



TEPSA NEWSLETTER

DECEMBER 2010

SEASON'S GREETINGS EDITION

Editorial:

Enhanced cooperation

J.P Jacqué

Enhanced cooperation was introduced by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 and responded to the request of many politicians who, pointing out that the continuous EU enlargement would make more and more difficult the step forward on integration, wished to create a special arrangements to enable a group of Member States to move forward without being prevented from doing so by the absence of interest or the hostility of other Member States. Some expressed the idea of a “core group” pre-composed of Member States which would constitute a kind of European avant-garde. This idea has never been very successful, although it was lately defended by former Belgian Prime Minister, Guy Verhofstadt.¹ Effectively, this implies the exclusion of some Member States from the core group, that would be pushed into the background. It seemed politically thorny to form a kind of “second class” while in the meantime equal rights between Central and Eastern European countries was discussed in the light of their accession. The method of 'variable-geometry' Europe was agreed upon in Amsterdam, in which according to domains, different Member States could gather together, each of these groups remaining open to non-participants to ensure the transitional character of the enhanced cooperation groups.²

¹ *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe*, Pire, Brussels, 2006. According to the author, the core group would have been constituted around the Eurozone.

² Another form of 'variable-geometry' derived from the various protocols with opt-out procedures as applicable in the UK, Ireland and Denmark.

People were generally skeptical to actually make use of the opportunities offered by the Amsterdam Treaty, especially since they considered the procedures and basic conditions too harsh since they also entailed the possibility of an appeal to the European Council and prohibited any breach of the internal market and obstacles to competition. Hence, opinions were divided regarding the possibility to appeal to enhanced cooperation for fiscal matters given the possible effects on competition. Practice seems to prove them right since despite the arrangements brought by the subsequent amendments to the Treaties, no cooperation has arisen before 2009 if one puts aside Schengen being rather an enhanced cooperation set up by the Amsterdam Treaty.³ Besides, rather than appealing to enhanced cooperation, Member States seemed to be in favour of following the pathway of Schengen, like the Prüm Agreements in 2005⁴ which later integrated in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice.

Were the Member States hesitant to initiate a process they because of unfamiliarities with the exact functioning or has there been no concrete case justifying its use? Definitely, in order to appeal enhanced cooperation both the Amsterdam and Lisbon Treaties state that beforehand institutions should have attempted to adopt a solution but this was not feasible within a reasonable period. According to Article 20 TEU, it must be adopted only "as a last resort, when it has established that the objectives of such cooperation cannot be attained within a reasonable period by the Union as a whole." The Council needs to be confronted with a block and a number of Member States (nine) must be convinced of the importance of the project to the point that they could envisage acting in a limited context. However, politically, it is not always easy to trigger a process which leads to put some Member States aside. The first case of use of the procedure was supposed to cover an issue which aroused strong expectations from some Member States whereas others agreed with the use of enhanced cooperation. Indeed, the authorization to appeal to enhanced cooperation is subject to a decision of the Council, acting by a qualified majority, on Commission's proposal and agreement of the European Parliament.

The question of the applicable law to divorce and legal separation (Rome III) gave eventually the opportunity to launch enhanced cooperation. It was a good candidate. Indeed, the dossier was sensitive enough to raise political difficulties and Member States which could not subscribe to the Commission proposal agreed with enhanced cooperation. But for some Member States, the adoption of a regulation seemed important given the problems of cross-border couples. The discussions on the proposal from the Commission lasted for more than four years and the situation was stuck. The nine Member States⁵ that originally requested enhanced cooperation knew that opening it would provide a response to their concerns without generating opposition from other Member States.

Receiving the request for cooperation before the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the Commission adopted without first a cautious attitude in order not to compromise the Irish ratification, according to Commissioner Barrot. This position was somewhat understandable since Ireland could make use of its opt-out in this field in any case. It is likely that the Commission also hesitated in front of what could constitute a precedent. The new Commission would respond positively to the request and propose closer cooperation. This proposition was adopted by the Council with approval of the European Parliament as required by the Lisbon Treaty.⁶ On this basis, discussions resumed quickly and the regulation was adopted during the Council meeting on 2 and 3 December 2010.

Would this precedent remain unsurpassed? It does not appear so since a request should be formulated on a European Union's patent.⁷ Discussions on this matter have been lasting for an incredible period. A draft agreement was already discussed during the Danish accession negotiations, which proved fatal. Later on, Commission's proposals could not reach any agreement because of the opposition of some Member States

³ Schengen and does not result from the application of these provisions and is therefore strictly no enhanced cooperation.

⁴ An agreement establishing the deepening of cross-border cooperation, especially on the intention of fight against terrorism, cross-border criminality and illegal migration.

⁵ Bulgaria, Spain, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Hungary, Austria, Romania and Slovenia joined by Germany, Latvia, Malta and Portugal. The initial proposition had been formulated under the French Presidency by eight Member states joined by France after the Presidency (the Treaty in force during the request only imposed eight Member states seekers, the number changed to nine with the Lisbon Treaty).

⁶ Decision of 12 July 2010, JO L189 of 22 July 2010n p.12-13

⁷ Previously named "Community patent" to distinguish it from the European patent delivered by the European Patent Office in Munich.

only registering few patents in Munich, but demanding that future European patents should be translated in their language in order to be enforceable.

During the European Council of 25 November 2010, a public debate took place on Dutch and Swedish requests with the intention of a possible enhanced cooperation. Besides these two Member States the UK, Germany, Ireland and Slovenia agreed to appeal to enhanced cooperation. The debate continued on 10 December 2010 and a large majority of Member States agreed on this solution. The Commission presented on the 14 December a proposal that will be examined under the Hungarian Presidency.

The lock appears unlocked and enhanced cooperation can become a classical instrument, particularly in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, but also in other policies. At the moment when some states adopt a position of distrust of the Union, closer cooperation offers a way for those who are willing and able to move forward.

Jean Paul Jacqué
Secretary General of TEPSA

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Introduction of a Member Institute



Introducing IIRPS – Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University

Who are we?

The Institute is an academic institution specialising in social and political sciences, which holds a faculty status at Vilnius University.

IIRPS has been present in the academic and political life of Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic region since its establishment in 1992. Interconnection with the government Institutions and our wide range of acknowledged experts, modern teaching techniques concentrated on developing critical thinking, professionally carried out researches and carefully developed partnership with Universities and think tanks across the world give the Institute a status of noted academic institution and think tank.

What do we do?

We teach

IIRPS conducts three-level studies: BA in Political Science and five MA Master Programmes:

International Relations and Diplomacy, European Studies, Comparative Politics, Public Administration, Eastern and Central European Studies (the latter delivered in English).

We also conduct full time and external PhD studies.

We research

Relevance of research problems, originality of solutions and the interdisciplinarity are the main principles of our research.

Main research themes include:

- Challenges to Democracy in Post-communist World
- Changes in Global Politics
- Political Transformations in Eastern Europe
- Development of EU after Lisbon
- Public Policy Process and Development of Public Administration after the EU Enlargement

We consult

The Institute is proud to have gathered together a number of prominent experts on national, European and international politics who are renowned for their competent and original public commentaries, expert knowledge and professional experience. Our experts conduct both critical analysis of contemporary social science issues, political philosophy, international relations, and policy oriented research. They have contributed extensively to the analysis of Lithuania's accession into the EU and NATO and its role in these organizations and other international structures, country's relationships with its neighbours in the region, including Nordic-Baltic countries, Poland as well as Eastern partners.

IIRPS takes active part in Lithuania's 2013 EU Presidency process.

For more information please refer to our website and social networks: www.tspmi.lt



News from the TEPSA Network

Foundation for European Studies - European Institute - Lodz

We regret to inform you of the death, on 10 December 2010, of our dear friend and colleague, Dr Kazimierz Sobotka

A respected scholar and a charismatic teacher, he was a passionate believer in the idea of a united Europe – a vision which lies at the heart of the work of the European Institute in Lodz, of which he was an architect, and, over the last 10 years, Director-General. The passing away of Kazimierz, a man wholeheartedly committed to every initiative in which he got involved, is an enormous loss to our community. We shall always remember his openness, generosity, and warmth of heart.

Jacek Saryusz-Wolski



IAIN BEGG, member of TEPSA Board, has just had a commentary on the EU budget review published by SIEPS, the Swedish think tank. It is available at this link:

[http://www.sieps.se/publikationer/european-policy-analysis/mollifying-everyone-pleasing-no-one-an-](http://www.sieps.se/publikationer/european-policy-analysis/mollifying-everyone-pleasing-no-one-an-assessment-of-the-eu-budget-review-201014epa.html)

[assessment-of-the-eu-budget-review-201014epa.html](http://www.sieps.se/publikationer/european-policy-analysis/mollifying-everyone-pleasing-no-one-an-assessment-of-the-eu-budget-review-201014epa.html)

Also, he served as the rapporteur of an Expert Group that conducted an interim evaluation of the 7th Framework Programme. I was asked to present the report today (26.11.2010) to the Competitiveness Council. The press release announcing the report, with a link to the full document, is available at:

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/10/1525&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

EuroMeSCo Network connected to TEPSA



The EuroMeSCo Network, whose members are drawn from countries around the Mediterranean and from EU countries, has recently been restructured. Its secretariat, until 2008 located in

Lisbon and thereafter in Rome, has now moved to Barcelona and the IEMed (European Institute of the Mediterranean) is responsible for it.

EuroMeSCo's origin is related to TEPSA and a consequence of this is that the statutes, like those of TEPSA, include the clause that one of the members of the Steering Committee must be Belgian. EuroMeSCo has decided that TEPSA's Belgian identity qualifies for this post and TEPSA's governing board has in its turn appointed Gunilla Herolf to represent it.

We believe that the EuroMeSCo will be a valuable network for TEPSA's member institutes. Many good research contacts have been established across the Mediterranean and have resulted in good research being published through EuroMeSCo. It says much for EuroMeSCo that this has been possible in an area so troubled by political problems.

Since the new EuroMeSCo is just established some issues about the exact relations between EuroMeSCo and TEPSA are not yet clarified but this will become clearer during the coming year. In the meantime, if you have specific questions about EuroMeSCo, please turn to Gunilla Herolf (herolf@sipri.org)

More information about EuroMeSCo can be found on its website: www.euromesco.net. On the website you can also find out which TEPSA institutes are already members of TEPSA.

Institute for International Relations (IMO)

The Institute of International Relations has become member of the EuroMeSCo (the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission)

News from the TEPSA Secretariat

Farewell to TEPSA Secretariat intern Agathe Fadier

Agathe Fadier worked at the TEPSA Secretariat for more than three months, until the 15th



December. Agathe provided a great support to the TEPSA Team in Brussels notably in the organisation of conferences.

During her internship she wrote a TEPSA Brief on the **Obstacles to overcome in EU's accession to the European Convention of Human Rights**.

Please click here to read the document <http://tepsa.be/TEPSA%20brief%20by%20Agathe%20Fadier%2015122010.pdf>

We would like to thank again Agathe for her involvement during her internship and wish you all the best for the future.



Former TEPESA executive director Yvonne Nasshoven obtains PhD title.

TEPSA congratulates Yvonne Nasshoven, who successfully defended her PhD December 7th 2010 at University of

in Cologne. Yvonne joined TEPESA in September 2007 as Research Assistant and later became Assistant Secretary General and subsequently Executive Director, positions she combined with writing her PhD. In April 2010 she has joined the German diplomatic service, while finalizing her PhD with the title "The appointment of the President of the European Commission: A theory-induced analysis of patterns of executive selection in the European Union". Yvonne will continue her career in German diplomatic service in Kabul. Yvonne can be contacted at Yvonne.Nasshoven@coleurope.eu.

Recent Events

Seminar *The Democratic control of the European Foreign, security and defense policy* 15 November, Brussels

The seminar was organised by the [Istituto Affari Internazionali \(IAI\)](#) and TEPESA.

Several TEPESA researchers have examined this issue of democratic control on EU's foreign and security policy in depth in three papers that have been presented during the seminar. The seminar has dealt with the following topics:

Session 1: *The saliency of the issue of the democratic control of European foreign, security and defence policy.*

Paper by: Graham Avery, Senior Member of St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, and Honorary Member of the Board, TEPESA; and Gunilla Herolf, Senior Researcher, SIPRI, Stockholm, and Member of the Board, TEPESA

Discussant: Eva Palatova, Foreign Affairs Committee, European Parliament

Session 2: *The level of democratic parliamentary control: national, transnational or European?*

Paper by: Hanna Ojanen, Director of research, SIIA, Stockholm, and Member of the Board, TEPESA

Discussant: Andreas Maurer, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament

Session 3: *The Lisbon Treaty and the powers of the European Parliament in the democratic control of CFSP-CSDP*

Paper by: Michele Comelli, Senior Fellow, IAI, Rome

Discussant: Isabelle Ioannides, Bureau of European Policy Advisers, European Commission

Seminar *UK Government and European Policies*

18 November, Brussels

The seminar was jointly organised by the Federal Trust, London and TEPESA, Brussels. Only six days after the UK's general election of the 6th of May 2010, a coalition government was formed between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. A few weeks before the election the Federal Trust and TEPESA jointly organised a conference on 'Britain, Europe and the upcoming British elections' in London to reflect on the implications of that election for Britain's European policy. Six months after the formation of the coalition government, the Federal Trust and TEPESA organised a seminar in Brussels to analyse the new political reality in the UK and Britain's EU policy, with a focus on topical EU financial issues. There were contributions from Mr *Andrew Duff*, Member of the European Parliament for the Liberal Democrats, on 'Coalition, the cuts and Europe'; *Sir Brian Unwin*, KCB, Former President of the European Investment Bank, on 'Money, the Coalition and the European Union'; and *Mr Brendan Donnelly*, Director Federal Trust, on 'Britain and Europe: in, out, or semi-detached?'

Roundtable conference *The EU, Russia and Eastern Europe: Dissenting views on security, stability and partnership?*

22-23 November, Berlin

The roundtable conference was organised by the [Institut für Europäische Politik \(IEP\)](#) and TEPESA. Location: Representation of the Saarland to the Federation, Berlin.

Forty participants – among them international experts from academia and the policy-making community – gathered at the Representation of the Saarland to discuss three different, though interrelated topics: the issue of the 'shared neighbourhood' in the EU-Russia relations, the future of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the security dimension of EU external action in the (South) Eastern neighbourhood. The EU-Russia relations in the light of the 'common

neighbourhood' was the first topic under discussion. The review of possibilities for political cooperation between the EU and Russia in the post-Soviet space crystallized diverging positions on possible policy fields, tools and relevant actors (EU institutions, member states, economic or societal actors). The second panel aimed at discussing and evaluating the impact of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Eastern Partnership (EaP). While both achievements and limits were highlighted, the discussion focused on the (theoretical, practical and psychological) impact of membership conditionality. In the third panel participants discussed institutional developments of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Moreover, the policy was analysed from a regional perspective (i.e. implications for the Balkans) as well as around analytical lenses (i.e. long-term processes that are external to actors' policy decisions). Finally, a dinner debate with *Borys Tarasyuk*, former Foreign Minister of Ukraine, focused on the state of affairs of the EU-Ukraine relations, reasons for the failure of the Orange Revolution, and Ukraine's positioning between the EU and Russia. The full report of the conference is now available [here](#).

Lunch Conference *Europeanization, Usages of Europe and Welfare State Reforms in Europe* 1 December, Brussels

During the lunch Conference *Paolo Graziano*, associate researcher at the [Centre d'Études Européennes \(Sciences Po\)](#), gave a presentation on the project *Europa, Europae*. The core of this project puts forward "how the European integration does influence national social policies by exploring and specifying what are the political mechanisms through which the EU plays a role in domestic social policy changes".

The panel was composed of *Mr. Rob Cornelissen* (Adviser on social protection and integration at the European Commission, DG EMPL and Guest Professor on European Social Security, Ghent University); and *Mr. David Natali* (Scientific Director, European Social Observatory) and was moderated by *Prof. Jean-Paul Jacqué* (TEPSA Secretary General).

Pre-presidency Conference

Entering the New Decade: New Challenges and Priorities of the EU under the Hungarian Council Presidency
2-3 December 2010, Budapest, Hungary



Given the incoming Hungarian Council Presidency starting in January 2011, the Institute for World Economics and TEPSA in cooperation with THESEUS organised the Pre-presidency Conference, which took place in Budapest on 2-3 December 2010.

This conference entitled "***Entering the New Decade: New Challenges and Priorities of the EU under the Hungarian Council Presidency (2011)***" brought together senior scholars and high level practitioners from across Europe who exchanged with the participants on the new challenges and priorities for the EU during the upcoming Hungarian Council Presidency: Institutional Innovations, European Economic Governance, Enlargement and Eastern Partnership, Sustainable competitive Challenges, Financial Perspectives, European Danube Strategy and the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (Citizens' Europe).

The conference report dedicated to the conference can be found at the end of the Newsletter.

Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)

TEPSA Guest lecture

The Treaty of Lisbon: A Second Look at the Institutional Innovations
13 December, Rome

On December 13, IAI and TEPSA jointly organized the TEPSA Guest Lecture "The EU one year after Lisbon: Reshuffling the European balance of power" on the premises of the Rome-based Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI). The lecture was given by *Piotr Maciej Kaczyński*, Research Fellow at CEPS (Brussels) and introduced by *Gianni Bonvicini*, executive Vice President of the IAI and member of the TEPSA board. *Marc Lepoivre*, Director of the European Affairs Program at the Egmont-The Royal Institute for International Relations (Brussels) acted as a discussant.

According to *Piotr Kaczyński*, even if the Lisbon Treaty is still in a transitional period of implementation, some of its effects can already possibly be identified, especially on the institutional balance between the different actors in the decision-making process. In particular, he argued that the current system of governance has become more complex. A clear shift of power has emerged between the institutional actors, in favour, among others, of stronger involvement of the EU Parliament in the legislative process. To

the old architecture composed of the institutional triangle (European Commission, European Parliament and Council of Ministers), the Lisbon Treaty has added another actor – the European Council – turning it into an institutional quadrangle. Then, Kaczynski pointed out three triangles inside the so-called Lisbon quadrangle, namely a political initiative triangle (Commission, Parliament, European Council); a legislative triangle (Commission, Council, Parliament); and a foreign policy triangle (Commission, Council and European Council). The only body that sits in most of these institutions (European Council, Council and Commission) and can therefore exert some influence is the High Representative.

Moreover, Kaczynski defined the strategic partnership between Parliament and the Commission as the engine of the Lisbon Treaty's institutional innovations. In particular, he claims that the former is gaining power and assertiveness over the latter and, in so doing, has become "the guardian of the guardian of the treaties". He also referred to the rise of a new source of authority – the citizens' initiative – and also mentioned the simplified procedure for the revision of the treaties.

Marc Lepoivre's comments bore on the changing institutional balance, characterized mainly by the absence of a hierarchy between the different sources of authority. From this point of view, he noted that, even if the arrangements introduced in the treaty seem to guarantee stability, the institutional architecture will not work properly because of the difficulties in bargaining between *equal* actors.

After the interventions, a public debate took place, involving the students, foreign policy experts, diplomats and parliamentary officials who took part in the TEPSA lecture. The debate centered mainly on the growing role of the President of the EU Council, due *inter alia* to the more time at his/her disposal and the greater coherence and assertiveness that should stem from the Presidency; the issue of EU legitimacy and cooperation between national parliaments; and the prospect of revising the treaty in a short time following the recent proposal put forward by Angela Merkel and now that the new simplified procedure has entered into force.

Report written by Alessandra Briganti, intern, IAI

Centre of International Relations – CIR, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

**TEPSA Guest lecture
Negotiating Practice in the European Union
17 December, Ljubljana**



Over 56 participants, mostly students participated in the lecture. Invitations were sent also to practitioners, and put on the internet.

Based on his very rich practical experience in conducting presidencies and training practitioners for them, *Tony Bass* put negotiating in EU in theoretical framework but concentrated mostly on very practical aspects how to strengthen bargaining power when negotiating in EU at the political as well as technical level, at the Council, working groups and Coreper.

Special emphasis was given to preparations and needed competencies not only on the issues on the table but also regarding the cross cultural differences between negotiators. He elaborated also on the role and the position of the Commission and General secretariat of the Council of the EU.

During and at the end of the lecture he was answering a number of questions from the public.

Upcoming events



THESEUS Workshop

The Franco-German relationship seen from the outside

17-18 February 2011

In the context of the THESEUS project, TEPSA is co-organizing with the University of Cologne and Centre d'études européennes Sciences Po Paris, a workshop on ***the Franco-German relationship seen from the outside*** on **17-18 February 2011**.

The aim of the workshop is to discuss the special role of the Franco-German couple in recent and longer term political and institutional evolutions of the EU. For this workshop we are especially interested in the perceptions of the 'Franco-German tandem' from the point of view of *other EU-countries*. We will discuss its impact and

role in the management of the current **financial and economic crisis and the reform of EU governance in this policy field**, for the evolution of **EU enlargement and external action**, and for the **reform of the EU budget**. A roundtable will discuss the **role of France and Germany in the construction of the EU** and their bilateral and multilateral relations at crucial points of the evolution of the European Union and ask what role the couple plays after the entry into force of the treaty of Lisbon.

For more information, please contact Laura Ventura (laura.ventura@tepsa.be)

Studies for the European Parliament



EP Studies on Security and Defence

TEPSA has been successful to win a framework contract with the European Parliament's committee on external affairs in the areas on Security and Defence. The European Parliament's Subcommittee on Security and Defence has contacted us for the elaboration and delivery of the four following studies under its Framework Contract with TEPSA. TEPSA received much interest from researchers to conduct these studies. The European Parliament has eventually selected the following researchers to elaborate each study:

- 1) The impact of the financial crises and the cuts in member states' defence budgets - how to spend better within the EU: *Dr. Christian Moelling and Dr. Sophie Charlotte Brune*, SWP - German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin
- 2) The role of security companies in CSDP missions and operations: *Dr. Elke Krahmman*, University of Bristol and *Dr. Cornelius Friesendorf*, University of Frankfurt
- 3) Cyber war and cyber security: challenges faced by the EU and its member states: *Dr. Alexander Klimburg*, Fellow at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (oiip) and *Dr. Heli Tiirmaa-Klaar*, former Senior Advisor to the Estonian

Undersecretary of Defence and Research Fellow at the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute

- 4) Missile defence in Europe: the strategic and industrial impact: *Dr. Vit Stritecky, Dr. Nik Hynek and Dr. Ondrej Ditrych* Institute of International Relations (IIR), Czech Republic

News from TEPSA Member Institutes

Austrian Institute for International Affairs (oiip)



TEPSA letters to support the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (oiip) against closure

The Austrian Ministry of Science has recently declared its intention to cease its financial support for non-university research institutes, which would lead to the closure of the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (oiip). TEPSA's General Assembly in Budapest unanimously agreed with writing two letters of support. These were written to the attention of the Ausseminister Spindelegger and the Bundeskanzler Faymann on 8th December 2010 to avoid such cuts and to put forward the first-quality work delivered for more than 30 years by oiip as long-lasting tradition and internationally recognized expertise institution.

Centre of International Relations – CIR, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

Aljaz Kuncic, a researcher and PhD student at the University of Ljubljana, was invited to take part at the 1st COST doctoral think at the EIBA annual conference in Porto (9th - 11th of December), where he presented his doctoral research proposal which examines the effects of institutions on FDI. Based on his previously completed research work, he was chosen as a finalist at the 2010 Global Development Awards and Medals Competition of the Global Development Network with the research paper "Aid us winning the elections: Foreign aid and voter turnout". The paper shows

how foreign aid is partly spent on vote buying in elections in developing countries, especially if political institutions in those countries are of poor quality. The concluding round of the Competition will take place at GDN's 12th Annual Global Development Conference in Bogota, Columbia. http://cloud1.qdnet.org/cms.php?id=2010_awards_and_medals_finalists_announced

Jure Požgan, MS, pedagogic and research assistant at CIR, successfully passed his ph. D. dispositions presentation (preliminary thesis defense). His work is focused on EU as a global force: on external environment as a factor for EU's foreign politics.

Prof. Dr. Marjan Svetlicic, head of the CIR was a guest lecturer at CEFTA Chambers of Commerce Forum organized by Serbian Chamber of Commerce in Belgrade Nov. 9. 2010. He gave a lecture on the role of FDI in strengthening of Competitiveness of CEFTA Countries. He also participated and contributed to EREF (European Regional Economic Forum) recommendation on Creating Conditions for Establishing a Regional Investment Market, presented at Official CEFTA Week conference (organized by Serbia, this years' CEFTA presiding country). Prof. Svetlicic also participated at Nov. 17th FP 7 Expert Advisory Group for international S&T Cooperation in Brussels meeting.

European Documentation and Research Centre - University of Malta

The Small Island-States of Europe

"The Small Island States of Europe" is the title of an EDRC research project which is expected to end in 2011 with the publication of a book by the same title in the Ashgate Political Economy series edited by Timothy Shaw. The book covers four peripheral, smaller island states of Europe, namely Cyprus, Iceland, Ireland and Malta, and their participation in the European integration process. Three of the island-states are EU members and Iceland has applied to join the EU, but it had joined the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994. The four islands have struggled to overcome their insularity and peripheral location in different ways. They face different security challenges and have tended to respond to them in diverse ways. Recently Iceland and Ireland have encountered serious economic difficulties while the economies of the other two island states remain buoyant. There are however a number of commonalities uniting the four island-states. This is the first work in the 'small state genre' that has restricted its

purview to small island states. The book is being edited by Roderick Pace, Director of the European Documentation and Research Centre and Professor Lino Briguglio of the Islands and Small State Institute of the University of Malta. The writers participating in the work are Professor Peadar Kirby University of Limerick, Dr Mary Murphy National University of Ireland, Professor Baldur Thorhallsson and Dr Gylfi Zega of the University of Iceland, Professor Andreas Theophanous and Dr Yannis Tirkides of the University of Nicosia, Dr Mark Harwood, Mr Stefano Moncada and Mr Jean Micallef Grimaud from the EDRC and Dr Gordon Cordina, Head Department of Economics, FEMA, University of Malta.

Recent events hosted by TEPSA Member Institutes



Greek Centre of European Studies and Research (EKEME)



Debate *EU's financial perspective s* 25 November

EKEME organised, at the offices of the Representation of the European Parliament in Greece, a debate on "The EU's Financial Perspectives and the Surveillance", on Thursday 25th November 2010. The key-note speaker was Mr. Xenophon Yataganas, former Legal Advisor at the European Commission and Director of

Roundtable *Media Policies: Country Practices within the EU Media Regulatory Framework*
10 December 2010

Institute for International Relations (IMO) in cooperation with the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organized a roundtable entitled "Media Policies: Country Practices within the EU Media Regulatory Framework" that took place in Hotel Palace in Zagreb, Croatia. The workshop was organized as a part of the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) project entitled "European media policies revisited: valuing and reclaiming free and independent media in contemporary democratic systems?" with fourteen European partner institutions participating. Speakers from Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Italy, Greece, Spain, Turkey and the UK discussed national regulatory practices in the media field and the influence the EU has exerted on state media policies. In three sessions the relationships between traditional and new media, actors of media regulation and regulatory approaches and the relationship between media policies and democratic processes were discussed. Historical perspectives on country practices including policy processes and implementation issues were analyzed as well as new areas and communicative potentials opened up by the Internet. A more institutionalist perspective was taken in the next session with a tendency to discuss the regulatory actors not just in their national but also in the EU setting. The final session offered a view of media as important factors in promoting or hindering contemporary democratic and political processes. By joining researchers and academics with members of the media regulatory bodies in Croatia, the workshop offered a number of different views on the EU and state institutions and regulatory mechanisms as well as opened up some new areas for future policy development.

More information on the agenda of the round table is available here:

www.mediadem.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/IMO_ELIAMEP-workshop-10Dec.pdf as well as in the book of abstracts: www.imo.hr/files/book_of_abstracts_round_table.pdf

Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)

Workshop *Mediterranean region*
2-3 November

Workshop on "prospective analysis for the Mediterranean region", in the framework of the project MEDPRO, Milan.

Seminar *Democracy after Lisbon*
3 November

Seminar on "The State of Democracy in the EU after the Lisbon Treaty", in cooperation with Notre Europe, CSF and Rappresentanza Ue in Italia, Turin.

Seminar *Turkey and the Mediterranean perspective*

8 November

Seminar on "Turkey and the Mediterranean: a transatlantic perspective", in cooperation with GMF of US, Rome

Symposium *Transatlantic relationship*

8 November

Transatlantic Security Symposium: "European Security in the Future Transatlantic Relationship", Rome.

Turkish-Italian Forum of Dialogue

8-9 November

Seventh Turkish-Italian Forum of Dialogue, organised by Unicredit Group in cooperation with IAI, Rome.

Workshop *European security*

11 November

Workshop on "A New European Security Architecture?", in the framework of the European Security and Defence Forum (ESDF) co-organised by Chatham House-IAI-Finmeccanica, London.

Study Presentation *EU crisis management: institutions and capabilities in the making*

18-19 November

Presentation of "EU crisis management: institutions and capabilities in the making", in the framework of "Science for Peace 2nd Annual World Conference", in cooperation with Fondazione Umberto Veronesi, Milan

Global outlook Conference *Le sfide del mondo nuovo*

23 November

Global Outlook, Fourteenth edition, final conference on "Le sfide del mondo nuovo", Rome.

Seminar *Cyber Security*

23 November

Seminar on "Cyber Security: nuove sfide per Italia, Europa e NATO dopo Lisbona", Rome.

Seminar**24 November**

Seminar on "Scenari di crescita e 'new players' nel Mediterraneo: cosa fa l'Europa (e l'Italia)?", Rome.

Foreign policy conversation**3 December**

Foreign policy conversation on "La Turchia tra retaggio ottomano, kemalismo e prospettiva europea", in cooperation with Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome.

Study Presentation**9 December**

Presentation of foresight study "Bilancio e prospettive della cooperazione euro-mediterranea", June 2010, Rome.

Debate US foreign policy**10 December**

Debate on the US foreign policy on the occasion of the publication of Zaki Laidi's book "Le monde selon Obama", Rome.

Conference new conflicts**14 December**

International Conference on "New Conflicts and the Challenge of the Protection of the Civilian Population", organised by IIHL in cooperation with IAI, Rome.

**Centre of International Relations – CIR,
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of
Ljubljana**

Debate CAP reform in the DOHA development round context**15-16 November**

On 15th and 16th November, CIR hosted discussions on CAP reform in the Doha development round context. European Commission's DG Agriculture representative Mr John McClintock gave two lectures on the issue. Simultaneously, CIR members participated on several panel discussions on EC's 2013-2020 CAP draft proposal.

Lecture Dr Dirk Mesner**2 December**

"Kapucinski lecture," sponsored by UNDP and European Commission is planned on December 2. The main guest lecturer Dr. Dirk Messner (German development institute), will be joined by Alenka Suhadolnik (Slovenian Ministry for foreign affairs) and Prof. Dr. Maja Bucar (CIR member) for a panel discussion.

Netherlands Institute for International Relations 'Clingendael'**Dinner Debate Europe's Energy and Climate change****30 November**

Debating Europe's Energy & Climate Change Policies: Dinner Debate with European Parliament President Jerzy Buzek, 30 November 2010.

Coinciding with the COP 16 meeting in Cancún, and on the eve of the Council of the European Union meeting on energy in February 2011, the Clingendael International Energy Programme has hosted an exclusive dinner debate on energy and climate change policy on the 30th of November at Huys Clingendael. The President of the European Parliament Jerzy Buzek has introduced his views on Europe's energy and climate change policies in an informal setting.

<http://www.clingendael.nl/ciep/events/20101130/>

Seminar The EU as a global player**2-3 December**

High-Level Policy seminar 'The EU as a global player: Financing EU's ambitions for 2014-2020', 2-3 December 2010.

This seminar has brought forth the opportunity to rethink EU's external action priorities and subsequent financial instruments in order to match its ambitions as a global player. Discussions will commence shortly on Heading IV (the EU as a global player) of the EU budget 2014-2020, of which the recent Commission consultation marks the momentum of the event. The overview paper and conclusions & recommendations can be found at the link below:

<http://www.clingendael.nl/cesp/events/20101202/>.

CESP expert lunch meeting**8 December**

CESP expert lunch meeting: 'The Treaty of Lisbon One Year on', 8 December 2010. The Clingendael Institute together with the Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations has organised a lunch meeting to discuss the impact of the Lisbon Treaty.

Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Conference *New capitalism in Hungary* 19 November

Schumpeter és a mai magyar kapitalizmus (Schumpeter and the new capitalism in Hungary) international conference organized by IWE.

Conference *New member countries and Hungarian Presidency* 26-27 November

New member countries - What do they expect from the Hungarian EU Presidency? International conference organized by IWE.

Conference *EU Eastern Partnership* 17-18 December

"EU Eastern Partnership - experience, efforts, expectations". Conference organized by IWE

European Documentation and Research Centre - University of Malta

Book Presentation 9 December

The Tercentenary of John Bellers's Essay *Some Reasons for an European State*. On 9 December 2010 a panel discussion introduced a new book on John Bellers's 1710 essay, *Some Reasons for an European State*, to a packed hall at Dar l-Ewropa in Valletta. The book which includes a facsimile of Bellers's original essay was co-edited by Prof Roderick Pace, Director of the European Documentation and Research Centre of the University of Malta and Dr Peter van den Dungen, visiting lecturer at the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford. John Bellers a Quaker, was described by Karl Marx as a 'phenomenal figure in the history of political economy'. Robert Owen attributed his own ideas of 'villages of co-operation' to him and Eduard Bernstein accorded him singular importance. In his *Some Reasons for an European State*, Bellers, a friend of the more well known William Penn, proposes a European Senate and the division of Europe in 100 cantons. He also proposes a Council of Religions to achieve at some kind of rapprochement between Europe's principal religions, a prerequisite for lasting peace. The book is part of the 'Idea of Europe in History', a research project of the EDRC. In 2008 Professors Pace and Carmen DePasquale then head of the French Department published a translation of the 1729 *Abrege* of the Abbe de Saint-Pierre which was located in the library left by the Knights of St John when they left Malta in 1798. *Some Reasons*

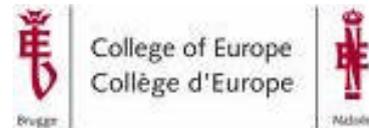
for an European State (120 pages) is available in paperback ISBN 978-99932-7-328-8 and hard back ISBN 978-9932-7-329-5 at €9.50 and €14.50 respectively (excluding postage) from the EDRC, University of Malta, Tal-Qroqq, MSIDA MSD 2080, Malta. More information is available on the EDRC web-site at <http://www.um.edu.mt/edrc/>

Upcoming events hosted by TEPSA member institutes

Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE)

Conference MIDI du CIFE 1 February

The CIFE Office in Brussels wil organise a MIDI du CIFE on Tuesday 1st February 2011 at 1:00 pm at the Fondation universitaire, salle Emile Francqui
Guest Speaker : Maroš ŠEFČOVIC, Vice-President, European Commission, Inter-Institutional Relations and Administration
To participate please contact Bruno Boissière
bruno.boissiere@cife.eu



College of Europe

Conference *European Economic Government* 24 February

The Department of European Political and Administrative Studies will host a conference on 24 February 2011, entitled, "Towards a European Economic Government?" on 24 February 2011. Please link to:

<http://www.coleurope.eu/events/2395?language=en>

Conference *Liberating the Power of Services* 24 March

The Economics Department of the College of Europe - Bruges campus, in partnership with Deloitte, will host on 24 March 2011 the second Bruges European Business Conference entitled "Liberating the Power of Services". Please link to: <http://www.coleurope.eu/events/2448?language=en>

Conference *The EU, US and China* 22-23 April

On 22-23 April 2011, the InBev-Baillet Latour Chair of European Union-China Relations in the

Department of EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies at the College of Europe in Bruges are organising an international conference on “The EU, the US and China: Towards the New International Order?”. Please link to: http://www.coleurope.eu/template.asp?pagename=irdconf&sub=2010-International.conference.on.The.EU.the.US.and.China.Towards.the.New.International.Order_en

Publications

Agathe Fadier, **Obstacles to overcome in EU's accession to the European Convention of Human Rights**, December 2010, TEPSA website, <http://tepsa.be/TEPSA%20brief%20by%20Agathe%20Fadier%2015122010.pdf>

DIIS - Danish Institute for International Studies

“**Much Ado about Nothing? On the European Union's fight against corruption in developing countries under Articles 9(3) and 97 of the Cotonou Agreement**”
Morten Broberg, DIIS Working Paper: <http://www.diis.dk/sw101609.asp>

**Dealing with Iran
How can the EU achieve its strategic objectives?**
Shirin Pakfar, DIIS Report: <http://www.diis.dk/sw102313.asp>

Centre of International Relations – CIR, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

“Bridging the International Relations/Foreign Policy Analysis split: the Case of International Regionalism”. Dr. Ana Bojinovic Fenka 2010. Premošcanje ločnice med proučevanjem mednarodnih odnosov in zunanje politike: primer mednarodnega regionalizma. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede).

New CIR Analysis series publication was recently published: **Catching up and Determinants of Services Growth in New Member States** (written by CIR members; Dr. Metka Stare, Dr. Andreja Jaklic and Dr. Anže Burger). The publication gives a detailed insight into tertiarisation and catching-up process of the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) and reveals the main

determinants of employment growth in different service groups in the period 1995-2007. The evaluation of the progress of the CEECs towards EU15 standards through the lens of efficiency of private services and the performance of public services, indicates that the gap in private services is much larger. Public and mixed services are much more transition specific while employment growth in private services is closer to patterns in developed economies and influenced by income growth. Accessible at: <http://www.mednarodni-odnosi.si/cmo/CIR/CIR3StareJaklicBurger.pdf>

Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)

R. Alcaro, **Congresso vs Obama? Guida alle elezioni di mid-term negli Stati Uniti**, DOCUMENTI IAI 10 | 22 – Ottobre 2010, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1022.pdf>

S. Colomba, **The Southern Mediterranean: Between Changes and Challenges to its Sustainability**, MedPro Technical Report n°1, November 2010

E. Greco, N. Pirozzi and S. Silvestri, **EU Crisis Management Institutions and Capabilities in the Making**, Quaderni IAI n. 19 (English Series), November 2010, http://www.iai.it/pdf/Quaderni/Quaderni_E_19.pdf

Istituto affari internazionali (IAI) e Global Relations Forum (GRF), **Italy-Turkey Dialogue on Technological Innovation**, Documento preparato nell'ambito del VII Forum di dialogo italo-turco, Roma, 8-9 novembre 2010, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1024.pdf>

A. Marrone, **NATO's Strategic Concept: Back to the Future**, Interview with Giampaolo Di Paola, DOCUMENTI IAI 10 | 23 – November 2010 <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1023.pdf>

N. Mikheilidze, **The Geneva Talks over Georgia's Territorial Conflicts** Achievements and Challenges, DOCUMENTI IAI 10 | 25 – November 2010, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iai1025.pdf>

N. Pirozzi e V. V. Miranda, **Consolidating African and EU assessments in view of the implementation of the partnership on peace and security**, <http://www.iai.it/pdf/Consolidating-African-and-EU-assessments.pdf>

Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos

The European Parliament: A Major Player in the Negotiations on the Creation of the European External Action Service (ARI). Ramón Jáuregui Atondo. This ARI looks at the role of the European Parliament in the negotiations on the organisation, structure and functioning of the future European External Action Service.

The EU's Progress Report on Turkey's Accession: A Glimmer of Light in the Tunnel, but Cyprus Remains the Main Obstacle (ARI) William Chislett. The European Commission's annual report on Turkey's progress toward full EU membership showed the country's arduous accession process in a more positive light, but there will be no breakthrough until the Cyprus problem is resolved.

Document of Interest *Elcano Royal Institute - The Strengthening of National Parliaments within the European Integration Process. A new role for the Spanish Cortes Generales after the Lisbon Treaty*. The Second Seminar of the National Parliaments and the UE Project: "The Strengthening of National Parliaments within the European Integration Process. A new role for the Spanish Cortes Generales after the Lisbon Treaty" was held on 22 October in Madrid (Spain). It was organised by the Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies, the Elcano Royal Institute and the Manuel Giménez Abad Foundation, and sponsored by the Spanish State Secretariat for the European Union.

La negociación del marco financiero plurianual de la Unión Europea 2014-2020: un balance entre necesidades y límites económico - políticos (ARI). Mario Kölling. La negociación del marco financiero plurianual 2014-2020 tendrá una gran trascendencia para la próxima década en la UE.

The UN Secretary General's Report on his Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus: A Window for Reunification Settlement 'Closing' (ARI) William Chislett. The UN's patience with Cyprus, divided since 1974, is beginning to run out. The Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders have made little progress over reunification in the last two years of negotiations. Ban Ki-moon, the UN Secretary General, warns that a 'critical window of opportunity is rapidly closing' and the negotiations run the risk of 'foundering fatally'.

The EU and Climate Change in the lead up to Cancún: Impacts, Policies and Positions (ARI) Anthony Holey and Dominic Adams. This paper analyses the main consequences of climate

change for the EU, the mitigation and adaptation policies it has undertaken and the negotiating stance it will adopt in the international climate-change negotiations.

Destined for Irrelevance? Subsidiarity Control by National Parliaments (WP). WP 36/2010 - 19/11/2010. The Lisbon Treaty introduced the 'early-warning mechanism', with national legislatures assigned the right to monitor whether initiatives for EU laws comply with the principle of subsidiarity. Does the mechanism really empower national parliaments by giving them a collective veto in EU politics or will it remain largely unused by domestic MPs? This paper leans towards the latter interpretation, arguing that the whole mechanism was mainly introduced in response to legitimacy concerns. It is a rather harmless procedure, with only a marginal impact on the EU's legislative process.

Currency Wars: Between Domestic Politics and International Cooperation (ARI). Federico Steinberg. The incipient currency war could lead to a protectionist escalation that would hinder the global economic recovery. This paper analyses the various angles of the currency war and possible ways of resolving it.

Asia Central en el marco del semestre de la Presidencia Española de la UE: una visión del Observatorio de Asia Central (ARI). Aurèlia Mañé Estrada y Eva Soms i Bachs. Asia Central ha tenido un especial protagonismo en el semestre de Presidencia española de la UE. El análisis de la actuación, a lo largo de estos meses, proporciona algunas pistas sobre cómo plantear el futuro de las relaciones con esta – hasta ahora, en España– desconocida región.

France and Deporting the Roma: How Did We Get There? (ARI). Christophe Bertossi. The deportation of Rumanian and Bulgarian Roma from France led to international condemnation while it was widely accepted by French public opinion.

Alerts, alarms and threats: how much should the people of Europe be told? (ARI). Fernando Reinales. A public awareness campaign about what al-Qaeda and its affiliated groups keep trying to do in Western Europe should neither raise alarm nor minimise the problem.

El Concepto Estratégico de la Alianza Atlántica y los intereses nacionales: propuestas para la cumbre de la OTAN en Lisboa. Grupo de Trabajo sobre el Concepto Estratégico de la

OTAN del Real Instituto Elcano. Mientras los gobiernos aliados discuten el borrador presentado por el secretario general de la OTAN, este Documento de Trabajo recoge las opiniones, coincidentes o contrapuestas, de los miembros del Grupo de Trabajo sobre los puntos principales que están a punto de definirse y que, en su opinión, deberían tenerse en cuenta por el Gobierno de España durante la discusión del nuevo Concepto Estratégico.

La imagen de España en Alemania (ARI). Javier Noya. Por una serie de factores estructurales y coyunturales, España y Alemania parecen ahora más lejos que nunca en los últimos 50 años.



Netherlands Institute for International Relations 'Clingendael'

Schaik, L. van, **The Dutch and European Contribution to International Climate Policy: building blocks for a viable strategy**, Clingendael CESP Paper, November 2010.
http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2010/20101100_CESP_paper_vanschaik.pdf

Drieskens, E., Hecke, S. Van & Bursens, P., **The 2010 Belgian Presidency: Driving in the EU's Back Seat**, SIEPS, 2010:2op.

Drent, M. & Mengelberg, S., **Een effectievere Europese Unie? De gevolgen van het Verdrag van Lissabon voor het Gemeenschappelijk Veiligheids- en Defensiebeleid**, in: Militaire Spectator, Jaargang 179, Nummer 11, 2010.

Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE)

Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE), Nice *"L'Europe en Formation": "Aborder la violence collective : Méthodes et perceptions - Approaching Collective Violence: Methods and Perceptions"* CIFE, Presses d'Europe, Fall 2010, n° 357, ISSN 0154-9928.

M. Waechter, directeur de l'IEHEI Matthias Waechter, **Helmut Schmidt und Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**. Auf der Suche nach Stabilität in der

Krise der 70er Jahre, Bremen 2011. Edition Temmen, ISBN 978-3-8378-2010-2

Institute of International and European Affairs (IIEA)

A history of the Internet and the digital future (London: Reaktion; Chicago: University of Chicago Press), by *Johnny Ryan*, senior researcher at the IIEA. The book has received glowing endorsements from Jonathan Zittrain (Harvard Law School), Tim Wu (Columbia Law School), and Marc Benioff (Founder of Salesforce.com). Information on the book is available on the author's blog: <http://johnnyryan.wordpress.com>

Swedish Institute of International Affairs – UI

Mark Rhinard: **"Framing Europe: The Policy Shaping Strategies of the European Commission"**.

Dordrecht: Republic of Letters Publishing, 2010. For orders: publisher@republic-of-letters.com.

Institute for International Relations (IMO)

Višnja Samardžija and Hrvoje Butkovic, eds. **From the Lisbon Strategy to Europe 2020**, Zagreb, Institute for International Relations, December 2010

New issue of journal Perspectives, Vol. 18, No. 2 is dedicated to the Forum on 'Central Europe'. Further information could be found on the website of the journal, <http://www.perspectives.cz/>

SPECIAL: HUNGARIAN TEPSA PPC REPORT FROM EXACT FELLOWS

Entering the New Decade: New Challenges and Priorities of the EU under the Hungarian Council Presidency (2011)⁸

**2 & 3 December 2010
Budapest, Hungary**



The Hungarian pre-presidency conference, organised by the Hungarian Institute for World Economics (IWE) in collaboration with TEPSA and THESEUS, took

place at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest on 2-3 December 2010. The conference focused on the new challenges and priorities for the EU during the upcoming Hungarian Council presidency.

The conference was opened by the welcome addresses of hosting organiser *András Inotai* (Institute for World Economics, Hungary) and TEPSA Secretary-General *Jean-Paul Jacqué*. Their interventions were followed by the TEPSA recommendations to the Hungarian EU Council presidency which focused on nine policy areas: the European economic governance; competitiveness and the EU 2020 strategy; the area of freedom, security and justice; immigration issues; the solidarity clause (article 222 TFEU); the European External Action Service; the Danube strategy; enlargement and neighbourhood policy.⁹

Director of COREPER I Affairs *Gábor Baranyai* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary) presented the priorities of the Hungarian presidency in his

⁸ This report was compiled by *James Nyomakwa-Obimpeh* and *Marco Siddi*, with contributions of *Miguel Haubrich Seco*, *Vanessa Boas*, *Dana Depo*, *Nicole Koenig*, *Marlene Gottwald*, *Niklas Helwig*, *Simon Stross*, all Early Stage Researchers of the Marie Curie Initial Training Network EXACT.

⁹ These recommendations can be found at <http://tepsa.be/Recommendations%20to%20the%20Hungarian%20Presidency.doc.pdf>

keynote speech. Mr Baranyai explained that the Hungarian presidency will be based on four pillars. Firstly, it will strive for the growth of employment and social inclusion, particularly by supporting the European semester of economic policy coordination and by starting the implementation of the EU 2020 strategy. Secondly, it will focus on strengthening the common currency and tackling other economic issues, such as the budget and a common energy policy. Thirdly, it will continue the implementation of the Stockholm Programme, where enlargement of the Schengen area is likely to be the most challenging issue. Finally, the Hungarian presidency will focus on “enlarging responsibly and engaging globally”. In particular, this entails closing accession negotiations with Croatia, continuing negotiations on accession with Turkey, Iceland and Macedonia and the organisation of the Eastern Partnership summit.

Mr Baranyai's keynote speech was followed by the contributions of several eminent participants. Spanish ambassador to Hungary *D. Enrique Pastor de Gana* stressed the achievements of the previous Spanish presidency in tackling the financial crisis at EU level and applying the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty. In addition, he emphasized the continuity of priorities between the Spanish and the following Belgian presidency. Belgian ambassador to Hungary *Pierre Labouverie* indicated the achievement of concrete policy results and of harmony among EU institutions as essential priorities for the Hungarian presidency. *Péter Balász*, former member of the European Commission, highlighted opportunities for the Hungarian Presidency, such as the adoption of the first Danube strategy and Croatia's accession, as well as potential problems, notably the fact that Hungary will have to cope with the Euro crisis without being a member of the common currency area. *Tamás Szűcs*, Head of the European Commission Representation in Hungary, emphasized that the Hungarian presidency starts in a very challenging period for the EU, mostly due to the economic and financial crisis. *Adám Török*, member of the Presidential Board of the Hungarian Academy of Science, concluded the opening plenary session by stressing the necessity to focus on competitiveness and European economic governance.

Workshops on Thursday, 2 December

Workshop I: One year after the Lisbon Treaty: evaluation of its institutional innovations

Chaired by *Gunilla Herolf* (TEPSA Board and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute,

Sweden), this workshop shed light on the performance of some of the most prominent institutional innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. One year after the entry into force of the Treaty, the contributions focused on the practice record of the institutions and drew prospects and recommendations from the lessons learned so far.

In the first contribution, *Ignacio Molina* (Real Instituto Elcano, Spain) revisited the role of the rotating Council presidency concentrating on two aspects: the limited functions and reduced role in external representation of the EU of the presidency's prime minister and the call for more coordination. After having assessed these two areas, Molina proposed several institutional mechanisms by which the presidency could both work for more consistency and maintain political influence by using the General Affairs Council (GAC) as a coordination and agenda-setting body. While the coordination function of the GAC had worked out relatively well during the Spanish and Belgian presidencies, further effort should be put in strengthening its political relevance if the GAC is not to become a duplicate COREPER. Assuming the responsibility for the growing number of horizontal dossiers, acting as chamber of appeal for the specialised Council formations or promoting a composition of EU Affairs ministers, instead of generalist foreign ministers in the GAC, were some of the proposals that Molina outlined to increase political relevance and visibility of this body.

The Union's growing role in defence policy and its perception by NATO were the areas analysed by *Hanna Ojanen* (TEPSA Board and Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Sweden). Ojanen started her contribution by highlighting several innovative aspects in CFSP, notably the fact that the EU has evolved into a defence alliance through the solidarity clause. It is especially significant that this clause is very open to interpretation in its scope, which had already led to different member states perceiving the clause in different ways, ranging from finances to security. In order to analyse the potential of the CFSP innovations, Ojanen suggested to "put a mirror in front of the EU" and to look at it from the perspective of NATO's recently renewed Strategic Concept. NATO's view on the EU revealed a strong confidence in the abilities and potential of the Union in several defence areas, especially in capacity building and the planning of operations. Ojanen argued that NATO's confidence in the EU could be explained by several reasons, including NATO's search for a stable place in a European security architecture. She concluded by stating that it could be very enriching to take an outside

perspective to judge the performance of the EU also in other areas.

In the third contribution, *Graham Avery* (Honorary member TEPSA Board and University of Oxford, UK) had a close look at the origins and current situation of the EEAS. From this analysis, he then developed prospects for the service and its possible impact both in the EU and abroad. The fact that the Treaty included only very vague provisions on the EEAS was in Avery's view the reason for having had such complicated negotiations during the setting-up of the service, both with the Council as with the European Parliament, that used the lack of codification to significantly expand its limited powers in foreign affairs. Taking a closer look at the new service and with the goals of greater coherence and effectiveness as benchmarks, Avery argued that he saw good prospects for improving the record of EU foreign policy for three main reasons. First, the set-up of mainly geographic Directorates-General in the EEAS provided a good outlook for the unification of the former community and intergovernmental pillars. Second, socialisation effects could in the medium term foster common understandings of interests among European diplomats working both at the EEAS and in their national ministries during their careers. Third, financial pressures might spur member states to reduce national efforts in areas covered by the EEAS. Avery closed by recommending that the performance of both EEAS and High Representative should be reviewed again in one year's time.

Workshop II: European economic governance: crisis management and the future of the eurozone

The panel on economic governance largely focused on the measures to be taken in order to smooth the functioning of the eurozone. *Iain Begg* (TEPSA Board and London School of Economics, UK) provided a comprehensive overview of the main shortcomings in terms of fiscal policy in the eurozone and potential solutions to remedy the current imbalances (fiscal frameworks, changes in the stability and growth pact). He highlighted the lack of coordination among member states as a major factor in the disarray. Moreover, by outlining the root causes of the financial troubles in Greece, Ireland and Spain, Begg illustrated that diverging factors such as dysfunctional public sector, banking bubble, and real estate bubble led to the crisis.

The second speaker, *Istvan Benczes* (University of Budapest, Hungary), highlighted the dilemma

regarding efficiency and stability in the eurozone. He argued that, whilst on the one hand the adoption of the common currency in more countries leads to lower transaction costs, a greater number of members heightens the stability risks. Benczes developed on this by presenting three puzzles inherent in fiscal rules and institutions. The final speaker, *Viljar Veebel* (University of Tartu, Hungary), put forward a controversial approach for tackling the crisis currently preoccupying Europe. He strongly advocated against the bailing out of ailing economies and for relying on market forces to smooth out imbalances and deficiencies. For instance, allowing Greece to default would make EU exports cheaper and more competitive, rid the Greek economy of its dysfunctional private sector and limit the amount of money lent to dysfunctional states.

A lively debate followed the presentations during which the speakers found themselves diametrically opposed regarding the benefits of a bail-out and the stance the EU should take when dealing with downtrodden economies. All speakers agreed that economic governance was equally a question of political economy and that without political will the efficiency of measures would be hampered. It was concluded that economic governance will remain a priority for the upcoming Hungarian Presidency and the presidencies to come.

Workshop III: Widening: further enlargement of the EU and Eastern Partnership

The workshop was moderated by *Visnja Samardzija* (TEPSA Board and Institute for International Relations, Croatia), who drew the attention on two main points, namely the state of the enlargement process as reflected in the report of the European Commission on the countries in pre-accession strategy and the Eastern Partnership.

Atila Eralp (Center for European Studies, METU, Turkey) pointed out that Turkey is in a long-term process of pre-accession negotiations. In five years, thirteen chapters were opened and only one has been provisionally closed. According to Eralp negotiations on Turkey's accession have become more and more politicized in EU member states, with more countries now opposing Turkey's entry in the EU. On the other hand, support for EU accession in Turkey has declined, both among political elites and in public opinion. Nevertheless, the EU should not underestimate Turkey's importance, as Ankara can play an important role in building closer relations with the Union's

neighbourhood. Eralp also highlighted the necessity to create a more flexible mechanism that would bring Turkey closer to the EU.

The second speaker, *Baldur Thorhallsson* (Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small-State Studies, Iceland), presented an overview of EU-Iceland relations since 1958. Initially, Iceland privileged bilateral relations with Denmark, the USA and Britain and did not apply for EU membership. In the 1990s Social Democrats started campaigning for EU accession, a process which eventually resulted in Iceland's recent application for membership. However, the recent economic crisis has given new momentum to Eurosceptics and public support for EU accession has declined. Dr Thorhallsson concluded his speech by stating that the twentieth century in Iceland is known as the "American century"; it remains to be seen whether the twenty-first century will be the "European century".

The final presentation concerned the Eastern Partnership (EaP). *Petr Kratochvil* (Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic) argued that the lack of funds resulting from the economic crisis is one of the main challenges to the strategy. In addition, the EaP is confronted with several political problems. Firstly, the leaders of Mediterranean EU member states did not participate in the inauguration of the EaP. Secondly, neither they nor the High Representative took part in the celebrations for the first anniversary of the EaP. Thirdly, little attention is paid by EaP partner countries to the multilateral dimension due to the lack of financial support, difficulties in defining common priorities and the fear that the EaP could become an alternative to the EU accession. Diplomats from EaP countries pay special attention to bilateral level of cooperation which existed prior to the launch of EaP, namely association agreements, negotiations on a deep and comprehensive free trade area and visa liberalization. On the other hand, the positive aspects of EaP include simple operational structures, the possibility for participating country to launch projects and get civil society involved, as well as the introduction of flagship initiatives. Nevertheless, the EaP is still to prove its viability. The speaker defined four prerequisites for success, namely political support from both EU member states and partner countries, adequate financing, visibility of success and strong regulatory processes in the individual partner countries.

Workshop IV: EU sustainable competitive challenges: the EU 2020 Strategy

Workshop IV focused on EU sustainable competitiveness challenges and the EU 2020 Strategy. The session was chaired by *Marjan Svetlicic* (TEPSA Board and Centre of International Relations, Slovenia). The speakers were *Marianne Dony* (EGE Network and Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium), *Attila Ágh* (Corvinus University Budapest, Hungary), and *Karlis Bukovskis* (Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Latvia). It was argued that the EU 2020 Strategy established a new architecture, but it is built on old instruments. One of the few real innovations is the introduction of the 'European Semester' strengthening economic governance. However, the need to strengthen governance with regard to the environmental and social aspects of the strategy remains.

Due to the lack of EU legal competences, the EU 2020 Strategy relies on 'soft law'. A broader use of binding measures with economic 'carrots and sticks' was however deemed necessary. The speakers also stressed the need for coherence between the EU's financial perspective and its competitiveness goals. The Union's competitiveness goals should not be pursued at the expense of the cohesion policy. Strengthening the economies in the EU's neighbourhood was seen as a priority. In addition, macro-regional approaches to competitiveness were presented as instruments for a regional division of labour compatible with the EU's overall competitiveness agenda. The Danube Strategy is an example for the extension of EU competitiveness goals to neighbouring regions. The EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region is a further example for macro-regionalization within the EU. Several challenges to sustainable competitiveness were pointed out, most notably youth unemployment. Another challenge leading to a medium term decrease in productivity is the aging of Europe's population. While migration was presented as a challenge, it has the potential to compensate for the demographic problem and should thus be viewed as part of the solution. After the consolidation of the European economies and the eurozone, the EU will have to endorse a more global view and quickly and actively adjust to the big tectonic changes in world economy.

Workshops on Friday, 3 December

Workshop V: Money matters: the upcoming financial perspective of the EU

'The EU budget is like the monster of Loch Ness: perhaps it really exists, but nobody knows what it looks like'. With this allegory, *Tamás Szemlér* (ICEG European Centre, Hungary) started the workshop "Money matters: the upcoming financial perspective of the EU". The conclusion of the budget review process presented by the Commission in October 2010 is still unsatisfactory in the criteria of an optimal budget. While some changes regarding the headings have been made and the allocation of funds to competitiveness and innovation has been doubled, many issues have not been addressed adequately. On the revenue side the EU budget is still a jungle of exceptions and the debate on the UK's rebate versus the Common Agricultural Policy is open. On the expenditure side it remains questionable whether the size of the budget can address the financing needs of new policy challenges in the areas of environment, energy security, CFSP or the financial crisis.

In the second presentation *Brendan Donnelly* (Federal Trust for Education and Research, UK) provided insight on why many shortcomings of the budget still exist after the review process. Especially big member states became more sceptical with regard to the budget and lack the political willingness to worsen their position as net-contributors to the EU. According to him, there was no 'review without taboos'. Conversely, taboos became more consolidated and deeper rooted in the last years. Consequently, member states will not be willing to endorse radical changes in the new financial perspective.

While *Sándor Richter* (Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, Austria) shared the view that the willingness of the net-payer countries to contribute to the budget declined after the recent financial crisis, he still sees the possibility for a radical reform. The key is to find a rule-based solution that takes the concerns of the member states into consideration. The simple solution he presented is based on two pillars. First, the contribution of each member state should be calculated on the basis of the individual member state's per capita Gross National Income (GNI). Second, the money each member state receives for the execution of EU policies should be based on the per capita GNI of the whole EU multiplied by the number of inhabitants of each country. This approach would have two advantages: on the one hand, it would offer a transparent and democratic solution to EU budgetary challenges, as the calculations are based on the number of citizens of each country. On the other hand, it allows to focus on the debate on policy issues without having the question of net-positions in the back of the head.

After the presentations, *Judit Kiss* (Institute for World Economics, Hungary), who moderated the workshop, opened the discussion. This revolved around the possible impact of the European Parliament on the negotiations of the financial framework and the possibility for a substantial reform of the revenue side of the budget.

Workshop VI: A new approach to regionalism: the European Danube Strategy

Chaired by *Ottmar Höll* (Austrian Institute for International Affairs, Austria), the workshop focused on the background, issues, advantages and risks of the European Danube Strategy. The workshop started with the contribution of *Katrin Böttger* (Institut für Europäische Politik, Germany), who gave a brief overview on the basic facts and goals of the Danube strategy. According to her, the Danube strategy is a vivid example of the possibilities and challenges of cross-border cooperation in Europe, but it must not lose its bottom-up character. Possibilities and opportunities of the strategy include in particular increased cooperation in environmental protection and generating energy security in the region. On the other hand, the main challenges consist in the lack of administrative capacity and the fact that no additional funding will be available.

The second speaker, *Tamás Fleischer* (Institute for World Economics, Hungary), focused on the chronological development of the Danube strategy and the countries involved. Fleischer referred to the 'three no's' of the Commission (no new legislation, no institutional arrangements and no additional money for the Danube strategy). He outlined the interests and expectations that the countries involved have regarding the implementation of the new strategy. By analysing the distinct problems, aims and projects at sub-sector, country and EU level, he gave a comprehensive overview over the strategy. He concluded that if the weak points of the strategy are not addressed in the upcoming months, the Hungarian presidency should not attempt to have the strategy approved at all costs.

Finally, *Katia Hristova-Valtcheva* (Bulgarian European Community Studies Association, Bulgaria) drew the attention to the Bulgaria's perspective on the Danube strategy. She outlined the role of Bulgaria as a latecomer and its characteristics as a lower Danube country. Bulgaria's interest for an improvement of regional infrastructure, social and economic development and environmental protection in its rather underdeveloped Danube border regions was

strongly emphasized. The speaker concluded by criticizing the lack of coherent institutionalization of regional co-operation along the Danube region.

Workshop VII Citizens' Europe: developments in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

Workshop VII on Justice and Home Affairs, chaired by *Nikos Frangakis* (Greek Centre of European Studies and Research, Greece), brought together three different topical fields: the legislative level, an institutional insight and a policy perspective. *Deszö Tamás Czigler* (Institute of Legal Sciences, Hungary) started with his presentation on the legislation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) and the challenges for the Hungarian presidency. One of the main priorities of the Hungarian EU Presidency will be "a Union closer to the citizens". Within this priority area, Tamás Czigler highlighted four important aspects for the Hungarian Presidency: fundamental rights (especially relating to the accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the Schengen area), criminal law, civil law and migration.

Subsequently, *Ewelina Boguslawska* (European Parliament, Brussels) focused on the parliamentary dimension of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice and the opportunities and challenges one year after Lisbon. Although the Lisbon Treaty abolished the pillar structure, it has not been a breakthrough in the JHA fields, as can be inferred from the intergovernmental way of bargaining and the high number of opt-outs. On the other hand, the Lisbon Treaty introduced the co-decision procedure in most JHA issues, thereby increasing the European Parliament's participatory rights. The external dimension of JHA constitutes an exception in this respect, as here the EP has either to give its consent or at least be consulted. The speaker concluded that the EP was not only well prepared to state clearly its position, but also demonstrated the relevance of its influence in the external dimension of JHA. One of the main future challenges for JHA will be to incorporate the strengthened role of national parliaments, as this will lead to an extension of the actors involved in JHA.

Finally, *Toby Archer* (Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Finland) elaborated on the EU counter-terrorism policy. Following Iraq war of 2003 and the bombings in Madrid in 2004, the EU started to develop a better understanding of terrorism as a domestic issue. This awareness triggered the development of a counter-radicalism and a strategy for combating terrorism. Toby

Archer contrasted these developments with the main critiques concerning the EU counter-terrorism policy. Firstly, he argued that there is no natural role for the EU, as a result of the subsidiarity principle. Secondly, there is evidence that EU counter-terrorism coordinators are not taken serious by member states. Thirdly, there are different ideas of citizenship (e.g. multiculturalism, republicanism) in member states and thus different approaches to confronting radicalism among ethnic minorities.

Closing plenary session



The two-day TEPSA Pre-presidency Conference drew to the end with the closing plenary session on Friday 3 December. This session began

with brief reports from the various workshops and key recommendations for the consideration of the Hungarian presidency. After the workshop reports, *Andras Inotai* of Institute of World Economics was given the floor to present his concluding remarks. He made six key observations.

Firstly, he remarked that the Hungarian Council presidency might be influenced by the global events of the day and there is the need for the Presidency to be flexible and accommodating. He also emphasized the need for coherence in the EU policies and programmes in the field of crises management. Secondly, Mr Inotai mentioned that during the Hungarian Council presidency the maturity of the country as a member of the EU will be tested. This should not be the time for the pursuance of 'national interest'; rather Hungary should be an honest broker in the Council. Thirdly, the Director of IWE mentioned that EU is in the era of qualitative integration, where new member states are required to be more responsible even as net beneficiaries. Fourthly, he cautioned that it behoves on the Hungarian presidency to know that the Presidency of the Council is not a done deal. Rather, it is a process whereby Hungary would be inheriting some policies or issues from past presidencies and would be required to use that as a template to launch its presidency.

The fifth point concerned possible obstacles to the Hungarian Council presidency. The speaker identified some local/national political dynamics as possible hindrance to what Hungary could achieve. As final point, the speaker discussed

future benefits that Hungary stands to gain should the country handle affairs well during its presidency. In addition, he strongly advised that Hungary should liaise very well with both the Belgian and Polish Presidency to ensure smooth transitions. Finally Mr Inotai advocated civil society, NGOs and European citizens involvement in the activities of the Hungarian presidency.

Wolfgang Wessels (Chairperson TEPSA Board and University of Cologne, Germany) had the last word of the conference. He observed that during the conference some key terms and concepts have been discussed. TEPSA should continue to serve as a forum for the European debate and Hungary is to provide strong leadership for the Council. Finally, the TEPSA Chairman made some gift donations and expressed general appreciation to all participants for their attendance during the conference.



**The TEPSA
Secretariat wishes you
a merry Christmas and very
happy New Year!**