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EU-CONSENT NEWSLETTER



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EDITOR'S COLUMN

Dear friends,

Sending off this last Newsletter is a task filled with mixed emotions. Disbelief is one of them: when planning this project the year 2009 seemed very far into the future. Now, to our amazement, we are already there. Sadness is another one: we will no longer benefit from the close collaboration on a daily basis that has been part of work package Dissemination as a whole and not least the preparation of the Newsletter. Above all, however, the feeling is one of gratitude: we have met and formed personal friendships of a kind that will last forever.

Looking through the EU-CONSENT Newsletters starting in September 2005 we are also amazed to see the amount of work that has been done. So many great workshops and conferences with excellent discussions and output, all the publications and reports and, last but not least, the development of a great network spirit.

This issue includes an address from the coordinator and also – reminding us that we have not done all our work yet – a letter from Cologne on the reporting process.

As usual we also have several reports from the events held.

The first report is from a conference organised by Team 15 in Warsaw with the title 'Internal Market and Domestic Legitimacy'. We also have reports from workshops that were held in Brussels. The first one held 28 April with the title 'The Present and Future of National Legislatures in EU Governance' organised by Team 6, and the second workshop was held 7 May titled 'EU Governance in Time of Crises' organised

by the European Institute of Public Administration and the University of Cologne. A third workshop was organised in Prague by Team 23 with the title 'The Internal Security of the EU and Its External Effects: The Czech Presidency and Outlook to the Future'.

On 20 May the IEP and University of Cologne organised a discussion panel in Berlin focusing on 'EU Governance During the Crises: Implications for the budget and the Lisbon Treaty'. A report from the dissemination event that was held in Istanbul 21 May is also included. We also have a report from the EUSA International Conference held in Los Angeles, where EU-CONSENT was represented. Additionally we also have a report from a workshop organised by EIPA and the Maastricht University on 'Agency Formation in the Enlarged European Union: The Process of Institutionalising regulatory Governance Networks'. Last but not least we have a report from the TEPSA EU-CONSENT Conference held in Stockholm and organised by SIIA on 28-29 May 2009.

The final words go to four EU-CONSENT members answering the question on what EU-CONSENT has meant to them.

...and the final page goes to the best EU-CONSENT deliverables, a few of quite a considerable output achieved by the younger EU-CONSENT members!

With many thanks to you all for great cooperation!

Gunilla and Theresa



ADDRESS FROM THE COORDINATOR

ADDRESS FROM THE COORDINATOR FOR THE LAST EU-CONSENT NEWSLETTER

A time to look back

Reminiscing about EU-CONSENT at the end of its lifetime, both the past and the future comes to my mind.

Looking back, our network accomplished what it set out to do four years ago: to improve the understanding of key European processes and challenges of EU deepening, widening and broadening. We certainly covered major events of and trends for the EU within this decade in a longer perspective. Moreover we created a forum on all major dimensions of the EU integration process, easily accessible for researchers, students and third parties.

The output produced within the network has been impressive in terms of quantity and quality and has enriched the *acquis académique* in many different ways. A still growing list of publications and more than 110 meetings, conferences and similar events bear testimony to the network's activities.

These results have been transformed successfully into accessible knowledge for students of European integration and the interested public. Indeed, some of the channels for dissemination – the on-line school with its teaching units or various policy-oriented workshops, just to give two examples – have been extremely creative and effective.

A time to look ahead

However, I believe that our network has not only given answers, but also revealed new puzzles to be solved and tasks to be addressed. In view of new and so far unanswered questions, we have contributed to laying the foundations for further research in EU deepening, widening and broadening: our network has strengthened the links between a multitude of researchers from all over Europe, from different

disciplines and with various backgrounds. Thus, the Constructing Europe Network has contributed to creating a truly European Research Area.

A time to express thanks

I would like to use this opportunity to thank all EU-CONSENT participants for their contributions and input, resulting in a highly constructive working atmosphere throughout all meetings and workshops. It was impressive to see how well partners carried on the spirit and commitment of the Kick-off meeting in 2005 and translated it into four years of dedicated research.

It was an honour for the Cologne team to manage this network. We do hope that friction losses due to its size remained tolerable, especially during reporting phases. Let me also once again thank our project and financial manager, Funda Tekin, for her excellent work for EU-CONSENT.

A time to say goodbye

The moment has come to say farewell to our network. Although the end of a project certainly has an element of sadness to it, let me say goodbye on a more optimistic note: 'The EU-CONSENT work comes to an end – the agenda for an 'EU-CONSENT Plus' project is opened.'

*Wolfgang Wessels,
Cologne, May 2009*

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REPORTING INFORMATION

Almost the same procedure as every year

The final days of EU-CONSENT's official project lifetime have come and it is about time to say good bye...

... but wait a moment! Wasn't there something at the end of each period of project lifetime? Yes, indeed there was and hence the same procedure as every year applies: we will have to submit the fourth and final annual reporting to the European Commission on 15 July 2009. Thus, before we part only to continue our co-operation within the 'EU-CONSENT Plus' or other frameworks we will have to gather our administrative strength in order to jointly overcome the reporting challenge.

I am convinced that this will be an easy task given that this is the fourth time of annual reporting and that we will not be asked to plan future periods of joint research within the framework of EU-CONSENT.

The main elements and deadlines are the following:

- Submission of 4th Annual Activity Report by Team leader to their WP leader on Tuesday *2 June 2009* and WP leader and partners without a budget to me on *Friday 5 June 2009*.
- Submission of 4th Financial Statement (Form C and Financial information file) and second AUDIT (on year 3 and 4): all partners to me on *Monday 22 June 2009*.
- Submission of 4th Annual Management Report (including person-month efforts): by Team leader to their WP leader on Wednesday *24 June 2009* and WP leader to me on *Monday 29 June 2009*.

The final reports summarising the activities and the management of the entire four years of project lifetime will be drafted by the Cologne team. Partner institutes might be asked for additional information where needed and they will have to check the list of persons that were to be integrated within the Network of Excellence that was submitted with the initial Joint Programme of Activities.

According to the well established reporting procedures reference documents for the annual reporting (e.g. FAQ-document) can be downloaded from the internal website of EU-CONSENT (www.eu-consent.net). In general it will be better to ask as many questions as necessary as early as possible by contacting (funda.tekin@uni-koeln.de) than to submit incorrect documents.

Last but not least please remember the European Commission's preference for blue ink with regard to any signature that is requested.

Let the reporting begin!



REPORTS FROM EU-CONSENT EVENTS

INTERNAL MARKET AND DOMESTIC LEGITIMACY

Warsaw (Natolin), 24-25 March 2009

*Conference organised by Team 15
'Internal Market: deepening, widening and
participation' under WP VI 'Economic and Social
Policies for an Expanding Europe'.*

The conference was the follow-up to the first conference organised by Team 15 on 'The Internal Market in a Trilateral Perspective' in April 2007. Whereas the first conference had as its objective to analyze the very concept of the Internal Market as seen by three disciplines (economics, law and political science), this second conference looked at four subject areas in order to examine the question how and why the Internal Market has been and can still be used as the 'workhorse' of European integration.

In terms of methodology, the conference tried again to bring together scholars from three different disciplines (economics, law and political science) and to discuss the diverse issues from an interdisciplinary perspective. This approach has led to very fruitful discussions across the three disciplines, although, at the same time, it has also revealed that they often analyze the internal market and its related policies in very different ways. Our approach of having each paper commented by a scholar with a different academic background contributed to bringing some of these differences to the surface.

The conference consisted of four sessions within each of which one economic, one legal and one political science paper were presented. On the first day two sessions took place. The first was devoted to product (goods and services) market reforms and the better functioning of the internal market. The second explored the social dimension of European market integration. On the second day the morning session was devoted to the internal market for healthcare

services while the last session in the afternoon dealt with Member States' loyalties towards the Internal Market. The organizers of the conference intend to publish the proceedings of the conference by the end of 2009.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF NATIONAL LEGISLATURES IN EU GOVERNANCE

Brussels, 28 April 2009

*Workshop organised by Team 6
'Enlarged Institutions and Interaction with National
Governments' and Team 8 'European Parliament
and European Politics'*

The 'Present and Future of National Legislatures in EU Governance' was an EU- CONSENT workshop organised by The European Institute of Public Administration (Maastricht) and the Federal Trust for Education and Research (London). The aim of the workshop was to bring together academics and practitioners to discuss about the recent evolution and the future challenges of the role of the national parliaments in the EU decision-making process, especially in view of the last enlargement of the Union and the changes envisaged in the Lisbon Treaty. The event took place at Fondation Universitaire, in Brussels on the 28 April 2009.

The workshop was opened by Brendan Donnelly, Director of the Federal Trust for Education and Research (London) and Sonia Piedrafita, researcher at the European Institute of Public Administration (Maastricht). The event was divided into three panels where papers on the topic were presented, and finalised with a discussion panel that included MEP Richard Corbett, the permanent member of the COSAC Secretariat, Loreta Raulinaityt, UK National Parlia-

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ment Representative in Brussels, Libby Davidson, and Czech Senate Representative in Brussels, Hana Sedlackova. The first three panels were chaired by Brendan Donnelly (Fed Trust), Sonia Piedrafita (EIPA), and Theo Jans (EIPA). Discussants were Hugo D'Hollander, Counsellor from the Belgium Chamber of Representatives (first panel), Mendeltje Van Keulen, from Clingendael Institute (second panel) and Christopher Lord from ARENA (third panel).

The workshop was very much focused on the new powers given to the national parliaments of member states by the Lisbon Treaty in EU decision-making process. However, some contributions also presented a national scrutiny system in detail, like Garvin Barrett's (University College Dublin) on Ireland, Ignacio Molina's (Real Instituto Elcano) on Spain and Ola Zetterquist's (Gothenburg University) on Sweden. A paper about parliamentary strategies in the EU policy process, detecting new avenues for national parliaments' proactivity, by the two experts from EIPA, Theo Jans and Sonia Piedrafita, gave an interesting perspective to the workshop. Pieter de Wilde from ARENA in Oslo presented his interesting empirical study on media coverage and parliamentary involvement in EU policy-formulation. The involvement of national parliaments in CFSP was tackled by the Flavia Zanon (University of Trento). Oliver Vogt (Bundestag) presented his views on the new role for the national parliaments in Justice and Home Affairs. Ana Maria Evans (CIES-ISCTE) presented a new research project on the adjustment of national political actors to the increasing secluded decision-making in the EU. Ian Cooper (ARENA, Oslo) talked about the scope of new powers for national parliaments envisaged in the Lisbon Treaty. His idea of the possibility to regard the national parliaments as a virtual Third Chamber of the EU interested participants and raised some points during the discussions. Brendan Donnelly focused on the issues of democratic deficit and was more critical about the effectiveness of the new powers given to national parliaments by the Lisbon Treaty,

while Prof. Lord and UK MEP Richard Corbett took a more positive outlook on the proposed changes.

In conclusion, through involving relevant experts and practitioners, the workshop contributed to a better understanding of the role of national parliaments in the EU Governance and raised some interesting new ideas in the field.

Report by Dominik Vuletic

IMO, Zagreb

EU GOVERNANCE IN TIME OF CRISIS

Brussels, 7 May 2009

This EU-CONSENT workshop was organised by the European Institute of Public Administration and the University of Cologne as the concluding activity for the cross-cutting working group on 'Constitutional and Institutional Change in the EU'. It aimed to bring together scholars and practitioners working in the field to discuss about the EU crisis management capacities, the impact of crises on EU institutional change and constitutional development, the current economic and external crises, and the state of the art on research. The welcome speech was given by EIPA's Director General Marga Pröhl. The first panel, chaired by Thomas Christiansen, Associate Professor at EIPA, dealt with EU reform and governance capacities. Edward Best, Professor at EIPA, examined the impact of crises on the evolution of the integration process. Wolfgang Wessels, Professor at the University of Cologne, raised some questions on the concept of 'crisis' itself and gave some hints for future research on the topic. Mark Rhinard, Senior



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Researcher at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, overviewed the EU's crisis management and security capacities.



The second panel, chaired by Gaby Umbach, Senior Research Associate in the University of Cologne, focused on the financial and economic crisis. Richard Youngs,

Research Director of FRIDE, looked into the political impact of the crisis on the relations within the European continent, on the international economy and on the CFSP. Fabian Zuleeg, Senior Policy Analyst at the European Policy Centre, examined the causes of the economic crisis and its consequences in terms of governance. Daniel Gros, Director of the Centre for European Studies, explained why it was not only an 'American', but also European, crisis, even though it was triggered by the sub-prime mortgages. Finally, Phedon Nicolaides, Professor at EIPA overviewed EU reaction to the crisis as regards immediate, medium-term and long-term measures.



The third and last panel was chaired by the Executive Vice President of the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Gianni Bonvicini, and dealt with energy issues and crises in the neighbour-

hood. Graham Avery, Honorary Director General of the European Commission, analysed the capacity of the Eastern Partnership to deal with crises in the neighbourhood and the impact of the economic crisis on the enlargement of the EU. Simon Duke, Professor at EIPA, examined the conflict in Georgia, other 'frozen conflicts' (e.g. in Nagorno Karabakh, Osetia and Abkhazia), as well as new forms of crisis (like instability in Ukraine), and insisted on the need to

also look to the neighbours of our neighbours. The Eastern partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean go already beyond the NP, but the EU has also to make an effort to explain better its interests to Russia and the United States. Maxime Lefebvre, Counsellor of the French Permanent Representation, reviewed the EU means and capacity to deal with crisis in the neighbourhood both in the first and second pillar, as well as EU relations with Russia. Finally, Jacques de Jong, Senior Fellow at the Clingendael International Energy Programme, focused on the common energy policy and the energy crisis in the neighbourhood.

Report by Sonia Piedrafita (s.piedrafita@eipa.eu)

THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE EU AND ITS EXTERNAL EFFECTS: THE CZECH PRESIDENCY AND OUTLOOK TO THE FUTURE

Prague, 15 May 2009

The final Workshop of Team 23, 'The Internal Security of the EU and Its External Effects: The Czech Presidency and Outlook to the Future' took place in Prague, 15 May 2009. It gave a broad picture of the developments of the EU's Justice and Home Affairs in its external dimension. 10 researchers from 5 European states and from the United States participated. In addition, the Director of the International Affairs Department, Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office of the Czech Republic took part. She gave an overview about the achievements of the Czech Presidency in these issues. One big challenge the Czech Presidency had to deal with was that after the French Presidency there was no agenda left for the Czechs, so they changed their motto to 'no barriers within the EU'. Part of this idea was to enhance the mutual recognition of judicial decisions as well as to stress mutual assistance in criminal matters and the protection of victims of crime. In addi-

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tion to this presentation two general topics were discussed in the first part of the Workshop: the Common European Asylum System and the problems with coordination in the field of terrorism among the EU institutions as well as among the member states. The three topics of the second part of the Workshop dealt first with the internal security policies in the Western Balkans in the intersection between EU enlargement and the Union's civilian crisis management. Findings presented showed that the Integrated Border Management (IBM) of the EU allows for interesting insights into the politics of the EU's state-building/security policies at large. The implementation of IBM constitutes an innovative discursive and political strategy that conveys a comprehensive security vision. In another talk it was stressed that the citizens of Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia were not used to having borders. Therefore, the new situation with borders has caused a number of different challenges. To help these countries handle the border issues, the EU has taken a very broad approach with many instruments. The third part opened with a discussion of the highly complex issue of visa law in the EU and in Turkey. Besides the various EU legal texts and the effects of EU-Turkey agreements in this area, the way how Turkish law will meet the EU rules (*acquis communautaire*) was analyzed. A careful study of the policies of the new President in the United States, Barack Obama, showed that there will probably not be such big a difference to his predecessor, as many in Europe think or wish. The President could mainly shift focuses, re-brand or re-name things. Some fundamental changes could be possible, but problems simply do not vanish with a new President. Finally, a somewhat pessimistic picture of the current situation concerning the impact of the global financial crisis on the EU enlargement was presented. In particular, the Balkans were in trouble and if the EU did not respond to the challenges to stability there, the EU could soon see itself confronted with difficult internal and external security issues.

EU ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE DURING THE CRISIS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE BUDGET AND THE LISBON STRATEGY

Berlin, 20 May 2009

In the last month of EU-CONSENT, the Institut für Europäische Politik Berlin and the University of Cologne organised a discussion panel on EU economic governance and the financial crisis.

The first Panel of the workshop dealt with implications of the financial and economic crisis for models of EU economic governance and was chaired by Gaby Umbach (University of Cologne). Jacques Le Cacheux (University of Pau/Sciences-Po Paris) addressed the current crisis against the background of ten years of EMU and discussed options for reacting to the crisis. He argued that the crisis offered an opportunity to develop the economy in a 'green' direction, introducing sustainability as a comparative advantage for Europe at a global level.

In dealing with the crisis, Hendrik Enderlein (Hertie School of Governance) highlighted the difference between 'fighting the fire' and 'rebuilding the house'. Subsequently he described four problem areas: (i) the recession, (ii) bank failures, (iii) sovereign defaults and (iv) capital flows and described two key issues for the 'E' in EMU: redistribution and legitimacy.

In his comment to the presentations, Rudolf Lepers (German Ministry of Economics) argued that the Member States had reacted quite well to the crisis. Differentiating between a micro and a macro level, he said that on a macro level the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) had been supportive of bringing deficits down. However, there were problems at the micro level of the economy, which the EU could not address due to a lack of instruments.

During the general discussion chaired by Gaby Um-

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bach (University of Cologne), participants highlighted the importance of a coordinated approach for fiscal policies against the background of possible free-riding. The notion of ‘doing one’s homework’ was seen as misleading insofar as it implicitly negated collective approaches. It was argued that a lot remained to be done in the area of economic governance, for European industries were presently far more integrated than European economic policies.

The second Panel, entitled ‘implications of the crisis for the EU budget and the Lisbon strategy’ was chaired by Mathias Jopp, Institut für Europäische Politik Berlin). In his presentation, Iain Begg (London School of Economics, EU-CONSENT Work Package IV leader) addressed the question how to adapt the budget and the Lisbon strategy in response to the crisis. The overall question to be answered, however, was whether the crisis would lead to a new economic paradigm. Examples would be a low carbon paradigm, or one oriented towards recovery. In conclusion, he argued for an investment strategy targeting the quality of growth, not just its rate.

Markus Kerber (Technische Universität Berlin) took a more sceptical stance towards the EU’s role in general and during the crisis in particular by pointing out that the Commission was the guardian of the treaty and should not act like a government. While agreeing that systemic financial risks had to be dealt with at the EU level, he argued that an EU budget large enough to accommodate big projects such as Galileo or a stimulus package was neither likely in the medium term nor was it desirable. Franz Neueder (German Ministry of Finance) underlined that the current orientation of the SGP with a focus on the excessive deficit procedure fell short of its intended objective. Rather it had to go beyond fiscal policies and focus more on structural policies. Put differently it was important not to ‘punish’ but rather to ‘help’, e.g. by strengthening the early warning pillar of the SGP. Participants concurred on this point, saying that the Eurogroup

had been too fixated on deficits. As regards energy policy, it was suggested during the discussion that in the next years, the transformation to a renewable energy society would take a back seat to reducing energy consumption. Another strand of the discussion dealt with the impact of the crisis on ‘Social Europe’ and the productive role of social protection.

Finally Mathias Jopp summarized the discussions and thanked all participants for their attendance. The subsequent reception offered opportunities for networking and discussing the topic over a glass of wine in the pleasant atmosphere of the Landesvertretung NRW.

*Report by Tobias Kunstein
University of Cologne*

WHERE IS THE EU HEADING? FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS, REFLECTIONS ON ENLARGEMENT AND DEEPENING,

Istanbul, 21 May 2009

The EU-CONSENT dissemination conference in Istanbul gathered an audience of about 200 persons, mostly students. The organizer of the event was Dr. Deniz Ilgaz of Bogazici University, who also gave the introductory speech. Prof. Dr. Atila Eralp from the European Studies Center of Ankara Middle East Technical University served as moderator and also gave the concluding remarks. The first main speech was made by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels, with comments by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cigdem Nas from Yildiz Teknik University and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Kaya from Canakkale 18 Mart University. The second was made by Dr. Gunilla Herolf from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) with comments by Assist. Prof. Dr. Munevver Cebeci from Marmara University and Ph.D. Student Aylin Unver Noi from Marmara University.

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Wider Europe - deeper integration?

Initially reflecting on the considerable development of integration that the present EU leaders have witnessed, Wolfgang Wessels turned to the four potential scenarios initially set up by EU-CONSENT. ‘Deepening’ is understood broadly as vertical integration that is the transfer of competences and the shift of decision-making power to the European level. On the other hand, ‘widening’ is understood broadly as horizontal integration, i.e. simply enlargement.

The ‘Vicious Spiral’ of spill-back and eventual collapse and the ‘Virtuous Spiral’ of spill-over and successive deepening are two initial scenarios connected to enlargement. The third initial scenario/expectation is the ‘Re-invented’ / ‘Transformed’ Union. This scenario offers a new framework of EU decision-making in which all member states become new members in terms of starting conditions. This will result in a new kind of polity in which actors of different origin and background join forces to construct the new / re-invented union. The fourth initial scenario, the ‘Status quo Union’ implies that EU has reached the limits of stable equilibrium – the political and institutional order – with the last step of EU widening. Deepening and widening have come to a stop.

The fifth/additional scenario, ‘Status quo plus Union’, is based on the research results of EU-CONSENT. This scenario implies that instead of coming to a stop, the continuation of EU is in progress and success is based on the ‘re-invention of the status quo Union’.

Commentators

Cigdem Nas and Ibrahim Kaya both emphasized widening of the EU with crucial integration of Turkey. Cigdem Nas mentioned that the most important two issues, which drive most public opinions in EU to a privileged partnership in the case of Turkey, are frontier issues concerning boundaries and iden-

tity issues which are either cosmopolite or cultural based. Ibrahim Kaya started his speech by actually announcing that widening of EU with Turkey is crucial and directed attention to constitutional amendments, questioning the possibility of a new Turkish constitution. In this sense there are, as everyone expects, two answers: yes and no. No, there is no need for a new constitution because the amendments are enough; whereas, yes, there is a need, but how? He made a little emphasis on the constituent assembly / constitutional convention and current legislation and introduced some possible amendments.

Prof. Wessels summarized these possible scenarios graphically in order to show how the two concepts of deepening and widening can result in various scenarios; however, before that he pointed out that these emerged research projects regarding the deepening and widening concepts have made a big contribution to the creation of a Euro-



pean research area in integration-relation studies.

Finally he introduced three perspectives for the gain of the research community on the academic agenda for EU-CONSENT ‘Plus’. The first perspective, *courte durée*, aims at further elaboration and research on the ongoing development of the EU in

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the following 5 years: in other words, as he showed in his presentation, 'Agenda 2014'. The second perspective, *moyenne durée*, proposes a strategy to explain the construction/ emergence and evolution of the European Union over the last six decades, from the 50s. In the cases of deepening and widening this perspective has a relative importance because by looking the process from the beginning especially for the patterns of integration and institutionalization, research can be done more easily in the point of view of present and future. The third was *longue durée*. This perspective is based on a much longer historical research. By looking and trying to understand the emergence and development of European states, their transformation stages over the past five centuries, the research can be done in a new way.

The Current Security Challenges of the European Union

Gunilla Herolf, before introducing some of the security challenges and institutions aimed to deal with challenges, pointed to one of the findings of EU-CONSENT: that enlargement has brought with it a broadening of activities which in turn has resulted in a deepened, albeit informal, integration.

Referring to the European Security Strategy (2003 and 2008) she listed some of the challenges, such as terrorism, organized crime, weapons of mass destruction, failed states, pandemics and climate changes. She proposed that no threats can be met by military means (hard power) only and by any state alone and put emphasis on the Brusselisation with respect to joint decision-making and common solutions. In addition, she introduced Justice and Home Affairs Council (JHA) and two forms of cooperation, G6 (directoire of six main states) and Prüm Convention (the treaty of Prüm, pioneer group) as well as the importance of majority voting as different from unanimity. In spite of unanimity being the general rule, agreement on policies and activities has been achieved many times and in the case of civil or military crisis management success in finding new ways to deal with crisis is dependent on this.

So why there are so many difficulties? As explained by Gunilla Herolf, first of all there is lack of strategy and lack of resources; missions are often too small and of too short duration. There is also lack of agreements on some of the current and important issues. The ongoing financial crisis has deepened these challenges and decreased



the ability of EU to cope with these problems.

The most important issues/dividing lines among the member states concerning security issues are enlargement, divergent approaches towards Russia and efficiency in decision making. In the case of enlargement the main determining factor is geography. Most people accept that widening has been a success; however, due to this widening process EU has a widespread fatigue. In the case of Russia, most of the divisions are related to geography and energy dependence. No country suggests burning of bridges between EU and Russia, and plus to that people emphasize the importance of Eastern Partnership. In the case of efficiency in decision making, most of the divisions are related to the size of countries. Delegation, with tasks given to groups of countries while decision-making takes place on EU-27 level, is one solution but will it be enough?

Commentators

Both Munevver Cebeci and Aylin Unver Noi spoke with an emphasis on the possible outcomes of Tur-



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key's integration into the EU. Munevver Cebeci has taken the security challenges as a universal problem and noticed the importance of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and NATO with respect to the important membership of Turkey. For Turkey's accession, the security of EU is all-and-all important. Aylin Unver Noi, author of the book "Rising Nationalism in Europe", talked about some of the present conflicts like the situation of Israel and Islamic fundamentalism. In addition, she underlined the importance of Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

The Conference was highly successful in engaging the interests of the audience towards observing the EU not only from the perspective of Turkey's accession but making them aware of internal current issues/challenges of the EU and the deepening/widening effects on the Union.

EU-CONSENT'S REPRESENTATION AT THE 11TH EUSA BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Los Angeles, 23-25 May 2009

Our network seized the opportunity offered by the 11th EUSA Biennial International Conference in Los Angeles (23 – 25 May 2009) to disseminate its results to the research community beyond the borders of the European Research Area. Using an information booth, network representatives provided dissemination material including the leaflet, announcements of upcoming events, a plan for using and disseminating the knowledge and printouts of the latest issue of the EU-27 Watch. Moreover, two EU-CONSENT panels had been accepted, several researchers from the network presented their research at various panels and Wolfgang Wessels gave a lecture on 'Wider Europe, deeper integration? Lessons learned from the EU-CONSENT Network'.

Among the opening panels of the EUSA Conference was the panel on 'Reforming the EU Budget: A Way of Enhancing EU Competitiveness' that was organised by

Iain Begg (LSE) and chaired by Gaby Umbach (University of Cologne). The panel was composed of researchers from five EU-CONSENT partners involved in Work Package VI 'Economic and Social Policies', together with Philippe Cattoir from DG Budget of the European Commission, who presented a paper on 'EU financing reform'. EU-CONSENT partners presented three papers: Steffen Osterloh (ZEW Mannheim) discussed 'Budget reform options and the common pool problem, Iain Begg (LSE) talked about 'New demands for EU spending' and Nevenka Cuckovic (IMO, Zagreb) introduced a joint paper with Kresimir Jurlin on 'Competitiveness and economic governance'. Michele Chang (College d' Europe, Bruges) acted as discussant, opening the general debate. Despite the panel's early start on the first morning of the first day of the conference, the presentations elicited lively debate on the difficult choices facing the EU budget.

During the afternoon session the second EU-CONSENT panel focused on the overall research framework of EU-CONSENT and the research results. This panel on 'EU Deepening and Widening': A Return to Grand Theory?' was chaired by the coordinator Wolfgang Wessels (University of Cologne) and contributions were discussed by Edward Best (EIPA). Contributions to the panel summarised research conducted within the project, focussing on efforts by the 'Task Force Research Frame' to reach theoretical conclusions regarding 'deepening and widening' based on empirical research.

N. Piers Ludlow presented a paper by Wilfried Loth (University Duisburg-Essen) who was unable to attend the conference himself on a periodisation of integration history as seen from the perspective of a historian. Klaus Goetz (University of Potsdam) highlighted in his presentation the importance of time as a political category and strategic resource, both in theorising European integration as a long-term phenomenon and in understanding the day-to-day policy-production of the European Union institutions. He underlined the need to 'take time seriously' in addressing major scientific puzzles in this domain. Brigid Laffan (University College Dublin) in her presentation dealt



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with the increasing amount of contestation about integration as a major characteristic of the last decade in European politics. She pointed out a disjuncture between the deepening of the EU in institutional and policy terms achieved by the member state governments and the engagement of citizens in the project of integration. Finally, Gaby Umbach and Andreas Hofmann (both University of Cologne) attempted to synthesise research results within EU-CONSENT with a view to a reformulation of ‘grand-theories’ of widening and deepening. Identifying a distinct shortcoming of existing approaches in adequately capturing an interrelation between processes of widening and deepening, they proceeded to map out possibilities of a dynamic and ‘open’ conceptual framework that can guide future analyses of this phenomenon.

The lecture given by Wolfgang Wessels summarised the lessons learned from the experience of four years of joint research. He outlined results of the network’s investigation into the EU’s development in terms of deepening, widening and broadening during the past decade, contrasting the (surprisingly) low impact of enlargement with the member state’s ‘sovereignty reflex’ in the face of deepening. Looking ahead, he argued that while the network had produced an impressive output, it had not only given answers, but also revealed new puzzles to be solved and tasks to be addressed. However, with a view to the network’s sustainability, he concluded that EU-CONSENT had contributed to creating a truly European Research Area on EU deepening, widening and broadening by strengthening the links between a multitude of researchers from all over Europe.

All in all, EU-CONSENT’s presence at the EUSA Eleventh Biennial International Conference formed an important part of its dissemination strategy and was a huge success in the final stage of the network. At the same time the network and its participants cultivated contacts for further co-operation, ensuring sustainability of previous efforts.

by Deniz Ilgaz

AGENCY FORMATION IN THE ENLARGED EUROPEAN UNION: THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONALISING REGULATORY GOVERNANCE NETWORKS

by the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA), Maastricht and the Maastricht University in Maastricht, 28-29 May 2009.

Maastricht, 28-29 May 2009

The past decade has witnessed a significant proliferation of new EU agencies. For the organisers of this workshop (Thomas Christiansen of EIPA and Esther Versluis and Paul Stephenson of Maastricht University) this provided an opportunity to bring together an international group of scholars to analyse not only those newly established agencies, but also to consider the broader questions arising from the emergence of ‘agency governance’ in the EU. The key question guiding this workshop, which was part-funded by the EU-CONSENT programme, concerned the way in which networks in the EU have become institutionalised (as committees, secretariats and agencies) and how the role and the functioning of EU agencies has developed over time.

Contributors included Burkard Eberlein (Toronto) giving the keynote address on ‘Institutionalising Agency Governance in the EU’; Ulf Sverdrup (ARENA Oslo) speaking on ‘The Formalisation of Expert Advice in the EU’; Hussein Kassim (University of East Anglia) speaking on ‘Networking among National Competition Authorities’; Alan Hardacre (EIPA) speaking on ‘Lamfalussy Committees in the Area of Financial Regulation Julian Jeandesboz (Sciences Po) speaking on ‘The Establishment of a new agency: the case of FRONTEX’; Susana Borrás (Copenhagen Business School) speaking on ‘The Establishment of a new agency: the case of EFSA’. Among the par-

ticipants were also stakeholder representatives from the European Railway Agency in Valenciennes and the European Aviation Safety Agency in Cologne.

The participants concluded that the workshop had been successful in bringing together a range of different theoretical and empirical contributions and making progress towards a common framework for the analysis of institutionalisation of regulatory governance in the EU. While such an analysis needs to include a systematic study of the role of agencies on the policy-process, it also requires a broader outlook involving the study of other institutional mechanisms for data-

collection, information-sharing, policy-learning and the provision of scientific advice. Issues that have been raised during the workshop discussions and should form part of a frame-



work of analysis included: the role of science and expertise and its relationship to vested interests and political preferences; the relationship between national administrations, EU agencies, the European Commission and other stakeholders; the impact of structural factors and exogenous events such as crises; and the interplay between formal and informal mechanisms in the policy-process. The participants agreed on the salience of this issue to warrant further work towards a subsequent publication, and the workshop organisers undertook to explore possibilities for the publication of an edited volume or journal special issue on the subject.

Further information available from Thomas Christiansen (t.christiansen@eipa.eu).

REPORTS FROM EU-CONSENT EVENTS

TEPSA EU-CONSENT PRE-PRESIDENCY CONFERENCE ON THE OCCASION OF THE LAUNCHING OF THE SWEDISH PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Stockholm, 28-29 May 2009

The Swedish TEPSA EU-CONSENT Pre-Presidency Conference took place on 28 and 29 May 2009 at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (SIIA) in Stockholm. The conference was organised by TEPSA's Swedish Member Institute, the SIIA, the Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (SIEPS) and the Stockholm Forum for Security Studies (SFSS).

Entitled 'Swedish Presidency 2009: Finding Solidarity in the Face of Crises' the conference brought together senior scholars and high-level practitioners from across Europe to discuss the key topics of the Swedish Presidency of the EU. It examined the prospects for improving European solidarity in the face of existing and emerging challenges.



The conference started on 28 May 2009 with introductory speeches by Jean Victor Louis, Acting Secretary General of TEPSA, Tomas Ries, Director of the SIIA and Anna Stellingner, Director of SIEPS. In the following key note speeches Cecilia Malmström, Swedish Minister for EU Affairs and Margot Wallström, Vice President of the European Commission, shared their reflections on the upcoming Swedish Presidency. They stressed the Swedish

Presidency's plans to overcome the economic downturn in Europe, to succeed in the negotiations on a Post-Kyoto climate agreement in Copenhagen and to manage the EU's institutional challenges. Finally, as a long



tradition in offering recommendations to future Presidencies, Petr Kratochvil from the Institute of International Relations, Prague, presented recommendations from TEPSA members to the Swedish EU Presidency.

In the afternoon six parallel workshops discussed the following subjects:

- ESDP at 10 Years: the EU and International Security
- The EU's Neighbourhood and Eastern Partnership
- Climate Change and the Environment
- A New Era in Transatlantic Relations?
- The Baltic Sea Strategy: A Test Case for Solidarity
- Societal Security and the Stockholm Programme

The first conference day ended with a reception at the SIIA and a dinner at which Hanna Ojanen, Programme Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs and TEPSA Board member, awarded the TEPSA Training Programme participants their certificates for successfully completing a training course on providing policy advice to policy makers, improving communication skills, and EU funding and project management.

The second day of the conference 29 May 2009 started with two plenary panels. On the first panel

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entitled 'EU Institutions in Flux: Elections, Appointments, and Lisbon', chaired by Graham Avery, Honorary Director General, European Commission, academics from TEPSA's member institutes (Jean Victor Louis, TEPSA, Jaap de Zwaan, Netherlands Institute for International Relations, Clingendael, Mark Rhinard, SIIA) and Neill Nugent, Manchester Metropolitan University, discussed their views on current EU institutional issues with Hervé Jouanjean, Deputy Secretary General, European Commission.

On the following panel on 'Economic Crisis and European Solidarity', chaired by Anna Michalski, SIEPS, Bo Lundgren, Director General of Swedish National Debt Office, discussed the economic crisis with Lars Heikensten, Swedish Member of European Court of Auditors, Iain Begg, London School of Economics and Krisztina Vida, Institute of World Economics, Budapest.

During the lunch break the TEPSA Training participants posted the key points of discussion from their role as rapporteur during the parallel workshops of the first day. In the Presidency Panel entitled 'Managing the EU Presidency: Finding Success and Avoiding Failure' chaired by Rolf Gustavsson, Brussels Correspondent, Svenska Dagbladet Newspaper, the speakers Gilles Briatta, Advisor of EU Affairs to Prime Minister Fillon and Secretary-General of European Affairs, France and Milena Vicenová, Permanent Representative to the EU in Brussels, Czech Republic shared their Presidency experiences and advices with Gustaf Lind, State Secretary, Prime Minister's Office, Sweden and Enrique Viguera Rubio, Ambassador and former Director-General for



EU Coordination at the Foreign Ministry, Spain.

The conference ended with closing remarks from Wolfgang Wessels, TEPSA/University of Cologne, who emphasized the importance of scientists and research to give policy advice, the need for European leadership and the role Presidencies can play in the management of EU power struggles.



Worried about the lack of politicization of the European elections he furthermore stressed the need for a framework in case the Lisbon Treaty fails.

After the Pre-Presidency Conference TEPSA's General Assembly gathered representatives of TEPSA member institutes to discuss internal matters.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

LOOKING FOR A NEW STRATEGIC IDENTITY: IS TURKEY EMERGING AS AN INDEPENDENT REGIONAL POWER?

by Hanna Ojanen, Igor Torbakov ,
Finnish Institute of International Affairs

The EU Programme of Finnish Institute of International Affairs has recently published a briefing paper on Turkey. The publication, entitled 'Looking for a new strategic identity: Is Turkey emerging as an independent regional power?' can be accessed at:

<http://www.upi-fii.fi/en/publication/74/>



FLAGS AND HYMNS ARE NOT FOR FINNS: AN EVALUATION OF THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS IN FINLAND BEFORE THE FACT

by Aaretti Siitonen,
Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Finnish Institute of International Affairs published a briefing paper 'Flags and hymns are not for the

Finns: An evaluation of the European elections in Finland before the fact', assessing Finnish perceptions of the European parliament and the ongoing elections campaign. The paper can be accessed at: <http://www.upi-fii.fi/en/publication/76/>

FLAGS AND HYMNS ARE NOT FOR FINNS 32
AN EVALUATION OF THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS IN FINLAND BEFORE THE FACT



A Finnish language version of the paper was published simultaneously. It can be accessed at: <http://www.upi-fii.fi/fi/publication/76/>

NEW PUBLICATIONS

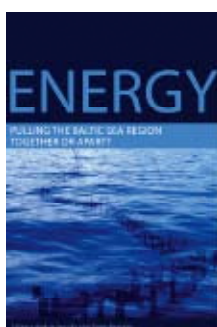
ENERGY: PULLING THE BALTIC SEA REGION TOGETHER OR APART

by Adris Sprüds and Toms Rostoks

In recent years, the Baltic Sea region has gained importance as an energy bridge between the EU and Russia. At the same time, important changes have taken place in the sphere of energy in the EU and the individual countries of the region. This new contribution to the growing field of energy research offers analyses by specialists from Germany, Russia, Poland, Norway, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland and Sweden. Together they explore and assess the impact of national energy strategies on regional cooperation not only in the realm of energy but also beyond. Each author assesses his country's energy policies and offers valuable insights in the wider regional implications of that country's energy choices.

Starting with a discussion of EU energy policy, this volume continues with case studies of nine countries. Each case-study describes the 'energy mix' of a particular country, considers the decision-makers and the principal actors influencing the decision-making process, outlines the national energy strategy, and concludes by relating the national energy policy to the regional political and economic environment. The final chapter focuses on energy as a factor of regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea region.

This book is targeted at those interested in the Baltic Sea region and the impact of energy on interstate relations in the region.

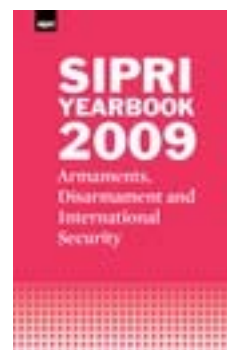


THE SIPRI YEARBOOK 2009

*The Stockholm International Peace Research
Institute*

The SIPRI Yearbook 2009 was published on 8 June 2009. The SIPRI Yearbook serves as a single authoritative and independent source to which politicians, diplomats and journalists can turn for an account of what has happened during the past year in armaments and arms control, armed conflicts and conflict resolution, security arrangements and disarmament.

For more information about the yearbook, ordering forms and free downloads of the Yearbook summary booklet please see SIPRI's website: (<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook>)



WHAT HAS EU-CONSENT MEANT TO YOU?

We asked four partners of the EU-CONSENT network 'what EU -CONSENT has meant for them' during the past four years. Below you will find their answers!



Deniz Ilgaz, Bogazici University, Istanbul replied;

-'Taking part in EU-CONSENT Project has been a great experience for me personally, as well as opening possibilities for my Bogazici University which has

served twice as the venue for two successful EU-CONSENT Conferences, in 2006 and in 2009.

The intellectual stimulation for me at each event I attended has been equally significant as the deeply affectionate friendships developed and the new places visited in Europe, east and west.

My expectation is that there will be a continuation of the EU-CONSENT with a larger focus, taking the transformation of the nation state in Europe, if necessary from the mid-seventeenth century onward, in order to detect the root causes of the emerging nationalistic movements as well as tendencies for regional formations'.



David Cadier, Centre Francais de Recherche en Sciences Sociales (CEFRES) & Sciences Po, replied:

-'Above all, to me, EU-CONSENT meant great academic opportunities and fruitful networking. It is

not always easy as a PhD student to escape from the (platonian cave) university library; but it's always welcome! By participating to the PhD school and subsequently to conferences and workshops, I had the chance to establish contact with fellow PhD students and researchers from all over the EU, to benefit of advices on my work dispensed by established scholars and even to approach policy-makers, including interviews for my thesis'.

Sabina Kajnc, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences replied:

-'The EU-CONSENT initially meant a six-monthly endeavour to get the EU27-Watch country report done. However, it has quickly grown beyond this. Research done for the reports not only gave the opportunity to get to know the positions of Slovenia (and other member states) on various European issues and consistently follow the debate over them over the years, but it gave a base for further research, eased by already established networks, methodology and database'.



Tomáš Weiss, Department of West European Studies, Institute of International Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague replied;



-'EU-CONSENT has given me the opportunity to peep into the world of European studies at the highest level. An opportunity that I would have never had otherwise, or at least not as early. It allowed me to meet many big names from book covers in person and to find out that they happen to be very nice and helpful persons quite often. And above all, it has given me the opportunity to meet my peers that will, no doubt, accompany me throughout my future academic life'.



NEWS FROM PARTNER INSTITUTES

NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS AND THE EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE

Gothenburg, 26 February 2009

The Centre for European Research at Gothenburg University (CERGU) and the Law Department at Gothenburg University – a CONSENT partner – had the pleasure of hosting a conference on the theme ‘The Principle of Accountability in the EU - The European Parliament, National Parliaments and the European Court of Justice’ in Gothenburg on 26 February.

The conference was dedicated to the fundamental questions raised by the fact that the EU has its origins in treaties of international law. EU’s institutional structure remains largely intact reflecting an international organization. The EU has evolved in practice, as a consequence of case law of the ECJ, to a constitutional legal order embracing both states and individuals. The issue can be phrased as how to ensure that the power exercised at the EU level is properly held to account according to acceptable constitutional standards. The conference dealt with the various strategies for safeguarding the principle of political accountability within the EU on the political side ranging from, on the one hand, of strengthening the roles of national parliaments and, on the other, trying to forge some sort of European parliamentary system with the European Parliament as the repository of democratic legitimacy in the EU. Other issues of accountability were raised in the context of agencies and committees and in the context of the process of treaty framing.

The second part of the conference was dedicated to the promises and problems of legal accountability raised by the case law of the European Court of Justice. Specific attention was given to its recent

judgments in the field of fundamental rights and the possible impact of the court’s policy choices on the competence of the Community legislature. Another issue discussed was whether the ECJ has in fact strengthened the autonomy of the individual or whether it has become a centralizing crypto-Hobbesian institution striving to move the EU towards sovereignty over the Member States. A healthy debate ensued and the organizers were very happy to see such a vital and divergent spectrum of opinions. Unfortunately the conference failed to give definitive answers to the questions raised but agreed that they should continue to be discussed at future conferences and seminars.

The conference gathered a number of distinguished scholars from various European academic institutions among which Professor Sverker Gustavsson (Uppsala University), Professor Eleanor Spaventa (University of Durham) and Professor Michael Dougan (Liverpool University) may be mentioned. We also had the pleasure of welcoming Sonia Piedrafita Tremosa from the European Institute of Public Administration (a CONSENT partner), Dr. Paulina Dejmek from the European Commission, Associate Professor Carl-Fredrik Bergström from the Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies and Hayley Hooper from Oxford University.

EU-CONSENT DELIVERABLES

CONGRATULATIONS TO SUCCESSFUL EU-CONSENT DELIVERABLES 2008 - 2009!

Especially to....

Vito Breda, Cardiff University, for the birth of his twins Nico och Jacopo Breda



Tereza Horejsova, - Charles University for the birth of her daughter Vanda!

and many more.....

Michele Comelli, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) for the birth of his daughter Giulia Comelli

