

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

3.1) Guide questions:

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

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

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

Austria (Universität Salzburg)

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

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

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

Belgium (Universiteit Ghent)

The public debate in Belgium essentially focused on the implications of the financial crisis and the problems in the eurozone. Specific attention has been devoted to the European Commission's role in the excessive deficit procedure. After Olli Rehn, European Commissioner in charge of Economic and Monetary Affairs and the Euro issued a warning that Belgium might not comply with its duty to get the budget deficit under 3 % of GDP as required under the EU's fiscal rules and asked for additional austerity measures, Paul Magnette, Belgian Minister of Enterprise and Development, openly questioned the Commission's democratic legitimacy to tell countries how to conduct their economic policy. Even though his remarks were quickly countered by Prime Minister Di Rupo and vice-Prime Minister Van Ackere, who stressed 'the long pro-European tradition of Belgium, and our interest in maintaining it', the open discussion about the democratic legitimacy of the EU and the European Commission in particular is rather exceptional in Belgium, which is known for its general pro-European consensus. The discussion also illustrates that despite the innovations introduced with the Treaty of Lisbon, such as the increasing powers of the European Parliament, the citizens' initiative or the greater involvement of national parliaments in the scrutiny of the subsidiarity principle, the issue of the EU's democratic legitimacy remains a fundamental challenge.

Croatia (Institute for International Relations)

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

Financial crisis

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

Enlargement

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

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

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

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

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

Denmark (Danish Institute for International Studies)

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

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

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

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

The Schengen Agreement has also been center of attention in the domestic EU debate. One of the first things the present Danish government did after its commencement in last years fall was to revoke the strengthening of the border control made by the former government. As the current European debate shows the Schengen Agreement is in general under pressure from the influx of refugees from North Africa. Nevertheless the former government's reinforcement of border control

was seen as an undue breach of European law and with the primary aim to fulfill the engagement to the Danish right wing and at that time supporting party The Danish Peoples Party. The initiative was met with criticism on both national and European level. Both in terms of national politics and in the light of the Danish opt-in on the Schengen Agreement the present government has abrogated the enhanced effect of the border control.

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

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

University of Copenhagen

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

University of Roskilde and Copenhagen Business School

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

Finland (University of Tampere)

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

In the Finnish expert debate Finland's situation has been highlighted as a country still possessing the AAA credit ratings, and therefore a model state that should not unnecessarily suffer from the ill financial discipline of others. While such argumentation has been heard across the political spectrum, an important line in the Finnish debate has concerned the widely perceived need to limit the country's responsibilities in the bail-out packages to the southerners, enforce austerity and expand tax collection capacities in these countries – as was done in Finland during its severe recession in the

early 1990s. The Centre Party and the populist opposition party of 'the Finns' have called for halting the expansion of Finland's lending and guarantee commitments. In the extreme, it has even been proposed for the country to withdraw from the euro area and possibly form a union with the Swedish *krona* instead. Among the parties of power there seems to be, however, a quiet acceptance of a possible need for a post-Lisbon institutional re-arrangement (probably on an intergovernmental basis). The problem is that due to the strength of eurosceptics in the domestic debate since the election in spring 2011, the population has not been well prepared for any such moves for more integration. The terms of the Europe debate have to a significant extent been defined by the eurosceptic opposition. It is currently very difficult to become popular in Finnish politics by playing a strongly euro-friendly or federalist card.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Germany (Humboldt Universität Berlin)

The most discussed policy issue in regard of the Lisbon Treaty was the Financial Crisis and the further development of the stability mechanisms of the European Union. Especially from a German point of view the implementation of fiscal discipline by all Member States of the euro area as well as throughout the European Union was an important topic. Particularly the new Fiscal Compact, formally called 'Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union', drew high attention in public debate. The substance of this Treaty shall be incorporated according the Treaty within 5 years into the legal framework of the European Union. Further more,

there was an ongoing discussion about the judgments of the German Federal Constitutional Court concerning the Lisbon Treaty and the subsequent judgment on the euro rescue package. In regard to the judgments there is a discussion about the question of sufficient involvement of the German Parliament into the decision making process of the rescue mechanisms. In the last year there have been several members of the German government as well as other senior politicians in Germany calling for further steps of European integration in order to contribute to a lasting solution of the euro crisis.

Important publications

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

Germany (Universität Duisburg Essen)

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

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

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

Germany (Universität Trier)

The Lisbon Treaty's coming into force in December 2009 initiated a process of institutional reform. The main objectives of the Treaty of Lisbon encompassed the strengthening of the European Union's (EU) democratic structures, as well as enhancing its weight as a homogeneous actor in the field of International Relations. Furthermore, it introduced major modifications to streamline decision-making procedures. Against this background, this contribution will discuss in brief the perception of the EU's performance in two of the most prevailing policy fields of the last year: the sovereign debt crisis and the recent revolutionary changes in the Arab World¹.

The crisis in the euro zone

What began as a sovereign debt crisis of Greece rapidly expanded to a far-reaching crisis of the euro zone. In Germany, the euro zone crisis is perceived primarily as an intergovernmental issue. Apparently, in the context of the crisis in the euro zone the Lisbon Treaty is not in the centre of attention. The media presentation mainly focuses on the controversial points in the negotiations between government officials of the member states. First and foremost, they are responsible in dealing with the effects of a massive sovereign debt crisis and possible ways of stabilizing the

¹ Within the limits of this contribution, we will only focus on the Libyan civil war and the Syrian uprising.

common currency. As further rescue packages, ever greater in scope, were required, a strong Franco-German leadership in terms of designing solutions emerged.²

Although not always of the same opinion, France and Germany recognized at last that a strong Franco-German partnership is necessary. In the German media, the influence of Chancellor Angela Merkel is considered to be very strong, even stronger than that of the French President Nicolas Sarkozy.³ In a simplified view, it can be reduced to the image that Germany, due to contributing the largest part of credits and guarantees among the member states, is assigned to act as a 'primus inter pares' in the European Council.

So far the handling of the euro zone crisis displays a dominant intergovernmental mode of crisis management. Among the main supranational EU institutions, only the European Central Bank played a major and decisive role. The European Parliament tries to contribute to solving the euro zone crisis.⁴ Unfortunately, it is unable to act as agenda setter. There is no important decision made without the backing of the Heads of State and Government or the Economic and Financial Affairs Council (Ecofin) respectively the ministers of finance of the euro group.

In the long run, the aftermath of this crisis may become a fundamental challenge for the cohesion among the member states.⁵ The actions taken so far lead the European Union into a system of joint liability. Furthermore, the obligations of the rescue packages represent an additional economic charge, as the case of Greece illustrates.⁶

The change in the Arab World

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

An important innovation came with the post of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, sometimes referred to as the 'EU foreign minister'. Article 18 (2) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) clearly describes the role of the High Representative: 'The High Representative shall conduct the Union's common foreign and security policy. He shall contribute by his proposals to the development of that policy, which he shall carry out as mandated by the Council. The same shall apply to the common security and defence policy.'⁷ So far, Catherine Ashton's main tasks appeared to encompass the external representation and the installation of the so-called

² Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin und Paris übernehmen die Führung. Schärfere Kontrolle der nationalen Haushalte geplant / Washington will mitreden, 3rd December 2011, p. 13.

³ Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, Bei Merkozys unterm Sofa. Es ist wie bei einer guten Ehe. Sie funktioniert, und keiner weiß, warum, 20th November 2011, p. 7.

⁴ For example, the European Parliament offered proposals concerning to the so-called blue bonds, the financial transaction tax and the design of an European Economic Government. For further information: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/topic/623?start=10> [last accessed on 30th March 2012].

⁵ Cf. Sueddeutsche.de, Folgen der Schuldenkrise. Barroso warnt Europa vor einer Spaltung, 10th November 2011 [<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/folgen-der-schuldenkrise-barroso-warnt-europa-vor-einer-spaltung-1.1185464>, last accessed on 30th March 2012].

⁶ Cf. Dieter, Heribert/Frind, Annkathrin, Schiffbruch der Troika in Athen. Die Hilfe aus dem Ausland weist Griechenland nicht den Weg aus der Krise [http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2012A14_dtr_frind.pdf, last accessed on 30th March 2012].

⁷ Cf. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0013:0045:EN:PDF> [last accessed on 30th March 2012].

European External Action Service (EEAS)⁸ as the bureaucratic backbone of the EU's capacity in its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

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

Especially the civil war in Libya posed a challenge for the European Union and its member states. Furthermore, it publicly displayed the discordant positions of the EU member states. The civil war in Libya called for immediate action by the United Nations. On 17th March 2011, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1973⁹ that legitimized a military intervention by NATO. At this moment, four EU member states were represented in the UN Security Council: France and the United Kingdom as permanent members and Germany and Portugal as non-permanent members. From these four Germany was the only one that abstained during the vote.¹⁰ This disagreement caused a stir in Germany. The media harshly criticized the abstention ('a lowpoint of German statecraft') and worried about a possible German isolation in foreign affairs.¹¹ Based on the UN Security Council's resolution, the European Union broadened its restrictive measures against the regime of Muammar al-Gaddafi.¹² But ultimately it was the non-fly zone combined with the airstrikes under the leadership of France and the United Kingdom that led to the collapse of the Gaddafi regime.

In March 2011, anti-government protests emerged in Syria. The regime of Bashar al-Assad answered with violence against civilians.¹³ Almost a year later, the local uprising is still going on. The case of Syria shows that restrictive economic instruments, such as sanctions and embargos, count among the EU's main instruments for external action. Since the beginning of the crisis up to the end of March 2012, the EU introduced 13 sets of restrictive measures against the Syrian government. These included for instance an export ban for arms and an import ban on crude oil and petroleum

⁸ For further information about the EEAS: <http://www.eeas.europa.eu> [last accessed on 30th March 2012].

⁹ Cf. [http://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?Open&DS=S/RES/1973%20\(2011\)&Lang=E&Area=UNDOC](http://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?Open&DS=S/RES/1973%20(2011)&Lang=E&Area=UNDOC) [last accessed on 30th March 2012].

¹⁰ Cf. faz.net, UN-Sicherheitsrat billigt Militäreinsatz. Paris: Luftschläge gegen Libyen in wenigen Stunden, 18th March 2011 [<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/arabische-welt/un-sicherheitsrat-billigt-militaereinsatz-paris-luftschlaege-gegen-libyen-in-wenigen-stunden-1612072.html>, last accessed on 30th March 2012].

¹¹ Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, Riss durch Europa. Deutschland sperrt sich gegen eine Flugverbotszone über Libyen und stellt sich damit gegen Frankreich und Großbritannien, 16th March 2011, p. 9, [Sueddeutsche.de](http://www.sueddeutsche.de), Wie katastrophal die deutsche Diplomatie versagt, 18th March 2011 [<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/libyen-un-erlauben-intervention-deutsche-diplomatie-katastrophal-versagt-1.1073956>, last accessed on 30th March 2012], Süddeutsche Zeitung, An der Seite von Diktatoren. Der Bundesaußenminister hat Deutschland mit dem Nein zur Flugverbotszone ins Abseits manövriert, 19th March 2011, p. 4., Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Isolierung des Systems Westerbelle. Der Außenminister steht im In- und Ausland mit falschen Freunden da, 19th March 2011, p. 4.

¹² Cf. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/120220.pdf [last accessed on 30th March 2012].

¹³ Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, Der Zorn der Syrer. Tausende gehen auf die Straße, die Regierung in Damaskus greift brutal ein – nun setzen die Stämme ein Ultimatum, 21st March 2011, p. 8.

products.¹⁴ But unlike in the case of Libya, the European lead nations, first and foremost France and the United Kingdom, hesitated to take military action. This can be explained with the Chinese and Russian resistance in the UN Security Council and with internal considerations due to the costs and results of the Libyan intervention. Against this background and the underlying self-perception of the EU as a civilian power ('Zivilmacht'¹⁵), it is obvious that the only remaining option lies in economic and political sanctions. These instruments have to be decided and imposed by the European Council quickly and unanimously. Nevertheless, far-reaching results may not come quickly.

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

Conclusion

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

Greece (University of Athens)

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

Financial crisis

The issues that prevail in all discussions is the reasons that led to the crisis (domestic and European), the repercussions of the financial crisis on everyday life, the adjustments to the crisis, the European response and the several scenarios for the future (in or out the eurozone). As far as the European response to the crisis is concerned, the debate in Greece is dedicated to the the new intergovernmental provisions adopted beyond the context of the Treaty (the EU decisions on the

¹⁴ For a detailed overview please see:

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/128379.pdf [last accessed on 30th March 2012].

¹⁵ Cf. Dembinski, Matthias, Kein Abschied vom Leitbild 'Zivilmacht'. Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik und die Zukunft Europäischer Außenpolitik, HSFK-Report 12/2002 [<http://www.hsfk.de/downloads/rep1202.pdf>, last accessed on 30th March 2012].

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

Immigration and Schengen Area

The question of Immigration and Schengen Area prevails in the debate in Greece due to increasing migratory flows. However the debate is mainly confined in domestic politics, with no significant cross-linkages to the Lisbon Treaty. Only the last two months there were references to the Lisbon Treaty and to the possibility given to member states to drive away a country from the Schengen Area (by closing their borders). In Greece, ELIAMEP and the Institute for Migration Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens have research programmes on immigration as well as relevant publications¹⁶.

Energy Policy

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

EU reaction to the Arab Spring

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

Control mechanisms

As far as the new control mechanisms initiated by the Lisbon Treaty, the participation of national parliaments in EU policymaking did not emerge in the debate in Greece. It seems that the Greek Parliament is not as Europeanised as it should. The impact of the Citizens' Initiative¹⁷, the Lisbon

¹⁶ From ELIAMEP: Gropas, Ruby/ Triandafyllidou, Anna (2012): 'Migrants and Political Life in Greece: Between Political Patronage and the Search for Inclusion', South European Society and Politics, 17:1. & Vogel1, Dita/ Triandafyllidou, Anna/ Düve, Franck (2011): 'Irregular Migration From A European Perspective', International Migration, Vol. 49 Issue 5 October 2011.

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

¹⁷ According to Article 11 of the treaty, 'not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of member states may take the initiative of inviting the [European] Commission, within the framework

Treaty instrument that will be used from 1 April 2012, was discussed more widely but not on the academic level.

Hungary (Institute for World Economics)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Iceland (University of Iceland)

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

of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the treaties'.

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

Italy (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

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

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

The main issues deal with the recently signed Treaty, the so-called Fiscal Compact. Just to reconsider the main events during the year, the letter by Trichet and Draghi to the Italian government on the measures to be taken to tackle excessive debt for Italian economy, which was sent in the first days of August to the Italian government and later published by an Italian newspaper¹⁸, is undoubtedly the turning point of the political debate on Europe. Not only was in that occasion hindered the political power of PM Berlusconi, whose popularity was furthermore affected at the European stage by Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel laughing during a summit, but it was perceived to be also one of the first clear interventions directly into Italian politics by European political leaders. The continuous speeches also by EU officials and EU Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs Olli Rehn¹⁹ in November, asking for new economic adjustments, were seen as an intervention by politicians and mainly by Italian Minister of Economy Giulio Tremonti, which had been targeted during the whole crisis for an alleged bad management of Italian economic policy. Italian politics got divided on this issue, between those that saw this is a necessary external constraints to put Italian public accounts in order and those that saw this is an interference in Italy's domestic political affairs.

The government change, with the former European Commissioner Mario Monti being appointed Prime Minister on the 16th November 2011, contributed greatly to a shift towards a bit more positive relationship with the European Union, and it was claimed that a former 'Eurocrat' could better solved Italian problems. The new parliamentary majority, a sort of 'große Koalition', including the three main political parties (the center-left Democratic Party, the center-right People of Freedom and the

18 Here the article on 29 September 2011 by Italian leading newspaper *Corriere della Sera*
http://www.corriere.it/economia/11_settembre_29/sensini_documento_bce_e68f29d6-ea58-11e0-ae06-4da866778017.shtml

19 Also a blog was created on a very well-known Italian newspaper:
http://www.corriere.it/direttasms/perfortunacheolli_47/index_perfortunacheolli_47.shtml

so-called centrist Third Pole) therefore represented an exception with regard to the formally bipolar system, one of the central tenets of the so called Italy's ill-fated Second Republic). The new government agreed to the measures 'imposed' by the EU in order to reduce the burden of public debt and expenditure.

The debate has therefore revolved mainly around the new financial provisions and the consequences of the establishment of a renewed French and German leadership in the driving seat of the EU decision-making system. The necessity for all European countries to delete or at least to reduce their deficit in a few years were seen by some social and political forces as a symptom of an EU led by Germany²⁰. Italy, which had been considered a problem for EU and the eurozone, did in the end undertake the efforts required from her during this year, in order to improve its economic and financial situation and reduce the spread between its national bonds and the German Bund, and is now on the way to recovery. The political reforms upon which the Monti government has embarked upon are part of an attempt to deeply reform a country that has too long avoided taking necessary but painful reforms. They cover labor laws, liberalization of services, liberalization of sectors of public economy and the struggle against corporations lobbying for interests, which are not part of the common good. To sum up, the political debate on the EU institutional issues has a lot in common with the debate taking place in other European countries: most of the centre-left Democratic Party components agree for example with French Socialists²¹ on giving the new Treaty a more effective impact on growth and jobs, while trade unions and other political leaders tend to be quite skeptical about the new measures, reflecting a common position by their affiliates. Also the Italy's employers federation, although being in early 2011 a strong supporter of a European federation, has changed its position towards a more balanced one.

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

Here follow some examples of these appeals:

- appeal by more than 100 German and Italian personalities, October 2011 (<http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/economia/2011-10-11/appello-leuropa-202250.shtml?uuid=AaeDKBCE>),
- appeal by former PM Romano Prodi and Giuliano Amato and economists Alberto Quadrio Curzio and Paolo Savona, November 2011 (<http://archivio-radiocor.ilsole24ore.com/articolo-993775/crisi-fare-presto-bene-l-appello/>),
- appeal by Italian former PM and former vice-Chairman of the European Convention Giuliano Amato, February 2012 (http://www.corriere.it/opinioni/12_febbraio_13/amato-roma-berlino-europa_25aa9ac8-5634-11e1-b61e-fac7734bea4a.shtml),

20 A great attention has been devoted to the German Chancellor in Italy because of the solutions she has outlined, which seemed to be 'too German' to work in countries that don't have the same political tradition.

<http://www3.lastampa.it/focus/europa/sezioni/europa-dei-leader/articolo/lstp/439937/>

21 see: http://www.repubblica.it/politica/2012/03/17/news/bersani_il_trattato_fiscal_compact_non_sufficiente-31709310/

- joint letter by Italian PM Mario Monti and French MEP Sylvie Goulard, February 2012 (http://www.corriere.it/opinioni/12_febbraio_15/monti-goulard-vista-corta-danneggia-europa_ece29c2e-57b2-11e1-8cd8-b2fbc2e45f9f.shtml),
- appeal issued on the occasion of Merkel's visit to Italy by former PM Giuliano Amato and personalities from the European Federalist Movement, March 2012 (http://www.mfe.it/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=372%3Acomunicato-stampa-sul-vertice-monti-merkel&catid=40%3Anews&Itemid=37).

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

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

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

The EU reaction towards the Arab Spring has been described at least as weak, and it has implied a rethinking of its own positions for Italy. In May 2011 some members from the Italian government urged the EU to have a 'confident support' towards the evolution of the Arab Spring, meaning that everything should be done in terms of aid and development to ensure future stability for the region. Prime Minister Berlusconi even called for a new Marshall Plan for the North Africa²² during the Deauville G 8. Italian approach towards the Arab Spring has been somewhat rooted in the previous close relationship with Libya, generating a particular situation for the country. Not only the government has lost close allies (as the Gaddafis were before the revolution), but it had to reconsider its own policy in Libya. Moreover, the issue of illegal immigration and the prospected massive illegal

22 See at: http://www.corriere.it/politica/11_maggio_27/frattini-berlusconi-frasi-obama-sofferenza_a364b5b2-8843-11e0-9f3b-7863374fa955.shtml

immigration by Sub-saharan people sailing from the coast of Libya has been exploited by the anti-immigration party Northern League, that has strongly criticized the EU's approach²³.

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

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

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

Italy (LUISS Guido Carli)

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

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

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

Lithuania (Vilnius University)

Past months were fruitful in discussions on the EU matters. Topics of the financial crisis and Arab Spring were the soundest. The financial crisis was the most important topic of political and academic debates in Lithuania over the past years. The EU's reaction to the Arab Spring was extensively

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

covered by media and discussed in academic circles but had less attention from Lithuanian politicians.

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

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

The political debate on European policy is largely dominated by the painful aftermath of the financial and the ongoing sovereign debt crisis. Luxembourg, which has known an average growth rate of about 5 per cent over the last two decades previous to the outbreak of the financial crisis, is in a less comfortable situation since it slipped into recession in 2009. On occasion of the presentation of the BCL²⁴ - Bulletin on the economic and financial situation of the Grand Duchy in December 2011, the Luxembourg Central Bank governor, Yves Mersch, called for budget and structural adjustments in order to tackle the problem of lasting annual deficits²⁵ and for reforms related to labour market and competitiveness. Moreover, the decoupling from German growth rates is considered as a major problem although differences are minimal compared to other countries of the Eurozone.

The consolidation of the budget is also at the centre of debate in the Luxembourgish Parliament, where the introduction of the European semester is considered beneficial both for the Eurozone as a whole as well as for the Grand Duchy.²⁶ According to the Minister of Finance, Luc Frieden, Europe is about to define itself anew, creating a form of economic governance desperately needed. Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker called into memory that he advocated a form of common economic governance already in Maastricht.²⁷ In line with the Luxembourgish stance to save the Eurozone, the implementation of budgetary control mechanisms in the EU-member states coupled with sanctions to be imposed on countries which do not obey common rules are considered to be essential. However, the possible exclusion of any of the southern Eurozone member states under strain was never discussed amongst the political class, nor was the step-up of national guarantees for the EFSF / ESM a matter of dispute. On the contrary, German reluctance to do so was criticized and seen as a lack of solidarity. The issue of Eurobonds was approved by the Luxembourgish government, when Commission president Barroso unveiled his plan in November 2011.²⁸

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

²⁴ Banque Centrale du Luxembourg

²⁵ <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2011/12/bcl-mersch-bulletin-2011-3/index.html> (retrieved 02.04.2012)

²⁶ <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2011/12/chd-budget2012/index.html> (retrieved 02.04.2012)

²⁷ Luxemburger Wort, 10.12.2011

²⁸ Luxemburger Wort, 22.11.2011

governance of the EU.²⁹ The fiscal pact agreed upon in December 2011 was endorsed by a large majority of the Luxembourgish Members of Parliament. Nonetheless, especially the socialist coalition partner of the Christian Democrats recalled the social consequences of the current austerity policy.

The so-called golden rule will not be incorporated in the Luxembourgish constitution, which would be contrary, according to Juncker, to its 'philosophy'.³⁰

The revolutionary waves of protests occurring in the Arab since December 2010 were followed by the Luxembourgish press with attention. Dissonances between the Anglo-French position and Germany in the UN Security Council over Libya were criticized and seen as a setback for the Common Foreign and Security policy. However, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jean Asselborn, stressed the Union's capacity to find a common position in this dossier, putting sanctions on the regime, providing for humanitarian aid and urging Gaddafi to relinquish power.³¹

Most recently, Sarkozy's threat to pull out the Schengen zone was severely criticized both in the Luxembourgish mass media as by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who blamed the French president for anti-Europeanism.³² Already in June 2011, when France reintroduced border checks in order to control the flux of immigrants coming from northern Africa via Italy, and when Denmark reinstated controls along its borders with Germany and Sweden, the Luxembourgish Minister for employment and immigration, Nicolas Schmit, qualified reinstated widespread controls as a catastrophe.³³

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

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

Netherlands (University of Groningen)

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

²⁹ Tagbeblatt, 28.98.11

³⁰ <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2012/01/chd-icj-traite/index.html> (retrieved 29.03.2012)

³¹ Lëtzebuerger Gemengen, 29.04.11

³² tageblatt.lu, 11.03.2012, <http://www.europaforum.public.lu/fr/actualites/2012/03/schengen-sarkozy-reactions/index.html> (retrieved 02.04.2012)

³³ <http://delano.lu/news/it-would-be-catastrophe> (retrieved 29.03.2012)

The financial crisis continues to be discussed in the Netherlands, but recent debate has been focused on new cuts to the budget in order to keep the deficit spending within EU guidelines. One of the areas that has suffered a new round of major cuts, is the foreign aid budget. The party of Geert Wilders continues to put pressure on the county to drastically reduce foreign aid. The American Bill Gates, as head of his foundation focused on development and health issues, has entered into the public debate, asking for the Netherlands to remain a model for giving and aid to developing countries.

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

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

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

Poland (Foundation for European Studies/European Institute Lodz)

Institutional changes

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

Arab Spring

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

Financial crisis

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

Energy

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

Eastern Partnership and further enlargements

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

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

- Barcz Jan: 'Traktat z Lizbony. Wybrane aspekty prawne działań implementacyjnych' LexisNexis Polska, Warsaw 2012. This monograph sums up the full spectrum of necessary implementation efforts to make Lisbon Treaty work in the national legal system.
- Barcz Jan, Kawecka-Wyrzykowska Elżbieta, Michałowska-Gorywoda Krystyna: 'Integracja europejska w świetle Traktatu z Lizbony. Aspekty ekonomiczne', PWE, Warsaw 2012. This publication constitutes an outcome of University of Warsaw team research on economic aspects of the Lisbon Treaty.
- Cała-Wacinkiewicz Ewelina: 'System instytucji Unii Europejskiej z uwzględnieniem postanowień Traktatu Lizbońskiego' C.H.Beck, Warsaw 2011. The author presents institutional aspects of Lisbon Treaty on the ground of own author's research. The value added of this book is its legibility for larger public.
- Fiszer Józef M.: 'Parlament Europejski po Traktacie z Lizbony. Doświadczenia i nowe wyzwania', Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warsaw 2011. The author researches the growing role of the European parliament over past decades with the focus on Lisbon Treaty provisions.
- Jesień Leszek: 'Prezydencja Unii Europejskiej. Zinstytucjonalizowana procedura przywództwa politycznego', PISM, Warszawa 2011. This book constitutes an outcome of research on institutional side of political leadership in the European Union, and refers especially to the changed role of presidency within the new European - Lisbon Treaty - legal environment.
- Sozański Jarosław: 'Umowy międzynarodowe Unii Europejskiej po Traktacie z Lizbony, IURIS, Poznań, 2011. This text refers to particular changes introduced by the new treaty to the legal framework of international agreements.
- Sozański Jarosław: 'Prawa człowieka w Unii Europejskiej (po Traktacie Lizbońskim)', IURIS, Poznań 2011. The book concentrates on human rights in the EU, pointing out changes introduced by the new treaty.

Romania (European Institute of Romania)

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

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

As regards the external action dimension, both the media and academic environment became very much interested in analysing the latest sanctions imposed by the EU on Libya, and more recently on

Siria and Iran. As regards the Eastern Partnership, a topic which quite dear to Romanian academics and journalists, it got a lot of attention during the Polish presidency of the EU, and especially around the date of the Eastern Partnership summit in Warsaw last autumn.

Romania (University of Oradea)

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

Slovenia (University of Ljubljana)

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

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

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

Continuous support is given to EU enlargement to Western Balkans.

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

Spain (University of Malaga)

There have becoming topics of special political and academic debate, in which the Treaty of Lisbon is always a reference: the EU 2020 Strategy for the reactivation of the economic sustainable growth and the creation of Employment; The Treaty of Lisbon and the economic government (related to the

European Mechanism of Stability in the Euro-zone); the economic recovery and the solution to the crisis; the economy and knowledge society; the fight against the climate change and the European energy policy; the statute of the European citizens (Charter of Fundamental Rights, EU Social Policy Agenda, equality between women and men, the freedoms, Justice and Security, European policies on immigration and asylum) and the aspects of the European Union as global actor (Foreign Policy, of Security and of Cooperation, Euro-American policy, European Neighbourhood Policy, the Union for the Mediterranean and the enlargement of the Union.

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

From the different Universities, public and private, it has been producing research results of the Treaty of Lisbon in the period of analysis; mentioning some work titles: 'Dotze Lliçons sobre Europa' (Pascal Fontaine); Completely updated and with the incorporations derived from the application of the Treaty of Lisbon. History, foundations and values; functioning of the institutions, policies, aims and results of the European project, explained of brief and understandable form.

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

Sweden (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Turkey (Sabanci University)

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

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

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

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

One area of specific debate is with respect to immigration. The Turkish public and government officials are extremely skeptical about the EU because of the EU visa policy towards Turks. Prominent business people, academicians, have to wait days to get a visa for entry into Schengen zone and the visas issued are only for a few days whereas countries in the Western Balkans which have not even began accession negotiations have visa free travel. Frequent reports of prominent Turkish people being rejected by the visa officers of the EU member states are constantly reported in the Turkish media. This also harms the EU's image in Turkey. Academicians, business people, prominent citizens are actually trying to change their travel plans to minimize European travel as a result of visa policies of the EU. This is a very significant challenge for the EU to deal with. There are cases where a very famous pianist - Fazil Say who travelled to Germany for a concert was sent back to Turkey even

though he had a visa, a very famous novelist Ayse Kulin was denied a visa by the French consulate, and travelers entering the Schengen zone from Turkey –irrespective of their occupation, reputation – complain frequently about not being treated well at the border. This also constituted the main subject of European Stability initiative Report.³⁴

³⁴ The time is now: Changing the EU visa policy on Turkey, 13th March, 2012.
<http://www.esiweb.org/lists/lt.php?id=LUGBAQcIUgwGSFdRAUUEBwIKAA%3D%3D>