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central and eastern europe in the eu



Provisional Programme

3rd Annual Research Symposium
Friday 21st May – Saturday 22nd May 2010

The National School of Political Studies & Public Administration
Bucharest, Romania

Friday 21st May 2010

15.00 – 16.00	Registration
16.00 – 16.30	Welcome Addresses <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Dr Éamonn Butler (Assessing Accession)</i>• <i>Dr Claudiu Crăciun (Acting Director of CES-SNSPA)</i>• <i>Dr. Iordan Bărbulescu (Dean of the International Relations and European Studies Department SNSPA)</i>• <i>Dr Clare McManus (Co-Director CRCEES)</i>
16.30 – 17.45	Panel Session <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Panel 1 – Policy Issues</i>
17.45 – 18.00	Break
18.00 – 19.30	Keynote Address by Professor Philippe C Schmitter (title to be confirmed)
19.30	Reception

Saturday 22nd May 2010

9.30 – 11.00	Parallel Panel Session <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Panel 2 – European Integration and the Near Abroad</i>• <i>Panel 3 – Integration, Citizenship and Euroscepticism post-Lisbon</i>
11.00 – 11.15	Break
11.15 – 12.45	Parallel Panel Session <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Panel 4 – European Foreign Policy</i>• <i>Panel 5 – Institutional Developments in the EU 1</i>
12.45 – 14.15	Lunch
14.15 – 16.00	Parallel Panel Session <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Panel 6 – European Cohesion and Financial Policy</i>• <i>Panel 7 – Institutional Developments in the EU 2</i>
16.00 – 16.15	Break
16.15 – 17.45	Summary Session of Parallel Panels and Closing Remarks on Assessing Accession Agenda
18.00	Annual Conference Dinner

Sunday 23rd May 2010

Afternoon	Sightseeing Trip Around Bucharest
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Panel Sessions

Panel 1	Policy Issues
Author	Marzena Kloka
Institution	Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences
Paper Title	Domestic institutions and supranational policy preferences. Polish and Slovenian positions in the negotiations of the Services Directive.
Abstract	<p>There is a well established claim in European studies that national political-economy setups explain why countries advocate or hinder specific policies in Brussels. To what extent does it hold for the new member states? This paper advances an argument that institutional organization, as derived from the Varieties of Capitalism school of thought, mediates the peculiar relationship between ideas and interests in the process of preference formation on EC legislative proposals. Therefore, the variation of models of capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe is expected to matter for the capacity of the new member states to reach a common policy position and, consequently, pursue block tactics in Brussels. The empirical material draws on one of the most politicized legislative processes in the post-enlargement EU - the negotiation of the Services Directive. Polish and Slovenian positions, which not only strongly diverged but also evolved during the negotiations, are analysed in a comparative way, using official documents, media reports and expert assessment. Slovenian reservation towards the radical Bolkestein proposal is found fully in line with the country's market regulations, state-labour relations and welfare state features. Polish manifest liberalism, on the other hand, reflects the domestic contestation of the abovementioned institutions. Moreover, it seems to have been fuelled by the governing party's overall perception of European integration. The paper critically examines the alleged strategic engagement of newcomers in deregulatory policy-making and proposes an alternative view which focuses on the interplay between institutions, interests and ideas.</p>
Author	Manuela Riedel
Institution	University of Cologne
Paper Title	Minority Protection in the European Union – A Policy Field Dominated by CEE Members?
Abstract	<p>The paper seeks to explore current developments in the field of minority protection in the European Union. The central question is if, how and why member states from Central and Eastern Europe have an interest in advancing the topic at the European level. Taking into account that due to the Copenhagen Criteria most of the new member states had to prove substantial commitment to minority protection during their EU accession processes two scenarios could be expected: On the one hand, it could be likely that most new EU members which advanced their minority legislation as a precondition of EU membership without 'owning the norm' do not want to account for a future commitment of the EU to minority protection. Just as older member states like France and Greece, they might refer to Council of Europe conventions, thus neglecting that there is a need for EU action. On the other hand, other countries like Hungary could actively attempt to promote the topic at the European level for reasons of self-interest in the context of bilateral conflicts with neighbouring countries. In this regard, the paper asks if new member states try to use the European arena for their policy aims, referring to European norms to which they were obliged to comply with during their</p>

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	accession processes. In this way, countries from Central and Eastern Europe could pretend to be normative actors while in reality pursuing rational interests. From the perspective of normative and rationalist assumptions, the paper finally seeks to present an outlook about possible future scenarios of EU minority protection. It is asked if the fact that single actors advance the policy field of minority protection for different reasons could in the end lead to a deadlock at EU level.
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Panel 2 European Integration and the Near Abroad	
Author	Norbert Marek
Institution	RWTH Institut für Politische Wissenschaft
Paper Title	Integration of Common Foreign and Security Policy: the view from the Visegrád Countries (V4)
Abstract	The relations between Russia and the states of the Visegrád-Group (Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic) can be delineated into three important dimensions: first in framework of the relationship between the European Union and Russia; b) second in context of the relationship concerning NATO and Russia and third on the level of bilateral relationships between Russia and each country of the Visegrád Group. In spite of the membership of the V4 in both European (EU) and transatlantic structure (NATO), it seems however that the relations between Moscow and the central European countries are very complex and difficult. The questions of historical implications matter as well as the essential differences concerning the crucial issue in security policy (Poland and the Czech Republic vs. Russia), the relationship with the USA, the European Neighbourhood Policy and its eastern dimension (Hungary, Poland and interests in Ukraine and Moldavian Republic vs. Russia) and different views on energy policy in the context of dependency on Russian energy raw materials (Poland and Hungary). Additionally, the relationship between Russia and Central European countries is made only more complicated by Russian rhetorical and geo-economic instruments that express its claim to a right of codetermination of the foreign policy of the Visegrád countries. Those elements affect the foreign and security policy of the Visegrád group and constitute a determining factor in their positions to various issues of the CFSP/ESDP. This raises the question as to what extent the policy of the Visegrád countries in relation to Moscow can be Europeanized and how far is their policy determined by geo-political considerations and historical implications regarding Russia particularly. Therefore the paper will examine how foreign and security policy of the Visegrád countries is determined by Europeanization and on the other hand the national interests of the V4 in the existing context of the CDSP/ESDP.
Author	Agnes Nicolescu
Institution	European Institute of Romania
Paper Title	Is Romania a credible advocate in supporting the cause of the Republic of Moldova as a European state? Why the need to act as part of the CEE block?
Abstract	The challenge faced by CEE states in general and by Romania in particular in trying to conceive policies with an impact on the European Neighbourhood Policy and more specifically on its Eastern Partnership dimension, is rendered even more difficult by the fact that the EU does not yet have a coherent long-term strategy on enlargement towards the East. The recent unification of the Enlargement portfolio with that of the Neighbourhood Policy represents a positive signal for Romania, which struggles to bring the Republic of Moldova closer to the EU. For Romania, it

ASSESSING ACCESSION

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Provisional Programme

3rd Annual Research Symposium
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	has become an imperative question to clarify the status of its Eastern border. However, this is not enough to overcome all the structural difficulties, given the fact that the decisive factors are highly political in the case of Moldova. The Eastern Partnership does not guarantee accession to targeted countries. What Romania needs to do is to maximize the consequences derived from the unification of the Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy portfolios and pursue a 'potential candidate country' status for Moldova. This status is currently undermined by the identical categorisation applied to Europe's Eastern and Mediterranean neighbours, in light of the latest changes in EU's institutional architecture. Romania likes to think it will have a decisive role in Moldova's accession to the EU, but Romanian lobby actions in this direction are clearly disproportionate when compared to those of Russia. The only strategy which could benefit both Romania and the Moldova is pursuing a deepened Eastern Partnership, with perspectives of accession, as part of a larger CEE block. What Romania should do is to promote its objectives related to the Eastern Partnership and the relationship with Moldova within a stronger CEE block, alongside Poland, the initiator of the Eastern Partnership, rather than individually, as it has done so far.
Author	Ivan Curzolo
Institution	SEE Transnational Cooperation Programme 2007-2013, Joint Technical Secretariat
Paper Title	CEE and the Territorial Cooperation Objective
Abstract	The South East Europe programme is a unique instrument which, in the framework of the Regional Policy's Territorial Cooperation Objective, aims to improve integration and competitiveness in the SEE area. The programme is supporting projects developed within four Priority Axes: Innovation, Environment, Accessibility, and Sustainable Growth Areas - in line with the Lisbon and Gothenburg priorities, and is also contributing to the integration process of the non-EU member states (candidates, potential candidates or neighbours). It is also the only instrument that allows co-operation at this scale for Bulgaria and Romania. Although the Programming period 2007 - 2013 is undergoing full implementation, debate on the future of cohesion policy has been already started. How much CEE countries are involved in the current implementation and what is their position in the development of the future strategies? How much the national position of the new EU members is shaping or motivating the negotiation process? The article seeks to provide an overview of the current state of the SEE Programme, highlighting the flagship projects approved and trying to explain the potential impacts that these projects can have in the future of territorial cooperation in the CEE area

Panel 3	Integration, Citizenship and Euroscepticism post-Lisbon
Author	Gavin Rae and Stanislav Holubec
Institution	Kozminski University, Warsaw; University of West Bohemia, Pilsen
Paper Title	The Limitations of Euroscepticism in Post-Lisbon Central-Eastern Europe: the example of the Czech Republic and Poland
Abstract	A curious feature of EU enlargement has been that while the populations of CEE have tended to be highly supportive of the EU, eurosceptic political parties have often gained ground. This was observable in the Czech Republic and Poland, where governments and presidents have at times promoted a hostile attitude towards further European integration including stalling the signing of the Lisbon Treaty. Yet, despite the prominence of eurosceptic political parties and

ASSESSING ACCESSION

central and eastern europe in the eu



Provisional Programme

3rd Annual Research Symposium
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The National School of Political Studies & Public Administration
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	<p>individuals in CEE its further influence is likely to be limited. The economic crisis affected the CEE countries to a greater extent than those in Western Europe. A cause of this relative decline has been the fall in FDI and outflow of capital from the region. This has meant that the CEE countries have become more dependent upon the inflow of funds and subsidies and the economic protections that the EU provides. The ability, for example, of Poland to thus far avoid an economic recession has been largely due to its ability to attract large quantities of EU funds over the past two years. It is therefore likely that in the post-Lisbon era euroscepticism will be limited in these countries and that there will remain large social support for the EU within CEE. This paper looks at political developments within the Czech Republic and Poland and at how eurosceptic political forces are adapting to the post-Lisbon era. Despite the commonalities between the Czech and Polish eurosceptics there are also some important differences. For example, the Czech President Václav Klaus criticises the EU for interfering with the workings of the free-market, believing instead that it should be restricted to an economic union free from political interference. In contrast in Poland euroscepticism has tended to focus on cultural issues, believing that the EU is imposing a form of secularism in the country.</p>
Author	Martiño Rubal Maseda
Institution	University of Siena, Italy
Paper Title	Brussels better than Bucharest? Mapping where Central and Eastern Europeans want their policies.
Abstract	<p>Where do citizens from Central and Eastern European countries want their policies to be done? Very little attention has been devoted to this central issue. Previous studies did not include CEE countries but have shown cross-policy and cross-national variations in support for Europeanization. Some policies consistently receive a high support to be done at supranational level, while others low. Moreover, citizens from some countries prefer the European level in some policies, while for the same policies citizens from other countries prefer the national level. Where citizens want policies to be done is a key issue for the legitimacy of the European Union. If citizens do not support policies at the supranational level, the legitimacy of the EU is at stake. The main objective of the present proposal is to fill the existing gap in the literature and, using survey data, map citizens' beliefs about where policies should be done. I will firstly compare within the CEE countries. Which policies want CEE citizens to be done in Europe? Is there internal consistency or do preferences vary among CEE countries? Secondly I will compare CEE with other countries. Are preferences of citizens from CEE countries different from the preferences of other citizens in the EU? Are there patterns among groups of countries? Answering these questions is crucial to increase our knowledge about the legitimacy of the EU. Indeed, if we believe that public opinion play a role in shaping politics, it is of clear importance to deeply know how CEE countries are positioned in the new Politics of Integration.</p>
Author	Cigdem Bilezikci and Didem Saygin
Institution	Canakkale Onsekiz Mart University
Paper Title	Treaty of Lisbon: An Institutional Re-balance Between Small and Big States in the EU
Abstract	<p>The aim of this paper is to analyze the debate between small (less populated) CEE states and big (more populated) states during the institutional reform negotiations of the Treaty of Lisbon of the EU. It will be argued that although institutional balance between small and big states was</p>

ASSESSING ACCESSION

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Provisional Programme

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	<p>invented in the first years of the EU by a "complementary" triadic mechanism of i) system of weighted votes in the European Council's major decision making institution: council of Ministers, ii) balanced representation in the European Commission, iii) rotation for the presidency of the European Council, 2004/2007 enlargements of the EU has decreased the relative influence of the big states. Thus, innovations in the institutional structure, particularly decision-making structures, should be regarded as re-balancing act of the bigger member states aiming to form the balance with the new-generally-small EU members. In the first part of the paper, the impact of union's enlargements on the balance inside the European institutions will be assessed. In the next part, main tensions between small/big states and their main diverging points will be analyzed. Finally, with particular focus on the role of the CEE member states in the new institutional framework, new mechanisms brought by the Treaty of Lisbon will be discussed as a re-balancing act of the bigger states.</p>
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Panel 4 European Foreign Policy	
Author	Jakub Parusinski and Dominik Lenikowski
Institution	International Center for Policy Studies; University of Gdnask
Paper Title	Civil Society in Poland and the Eastern Partnership: Not Yet Up to the Challenge
Abstract	<p>Since the fall of communism and the ensuing atomization of opposition movements, civil society in the CEE countries is said, depending on interpretation, to have either collapsed or to have began its true 'civil' existence. Nevertheless, there is a broad consensus to the fact that it is still in a fledgling state. This deprives those countries of an important source for bringing new ideas into the political debate, enhancing democratic governance, and building social consensus. This is especially valid within the EU-context, in which a relatively important emphasis is placed on the role of civil society, notably in the form of civil society forums. Our paper examines the role played by civil society in Poland in the creation of the Eastern Partnership, arguably Poland's biggest achievement within EU-wide policy and one which received broad, albeit nominal, public support. The paper first presents an overview of the state of civil society in Poland, identifying its major actors. It then analyses the actions and discourse of civil society representatives relevant to the creation of the Eastern Partnership, with particular focus on relevant NGOs, think-tanks and policy institutions, former-dissident based organizations, and the media (which, despite not being a civil society-entity in the classical sense, plays an idiosyncratic role in directing political debate in Poland, and thus constitutes an alternative prism fulfilling some civil society functions). Finding that civil society only exerted a limit impact on the instigation of the Eastern Partnership, the paper then examines the main limitations and barriers which civil society encounters in Poland. Moreover, we find that these barriers lead not only to a form of democratic deficit, but also constrain political debate to the national arena, a major obstacle for CEE countries in assuming their role within the EU.</p>
Author	Magdalena Góra
Institution	Institute for European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków (CRCEES)
Paper Title	What Future for European Foreign Policy? The Polish Vision
Abstract	<p>The major aim of the proposed paper is to present the Polish vision of the European foreign policy (EFP) after 2004. The analysis contains two major elements, crucial from the point of view of the future developments of the EFP model. The first analyses the vision of the future</p>

ASSESSING ACCESSION

central and eastern europe in the eu



Provisional Programme

3rd Annual Research Symposium
Friday 21st May – Saturday 22nd May 2010

The National School of Political Studies & Public Administration
Bucharest, Romania

	shape of the Common Defence and Security Policy including the recent Polish plans to improve the functioning of the EU military structures. The second analyses the support for the idea of peace building with a special emphasis on development aid. The new member states were obliged to commit to the high EU standards of the aid transferred to the developing countries. The selection of the two elements is based on the assumption that the Eastern Enlargement brought the new member states that traditionally perceived International Relations in very realistic terms, focusing mostly on the security issues, into the EU. Membership in the EU and NATO enabled these countries to start changing this perception based on long-term security guarantees. It is important to analyse these elements of the EFP vision which rely on the notion of broader (European or universal) solidarity and, as such, change the perspective to step beyond the narrow perception of foreign policy as a tool to realize the national interest. The presented paper will also contribute to the discussion on the process of change in the logic of European integration after the Enlargement, with a special emphasis on the possible future models of integration beyond the nation-state, such as the federal model or the regional-European version of cosmopolitan order.
Author	Joanna Kaminska
Institution	Royal Holloway, University of London
Paper Title	Big and Small States' Negotiation Strategies: Poland's Power Assessment
Abstract	This paper aims at assessing the Polish negotiation strategies and its drivers in the European Institutions since 2004 enlargement on the particular example of the European Neighbourhood Policy. The study looks at the methods such as use of coalitions, pre-negotiations before the summit with partners states, use of regional partners, use of the Commission and the network in the European institutions, as well as the 'de-nationalization' of national projects in order to project national influence onto the EU agenda. It argues that Poland is a rational player balancing both 'small' and 'big' states strategies, as due to the shortage of the domestic constrains is still not able to take the key leader position it aspires.

Panel 5	Institutional Development in the EU 1
Author	Tatjana Evas
Institution	University of Bremen
Paper Title	Lisbon Treaty at the Fingertips of the Czech, Latvian and German Constitutional Courts: judgement of the Latvian Constitutional Court in the comparative perspective
Abstract	The polarizing controversies related to the constitutional reforms of the EU are increasingly debated and settled in the highest national courtrooms. The national courts are used by the political elites (CZ), opposition or minority parties (Germany) or citizens (Latvia) as public forums to advance and debate politically contentious issues. Thus, increasingly constitutional courts are institutionally connected to political decision making that has a potential to influence the dynamics of EU integration. This paper provides a legal-institutional analysis of the judgments on the Lisbon Treaty in new member states in comparative context. Interaction of the judicial branch with other political actors and the interpretation techniques utilized by the courts as well as positioning of the national courts vis-à-vis ECJ and higher courts in other MS addressed in the Lisbon judgments are both indicators for the degree of deeper domestic legal institutional reforms and an important message(s) on the EU integration from national courts to

ASSESSING ACCESSION

central and eastern europe in the eu



Provisional Programme

3rd Annual Research Symposium
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The National School of Political Studies & Public Administration
Bucharest, Romania

	a wider European community in the post-enlargement context. Analysis of this paper indicates that sceptical predictions on the ability of the institutional transformation of the legal institutions as well as ability of new MS to effectively participate in the European judicial dialog are overestimated. In fact to the contrary; the role that national higher courts succeeded to safeguard in the larger national legal-political context as well as the quality of the arguments and legal reasoning of the judgments indicate that national courts of new MS not only accept but also effectively take part and contribute to the development of what Miquel Maduro coins as the process of Europe's constitutional pluralism or 'contrapunctual law'.
Author	Viera Knutelská
Institution	Charles University, Czech Republic (CRCEES)
Paper Title	Executive Coordination of European Affairs in the New Member States
Abstract	<p>One of the greatest challenges for the EU Member States from the institutional and organisational point of view is to adapt their internal decision-making mechanisms to allow them to advocate their positions in the European institutions efficiently. This concerns especially the Council of the European Union and its preparatory bodies. These internal procedures also need to be modified according to changes in the decision-making of the EU and the Council in particular, many of which have occurred as a result of recent enlargements and institutional reforms (such as changes in voting behaviour, proportions of workload on different levels of the Council, levels on which decisions are made etc). Such changes may be also expected as a result of the amendments introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. The first part of the paper investigates the mechanisms the executives create to that end. After presenting their general typology among the EU Member States, it focuses on the cases of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. To analyse these mechanisms, the paper poses a few specific questions: How is the ministry / department responsible for specific policy or legislative proposal chosen in case of conflicting competences? How is the work coordinated within each ministry? How is the work coordinated among ministries? How is the continuity of the Member State's position during different stages of the Council's decision-making process ensured? Are non-governmental actors involved in these internal processes, and if so, in what way?</p> <p>The second part of the paper focuses on the analysis of the development of the national decision-making mechanisms in the countries in question and the influence of institutional changes on this development. It assesses the impact of these mechanisms on the Member State's ability to perform efficiently in the Council and attempts to explain existing variations among the Member States.</p>
Author	Maria Decheva
Institution	Humboldt University Berlin
Paper Title	Bulgaria in the post-Lisbon EU
Abstract	This paper is meant to belong to the institutional stream papers. It will mainly deal with Bulgaria's governmental and non-governmental representation within the post-Lisbon EU. Firstly, it will explain why the constitutional and later just the reform process within the EU have not faced any constitutional obstacles in Bulgaria, as different to Ireland, Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic. Then it will concentrate on the legal and the practical role of Bulgaria in the decision-making process within the EU. The mechanism of the decision-making on EU issues in

ASSESSING ACCESSION

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Provisional Programme

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	<p>Bulgaria will be also present. A special question here is the parliamentary influence, both in relationship with the other Bulgarian institutions and directly on the EU level.</p> <p>After that the present and potential role of non-governmental actors (“representative associations”) in the post-Lisbon EU will be examined. Art. 11 Treaty on European Union (Lisbon) establishes the involvement of the representative associations in the decision-making process in the EU as a democratic principle. Are Bulgarian representative associations able to play an active role on the EU stage?</p> <p>In the outlook, the influence of governmental and non-governmental influence will be compared as well as the possibility for “coalitions” with other CEE states.</p>
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Panel 6 European Cohesion and Financial Policy	
Author	Teofil Oliver Gherca
Institution	Ministry of Regional Development and Housing, Romania
Paper Title	The Reform of EU Cohesion Policy should represent an opportunity for the new member states
Abstract	The European Cohesion Policy aims to reduce the development gaps between regions within EU. Second largest EU policy, after the Common Agricultural Policy, the EU Cohesion Policy is very complex because of the variety of the projects and stakeholders involved. From almost 5 years the new Member States are the main beneficiaries of the Cohesion Policy. The debates regarding the reform of the EU Cohesion Policy concentrates on the objectives of the policy, the concentration of the priorities and the governance issue. One of the top issues is the new concept of the territorial cohesion, as the objective of territorial cohesion is being mentioned in the Treaty of Lisbon and after the EU Commission Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion Turning territorial diversity into strength (October 2008). The concept of territorial cohesion brings into the future EU cohesion policy more about the territorial impact of the projects and policies, integrated approach and strategic planning. The question is if the EU Cohesion Policy will remain an expression of solidarity between the Member States or will be more oriented to the valorization of the territorial potential of each region, the efficiency of the policy and economical competitiveness. Often in the new Member States the objectives regarding the EU policies are related to the amount of EU money spent in the country and not the efficiency of the intervention. From a theoretical point of view the territorial cohesion can contribute to a successfully reform of the EU cohesion policy but it's requires high administrative capacity, better sectorial cooperation and viable territorial governance. The new Member States must support the reform of the EU cohesion policy but should use these opportunity to adapt and reform the national and local institutions in order to better plan and implement all the public policies.
Author	Marcin Dabrowski and Alexander Yanakiev
Institution	University of the West of Scotland (1); Sheffield University (2) (CRCEES)
Paper Title	The EU Cohesion Policy and the Changing Patterns of Governance in Poland and Bulgaria: Between Change and Continuity
Abstract	The paper analyses the changes in regional development policy settings in Poland and Bulgaria linked with the implementation of the European Union's Structural Funds. Drawing on the literature on Europeanization, the study compares the modes of regionalization adopted in these two countries in response to the adaptation pressures from Brussels in the context of

ASSESSING ACCESSION

central and eastern europe in the eu



Provisional Programme

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Bucharest, Romania

	<p>preparations for accession to the EU. It investigates the European influence on the domestic patterns of governance emphasizing the role of domestic factors mediating change, namely the pre-existing institutional traditions and features characterizing the politico-administrative systems, such as centralization or politicization of decision-making. Additionally, drawing on the research on the implementation of the Structural Funds in Poland during the 2004-2006 programming period, the study sheds new light on the question of post-accession compliance with the norms governing the Structural Funds implementation in the absence of conditionality mechanisms, which were driving the institutional and policy adjustments in Central European countries prior to their accession to the EU. What are the mechanisms of the process of Europeanization after the accession? Have the domestic regional development policy actors internalized the European norms imposed as part of the Structural Funds framework or have they formally complied with these rules while retaining their pre-existing practices? By answering these questions the paper can contribute to a wider debate on the depth and internalization of institutional changes linked with Europeanization in the New Member States. The study shows that the adjustments to the EU cohesion policy involved major changes in both countries, however the introduction of novel institutions and practices, such as the vertical and horizontal partnership in policy formulation and delivery, have not fundamentally undermined the pre-existing mode of governance and the balance of power between its key actors.</p>
Author	Christian Schweiger
Institution	Durham University
Paper Title	The performance of the CEE Member States in the Single Market
Abstract	<p>When the ten new member states in Central and Eastern Europe joined the European Union in 2004 and 2008 the widespread consensus amongst economists and academic scholars was that these countries would likely to be burdensome for the EU budget and detrimental to the performance of the Single Market as a whole. It was expected that the CEE members would require extensive financial support from the EU to support the transfer of their economies and welfare states towards liberal market economies. The proposed paper examines the economic performance of the CEE-10 since their accession to the EU, including the domestic efforts to reform their labour markets and welfare states. The paper will concentrate particularly on the effects of the recent global economic crisis on the domestic socio-economic transition in the CEE-10 countries. The global 2008/09 global economic downturn has made it harder for the CEE countries to successfully tackle the multiple challenges of domestic economic reform, welfare state transition and integration into the Single Market acquis, especially with regard to the aspiration to meet the stability and growth criteria of the eurozone. At the same time, the crisis has initiated a new debate on the policy framework of the Single Market. The paper will hence examine the CEE countries' prospects of influencing the debate on the revision of Single Market policies and the general orientation of the SEM in the global economy. A particular emphasis will be put on the economies of Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania.</p>
Author	Popa Ancuta
Institution	West University of Timisoara
Paper Title	Europe in Crisis: Does the Crisis Create Opportunities for Central and Eastern European Countries

ASSESSING ACCESSION

central and eastern europe in the eu



Provisional Programme

3rd Annual Research Symposium
Friday 21st May – Saturday 22nd May 2010

The National School of Political Studies & Public Administration
Bucharest, Romania

Abstract	<p>In May 2004 ten Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC) joined the European Union. Bulgaria and Romania followed by 2007. The paper aims to present a forecast on the way to adopting euro in Central and Eastern European countries. The position of European Union' institutions are not to assist at an euroisation in accession countries to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). These must cover the traditional steps, namely joining the European Union, then ERM II and finally, after meeting the Maastricht convergence criteria, acceding to the euro area. However, several new member states have expressed their strong intention to join the Economic and Monetary Union as soon as possible due to the context of the present financial crisis.</p> <p>In this respect, I exhibit the classification of the present exchange rate regimes, namely fixed, intermediate and flexible exchange rate regimes. I also analyzed the Central and Eastern European countries in the view of the criteria of optimum currency area theory. The conclusion reached is that Central and Eastern European countries meet only some of the optimum currency area criteria; asymmetric shocks are still present in this case. There are also presented the factors that influenced the adoption of exchange rate during the transition period in Central and Eastern European countries, the current state and the evolution of the exchange rate. Central and Eastern European countries aim to participate in Exchange Rate Mechanism II and join the European Monetary Union. In consequence, we should analyze the status of adopting euro, especially in the context of the current financial crisis.</p>
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Panel 7	Institutional Development in the EU 2
Author	Tomoyuki Hashimoto
Institution	University of New York in Tirana
Paper Title	EU-Russia Relations and the Presidency of the Council of the European Union: Is it Meaningful to Compare Old and New Member State Presidencies?
Abstract	<p>European Union (hereafter "the Presidency")? On one hand, the past two terms of the Trio Presidencies enable us to analyze EU foreign policy in a comparative perspective. This comparison, particularly between Old and New Member State Presidencies, may lead us to define a "successful presidency." On the other hand, such analysis may no longer be necessary given the reduced role of the Presidency in the post-Lisbon EU. Nonetheless, in the context of EU-Russia relations, the Presidency – otherwise a national government – has demonstrated a unique capacity to arbitrate the so-called "Shared Neighbourhood" affairs. While New Member States are understandably sensitive to alleged aggression by Russia, both the German and French Presidency rather appeased Russia contrary to Brussels' intention to play a normative role in the region. Furthermore, unlike prior expectations, both the Slovenian and Czech Presidency aimed to conduct continuous and constructive dialogs with Russia even though no clear achievement was observed.</p> <p>This paper, therefore, evaluates the role of the past six Presidencies (i.e. Germany, Portugal, Slovenia, France, the Czech Republic and Sweden) in EU-Russia relations. It has no intention, however, to ignore or undermine the enormous role played by the European Commission. On the contrary, this study aims to compliment the large scholarship on Brussels-Moscow relations by adding bilateral dimensions between Moscow and European national capitals. Due to the</p>

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	trend that Russia prefers bilateral solution with influential national governments in the EU, this paper concludes that the Presidency continues to play a positive role in post-Lisbon EU foreign policy vis-a-vis Russia. This paper further suggests to evaluate the upcoming Hungarian and Polish Presidencies in EU-Russia relations by comparing them to other Presidencies.
Author	Radko Hokovsky
Institution	Charles University, Czech Republic (CRCEES)
Paper Title	Integration of Political parties from Central Europe into the 6 th European Parliaments' Political Groups
Abstract	This paper looks at the integration of political parties and individual MEPs from Central Europe (namely from Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia) into the structures of the Political Groups in the 6th European Parliament. The central question of the paper is how did the Central Europeans managed to integrate in the leadership structures of the EP Political Groups. More specifically the paper answers to what extend MEPs from CE political parties were influential in the inner decision-making of the Political Groups relative to their arithmetic representation in the Group. In the first half of the term (2004 – 2007) it is expected that MEPs from Central Europe were rather undergoing period of socialization in the EP, but in the second half of the term (2007 – 2009) their performance in the parliamentary business and in seeking a real influence on the decision-making is expected to be higher. The empirical data are gathered both from documents of the European Parliament and the individual Groups, and from qualitative interviews with key informants including political advisors of MEPs and staff of the EP Political Groups and national parties.
Author	Clare McManus
Institution	University of Glasgow (CRCEES)
Paper Title	Poland and Agenda Setting in the European Parliament
Abstract	This paper will assess the impact of the Polish government, and the role of Polish MEPs in particular, in agenda-setting within the European Parliament since 2004. The role of the Polish speaker of the European Parliament is also examined within this context. Questions concerning Poland's success and lack of success, in placing certain policies high on the legislative agenda within the European Parliament will be addressed. In addition the alliance-building strategies and lobbying tactics used by Polish MEPs will also be analysed in this course of this paper.