

## **PRESIDENCIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION COUNCIL**

### **Janusz J. Węc, New Principles of Holding Presidency of the European Union Council. The Balance of the Belgian Presidency**

The article focuses on the analysis of the achievements and failures of the Belgian presidency, particularly from the perspective of practical verification of the regulations of the Lisbon Treaty of 13<sup>th</sup> December 2007. The author presents the limitations of EU presidency that follow from the regulations of the Lisbon Treaty and discusses the major functions of the presidency: mediation, coordination, planning, administration and representation. The priorities and limitations of the Belgian presidency held from 1<sup>st</sup> July to 31<sup>st</sup> December 2010 are highlighted and their balance is drawn up. Its major achievements include: compromise concerning the EU budget for 2011, measures aimed at increasing financial stability, improvement of public finances and coordination of the economic policies of member states; integrated directives for job and economic policies of member states; resumption of discussion on deepening of the internal market; further progress in implementation of the enlargement strategy; continuation of work on the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty; activity in external spheres and new initiatives in the sphere of freedom, security and justice. The major failures of the Belgian presidency consist in its inability to realize the following tasks: improved coordination of cooperation in fighting illegal immigration and organized crime or terrorist threats, enhancement of social security of EU citizens and raising the standards of health care, completion of accession negotiations with Croatia and strengthening cooperation between the EU and the countries of Africa and Asia.

### **Marek Żurek, German Presidencies of the European Union Council**

United Germany held EU presidency three times so far: in the second half of 1994, in the first half of 1999 and at the beginning of 2007. Each of those presidencies took place in different economic and political circumstances and had to address changing current challenges.

The article analyses the priorities and achievements of those presidencies and indicates their failures. The German presidencies and their results (in the form of summits and conclusions) prepared the ground for multilateralism with all its merits and drawbacks, which was subsequently declared by German diplomacy. The summits of the European Council which were held during the German presidencies and the conclusions that followed from them confirmed the major importance of the coordinating function discernible in the German Europapolitik. This function is the essence of presidency and therefore determines the European policy of the president country. Moreover, seeking to realize its national plans, Germany presented them as beneficial not merely for itself, but also for Europe and the entire process of integration. With this purpose in view, German presidency referred to such commonly shared values as peace, welfare, democracy or human rights. This allowed Germany to push initiatives which it deemed important and avoid the risk of being accused of appropriating the integration process.

### **Artur Drzewicki, European Eastern Policy – Experiences and Conclusions for Poland**

In 2007 German presidency set out the principles and goals of the EU's Eastern Policy. On the one hand they were compatible with one of Germany's major interests, that is developing the best possible political and economic relations with Russia and other post-soviet countries; on the other hand they created the opportunity for the EU to give these relations an adequately high status. In the course of the German presidency realization of the "European Eastern Policy" revealed the limits imposed on the countries holding presidency of the EU in their pursuit of their particular political conceptions. The German experience enables us to draw relevant conclusions for Poland. Presidency of the EU is above all characterized by the need of continual adjustment of particular priorities to the demands of the current international reality and to the president country's changing expectations. This requires the president country to hold steady consultations and discussions with the European Commission and individual member states; the president country should also be guided by political restraint in defining the tasks of its presidency.

### **Piotr Idczak, Ida Musiałkowska, Priorities of the Polish Presidency of the European Union Council**

In the second half of 2011 Poland holds presidency of the European Union Council, an obvious test of the country's institutional efficiency and its capacity to manage an international organization. The article presents a model of holding the presidency: the mechanism of cooperation between the EU's institutions and national institutions of various levels before and during the country's presidency that shapes the country's priorities and functions during its presidency of the European Council. The author analyzes the priorities set down by Poland which are compatible with the EU's strategy of development until 2020 adopted in 2010 by the European Commission and take into account the EU's current economic situation. Poland is the first of three countries (together with Denmark and Cyprus) to launch the decision making processes in a number of crucial economic spheres: shaping the budget, the financial framework, internal market or cohesion policy.

### **Krzysztof Malinowski, The European Union as a Civil Power and the Security Strategies of Member States**

European Security and Defence Policy is one of the sectors of the EU's activity on the international arena and therefore one of several aspects of the process of shaping the EU's international role as a civil power, understood as a combination of hard and soft power. The goal of this article is to explain to what extent particular national security policies hamper the EU in playing the role of a civil power on the international arena. There is an obvious dissonance between the civil profile of EU's activity (with its stress on persuasion and propagation of liberal norms and expansion of multilateral cooperation) and the preferred national security strategies and practical operations of its member states (solutions that safeguard the authority of the national state, i.e. serve the maintenance national sovereignty and realization of national interests). The strategic documents of Great Britain, France and to a large extent also Germany reveal a discrepancy between adherence to a security policy understood as an attribute of national sovereignty and certain elements of their national doctrines that show the importance of

the so called soft power in addressing extramilitary aspects of security realized within the framework of the EU. Despite declarations of allied cooperation, renationalizing tendencies in the security policies of the three powers within the EU become more or less conspicuous (e.g. a closer bilateral military cooperation between France and Great Britain) hindering the creation of a European strategic culture of a civil-military profile.

### **Joanna Dobrowolska-Polak, Particular Policies of EU Countries toward Intervention in Libya**

The armed conflicts that broke out in 2011 in the Arab Maghreb led to mass violations of human rights. Democratic countries, above all the member states of the European Union that attach special importance to respecting the dignity and rights of individuals, observance of the rules of a democratic state and declare aid to the citizens of countries outside the EU – faced the necessity to respond effectively to the developments in North Africa and the Near East.

The necessity to act was further enhanced by the fact that the conflicts broke out in an area sensitive to the security of EU member states. Within the complex of conflicts in the Maghreb, the most difficult one to regulate and abate at the beginning of 2011 was the conflict in Libya. On account of the military involvement of European countries and different stances of particular EU member states on this issue, the conflict in Libya can have strong negative consequences for a common foreign policy and security of the EU.

The article analyzes the acceptability of international intervention in Libya and the attitude of European states and societies to the military aid to Libyan insurgents.

### **Anna Potyrała, The Sphere of Freedom, Security and Justice in the European Union After the Treaty of Lisbon**

Entrance into force of the Treaty of Lisbon launched changes directed toward an efficient functioning of the European Union and deepening of cooperation among its member states. One of the reformed spheres is the sphere of freedom, security and justice. Although cooperation in this sphere has continued since mid-1970s its legal grounds were only defined in the Treaty of Maastricht, in which issues of freedom, security and justice are considered within the framework of intergovernmental cooperation. Problems in the functioning of policies on immigration, asylum seekers, visas, judicial and police cooperation were an incentive to look for more effective solutions that would improve and intensify joint operations in those areas. This led to subsequent reform treaties which put into effect the communalization of certain areas of cooperation. However, it is the Treaty of Lisbon that is of key significance in this respect. Broadening of the authority of organs and institutions, creation of new institutions for the improvement of cooperation, standardization of law making, unity of the legal acts in force – all these measures are purported to create a coherent and complex model of cooperation in the area of freedom, security and justice.

### **Ewa Małuszyńska, The Convergence Policy of the European Union**

One of the priorities of Polish presidency of the EU Council is work on opening new perspectives for the EU budget 2014-2020. Since more than 1/3 of the budget is devoted to convergence policy, there is growing interest in its objectives and effectiveness. The article emphasizes the significance of convergence policy and presents its objectives which reflect the existing obstacles in a harmonious development of the entire EU territory. Attention is drawn to the fact that in spite of efforts being undertaken, there are continuous problems with methods of assessing the effectiveness of the implemented convergence policy and thus also the effectiveness of the EU budget execution. Finally, connections between convergence policy and the Europe 2020 strategy are spelled out.

### **Magdalena Sapała, Multi-Annual Financial Frameworks of the European Union after 2013**

The aim of this paper is to present the procedures and key issues in the debate on the Multi-annual Financial Framework (MFF) of the European Union after 2013. The new conditions introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon are discussed. These are the changes that have financial consequences for the EU (e.g. the creation of the European External Action Service), but also changes in the decision-making procedure, which are important for the European Parliament's role in shaping both the multi-annual and annual budgets. In addition, the main topics of the Parliament's position are analyzed, such as the political priorities, the concept of European Added Value, duration and structure of the MFF, the size of the budget and reform of the EU's own resources. The article describes the state of the debate at the end of May 2011, i.e. after the presentation of the EP's priorities, but before submitting a legislative proposal by the European Commission

### **Jerzy Babiak, The New European Union Member States Road to the Eurozone**

Currency union is the next step on the way to a complete European integration. Association Agreements for countries accessing EU structures after 1 May 2004 do not contain the opt-out clause, which is synonymous to the obligation of their acceptance of the common currency. The basic condition of entering the eurozone is meeting the legal requirements and criteria of convergence which define detailed economic conditions. After 2004, euro began to function in Malta, Cyprus, Slovenia and Slovakia, and from 1st January 2011, after meeting all the criteria, Estonia joined the euroland as the seventeenth country. Other countries which are obliged to adopt the euro, Poland included, are at various stages of preparation, but according to data from February 2011 none of them as yet meets the convergence criteria.

### **Ewa Szymanik, The Openness of Polish Economy and Integration with the Eurozone**

The article presents the results of a study on dependencies between selected indicators of the openness of an economy on the one hand and the degree of its integration with the eurozone and the perspective of adopting this common currency on the other. It follows that satisfying the criteria of convergence is more important than openness of economy. If Poland wants to adopt the common currency it should place emphasis on other criteria than openness of economy, such as economic growth, gross domestic product or the state of public finances.

### **Marta Götz, Polish Foreign Direct Investments**

This article focuses on Polish Foreign Direct Investments (outward FDIs). It draws on existing research on this topic and confronts it with the growing role of such investments. The vast majority of global literature on FDI deals with flows from more advanced, richer countries to the less developed ones. Simultaneously, a new strand of research devoted to emerging markets FDIs mainly BRIC's FDIs is developing dynamically. Investments stemming from middle income countries such as Poland and directed to similar economies such as other UE MS have not attracted much attention so far. This paper attempts to outline the framework for further analyzing Polish FDIs.

### **Piotr Cichocki, The Attitudes of Poles to the European Union**

Studies of the Polish public opinion demonstrate the stability of support for European integration in the period after accession to the European Union. Transient weakness of indicators in the first year of membership did not translate into any long-term trends. After the passing of the "accession shock", also the relatively sharp division in the pre-accession period into Eurosceptics and Euro-enthusiasts seems to have disappeared both on the political scene and in the public sphere. Nevertheless, stable support for European integration and a growing sense that the process brings about substantial benefits for the Polish people, should not be treated as a firm foundation for future attitudes towards the European Union. Current stability of pro-European attitudes cannot be treated as proof of their long-term solidity.

### **Anna Umińska-Woroniecka, Twenty Years of the Polish Institute in Rome Book Reviews**

The network of Polish cultural diplomacy spans over one hundred and twenty cultural attaché offices and twenty Polish Institutes. Among them is the Polish Institute in Rome, grounded in 1992, its activity covering the whole territory of Italy. The 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Institute shows how very diverse trends in Polish culture and art can attract the interest of the Italian public. Polish literature, film, painting, music and last but not least audiovisual art are presented in exhibition or concert halls of the host country as part of cyclic events or as unique ventures. The Institute, through its activity, has found a stable place on the cultural map of Rome and other Italian cities. Changes in the organizational model of the Polish Institute in Rome are an instance of the reform implemented in recent years by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its basic objective is to reach wide circles of the foreign audience also through cooperation with the local partners. The Institute is housed in the spacious premises of the Blumenstihl palace which belongs to the historical heritage of the Eternal City, and produces numerous projects availing itself of the public space of the host country.

### **Łukasz Wróblewski, Internal Market as a Priority of the Polish Presidency of the European Union Council**

The main purpose of the article is to indicate the biggest problems and barriers of the internal market, their elimination being of crucial importance to the economic development of the European Union. On the basis of key documents and reports the current level of development of the internal market is analyzed. The author also presents an assessment of hitherto activity of EU institutions and member states in view of intensifying the development of a Uniform European Market. However, it should not be expected that within the six months of Polish presidency of EU Council it will be possible to eliminate the major barriers and “missing links” of UEM, since it is a long and highly complex process.

### **Adam Barabasz, Poland's Presidency of the European Union Council**

The aim of the article is to present the state of Poland's preparation to hold presidency of the EU Council. The author analyses measures undertaken by the government, administration and NGOs towards an efficient management, coordination and monitoring of this process. The author also presents and discusses the main tasks of the Representative responsible for preparing the organs of government administration for Poland's presidency of the EU Council. Special attention is drawn to competencies that follow from a new form of presidency in the EU, the so-called “Triple Presidency”. The currently ongoing promotional campaign to create a positive image of Poland in Europe and the world is analyzed as well. Moreover, errors made by countries which held EU presidency in the last four years are indicated.