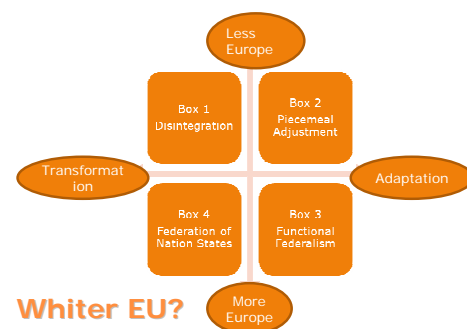


**Roundtable Workpackage Leaders, Friday 7 June 2013, 9.30 h – 11.30 h**

**Report**

*Wolfgang Wessels* (University of Cologne, LISBOAN Coordinator) introduced the aim of the roundtable: Based on the discussions and the results of the various work packages, the aim was to analyse how the crisis had impacted on the EU’s development, and on the theoretical tools of academia to understand these processes. He gave the example of the fiscal compact which could be read as an example of spillover.

*Brigid Laffan* (University College Dublin) introduced the notion of a crisis decade. According to her, three terms characterized this decade: uncertain, unsettled, and contingent. She pointed to three upcoming important elections and noted that the necessary condition for reducing debt under present circumstances was economic growth. Against this background, the question was if the political centre would hold. After outlining the trend from geopolitics to geo-economics, she introduced and elaborated upon a four-field scheme to sketch possible developments for the process of European integration (Figure 1).



**Figure 1: EU Scenarios by Brigid Laffan.**

*Wilfried Loth* (University Duisburg-Essen) commented on the notion of a ‘constitutional decade’ between 1999 and 2009. He was skeptical as to whether this was a helpful delineation, given that Maastricht was the outcome of two processes: EU integration on the one hand, and the establishment of EMU on the other. In his view, the Fiscal Compact was not a case of spill-over but should rather be interpreted as a Maastricht leftover, given that it was already on the agenda back then but put aside. In Wilfried Loth’s view, only the sovereign debt crisis made it necessary to address the problem. He considered it as likely that the EU would continue to address the deficits of Maastricht in a piecemeal approach along the lines of the ‘Methode Monnet’. He closed by arguing that the re-emergence of a ‘Franco-German leadership duo’ was a precondition for the success of an eventual convention.

*Andras Inotai* (Research Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Budapest) revisited the concept of stages of economic integration. He noted that Political Union had always preceded full economic integration. He then turned to structural reforms, the results of which would only become visible in a few years’ time. Underlining that these reforms were as much a political issue as an economic one, he argued that there was an apparent need for societies to adapt. In this context, the dividing lines within Europe (north-south, old-new etc.) had to be taken into account. His last point concerned the global implications of the common currency. He argued that China was interested in a strong Euro and that it was necessary for all countries – within and without the Eurozone – to take the costs of a collapse of the monetary union (non-euro scenario) into account.

*Lucia S. Rossi* (University of Bologna) stressed the similarity between the Lisbon Treaty and the rejected Constitutional Treaty. As a result, the former could be interpreted as a step towards a quasi-constitutional system. She stressed the supremacy of EU law, enforceable via the infringement procedure. The key point from her point of view was whether there was also a constitutional identity or not. Making reference to the example of the TSCG, she underlined that the system could also be changed in a different, extra-EU framework.

*Lenka Rovna* (Charles University Prague), who had participated in the Convention as the Czech Republic government's alternate, reflected on her initial surprise at that time that such a large number of participants had been able to agree on anything. Turning to the present crisis, she pointed out that the communication strategy was of utmost importance. With a view to Andras Inotai's intervention, she added that Europe was also hit by a psychological and emotional crisis which needed to be addressed.

*Ian Manners* (University of Copenhagen) dealt with governance inside and outside the crisis and how this was reflected in the EU's external action. He added a – deliberately extreme – fifth scenario to Brigid Laffan's initial four, which would see the EU develop into a state-like entity. Starting from the question of the relationship between small Member States and the EEAS, working group members had argued that conventionally, the EU was analysed as a political system of federal states. In their view, however, the international political economy had to be included. Ian Manners's final point concerned the theoretical *acquis* of EU studies. He argued that purely political science theories were unable to capture change in global politics. Instead, researchers should aim to use political, economic and social theories complementary to each other.

*Gianni Bonvicini* (Istituto Affari Internazionali Rome) returned to the capabilities-expectations gap between the Lisbon Treaty provisions and the EU as a global actor. He underlined that the CFSP represented the most innovative part of the Lisbon Treaty, but that this potential had remained largely unused so far. In his view, the establishment of the EEAS was a first step, but it was still unclear whether it could be called a success. He argued that there had been almost no progress in the area of defence, and, making reference to the notion of 'cost of non-euro', stressed the 'cost of non-defense'.

*Gunilla Herolf* (Swedish International Peace Research Institute) interpreted the crisis response as a piecemeal adaptation period, and argued that it was too early for 'grand designs', that is for a revision of the treaties. Such a move might prove unwise as there were signs of a 'constitutional fatigue'. Accordingly, a pragmatic approach would be preferable in her view. She then turned to the term 'core Europe', which in her view was an unsuitable expression, given that it originally implied a group of countries more devoted to Europe than the rest. She believed that today such countries did not exist, and that it made more sense to talk of 'Europe à la carte' or 'Two-speed Europe'. Gunilla Herolf then argued that the EU should focus more on its direct neighbourhood (for example relations between Russia and the Baltic Member States or developments in the Arab Spring countries).

*Paul Luif* (Austrian Institute of International Affairs) dealt with a number of current issues in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. He described that the Lisbon Treaty did away with the EU's pillar structure and that the whole area was now subject to the normal legal

procedure. The common asylum system was largely legislated and implementation in Member States was currently underway, although there was sometimes a lack of dynamism. After dealing with the role of the President of the European Council (seen as more influential) and the Trio-Presidency (seen as not having fulfilled initial hopes), he noted that one interesting aspect in this area was the EEAS's influence on Justice and Home Affairs. He pointed out that the Prüm Treaty (in contrast to the Lisbon Treaty) followed a piecemeal approach, starting with a reduced number of countries. However, in his view a great amount of trust between the participating countries was prerequisite for such an approach.

*Simon Bulmer* (University of Sheffield) addressed the topic of governance. Taking up Gunilla Herolf's intervention, he considered that there was indeed a tendency to carry on incrementally. As a result, he suggested that the input side of the political system (that is, elections) needed strengthening if further integration was pursued. He conceded, however, that growing euroscepticism might lead to the exactly opposite result. With a view to integration theory, he argued that capacities of existing theories had been overrated, reminding him of the 1970s 'obsolence' phase of functionalist thought. In terms of Brigid Laffan's scenarios, box 1 and box 3 were happening at the same time. Incorporating the domestic level, he argued that Germany had not played the role of a hegemon as defined by Kindleberger. He concluded by saying that instead of grand theories, a toolkit to connect domestic policies and EU power was more promising.

*Geoffrey Edwards* (University of Cambridge) again focused on the global level by asking why there was a gap between what the EU projects on Asia and vice versa. Taking up the notion of 'non-defense' EU, he described NATO's changing role in guaranteeing security, and asked if it concerned defense rather than security. He considered a broader relationship more interesting, for example transatlantic cooperation on fighting crime. Turning to the field of EU studies, he argued that there were more and more publications, implying that researchers focused more and more and that works became narrower. This was not necessarily a negative development in his view, but should be taken into account when discussing the future of EU studies. He continued by stressing the different frameworks in which Member States and the EU act. For example, the UK foreign minister operated under the scrutiny of his relatively eurosceptic voters. In Geoffrey Edwards's view, a convention already in 2015 in which the countries most affected by the crisis would be likely to talk about repatriating powers would open a can of worms and was therefore not advisable.

Jean-Paul Jacqué (TEPSA Brussels) returned to the 'constitutional decade' and underlined that one needed to be careful about politicization. He stressed that the EU needed some kind of agenda, a catalogue of aims it needed to pursue in the short to medium term. With a view to the European Commission's role, he considered that its legislative role was diminishing and that its main tasks were now management and control. Concerning the EP, he contested the general view that it was the main 'winner' of past revisions of the treaties. With a view to the European Council, he argued that there was a clash between the principles of consensus and transparency. He considered the role of the Council of the EU as more or less unchanged. As to the possibility of a new convention within the next three years, he was also skeptical and argued that nobody wanted to open the Pandora's box just yet.

*Wolfgang Wessels* (University of Cologne) concluded by describing the different setting for European Council meetings in the past. While each Head of State or Government used to 'bring something home', the situation was different today. Wolfgang Wessels then thanked the workpackage leaders for their interventions and invited them to include their views in the summary paper prepared by Cologne. He expressed his gratitude for the various contributions of workpackage leaders and project partners to the network over the past three years and hoped that the contacts established through LISBOAN would facilitate future cooperation. Subsequent to the roundtable, the Award ceremony distinguishing the winners of the 2013 Research and Teaching Awards took place, moderated by Lenka Rovna and Brigid Laffan.

*Tobias Kunstein* (University of Cologne)