

# Studies on the European Union

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Edited by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels

## About the series

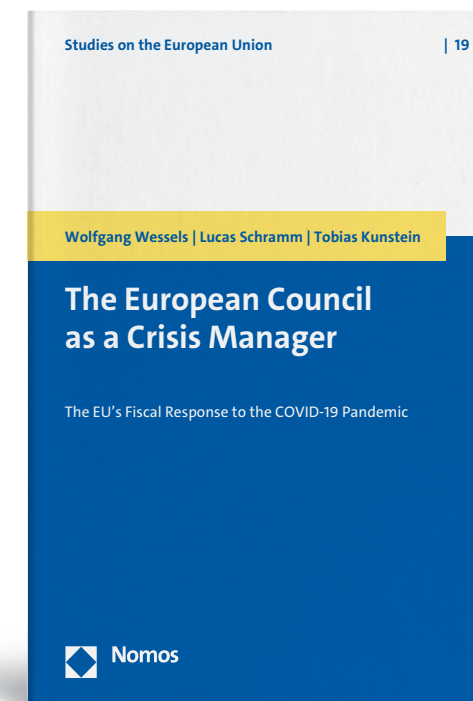
This series aims to cover a broad range of subjects related to European integration. With a view to achieving this aim, the series combines academic and theoretical approaches with empirical analyses of significant aspects of European integration. The studies in the series examine relevant developments and key issues related to this topic. With this focus, these works do not only contribute to the further development of academic and political avenues of discussion, but also to the areas on which research and politics can focus. This is a fascinating, multifaceted and varied task in this current phase of EU development, which is characterised by the EU's efforts to enact reform and also by its failure to do so. Accordingly, this series provides a forum for presenting and discussing the latest research findings on European integration.

## Editor



**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels** is professor emeritus at the University of Cologne, holder of an ad personam Jean Monnet Chair for Political Science and Director of the Centre for Turkey and European Union Studies (CETEUS) at the University of Cologne. In addition, he works as a visiting professor at the College of Europe, the

European Online Academy, the Diplomatic Academy Vienna and the Turkish-German University. Prof. Dr. Wessels is, among other things, co-editor of the "Jahrbuch der Europäischen Union" (40<sup>th</sup> edition) and "Europe from A-Z. Pocketbook of European Integration". His current research focuses on the activities of the European Council and relations between the EU and Turkey.



## The European Council as a Crisis Manager

The EU's Fiscal Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic

By Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels, Lucas Schramm and Dr. Tobias Kunstein

2022, 160 pp., pb., € 38.00

ISBN 978-3-8487-8437-0

E-Book 978-3-7489-2812-6

(Studies on the European Union, vol. 19)

In spring and summer 2020, confronted with a public health, social and political emergency at the same time, the European Union (EU) faced its deepest economic crisis since the end of the Second World War. This book argues that the European Council has been the key institution in the EU's response to the Covid pandemic. Notably, it established the Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF) as an innovative, taboo-breaking financial instrument at the core of the "Next Generation EU" recovery package. We analyse the European Council's major role and impact as a crisis manager in the EU's political architecture, especially with respect to interinstitutional balancing and as a transformative force for the EU system. The process of achieving a consensus within the Club of national leaders deserves special attention.

The book pursues three goals: First, it provides a thick description of the history, the roads to and from the extraordinary summit in July 2020 and an in-depth analysis of the funda-

mental features of the RRF's innovative set-up. Second, as the RRF is being implemented, the book serves to understand the ways in which EU institutions and member states are working to achieve (or not) the ambitious but at times ambiguously declared objectives. Particular attention is therefore given to the specific and partly unique legal rules and living procedures of the newly developed EU governance structures. Third, the book links recent developments to a variety of European integration theories, paying particular attention to the role of the European Council, also from a historical perspective.

The analysis of the seminal meeting in July 2020 reveals old and new cleavages and coalitions in EU decision-making, with driving and blocking forces. We identify a 'triple c' formula in that the required consensus led to difficult compromises, which explains a high degree of complexity. With respect to the European Council, we stress its role as the power of the purse, the ultimate decision maker and the highest court of appeal.

TIP

## Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2022

Edited by Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Werner Weidenfeld and Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels  
2022, 602 pp., pb., € 99.00  
ISBN 978-3-8487-8877-4  
E-Book 978-3-7489-2933-8  
In German

The yearbook on European integration, compiled by the Institute of European Politics in Berlin, has documented the process of European integration in an up-to-date and detailed way since 1980. The result is a unique record of contemporary European history over a 42 year period. The 2022 edition of the yearbook continues this tradition. In approximately 100 contributions related to their main research subjects, the book's authors portray the events of European politics in the period 2021–22 and inform the reader about the work of European institutions, the development of the EU's policy areas, Europe's role in the world and European policy in the EU's member states and candidate countries.

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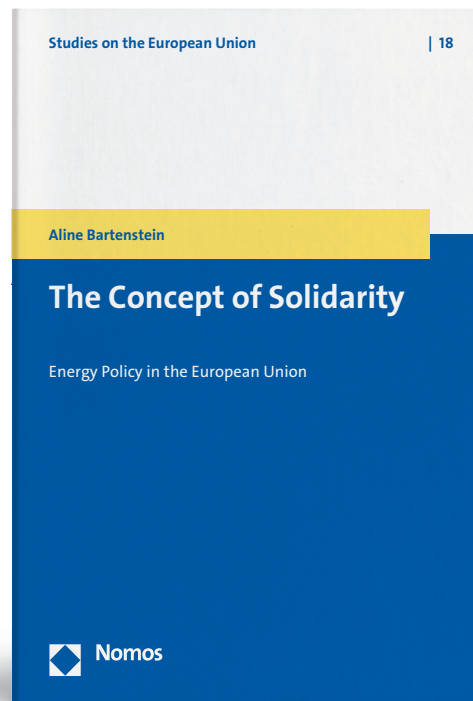
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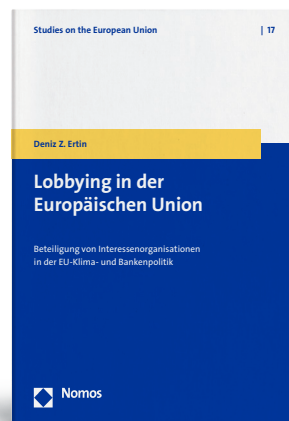
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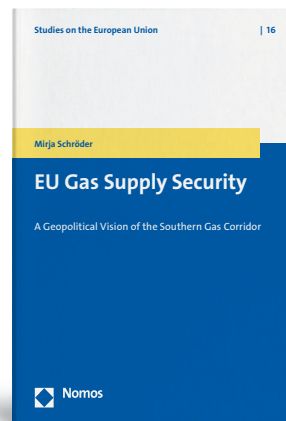
**The Concept of Solidarity**  
 Energy Policy in the European Union  
 By Dr. Aline Bartenstein  
 2021, 318 pp., pb., € 69.00  
 ISBN 978-3-8487-8419-6  
 E-Book 978-3-7489-2795-2  
 (Studies on the European Union, vol. 18)

Solidarity is a fuzzy concept although it is a core concept of the EU historically. Aline Bartenstein's book contributes to the clarification and analysis of the concept of solidarity between EU member states. In the theoretical part, she develops a novel conceptual approach to studying solidarity that goes beyond it having a purely political declarative function and is able to capture the dynamic of solidarity as a legal norm. In the empirical part, the author applies the concept to the integration processes in the natural gas sector between 2002 and 2019. Her analysis shows that an institutionalised principle of solidarity is in the making in the EU.



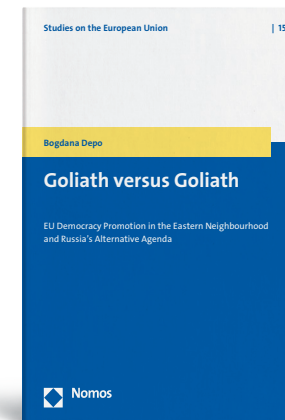
**Lobbying in der Europäischen Union**  
 Beteiligung von Interessenorganisationen in der EU-Klima- und Bankenpolitik  
 By Dr. Deniz Z. Ertin  
 2021, 500 pp., pb., € 99.00  
 ISBN 978-3-8487-8259-8  
 E-Book 978-3-7489-2062-5  
 (Studies on the European Union, vol. 17)  
 In German

Do civil society interest organisations or business interest organisations participate more in EU climate and banking policy? To answer this question, the author of this study looks at pre-legislative lobbying, analysing both online consultations and direct meetings with interest organisations in an observation period from 2010–2018. The results in both policy areas reveal a clear structural imbalance in favour of business interest organisations. Therefore, the work not only refutes the prevailing view that the EU is a pluralistic interest organisation system, but also questions the democratic function of interest representation in the EU in general.



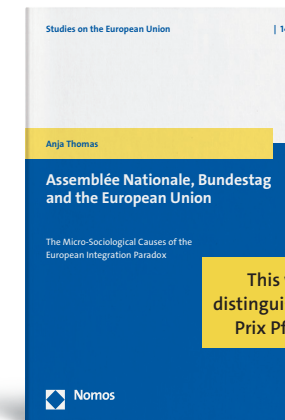
**EU Gas Supply Security**  
 A Geopolitical Vision of the Southern Gas Corridor  
 By Dr. Mirja Schröder  
 2019, 209 pp., pb., € 44.00  
 ISBN 978-3-8487-5901-9  
 E-Book 978-3-7489-0029-0  
 (Studies on the European Union, vol. 16)

Analysing the geopolitical vision of EU external energy policy, exemplified by the Southern Gas Corridor (SGC), this study places emphasis on how geopolitical discourse and thinking have influenced EU policymaking. It starts from the dominant view that the Russia-Ukraine gas crises have caused energy security to be featured highly on the EU's agenda. Accordingly, the European Commission has outlined different measures to ensure supply security, one of which is the diversification of routes and sources through the Caspian region. Taking up the conceptual perspective of critical geopolitics, the book analyses the European Commission's geopolitical reasoning. It observes that the proposed policy solution of diversifying gas supply and routes through the SGC has turned into a publicly accepted narrative in Commission discourse.



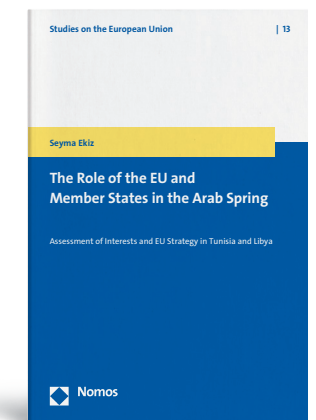
**Goliath versus Goliath**  
 EU Democracy Promotion in the Eastern Neighbourhood and Russia's Alternative Agenda  
 By Dr. Bogdana Depo  
 2019, 283 pp., pb., € 59.00  
 ISBN 978-3-8487-5870-8  
 E-Book 978-3-7489-0003-0  
 (Studies on the European Union, vol. 15)

This book is an apt description of the EU's and Russia's countering attempts to promote their respective agendas in their shared neighbourhood between 1991 and 2016. It explains the reasons behind the EU's lack of success with its democratization agenda in the countries of the Eastern Partnership (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) by looking into Russia's competitive agenda towards the same countries.



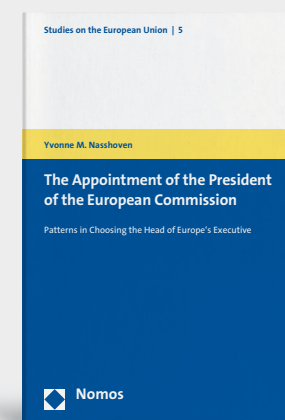
**Assemblée Nationale, Bundestag and the European Union**  
 The Micro-Sociological Causes of the European Integration Paradox  
 By Dr. Anja Thomas  
 2019, 359 pp., pb., € 79.00  
 ISBN 978-3-8487-4772-6  
 E-Book 978-3-8452-9029-4  
 (Studies on the European Union, vol. 14)

This book provides an explanation for the paradoxical effects of Europeanisation. Revisiting Max Weber's 'old' institutionalism, the author shows why MPs' increasing experience with the EU leads to growing national differentiation in MPs' discourses on the role of parliaments in the EU.



**The Role of the EU and Member States in the Arab Spring**  
 Assessment of Interests and EU Strategy in Tunisia and Libya  
 By Dr. Seyma Ekiz  
 2018, 291 pp., pb., € 64.00  
 ISBN 978-3-8487-4919-5  
 E-Book 978-3-8452-9132-1  
 (Studies on the European Union, vol. 13)

This book offers a comprehensive understanding of the highly debated response of the EU and its member states to the game-changing uprisings in the Arab Spring countries vis-à-vis Tunisia and Libya in particular. It seeks to find out their approach to foreign policy on both a normative and rational scale.



**The Appointment of the President of the European Commission**  
 Patterns in Choosing the Head of Europe's Executive  
 By Dr. Yvonne M. Nasshoven  
 2011, 260 pp., pb., € 39.00  
 ISBN 978-3-8329-6446-7  
 E-Book 978-3-8452-3000-9  
 (Studies on the European Union, vol. 5)

With the increasing number of treaty reforms since the beginning of the 1990s, the appointment process of the President of the European Commission as well as of the European Commissioners has strongly been altered in the "written constitution" of the EU. Yet, already before the various reforms had been introduced, the appointment of the Commission President in particular and of political personnel in the European Union in general has often been reproached as being intransparent. As this leaves the 'black box' of political decision-making difficult to access, scientific approaches to the choice of political leaders are mostly missing in the *acquis académique*: mechanisms of personnel selection are underresearched as they take place behind closed doors and can hardly be traced.