

[EU Institutions After Enlargement]

GUY MILTON

21 The Effects of Enlargement on the Council

The Council has had to adapt to successive enlargements over the years, but the most recent accessions in 2004 and 2007, because of their size, have together constituted a particular challenge. This article looks at the effects on the Council of enlargement in general, and of the latest round in particular, sets out what steps have been taken to ensure that the Council continues to function effectively, and assesses other measures which might usefully be taken.

ANDREAS MAURER

30 Reforming the Council during Crisis – Modeling Facets of a Multi-actor System

Should and can the European Union enter the 21st century as some kind of an *ad-hoc* coalition of organized particular interests, or as a structured organization for the representation and execution of ‘European Community interests’? The respective debate, which was initiated in an effort to optimize the institutional and procedural design of the ‘EU XXL’ is not to be understood as some kind of exaggerated rumination addressed to Brussels: in view of a dynamic Community, from which the citizens expect to act with state-like instruments in almost all areas of public life, rules must be determined providing a unique identity for the EU and its institutional components within the international system.

FIONA HAYES-RENSHAW, WIM VAN AKEN, HELEN WALLACE

56 When and Why the EU Council of Ministers Votes Explicitly?

This article presents newly collected empirical data sets on explicitly contested voting at ministerial level in the Council of Ministers of the European Union. These data sets cover the period 1994–2004, with greater detail for the years 1998–2004. They provide us with rather steady patterns of explicitly contested voting across the period in terms of: proportions of decisions taken where contested voting was recorded; the different levels of contestation by country; and the issue areas in which explicit voting occurred more often. The data confirm that ministers generally endorse collective decisions by consensus, even in those cases where they could activate qualified majority voting (QMV). To the extent that voting takes place in these latter cases, it occurs implicitly rather than explicitly, operates mostly at the level of officials rather than ministers, and is not recorded systematically in publicly accessible form.

CAROLYN BAN

100 The Impact of Enlargement – Two-speed Change within the European Commission

The dynamics of changes within the Commission, which are induced by enlargement, is different in the case the College of Commissioners than in the case of the services, as the permanent bureaucracy of the Commission is much less open to adaptation. Enlargement has had an impact on both, but in different ways and at different speeds. To what degree the officials from new member states can influence the institution, its policies, management style or corporate culture?

JOHN PETERSON

114 What Does the Commission Stand for Today?

The early days of Barroso Presidency gave ammunition to proponents of the Commission in decline thesis as well as to those who reject it. More generally, while the Commission’s best days often seem to be behind it, it retains considerable capacity to defy expectations. This article tries to explain why. Whether the Commission is in permanent decline, has reached a plateau, or may even face a future that is brighter than its recent past?

ANDREW DUFF

144 The European Parliament Changes

The changes which occurred in the European Parliament after 2004 cannot be reduced only to those directly linked with enlargement - rebalancing of political power or technical adaptation. There are other important reforms, which constitute a response to the new challenges that the Parliament has to face - such as a desire to improve the quality of European legislation and the way in which it is implemented in domestic legal orders.

VIRGINIE MAMADOUH, TAPIO RAUNIO

152 The Committee System: Powers, Appointments and Report Allocation

This article compares the powers of the EP's committees with their counterparts in national legislatures and examines the role of party groups in the committees. Analysing the principles guiding the appointments to committees, the selection of committee chairs, and the distribution of reports within the committees, the article shows that national party delegations inside the transnational groups are often key gatekeepers in the division of spoils within the groups, with group leaders restricted in their ability to direct the actions of their committee members.

[*Interinstitutional Relations*]

JEFFREY STACEY

179 Displacement of the Council Via Informal Dynamics? Comparing the Commission and Parliament

This article focuses on the Commission's informal interactions with the Parliament and Council alike. With less to gain than the Parliament and more to lose, the Commission is involved in numerous tri-lateral informal accords and bi-lateral accords with the Parliament. While the primary inter-organizational battle is fought between the Parliament and Council, there is a considerable amount at stake for the Commission. This article thus aims to ascertain how the Commission has fared in its own game of informal inter-organizational dynamics.

MICHAEL SHACKLETON, TAPIO RAUNIO

210 Co-decision Since Amsterdam: a Laboratory for Institutional Innovation and Change

Co-decision has dramatically increased the level of interaction and interdependence between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers. Under Maastricht the two institutions were able to agree on a set of shared norms and rules to manage the interdependence arising from the conciliation procedure. The expansion and simplification of co-decision under Amsterdam since May 1999 has started to generate significant strains on the further development of those norms and rules. In particular, it has provoked tension between the competing claims of efficiency and democracy in the framing of legislation. The way in which this is resolved will contribute substantially to the future institutional architecture of the EU.

JOANNA POPIELAWSKA

241 European Security and Defence Policy – An Institutional Perspective

This article presents the role of the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament in the formulation of Common Foreign and Security Policy and European Security and Defence Policy. The analysis of the composition, competences, tasks and role in the EU institutional set-up leads the author to investigate the delicate issue of inter-institutional relations within the European Union.

[*EU and Politics*]

JONAS TALLBERG

269 Bargaining Power in the European Council

The following extract from the more extensive report on the European Council aims at providing systematic knowledge about a central, yet under-researched, political body within the European Union, namely the European Council. The following text addresses the central issue of bargaining power within the European Council. It is argued that structural power is central but can be mediated by factors such as the threat of the veto as well as by personal attributes of political leaders. The author also analyses how leaders seek coalitions in order to gain bargaining power and how bargaining patterns have changed after the enlargement.

TOMASZ GRZEGORZ GROSSE

286 Democratic or Technocratic Legitimation of the European Union?

The problem of the democracy deficit in the European Union, which has its roots in the philosophy of integration as such, is presented by the author of this article as a key condition for the success of the whole European construction. The process of gaining social acceptance is analysed in the context of four different aspects of legitimisation - most importantly its democratic and technocratic dimensions.

[*The History of Integration*]

WALTER HALLSTEIN

321 The Community Institutions

Since the Community fulfils numerous functions of a state following questions tend to spring to mind : do the Communities have a government, a true parliament, administration and courts? What are the respective roles of those peculiar bodies and relations among them? The answer to those questions seen from the perspective of the seventies can help us understand the character of institutional evolution within the EC/EU institutional triangle, which has a direct bearing at what happens around us at the beginning of the XXI century.

[*Essay on Europe*]

JACEK ROSTOWSKI

338 Identity and Liberalism in New Europe

What does it mean to be English and how should relations between the English and non-English inhabitants of the British Isles develop. The author of the article juxtaposes that very fundamental question with the efforts aimed at defining the identity and loyalty of immigrants living in Great Britain for years and those which have arrived recently.