: Professor P.C. Ioakimidis, Director of IIEP) dedicates 50% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty. “EU Policies” 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.

Professor Michalis Tsinisizelis, member of IEIP Academic Board teaches the course “The Political System of the EU” offers as optional IES specialisation course (spring semester). This course examines the EU political system, the other existing political systems and, finally, it tries to assess the ad hoc nature of EU political system. The Lisbon Treaty also plays a significant role in this course. It dedicated 30% of its time on the institutional set up of the Lisbon Treaty.

Professor P.C. Ioakimidis teaches the optional course “EU External Relations and Policy” offered to students from all specialisations during the fall semester. On this course the Lisbon Treaty comes up approximately for the 15% 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. Prof. 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 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 20% of the time.

Assistant Professor Susannah Verney, member of IEIP Academic Board teaches the optional course “European Policies of the member states” (fall semester) and dedicates 15% of its time to the role of the Lisbon Treaty. 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 deepen their knowledge on the phenomenon of European integration and to familiarize the students with the different stance on the phenomenon of the countries of the European Union. Assistant Professor Susannah Verney also teaches the course the “Nation-State and European Integration”. This course examines the changing nature of the nation-state in the framework of globalization and European integration as well as the impact of European integration to the nation-state. The Lisbon Treaty is examined as a key point in the European integration process. It could be argued that this course dedicates approximately 10% of its time to the Lisbon Treaty from the perspective of the member states.

In addition, “Theory of European Integration” (spring semester) is a compulsory IES specialisation course taught by another member of IEIP Academic Board Professor Michalis Tsinisizelis. 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 10% 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) is one of the courses that deal with the EU in general.

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). This course is taught by Professor P.C. Ioakimidis, with the cooperation of Dr. Anna Vallianatou (IEIP Researcher). This course is almost exclusively focused on the role of the Lisbon Treaty by dedicating 90% of its time to it. The course primary objective is to provide a critical assessment of the institutional system and the decision making process of the European Union (EU). In addition the role of the European Parliament in the framework of the Lisbon Treaty as well as an assessment of the existence of the democratic deficit of the EU institutional edifice are approached in this course. In the context of this postgraduate course Prof. P.C. Ioakimidis organizes a series of debates following the model of the EU decision making process and negotiations (Council simulation). Power point presentations, notes diffused in class as well as small up to date scientific articles are 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 neighbourhood countries – the Balkans, Turkey, the Mediterranean countries. It also presents the EU relations with Russia, the United States as well as EU development policy. In addition, it analyses the position of 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 10% of its time to the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty regarding the role of EU in the international system. Power point presentations, notes diffused in class as well as small up to date scientific articles are some of the means of teaching.

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 “European and International Studies” during the period under examination.

Finally, the Director of IEIP Prof. Ioakimidis gave also this year two lectures one of them entirely 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 of the National and

Kapodistrian University of Athens (the other lecture was entitled “The Nature of the European Union Political System”). The audience of this lecture was international.

A number of PhD seminars were also organized by the department of International and European Studies, in which various aspects of the Lisbon Treaty were also examined depending on the various topics of the PhD thesis. Prof. P.C. Ioakimidis, Director of IEIP has given lectures on the institutional reforms initiated by the Lisbon Treaty.

IEIP continues to publish its monthly Newsletter on European Developments on the institutional reforms and the repercussions of the Lisbon Treaty in the European and the national level (see below).

### **Hungary (College of Business and Communication)**

BCE and BKF have been focusing on economics and/or business related courses, and both universities are policy-oriented, but the institutional structure of the EU is a separate course where the Treaties are high on the agenda. Although there has been no course especially focusing on the LT, in BCE at the Doctoral School of Political Science there has been a course on European Public Policy where the LT has been very important issue and all the PhD student of this Doctoral School have to take this course and write a policy paper focusing on special topics according to the LT regulations.

At the CEPESA conference in Budapest (October 2012) the ECE member states have been analysed in their reactions to the LT changes. In Hungary there has been a wide use of the Textbook on the EU by Zoltán Horváth, its 8th edition in 2011 contains a detailed description of the LT.

As a result of the BKF project, after the October 2012 CEPESA conference the book was edited on the recent changes in ECE after the LT, with the editors of Attila Ágh and László Vass (European Futures: The Perspectives of the New Member States in the New Europe, p. 473). Attila Ágh is the Head of the Political Science PhD School and László Vass is the Rector of BKF, both have been teaching at the Political Science Institute of BCE.

### **Hungary (Institute of 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 both in the capital and the countryside. They usually teach international economics, but many of them do actually teach European studies as well. The EU courses taught by researchers of IWE generally start with the pre-history and history of European integration (deepening along the treaties and successive widening), and then continue with the institutional set up, decision-making, the budget and the most important policies.

None of the researchers/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 (e.g. in Budapest, Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged). At the same time, for example associate professors Krisztina Vida (International Business School Budapest) or Sándor Meisel (College of Szolnok) had a 2 and 3-semester course respectively on the Political Economy of the EU, where they dedicated one occasion (1.5 hours) to the constitutional process and one to the Lisbon Treaty's innovations. Furthermore, Professor István Kőrösi – who has a similar course on the EU at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University – dedicates one occasion in the semester to the political, institutional and economic consequences of the Lisbon Treaty's innovations.

Currently in Hungary the following (text)books deal in depth with the Lisbon Treaty and are 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), 2nd ed. HVG-ORAC Budapest.
- Horváth, Z. (2011): Handbook on the European Union, 4th ed. HVG-ORAC Budapest. = this textbook is used most often by teaching researchers of IWE (it exists in both Hungarian and English)
- Kecskés, L. (2011): EU-jog és jogharmonizáció (EU law and legal harmonisation), 4th ed. HVG-ORAC Budapest.
- Szalayné, S. E. – Mohay, Á. – Karoliny, E. – Komanovics, A. – Pánovics, A. (2011): Az Európai Unió joga (The Law of the European Union, Dialóg-Campus Budapest.

### Iceland (University of Iceland)

In the academic year 2012-2013, 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 JK Bailes introduced the Lisbon Treaty, including her own research findings and opinions on the subject, in the University of Iceland's MA course (International Relations/European Studies/Small State Studies) on 'European Security Institutions and Small States'. The Treaty's provisions were discussed more particularly in the sessions on CSDP, and on EU Internal Security, respectively. The class included a variety of foreign students as well as Icelandic ones

While working as a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges from January-April 2012, teaching a course on 'New Security Challenges and Security Governance', Professor Bailes introduced the Lisbon Treaty initially in relation to the EU's 'security profile' in a comparative institutional context. Later in the course, students were set a 90-minute scenario exercise based on Article 222 of the Treaty. Their task was to imagine a major accident with cross-border consequences (dangerous water pollution on the Danube) and imagine how the affected countries, the Brussels institutions, and the other member states respectively might react. The results suggested that there would not be much 'solidarity', as the other member states would fear to set a precedent by being too generous with assistance! The exercise was planned to be repeated in the spring 2013 iteration of the course. The Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small State Studies organised a European lecture series in autumn 2012 and spring 2013. The series, titled "Europe: Dialogue with Academics" included several 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 Reykjavík, with 16 partner institutes, which entirely focuses on small states in the EU.

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

The Istituto Affari Internazionali scheduled a series of training activities related to the Lisbon Treaty and other European issues, above all institutional and operational aspects of the External Action, Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Common Security and Defence Policy.

A series of activities were already carried out by IAI for students of the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Turin. In 2012, IAI also granted a nine-months scholarship to Valentina Cera, a young PhD student to carry out research on the issue of policy and institutional framework of the European Union as part of the Europe Programme, in collaboration with the Centro Studi sul Federalismo (CSF) of Turin. It is also important to underline the "Integrated training program for analysis, assessment and advice on EU external action and its institutional architecture"- EXACT project. This project - in collaboration with the University of Cologne - aims at improving career prospects of twelve young academic researchers in the EU's external action. EXACT pursues a training approach intended to meet the ever growing demand for policy advice made with professional tools and methods. To achieve this, EXACT combines resources as well as scientific and educational experiences of three universities and six important think tanks in Europe, gathered in an integrated network that will ensure stable research facilities and training. As part of EXACT, IAI hosted between 2011 and 2012 four foreign researchers who developed research projects on foreign policy and security policy, in collaboration with the institute research staff. The IAI Vice President, Gianni Bonvicini, with the collaboration of a number of researchers from the institute, teaches a course on the External Action of the EU at Roma Tre University. The course focuses on both institutional and substantial aspects of the EU External Action and devotes an important part to the innovations brought about by the Lisbon Treaty in this field.

Other courses, hold by Italian teaching institutes, focus mainly on the policies of the EU rather than on its institutions. LT-Teaching is quite common in Master's degrees' courses on European Studies, the leading one being the MA given by the Collegio Europeo in Parma which includes courses on the legal order in the EU and on institutional developments in the post-LT era. Other institutions deliver such 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 Tor Vergata hold a number of graduate and postgraduate courses on the EU, including a specific module on European foreign policy.

### **Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science)**

The Institute of International Relations and Political Science (IIRPS), Vilnius University, offers three courses on the EU in frames of Political science bachelor programme. Course of "European integration" is a compulsory course offered by Dr. Arūnas Molis and lect. Marius Skuodis. The course is attended by 110 students and focused on history and theories of the EU integration, its institutional structure, internal and external politics. The course of "Economic and monetary union", attended by 10 students, is offered as an elective course by Assoc. Prof. Stasys Kropas and focused on principles, development and functioning of the EMU. The third course "West European studies", offered as an elective course by Dr. Laurynas Kasčiūnas, has the EU as a focal point and covers topics ranging from multiculturalism, political cleavages and party systems to EU integration processes and in-depth case studies of France, Germany and United Kingdom.

IIRPS offers Master programme “European studies” (currently 25 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. Programme has a wide scope, ranging from EU institutional structure, integration theories, legal basis to EU external relations, political economy, regional policy and security. 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, EU external relations. Students of other IIRPS Master programmes also attend EU related courses. Students of “Public policy analysis” programme are able to attend course of “Public policy of the European Community” offered by Prof. Dr. Ramūnas Vilpišauskas and “European politics of the EU member states” offered by Assoc. Ptof. Klaudijus Maniokas.

Course of “European economy” by Assoc. Prof. Stasys Kropas is offered as an elective course for students of “International relations and diplomacy” master programme.

Students of “Central and Eastern European studies” (CEE) master programme attend compulsory courses of “Europeanisation in CEE” (by Assoc. Prof. Klaudijus Maniokas) and “CEE and the European Integration” (by Prof. Dr. Gediminas Vitkus). 7 students are currently enrolled in these courses.

All courses on the EU deal with the Treaty of Lisbon to the extent that is necessary for adequate interpretation of studied topics. This mainly means focus on the changes brought by the Treaty into the framework of the European Union and its further development. IIRPS also offers a course centred on the Treaty of Lisbon – “EU law”. This course is offered by Dr. Agnė Veršelytė and is compulsory for students of “European studies” master programme. Students of “Public administration” master programme are able to choose this course as an elective. All aspects of the EU legal framework are studied during this course having the Treaty of Lisbon as a main document.

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

The Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research (CERE), created in 1990 by Professor Gilbert Trausch, is attached to the Ministry of State under the Luxembourgish Prime Minister. It has a two-fold vocation, doing both historical research in specific fields of European integration and disseminating knowledge of the Luxembourgish stance in this process. In pursuance of this task, the CERE stimulates research on European unification and facilitates the publication of such work, draws up bibliographical lists and research results, organises colloquiums on problems applying to the Centre's activities as well as study meetings between teachers and students.

A TEPSA guest lecture titled "The Schengen agreement under discussion" (November 6th, 2012) was organized by the Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research (CERE) in cooperation with the Luxembourg Representation of the European Commission. The lecture was held at the European House in Luxembourg City by Professor Virginie Guiraudon, from the Centre d'études européennes de Sciences Po, Paris, and by Raoul Ueberecken, Justice and Home Affairs Counselor at the Permanent representation of Luxemburg to the EU. The lecture was attended by foreign ambassadors to Luxembourg, different members of the diplomatic representations in Luxembourg, the Attorney General of Luxembourg, professors and students from the political science department of Luxembourg University, civil servants from Luxembourg-based European institutions, administrators from the Luxembourg government, lawyers, political science and history teachers as well as a



politically-interested public audience. The Luxembourg-based European Affairs monitor called Europaforum provided an online-report on the lecture to an even larger public.

In the reporting period, the Robert Schuman Centre provided support to the project of a coursebook on citizenship and politics for students of secondary school and for vocational training. The chapter on Europe offers a comprehensible introduction for secondary students on the integration process and the functioning of the European Union taking into account the current institutional architecture of the EU after Lisbon. The book is published in German and in French. (Eyschen Marie-Paule et al.: *Éducation à la citoyenneté, enseignement secondaire technique Luxembourg*, ed. Ministère de l'Éducation nationale et de la Formation professionnelle, Berlin: Cornelsen 2012).

### Malta (University of Malta)

The Institute for European Studies offers a taught Bachelor degree (180 ECTS), a taught Master degree (90 ECTS) and an Evening Diploma (60 ECTS over two years) in European Studies. The number of students in each degree is: Bachelors - 85, Masters – 22, Diploma – 12. The Institute also runs a Ph.D. programme (5 students registered, 9 by end of 2013). The resident academic staff of the Institute responsible for the teaching and research is listed above.

No specific course has been organized on the Lisbon Treaty as such but prior to its ratification and subsequently after the Treaty came into effect, the implications of the Treaty were incorporated in teaching and research activities. The LT featured most prominently in these areas: Treaty reform, the legal order of the EU, institutions and particularly the increased powers of the European Parliament and the changing nature of the rotating EU presidency, the External Relations of the EU particularly the establishment of the European External Action Service and the role of the High Representative.

In the taught component the LT featured in the following study-units (please note that courses starting EST5XXX are post-graduate Masters level): EST1020 The Legal Order of the EU (8 ECTS, 45 students) and the following study-units (each of 4 ECTS): EST1030 Introduction to Comparative Politics of Europe (174 students); EST2060 The Law of the Internal Market of the European Union (28 students); EST2070 EU Competition Law (22 students); EST2140 Politics of the European Union (56 students); EST2020 Small States and the EU (32 students); EST2170 Malta in the EU (21 students); EST2210 Development Studies and the EU (30 students); EST3197 Comparative Federalism and the EU (21 students); EST3180 Legal Safeguards for Human Rights in Europe (25 students); EST3190 European Environmental Law and Policy (22 students); EST3203 Agenda Setting in the European Union (36 students); EST3200 EU External Policy and the CFSP (10 students); Euro-Mediterranean Relations; EST3150 EU Policies and Political Dynamics (27 students); EST3193 European Union Trade Policy (15 students). In EST2210 'Development Studies and the EU' (45 students), EST5460 'EU Development Policy' (8 students), EST5520 'Climate Change and the EU' (10 students), and EST3201 'Sustainable Development and the EU' (34 students), direct reference is made to LT provisions covering development and co-operation policy, climate change and sustainable development. In EST3192 EU Economic and Monetary Union (26 students) and EST3010 The Economics of European Integration (35 students, 4 ECTS each) reference is made to the Eurogroup in the Lisbon Treaty, the ECB as an EU institution, competences of European Parliament on legislation on economic governance (e.g. inter-institutional negotiations on Six-Pack). In EST3197 Comparative Federalism and the EU (4 ECTS, 21 students) reference to the Lisbon Treaty is made on a regular basis while comparing the EU to existing federations. In addition, an individual lecture focuses on the extent to which the LT has pushed the EU toward the model of a federation. In EST3203 Agenda-Setting and the EU (37 students) reference is made to the changes introduced by the LT on the decision-making process and particularly to the increased involvement of the European Parliament and national parliaments.

The Lisbon Treaty was also referred to in EST2020 Small States and the EU (4ECTS: 33 students) when dealing with articles 13 to 18 (TEU) and articles 223 to 250 (TFEU) on the provisions and roles of the EU institutions - particularly those of the Council of the EU and the European Council; Articles 21 and 22 (TEU) on general provisions on the EU's external action; and Articles 293 and 294 (TFEU) on the procedures for the adoption of acts and other provisions. In addition, articles 49 and 50 (TEU) are key articles for the study-unit EST5570 European Union Enlargement (15 students). EST 5470, Lobbying in the EU (9 students), includes specific seminars on how the Lisbon Treaty has altered the lobbying environment in Brussels while EST 5480, Current Issues in EU Politics (11 students), also includes a seminar on the LT and its impact on institutional balance as well as seminars on the Lisbon Treaty and the consequences for a variable geometry of European integration. The LT was also relevant in all the dissertations written as part of the course fulfilment requirements at the Institute particularly since 2009, but in two undergraduate dissertations the Treaty of Lisbon featured in the title in 2012: (1) The Libyan Crisis - A Test for the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy after the Lisbon Treaty; and (2) Terrorism in Europe and the EU's Response after the Lisbon Treaty. Since 2009, the Lisbon treaty featured in the title of 8 out of 141 undergraduate dissertations (5.7%). In the Master degree specific mention was not made in the dissertation titles though the research

One event has been organised at the Institute during the reporting period, i.e. on April 8th 2013, under the title of "The Lisbon Treaty and Citizenship in Europe". This consisted of a panel discussion on European Citizenship in the light of the Lisbon Treaty which involved three members of the Institute's academic staff namely the Director, Dr Mark Harwood (Senior Lecturer) and Dr Marcello Carammia. The topics dealt with were the following: (I) The Committee for a People's Europe and the Politics behind EU Citizenship; (II) EU governance after the Lisbon Treaty: institutional complexity and democratic legitimacy; (III) More Powers to the European Parliament and European Citizenship.

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

The International Relations and International Organization (IRIO) department of the University of Groningen offers both bachelor and master courses related to the EU. Our annual intake of bachelor students is approximately 250 students from the Netherlands and other EU states, and some from beyond the EU. Our master program typically has 23-30 students each year.

This report will focus on two of the large lecture classes which all of the students of a particular year follow, our International Organization class in the first year, and Policy and Governance in the EU Context. This year there was renewed emphasis given on the Lisbon Treaty, especially on policy making related to interior policies and the new emphasis on fundamental rights within the EU. Here a special focus is made in the inter-relationship between institutions of the Council of Europe and the European Union, in the development of human rights law and policy.

There was a focus on the citizenship provisions of the Lisbon Treaty, including the right to move and reside freely within the EU, to vote and stand in elections in EP and local elections, to enjoy consular protection abroad, and to petition the EP or the ombudsman in any Treaty language. There was also a detailed focus on the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, including an analysis of the preamble and the subsequent chapters.

In particular, our International Organization course this year had a new focus on the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. This was made possible by completion of the book for Springer publishing in New York, based on a previous LISBOAN conference held on the subject in the Netherlands Ministry of the Interior and at the national parliament. The book, edited by Ronald Holzhaacker and Paul Luif is titled 'Freedom, Security and Justice in the European Union: Internal and External Dimensions of Increased Cooperation after the Lisbon Treaty.'



Here is the back page of the book, which will be published later this year.

‘As the European Union 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. The first part of this book focuses on the institutional relations of policymaking in AFSJ, both within member states and between member states, in particular the issues 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. Two chapters highlight the tension found in this policy area between security and human or fundamental rights, the first related to data retention and the second on policing external borders. The final two chapters are concerned with data exchange between European countries and transatlantic with the US, and the interface between AFSJ and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The chapters contained in the book were presented at the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and the Dutch national parliament (Tweede Kamer), making it of interest to scholars and practitioners alike.’

Ronald Holzacker delivered a lecture ‘Recent Developments in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice after Lisbon’ at the Austrian Institute for International Relations, Vienna, October 24th, 2012, as a LISBOAN guest lecturer. Commentary to the lecture was delivered by an official of the Austrian Ministry of the Interior. In attendance were a number of academic scholars, members of the diplomatic corps, and the media. The lecture was followed by questions and debate.

An article which Dr. Holzacker published was used in one of the large lectures this year as part of research-based teaching. The article appears in the March 2013 edition of the journal *Law & Policy*. The article builds on a theory of Keck and Sikkink concerning the ‘boomerang,’ in which national NGOs reach up to the international realm to put pressure on states to respect human rights. Holzacker contributes to the idea that within Europe, a ‘ricochet’ of legal and political argumentation is seen being communicated across a range of European Union and Council of Europe institutions and human rights civil society organizations. With the heightened role of fundamental rights after the Lisbon Treaty, this ricochet of ideas between the EU and CoE has become increasingly important. The article focuses on the right of assembly for Pride marches in four countries: Latvia, Poland, Serbia, and Russia. The article concludes that EU member states, and applicant states to the EU, are more likely to abide by international pressure to respect the right of assembly, than non-EU states within the Council of Europe.

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

The European Studies programme at the University of Twente is a broad interdisciplinary programme that focuses on developments at the European level. Students get thoroughly introduced to social, political, economic and legal developments of the European Union. In addition, they are trained in social science research methods and policy analysis.

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' and 'EU External Economic 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 in particular are 'European Union Law' and 'European Institutions'. The institutional setting of the European Union is also addressed by the EUROSIM simulation, in which the University of Twente (and in particular students from the European Studies program) takes part.

The European Studies program is going to be discontinued. Starting in September 2013, there will be a BSc European Public Administration. It also touches upon EU topics. In the first year, there will be an introduction to the European institutions. In the second year, there are elective modules (covering 30 ECs in total) on European governance. In particular, the Eurozone crisis and European Neighbourhood Policy will be covered. In all of these courses, the Lisbon treaty will play a central role.

### **Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael)**

A large part of the courses at Clingendael Academy offers are generic training courses on international relations and diplomatic practice for young diplomats coming from countries or regions all over the world. Within these courses attention is paid to the EU and the Lisbon Treaty, especially the changes it made in the field of EU's foreign and external policies. In the reporting period we received groups from Pakistan & Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Western Balkans and Turkey, Arabic region, ASEAN, Great Lakes Region, and Sudan. But also in other courses for other target groups attention is paid to EU affairs e.g.: a two days module on EU in the training course for the ministry of Economic Affairs, a one day training on EU coordination and external representation for the multilateral affairs division of the MFA, a module in the training International Relations for post-graduates, one day in a training for the Municipality of Rotterdam, two days in the training for the Police Academy, two days in the training for Military personnel, etc. Besides attention for the EU in the abovementioned broader training programmes, we also have also given specific EU courses for the ministry of Security and Justice, the ministry of Education, Culture and Research, the ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Institute for Public Health and the Environment, the Province of Noord-Brabant and Gasterra (company). Two open registration courses are also EU oriented; Effective interest promotion in the EU and EU negotiations.

None of our courses were exclusively focused on the Lisbon Treaty. With regard to the Lisbon Treaty we discuss the main institutional changes, especially in the field of CFSP and external policies and comitology. In approx. 70 % of our courses more or less attention is paid to the Lisbon Treaty.

We have organised two events on the Lisbon Treaty. The first one on February 21st-22nd, 2012 for the Lisbon Erasmus Academic Network 'EU external representation and the reform of international contexts: practices after Lisbon'. A second one on December 18th 2012, a workshop on the functioning of the European Parliament after Lisbon. We sometimes used Factsheets on the Lisbon Treaty by the Schumann Foundation. Europocket, Kluwer 21st edition (treaties) and The Ever-Changing Union: an Introduction to the History, Institutions and Decision-Making Processes of the European Union (2nd ed.) Paper Brussels, Centre for European Policy Studies, March 2011, 108 p.

Examples of research- based teaching on the Lisbon Treaty include questions concerning the EEAS.

### **Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo)**

We are a research institute, not a teaching institute. There were no events during the reporting period which dealt specifically with the Lisbon Treaty, but there were a few that dealt with issues related to it. Senior Researcher Ian Cooper gave an invited lecture to the meeting of Permanent Representatives of National Parliaments of the European Union on the subject "On the Evolving Role of National

Parliaments in the EU," 26 November 2012. Professor John Erik Fossum gave a Keynote address on 'EU democratization: prospects and challenges' at the European University Institute conference, 'Representative Democracy in the 21st Century,' October 25th-26th, 2012.

### **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:

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 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)".

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

### **Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon)**

During the fall semester of the 2012/2013 academic year ISEG offered two courses in European Law to its students, conducted by Professor Antonio Goucha Soares. The first one was devoted to undergraduate students, it was conducted in English, and mainly concentrated in the core phases of European integration, since the creation of the European Communities in the 1950's until the Treaty of Lisbon. Then, it focused on the institutional framework of the European Union. Hence, the Treaty of Lisbon was a central topic of this course. The program also covered the Internal Market, with the four fundamental economic freedoms. A couple of sessions were devoted to the Economic and Monetary Union and the current Euro crisis. The course was attended by 32 students. They were mainly incoming Erasmus students, from different countries, with a majority of Germans. One Portuguese student attended the course, as well.

The other course was offered within the framework of the Masters in International Economics and European Studies. This was an intermediate level course of European Law, conducted in Portuguese. It focused both in institutional issues and EU policies, such as external relations, foreign and security policy, monetary union, free movement of goods, right of residence and free movement of people within the EU. The course was attended by 45 students. Most of them were Portuguese students, but there were also some Brazilian and African students. There was a vast bibliography concerning the Treaty of Lisbon for this course. During the same academic semester Professor Antonio Goucha Soares organised several sessions of the ISEG PhD Program in Development Studies, focused in European issues related with the Treaty of Lisbon, but also with the Euro crisis.

## Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)

The Faculty of European Studies includes in its broad curriculum a large number of academic disciplines pertaining to the EU, at the bachelor, master and PhD levels. These courses refer to: the history of European integration, EU institutions and policies, EU economics, EU law, EU anthropology, EU communication, EU project management, EU decision making etc.

Although there was no course focusing exclusively on the Lisbon Treaty, given the up-to-date nature of all our courses and seminars, this subject occurred frequently in the curriculum. For instance, the courses of European Integration, EU Policies, EU Institutions and Decision Making in the EU each include about 4 teaching hours pertaining to the Lisbon Treaty. As far as the seminars are concerned, students are required to analyse the contents of the Treaty, compare and contrast it to previous EU treaties, as well as assess its perception, so as to utter pertinent statements with regard to the future reform of the European Union. As much as 15% of the contents of such courses were dedicated to aspects dealing with the Lisbon Treaty.

Between June 14th and 16th, 2012, the Faculty of European Studies organized the International Conference “Regional Policy - Historical and Comparative Approach”, in Cluj-Napoca and Bistrita. In it, there were at least 7 lectures held by our colleagues, as well as our foreign guests, which mentioned extensively provisions of the Lisbon Treaty germane to the topic of the academic event. The conclusions of the conference, as enunciated by Prof. Dr. Nicolae Paun, also made repeated references to the aforementioned Treaty. The participants were university professors, students, PhD students, along with representatives of the local and regional administration.

On the October 22nd, 2012, Babes-Bolyai University, together with the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture of the County of Bistrita-Nasaud, held an educational and academic debate, bearing the title “Europe 2020 Agenda”, so as to assess the preparation and implementation of this strategy by Romania and its decision-making bodies. The conference, organized at Babes-Bolyai’s University Extension in Bistrita, was moderated by Dr. Adrian-Gabriel Corpadean, a Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of European Studies, and had numerous interventions dedicated to the extent to which the Lisbon Treaty favours the accomplishment of the Europe 2020 Agenda. Participants included university professors, high school teachers, students, PhD students and twelve-graders from local lyceums.

On February 20th-23rd, 2013, the Faculty of European Studies, together with the EU Liaison Committee of Historians, organised the International Colloquium “Disintegration and Integration in East-Central Europe (1919-post-1989)”, which benefitted from the participation of more than 40 university professors and researchers from across the European Union, along with a large number of PhD, master and bachelor students, representatives of the Romanian Government and Parliament, members of the business community etc. On that occasion, there were several interventions where it was mentioned the impact of the Lisbon Treaty on countries in Eastern and Central Europe, their manner of implementing the provisions of the Treaty and future perspectives regarding the influence of this part of the continent on the outcome of the EU’s institutional reform, envisaged at present.

For the teaching of subjects pertaining to the Lisbon Treaty, our colleagues use interactive materials, such as PPT presentations, as well as statistical data provided by Eurostat, legal texts, academic articles from international journals, the European media and the websites of the EU. Moreover, they utilise the latest books published by international scholars on the topic, some of which are available through the European Documentation Centre hosted by our Faculty. As support materials for students, in both courses and seminars, we equally use articles on the Lisbon Treaty, written by the teachers of the Department of European Studies and Governance, which is part of the Faculty of European Studies.

## Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)

At the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, there are two undergraduate programs and one master program where Lisbon Treaty (LT) is studied within different individual courses. Within the framework of European studies undergraduate program, 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 program, 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 programme of European Studies, the LT is studied as a legal framework for individual policies the students decide to focus their attention of master 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%)

Over the reporting period, the department organised a number of guest lectures:

- Svetlicic, Marjan: The European Union: challenges at a time of global strategic reset. Kiyv: Simpozij: The EU, Central and Eastern Europe and Ukraine: Transformation, Prognosis and Perspectives, November 16th, 2012.
- Kanjc Lange, Sabina (EIPA, senior researcher at CIR): "Brussels speak": External action of the EU; inter-institutional relations. 28. Nov 2012 at University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences.
- Kajnc Lange, Sabina (EIPA, senior researcher at CIR): Institutions of the EU: surprising winners and losers of the Lisbon Treaty. 28. Nov 2012 at University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences.

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, 7th edition. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cini, Michel (2013): The European Union Politics, 4th edition. Oxford University Press.
- Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe and 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 also partly employed as researchers. A good example is negotiation simulation of TRIO presidencies of the EU within the International

Negotiations course and the role of small states in the EU presidency. Recent research has also been conducted and included into teaching the course External Relations of the EU (teacher Ana Bojinović Fenko) regarding external action of the EU. More specifically, the course focuses on the inter-institutional relations after the Lisbon Treaty in the implementation of previous external relations Community vs. CFSP vs. 2nd pillar-based political process and decision-making, and applies this processual analysis to the analysis of external policies of the EU towards area-specific actors (e.g. enlargement policy towards Western Balkans, Development cooperation towards LDCs, migration policy in the light of the Mediterranean Neighbourhood, Energy policy in relation to Russia, Environmental policy within the universal environmental regime).



## 2. Researching the Treaty of Lisbon

Guide questions:

What is your (where applicable: your institution/department's) main area of EU-related research?

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)?

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)

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.

### Austria (Diplomatic Academy of Vienna)

Three faculty members conduct research that addresses Lisbon. Markus Kornprobst's book project on EU Crisis Management deals with EU foreign policy during international crises. Catherine Hecht, addressing international dimensions of democratization, deals with EU attempts to foster democratization in depth. On a broader level, Beatrix Futak-Campbell is writing on a book about practices in EU foreign policy.

The following articles, published in 2012, deal with theoretical frameworks for studying governance in general and post-Lisbon EU governance in particular:

- Kornprobst, Markus (forthcoming 2013): "From Political Judgments to Public Justification (and Vice Versa): How Communities Generate Reasons upon Which to Act," *European Journal of International Relations*.
- Kornprobst, Markus/ Bellamy, Richard/ Reh, Christine (2012): "Introduction: Meeting in the Middle," *Government & Opposition* 47/3 in special issue: Politics as Compromise.

### Belgium (Universiteit Ghent)

The research activities of the European Institute mainly focus on the external relations of the European Union. In the reporting period, a conference on "EU Governance of Global Emergencies" has been organised in Brussels. Several members of the Ghent University European Institute contributed to this event, organised by Prof. Govaere in cooperation with Sara Poli (university of Pisa) and Sieglinde Gstöhl (College of Europe). A specific section of this conference was organised to an analysis of the new instruments introduced by the Lisbon Treaty to tackle global emergencies in the fields of terrorism, environment/natural disasters and humanitarian aid. The papers presented at the conference will be published with Brill-Martinus Nijhoff at the end of 2013 in the series on EU external relations (series editor: Prof. Marc Maresceau).

Prof. Peter Van Elsuwege presented papers on 'The phenomenon of reverse discrimination' and on the scope of Article 8 TEU at the Lisbon conferences 'The Lisbon Treaty: A quasi-constitutional framework to be revised?' and "The European Neighbourhood Policy and the Lisbon Treaty: What has changed?", taking place in Bologna and Rome respectively.

Research on the Lisbon Treaty is also an essential aspect of on-going 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 Market) and the role of rotating presidencies in the EU (Bruno Vandecasteele).

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

### **Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University)**

At the New Bulgarian University, research on the Lisbon Treaty is approached from different disciplines (Political Science, Sociology and Law). All researches involve European integration aspects and in many cases the changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty. Of specific interest are some of the articles addressing the new institutional balance and structure of power within EU (Title 3: Provisions on the Institutions: articles 9 to 10B included) as well as some concluding protocols, mainly the Protocol on the role of national Parliaments in the European Union and the Protocol on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality.

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

Within the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) Zagreb the 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 accession and the EU membership of Croatia, are at the centre of research interests. Thematically, the Europe 2020 Strategy is currently at the research focus. The Department takes part in various European academic networks. In addition to scientific research, the Department's activities include the development of an information infrastructure and education in the field of European studies. Members of the research team in their work focused on the EU's EEAS (Art. 27, TEU), European social dialogue and industrial relations (Art. 151-161 of the TFEU), civil protection (Art. 196, TFEU) as well as the role of national parliaments in the EU's political system (Art. 12, TEU, Protocol on the Role of National Parliaments in the EU, Protocol on Subsidiarity and Proportionality).

In addition to the LISBOAN project the IMO European Integration Department has been involved in implementing the following projects relevant to the LT:

- 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 was implemented for the most part of 2012 within program: Industrial Relations and Social Dialogue, DG for Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion, European Commission. The project coordinator is Centre for Economic Development, Sofia while IRMO participated as one of the six project partners. The project involved 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 was 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 Art. 151-161 of the TFEU which confirm the role of social partners and enhance the social dialogue.
- 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 is being implemented since March 2012. It is coordinated by the Research Management AS (RESMAN) from Norway while IRMO participates as one of 11 project partners. The 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 manmade disasters within the EU. A new legal basis allows EU countries' actions in this field to be supported and operational cooperation to be promoted (Art. 196. TFEU).

- OPAL – Observatory of Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty: Within this project funded by the research councils of the UK, France, Germany and the Netherlands the IRMO participates as a partner in publishing the “Handbook of the National Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty”. This handbook to be published by Palgrave in the early 2014 will be composed of chapters covering all EU member states including Croatia. It will assess adaptations made by the national parliaments of the EU member states with respect to their new roles in political system of the EU as prescribed by the LT (Art. 12. TEU, Protocol on the Role of National Parliaments in the EU, Protocol on Subsidiarity and Proportionality).
- Representativeness Study on the Social Partners in the European Cross-Sector Social Dialogue: During February and March 2013 the European Integration Department of the IRMO Zagreb compiled and analysed data for Croatia related to representativeness of Croatian social partners in the European cross-sector social dialogue. This work was commissioned by the Eurofond: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions from Dublin and will be used by the European Industrial Relations Observatory (EIRO) for composing of its Representativeness Study on the Social Partners in the European Cross-Sector Social Dialogue. LT Art. 151-161 of the TFEU which confirm the role of social partners in the EU policy making are of crucial importance for this study as they represent the legal basis for activities of the social partners at the EU level.

The IRMO European Integration Department in 2012 published a book “The Effects of the Economic Crisis on Industrial Relations in Croatia” written by Hrvoje Butković, Višnja Samardžija and Sanja Tišma. This book is a result of the international research project „The Economic Crisis Impact on Industrial Relations National Systems: Policy Responses as Key Recovery Tools” implemented with the support of the European Commission and coordinated by the Centre for Economic Development from Sofia. This project was inspired by the LT Art. 151-161 of the TFEU which confirm the role of social dialogue in the EU. Research results show that the crisis led to questioning of the routine patterns of industrial relations in Croatia, requesting from the social partner's re-examination of their current action strategies. Furthermore, rapprochement of standpoints of employers, trade unions and the Government on the ways for getting out of the crisis represents a precondition for leading an effective social dialogue the role of which should be strengthened within process of shaping public policies. The publication is available for download from <http://www.imo.hr/files/Croatia.pdf>

The book “Environmental Finance and Development”, written by IRMO researchers Sanja Tišma, Ana Maria Boromisa and Ana Pavičić Kaselj, was being published within the Routledge Studies in Ecological Economics, London 2012. The book focuses on environmental protection and financing in the process of alignment with the EU based on the comparative analysis of five selected countries: Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia and Turkey. Research has identified the most important achievements and remaining challenges in the main areas of environmental regulation, covering issues of nature protection, water, waste, air and climate change. In this sense, the book generally aligns with the LT-based energy article where the EU now specifically promotes “energy efficiency and energy saving and the development of new and renewable forms of energy” (Art. 194. TFEU). Additionally,

the book particularly dwells on the LT-enshrined environmental policy articles (Art. 191-193 of the TFEU) that reaffirm the EU's commitment to the environmental protection and combating climate change.

Finally, the book "Decentralization and Local Development in South East Europe", edited by Will Bartlett (LSE), Sanja Maleković (IRMO) and Vassilis Monastiriotis (LSE) issued by Palgrave Macmillan in 2013 touches upon the important issues of regional policy, local economic development and decentralization in the countries of Southeast Europe (SEE). The book inquires into effectiveness and impacts of these processes and evaluates policy responses in different political and institutional environments among the SEE countries. The study is important having in mind the LT-based goal of territorial cohesion that is now put on equal footing with the economic and social cohesion (Art. 3, TEU), reflecting new understanding of the EU's territorial cohesion as horizontal concept impacting sector policies. Additionally, the book emanates impacts of the EU's cohesion policy enshrined in the LT that aims to reduce disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and promotes harmonious development (Art. 174, TFEU).

### **Czech Republic (Institute for International Relations)**

The Institute of International Relations does research regarding several different fields of international relations, but does also have a broad engagement with EU related research. When it comes to EU policy the institute does research regarding ENP (in particular Eastern Partnership), enlargement, CFSP, institutional development, EU energy and climate policy, and Europeanization of East Central Europe. The institute also devotes significant attention to the development of Czech EU policy.

In concrete terms some specific parts of the Lisbon Treaty are of particular relevance for the research at the IIR: 1) EEAS, Article 27(3), EU Treaty and changes related to the CFSP Protocol 14, Articles 1 and 2) that give the Eurogroup a formal legal basis and 3) to some degree the protocol on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality.

The IIR was involved in the following research projects:

- The economic governance of the eurozone: scenarios of future development and implications for the Czech Republic. How the Czech Republic can influence the institutional design of the Eurogroup and its emerging economic and fiscal policies – research grant from the Technology Agency of the Czech Republic.
- The IIR is the coordinator of a project on The Visegrad group in the Post-Lisbon EU: Getting Closer to Move Further. Founded by the Visegrad found.
- Missile Defence in Europe: Strategic, Political, and Industrial Implications – briefing for the foreign affairs committee of the European Parliament – under the framework contract with TEPSA, 2011.

Relevant publications over the period of investigation include:

- Beneš, Vít (2012). Who is Afraid of the D-word? Policy paper on the democratic deficit in post-Lisbon area, <http://www.ustavmezinarodnichvztahu.cz/article/who-is-afraid-of-the-d-word-towards-the-democratic-european-union>.
- Beneš, Vít (2012). "The Czech Republic and the European External Action Service", in: Rosa Balfour and Kristi Raik (eds), The European External Action Service and National Diplomacies.

## Denmark (Danish Centre for International Studies)

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

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

The DIIS has launched a research project during the reporting period on the Danish Presidency, “EU 2012- crisis and renewal” assessing the crucial issues on the EU agenda. The project resulted in a seminar series, a range of DIIS policy briefs on related issues, weekly debate contributions in the Danish media, and finally a newly published book compiling the material produced by DIIS researchers during the Presidency.

In the reporting period, the DIIS has produced the following publications on the Treaty of Lisbon or related subjects:

- Albertsen, K. B. (2012), “Europeanising Labour Migration Policies and Pursuing National Objectives”, DIIS policy brief. Copenhagen: Danish Institute of International Affairs.
- Daugbjerg, C. (2012), “Reforming the Common Agricultural Policy in the Shadow of the WTO”, DIIS Policy Brief. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Fejerskov, A. (2013), “European Union Development Cooperation in a Changing Global Context”, DIIS Report 02. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Fejerskov, A. and Keijzer (2013), “Practice makes Perfect? – The European Union’s engagement in negotiations on a post 2015 framework for development”, DIIS Report 01, Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Hageman, S. (2012), “Money and Power: EU budget negotiations in a time of austerity”, DIIS Policy Brief. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Maselli, I. (2012), “Flexicurity in Italy: How far is Rome from Copenhagen?”, DIIS policy brief, Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Jensen, N., Tassinari, F. and Thode, T. (eds) (2012), “Krise og fornyelse – Perspektiver på EU under det danske formandskab 2012”, Copenhagen: The EU Commission, the representation in Denmark.

## Estonia (University of Tartu)

The most significant advance in EU studies, especially research, as a whole in Estonia, was the establishment of the interdisciplinary Centre for European Union – Russia Studies (CEURUS) (<http://ceurus.ut.ee>) at the University of Tartu in 2011 (fully operational in 2012). It is led by Dr Piret Ehin, Senior Researcher at the Institute of Government and Politics.

The research activities of CEURUS are organized into 6 Research Clusters:

- RC1: Governance & Democracy. Coordinator: professor Viacheslav Morozov
- RC2: Borders, Regions & Neighbourhood. Coordinator: professor Viacheslav Morozov

- RC3: Energy & Environment. Coordinator: Dr Andrei Belyi
- RC4: History & Memory. Coordinator: Dr Maria Mälksoo
- RC5: Sovereignty, Security & Order. Coordinator: professor Eiki Berg
- RC6: International Law & Human Rights. Coordinator: professor Lauri Mälksoo

CEURUS has so far published 9 EU-Russia Working Papers and in 2012 CEURUS published its first EU–Russia Watch, a bi-annual report on the relations between individual EU member states and the Russian Federation. Targeted at policy-makers, academics and the general public, the Watch focuses on dominant themes and recent developments in bilateral relations, and provides an overview of member states’ perspectives on issues structuring the EU–Russian relationship.

CEURUS will host the 1st European Workshop in International Studies (EWIS), organised by the European International Studies Association (EISA, formerly the ECPR-Standing Group in International Relations), June 5th–8th, 2013 in Tartu.

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

The main areas of EU-related research in the School of Management are European and EU politics, including comparative European politics, EU external relations, EU energy policy and European/EU public finance; and European Law, including basic rights, human rights and taxation law. Of the innovations of the LT, of special research relevance were for example the explicit mention of shared competence in energy policy and the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS). Three research projects at UTA have special relevance to the LT: ‘Energy Policy in European Integration’ (Jean Monnet Professor Pami Aalto, 2011-14, Academy of Finland); ‘Legal Regulation of the Economy’ (Prof. Pekka Lämsineva, 2011-14, Academy of Finland); ‘Construction of Knowledge on the Economy in the EU’ (Prof. Risto Heiskala, 2011-15).

Some samples of research of relevance on the LT at UTA include:

- Aalto, Pami (2012, with D. Korkmaz Temel): “Towards a Wider European Energy Security Society: from Vulnerability and Viability to Sustainability”, in: Aalto, P./ Harle V./ Moisio, S. (eds): Global and Regional Problems, towards Interdisciplinary Study, pp. 79-104. Farnham, Ashgate.
- Aalto, Pami ((2012): “From Separate Policies to Dialogue? Natural Gas, Oil and Electricity on the Future Agenda of EU-Russia Energy Relations”, CEURUS EU-Russia Papers, No. 3.
- 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 and Friedrich Dawid (eds): The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 175-191.
- Raunio, Tapio (2012): “The European Parliament”, in: Jones, Erik/ Menon, Anand/ Weatherill, Stephen (eds): The Oxford Handbook of the European Union. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 365-379.

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

Researchers at Walter Hallstein-Institute focus on the EU as a multilevel constitutional system. The recent research mainly deals with possible reforms of primary EU law. Since the outbreak of the economic and financial crisis in Europe the focus lies in the revision of the relevant provisions of the treaties (Art. 119-144 TFEU and others). To do so, it is also necessary to consider the lack of

democratic legitimacy of EU acts and measures. Both issues go hand and in hand. Besides, the rescue packages and measures to overcome the financial crisis were discussed and evaluated at WHI.

Researches of WHI published the results of their research regarding the treaty reforms in 2012:

- Ingolf Pernice, Mattias Wendel, Lars S. Otto, Kristin Bettge, Martin Mlynarski, Michael Schwarz: Die Krise demokratisch überwinden - Reformmodell einer demokratisch fundierten Wirtschafts- und Finanzverfassung Europas" / "A Democratic Solution to the Crisis - Reform Model for a Democratically Based Economic and Financial Constitution for Europe, Nomos 2012. Also available online at: [http://www.lehrstuhl-pernice.de/tl\\_files/documents/Pernice%20u.a.,%20Die%20Krise%20demokratisch%20ueberwinden,%202012.pdf](http://www.lehrstuhl-pernice.de/tl_files/documents/Pernice%20u.a.,%20Die%20Krise%20demokratisch%20ueberwinden,%202012.pdf)

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.

Furthermore, Prof Pernice published several papers regarding the issue in 2012:

- How can the process of European Unification be organised democratically on a medium and long-term basis.
- Opinion on Draft International Treaty on a Fiscal Compact.
- Stellungnahme zum Themen- und Fragenkatalog anlässlich der Anhörung des Bundessrates zu ESM, Fiskalpakt und Änderung des Art. 136 AEUV.

All papers can be downloaded at <http://www.whi-berlin.eu/whi-paper-2012.html>.

### 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, Julia Simon, M.A., works mainly on European foreign policy. His other 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.

In the winter term 2012/2013 the Center for European Studies (Zentrum für Europäische Studien, ZES) at the University of Trier organized an interdisciplinary series of lectures covering the issues of

“Was Europa zusammenhält” (What keeps Europe together). Central to this lecture was the attempt to identify common elements in the European Union and to verify the viability of its traditional foundations in a time of economic and political crises.

Current publications:

- Krotz; Ulrich / Schild, Joachim: Shaping Europe. France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty, First Century Politics, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013.
- Koopmann, Martin / Schild, Joachim / Stark, Hans (Hrsg.): Neue Wege in ein neues Europa: Die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen nach dem Ende des Kalten Krieges, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag 2013 (Genshagener Schriften – Europa politisch denken).

### **Greece (Institute of European Integration and Policy)**

Research at the Institute of European Integration and Policy of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens focuses on the following areas: Institutional Reforms, Economic Governance, Europeanization, Cohesion Policy, Environmental Policy and Greece and the European Union. Concerning the Lisbon Treaty, the functioning of the European External Action Service as well as the enhancement of the EP's role in 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 (see IEIP publications at <http://eeep.pspa.uoa.gr/publications.html>). A number of PhD seminars were organized by the department of International and European Studies, in which various aspects of the Lisbon Treaty were also examined depending to the various PhD topics. The IEIP researchers that are PhD candidates in the Faculty of Political Studies and Public Administration also participated in the seminars and presented their work. The content of the PhD of the IEIP researchers are indirectly linked to the Lisbon Treaty but examine various aspects of European integration.

IEIP continues to hold 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. IEIP is monitoring reports of international organizations and the academic literature on issues concerning the Greek economy and the EU Structural Funds. The Lisbon Treaty is indirectly linked to this Scientific Project. The Director of IEIP as well as other members of the Academic Board had permanent columns on newspapers commenting on the news and on the major question that dominate the European scene.

IEIP continues the publication of the monthly newsletter “European Developments”. This newsletter covers the discussions on the impact of the main institutional innovations of the Lisbon Treaty, the discussion on the economic governance as well as the most important European developments. This newsletter is sent in hard copy to the Greek Ministries, to the members of the European Parliament, to journalists and to public sector executives. Electronically it is sent to the main Greek institutes on European and International Studies, academia and, of course, to students (it can be downloaded from the IEIP website). In addition, undergraduate students of the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration are doing their practice (stage) in IEIP. As part of their practice they are indexing foreign and domestic press and contributing in the redaction of the newsletter of “European Developments”. As a result of his research Professor P.C. Ioakimides wrote a chapter in the collective volume “From accession to the crisis. Greece and the European Union: 1981-2011” (in Greek) by Papazisis Publishers (2012). Another chapter in this book was written by Panos Kazakos, Professor Emeritus and member of IEIP Academic Board and Susannah Verney, Assistant Professor and member of IEIP Academic Board. In addition, Assistant Professor Susannah Verney wrote a scientific article on “The Eurozone's First Post-bailout Election: The 2010 Local Government Contest in



Greece” in the scientific journal *South European Society and Politics*. Professor Napoleon Maravegias published the book “Hundred pieces of the crisis in Greece, in Europe and the world”, Papazisis Publishers, 2012. The publishing activities of three other members of IEIP Academic Board were not directly linked with the Lisbon Treaty: Assistant Professor Emmanouella Doussis wrote a chapter in the book “International political economy. Theory, structure and challenges of the global economy” (Papazisis Publishers, Athens, 2012), Assistant Professor Nikos Koutsiaras wrote the book “The revenge of the slaves and the redundancy of the deads. The political economy of macroeconomic stabilization”, (Papazisis Publishers, 2012). Finally Professor Panos Kazakos wrote a chapter in the book “Work as a growth factor” (Papazisis Publishers).

### **Hungary (College of Business and Communication)**

Main research areas are the cohesion and/or structural policy of the EU and the competitiveness of Hungary. Against the background that the LT has stipulated territorial cohesion as a goal, there has been a research in BCE and BKF on regional developments, concentrating on the Danube Strategy of the EU.

These research activities have resulted in a number of publications. A Progress Report on the New Member States with a large analysis and data base has been written by Attila Ágh and published in the early 2013. Moreover, in 2010-2011 two books were published on this topic, both edited by Attila Ágh. Following these two books in English, in 2013 a third book has been published in Hungarian on Danube Strategy and on the regional-cohesion policy of the EU.

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

At IWE practically all EU countries are 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 developments and reform of 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 in the EU, 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 (Art. 194). However, no special research was done in those fields by IWE 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 Bailes was co-editor and part-author of a volume published by the European Policy Centre at Brussels in January 2012 on ‘The EEAS in Action’, which considered the openings created by the LT – and critically assessed the EU’s potential and performance – in a range of strategically important fields from external crisis management to migration. All chapters explicitly addressed LT provisions and the nature or lack of follow-up since 2010. Professor Bailes wrote the chapters on arms control/non-proliferation and on terrorism.

Professor Bailes published an article on ‘Iceland and the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Challenge or Opportunity?’, co-authored with graduate student Örvar Þ. Rafnsson, in the *University of*

Iceland's social sciences journal 'Stjórnmal og Stjórnsýsla' in June 2012. Although the new research behind this study mainly concerned the contributions of small member states to CSDP, the article included a long section analysing the importance for Iceland – should it join the EU – of the LT's security and defence provisions.

Professor Conrad is mainly interested in democratic theory, post-national and transnational democracy, institutional developments, European identity, European constitutional patriotism, European Citizens' Initiative. He has been working on a research project on the ECI, 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.

Professor Conrad presented a paper on the ECI at an ECPR Joint Session in Mainz; the title was "Creating Transnational Citizens on the Internet? The European Citizens' Initiative, the Internet and Transnational Mobilization", the workshop was called "Collective Action Online" and held in October 2012.

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.

### Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

During 2012, "European Union institutions and policies" department at the IAI focused on four research areas: 1) democracy and the new governance of the European Union in the post-Lisbon, namely institutional and policy responses to the crisis of sovereign debt in the euro area; 2) resources and tools available for the EU in order to carry out its policies, with particular reference to the European External Action Service (EEAS); 3) the international role of the EU with particular attention to Union's contribution to the United Nations reform and to the nuclear disarmament process, as well as to the partnership with the African Union (AU); 4) formation of excellence, respectively, on European foreign policy (Project EXACT) and the Treaty of Lisbon (Project LISBOAN).

#### 1. Democracy and the new governance of the European Union

Fiscal Compact, Governance and democracy in the EU. As part of the traditional line of research on the future of democracy in the European Union, research has focused this year on the Fiscal Compact, as a decisive test case concerning the direction taken by the European integration process after the sovereign debt and euro crisis.

The so-called Fiscal Compact is an extremely complex treaty, both because of its intergovernmental nature, which places it outside the EU framework, and its strict fiscal discipline, especially addressed to heavily indebted States such as Italy.

IAI, in collaboration with the Centro studi sul federalismo of Turin, gave a seminar held in Turin on May 4th, 2012, which brought together experts from various disciplines in an effort to analyse how the Fiscal Compact could affect the EU's legal framework and the possible evolution of the euro area. Papers presented at the seminar have been later collected in a volume.

#### *The political future of the European Union*

- Following the study of the Fiscal Compact, in 2012 IAI continued to pay attention to problems arising from the sovereign debt crisis in the Eurozone, launching a major study on institutional



responses and policies that EU should adopt in order to face it, including the impact at the level of democratic legitimacy. The main issues of this research project have been the new governance of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the Union's democratic legitimacy in light of recent changes and in view of future developments. During late 2012 and early 2013 four papers were published within the project, dealing, respectively, with the following issues: the new EU plan for growth adopted by the European Council of June 28th-29<sup>th</sup>, 2012, the new governance of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the democratic parliamentary control of the new EMU, at both national and EU levels.

- **Annual Community Governance, Economic and political union:** This highly topical subject has been considered not only with regard to the institutional aspects related to the management of the economic crisis, but also in view of the future EU budget and tools to boost infrastructure investments (Eurobond). Therefore, in cooperation with Notre Europe, Centro Studi sul Federalismo in Turin and the Institut für Europäische Politik in Berlin, it was decided to focus on possible uses of EU budget in the aim of enhancing European integration.
- **Italian-Polish Dialogue on European Union:** Under the patronage of Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Polish Embassy in Rome, the IAI and the Polish think tank Demos Europe brought together experts from the two countries to discuss European integration in the wake of the Fiscal Compact and EU approach to Russia. The output of the seminar was a shortlist of policy recommendations to be converted in proposals of collaboration / joint positions between Italy and Poland. These proposals were lately submitted to the Italian-Polish summit, held in Rome in late May. IAI and Demos Europa have drafted, respectively, a paper on Fiscal Compact and the future of eurozone and another on EU-Russia relationship. The seminar will hopefully become a regular event, possibly to be held immediately before scheduled meetings among the two countries in the forthcoming years. In addition to the two institutions, major research centres from both countries were involved. For Italy, the seminar was attended by members of ASPEN Italy, Limes and ISPI, while for Poland by representatives of Center for International Relations, Institute for Eastern Studies, CASE, Stefan Batory Foundation, Foundation for European Studies (Lodz) and the College of Europe in Natolin.

#### *European Policy after Lisbon: tools and resources*

- **Employment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) for the common foreign and security policy:** Following the seminar held in 2011 in collaboration with the European Policy Centre (EPC) and the Centro Studi sul Federalismo (CSF), the IAI has produced three studies, the first by Lorenzo Vai regarding diplomats recruitment and training within the EEAS (to be published in April 2013), another by Michele Comelli and Nicoletta Pirozzi on the new institutional balance of the CFSP three years after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty.
- **Cost of Non-Europe of defence and the future of the common foreign and security policy:** In collaboration with the CSF of Turin and with the participation of representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence, IAI has begun a first reflection concerning the fragmentation among defence policies of EU member States. The project aims to identify negative consequences in terms of costs and political ineffectiveness due to the absence of a real common defence policy.

#### **Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science)**

In 2009 Council of the 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”.

A number of research projects are particularly linked to the Treaty of Lisbon. During 2011–2012 the IIRPS carried out project “Vocational training of Lithuanian public servants, representing national interests at the EU level”(researchers involved: assoc. prof. Klaudijus Maniokas, prof. dr. Ramūnas Vilpišauskas, assoc. prof. Mindaugas Jurkynas, dr. Margarita Šešelgytė). Objective of this project was 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 were organized during this project and 1200 public servants, later to be involved in Lithuanian EU Presidency in 2013, were trained. Legal framework of the EU, based on the Treaty of Lisbon, was one of the central points of these trainings.

Currently the IIRPS is carrying out project “Lithuania in the European Union: transformation or imitation” (researchers involved: assoc. prof. Klaudijus Maniokas, prof. dr. Ramūnas Vilpišauskas, prof. dr. Vitalis Nakrošis, dr. Liutauras Gudžinskas, dr. Vytautas Kuokštis, Dorota Skusevičienė, Darius ėruolis). This project aims to examine, assess and explain Europeanization of the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEEC), which have become EU members in 2004 and 2007. Europeanization is understood as domestic political, economic and institutional developments related to the EU. The analysis is carried out at the level of polity, politics and policy. Treaty of Lisbon is integral part of this research.

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

The Robert Schuman Centre for European Studies and Research (CERE) pursues basically historical research. The institute's focus is laid on the European construction in a long-term perspective (convergences and divergences, solidarities and conflicts) and in a medium-term perspective (creation and development of the European Communities).

Another thematic priority of research is Luxembourg as part of the European integration. So far, main areas of research are the iron and steel industry, the Schuman plan, agricultural policy, the Treaties of Rome and the question of the seats of the European institutions.

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’. Head of the secretariat is Professor Charles Barthel. The journal is published twice a year (since 1995) by the European Union Liaison Committee of Historians under chief editor Wilfried Loth from the University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany.

### **Malta (University of Malta)**

All the research carried out by the Institute is EU-related. The main research focus is on the following areas: Malta in the EU, Euro-Mediterranean relations, small states in the EU particularly their participation in the EU institutions, Euro-zone politics since (Malta became a Euro-zone member in 2008) economic transition and state-building in Northern Africa and the EU’s role (actual or potential) in this process, Mediterranean migration, climate change and its impact on Southern Europe and the Mediterranean, EU policies on climate change, EU development policy and EU trade policy.

Ms Moira Catania (resident academic staff) is furthering her research towards a PhD at the University of Bradford on the role of fiscal rules and national fiscal institutions, within the context of the EU's Stability and Growth Pact, with a case study on Malta.

Mr Jean Micallef Grimaud (resident academic staff) is furthering his research towards a PhD at the Manchester Metropolitan University on the influence that small state governments exercise in the EU legislative decision-making process in the Council of the EU with a case study on Malta. In this area there have been a number of changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty that relate particularly to provisions of an institutional nature, such as those on the Council of the EU (see article 16 (TEU)).

Mr. Stefano Moncada (resident academic staff) is reading for his PhD with the University of Malta in the area of climate change and development. In the specific area of development and cooperation policy the key innovation refers to the fact that reduction and eradication of poverty is the main objective. This represents a relevant change since it validates the assertion that the development and cooperation policy is independent of other external policies of the Union, having its own right as well as its own objectives. The main article is Art. 188 TFEU.

An additional important change refers to the principle of Policy Coherence for Development (PCD). All EU policies having an impact on developing countries, such as agriculture or fisheries, must be coherent with the Union's development policies and their implementation, and with article 208 this becomes an obligation. Also, in case of urgent financial aid, article 188i provides the possibility of the Council to act by qualified majority, upon a proposal from the Commission. This has the intention to provide quicker financial aid. Article 188 also makes reference to the fact that development cooperation and humanitarian aid have "shared parallel competences", meaning that the "Union conducts an autonomous policy, which neither prevents the Member States from exercising their competences nor makes the Union's policy merely "complementary" to those of the Member States".

Sustainable development was reaffirmed as a fundamental objective of the Union, including in its relations with the third countries. Also, sustainable development is considered to be the higher principle governing the protection and improvement of the quality of the environment (Article 3.3 ad 21.2 TEU)

Climate change is present in the LT both in relation to EU's internal and external policy. In fact, addressing climate change concerns on an international level becomes a specific objective of EU environmental policy, giving also the EU a leading role to play on the world stage in this area (Article 191 and 194)

Dr Marcello Carammia (resident academic staff) specialises in EU politics and public policy. His EU-related research deals with agenda-setting processes in the EU, with special focus on the agenda-setting role of the European Council and on EU migration policy.

Especially relevant to his research are the innovations introduced to migration policy (art. 2, Title V [esp. art. 67-80]) and to the structure and functioning of the European Council (esp. art. 15) and the presidency of the Council (esp. trio presidency, art. 16).

In September 2012, the Institute was awarded a Jean Monnet Chair, which is held by the Director and which focuses on "An Evolving EU Confronting a Changing Mediterranean Region". Research in this area covers the evolution in the EU (Enlargement, effect of LT, proposals for further change, restructuring in Southern Europe...) and the changing Mediterranean region particularly in the light of the Arab Spring. In addition, a Jean Monnet module focusing on "Agenda Setting in the EU" is coordinated by Dr Carammia. Research and teaching in both projects fully incorporates the LT. The Institute participated in the NPEC Study on Democratic Control in the Member States of the European Council and the Euro zone summits (2012) and is currently involved in the OPAL Project on National Parliaments and the EU. The most important aspects of the LT at the basis of this research are the new powers of the Institutions, agenda setting, the role of national parliaments and the EU in the world.

## Netherlands (Universitiy of Groningen)

There are a number of main areas of EU related research within IRIO: the history of European cooperation, the foreign policy of the EU – with a special focus on EU-China relations, interior policies and the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, and fundamental rights and non-discrimination within the EU and the promotion of human rights abroad.

The European Charter of Fundamental Rights is a real advance for the EU. The greater role which the European Court of Justice may play in adjudicating questions on fundamental rights and the relationship of the ECJ with the European Court of Human Rights are an important area for research future.

The following articles were published during the reporting period:

- Holz hacker, Ronald (2012): “State-Sponsored Homophobia and the Denial of the Right of Assembly, in: Central and Eastern Europe: The ‘boomerang’ and the ‘ricochet’ between European organization and civil society to uphold human rights”, Law & Policy, Issue 1-2, vol. 35, March 2013, available on-line.
- Holz hacker, Ronald (2012) “National and transnational strategies of LGBT civil society organizations in different political environments: Modes of Interaction in Western and Eastern Europe for Equality”, 9:4 Comparative European Politics.

Published reports include:

- Holz hacker, Ronald et. al. (2012): “Talent to Change for: LGBT Employee Research Leading the Way in Diversity”, available online <http://www.workplacepride.org/site/docs/Talent%20to%20Change%20For%20FINAL%20FULL%20REPORT>.
- Holz hacker, Ronald et. al. (2012): “Synthesis Report 2011: Older Workers, Discrimination and Employment.” Network of Socio-Economic Experts in the Field of Anti-Discrimination, co-authored report for the European Commission, DG Justice, co-author [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/sen\\_synthesisreport2011\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/sen_synthesisreport2011_en.pdf).

Conference papers:

- Holz hacker, Ronald (2012): “Opportunities for Progress toward Equality and Non-Discrimination: The Equality Architecture and Enhanced Learning Mechanisms within the European Union” presented at the European Sociological Association, Milan, December 1, 2012, for special journal issue edited by Carlo Ruzzo and Virginie Guiraudon, Anti-Discrimination Groups: Mobilization at EU Level, proposed to Political Studies.
- Holz hacker, Ronald (2012): “Recent Developments in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice after Lisbon” at the Austrian Institute for International Relations, Vienna, LISBOAN guest lecture, October 24, 2012.

## 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, Luisa Marin (Law) has written on the relationship between fundamental rights and border surveillance after Lisbon. In addition, Nico

Groenendijk (Economics) and Andreas Warntjen (Politics) attended a conference on ‘The European Union after Lisbon’, the contributions to which have now been published in an edited volume. Andreas Warntjen was also involved in the “Decision-Making in the European Union Before and After Lisbon”-Project.

Selected publications on the EU and related matters (2012/13):

- Gerven, Minna van and Ossewaarde, M. (2012) ‘The Welfare State’s Making of Cosmopolitan Europe’, *European Societies* vol. 14, issue 1, p. 35-55.
- Groenendijk, Nico (2012), Enhanced cooperation under the Lisbon Treaty, in: von Dosenrode, S. (ed.), *The European Union after Lisbon: Polity, Politics, Policy*, Ashgate.
- Groenendijk, Nico (2012), Falling through the cracks. The shaky management of EU finances by EU member states, 1996-2010, report for SIEPS, Stockholm.
- Marin, L. (2013), Protecting the EU’s borders from ... fundamental rights? Squaring the circle between Frontex’s border surveillance and human rights, in: Holzhacker, Ronald and Luif, Paul (eds): *Freedom, Security and Justice after Lisbon: Internal and External Dimensions of Increased Cooperation in the European Union*, Springer, New York, forthcoming.
- Rosema, M., Costello, R. and Thomassen, J. (2012), European Parliament elections and political representation: Policy congruence between voters and parties. *West European Politics*, Vol. 35 (2012), No. 6, 1226-1248.
- Warntjen, Andreas (2012) Measuring Salience in EU Legislative Politics. *European Union Politics*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 168-182.
- Warntjen, Andreas (2012) Designing Legislative Institutions, in: von Dosenrode, S. (ed.), *The European Union after Lisbon: Polity, Politics, Policy*, Ashgate.
- Warntjen, Andreas (2013) Overcoming Gridlock: The Council Presidency, Legislative Activity and Issue De-Coupling in the Area of Occupational Health and Safety Regulation’, *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, forthcoming.
- Wessel, R.A. and R. Böttner (2013), Initiatives in CFSP and Extraordinary Council Meetings – Art. 30 TEU, in H.-J. Blanke and S. Mangiameli (Eds.), *The Treaty on European Union (TEU): A Commentary*, Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.
- Wessel, R.A. and Van Vooren, B. (2013), The EEAS’ Diplomatic Dreams and the Reality of International and European Law, *Journal of European Public Policy*, forthcoming
- Wessel, R.A. (2013), Close Encounters of the Third Kind: The Interface Between the EU and International Law after the Lisbon Treaty, Stockholm: Sieps Report.

### **Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael)**

In 2012, Clingendael’s research on European integration focused mainly on the eurocrisis, the institutional changes in EMU and the development of EU foreign and defence policy. The changes of the Lisbon Treaty did not directly inspire our research activities, but institutional changes were an important theme and as such the innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty indirectly played a role. The Clingendael Institute publishes most research results in Dutch, which are not included below. In addition, we contribute to the national discussion on the EU through opinion articles in various Dutch newspapers.

*Eurocrisis and EMU*

With regard to the eurocrisis, the focus was on the division of competences and the role of the different institutions in the implementation of the European Semester. Questions on legitimacy and transparency guided the research. First of all the role of the Commission was closely monitored. The process of analysing and drafting the recommendations for budget reform in the individual member states is presented as an independent, technocratic process, but in the end the recommendations are political. There is also an apparent shift in the functioning of the European Council, adopting crisis management measures in the Eurogroup where it can surpass the influence of the European Parliament. The modus of scrutiny of the Dutch national parliament leaves quite some room for manoeuvre for the government, adding to the widening democratic legitimacy gap in the EMU. The institutional provisions of Lisbon have been stretched to its limits, creating an incidental institutional structure.

## Selection of research results

- Ebben, Iona/ Schout, Adriaan/ Wiersma, Jan Marinus (2012): “The political salience of the control of the European Council and the euro zone summits in the Second Chamber of the Netherlands”. This article was part of a larger study “Democratic control of the Member States of the European Council and Euro Zone summits” requested by the European Parliament and commission to TEPSA and Notre Europe. Objective of the study was to map the rules and activities within national parliaments related to the control of any kinds of European summits in all 27 member states and formulate policy recommendations. Forthcoming: Study on the legitimacy of the European Semester, by Arnout Mijs and Adriaan Schout.

*External Action*

On EU external affairs and the functioning of the EEAS continue to be a field of interest for the Clingendael research department, which is directly related to the changes made after the Lisbon Treaty. Attention was devoted to the Dutch views on and contribution to the EEAS and the effectiveness of common EU performance in foreign policy. The EU’s representation in the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), where the European External Action Service is hardly involved, was assessed, as well as its role in the international climate change regime and World Health Organization.

## Selection of research results

- Van Schaik, Louise (2013): “The glass is half-full: the European External Action Service seen through Dutch eyes”, in: Balfour, R. and Raik, K. (eds), *The European External Action Service and national diplomacies*, Brussels, Helsinki, European Policy Centre; Finnish Institute of International Affairs, pp. 97-106.
- Van Schaik, Louise (2012): “The European External Action Service fails to impress the Dutch, but may bring added influence”, online publication.
- Van Schaik, Louise (2012): “EU representation in the OPCW after Lisbon: still waiting for Brussels“, Clingendael Paper The Hague, The Clingendael Institute.

*Netherlands in the EU*

The position of the Netherlands in the context of the evolving political crisis in the EU was also a special field of attention, especially after the fall of the Dutch government and the scheduling of national elections in September 2012. The Netherlands were portrayed as an increasingly eurosceptic country, but experts from Clingendael took the view that a pragmatic constructivism still inspired

Dutch EU policy. The elections and several measures to curb the financial crisis brought to the forefront the troubled relation between the EU and the voters. The EU institutional developments, division of competences between the national and European level and growing problems with democratic legitimacy were – and continue to be – important research topics for the Clingendael institute.

#### Selection of research results

- Schout, Adriaan and Wiersma, Jan Marinus (2012): “For as well as against: the Dutch-EU paradox”. This study was part of the Reinventing Europe project of the European Council on Foreign Relations, publishing a series of paper on the national debates within EU member states over the crisis and the future direction of Europe.
- Rood, Jan and Adriaan Schout (eds.) (2012), “The Netherlands as an EU member state: Finally normal?”. Book, forthcoming

#### Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo)

The research at ARENA has been concerned with aspects of the Lisbon Treaty, in particular those related to democratic and constitutional implications, institutional changes, and EU foreign policy. Researchers at ARENA have been particularly interested in the changing role of National Parliaments (Art. 12 TEU, Protocols 1-2 TEU/TFEU), and representative democracy in the EU (Art. 10 TEU). ARENA has just finished a five-year umbrella project known as EuroTrans, on the Transformation and Sustainability of Political Authority in Europe. The timing and subject of the project coincided with the final ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and its first few years. Three of the work packages of the EuroTrans project have a bearing on the Lisbon Treaty – the constitutional-democratic dimension, the administrative-regulative dimension, and the external dimension.

- Egeberg, Morten (2012): “Experiments in supranational institution-building: The European Commission as a laboratory”, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 19(6) pp. 939-950.
- Egeberg, Morten; Gornitzka, Åse; Trondal, Jarle; Johannessen, Mathias (forthcoming): “Parliament staff. Unpacking the behaviour of officials in the European Parliament”, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*.
- Trondal, Jarle (forthcoming): “The rise of a European public administration. European capacity building by stealth”, in: Genschel, Philipp and Jachtenfuchs, Markus (eds): *European integration in core-state powers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, Ian (2012): “A “Virtual Third Chamber” for the EU? National Parliaments After the Treaty of Lisbon”, in: *West European Politics* Vol. 35 (3), pp.441-466.
- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar; Fossum, John Erik (eds) (2012): *Rethinking Democracy and the European Union*, London: Routledge.
- Fossum, John Erik; Menéndez , Agustín José (2011): *The Constitution’s Gift: A Constitutional Theory for a Democratic European Union*, Boulder, Co.: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Lord, Christopher (2011): ‘The political theory and practice of parliamentary participation in the Common Security and Defence Policy’, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(8): 1133-1150.



- Lord, Christopher; Pollak, Johannes (2012): “Unequal representation in the European Parliament. A Comment on the Ruling by the German Constitutional Court on the Lisbon Treaty”, in: Evas, Tatjana, Liebert, Ulrike and Lord, Christopher (eds): Multilayered Representation in the European Union. Parliaments, Courts and the Public Sphere, pp. 59-73, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Menéndez, Agustín José (2012) : De la crisis económica a la crisis constitucional de la Unión Europea ¿Una Unión Europea en mutación?, León: EOLAS.
- Menéndez, Agustín José (2012): Una difesa (moderata) della sentenza Lisbona della Corte costituzionale tedesca, Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
- Stie, Anne Elizabeth, (2012): Democratic Decision-making in the EU: Technocracy in Disguise? London: Routledge.
- Sjursen, Helene (ed.) (2012): The EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Quest for Democracy, London: Routledge.

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

Major field of activities of the European Institute with a view to the Lisbon Treaty included:

- The Treaty of Lisbon impact on the Foreign and Security policy;
- Cohesion policy and its future;
- Neighbourhood Policy;
- National control over the European Council decisions.

In particular, European Institute staff conducted research in the following areas:

- 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.
- Anna Jedrzejewska and Maria Karasinska-Fendler researched the problem of national control over the European Council within the joint project co-ordinated by TEPSA and Notre Europe for demand of the European Parliament.
- Maria Karasinska-Fendler researched the European Neighbourhood Policy in the context of Treaty provisions relevant for Eastern and Southern Partnerships.
- 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.

### **Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon)**

ISEG has a number of faculty members that work on EU affairs, from an historical perspective to an institutional, to a legal and to an economic perspective. The Master’s program in International

Economics and European Studies provides a broad cover to the research interests of these faculty members.

Professor Antonio Goucha Soares participated in an Annotated Edition of the Lisbon Treaty, with a comment on the provisions of the Treaty devoted to the division of competences between the EU and the Member States, namely:

- “Comentário ao artigo 2º do Tratado sobre o Funcionamento da União Europeia”, in: Porto, M.L. and Anastácio G. (Eds), *Tratado de Lisboa: Anotado e Comentado*, Almedina, Coimbra, 2012.
- “Comentário ao artigo 3º do Tratado sobre o Funcionamento da União Europeia”, in: Porto, M.L. and Anastácio G. (Eds), *Tratado de Lisboa: Anotado e Comentado*, Almedina, Coimbra, 2012.
- “Comentário ao artigo 4º do Tratado sobre o Funcionamento da União Europeia”, in: Porto, M.L. and Anastácio G. (Eds), *Tratado de Lisboa: Anotado e Comentado*, Almedina, Coimbra, 2012.

Concerning the research activities during the period in analysis, Professor Antonio Goucha Soares produced the following publications:

- “The Euro Crisis. What Went Wrong with the Single European Currency?”, in: *Beijing Law Review*, Vol. 3, nº 3, 2012.
- “Que Farei Com Este Euro? Cogitações Inconfessáveis de uma Governante”, *R:I Relações Internacionais*, nº33, 2012.
- “Portugal: An Incomplete Europeanization”, in: Royo, S. (ed.): *Portugal in the Twenty-First Century. Politics, Society, and Economics*, Lexington Books, Lanham, 2012.

### **Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)**

The main area of research of the Faculty of European Studies is European Integration, by resorting to an interdisciplinary perspective, which encompasses the historical, institutional, political, economic, juridical, communicational and cultural aspects that define it.

The main innovations of the Treaty that we find of particular interest are: the introduction of the Citizens’ initiative (especially in the light of the European Citizens’ Year), the enhanced role of the member states’ parliament in the decision-making process and the provisions referring to the Neighbourhood Policy, as Romania is greatly preoccupied with this topic.

Our Faculty managed to expand its research on the subject of the Lisbon Treaty, during the course of the last 12 months, due to the increased interest on the part of teachers, PhD and master students in this respect. Hence, it is our aim to continue to promote the publication of such academic studies in two of the internationally-accessible journals we are coordinating, namely *Studia Europaea* (<http://www.euro.ubbcluj.ro/studia/>) and *Modelling the New Europe* (<http://neweurope.centre.ubbcluj.ro/>).

The most significant research result is Prof. Dr. Nicolae Paun’s article, entitled “The Lisbon Treaty. Central and Eastern European Perspectives”. A Historical Approach, which was presented at the International Conference “Regional Policy - Historical and Comparative Approach” (June 14th- 16<sup>th</sup>, 2012). The article performs an in-depth analysis of the context in which the Lisbon Treaty was ratified in Central and East-European states and emphasizes for each of them the implications, political debates and shortcomings of the Treaty. On that occasion, more articles partly focusing on the

importance of the Treaty were brought to the attention of the participants. They were published in the volume dedicated to the Proceedings of the Conference.

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

In 2012, as a part of the SPOS project, four studies were elaborated, dealing with European policies subscribed to the Lisbon Treaty. The key areas tackled by the studies were: migration policy, European affairs coordination system, fiscal policy and foreign trade policy.

The first study, “Perspectives of the Migration Policy in Romania’s Current Demographic Context” shows that the rural-urban migrations stopped having significant percentages in the migration formula. Furthermore, rural-urban migration is directly linked to the level of education, with most migrants being young people, university graduates. The urban-rural migration is mainly limited to domicile changes towards peri-urban residential areas. The study emphasizes the importance of a National Demographic Strategy in Romania in order to ensure the coherence of actions and the territorialisation of associated measures.

The study on the Coordination of European Affairs at the National level. Cooperation mechanisms between Government and Parliament on European Affairs. Comparative study in the EU Member States produces a set of proposals/improvements such as the need for a single coordinator, either as a ministerial entity (Ministry of European Integration or Ministry of European Affairs) or by returning to the idea of a Department of European Affairs attached to the Prime Minister, an active role of the Parliament, a post-accession strategy covering at least 2014-2020, introduction of mandatory ex-ante, intermediary and ex-post evaluations in all activities related to EU policies and funds, training programs in EU Affairs for the personnel and strengthening the position of the academic environment as a domestic co-participant in the EU policy-making process.

Furthermore, another paper dealt with Taxing Financial Transactions and its Consequences on economic growth, financial stability and public finances concludes that adopting the FTT would have a minor relevance in the case of Romania, against the background of conservative financial intermediation in Romania, but that an open position on this matter should be maintained. The authors consider that the continuation of the funding policy of the Bank Deposit Guarantee Fund, both on the component of deposit guarantee and on the bank restructuring, should be given priority over other tax initiatives in the financial system

The last study, Perspectives and Challenges for the Romanian Exports between 2010-2014, from the Standpoint of the EU Bilateral and Regional Trade Relations concludes by stating that in the future Romania should focus on both traditional export sectors and on emerging ones, like IT&C, renewable energies, bio products. The authors emphasize the importance of increasing the association capability of companies as developing innovative products requires collaboration between companies on the value chains, as well as the diversification of network-based services.

All the studies elaborated through the SPOS project can be accessed at the following link [http://www.ier.ro/index.php/site/page/studii\\_de\\_strategie\\_si\\_politici](http://www.ier.ro/index.php/site/page/studii_de_strategie_si_politici).

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

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

Jean Monnet Module Lifelong Learning project on 'EU at school', titled Innovative teaching for lifelong learning of the European integration, academic coordinator Ana Bojinović Fenko.

- Pavlin, Samo, Svetlicic, Marjan. Higher education, employability and competitiveness. Hacettepe Egitim Dergisi, 2012, no. 43, pp. 386-395. <http://www.efdergi.hacettepe.edu.tr/english/abstracts/43/pdf/SAMO%20PAVLIN.pdf>.
- Udovic, Boštjan, Zupancic, Rok, Svetlicic, Marjan. Coping with the challenges of the presidency of the EU Council: a view from Slovenia. Latvijas intereses Eiropas Savieniba. [Online ed.], 2012, nr. 3, pp. 22-31. [http://www.politologubiedriba.lv/pdf\\_mag/Latvijas\\_intereses\\_es\\_2012\\_3.pdf](http://www.politologubiedriba.lv/pdf_mag/Latvijas_intereses_es_2012_3.pdf)
- Udovic, Boštjan, Svetlicic, Marjan. Does the trio matter? : The case of the Slovenian EU Council presidency. Rev. rom. științe polit., Win. 2012, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 4-28.
- Svetlicic, Marjan, Cerjak, Kira. Slovensko predsedovanje Svetu EU in uresničevanje nacionalnih interesov. Teorja in praksa, jul.-okt. 2012, Vol. 49, iss. 4/5, pp. 645-669, 817.
- Bojinovic Fenko, Ana, Lovec, Marko. Slovenian message for the EU: not just another anti-austerity protest. Eur. World (Online). [Online ed.], 21. 02. 2013. [http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/CommunityPosts/tabid/809/PostID/3476/SlovenianmessagefortheEUnotjustanotherantiausterityprotest.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/CommunityPosts/tabid/809/PostID/3476/SlovenianmessagefortheEUnotjustanotherantiausterityprotest.aspx).

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

Guide questions:

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.

1. Eurozone crisis
2. Immigration and Schengen Area
3. Energy policy
4. External action (Eastern Partnership, Russia, Transatlantic, ...)
5. National Parliaments, Subsidiarity Check, Citizens' Initiative
6. EU enlargement

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).

#### Belgium (Universiteit Ghent)

The public debate in Belgium essentially focused on the implications of the financial crisis and the problems in the eurozone, in particular regarding the problems of the banking sector in Cyprus, Spain, Portugal and Slovenia. In the context of the European Year of the Citizen (2013), several public debates on the future of the EU have been organised, focusing essentially on the impact of the eurocrisis and the growing nationalism in several EU Member States.

In the academic field, attention has been devoted to the evaluation of the European External Action Service (EEAS), in particular following the publication of the paper 'EEAS 2.0. A Legal Commentary on Council Decision 2010/427/EU establishing the organization and functioning of the European External Action Service', edited by S. Blockmans and C. Hillion and published as Working Paper No. 99 of the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies as well as on the website of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) (<http://www.ceps.eu>). This paper provides one of the first comprehensive reviews of the EEAS Decision, written by experts from various research institutes.

#### Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University)

The LT lacks deep and significant understanding. It is more or less perceived as a roadmap, rather than as a restructuring treaty, i.e. a necessary but intermediary step towards further integration and restructuring of EU corresponding to 21st century reality. 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. The new Fiscal Agreement reached last year, formally called 'Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union', drew high attention in the public debate, mainly in respect to the consequences for the national economy if joining the Eurozone against the background of the worsening situation in Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

These discussions also included harsh criticism and suspicions whether the Treaty will actually solve problems or rather create even more. There is a strong desire against common EU nation, instead inclination towards a EU of strong nations. This is closely related to a strong feeling that the rules are not the same for each member-state, but are selectively applied (Schengen criteria suitability and

labour market availability). Current approaches focus more on studying extensively the status quo and the functionality, efficacy and efficiency needed in the EU. Another topic is also the quality of democracy within the EU.

Despite the fact that the LT is always present in the discussions on the EU institutional framework and politics, no follow-up on its provisions in terms of their applicability or possible amendments occurred. Instead, the debates in Bulgaria recently concentrated on the Treaty of Lisbon as an independent variable when processes, taking place in the EU, are discussed. This is the result mainly of the lack of sound knowledge in the Bulgarian society about the real and actual functioning of EU and the corresponding mechanisms regulating and organizing it. Although the other LISBOAN partner institutions in Bulgaria – the Bulgarian European Communities Studies Association and the Plovdiv University “St. Paisii Hilendarski” – organize regularly student discussions and provide expertise as NBU does, still the LT is not sufficiently communicated in the Bulgarian society.

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

In the following selection of events organized by other institutions in the city of Zagreb important cross-linkages to the LT have emerged as part of the debate.

#### *“Future Scenarios for the Eurozone”*

This public lecture was given by Maria Joao Rodrigues, author of the Lisbon Strategy, in Zagreb on July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2012 at the event organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. She assessed potential scenarios how to resolve the sovereign debt crisis in the Eurozone. Her lecture included issues of the EU competitiveness, fiscal federalization and the recent development of the EU's economic governance regarding the public finances and banking sector. Consequently, she touched upon some of the most important LT-based provisions in the sphere of economic governance, that aim to improve economic policy coordination among the member states and strengthen the role of supranational EU institutions in managing economic policies and preventing structural imbalance.

#### *“Towards Progressive Energy Policy and Systems in Croatia”*

This presentation of the study issued by the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Zagreb on October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2012 offered opportunity to analyse main challenges and policy recommendations for the Croatian energy policy, stemming from the important changes of the EU energy policy brought by the LT. Namely, the LT has introduced new article on the EU energy policy (Art. 194. TFEU), aiming to balance goals of sustainable development, fight against climate change and development of renewable energy sources with the functioning of the internal market. The LT has established EU's competences in the energy policy which has not previously been the case, paving the way for creation of the common EU energy policy in the foreseeable future.

#### *“Twenty years of the Croatian diplomacy”*

This conference held on the June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2012 in the Old City Hall in Zagreb was organized by the Institute of Public Administration and the Association of Croatian Diplomats. It reflected upon the genesis and development of Croatian diplomacy by particularly focusing on the challenges deriving from the upcoming EU accession and functioning of Croatian diplomacy within the EU's foreign and security policy. It convened debate about diplomacy of the small states within the EU. Croatian relations with the European External Action Service (EEAS) were directly linked to the LT-based provisions shaping the EU's external action and functioning of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

*“Scrutiny Process over European Legislation and Policies of the National Parliaments”.*

The Croatian Parliament on January 28<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup>, 2013 organized this seminar as part of its efforts in informing the MPs and the broader expert public with the new roles of Croatian Parliament after Croatia becomes the 28th EU Member State which is set for July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013. Speakers at this seminar were mostly practitioners; heads of the EU related parliamentary committees in several Member States parliaments as well as high ranking officials of the European Parliament. The new roles prescribed by the LT (Art. 12. TEU, Protocol on the Role of National Parliaments in the EU, Protocol on Subsidiarity and Proportionality) were in focus of many debates.

*“Decision-making Procedures in the EU”.*

On February 25<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup>, 2013 Croatian Parliament organized a seminar which was targeted towards the MPs and the broader expert public. Speakers at this seminar were practitioners from the Member States parliaments and the European Parliament. The seminar discussed many implications of the LT in the areas such as the co-decision procedure, conciliation procedure as well as the new roles for the national parliaments.

*“The Western Balkans' Tour of Confrontations Europe”*

Zagreb hosted the conference on the June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2012 being part of the “Western Balkans' Tour”, serial of debates and events organized in the Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo by the French think-tank “Confrontations Europe“ in cooperation with the European Commission, Association of Local Democracy Agencies (ALDA), national governments and local partners, aiming to assess socio-economic challenges in the region. Zagreb convened the conference: “The role of Croatia in regional cooperation and its key role in relations between the European Union and the South-East European states” that fostered discussion about the EU enlargement perspectives in the SEE by gathering academics, policy-makers and civil society representatives from Croatia and the region. The conference confirmed importance of the LT which paved the way for continuation of the EU enlargement by overarching previously limiting EU institutional structure designed for the 27-countries block.

*“Croatia in the European Union”*

This public lecture was delivered by the Head of the EU Delegation in Croatia, H.E. Paul Vandoren on the October 16<sup>th</sup>, 2012 at the premises of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Lecture gathered distinguished academics and policy-makers, being part of the Academy's efforts to raise awareness of the EU-related issues in the Croatian academic and professional life. H. E. Vandoren touched upon the challenges and opportunities of the upcoming Croatian EU accession, emphasizing necessary reforms that Croatia must undertake in order to fully harness benefits of the EU membership. He also stressed importance of the Croatian accession for continuation of the EU enlargement process in the Western Balkans. His lecture restated importance of the LT-based institutional provisions for continuing the EU enlargement process in the Western Balkans.

Among publications from other Croatian institutions researching the LT three in particular should be mentioned:

Vlado Puljiz, Slaven Ravljčić and Velimir Visković have edited the book “Croatia in the EU: How to Proceed Further” published in February 2013 by the Center for Democracy and Human Rights Miko Tripalo. This book in Croatian is composed of individual chapters written by Croatian social researchers. It examines some aspects of Croatian accession process as well as possibilities for reforming various domestic policies in context of the upcoming EU membership.



Damir Grubiša, Nataša Beširević and Hrvoje Špehar have edited the book “Political System of the European Union and Europeanization of Croatian Politics” published in September 2012 by the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb. This book written in Croatian is a collection of articles by Croatian researchers on the political system of the EU (particularly implications of the LT on institutional architecture of the EU) and institutional adaptations undertaken by Croatia on its path to the EU.

Dubravko Radošević has written a book “Capital Flows, Exchange Rate and the European Monetary Union” published in August 2012 by Jesenski i Turk. This book written in Croatian points towards sources of instability in the EMU such as: lack of coordination between the EMU and the national fiscal policies, democratic deficit of the European Central Bank and underdeveloped macroeconomic coordination mechanisms between EU member states. With this in mind the author proposes reforms in the area of Croatian monetary policy.

Ivan Koprić, Anamarija Musa and Goranka Lalić Novak have written the book “European Administrative Space” published in April 2012 by the Institute for Public Administration from Zagreb. This book which is written in Croatian explains reasons for creation of the European Administrative Space and perspectives for its future development. It places a particular focus on the EU accession and administrative adaptations related to this process.

### **Czech Republic (Institute for International Relations)**

Most attention in the public but also in the academic and political debates has been devoted to the Eurozone crisis. Direct references to the Lisbon Treaty are made primarily in the academic debates, and sometimes in the political. The discussion then is often referring to the ESM and the amendments to the Article 136 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. This debate also received some coverage in Czech newspapers given that Czech President Klaus refused to complete the Czech ratification which was only completed in early April 2013 by his successor Miloš Zeman. Some attention in relation to the Eurozone crisis has also been given to the broader consequences for the institutional framework of the EU. The Fiscal Compact was discussed heavily in the Czech Republic given that the government decided not to participate, a decision which also caused tensions within the governing coalition. This in turn led to a debate about the consequences of diversified integration for the Czech Republic including references to the Lisbon Treaty, which gave formal legality to the Eurogroup and the plausibility of further Treaty revisions.

Immigration is not as heavily discussed in the Czech Republic given that the country has no external EU borders and rather limited migration. The changes made to the area of freedom, security and justice has outside of experts from ministries and academia not received much attention.

In the field of energy policy there were hopes in the Czech Republic, as elsewhere in East Central, Europe that the inclusion of the chapter on energy policy in LT would also have some concrete results in line with the goals formulated in Art. 194(1). The Czech discussion and concerns regarding energy is primarily about energy security. From this reason there is also a near to consensus that EU policy in the field should be strengthened. The hopes on the LT in this respect, however, have not been fulfilled.

The External Action Service received a lot of attention. In the initial period of the launching of the service discussion among diplomats but also academics often referred to how well represent the country would be in the new body. There was with some rights concerns that the more recent member states again would be underrepresented in the body. There were also discussions in particular within the MFA about if the EU delegations could be used for the optimization of the country's own foreign representation. The Eastern Partnership is considered a pet project of Czech Republic.

Primarily the upper chamber of the Czech Parliament, i.e. the Senate, has been very active in COSAC, and also previously one of the parliaments that most actively took part in the Commission initiated testing of the parliaments' reaction possibilities. There was also a domestic decision to strengthen the demands for a mandate of the two chambers of the parliament for some decisions taken in the council as a consequence of the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty. In the academic debate increased attention has been paid the question if the national parliaments can contribute to solving the democratic deficit of the EU.

When it comes to enlargement from a Czech perspective there is a general view that the EU is able to absorb more member states. If there ever were any concerns about enlargement fatigue or integration capacity among the political elite of the country such concerns are believed to have been solved by the LT. The Czech Republic is pro enlargement in general but primarily concerned with the Western Balkans.

The think tank Europeum presented an interesting study on the role of national parliaments within the EU together with partner institutes in Germany and Poland. The report on the parliaments in the Czech Republic and Slovakia provides a detailed account of the possibilities of the involvement of national parliaments post Lisbon. Kral, David and Vladimír Bartovic The Czech and Slovak Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty (2010) [http://www.europeum.org/doc/publications/Narodni\\_parlamenty\\_ENG\\_Web.pdf](http://www.europeum.org/doc/publications/Narodni_parlamenty_ENG_Web.pdf).

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

Generally the EU debate in Denmark is of limited character which also concerns the domestic debate of the Lisbon Treaty. However, the Danish EU Presidency during the first half of 2012 has provided renewed dynamics to the EU debate. Because it was the first Danish Presidency since the Lisbon Treaty came into force, the debate has also centred on the new institutional landscape in the EU, including the changed role for the Presidency introduced by the Treaty.

#### *Eurozone Crisis*

One of the most debated policy issues with regard to the Lisbon Treaty has, once again, revolved around the European financial crisis and its potential solutions and consequences. A crucial issue on the agenda for the Danish Presidency was the need to address some of the challenges facing the EU Member States in handling the economic crisis. And indeed, the Presidency did present some tangible results in this regard, including the adoption of the pact for Growth and Jobs.

The general public debate in Denmark has, however, focused less on the concrete results of the Presidency, than it has on the more fundamental questions of what the future vision(s) for the Union should be and where Denmark belongs in such visions. With the agreement on the ECB banking supervision rules bringing the EU one step closer to having a banking union, a heated debate emerged regarding Denmark's future role in the EU system. Whereas this debate led to a renewed support for Denmark becoming a part of EU's core and hence joining close co-operation with Eurozone members and essentially working towards dissolving the four national opt outs and becoming a Eurozone member, amongst some of the EU-positive Danish Parties, it also entailed strong opposing views from the EU sceptical parties, arguing that Denmark should stand outside a more integrated European Union together with countries such as the UK.

#### *Immigration and Schengen Area*

During the Danish Presidency, a range of amendments was made to the Immigration and Schengen Area. What received the most media attention, however, was when the European Parliament (EP) decided to suspend negotiations with the Council in protest against the Council's decision to

unilaterally rewrite rules related to the Schengen Area. This Council Decision implied that the legal basis of the decision-making rules governing the evaluation of Schengen had been changed so that the Parliament could no longer co-decide on these arrangements, but instead merely be informed of the Member States' decisions. This led the Danish Presidency into a diplomatic crisis which is particularly interesting to mention since it spurred much national debate on the new role of the EP after the Lisbon Treaty came into force. Paradoxically, the Danish government had been very careful to acknowledge and articulate the fact that the EP's power position in the system had been raised considerably, and had created a new situation for the Presidency to spend the proper amount of time and energy in creating contacts in the Parliament and taking their views into consideration.

### *Energy Policy*

Green growth has been one of the top priorities of the Danish Presidency, and thus created national debate on how European solutions are necessary when it comes to energy policy. During the Danish Presidency the Council and the EP concluded negotiations on the energy efficiency directive. According to the Commission, the directive will increase energy efficiency by more than 17 per cent by 2020 and thereby put the EU well on the way towards reaching the target of 20 per cent energy savings by 2020.

### *External Action*

That the external dimension of EU foreign policy has become more efficient and visible with the innovations of the Lisbon Treaty, is not something that has received much attention in the public debate. However, Denmark holding the Presidency and working together with the European External Action Service (EEAS) have both led to a renewed focus in Denmark about EU external action in the sense that it was mentioned in the media that Denmark had a close cooperation with the High Representative and the External Action Service, and the Danish foreign minister had replaced Ashton on a number of occasions towards countries outside the EU and in relation to the EP. The Danish Presidency has not defined its own priorities within the foreign policy area, taking into consideration the High Representative's role as Chair of the Foreign Affairs Council. Hence, the new Lisbon structures have seemed successful during the Danish Presidency.

### *National Parliaments, Subsidiarity Check, Citizens Initiative*

The subsidiarity protocol attached to the Lisbon Treaty, which sets out an early warning mechanism giving national parliaments an opportunity to object to legislative proposals, was invoked for the first time at the end of May 2012 with regard to a Commission proposal on EU regulation on the right to strike. The Danish Parliament was amongst the countries giving the Commission the "yellow-card" forcing it consider withdrawing or amending the proposed legislation. This received positive attention in the Danish public debate.

The Citizens' initiative has received some attention in the Danish media, after several actors who have themselves been involved in the launch of a citizens initiative, including Danish MEP Dan Jørgensen, have criticized the procedures for being too bureaucratic and too narrowly defined, and thus not creating the expected results of forcing a supra-national sense of European democracy amongst European citizens.

Another interesting matter related to the democratic aspects of the Union receiving much debate in the Danish media, was when a group of citizens sued the Danish state for signing the Lisbon Treaty without holding a referendum. They argued that the Treaty surrendered sovereignty to the EU and was thus unconstitutional. The final ruling on the case was made in February 2013, when the Supreme Court decided that the Danish constitution had not been violated by the signing of the Lisbon Treaty in 2007.

*EU enlargement*

Enlargement has always been seen as one of the EU's most successful policies, contributing to creating economic and social reforms in the EU's neighbourhood, and such continuing work remained a top priority of the Danish Presidency. The countries of the Western Balkans have taken further steps towards making their European perspective more concrete during the Danish Presidency. Member State ratifications of the accession treaty which is to ensure the accession of Croatia as an official EU Member State as of July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013 is well under way. Serbia was granted candidate status during the Danish Presidency and accession negotiations have been initiated with Montenegro. Furthermore, substantial progress has been made in the enlargement negotiations with Iceland during the Danish Presidency. This shows that despite the economic crisis and its consequences for the "external perception" of Europe, the EU is still attractive to new Members.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the 20th anniversary for the Copenhagen Criteria will be celebrated at a forthcoming conference in Copenhagen, "20 years that changed Europe – the Copenhagen Criteria and the Enlargement of the European Union". Amongst the speakers of the conference, are EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Štefan Füle, Danish Minister for European Affairs, Nicolai Wammen, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of Slovakia, Miroslav Lajčák, Prime Minister of Serbia, Ivica Dačić, and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Nikola Poposki, to discuss how EU Enlargement has shaped and continues to shape Europe. The conference is organised by the Danish Foreign Ministry and the DIIS.

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

- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca (2012): "The EU's Diplomatic Service: Inventing a New Foreign Policy Elite" in: Kauppi, Niilo and Rask Madsen, Mikael (eds): *Transnational Power Elites: The New Professionals of Governance, Law and Security*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Kluth, M. and Pilegaard, J. (2012): "The Making of the EU's External Action Service - A Neorealist Interpretation", in: *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 17, Nr. 2, 07.05.2012, pp.303-322.

**Estonia (University of Tartu)**

Within the EU, Estonia continued to champion initiatives to strengthen cyber security, energy security, the Eastern Partnership, the liberalization of the energy market, transparency, innovation, the single market (especially free movement of services), and remained a staunch proponent of enlargement. Cooperation with the other Baltic States and the Nordic countries as a regional bloc within the EU was further developed. The flagship initiative in Estonia's EU Policy 2011-2015 is to work towards the creation of an EU digital single market. The EU Agency for large-scale IT systems located in Tallinn became operational on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2012.

For the first time since accession to the EU, a serious public debate about Europe arose in Estonia. The initiator was Legal Chancellor Indrek Teder who complained to the Supreme Court that one of the European Stability Mechanism's (ESM) procedures violated the Estonian constitution which gives sole competence for deciding budget matters to the Estonian parliament. On 12 July 2012 the Supreme Court very narrowly decided in favour of the government, clearing the way for ratification of the ESM by the parliament. In order to mollify the opposition, the government broadened the role of the parliament in future ESM-related decision-making.

As the newest member of the Eurozone, Estonia was eager to be constructive. Nevertheless, there was growing public resentment that one of the poorest countries in the Eurozone would be obligated to help bail-out wealthier member states that broke the rules. The fact that a Greek pensioner earns more than the average salary of an Estonian became a prominent example widely discussed by ordinary citizens.

Estonia was quite pleased by the EU budget 2014-2020 agreed upon at the European Council on 8 February 2013. Though the budget will not increase, Estonia will receive more than it did in the previous period. Public attention was focused on two issues during the negotiations: the inequality endured by Baltic farmers and the Commission's Connecting Europe Facility for cross-border infrastructure which could fund Rail Baltic and a Baltic regional LNG terminal.

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

The national debate in Finland of relevance to the LT focused primarily on political economy. The role of Eurosceptic opposition (chiefly the Finns party and partly the Centre party) has pushed the Government for reserved and conservative, national interest dominated positions in EU matters in order not to appear weak when the opposition openly questions Finland's 'deal' with the EU. At the same time within the Government itself the National Coalition party has to accommodate the reservations of the Social Democrats who compete for votes with the populist EU critical opposition. Hence EU debate has become reactionary.

Regarding the EU budget for 2014 onwards, there was considerable pressure throughout the political spectrum for decreasing the EU member states' contributions to the Union budget. This was also the consistent line of the Finnish Government. At the same time the Government felt considerable pressure for defending the payments for agriculture and regional development from the EU, because ever since Finland's application for EU membership the backing of powerful agricultural lobbies has been much more important than the numbers of farmers or the share of agriculture of the GDP would suggest. These factors made the Government to adopt a somewhat paradoxical, conservative cost-cutting negotiation strategy where existing members would nevertheless maintain the lion's share of their entitlements from the EU budget. The nature of this cost-oriented debate became evident after the final agreement among member states on the budget, when opposition groups started questioning the figure the Government claimed Finland would receive from the EU. The debate hence focused mainly on the payments/returns ratio, and much less on the substantial or constructive issues of EU policy.

The national debate on the Eurozone crisis has calmed down from the last year as a result of ECB action in autumn 2012 that lessened nervousness in markets. The bailout of Cyprus was discussed without much controversy, which is an exception of sorts to the polarized debates of recent years. Finland declined to commit for the financial transactions tax planned by a consortium of member states, once more showing the relatively narrow, national-interest oriented line the country has adopted where minimum degree of risks are taken to show solidarity to the other member states staying outside such arrangements.

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

In 2012 the Eurozone crisis was still the dominant issue in the academic as well as in the political debate. The German Federal Constitutional Court had to decide if the rescue measures of the EU and the Member States were constitutional. It formulated limits for future measures and once again strengthened the power of the national parliament (Bundestag) in EU matters, which was discussed politically and academically. Besides, the issue of the annulment of the restrictions for Bulgarian and Romanian workers to enter the German labour market was discussed. Furthermore, the inability of the Member States to find a common position as regards the conflicts (Libya, Syria) abroad was debated.

## Germany (Universität Trier)

The debt crisis in the euro zone prevails as the dominating topic in contemporary European politics. Especially the coming into force of the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) and the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (TSCG; short: Fiscal Compact) dominated last year's political and societal debate in Germany. The ruling of the Federal Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht) in September concerning the conformity of the ESM with the German Grundgesetz received an extraordinarily high amount of media attention. Against the background of the persisting debt crisis in the Euro zone, the Lisbon Treaty has to act as legal framework. However, political necessities led to legal modifications: To ensure the legality of the ESM, regardless of the "no bail-out clause", a slight change in Article 136 TFEU was adopted by the European Council. Moreover, the instruments and mechanisms stabilising the common currency also break new ground in legal terms: The ESM and the TSCG, for instance, do not represent primary law, but international law referring to EU law and EU institutions. With regard to the Fiscal Compact, an attempt to integrate the TSCG into the European Union's primary law failed due to the veto of Great Britain and the Czech Republic, but it, however, represents so-called "complementary law".

In Germany, the public debate about the Euro crisis mainly focuses on the steadily growing total of German credits and guarantees. In addition, a fundamental question that refers to the limits of solidarity in the Euro zone emerged over time. Public scepticism as regards the Euro stabilising instruments and mechanisms is steadily growing. In return, the German public is aware of rising resentments against Germany among many Southern European member states. Put differently: While the German total of financial credits and guarantees in the context of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) and ESM increased, the reputation of Germany among the beneficiaries decreased. In Greece, for example, it seems that Germany, but especially chancellor Merkel is held responsible for the imposed conditions of austerity. Similar developments are visible in Spain, Portugal and Cyprus. To put it another way: Germany, although only one among sixteen other states in the Euro zone, is made the scapegoat of reforms and austerity obligations initiated by the ESM and the Fiscal Compact. Obviously, the aim of stabilising the euro as common currency poses a serious threat to the solidarity between the EU's member states.

Furthermore, the European Central Bank's announcement of its willingness to buy state securities in unlimited quantities on secondary market in case of need raises the question of legal conformity with the regulations of the Lisbon Treaty. Is the ECB acting "ultra vires"? Even if the ECB is acting in a legal grey area, the conception of the EMU as a community of stability – a major requirement for Germany's participation – is at risk. Moreover, all rescue and stabilising actions taken so far follow a distinct path dependence that complicates policy changes. Ultimately, the potential exit of a Euro zone member state, which still seems to be a possible scenario, would mean a serious cornerstone of disintegration.

A look at the current developments in Cyprus and other Southern European countries provides evidence that the European Union has not yet succeeded in overcoming the Euro zone debt crisis' causes and effects. Furthermore, this crisis poses a serious threat to the process of European integration.

## Greece (Institute of European Integration and Policy)

The Eurozone crisis, the domestic bad economic situation and the role of the so called Troika has monopolized the political and the academic debate in Greece. It seems that academic debate in Greece (but also in Europe) does not deepen on the role of the new European Service of External Action as well on the role of the President of the European Council and of the High Representative, significant innovations of the Lisbon Treaty neither on the reinforcement of the European Parliament. Academic



and political discourse deals less with the institutional provisions of the Lisbon Treaty than with the notion of European solidarity and the several scenarios for the future (in or out the eurozone). During the period under examination (April 2012 - March 2013) the debate is still focuses on the economic governance of the EMU and the institutional set up governing the single currency (Euro). The question of Immigration and Schengen Area continues to prevail in the discussion in Greece due to the imminent nature of this problem for Greece. The contribution of the European Union is more or less contested and negatively judged. 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.

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) has some research projects on the Lisbon institutional reforms (European Seminars, Think Global Act European project, “An EU ‘fit for purpose’ in a global age” etc.). ELIAMEP has also contributed to the assessment of the EEAS organised by the European Policy Centre (EPC) and the Finnish Institute for International Affairs, and the project “Think Tanks at a Crossroads” led by the Centre for Liberal Strategies (CLS).

### **Hungary (College of Business and Communication)**

The Eurozone crisis and the energy policy have been high on the agenda, both first of all as policy-related issues, i.e. discussed in the press or among experts. Hungary is less concerned by the immigration issue, being a transition-country, and even the Eastern Partnership and the EU enlargement have not been very attractive topics for research. These latter topics have usually been discussed in the International Relations Institute of the MFA from a closer practical perspective. BCE has a periodical in Hungarian on the EU (sometimes in English as Society and Economy). The MFA has also a periodical in Hungarian (Európai Tükör – European Mirror) that has regularly published the EU documents and analyses for practitioners. The latest issue is on Crisis Management in the EU. The European Mirror has regularly provided deep and correct information about the EU developments, including the LT process and afterwards, but it is not a special Journal for the academic research.

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

The financial crisis actually shed light on the deficiencies of the LT 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 (e.g. the 6-pack) other measures had to be introduced outside the Treaty (e.g. Euro Plus Pact, TSCG). Moreover, Art. 136 of the TFEU had to be amended for the ESM to become operational. The LT has shortcomings in terms of tackling immigration challenges in a more integrated way. Related political sensitivities cannot be solved by the LT either (see the protracted veto on Romanian and Bulgarian Schengen membership). Energy policy is one of the big “winners” of the LT. Actually an unprecedented dynamism of energy policy cooperation was launched under the Hungarian presidency in 2011, and further promising developments can be expected in the near future. External action in general could 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 really discussed by the domestic media. As regards the European Citizens’ Initiative, recently the “One of us” campaign was launched to collect at least one million signatures against EU financing of embryonic experiments. This is rather well known in Hungary. Moreover, one of the seven organizers and coordinators is the Hungarian Edit Frivaldszky: <https://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/ECI-2012-000005/public/index.do> 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.



The following publications would be worth mentioning:

*Institute of Legal Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

- Vörös, I. (2012): Az európai uniós jogfejlődés irányai a Lisszaboni Szerződés után (Directions of European Union Law after the Lisbon Treaty), HVG-Orac Budapest. In this volume there are interesting studies on the LT focusing on the competences and the institutional reforms of the EU.

*Hungarian Political Science Association*

- Arató, K. – Enyedi, Zs. – Lux, Á. (2011): Structures and futures of Europe. Ad Librum Budapest, 2011. In this volume there are interesting chapters on the theoretical and practical implications of the LT in European integration dynamics.

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

The Icelandic EU debate concentrates overwhelmingly on Iceland's own accession process and thus only on the most relevant issues for the nation: Eurozone crisis, fish, agriculture, and to a much lesser extent Schengen and migration plus scare-stories on defence. Only a small diplomatic elite is aware of the Western Balkan applicants and seeks good dialogue with them and there is no apparent interest in Eastern or Southern partnership, though Nordic cooperation remains popular. Further, the Icelandic approach to the EU generally disregards the legal and institutional aspect including the significance of the LT, to focus rather on concrete impacts, political relations, and a general political concept of 'sovereignty'. The only exception is when an opposition group (of the no movement) quotes something from the LT that they claim will damage Iceland, usually taken out of context and misinterpreted: but one may suspect many of these points are borrowed from anti-EU campaigns in neighbouring countries. 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)**

The EU has played a major role in Italian politics during 2012 and in the first part of 2013 because of the constraining measures imposed to Greece and to other debtor countries, including Italy itself. For these (and other) reasons its image has deteriorated in the eyes of the public opinion. The Italian positive perception of the Euro has therefore further decreased, even though a IAI Working Paper has argued that Italians still trust the EU much more than national institutions (see Michele Comelli, The Image of Crisis-Ridden Europe and the Division Between Creditor and Debtor Countries: The Case of Italy, IAI Working Paper 1217, June 2012, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iaiwp1217.pdf>).

The Italian political debate on the EU 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, the 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, mainly because of the scarce relevance they have in the domestic daily debate.

The main issues deal with the recently signed Treaty, the so-called Fiscal Compact. Italy, which had been considered a problem for EU and the eurozone, did in the end undertake the efforts required from her, 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, even though the stalemate following

February 2013 political elections worry many domestic and international observers as well as the financial markets. The political reforms upon which Monti's government has embarked upon are part of an attempt to reform a country that has too long avoided taking necessary but painful reforms. 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 setup of a new reform of the Lisbon Treaty. While the Eurozone is currently facing a crisis that leads the EU to look for a systemic solution and a few months after the publication of a blue print for a deep and genuine Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), it is necessary to go further to deepen the EMU, making it the first step towards a possible political Union.

The results of the Italian election that were held on February 24<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup>, 2013 have not brought about the decisive clarity that many had hoped for. Italians overwhelmingly rejected Prime Minister Mario Monti's austerity policies in the February 24<sup>th</sup> -25<sup>th</sup> election. The centre-right, the centre-left and the newly formed "Five Star" movement has each obtained roughly a third of the vote and therefore no party was able to obtain a parliamentary majority, a fact that threatens prolonged political instability in the euro zone's third largest economy. In fact, 50 days since the elections a government has not been yet formed and is highly unlikely to be formed anytime soon. The situation is extremely complex, as any government needs a vote of confidence from both the Camera dei Deputati and the Senato. The euro-crisis and the austerity measures taken by the previous government were very central on the electoral debate. The result of the electoral consultation can be read as a dangerous disaffection of Italians to EU system and politics.

### **Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science)**

Topic of the Eurozone crisis remains as a focal point in public debates in Lithuania. Crisis is discussed, assessed and interpreted in all means of mass media – be it live discussion TV shows, radio programmes or articles and commentaries in newspapers and online. Energy policy is seen as of strategic importance to Lithuania so on-going interest in this topic remains. As Lithuanian EU Presidency in 2013 is approaching debates about Lithuanian priorities, its preparations, etc. are becoming more and more important. Despite fruitful and on-going EU related debates no important cross-linkages to the Lisbon Treaty have emerged.

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

By far the most striking political issue being discussed in the EU community is the financial and sovereign debt crisis and the means set up in order to manage the crisis.

#### *Financial crisis, TSGC, ESM*

The Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (TSCG) of March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2012, although signed by the Luxembourgish executive, was subjected to harsh criticism by the Luxembourgish Minister of foreign affairs, Jean Asselborn. Prior to the signing of the compact, Asselborn prophesised in an interview given to the German Spiegel Online, "Mrs. Merkels Stability Pact cannot work." However, his criticism was not primarily directed against the content of the fiscal compact, but against its legal form. Instead of an international Treaty between States, Asselborn would have preferred binding regulations enacted as secondary law and within the existing legal framework of the Lisbon Treaty. The Luxembourgish Minister argued that outside the EU legal framework the Commission would not be enabled to bring the treaty-breaching State before the European Court of Justice. However, on occasion of its ratification on February 27<sup>th</sup>, 2013 by the Luxembourgish Parliament, the required 2/3 majority was reached without problems. The ruling majority of Christian Democrats and Socialists were joined by the Liberal Party, sitting on the opposition benches, voted in favour of the Fiscal compact. The Greens, the left-wing party of Déi Lénk and the Eurosceptic party

ADR voted against. During the parliamentary debate on the TSCG, the Minister of Finance from the leading Christian Democrats, Luc Frieden, defended the Treaty against reproaches of being "undemocratic" or the result of a "Franco-German diktat". On that occasion he deplored that the pact was not part of the EU legal framework, but instead took the legal form of an International Treaty due to the British and Czech refusal to participate in the arrangement. A large majority of the MPs insisted on the necessity to couple the austerity measures with measures stimulating growth.

The debate on the participation of Luxembourg in the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) (and the subsequent vote on June 26<sup>th</sup>, 2012) was less controversial than the vote on the TSCG. The Greens and the Liberal Party (DP) joined the majority parties, adopting thus the respective bills with a large majority, surpassing by far the required 2/3 majority. The proponents of the ESM underlined unanimously the necessity of the stability mechanism in the context of the crisis but considered the vote also as an act of solidarity with the people of EU Member States under pressure. Despite the fact that the per-capita contribution to the European bail-out fund is 65 per cent higher than the EU average, the large majority of the PM's saw "no real alternative at this point".

With a look back on years of cacophony and national egoisms in the management of the financial and the subsequent sovereign debt crisis, one cannot help but think that the demission of Jean-Claude Juncker as head of the Euro Group in January 2013 is also due to a moment of fatigue which might be explained by the lack of willingness of the big Member States to compromise. With regard to the Euro zone, Juncker recalls in an interview given to the Luxembourgish press that "the euro is the common currency for all, and not just Germany, France or Italy /.../" . In line with this, the Luxembourgish Government spoke repeatedly up in favour of Eurobonds in order to stabilize ailing economies. As for the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-2020, almost all parties represented in the National Parliament reject the idea of budget cuts.

#### *Immigration and Schengen area*

The decision taken by the Home Affairs Council, on 7 June, on the possibility of re-establishing intra-European border controls in case a Schengen area member country is unable to control illegal immigration at its external frontiers, gave rise to a lively debate in Parliament and a subsequent resolution in which the MPs showed their attachment to the Schengen-acquis. The Luxembourgish Chamber backed explicitly the European Commission, calling for more powers in this respect.

Despite growing immigration pressure from the Western Balkans linked to visa exemptions in the Schengen area, which caused some disapproval in the larger public, the Luxembourgish Government is in favour of the integration of Bulgaria and Romania into the Schengen area.

#### *Selected research results of Luxembourg University containing aspects related with the LT*

- Dumont, P./ Spreitzer, A. (2012): The Europeanization of domestic legislation in Luxembourg, in: Brouard, Sylvain; Costa, Olivier and König, Thomas (eds): The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures: The empirical implications of the Delors' Myth in nine countries, New York, pp. 213-246.

#### **Malta (University of Malta)**

Where the EU dominates the national debate, the media and parliamentarians/politicians tend to focus most on the Euro crisis and immigration. Energy is debated but mostly from a national perspective with the EU featuring only when it comes to interconnectors to link the Maltese islands to the European electricity grid and gas pipeline network, both of which are a work in progress and are being partly financed by EU structural funds. The Mediterranean and particularly the situation in North

Africa and Libya after the Arab Spring also enjoy considerable salience but the debate hardly refers to EU after the LT which is supposed to become a stronger world actor.

The role of the national parliament and the subsidiarity check has been raised by the media particularly since Maltese activism in this domain has tended to be negligible. A related issue was the long and inexplicable delay in appointing a representative of the National Parliament at the European Parliament in Brussels. The citizens' initiative has made some waves, on March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2012 an activity was held at Dar l-Ewropa, Valletta, jointly sponsored by the Commission Representation and the Economic and Social Committee to mark this important event. The Citizens' Initiative was also given prominence at a Conference and Citizenship Fair organized by the Training, Information, Cooperation - Towards Active Citizenship (TIC-TAC), the Association of Local Democracy Agencies (ALDA) and the Association of Local Councils on October 29<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup>, 2012 at Dolmen Hotel, Qawra. The session on the Citizens' Initiative was chaired by the Director of the Institute for European Studies. EU Enlargement is not a topic of discussion in Malta but it is sometimes the issue is raised. When Turkey's European Affairs Minister, Egemen Bagis visited Malta; he gave a lecture at the University in Valletta on April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012 on Turkey's membership prospects. The Institute for European Studies and MEUSAC organized the event which was attended by around 100 people including diplomats.

### Netherlands (Universtiy of Groningen)

In the past year, debate in the Netherlands regarding Europe has almost exclusively been about the Eurozone crisis. For example, issues which formerly seemed to dominate past national elections, like immigration and asylum issues did not play nearly such a large role in recent elections and in the public debate. Part of the media interest in the Eurozone at the moment is no doubt because of the Dutchman, Jeroen Dijsselbloem, current president of the Eurogroup of finance ministers. The discussions and bailout of Cyprus received a lot of attention, because of the role of Mr. Dijsselbloem in leading the process. The Dutch government has announced that it will not meet the EU's 3% of gross national product deficit target for 2013. The Financial Times (February 28, 2013) notes that it is 'an ironic outcome for a country that was one of the toughest proponents of the deficit limits at European summits during the euro crisis.'

### Netherlands (University of Twente)

The main topic related to the debate on the Lisbon Treaty in the Netherlands has been the Eurozone crisis. But also the role of the European Parliament and its national counterparts has been discussed, as exemplified by the following Exemplary Dutch publications on the Lisbon treaty:

- De Ruiter and Neuhold (2012): The winner takes it all? The implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the EPs Legislative Role in Co-Decision, in: Laursen (ed.), The EU's Lisbon Treaty, Ashgate.
- Toshkov, D. and Rasmussen, A. (2012) 'Time to Decide: The Effect of Early Agreements on Legislative Duration in the European Union', European Integration Online Papers 16(11).

### Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael)

#### *National Parliaments, Subsidiarity Check*

In the past year the Lisbon Treaty as such has not been a major subject of political or academic debate in the Netherlands. However, its legacy has been discussed on a regular basis. The strengthened role of the European Parliament and the interplay with national parliaments has been high on the agenda, especially in relation to a lack of trust in the EU and broader problems on democratic legitimacy. The political discussion on increasing democratic legitimacy is mainly focused on the national parliament,

subsidiarity tests, better scrutiny mechanisms and the use of the yellow card procedure. Yet, according to a report from the advisory council on international affairs (AIV), the Dutch government should intensify and improve its relations with the European Parliament. Furthermore, an increased coordination between national parliaments on EU affairs is deemed important to increase the legitimacy of the decision-making process. In the academic debate it is also recognised that an increased role for the European Parliament will be problematic considering the democratic gap between Brussels and the voters.

#### *Euro crisis and the rethinking of the future of the EU*

The euro crisis has challenged and stretched the institutional framework of the Lisbon Treaty to its limits. The national political debate is centred on incremental, pragmatic steps to solve the euro crisis. This has created an incidental institutional structure which falls partly outside the Lisbon Treaty. Moreover, it has forced European leaders to take steps on deepened integration, fuelling the debate on a political union. In this context, there are new discussions on the need of a new Treaty reform, either for all member states or only for EMU members. The speech of British Prime Minister Cameron intensified the debate on the future of the EU and potential alternatives to a federalist model or political union. In the Dutch context, a group of academics and publicists has organized a so-called citizens' initiative to prevent a further transfer of powers to Brussels unless it is approved in a national referendum.

#### *Sources*

- Advisory Council on International Affairs. The Netherlands and the European Parliament. Investing in a new relationship. No. 81, November 2012. This report investigates the strengthened role of the European Parliament after the Lisbon Treaty and provides recommendations on how the Netherlands can or should respond to this new role.
- Crum, Ben (2012): "Het democratisch tekort als institutionele uitdaging. Hoe verder na het Verdrag van Lissabon?" in: Europa, burgerschap en democratie. Over de gespannen relatie tussen burgers en Europa en mogelijkheden om die te ontspannen. (The democratic deficit as institutional challenge. How further after the Lisbon Treaty?) Den Haag, Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, pp. 109-121. This article aims to address the issue of the perceived democratic deficit from an institutional perspective in order to provide recommendations that can be implemented on this level.
- Rasmussen, Anne (2012): 20 Years of Co-decision since Maastricht: Inter- and intra-institutional implications, in: Journal of European Integration. 34 (7) pp. 735-751. This article provides a comprehensive view on the development of the co-decision procedure from the Maastricht Treaty to the Lisbon Treaty.
- Rasmussen, Anne (2012): Early Agreements in the European Union Co-decision procedure: Democracy versus efficiency? Newsletter of the Montesquieu Institute (The Netherlands) January 11, 2012. This article is relevant because it discusses the development of the co-decision procedure and focuses on the increased use of 'early agreements' in the decision-making process and the consequences for national parliament's involvement.
- De Bruijn, Th.J.A.M. (2011): De veranderende rol van nationale parlementen in de Europese Unie (The changing role of national parliaments in the European Union) RegelMaat. Volume 6, pp. 337. This article is useful because it examines the changing role of national parliaments in the EU from the Treaty of Rome to the Lisbon Treaty and offers an account on how these

developments can contribute to the further construction of an economic and monetary union in the context of the euro crisis.

### **Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo)**

As Norway is but closely associated with the EU, many of these issues have spill-over effects that impact Norway, and thus enter into political debates – in particular the Eurozone crisis and Immigration and the Schengen Area. However as Norway is a non-EU country, and was thus never faced with ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, the Lisbon Treaty enters less into discussion of EU issues than in EU countries.

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

As it concerns the financial crisis it is worth mention 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. Two major conferences, devoted to this subject: took place in Poland in the reporting period, being organized by: National Bank of Poland (Warsaw, May 2012) and by the University of Gdansk, Faculty of Economics and Transport (Gdansk, October 2012). Eastern partnership and relations with Russia continued to be important and debated topics both in academic and media circles. Human rights and freedom of press and expressions were the key issues of concern for Polish scientists and journalists. Three scientific conferences on these issues took place during the reporting period and were organized by: Soros Foundation (Warsaw, May 2012), Centre for Eastern Studies (Warsaw, January 2013) and by Rzeszów University (March 2013). 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 (one PHD researchers), Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Lodz (1 PHD researchers), Centre for European Studies of Jagiellonian University (2 PHD researchers).

Within the energy chapter (Title XXI art. 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 shale gas European sources, to problems and risks of development of nuclear plants in Poland and to the more general issue of the European energy security in the long run. One major event was devoted to these issues: “Safe energy for Europe II” conference organized by AGH of Cracow University of Science and Technology in Katowice, in February 2013. 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 Belarus. Violation of civil rights, limitations of free expression rights, punishment of Julia Timoshenko were vocally present in medias and academic debate. Centre for Eastern Studies organized two workshops: one devoted to Ukrainian path to the EU (Warsaw, October 2012) and the second, raising the problem of Belarus and the situation of Poles living there (Warsaw, January 2013). Within the reporting period there were at least 9 PHD dissertations linked thematically to this problem (2 in Cracow at the Jagiellonian University, 1 in Warsaw, at the University of Warsaw, 2 in Lodz at the University of Lodz, 1 at the University of Szczecin, 2 at the Academy of Economy in Poznan and 1 at the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan.

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

- Lisbon Treaty – chosen problems, (red. Maria Magdalena Kenig-Witkowska and Robert Grzeszczak, Warszawa 2012. This publication is the outcome of the conference organised by Chair of the European Law of Warsaw University and focuses on: reinforcement of



democratic aspects of the European integration, Europe as a community of values and on factors acting in favour of reinforcement of European integration;

- Węc, Janusz Józef (2012): *Lisbon Treaty – political aspects of EU reform*, Warsaw, Political Studies. It presents in detail major changes in the European political regime through treaty changes – and is advised as a basic reading for academic circles of political sciences studies;
- Rewizorski, Marek; Przybylska-Maszner, Beata (2012): *Institutional system of the EU after the Lisbon Treaty*, New Politology, Warsaw – presents the concrete changes in institutional shape of the EU through a deep glance of particular institutions: European Council, European Parliament, European Commission and the Court of Justice. Recommended as a reading for academics and practitioners.

### **Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon)**

The Lisbon Treaty is not an issue in Portugal and in its academic community, anymore. To tell the truth, whenever the Lisbon Treaty is mentioned in the debate it is to refer it as an example of clear political failure. Indeed, the expectations that preceded the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty were initially related with the strength of the European Union political system, and the increased legitimacy of its political institutions. After three years of deep political and economic crisis in Europe, the Lisbon Treaty seems useless for the public opinion in Portugal, at the best. In fact, the main purposes of the Lisbon Treaty did not prevent the appropriation that powerful member states did over the EU political process, with the emergency of a German hegemony, which was precisely the opposite of the letter and spirit of the Lisbon Treaty.

### **Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)**

The Eurozone crisis has been discussed in the Romanian academic community, in light of the divergent opinions as to whether our country will be ready to adopt the Single European Currency within the current timetable. The Schengen Area remains an intricate topic, widely discussed in both the media and the university environment, as Romania's accession has repeatedly been delayed. The issue of immigration equally represents a topic for which there is considerable interest in academic research. The political debate on Romania's Schengen membership is particularly heated. The Energy Policy is frequently associated in Romania with the reliance on Russian fossil fuels and is often analysed in connection with the increase in the price of energy.

With regard to external action, the discussions mostly revolve around the role of Romania on the border of the European Union, with particular emphasis on the Neighbourhood Policy. Amid the reform of the external action mechanisms of the EU, Romanian scholars wonder about the future liaisons between Romania and Russia, but also about the traditional relations our country has had with the Republic of Moldova. EU enlargement is studied mostly at an academic level, with a relatively low amount of research conducted on Croatia's future accession and an increased interest in the wider Balkans' area. Analyses of Turkey's negotiations also occupy an esteemed place in the curriculum and university debates. The Faculty of European Studies remains the most prominent contributor to the research based on the Lisbon Treaty.

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

The academic and political debates continue to be focused on Romania's potential to contribute to the external relations dimension of the EU, and particularly to its Foreign and security policy and the neighbourhood policy. The European Institute of Romania has participated in a series of seminars dealing with these topics, such as the research seminar *The European Union and Crisis Management*



Operations: Towards More Strategic Thinking, organized by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) from the 24th to the 26th of September 2012 in Switzerland. The event was attended by officials and experts from European institutions and research centres in the field such as: Timothy Clarke, Head of the European Security and Defence Policy Division of the European External Action Service, Sven Biscop, Senior Research Fellow, Egmont- the Royal Institute for International Relations- Brussels, Thierry Tardy and Gustav Lindstrom, training directors at GCSP. Discussions brought into attention the complex external challenges to European security since the Lisbon Treaty such as the "Arab Spring", the shifting US focus to the Asia-Pacific region, as well as the complexity of the on-going EU missions. Also, European efforts to establish strategic partnerships with countries such as Russia, China and India and the context and prospects of the European Security Strategy were tackled. In this context, it was noted that a better correlation of the foreign and security policy of European states is needed, and also to redefine the interests of European countries by prioritizing situations that require a prompt and coherent response from the EU. The major geopolitical challenge the EU need to cope with on a medium and long term is the "Arab Spring", which should be dealt with through proper resource allocation to the European Neighbourhood Policy, however convincing citizens of the need to allocate appropriate resources remains the most difficult task for decision-makers at both EU and national level. Moreover, Europe remains the most suited continent for projecting a „big governance" model, through the promotion of democracy, rule of law and market economy standards, despite the setbacks manifested in time. It was also pointed out that the EU needs to develop and promote concerted interests in several areas: territorial security, migration control, climate change, and ensuring member states' decision-making autonomy in relation to other international actors.

In the reporting period, EIR expert Agnes Nicolescu contributed with a Romanian perspective on Germany's competitiveness to an EPIN paper entitled "Germany as viewed by other EU member states". As the abstract of the paper points out, criticism of Germany has diminished compared to recent years, but its diplomacy must improve, as the heavily intergovernmentalised setting of EU decision making creates talks of a "constant German EU Presidency". Furthermore, the relegation to second tier European integration of the traditional partners of the members of "core Europe" for balancing relations with Germany has left those member states deeply nervous. Also, as Germany's current weight reflects only the conjuncture of extraordinary domestic and international economic factors, the way Germany and other member states behave towards one another will have implications for their own treatment on the longer term. Already the "Union method" and "multi-speed integration" are being used to excuse exclusion and fragmentation within the EU, and Germany should develop a new style of interaction before it falls victim to these trends. The paper can be downloaded at <http://www.ceps.eu/ceps/download/7084>.

Also on the policy issue of External Action, The Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) organized on March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013 in Rome, Italy, a Lisbon Seminar on the topic of „The European Neighbourhood Policy and the Lisbon Treaty: What has Changed?" at which EIR was represented by Agnes Nicolescu. Participants included representatives from European universities and research centres such as the University of Ghent, the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) Brussels, the University of Hanover or the Institute of World Economics Budapest. Discussions were held over the course of three sessions, with topics covering the legal basis of the ENP and the possibility of a neighbourhood agreement, the coherence brought by the Lisbon Treaty to the ENP and the system of EU external action, and the current geopolitical, economic and institutional context and the role of the ENP. Agnes Nicolescu presented her paper on The Eastern Partnership Roadmap 2012 – 2013 and the European Enlargement Strategy: Main Challenges to the conditionality and differentiated integrated principles during the third session of discussions.

The Romanian Academic Society published the following papers and articles:

- Emmanouilidis, Janis A. and Stratulat, Corina (2012): “Implementing Lisbon: a critical appraisal of the Citizens’ Initiative ” examines the introduction of the Citizens’ Initiative (CI) by the Lisbon Treaty, focusing on how the CI will work in practice.
- Dăianu, Daniel et al. (2012) “Managing Diversity for a Growing Europe: A Romanian View on the EU Budgetary Review Process” addresses the major external and internal challenges linked to the EU enlargement and the need to find new solutions based on some basic principles such as: solidarity, interdependence of policies, necessity to redesign the national budgets as well, all under the legal framework of the Lisbon Treaty.
- Stratulat, Corina and Molino, Elisa (2012): “Comitology Reform: Setting the Record Straight ” is focused on the innovations made by the Lisbon Treaty in regards to the implementation process (‘comitology’), but also on the importance of comitology in the EU decision-making process.
- Dimulescu, Valentina: “Migrants at the gates: the external dimension of the EU’s migration policy in the South Mediterranean ”examines one of the basic European rights, free movement, in the context of growing irregular migration from the South Mediterranean and calls from a number of Member States to reconsider the Schengen agreement.

Romanian Center for European Policies

- Ghinea, Cristian; Dinu, Dragos; Tănăsache, Oana: “The Romanian Parliament enters the EU – the challenge of being an active actor in Europe ” compares the role of the national parliaments before Lisbon as well as in the Lisbon Treaty.
- Ghinea, Cristian and Chirilă, Victor: “EU - Moldova negotiations. What is to be discussed, what could be achieved? ” offers an overview of the EU- Moldova relations until 2010.

## Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)

### *Eurozone crisis*

In Slovenia the Eurozone crisis has been the most often commented EU policy issue. Given the domestic financial problems and the failed stability mechanisms proposed by the Janša government (causing a political crisis and social unrest), the new Bratušek government is currently focusing on the establishment of the so called “bad bank” in order to send a clear sign to the financial markets that Slovenia is actively developing austerity policies to solve its problems without the EU emergency funding or ‘bail-out’ rescue packages. Lately, a lot of attention has also been given to the proclamations that Slovenia is to follow the Cyprus scenario. Especially the statement of the new Eurogroup president Jeroen Dijsselbloem (“Cyprus might be the role-model case for other EU states with similar problems”) was perceived as being inappropriate and only adding to the already unstable financial environment for Slovenia. A further aspect of the Cyprus crisis debate was with regard to the so called solidarity clause, where Slovenia as highly indebted country with severe bank sector problems on its own should financially help Cyprus with approx. 50 million Euros therefore additionally increasing its debt.

### *Citizens’ Initiative*

With regard to the newly proposed water directive by the European Commission that could potentially lead to the privatization and bad-management of water resources in Slovenia the possibility of an EU-

wide Citizens' Initiative was mentioned as one way of increasing the participation of citizens in the EU policy making process.

### *EU enlargement*

In the light of the July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013 accession of Croatia to the EU the need for a further commitment (of the EU as a whole and Slovenia in particular) towards a gradual integration of the remaining states of the Western Balkans has been discussed in media and politics. Since most of the potential EU candidates have open bilateral issues and since these have already been used in the negotiation process of some EU states (Slovenia, Croatia), the question of how future accessions should address these issues has been problematized.

- Accetto, Matej (2013): Jubilej ustavnega trenutka Evropske unije (Jubilee of the European Union's constitutional moment). PP, Prav. praksa (Ljubl.), Vol 32, No. 5, pp. 3.
- Accetto, Matej (2012): Vpliv prava EU na pravico do sodnega varstva: okoljsko pravo kot testni poligon? (Influence of EU law on the right to court action: environmental law as testing ground?) PP, Prav. praksa (Ljubl.), Vol. 31, No. 21, pp. 8-10.
- Repas, Martina, Knez, Rajko in Hojnik, Janja (2013): Skupna politika kazenskih pregonov EU - pilotski primeri varstva okolja, intelektualne lastnine in iger na srečo (Common EU policy on criminal prosecution - pilot examples of environmental protection, intellectual property and games of chance). Pravniki: revija za pravno teorijo in prakso, Vol. 68, No. 1/2, pp. 67-93.

## 4. Personal Assessment

Guide questions:

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

What are present trends observable in EU studies (teaching/research)?

### 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.

Reflecting the contemporary economic, political and legal challenges, EU academic research increasingly focuses on the economic governance of the eurozone and options for differentiated integration.

### Bulgaria (New Bulgarian University)

It is the apparent lack of EU's foreign policy coherence and meaningful activities that strikes the most, despite that the LT established the External Action Service and provided it with many capacities and competences exactly on the matter. However the LT remains still under the radar in Bulgaria's politic and academic debate, as the country is hardly overcoming the global economic crises, which is in the centre of the public focus. It is from this perspective that EU and the LT are addressed – what instruments they both provide for helping the member states leapfrogging the recession and building a stronger, more unified Union. However, the most remarkable aspect of the whole debate is that EU is no more of equal rights and obligations. Instead, it has become a two or three-fold structure with proportional influence and benefits for each country following the respective membership.

### Croatia (Institute for Development and International Relations)

Surprising about the LT is that it did not envisage a sufficient framework for better EU economic policy coordination and that the necessity for having more developed framework was realized only in context of the economic crisis. Instruments of the EU's economic governance such as the banking union and the fiscal compact were built outside of the EU Treaty architecture. This signifies a trend of shifting competences away from the EU institutions and towards governments of Member States and potentially compromises legitimacy of the EU.

LT paves the way for a more coherent and successful EU foreign policy. However, progress in this area is slow because major efforts are now being focused on overcoming the economic crisis but also due to fact that foreign and security policy remain to a large extent intergovernmental.

Impacts of the Lisbon Treaty are being directly observed to a lesser degree than in the previous years. This is an expected result having in mind the fact this is already the 4<sup>th</sup> year since the Treaty's inception and Croatian academic community and practitioners do not consider it as a novel subject anymore. An additional trend which can be observed in the EU studies is increasing popularization of

the European studies as well as mainstreaming of the EU policies into teaching and research of domestic national policies. Both of these trends are related to the upcoming Croatian EU membership which is set to begin on July, 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013.

### **Czech Republic (Institute for International Relations)**

The expectations on the LT were often largely exaggerated both among advocates and opponents of the treaty. The Czech president Klaus declared that the entering into force of the LT was the end of Czech state sovereignty, others on the other hand hoped that the LT would be the solution that would lead to a situation where no new treaty revisions would be necessary for a long time. Both assessments seem to have been wrong. This is perhaps not that surprising for analysts following the EU over the long time.

The aspects of the LT which have received most academic attention in the Czech Republic refer to the establishment of the EEAS. The LT was vague on the functioning and the details of the institutional framework. To some degree this was understandable, yet it is surprising that for instance there was a wide spread expectation that the EU delegation would be able to assist in case consular distress, and thus that this could be one instrument for member states to reduce its spending on their foreign representations. It seems that the communication could have been clearer and some expectations subdued at an earlier stage. Regarding the wider view on CFSP post-Lisbon there were no big surprises. Maybe the role of Ashton has been even more complicated than anticipated, or alternatively, she has not been the right person for the position. However, by most accounts any achievements in CFSP caused by the inventions in the LT are likely to become visible in the long run. A positive interpretation would be that the institutional inventions in the long run could create socialization that smoothens collaboration and also increases the likelihood of defining European interests.

In EU research the trend is going towards increased diversity. EU studies is a field which receives attention from scholars coming from different theoretical backgrounds and from different main fields of studies, and my impression is not that the differences are getting smaller but rather increased. This in turn reflects that the EU is growing both in size but more importantly relating to competencies. If there is a trend over the last two or three years, that would be that a wider range of predictions are presented openly by leading academics. A few years ago hardly anyone would seriously have discussed the possibilities of a breakup of the EU. Now such discussions can be heard also among prominent scholars.

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

One thing that can be seen as surprising with regard to the Lisbon Treaty's first three years, is the demise of EU foreign policy issues on the EU agenda, taking into account the new system for foreign policy created by the Lisbon Treaty. The establishment of a High Representative assisted by the EEAS is the most ambitious attempt so far to meet the expectation that the EU should have a serious, common foreign policy, but we still lack the political will to achieve this. The economic crisis has led Member States to become more internally focused and the European model has become weakened and less desirable, leaving both little attention being paid to and weight left for EU foreign policy.

In term of EU studies at the DIIS, there has been a move away from the institutional debate into a more social one. This dimension is primarily taking place at the domestic level, and is concerned with the upheavals both in Europe in the light of the Euro-crisis and in the Middle East since the Arab uprisings. As a part of this, a number of DIIS researchers have underlined the role that memory and identity-politics increasingly play a part in foreign policy.

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

The most remarkable policy factor is how the institutional mechanisms of the LT have proved insufficient for dealing with the crisis of the Euro even though the LT was initially promoted as an arrangement giving the EU enough teeth to solve its policy challenges. Instead of rapid action by EU institutions, slow intergovernmental agreements have repeatedly been sought and new amendments made to existing institutional landscape. The Union has several times been caught running behind the 'markets'. Hence we have a situation where a new Treaty would be needed to build a more robust EU capability to defend the member states' economic and financial interests, while national debates focused on preserving existing rebates and other nationally sensitive arrangements and keeping European interventions into domestic policy in check prevent more solidarity as would be required in rational policy planning in today's Europe.

Regarding teaching and research, the academic community of EU studies has been poorly prepared to take on the challenge of the new political economy of the EU. There are relatively very few specialists on EU/ European political economy with a social science competence and ability to link fiscal, financial and economic debates to the wider political agenda, while many EU specialists have been slow to attempt to respond to the policy needs that should touch all of us as taxpayers and publicly paid intellectuals.

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

The increasing importance of the European Council (especially regarding the financial crisis) is still surprising, because the LT was supposed to increase democratic legitimacy of EU measures by strengthening the European Parliament. Instead, it is the European Council, which first and foremost determines the management of the crisis. Nevertheless, under its new president Martin Schulz, the European Parliament seems to emancipate itself, e.g. regarding its new right to veto the EU budget adopted by the Council. The new relationship between these two institutions will have to be carefully observed in the future in order to see whether the political system of the EU will work efficiently in order to increase the democratic legitimacy of EU politics.

LT does not provide the opportunities necessary to face the recent threats to the EU resulting from the financial crisis. The lack of a real political union complementing the highly integrated Economic and Monetary Union became evident. Instead, other innovative measures lying outside the treaties were invented to handle the crisis. Due to a lack of procedural rules provided by the treaties the intergovernmental method in EU politics has resurrected and has become very dominant again, although LT was supposed to strengthen the supranational method. In this regard, LT seems to have missed the target.

### **Germany (Universität Trier)**

A major topic over the last months has been the dispute over the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) for the years 2014 to 2020. A first round of negotiations failed in November 2012 due to incompatible positions of the net contributor countries paying more to the EU budget than they actually receive (notably Great Britain, Germany and the Netherlands) and those countries which benefit most from the subsidies and EU payment programs (notably countries from the east and south of Europe). The first demanded a budget reform and a reduction of expenditures, the latter a protection of vested rights and a rising budget. Of course, the EU couldn't have it both ways. Since the EU member states have to vote unanimously no compromise could be reached and a second round of negotiations was scheduled for February 2013.

The result of these negotiations was praised by the President of the European Council, Herman van Rompuy, as a „budget of moderation“, bridging the gulf between the irreconcilable differences among

the member states and preparing the EU to boost employment, economic development and competitiveness. In reality, however, it is a compromise typical for the horse trading between EU member states: to please the beneficiaries of the agricultural and regional subsidies still 70 percent of the budget will finance the agricultural policy (373 billion Euros, down from 421 billion in the last MFF 2007-2013) and the cohesion policy (325 billion Euros, down from 355 billion). Only 13 percent (126 billion Euros, up from 91 billion Euros) are earmarked for research and modern infrastructure (energy, traffic and telecommunication). In return – to please the net contributors – the MFF was limited to 960 billion Euros, 34 billion less than in the last MFF, or 1.04 percent of the gross national income (GNI) of the European Union. For the first time, the EU will spend less than in the past.

The EU Budget and Financial Programming Commissioner, Janusz Lewandowski, criticised this budget for preserving old structures instead of strengthening the innovative capacity of Europe. The heads of the four main political groups in the European Parliament declared in a joint statement that “this agreement will not strengthen the competitiveness of the European economy. Instead, it will only weaken it. It is not in the interest of European citizens”.

In March the European Parliament (EP) overwhelmingly rejected this proposal for the European Union’s budget, declaring that it “disregards Parliament’s role and competences as set out in the Treaty of Lisbon” and that the EP will “exercise fully its legislative prerogatives”. Representatives from the EU member states and the EP must now try to find a new compromise which should be finalized before summer.

Many observers had long criticised the European Parliament as a multi-lingual talking shop, which at best rubber-stamped decisions prepared by national leaders or the European Commission. But the powers of the EP were greatly expanded by the EU’s 2009 Lisbon Treaty, and this veto marked the first time the EP has had the right to vote on the multi-annual budget. The president of the EP, Martin Schulz, proudly declared that “the vote has shown that the European Parliament must be taken seriously as a negotiating partner.”

To conclude, the economic and financial crises brought back images considered long overcome by the European project of peace, stability and prosperity recently honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize. “Us” versus “them” attitudes of nationalistic kind are gaining ground. “Brussels” against the nation states, Greece and Cyprus against Germany and Great Britain against the entire EU. “Germanophobia” and “Germany bashing” (for example Angela Merkel portrayed as Hitler or in SS uniform) is on the rise in the countries deeply touched by the crises, making Germany and German politicians responsible for social cuts or rising unemployment due to a policy of austerity presented to them as being without any alternative. The role as scapegoat responsible for the often homemade economic and financial policy failures and at the same time being expected to act as political leader and to put fresh money on the table may strengthen the already existing mistrust and rejection of the EU among a potentially growing part of the German population (see for example the creation of the Eurosceptic party “Alternative für Deutschland”).

Given these circumstances, the Treaty of Lisbon was to strengthen the EU’s democratic legitimacy. But this latest empowerment of the European Parliament – the EU’s only directly elected institution – introduced a strong veto player as witnessed during the EU budget negotiations. Facing a lack of enthusiasm, courage and political will to deepen the European integration will make a major treaty reform very unlikely in the near future, all the more so as this would play into the cards of British eurosceptics.



### **Greece (Institute of European Integration and Policy)**

In general it should be mentioned that the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty have been satisfactorily integrated in the university teaching. The new provisions of the Lisbon Treaty concerning the new ordinary legislative procedure and the new areas added in the co-decision procedure of decision making (Agriculture and fisheries, Cooperation with third countries; commercial policy, Freedom, security and justice Judicial matters, Liberalisation of services in specific sectors, Institutional issues: Implementing acts -comitology) as well as the impact of this reform on the European integration process and on democratization are incorporating in the university teaching. On the other hand, another aspect of the Lisbon Treaty, the significance and the impact of the European External Action Services in the area of Common Foreign and Security Policy should be examined more, expecting the first assessment report of the service.

However, what is remarkable is that these reforms and their impact are not integrated in the academic debate in Greece. In general, the new possibilities offered by the Lisbon Treaty to European integration and to the democratization of the EU institutional edifice do not prevail the academic debate. The dramatic repercussions of the economic crisis prevent the academia from dealing with these issues publicly and from diffusing them to the sensitive part of the civil society. As a result of that, as it was pointed out in previous Lisbon Watches, the dynamic offered by the Lisbon Treaty is not widely comprehensible to the Greek public.

### **Hungary (College of Business and Communication)**

The incumbent Hungarian government is strongly opposed to the further integration stipulated by the LT and this has determined the entire political landscape of the academic debate in Hungary. Not only the universities have been marginalized in the official discourse on EU but the research institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences have been completely reorganized with new bosses loyal to the government and with many researchers dismissed. It concerned the Research Institute of Political Science and Sociology, and also that of World Economy (VKI). These institutes must operate under increasingly difficult circumstances and lack forums and publication space.

The present trend is clearly practice-oriented or policy-oriented. The BCE and BKF students have an effort to get a job in the EU. The research has suffered from the missing funds and jobs, the university faculty are overburdened, since they teach at two-three places for earning a living. After the latest cut in the budget of higher education the universities have dismissed many people and still have very serious lack of resources. The university and research sector is a deep crisis, fighting for survival. Since December 2012 there have been a series of mass demonstrations of students against the policy of the government in higher education, including the BCE students.

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

The most surprising issue might be the confusion that the EU is still suffering from its representation to the outside world and also its weak identity in international politics. 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. As regards teaching in general, European studies remain important in Hungary and this topic is usually compulsory in the great majority of higher education institutions. A general challenge is however, how to keep pace with fast developments in the EU. Only those textbooks “survive” on the market, which are being updated on a regular basis. As regards research trends, for example at IWE emphasis is put on the protracted economic crisis in the EU and its management at both EU and national level. In political science, research focuses among others on the future structures of the EU.

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

The low profile of the Treaty itself is noteworthy but not surprising in view of the present concentration on Europe's economic, financial and purely political challenges. The weakness/lack of achievements of the EEAS is clearly a contributing factor, but has led to the EEAS becoming - perhaps excessively - a research focus in itself, while relatively little has been written on what the LT's external policy and security provisions should allow the EU to do in the respective fields. The debate on 'the EU as a power' sometimes seems to be moving in circles and to be excessively Euro-centric, rather than taking into account shifts in the understanding, and balance, of 'power' at Euro-Atlantic and global level. In terms of teaching, there is still too little focus on the EU's internal and functional security roles, on its roles and potential in the fields of arms control and non-proliferation, and on armaments issues in general.

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

The fact that it was initially considered as a Treaty that would not be revised for a long time, is the most striking. The Eurozone crisis has proved that the opposite is true. Pretty obviously, EU studies tend to now focus on the governance of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). What is missing is a more global and comprehensive approach to the Eurozone crisis and how it relates to the all process of European integration.

### **Lithuania (Institute of International Relations and Political Science)**

A Eurozone crisis obviously has an impact on EU studies. It could be argued that the political economy of the EU is gaining more attention. The need to explain on-going processes calls for broader methodological and theoretical perspectives, incorporation of interdisciplinary arguments and explanations.

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

The most striking thing is the incapacity of the European Union to deal in a coherent way with the financial and sovereign debt crisis. Despite the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, which was meant to improve the decision making process of EU-27 and bring Europe closer to its citizens, the Union has lost credibility. Due to the dimension of problems the EU has to deal with, Europe goes through a series of Council and European Council meetings where ministers and heads of state seem to have taken over the day-to-day business of a Union under permanent strain. In view of that, in the Grand Duchy, the discussion on institutional reforms came up among the political class, wishing to reduce the dominance of the Council. Many, not just the political class, see Europe at a crossroads between further integration and the demise of the European project.

### **Malta (University of Malta)**

The fact that the Lisbon Treaty is proving once again to be inadequate to help the EU confront the economic crisis it is in, is proof enough of its inadequacies highlighted before it had even come into effect. Though the defunct EU Constitutional project was halted and much of what could be salvaged from that project was incorporated in the LT, the need for further constitutional reform became apparent as soon as the LT came into effect. The LT has also been a disappointment in external relations and no dramatic turning point has occurred in the EU's ability to act more coherently in world affairs – particularly in the Mediterranean region where the need for action appears most acute.

Present trends in EU studies in Malta are focusing most on the Euro crisis, budgetary affairs, proposals regarding the EU's Mediterranean policies, particularly the EU response (Neighbourhood policy/Union for the Mediterranean), economic transition in southern Europe and north Africa and their links with the seemingly unstoppable euro crisis. Another interesting area is "agenda setting in

the EU” followed by EU energy policy and migration. The issue of deepening the European integration process is also beginning to take prominence. From a purely national perspective the following are most salient: EU small country presidencies in view of Malta’s 2017 EU presidency, the implementation of EU funded projects in Malta and keeping within the set macroeconomic targets for the national government expenditure / national debt specified in the new treaties. The European semester has also gained prominence as a research objective.

### **Netherlands (Universtiy of Groningen)**

It seems that the true implications of the Lisbon Treaty are still not being felt and are difficult to judge. Many of the Lisbon Treaty subject areas have not been getting much attention from a policy making perspective, because of the continuation of the Eurozone crisis and the overloading of the decision making structures on the major questions related to the Euro. At the University of Groningen, we are putting new emphasis on the EUs 20/20 project and the policy areas where the Dutch government has identified as policy priority areas within this project. We think that places our graduates in a good position to ‘hit the ground running’ when confronted with the most urgent and important policy questions in the Hague and in Brussels. These priority areas include: research and R&D, innovation, ICT, support for SMEs, sustainable energy, climate, energy networks, sustainable transport, major infrastructure, employment and gender equality, education and training, strengthening links with the labour market, and combating poverty.

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

Continuing disillusionment with how little the attempt of forging a “constitution for Europe” (settling institutional matters for a longer time period than pervious treaty changes) and the subsequent reform/Lisbon treaty has produced in actual change. The continuing debate of (now the Maastricht) “left-overs” in the context of the Eurozone crisis but also the Lisbon agenda and economic governance more broadly are an issue to address. Efforts to integrate “European studies” with the overall disciplinary discussions (in comparative politics, international relations or economics/law) and continuing efforts to move it more into the mainstream of “normal science” (less “what is the nature of the beast” navel gazing), including debates about methodology.

### **Netherlands (Institute of International Relations Clingendael)**

It strikes me as remarkable that even after the no-vote in 2005, the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty did not cause much public debate in the Netherlands. It was not a sensitive topic and the consequences were easily accepted.

### **Norway (ARENA, University of Oslo)**

Whereas the Lisbon Treaty was supposed to put an end to new constitution-making for the foreseeable future, the Eurozone crisis quickly revealed the inadequacy of the existing institutional machinery for dealing with the crisis. Instead there has been ad hoc decision-making through the “Union method” and back-door treaty-making outside the framework of the Lisbon Treaty (esp. the Fiscal Treaty). The most obvious observable trend is the great amount of research which is now coming to be brought to bear on the many interlocking crises facing the EU (financial, fiscal, sovereign debt, democratic, constitutional).

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

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 to the level of license graduation. Some years ago the key model of European Studies academic teaching was the basic disciplinary education (economics, international affairs, law, political science, sociology, environmental studies etc.), after which students were submitted to the master European Studies degree. Nowadays there is a twofold model, mixing up

a Bachelor degree offered on the European Studies and the former model of European Studies Master graduation. All major public universities offer Master of European Integration (19 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 Wroclaw-Faculty of Political Science).

The key characteristic of the current teaching model is that the Lisbon Treaty itself does not constitute a lecture subject alone as such. In various curricula Lisbon treaty is presented as an element of lectures devoted to separate subjects like: European Law, European Polity and policies, European culture, Common agricultural policy, Economic aspects of European integration, Common Foreign and Security Policy, External relations of the EU, Cohesion policy etc.

### **Portugal (Instituto Superior de Economica et Gestao/ Technical University of Lisbon)**

The Lisbon network was a very important initiative that put together academic experts – coming from all EU member states – on political, economic and legal issues related with the Treaty of Lisbon content and scope of application. Nevertheless, this project took place in a time of serious EU crisis. Probably, this is the most delicate European integration crisis, insofar as it is the whole European project that has been at stake. As Mr. Juncker recently said, Europe is leaving a time that resembles the atmosphere of 1913. In a certain way, it is a pity that this large and rare academic network did not embrace this opportunity to discuss what really matters for Europe nowadays, and take a true European stance on it.

### **Romania (Babes-Bolyai University)**

It is without a doubt interesting to follow the academic debates on the shortcomings of the Lisbon Treaty, notably in the field of decision-making, but also in the area of economic coordination. The sovereign debt crisis was obviously not meant to be solved by the provisions of the Treaty dating from 2007, but it is certain that it does not trigger the necessary response mechanisms to such troublesome situations, so as to foster coordination amongst all member states. It is surprising that, despite the significant changes brought forth by the Lisbon Treaty in institutional effectiveness, major decisions are still heavily reliant on the will of the intergovernmental element.

Present trends in EU studies in Romania tend to place emphasis on the past, present and future role of East-Central Europe in the decision-making process of the EU. The heritage brought by this part of the continent, this veritable New Europe, is thus regarded as an undeniable contributor to the restoration of the European common identity. Therefore, it becomes essential to study, throughout recent history, the modernisation, Europeanization and integration of these countries, as well as the numerous projects envisaged in this area throughout the 20th century. Apart from this, it is considered of interest at present to study the manner in which EU information is being communicated, so as to ensure more effectiveness in this permanent exchange of useful data amongst member states and directly with the EU institutions.

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

During the first three years of LT a relative lack of the LT in the public sphere and in the day-to-day politics of the EU itself is observable. Therefore changes brought about by the LT have not been thoroughly discussed in the academic debate in Slovenia but rather taken for granted. Slovenian polity and politics is currently overwhelmed by its own economic and financial crisis, thus, 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 however still 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 neighbourhood policy, EU interregionalism, EU development aid, EU diplomacy etc. These two approaches to the EU studies, namely studying the EU as a political process/system and studying the intergovernmental aspects and EU as a global actor 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).

## 5. Results of scaled questions

|   | Strongly disagree<br>(= -2) | Disagree<br>(= -1) | Undecided<br>(=0) | Agree<br>(=1) | Strongly agree<br>(=2) | Average | Results                                  |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------------|---------|--|
| <i>“EU teaching must become more research-based”</i>  | 0                           | 1                  | 4                 | 11            | 7                      | 1,04    | <i>“agree”</i>                           |
| <i>“EU teaching must focus more on non-academic target groups”</i>  | 0                           | 0                  | 4                 | 16            | 2                      | 0,91    | <i>“agree”</i>                           |
| <i>“Two years after the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, EU teaching has fully incorporated its provisions into the teaching agenda”</i>                       | 0                           | 6                  | 4                 | 11            | 2                      | 0,39    | <i>“undecided”, but tend to agree</i>    |
| <i>“The Lisbon Treaty has improved the Union’s ability to react to unforeseen crises”</i>   | 3                           | 9                  | 2                 | 7             | 1                      | -0,26   | <i>“undecided”, but tend to disagree</i> |
| <i>“The case for a complete revision of the EU treaties, possibly using the Convention method, has been strengthened over the past 12 months”</i>                     | 1                           | 6                  | 3                 | 10            | 3                      | 0,35    | <i>“undecided”, but tend to agree</i>    |
| <i>“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”</i> | 0                           | 5                  | 3                 | 10            | 5                      | 0,65    | <i>“agree”</i>                           |

N.B.: Questions answered by 22/23 respondents.