

#### **4. Personal Assessment**

Guide questions:

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

4.2) What are present trends observable in EU studies?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Despite the fact that the EU has in the last two years been largely plagued by the economic and euro-crisis, the EU has still been able to exercise its increased and united foreign policy stance. This was particularly seen in imposing the sanctions towards Libya, Syria and in the most recent case against Iran, but also in handling relations with the EU's eastern partners like Ukraine. Although the EEAS establishment does not develop smoothly as envisaged and although EU Member States are still keen to keep their competences in external relations (UN Security Council behavior being vivid example), the LT is essentially praiseworthy because it offers possibility for the affirmation of single EU posture in political affairs by providing the 'EU phone number'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The present trends in EU studies are somewhat worrying from the point of view of how little interest and expertise there is on the political economy. Most experts are concentrated on areas which now look exotic and even esoteric such as external relations. Also too much research seems to concentrate on the mere functioning of the Union's political institutions instead of examining the

impacts of their functioning. A welcome trend is, however, the signs of a relative return to the 'big' integration theory of neo-functionalism in order to pay attention to stealth integration, driven by technical decisions, which may well be what will take place in the context of the financial crisis.

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

It is remarkable that, although the European Parliament and the European Commission were strengthened by the Lisbon Treaty, the European Council appears to have become the major institution within the European framework. The reason for this is of course the euro crisis. However, one of the major aims of the Lisbon Treaty was to strengthen the community method and by this the democratic legitimacy of the European Union as a whole. Although there is more public interest in the European affairs than ever before, the European Parliament and the European Commission have not managed to draw sufficient attention.

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

It seems necessary to repeat the statement of 2011: The debate on the Lisbon Treaty was overshadowed by the debate on the so-called 'Euro-crisis'. The debate on achievements and limits of the Lisbon Treaty remains restrained on a minority even among academics. However, the debate on the financial crises showed more substance than in 2010/11. The deficits and problems of EMU were discussed more in depth, even if knowledge of the historical circumstances of its origins is still often missing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As it concerns the current trends observable in the European Studies in Poland we can state that the European Studies came as the key subject at the level of baccalaureate. Some years ago the key model of European Studies academic teaching was the basic education in the disciplines like

economics, international affairs, law, political science, sociology, environmental studies etc. at BA level, after which students were offered to study towards a master European Studies degree. Nowadays there is a twofold model, mixing up a bachelor's degree offered in the European Studies and the former model of European Studies at master's level. All major public universities offer master of European Integration degrees (17 public universities). Six of them offer academic education in European Studies at the Undergraduate level (Poznan – University of Adam Mickiewicz, Krakow – Jagiellonian University, Warsaw – University of Warsaw, Lodz – University of Lodz, Faculty of Sociology, Szczecin – Faculty of Economics and Wrocław - Faculty of Political Science).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In my opinion, not considering if the Lisbon Treaty has introduced mechanisms intended to reinforce national democracy and the EU, to strengthen the role of the citizen, to legitimize political decisions,

to increase the effectiveness, uniformity and institutional coherence..., the running balance of it still remains negative, and it could be argued, among others, by the following aspects:

- Coincidence of the implementation of the Treaty with the outbreak of the crisis in Greece and its subsequent consequences for the financial system in the Eurozone. This has prevented an outburst that, maybe in other circumstances, would have had other results, but also has demonstrated the ability of the process itself to defend its currency. This means that the Treaty was born yet with the deficiency of lacking the necessary tools to address such pressing problems.
- Lack of visibility of the European Union's presence abroad, a unique voice in its relations with the world and confusion of responsibilities among its representatives in a context of international crisis, not only economic, but also political (Arab States, Mediterranean...) when it involves some of the major objectives of the Treaty.
- This may have resulted in a lack of effective implementation of the new institutional system which, in the current crisis, is vital. In fact, I would say that they meet the appropriate circumstances to verify the feasibility and effectiveness of its operation.

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

When the Lisbon Treaty was adopted the expectations were enormous. Finally the EU would become more efficient and effective. This was assumed to especially be the case in the realm of foreign and security policy where the EU has traditionally found it difficult to reach consensus. The appointment of a new HR for external relations and the establishment of the EEAS promised a better coordinated EU foreign policy. While progress has certainly been made, it does not appear to be as successfully as many had hoped. In fact, the EU's response to a host of recent international events confirms that national prerogatives still matter a great deal.

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

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

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

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

There does not seem to be something remarkable about the Lisbon Treaty's first two years. The EU seems to be in a constant state of turmoil. The credibility of the EU has declined tremendously as the rules of the treaties – Maastricht for example – are seen not to be implemented by the EU members.

Thus, if the EU is not able to monitor and implement rules for its own members, then one of its basic functions is not working.

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