



FAKULTA FILOZOFICKÁ  
ZÁPADOČESKÉ UNIVERZITY  
V PLZNI

## EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT OF THE SUBJECT

### **English for European Studies (KAJ /AES1)**

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# AES1: English for European Studies

## Week 1: Introductory activity

### The European Union in brief

Source: <https://op.europa.eu/webpub/com/eu-what-it-is/en/>



The European Union (EU) is a unique economic and political union between 27 European countries.

The predecessor of the EU was created in the aftermath of the Second World War. The first steps were to foster economic cooperation: the idea being that countries that **deal/trade/undertake** with one another become economically interdependent and so more likely to avoid conflict. The result was the European Economic **Association/Community/Treaty**, created in 1958 with the initial aim of increasing economic cooperation between six countries: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Since then, 22 more countries joined (and the United Kingdom left the EU in 2020) and a huge **unified/united/single** market (also known as the 'internal' market) has been created and continues to develop towards its full potential.

What began as a purely economic union has evolved into an organisation spanning many different **political/policy/polity** areas, from climate, environment and health to external **relations/relationships/connections** and security, justice and migration. A name change from the European Economic Community to the European Union in 1993 reflected this.

The EU has delivered more than half a century of peace, stability and prosperity, helped raise living standards and launched a single European **money/finance/currency**: the euro. More than 340 million EU citizens in 19 countries now use it and enjoy its benefits.

Thanks to the abolition of **boundary/frontier/border** controls between EU countries, people can travel freely throughout most of the continent. And it has become much easier to live and work in another country in Europe. All EU citizens have the right and freedom to choose in which EU country they want to study, work or **retire/pension/expatriate**. Every EU country must treat EU citizens in exactly the same way as its own citizens when it comes to matters of employment, social **safety/provision/security** and tax.

The EU's main economic engine is the single market. It enables most goods, services, money and people to move freely. The EU aims to develop this huge resource to other areas like energy, knowledge and capital markets to ensure that Europeans can draw the maximum **credit/deposit/benefit** from it.

The EU remains focused on making its **ruling/managing/governing** institutions more transparent and democratic. Decisions are taken as openly as possible and as closely as possible to the citizen. More **authorities/forces/powers** have been given to the directly elected European Parliament, while national parliaments play a greater role, working alongside the European institutions.

The EU is governed by the principle of **proportional/delegative/representative** democracy, with citizens directly represented at EU level in the European Parliament and

**member/participating/representative** states represented in the European Council and the Council of the EU.

As **encoded/enshrined/anchored** in the Treaty on European Union, 'the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and **equity/fairness/equality** between women and men prevail'. These values are an **integral/integrated/undivided** part of the European way of life.

Being a European citizen also means enjoying political rights. Every adult EU citizen has the right to stand as a **delegate/envoy/candidate** and to vote in elections to the European Parliament, whether in their country of residence or country of origin.

The EU is based on the rule of law. Everything the EU does is founded on **contracts/treaties/deals**, which are voluntarily and democratically agreed by its member countries. Law and justice are upheld by an independent **judiciary/jurisdiction/justice**. The EU countries have given final jurisdiction in matters of EU law to the European **Court of Justice/Judicial Court/Justice Court**, whose **judicions/verdicts/judgments** have to be respected by all.

#### Tasks:

I. Choose the most appropriate option among the words in bold.

II. Provide synonyms (words of the same meaning) for the underlined words.

III. Link the words on the left and right into meaningful phrases.

- |                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. single         | a) relations    |
| 2. policy         | b) democracy    |
| 3. human          | c) control      |
| 4. governing      | d) states       |
| 5. border         | e) security     |
| 6. member         | f) market       |
| 7. representative | g) of Justice   |
| 8. social         | h) rights       |
| 9. European Court | i) areas        |
| 10. external      | j) institutions |

#### IV. Translate.

1. Každý občan EU může kandidovat do voleb do Evropského parlamentu.
2. Jednotný trh umožňuje volný pohyb zboží.
3. Hraniční kontroly byly zrušeny.
4. EU pomohla v členských zemích zvýšit životní úroveň.
5. EU se snaží, aby její instituce byly transparentní.
6. Hodnoty svobody, demokracie a rovnosti jsou zakotveny ve Smlouvě o Evropské unii.
7. Nezávislé soudnictví garantuje spravedlnost.

## WEEK 2 HOMEWORK – HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Read the text below and complete the following tasks:

### 1. Answer the questions:

- a) What were the initial motivations behind the European integration after WWII?
- b) What is meant by the term “bi-polar political configuration“?
- c) What was the purpose of the European Coal and Steel Community?
- d) Why did the plans for a common European army fail? Do you think such an army is a good idea? Why/why not?
- e) What were some of the goals of the European Union formed by the Maastricht Treaty?
- f) Why wasn't the European Constitution ratified? What happened afterwards?

## HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Source: <https://europejskiportal.eu/history-of-european-integration/>

The process of European integration, in which we currently participate, was launched soon after the end of the World War II. It relies on tragic experiences connected with the largest and also most tragic armed conflict in human history, caused by Nazi Germany. After the war, in Europe, and more specifically in its western part, there arose conditions favourable for the start of a new, planned integration of the countries of the Old Continent. Western European countries, though very weakened after the war (destroyed economy, infrastructure, human resources), were, however, as never before agreeable to the necessity of defending basic human rights and democratic values. Western European leaders decided to undertake coordinated actions aiming at the reconstruction of European countries and their economies and introduction of a new political order, which could guarantee the security of nations and give a chance for their successful development in the future.

**The genesis of the integration process in Europe after the World War II.** In the process of planning the introduction of a new political order in post-war Europe, it was acknowledged that the key task was the reconstruction of European economies. Western European leaders realised that only efficient and effective European economy would be a foundation on which new safety and development structures could be built. The American aid plan for Europe – the European Recovery Plan, called the Marshall Plan, was a great support for those plans. At that time the actions of the Soviet Union, a former ally, which after the war began violently affirm its supremacy in the controlled area of Central and Eastern Europe, openly promoting antidemocratic communist ideology, became disturbing and at the same time mobilizing the Europeans. Only

common, coordinated actions could provide European countries with the force with which Western Europe could resist the Soviet influence and the economic dominance of the United States of America. The post-war years were the time of formation of a new, bi-polar political configuration in Europe and in the world (the East – the West), which led the world to a new confrontation, this time a nuclear one. On one side there were Western democracies, on the other side the totalitarian Soviet Union and its subordinated satellite states building a military eastern block hostile to western democracies. This configuration had a decisive influence on the post-war European integration process and constituted mobilization for Western societies to undertake a firm integration action.

The post-war European integration process began with the reconstruction of Western European infrastructure and the economies.

—**The Treaty of Paris.** *The Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community* (TECSC) was signed on 18 April 1951 in Paris by six western European countries: Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. The Treaty entered into force on 23 July 1952 (in force for 50 years till 23 July 2002). Established at the initiative of the French foreign minister Robert Schuman, *the European Coal and Steel Community* (ECSC) was charged with regulating the markets of strategic importance for rebuilding Europe's resources – coal, steel and iron. The ECSC initiated the economic integration process of Western Europe. The Community, as an international organization, had legal personality. The ECSC was to contribute to the growth of its Member States and the raise of the standard of living of their citizens. The Treaty organized trading market for coal and steel. It took into account the abolition of export and imports levies on these strategic raw materials, the elimination of subsidies from the countries for the production of steel and coal mining, as well influenced the maintenance of permanent rules for the related trade. The treaty provisions were to be utilized in emergencies or in cases of unfair competition from third countries (the prices of coal and steel). Over time, other European countries began to join the ECSC.

—**European political and defence co-operation.** The establishment of the ECSC encouraged the supporters of European integration to intensify the integration efforts. It should be stressed that although the ECSC Member States accepted without too much trouble the fact of making joint decisions on economic and trade matters, it was harder for them to agree on common foreign or defence policy. At the period concerned the creation of two next communities was initiated: the European Defence Community (EDC) and the European Political Community (EPC). The treaty establishing the EDC was signed on 27 May 1952 by Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Italy. This treaty, as was the case with the ECSC, was to be in force for 50 years. The contract provided that the Community Member States will waive their competence in the field of defence and hand it over to supranational institutions. It was planned to create a common European army, composed of military contingents coming from particular countries and to organise a joint headquarters for the European army. The Treaty establishing the existence of the EDC was rejected on 30 August 1954 by the French National Assembly (formally removed from the agenda). The opposition of France led eventually to the abandonment of the plans to build the common European army, however, the discussion about this issue did not cease.

—**The Treaties of Rome.** In spite of the failure of the EDC and the EPC, and narrowing of the integration process to the area of economy, Western European leaders proposed the creation of other communities. Proponents of extending the integration process concluded that, in these circumstances, economic integration was the most important and yet the most effective form of integration. The Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Beyene, who proposed a European common market, gave the most emphatic expression to this conviction. It was a different approach than the previously advocated concept of sector integration of economies of Western European countries. Beyene's plan, as well as works of a special committee created in a short time to develop

the concept of an economic community and cooperation in the field of nuclear energy, led by Belgian Foreign Minister Paul Henri Spaak—resulted in the creation of two communities essential for the European integration process

– the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The Treaties establishing the existence of the EEC and Euratom were signed on March 25, 1957 in Rome. The Treaties of Rome entered into force on 1 January 1958. In contrast to the ECSC Treaty they were to be in force for an indefinite period of time. The Treaties of Rome contributed to a gradual elimination of barriers and restrictions separating markets and economies of integrating Western European countries. For this purpose *the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community* introduced the four freedoms of the common market: the free movement of persons, services, goods and capital.

—**The European Union Treaty.** The second half of the eighties of the twentieth century and the beginning of the next decade was a time of the integration process slowdown. This was caused by events taking place in Europe and in the world, and above all, the collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union (including the military structures of the Eastern Block). Economic integration in Western Europe reached the planned objectives, but nevertheless political importance of the Communities on the international arena still was not too large. Changes in Central and Eastern Europe, “the fall of the Berlin Wall” and the unification of German states (3 October 1990), forced major reforms within the European Communities. *The Treaty of Maastricht on European Union* (TEU), which entered into force on 1 November 1993 became a breakthrough document.

The European Union was formed as the structure of inter-state cooperation of a different nature than is the case of traditional international organizations. It did not have legal personality. It was to constitute a transition stage towards full economic, political and monetary integration of western European countries. According to the provisions of *the Treaty on European Union* the following objectives were set for the Union:

-to promote economic and social progress and a high level of employment and to achieve balanced and sustainable development, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion and through the establishment of economic and monetary union, ultimately including a single currency,

-to assert its identity on the international scene, in particular through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy including the progressive framing of a common defense policy, which might lead to a common defense, in accordance with the provisions of Article,

-to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union,

-to maintain and develop the Union as an area of freedom, security and justice, in which the free movement of persons is assured in conjunction with appropriate measures with respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention and combating of crime.

—**The Schengen Agreement.** An important role in the European integration process was played by the Agreement from Schengen. On 13 July 1984 Germany and France concluded an agreement in Saarbrücken to facilitate crossings of their shared border for their citizens. The agreement covered only the controls on existing border crossings. The Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg) also soon became interested in the Agreement. Referring to the agreement from Saarbrücken, on 14 June 1985 a new agreement, termed the Schengen

Agreement, was concluded in Schengen (Luxembourg). It concerned the gradual abolition of control at the common borders of the Member States of the European Communities (Schengen I).

—**The Constitutional Treaty.** The draft of the Constitution for Europe was prepared by a specially appointed for this purpose the Convention on the Future of Europe, chaired by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. The Convention completed its work on the draft of the Constitutional Treaty on 10 July 2003. Their effect was a document composed of 278 pages – *the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe*. The Treaty was to replace primary law of the European Union (treaties and other documents from this group). It repealed *the Treaty on European Community* and *the Treaty on European Union*, and all the documents amending and supplementing these contracts. At the same time, by virtue of *the Constitutional Treaty*, the European Union was to obtain legal personality. The draft of the Constitution for Europe divided the competences into the European Union's ones, its Member States' ones and shared ones. After adding the final amendments to the draft, the treaty was approved by the European Council on 18 June 2004. That moment began the Euro-Constitution ratification process by the individual Member States of the European Union. On 29 October 2004 in Rome the representatives of 25 Member States of the Community signed this historical document. Representatives of countries preparing for European Union Membership, Bulgaria and Romania, as well as of Turkey aspiring to Membership in the Community, signed the Final Act of the Constitution. For the Constitutional Treaty to enter into force, it had to be ratified by all Member states of the Community. Initially it was assumed that the ratification process would last for two years. Depending on the laws of particular countries the Treaty ratification could be carried out by the Parliament or by referendum. In the majority of the European Union's Member States the ratification was successful, however, the rejection of the document in national referenda by the French (29 May 2005) and Dutch (1 June 2005), effectively stopped the ratification process and ultimately led to the abandonment of the Euro-Constitution.

—**The Treaty of Lisbon.** At the beginning of 2006, the case of a new treaty for the European Union was resumed. It was proposed to prepare a new document that would not give rise to such controversies as the Euro-Constitution. The contents of *the Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community*, TL, also called the Reform Treaty, was decided upon during the European Union Summit in Lisbon on 18-19 October 2007. The Treaty was signed in Lisbon the Hieronymites Monastery on 13 December 2007. The document entered into force after long and exceptionally difficult ratification on 1 December 2009. In order to avoid controversy, which occurred during the preparation of the Constitution for Europe, all the records that may suggest that this was another document of fundamental character were removed from the treaty. Consequently, the word 'constitution' was not used in this document, the articles talking about the flag, anthem and motto of the European Union were removed, the usage of terminology of legal acts specific for national laws was renounced (e.g. an act, previously known 'regulations' and 'directives' were retained). Moreover, the document allowed a Member State to resign from the European Union's Membership and for the first time laid down the appropriate procedures for such a case.

The TL changed the way of leadership in the Council of the European Union. The hitherto six months' Presidency of the Member States the European Union was substituted by the leadership conducted commonly by three Member States for 18 months. Also a function of a president of the European Council was established, termed informally "the President of the European Union". The treaty strengthened the role of the European Parliament, providing it with new competences in the sphere of the creation of communal law, budgetary issues and political control. For the first time the citizens of the European Union's Member States gained the indirect right of legislative initiative. The implementation of the TL provisions results in the change in the European Commission composition. It was decided that from 2014 on the European Commission will be composed of the representatives of 2/3 of the Community's Member States and the individual countries will nominate commissioners in a rotating system.

## Vocabulary

political order – politický řád

European Recovery Plan (Marshall Plan) – Plán evropské obnovy (Marshallův plán)

ally- spojenec

hostile – nepřátelský

supranational cooperation – nadnárodní spolupráce

Treaty Establishing the European Community (TEC) – Smlouva o založení evropského společenství

Treaty of Paris – Pařížská smlouva

European Coal and Steel Community – Evropské společenství uhlí a oceli

charge (somebody) with (something) – pověřit někoho něčím

initiate a process – zahájit/iniciovat proces

legal personality – právní subjektivita/osobnost

standard of living – životní úroveň

levy (pl. levies) – daň, odvod

unfair competition – nekalá soutěž

provide – stanovovat (též poskytovat)

joint headquarters – společné sídlo

convene a summit – svolat summit

enter into force – vejít v platnost

Treaties of Rome – Římské smlouvy

European Economic Community – Evropské hospodářské společenství (EHS)

indefinite period of time – doba neurčitá

weighted voting system – systém váženého hlasování

adopt sanctions – přijmout sankce

binding – závazný

EU enlargement – rozšíření EU

transition stage – přechodná fáze

common defense policy – společná obranná politika

Schengen Agreement – Schengenská smlouva

qualified majority voting - hlasování kvalifikovanou většinou

accession – přistoupení

subsidy – dotace

treaty provisions – ustanovení smlouvy

be in force – být v platnosti

monetary union – měnová unie

security policy – bezpečnostní politika

waive competence – vzdát se pravomoci

draft of the Constitution – návrh Ústavy

amend and supplement – pozměňovat a doplňovat

abandonment – opuštění

Treaty of Lisbon – Lisabonská smlouva

legal act právní úkon

to be ratified by member states – být ratifikovaný členskými státy

regulation – nařízení, předpis

directive – směrnice

commissioner – komisař

foreign affairs – zahraniční věci/záležitosti

Council of the European Union – Rada Evropské unie



## WEEK 2 CLASS HANDOUT: HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

### I. Language work

#### 1. Link the expressions in a) with expressions in b) and translate:

- |                       |                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. unfair             | a) into force    |
| 2. adopt              | b) voting system |
| 3. monetary           | c) act           |
| 4. enter              | d) affairs       |
| 5. defense            | e) voting        |
| 6. legal              | f) state         |
| 7. qualified majority | g) a summit      |
| 8. foreign            | h) competition   |
| 9. member             | i) union         |
| 10. weighted          | j) stage         |
| 11. convene           | k) policy        |
| 12. transition        | l) sanctions     |

#### 2. Link the names of treaties with their definitions:

Treaties of Rome	Lisbon Treaty	Schengen Treaty
Maastricht Treaty	Treaty of Paris	

1. **This agreement**, signed on June 14, 1985, led most of the European countries towards the abolition of their national borders.
2. The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom).
3. This treaty updated regulations for the European Union, establishing a more centralized leadership and foreign policy.
4. The Treaty established *the European* Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).
5. This international agreement was responsible for the creation of the European Union .

#### 3. Translate the following sentences:

1. Nový politický řád měl garantovat bezpečnost národů.
2. Na jedné straně byly západní demokratické státy, na druhé straně Sovětský svaz a jeho podřízené satelitní země.
3. Pařížská smlouva vznikla z iniciativy francouzského ministra zahraničí Roberta Schumana.
4. Evropské společenství uhlí a oceli mělo za úkol regulovat strategické trhy.
5. Ustanovení smlouvy umožňovala řešení nekalé soutěže.
6. Společenství mělo právní subjektivitu.
7. Od společné obranné politiky se upustilo kvůli odporu Francie.
8. Pád Berlínské zdi a sjednocení Německa vedly k zásadním reformám v evropských strukturách.
9. Maastrichtská smlouva ustanovila přechodné období k plné politické, hospodářské a měnové integraci západoevropských států.
10. Cílem je přijmout vhodná opatření týkající se kontrol na vnějších hranicích, azylu, přistěhovalectví a boje s trestnou činností.

11. Dalším cílem je podporovat hospodářský a sociální pokrok a vysokou úroveň zaměstnanosti a dosáhnout udržitelného rozvoje.

12. Lisabonská smlouva umožnila členským státům odstoupit od členství v Evropské unii a stanovila příslušné postupy pro takový případ.

13. Smlouva posílila roli Evropského parlamentu a udělila mu nové politické a rozpočtové pravomoci.

### **III. Food for thought: give your opinion!**

1. The efficacy of the Schengen Area has been put into question by some politicians recently. Why do you think that is? And are you for or against open borders within the EU?

2. Some critics of the EU would like to return the institution to its pre-Lisbon Treaty situation. Do you agree? Why/why not?

3. Some argue that the common currency (euro) is good for the rich countries of the North, but not for poorer southern countries like Greece. Do you agree?

## **HOMEWORK FOR WEEK 3: DECISION-MAKING IN THE EU**

**Read the text below and complete the following tasks. Use the Internet if necessary**

### **1. Are the following statements true or false? Correct the false ones!**

a) The European Commission is composed of the presidents of the member states.

b) A regulation must be accepted by member states; there is no parliamentary debate on it.

c) A directive becomes a part of national legislation.

d) Recommendations and opinions are not mandatory for member states.

e) The Commission has no role in the EU legislative process.

f) Advisory bodies must be consulted during the legislative process to ensure democratic oversight.

g) Trade, customs, competition rules, monetary policy for the euro area and the conservation of fish are areas that can be decided on the level of member states.

h) The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is appointed by the European Commission.

### **2. Explain the following terms:**

principle of subsidiarity

“legal basis” of EU legislation

conciliation committee

monetary policy

fiscal policy

economic and monetary union

### 3. What do you think?

Critics of the EU often point out that the European Commission, the main decision-making body of the EU, is unelected and, therefore, undemocratic. Do you agree? Why/why not?

## Who takes the decisions?

Adapted from: [https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW\\_How\\_the\\_EU\\_Works.pdf](https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW_How_the_EU_Works.pdf)

Decision-making at EU level involves various European institutions, in particular:

- [the European Parliament](#), which represents the EU's citizens and is directly elected by them;
- [the European Council](#), which consists of the Heads of State or Government of the EU Member States;
- [the Council](#), which represents the governments of the EU Member States;
- [the European Commission](#), which represents the interests of the EU as a whole. The European Council defines the general political direction and priorities of the EU but it does not exercise legislative functions. Generally, it is the European Commission that proposes new laws and it is the European Parliament and Council that adopt them. The Member States and the Commission then implement them.

### What types of legislation are there?

There are several types of legal acts which are applied in different ways.

- [A regulation](#) is a law that is applicable and binding in all Member States directly. It does not need to be passed into national law by the Member States although national laws may need to be changed to avoid conflicting with the regulation.
- [A directive](#) is a law that binds the Member States, or a group of Member States, to achieve a particular objective. Usually, directives must be transposed into national law to become effective. Significantly, a directive specifies the result to be achieved: it is up to the Member States individually to decide how this is done.
- [A decision](#) can be addressed to Member States, groups of people, or even individuals. It is binding in its entirety. Decisions are used, for example, to rule on proposed mergers between companies.
- [Recommendations and opinions](#) have no binding force.

### How is legislation passed?

Every European law is based on a specific treaty article, referred to as the 'legal basis' of the legislation. This determines which legislative procedure must be followed. The treaty sets out the decision-making process, including Commission proposals, successive readings by the Council and Parliament, and the opinions of the advisory bodies. It also lays down when unanimity is required, and when a qualified majority is sufficient for the Council to adopt legislation.

The great majority of EU legislation is adopted using the ordinary legislative procedure. In this procedure, the Parliament and the Council share legislative power. The procedure begins with the Commission. When considering launching a proposal for action, the Commission often invites views on the topic from governments, business, civil society organisations and individuals. The opinions collected feed into a Commission proposal that is presented to the Council and the Parliament. The proposal may have been made at the invitation of the Council, the European Council, the Parliament or European citizens, or it may have been made on the Commission's own initiative. The Council and the Parliament each read and discuss the proposal. If no agreement is reached at the second reading, the proposal is put before a 'conciliation committee' comprising equal numbers of Council and Parliament representatives.

Commission representatives also attend the committee meetings and contribute to the discussions. Once the committee has reached an agreement, the agreed text is then sent to the Parliament and the Council for a third reading, so that it can finally be adopted as law. In most cases, the Parliament votes on proposals by simple majority and the Council by qualified majority voting, whereby at least half of the total number of EU Member States, representing about two thirds of the population, must vote in favour. In some cases, unanimous voting is required in the Council. Special procedures Special legislative procedures are available depending on the subject of the proposal.

In the consultation procedure, the Council is required to consult the Parliament on a proposal from the Commission, but is not required to accept the Parliament's advice. This procedure is only applicable in a few areas, such as internal market exemptions and competition law. In the consent procedure, the Parliament may accept or reject a proposal, but may not propose amendments. This procedure can be used when the proposal concerns the approval of an international treaty that has been negotiated. In addition, there are limited cases where the Council and the Commission, or the Commission alone, can pass legislation.

### **Who is consulted, who can object?**

In addition to the Commission–Council–Parliament triangle, there are a number of advisory bodies that must be consulted when proposed legislation involves their area of interest. Even if their advice is not taken, this contributes to the democratic oversight of EU legislation by ensuring that it is subject to the widest scrutiny. These bodies are:

- [the European Economic and Social Committee](#), which represents civil society groups such as employers, trades unions and social interest groups;
- [the Committee of the Regions](#), which ensures that the voice of local and regional government is heard. In addition, other institutions and bodies may be consulted when a proposal falls within their area of interest or expertise. For example, the European Central Bank would expect to be consulted on proposals concerning economic or financial matters.

### **National oversight**

National parliaments receive draft legislative acts at the same time as the European Parliament and the Council. They can give their opinion to ensure that decisions are taken at the most appropriate level.

EU actions are subject to the [principle of subsidiarity](#) — which means that, except in the areas where it has exclusive powers, the Union only acts where action will be more effective at EU level than at national level. National parliaments therefore monitor the correct application of this principle in EU decision-making.

## **What decisions are taken**

The treaties list the policy areas in which the EU can take decisions. In some policy areas, the EU has exclusive competence, which means that decisions are taken at EU level by the Member States meeting in the Council and the European Parliament. These policy areas cover trade, customs, competition rules, monetary policy for the euro area, and the conservation of fish. In other policy areas, the decision-making competences are shared between the Union and the Member States. This means that if legislation is passed at EU level, then these laws have priority. However, if no legislation is adopted at EU level, then the individual Member States may legislate at national level. Shared competence applies in many policy areas, such as the internal market, agriculture, the environment, consumer protection and transport. In all other policy areas the decisions remain with the Member States. Thus, if a policy area is not cited in a treaty, the Commission cannot propose a law in that area. However, in some fields, such as the space sector, education, culture and tourism, the Union can support Member States' efforts. And in others, such as overseas aid and scientific research, the EU can carry out parallel activities, such as humanitarian aid programmes.

## **Economic coordination**

All EU Member States are part of the economic and monetary union (EMU), meaning that they coordinate their economic policymaking and treat economic decisions as a matter of common concern. Within the EMU, no institution alone is responsible for overall economic policy. These responsibilities are divided between the Member States and the EU institutions.

[Monetary policy](#) — which deals with price stability and interest rates — is managed independently by the European Central Bank (ECB) in the euro area, i.e. in those Member States which use the euro as their currency.

[Fiscal policy](#) — which concerns decisions about taxation, spending and borrowing — is the responsibility of the 28 Member State governments. So are the policies about labour and welfare. However, as fiscal decisions taken by one euro area Member State can have an impact throughout the euro area, these decisions must conform to rules set at EU level. Therefore, the coordination of sound public finances and structural policies is necessary for the EMU to function effectively and to ensure stability and growth. In particular, the economic crisis that began in 2008 highlighted the need to strengthen economic governance in the EU and in the euro area, by means of inter alia closer policy coordination, monitoring and supervision.

The Council monitors Member States' public finances and economic policies and can make recommendations to individual EU Member States based on proposals from the Commission. It may recommend adjustment measures and sanction euro area states that do not take corrective measures to reduce excessive deficit and debt levels.

The governance of the euro area and major economic policy reforms are also discussed in the euro summits, where Heads of State or Government of euro area members meet.

### **The EU and foreign relations**

Relations with countries outside of the EU are under the responsibility of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who is appointed by the European Council, but also holds the post of European Commission Vice-President. At the level of Heads of State or Government, the Union is represented by the President of the European Council. The European External Action Service (EEAS) serves as a foreign ministry and diplomatic service for the Union under the authority of the High Representative. It is composed of expert staff transferred from the Council, the Member States and the European Commission. The Council develops and takes decisions in the field of the EU's foreign and security policy on the basis of guidelines set by the European Council. The Commission, on the other hand, is responsible for trade and funding for non-EU countries, such as humanitarian or development aid. The Commission also represents the Union in all areas of EU competence outside foreign and security policy.

### **Vocabulary**

European Parliament – Evropský parlament  
European Council – Evropská rada  
European Commission – Evropská komise  
exercise legislative functions – vykonávat legislativní funkce  
applicable and binding – platný a závazný  
regulation – nařízení  
directive – směrnice  
decision – rozhodnutí  
recommendation and opinion – doporučení a stanovisko  
monetary policy – měnová politika  
fiscal policy – fiskální/daňová politika  
ordinary legislative procedure – řádný legislativní postup  
simple majority – prostá většina  
unanimous voting – jednomyslné hlasování  
first reading – první čtení  
amendment – změna, dodatek  
conciliation committee – smírčí výbor  
common concern – společný zájem  
advisory body – poradní orgán  
European Economic and Social Committee – Evropský hospodářský a sociální výbor  
Committee of Regions – Výbor regionů  
oversight – dohled, kontrola  
internal market – vnitřní trh  
take corrective measures – přijmout nápravná opatření  
High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – *Vysoký* představitel Unie pro zahraniční věci a bezpečnostní politiku  
European External Action Service – Evropská služba pro vnější činnost  
area of competence – oblast působnosti

### **WEEK 3 CLASS HANDOUT**

**Language work: complete the following tasks.**

**1. Choose the more appropriate alternative. Then translate the sentence into Czech.**

- a) The European Parliament is **voted/elected** directly by EU citizens.
- b) The European Council consists **in/of** heads of states of member countries.
- c) The European Council does not **exercise/practise** legislative **forces/powers**.
- d) A regulation is **valid/applicable** in all member states.
- e) A decision is **binding/obliging** in all cases.
- f) The treaty **sets up/sets out** the decision-making process.
- g) The Parliament votes on the proposals by a **plain/simple** majority.
- h) The Commission can **amend/alter** the proposal of the European Parliament.
- i) If the Parliament and Commission disagree, the Conciliatory Commission is **assembled/convened**.
- j) A number of advisory **organs/bodies** must be consulted.
- k) The **Committee/Commission** of the Regions makes sure that regional voices are heard.
- l) The member states coordinate economic **policy-forming/policymaking**.
- m) The economic crisis that began in 2008 highlighted the need to strengthen economic **administration/governance**.
- n) Relations with countries outside of the EU are under the responsibility of the High **Representative/Commissioner** of the Union for Foreign **Matters/Affairs** and Security Policy.
- o) The Council develops and takes decisions in the field of the EU's foreign and security policy on the basis of **instructions/guidelines** set by the European Council.

**2. Watch the following video. Answer the questions below:**

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=grbkJRb1p\\_w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=grbkJRb1p_w)

- 1. According to the video, is the EU democratic?
- 2. What are some of the problems named in relations to the EU?

**Useful videos:**

Lawmaking in the EU: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=clmSKbV5Z9w>

How does the EU pass new laws? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8C0Kq7ioOpk>

What's the difference between Directives, Regulations and Decisions?

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CZAC\\_uEJWfY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CZAC_uEJWfY)

A critical view of the EU's decision-making process:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DD0DKFXyfb4>

## **HOMEWORK FOR WEEK 4: EU INSTITUTIONS I**

**Read the text below and answer the following questions. Use the Internet for additional information if required.**

- 1. On what principle are MEP seats allocated?

2. What are the three main powers of the European Parliament?
3. Who are the members of the European council?
4. What is the main purpose of the European Council?
5. The text says that the Council is an essential EU decision-maker. In what way? What does it do?
6. What is the Council of Europe and what issues does it deal with?
7. What are the requirements for forming a political group in the European Parliament? Can you name some well-known politicians (Czech or foreign) organized in one of the seven groups?

### **TEXT 1:**

Adapted from: [https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW\\_How\\_the\\_EU\\_Works.pdf](https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW_How_the_EU_Works.pdf)

## **THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

### **The voice of the people**

**Role:** Directly elected legislative arm of the EU

**Members:** 754 Members of the European Parliament

**Location:** Strasbourg, Brussels and Luxembourg

Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are directly elected by EU citizens to represent their interests. Elections are held every five years and all EU citizens over 18 years old (16 in Austria). The official seat of the European Parliament is in Strasbourg (France), although the institution has three places of work: Strasbourg, Brussels (Belgium) and Luxembourg. The main meetings of the



whole Parliament, known as ‘plenary sessions’, take place in Strasbourg 12 times per year. Additional plenary sessions are held in Brussels. Committee meetings are also held in Brussels.

### Composition of the European Parliament

The seats in the European Parliament are allocated among the Member States on the basis of their share of the EU population. Most MEPs are associated with a national political party in their home country. In the European Parliament the national parties group into EU-wide political groupings and most MEPs belong to one of these.

### What the European Parliament does

The Parliament has three main roles:

1. It shares with the Council the power to legislate — to pass laws. The fact that it is a directly elected body helps guarantee the democratic legitimacy of European law.
2. It exercises democratic supervision over all EU institutions, and in particular the Commission. It has the power to approve or reject the nomination of the President of the Commission and Commissioners, and the right to censure the Commission as a whole.
3. It shares authority with the Council over the EU budget and can therefore influence EU spending. At the end of the budget procedure, it adopts or rejects the budget in its entirety. These three roles are described in greater detail below.

#### 1. THE POWER TO LEGISLATE

The most common procedure for adopting EU legislation is called the ‘ordinary legislative procedure’ — also known as the ‘co-decision procedure’. This places the European Parliament and the Council on an equal footing, and the laws passed using this procedure are joint acts of the Council and Parliament. It applies to the majority of EU legislation, covering a wide range of fields such as consumer rights, environmental protection and transport. Under the ordinary legislative procedure the Commission makes a proposal which must be adopted both by the Parliament and the Council. Parliament’s assent is required for all international agreements in fields covered by the ordinary legislative procedure. Parliament must be consulted on a range of other proposals, and its approval is required for important political or institutional decisions, such as social security and protection acts, tax-related provisions in the area of energy, and harmonisation of turnover taxes and indirect taxation. Parliament also provides the impetus for new legislation by examining the Commission’s annual work programme, considering what new laws would be appropriate, and asking the Commission to put forward proposals.

#### 2. THE POWER OF SUPERVISION

Parliament exercises democratic supervision over the other European institutions. It does so in several ways. Firstly, when a new Commission is to be appointed, Parliament holds auditions of all the prospective new members and President of the Commission (nominated by the Member States). They cannot be appointed without Parliament’s approval. Furthermore, the Commission is politically answerable to Parliament, which can pass a ‘motion of censure’ calling for its mass resignation. More generally, Parliament exercises control by regularly examining reports sent to it by the Commission and asking written and oral questions. The Commissioners attend plenary sessions of Parliament and meetings of the parliamentary committees. Similarly, the Parliament holds a regular dialogue with the President of the European Central Bank on monetary policy.

Parliament also monitors the work of the Council: MEPs regularly ask the Council written and oral questions, and the Council Presidency attends the plenary sessions and takes part in important debates.

### 3. THE POWER OF THE PURSE

The EU's annual budget is decided jointly by Parliament and the Council of the European Union. Parliament debates it in two successive readings, and it does not come into force until it has been signed by the President of Parliament. Its Committee on Budgetary Control monitors how the budget is spent, and each year Parliament decides whether to approve the Commission's handling of the budget for the previous financial year. This approval process is technically known as 'granting a discharge'.

Parliament elects its own President for a two-and-a-half-year term. The President represents the Parliament to the other EU institutions as well as to the outside world, and is assisted by 14 Vice-Presidents. The President of the European Parliament, together with the President of the Council, signs all legislative acts once they are adopted.

## THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

### Setting the strategy

**Role:** Defines political direction and priorities

**Members:** Heads of State or Government from each Member State, the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission

**Location:** Brussels

The European Council brings together the EU's top political leaders, i.e. Prime Ministers and Presidents along with its President and the President of the Commission. They meet at least four times a year to give the EU as a whole general political direction and priorities. The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy also takes part in the meetings.

### What the European Council does

As a summit meeting of the Heads of State or Government of all the EU countries, the European Council represents the highest level of political cooperation between the Member States. At their meetings, the leaders decide by consensus on the overall direction and priorities of the Union, and provide the necessary impetus for its development. The European Council does not adopt legislation. At the end of each meeting it issues 'conclusions', which reflect the main messages resulting from the discussions and take stock of the decisions taken, also as regards their follow-up. The conclusions identify major issues to be dealt with by the Council, i.e. the meetings of ministers. They may also invite the European Commission to come forward with proposals addressing a particular challenge or opportunity facing the Union. European Council meetings as a rule take place at least twice every six months. Additional (extraordinary or informal) meetings may be called to address urgent issues in need of decisions at the highest level, for example in economic affairs or foreign policy.

### President of the European Council

The work of the European Council is coordinated by its President, who is responsible for convening and chairing European Council meetings and driving forward its work. The European Council President also represents the Union to the outside world. Together with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, he or she represents Union interests in foreign affairs and security matters. The President is elected by the European Council for a once-renewable term of two and a half years. The Presidency of the European Council is a full-time job; the President may not simultaneously hold a national office.

#### **A confusion of Councils: which is which?**

It is easy to become confused about which European body is which — especially when very different bodies have very similar names, such as the following three ‘Councils’.

##### **The European Council**

This means the Heads of State or Government (i.e. Presidents and/or Prime Ministers) of all the EU countries, together with its President and the President of the European Commission. It is the highest-level policymaking body in the European Union, which is why its meetings are often called ‘summits’.

##### **The Council**

Also known as the Council of Ministers, this institution consists of government ministers from all the EU countries. The Council meets regularly to take detailed decisions and to pass European laws.

**The Council of Europe** This is not an EU institution at all. It is an intergovernmental organisation which aims to protect human rights, democracy and the rule of law. It was set up in 1949 and one of its early achievements was to draw up the European Convention on Human Rights. To enable citizens to exercise their rights under that Convention it set up the European Court of Human Rights. The Council of Europe now has 47 Member States, including all EU countries, and its headquarters are in Strasbourg, France.

## **THE COUNCIL**

### **The voice of the Member States**

**Role:** Deciding on policies and adopting legislation

One minister from each Member State

Brussels and Luxembourg

**Members:**

**Location:**

In the Council, ministers of EU Member States meet to discuss EU matters, take decisions and pass laws. The ministers who attend these meetings have the authority to commit their government to the actions agreed in the Council meetings.

### **What the Council does**

The Council is an essential EU decision-maker. Its work is carried out in Council meetings that are attended by one minister from each of the EU’s national governments. The purpose of these gatherings is to discuss, agree, amend and, finally, adopt legislation; coordinate the Member States’ policies; or define the EU’s foreign policy. Which ministers attend which Council meeting depends on the subjects on the agenda — this is known as the ‘configuration’ of the Council. If, for example, the Council is to discuss environmental issues, the meeting will be attended by the environment minister from each EU Member State and is known as the ‘Environment Council’;

likewise, for the 'Economic and Financial Affairs Council' or the 'Competitiveness Council', and so on. The Presidency of the Council rotates between the Member States every six months. It is not the same as the President of the European Council. The responsibility of the government holding the Presidency is to organise and chair the different Council meetings. By way of exception, the Foreign Affairs Council is chaired by the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who carries out foreign policy on behalf of the Council.

Each minister in the Council is empowered to commit his or her government. Moreover, each minister in the Council is answerable to the elected national authorities. This ensures the democratic legitimacy of the Council's decisions.

The Council has five key responsibilities:

1. To pass European laws. In most fields, it legislates jointly with the European Parliament.
2. To coordinate the Member States' policies, for example, in the economic field.
3. To develop the EU's common foreign and security policy, based on guidelines set by the European Council.
4. To conclude international agreements between the EU and one or more states or international organisations.
5. To adopt the EU's budget, jointly with the European Parliament.

## Text 2

Source: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/organisation-and-rules/organisation/political-groups>

## THE POLITICAL GROUPS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

**The Members of the European Parliament sit in political groups – they are not organised by nationality, but by political affiliation. There are currently 7 political groups in the European Parliament.**

23 Members are needed to form a political group, and at least one-quarter of the Member States must be represented within the group. Members may not belong to more than one political group.

Some Members do not belong to any political group and are known as non-attached Members.

### The political groups in the European Parliament

Each political group care of its own internal organisation by appointing a chair (or two cochairs in the case of some groups), a bureau and a secretariat.

The places assigned to Members in the Chamber are decided by political affiliation, from left to right, by agreement with the group chairs.

Before every vote in plenary the political groups scrutinise the reports drawn up by the parliamentary committees and table amendments to them.

The position adopted by the political group is arrived at by discussion within the group. No Member can be forced to vote in a particular way.

- Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)
- 
- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament
  - Renew Europe Group
  - Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
  - Identity and Democracy Group
  - European Conservatives and Reformists Group
  - The Left group in the European Parliament - GUE/NGL

## VOCABULARY

official seat – oficiální sídlo

hold elections – pořádat volby

plenary session – plenární zasedání

parliament seat – parlamentní křeslo

MEP (Member of European Parliament) – europoslanec

pass laws – schvalovat zákony

approve or reject – schválit nebo odmítnout

co-decision procedure – postup spolurozhodování

ordinary legislative procedure – řádný legislativní postup

term – volební období

assent – souhlas

turnover tax – daň z obrátu

exercise supervision – vykonávat dohled

hold an audition – pořádat konkurz

motion of censure – návrh na vyslovení nedůvěry

power of the purse – fiskální pravomoc

grant a discharge – udělit absolutorium

legislative act – právní úkon

The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – Vysoký představitel Unie pro zahraniční věci a bezpečnostní politiku

decide by consensus – rozhodovat dohodou

address urgent issues – řešit nahléhavé záležitosti

chair a meeting – předsedat schůzi

hold an office – zastávat úřad

European Council – Evropská rada

Council – Rada/Rada EU/Rada ministrů

Council of Europe – Rada Evropy

head of state – hlava státu

intergovernmental organization – mezivládní organizace

draw up – sestavit

European Convention on Human Rights – Evropská úmluva o ochraně lidských práv

exercise rights – uplatňovat práva

European Court of Human Rights – Evropský soud pro lidská práva

configuration – konfigurace

attend a meeting – účastnit se schůzky

be answerable to – zodpovídat se (komu)

conclude agreements – uzavírat smlouvy

political group – politická skupina/frakce

non-attached members – nezařazení poslanci  
appoint a chair – jmenovat předsedu  
draw up a report – sepsat zprávu  
political affiliation – politická příslušnost

## **HOMEWORK FOR WEEK 5: EU INSTITUTIONS 2**

**Read the text below and complete the following tasks:**

**I. Are the following sentences related to the text true or false? Correct the false ones.**

1. The Commission is the highest legislative body of the EU.
2. The Commission is also active in dealing with countries outside the EU.
3. The members of the Commission are former politicians from individual countries, but once taking the Commissioner's office, they must act with regard to the interests of the entire EU.
4. The Commission isn't answerable to any other EU body.
5. One of the Commission's key tasks is to propose laws to Parliament and Council.
6. The Commission doesn't deal with finances; they are the responsibility of other bodies.
7. The Commission takes action when some member country doesn't comply with EU laws.
8. The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is simultaneously the President of the Commission.
9. The Commission's legislative proposals are sometimes discussed with the public and representatives of industry, farmers and other institutions.
10. National parliaments have no right to oppose or object to the Commission's proposals.

**II. Find some information about the current President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen and her predecessor Jean-Claude Juncker and write it down here. Don't just copy and paste and avoid writing too much biographical information ; instead, focus on their leadership style, priorities or controversies.**

A/

B/

## THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Adapted from: [https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW\\_How\\_the\\_EU\\_Works.pdf](https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW_How_the_EU_Works.pdf)

### Promoting the common interest

**Role:** Executive arm of the EU that proposes laws, polices agreements and promotes the Union

**Members:** A college of Commissioners, one from each Member State

**Location:** Brussels

The Commission is the politically independent institution that represents and upholds the interests of the EU as a whole. In many areas it is the driving force within the EU's institutional system: it proposes legislation, policies and programmes of action and is responsible for implementing the decisions of the European Parliament and the Council. It also represents the Union to the outside world with the exception of the common foreign and security policy.

### What is the Commission?

The term 'Commission' is used in two senses. Firstly, it refers to the 'Members of the Commission' — i.e. the team of men and women appointed by the Member States and Parliament to run the institution and take its decisions. Secondly, the term 'Commission' refers to the institution itself and to its staff. Informally, the Members of the Commission are known as 'Commissioners'. They have all held political positions and many have been government ministers, but as members of the Commission they are committed to acting in the interests of the Union as a whole and not taking instructions from national governments.

The Commission has several Vice-Presidents, one of whom is also the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and thus has a foot in both the Council and the Commission camps. The Commission remains politically answerable to Parliament, which has the power to dismiss it by adopting a motion of censure.

The Commission attends all the sessions of Parliament, where it must clarify and justify its policies. It also replies regularly to written and oral questions posed by Members of Parliament.

### Appointing the Commission

A new Commission is appointed every five years, within six months of the elections to the European Parliament.

The procedure is as follows:

- The Member State governments propose a new Commission President, who must be elected by the European Parliament.
- The proposed Commission President, in discussion with the Member State governments, chooses the other members of the Commission. The new Parliament then interviews all proposed members and gives its opinion on the entire 'College'. If approved, the new Commission can officially start work the following January.

The day-to-day work of the Commission is done by its administrative officials, experts, translators, interpreters and secretarial staff. Commission officials — like the staff of other EU bodies — are



recruited via the European Personnel Selection Office (EPSO): [europa.eu/epso](http://europa.eu/epso). They are citizens from every EU country, selected by means of open competitive examinations.

There are approximately 33 000 people working for the Commission. That may sound a lot, but in fact it is fewer than the number of staff employed by most medium-sized city councils in Europe. What the Commission does The European Commission has four main roles:

1. to propose legislation to Parliament and the Council;
2. to manage and implement EU policies and the budget;
3. to enforce European law (jointly with the Court of Justice);
4. to represent the Union around the world.

## 1. PROPOSING NEW LEGISLATION

Under the EU Treaty, the Commission has the ‘right of initiative’. In other words, the Commission alone is responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation, which it presents to Parliament and the Council. These proposals must aim to defend the interests of the Union and its citizens, not those of specific countries or industries. Before making any proposals, the Commission must be aware of new situations and problems developing in Europe and must consider whether EU legislation is the best way to deal with them. That is why the Commission is in constant touch with a wide range of interest groups and with two advisory bodies — the Economic and Social Committee (made up of employers’ and trade union representatives) and the Committee of the Regions (made up of representatives of local and regional authorities). It also seeks the opinions of national parliaments, governments and the public at large. The Commission will propose action at EU level only if it considers that a problem cannot be solved more efficiently by national, regional or local action. This principle of dealing with things at the lowest possible level is called the ‘subsidiarity principle’. If, however, the Commission concludes that EU legislation is needed, then it drafts a proposal that it believes will deal with the problem effectively and satisfy the widest possible range of interests. In order to get the technical details correct, the Commission consults the experts who make up its various committees and expert groups.

## 2. IMPLEMENTING EU POLICIES AND THE BUDGET

As the European Union’s executive body, the Commission is responsible for managing and implementing the EU budget and the policies and programmes adopted by Parliament and the Council. Most of the actual work and spending is done by national and local authorities but the Commission is responsible for supervising it. The Commission handles the budget under the watchful eye of the Court of Auditors. Both institutions aim to ensure good financial management. Only if it is satisfied with the Court of Auditors’ annual report does the European Parliament grant the Commission discharge for implementing the budget.

## 3. ENFORCING EUROPEAN LAW

The Commission acts as ‘guardian of the treaties’. This means that, together with the Court of Justice, it is responsible for making sure EU law is properly applied in all the Member States. If it finds that any EU country is not applying a Union law, and therefore not meeting its legal obligations, the Commission takes steps to put the situation right. First, it launches a legal process called the ‘infringement procedure’. This involves sending the government an official letter explaining why the Commission considers this country is infringing EU law, and setting it a deadline for sending the Commission a detailed reply. If this procedure fails to correct matters,



the Commission then refers the issue to the Court of Justice, which has the power to impose penalties. The Court's judgments are binding on the Member States and the EU institutions.

#### 4. REPRESENTING THE EU ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE

The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is a Vice-President of the Commission and has responsibility for external affairs. In matters concerning foreign affairs and security, the High Representative works with the Council. However, in other areas of external action the Commission plays the leading role — in particular in the areas of trade policy and humanitarian aid. In these areas, the European Commission acts as an important spokesperson for the European Union on the international stage. It enables the 27 Member States to speak with one voice in international forums such as the World Trade Organisation.

#### **How the Commission works**

It is up to the Commission President to decide which Commissioner will be responsible for which policy area, and to reshuffle these responsibilities (if necessary) during the Commission's term of office. The President is also entitled to demand a Commissioner's resignation. The team of 27 Commissioners (also known as 'the College') meets once a week, usually on Wednesdays in Brussels. Each item on the agenda is presented by the Commissioner responsible for that policy area, and the College takes a collective decision on it. The Commission's staff is organised into departments, known as directorates-general (DGs) and services (such as the Legal Service). Each DG is responsible for a particular policy area — for example, the Trade DG and the Competition DG — and is headed by a Director-General who is answerable to one of the Commissioners.

It is the DGs that actually devise and draft the Commission's legislative proposals, but these proposals only become official when 'adopted' by the College at its weekly meeting. The procedure is roughly as follows. Suppose, for example, that the Commission sees a need for EU legislation to prevent pollution of Europe's rivers. The Directorate-General for the Environment will draw up a proposal, based on extensive consultations with European industry and farmers, with environment ministries in the Member States and with environmental organisations. Many proposals are also open to public consultation, enabling individuals to provide views in a personal capacity, or on behalf of an organisation. The proposed legislation will then be discussed with all relevant Commission departments and amended if necessary. It will then be checked by the Legal Service. Once the proposal is complete, the Secretary-General will put it on the agenda for a forthcoming Commission meeting. At this meeting, the Environment Commissioner will explain to his or her colleagues why this legislation is being proposed, and they will then discuss it. If there is agreement, the College will adopt the proposal and the document will be sent to Council and the European Parliament for their consideration. However, if there is disagreement among the Commissioners, the President may ask them to vote on it. If the majority is in favour, the proposal will be adopted. Thereafter it will have the support of all the Commission members.

## THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS

### **Enforcing subsidiarity**

**Role:** To participate alongside the European institutions in the work of the Union

**Members:** Members of national parliaments

**Location:** All EU Member States

The EU institutions are encouraging the national parliaments to become more involved in the activities of the European Union. Since 2006, the Commission has been transmitting to national parliaments all new legislative proposals, and has replied to their opinions. With the Lisbon Treaty from 2009, the rights and duties of national parliaments within the EU are clearly set. National parliaments are now more able to express their views on draft legislative acts as well as on other matters which may be of particular interest to them. The greatest innovation is the new power to enforce subsidiarity.

EU actions are subject to the principle of subsidiarity. This means that the Union only acts where action will be more effective at EU level than at national level. Where the treaties have given exclusive powers to the EU, this is considered to be the case, but otherwise it is a judgment that is made for each new law. Correct application of this principle in EU decisionmaking is monitored by national parliaments.

To enable parliaments to carry out subsidiarity checks, the Commission sends draft legislation to national parliaments at the same time as it forwards it to the Union legislator (i.e. the European Parliament and the Council). Any national parliament may then give a reasoned opinion if it considers that the proposal in question does not comply with the principle of subsidiarity. Depending on the number of reasoned opinions issued by national parliaments, the Commission may have to re-examine its proposal and decide whether to maintain, adjust or withdraw it. This is referred to as the yellow and orange card procedure. In the case of the ordinary legislative procedure, if a majority of national parliaments give a reasoned opinion, and provided that the Commission decides to maintain its proposal, it will have to explain its reasons, and it will be for the European Parliament and the Council to decide whether or not to continue the legislative procedure.

National parliaments are also directly involved with the implementation of EU legislation. EU directives are addressed to national authorities, who must take action to make them part of national law. The directives lay down certain end results that must be achieved in every Member State by a specified date. National authorities have to adapt their laws to meet these goals, but are free to decide how to do so. Directives are used to bring different national laws into line with each other, and are particularly common in matters affecting the operation of the single market (e.g. product safety standards).

## VOCABULARY

executive arm – výkonná složka

uphold the interests – prosazovat zájmy

run an institution – vést instituci

commissioner – komisař

city council – městský úřad

dismiss – odvolat, rozpustit, propustit

session – jednání, zasedání

take instructions – přijímat rozkazy, pokyny

college – kolegium

orange and yellow card procedure – postup oranžové a žluté karty

exclusive powers – výlučné pravomoci

European Personnel Selection Office – Evropský úřad pro výběr pracovníků

enforce law – vymáhat dodržování zákonů

advisory body – poradní orgán

court of auditors – účetní dvůr

legal obligations – právní závazky  
infringement procedure – řízení o nesplnění povinnosti  
set a deadline – stanovit termín  
judgment – rozsudek  
World Trade Organization – Světová obchodní organizace  
reshuffle – přeskupit, obměnit  
directorate-general – generální ředitelství  
director-general – generální ředitel  
draw up a proposal – sepsat návrh  
subsidiarity check – kontrola subsidiarity  
draft legislation – návrh zákona  
comply with a principle – splňovat zásadu  
product safety standards – normy bezpečnosti výrobků

## **HOMEWORK FOR WEEK 6**

**Read the text below and answer the following questions:**

- 1) What is the main purpose of the Court of Justice of the EU?
- 2) What is the “preliminary ruling” of the Court?
- 3) Try to find a real recent example of an infringement proceeding, proceeding for annulment or proceeding for failure to act brought before the Court of Justice of the EU and write in a couple of sentences what it was about.
- 4) What are the two stages of a case submitted to the Court?
- 5) Why was the European Central Bank set up and what does it do?

### **6) What do you think?**

List the pros and cons of a single currency (euro) for EU member states. Do you think the Czech Republic should adopt the euro? Why/Why not? Feel free to express your view!



Adapted from: [https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW\\_How\\_the\\_EU\\_Works.pdf](https://europa.rs/images/publikacije/HTEUW_How_the_EU_Works.pdf)

## **THE COURT OF JUSTICE**

## Upholding EU law

**Role:** To give legal judgments on cases brought before it

**Court of Justice:** One Judge from each EU Member State; eight Advocates General  
**General Court:** One Judge from each EU Member State  
**Civil Service Tribunal:** Seven Judges

**Location:** Luxembourg

The Court of Justice of the European Union (the Court) ensures that EU legislation is interpreted and applied in the same way in each Member State. In other words, that it is always identical for all parties and in all circumstances. To this end, the Court checks the legality of the actions of the EU institutions, ensures the Member States comply with their obligations, and interprets EU law at the request of national courts. The Court has the power to settle legal disputes between Member States, EU institutions, businesses and individuals.

To cope with the many thousands of cases it receives, it is divided into two main bodies:

**the Court of Justice**, which deals with requests for preliminary rulings from national courts, certain actions for annulment and appeals,

**and the General Court**, which rules on all actions for annulment, brought by private individuals and companies and some such actions brought by Member States.

A specialised tribunal, **the Civil Service Tribunal**, also adjudicates in disputes between the EU and its civil servants. What the Court does The Court gives rulings on cases brought before it.

The four most common types of case are listed below.

### 1. THE PRELIMINARY RULING

The courts in each EU Member State are responsible for ensuring that EU law is properly applied in that country. If a national court is in any doubt about the interpretation or validity of an EU law it may, and sometimes must, ask the Court of Justice for advice. This advice is given in the form of a binding 'preliminary ruling'. This ruling is an important channel for citizens, through their national courts, to establish how far EU laws affect them. Air hostesses have benefited several times from rulings on equal pay and equal rights from the Court of Justice of the EU.

### 2. INFRINGEMENT PROCEEDINGS

The Commission, or (in some rare cases) a Member State, can initiate these proceedings if it has reason to believe that a certain Member State is failing to fulfil its obligations under EU law. The Court investigates the allegations and gives its judgment. If found to be at fault, the accused Member State must set things right without delay to avoid the fines the Court can apply.

### 3. PROCEEDINGS FOR ANNULMENT

If any of the Member States, the Council, Commission or (under certain conditions) Parliament, believes that a particular EU law is illegal they may ask the Court to annul it. These 'proceedings for annulment' can also be used by private individuals who want the Court to annul a particular law because it directly and adversely affects them as individuals.

**4. PROCEEDINGS FOR FAILURE TO ACT** The treaty requires the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission to make certain decisions under certain circumstances. If they fail to do so, the Member States, other EU institutions and (under certain conditions) individuals or companies can lodge a complaint with the Court so as to have this violation officially recorded.  
**How the Court works** The Court of Justice is composed of 27 Judges, one from each Member State,

so that all the EU national legal systems are represented. The Court is assisted by eight 'Advocates General' who present reasoned opinions on the cases brought before the Court. They must do so publicly and impartially. The Judges and Advocates General are either former members of the highest national courts or highly competent lawyers who can be relied on to show impartiality. They are appointed by joint agreement of the Member State governments. Each is appointed for a term of six years. The Judges of the Court select a President who serves for three years.

The Court of Justice can sit as a full Court, a Grand Chamber of 13 Judges, or Chambers of five or three Judges, depending on the complexity and importance of the case. Nearly 60 % of cases are heard by Chambers of five Judges and around 25 % by Chambers of three Judges. The General Court is also composed of 27 Judges, appointed by the Member States for six-year terms. The Judges of the General Court also elect a President among themselves for a three-year term.

This Court sits in Chambers of three or five Judges (sometimes a single Judge) to hold hearings. Around 80 % of General Court cases are heard by three Judges. A Grand Chamber of 13 Judges, or a full Chamber of 27, may meet if the complexity or importance of the case justifies this. All cases are submitted to the Registry at the Court and a specific Judge and Advocate General are assigned. After submission, there are two steps: first, a written stage and then an oral stage. In the first stage, all the parties involved submit written statements and the Judge assigned to the case draws up a report summarising these statements and the legal background to the case. This report is discussed at the Court's General Meeting which decides the judicial formation that will hear the case and whether oral arguments are necessary.

Then comes the second stage — the public hearing — where the lawyers put their case before the Judges and the Advocate General, who can question them. After the oral hearing, the Advocate General assigned to the case draws up his or her opinion. In the light of this opinion, the Judge draws up a draft ruling which is submitted to the other Judges for examination. The Judges then deliberate and deliver their judgment. Judgments of the Court are decided by a majority and pronounced at a public hearing. In most instances the text is available in all official languages of the EU on the same day. Dissenting opinions are not expressed. Not all cases follow this standard procedure. When the urgency of a case so dictates, simplified and expedited procedures exist which allow the Court to rule within approximately three months.

## **THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK**

### **Ensuring price stability**

**Role:** To manage the euro and euro area monetary policy

**Members:** Euro area national central banks

**Location:** Frankfurt am Main, Germany

The purpose of the European Central Bank (ECB) is to maintain monetary stability in the euro area by ensuring low and stable consumer price inflation. Stable prices and low price inflation are considered vital for sustained economic growth as they encourage enterprises to invest and create more jobs — thus raising living standards for Europeans.

The ECB is an independent institution and takes its decisions without seeking or taking instructions from governments or other EU institutions.

### **What the ECB does**

The ECB was set up in 1998, when the euro was introduced, to manage monetary policy in the euro area. The primary objective of the ECB is to maintain price stability. This is defined as a consumer price inflation rate of less than, but close to, 2 % per annum. The ECB also acts to support employment and sustainable economic growth in the Union.

**How does the ECB manage price stability?** The ECB sets the interest rates for lending to commercial banks, which influences the price and the amount of money in the economy — and thus the inflation rate. For example, when money is in plentiful supply, consumer price inflation rate may rise, making goods and services more expensive. In response, the ECB can raise the cost of borrowing by increasing the interest rate on its loans to commercial banks — which reduces the supply of money and leads to downward pressure on prices. Likewise, when there is a need to stimulate economic activity, the ECB can reduce the interest rate it charges, to encourage borrowing and investment.

To carry out its lending operations, the ECB holds and manages the official foreign reserves of the euro area members. Other tasks include conducting foreign exchange operations, promoting efficient payment systems in support of the single market, approving the production of euro banknotes by the euro area members, and collating relevant statistical data from the national central banks. The President of the ECB represents it at relevant high-level EU and international meetings.

### **How the ECB works**

The European Central Bank is an institution of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) to which all EU Member States belong. Joining the euro area and adopting the single currency — the euro — is the final phase of EMU. Not all EU Member States belong to the euro area: some are still preparing their economies to join, and others have opt-outs.

The ECB stands at the core of the European System of Central Banks, which brings together the ECB and the national central banks of all EU Member States. The organisation of the ECB reflects this situation in its three main groupings.

[The General Council of the European System of Central Banks](#) comprises the governors of the 27 national central banks, together with the ECB President and Vice-President.

[The Executive Board of the ECB](#) consists of the President, the Vice-President and four other members — all appointed by the European Council, acting by a qualified majority, for eight-year terms of office.

[The Executive Board](#) is responsible for implementing monetary policy, the bank's day-to-day operations, preparing Governing Council meetings as well as exercising certain powers delegated to it by the [Governing Council](#).

[The Governing Council of the ECB](#) comprises the six members of the ECB Executive Board and the Governors of the national central banks of the 17 euro area members: together they form the Eurosystem.

The Governing Council is the main decision-taking body of the ECB and meets twice a month. As a rule, at its first meeting each month, the Governing Council assesses economic and monetary

developments and takes its monthly monetary policy decisions. At its second meeting, the Council mainly discusses issues related to other tasks and responsibilities of the ECB.

### **Economic governance: Who does what?**

The Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) is a core element of European integration and all EU Member States are part of it. Fiscal policy (tax and spending) remains in the hands of individual national governments, as do policies about labour and welfare. However, the coordination of sound public finances and structural policies is vital for EMU to function effectively.

The responsibilities are shared between the Member States and EU institutions as follows:

- The European Council sets the main policy orientations.
- The Council coordinates EU economic policymaking and takes decisions which can bind individual EU Member States.
- The EU Member States set their national budgets within agreed limits for deficit and debt, and determine their own structural policies involving labour, pensions, welfare and markets.
- The euro area countries coordinate policies of common interest for the euro area at the level of heads of state or government in the 'Euro summit' and at the level of finance ministers in the 'Eurogroup'.
- The European Central Bank sets monetary policy for the euro area, with price stability as the prime objective.
- The European Commission monitors what the EU Member States are doing and issues policy recommendations.
- The European Parliament shares the job of formulating legislation with the Council and exercises democratic oversight of the economic governance process.

### **Vocabulary**

legal judgment – soudní rozsudek

bring before court – dát k soudu

general court – tribunal

The Court of Justice of the European Union – Soudní dvůr EU

settle legal disputes – řešit soudní spory

preliminary ruling – předběžné opatření

proceeding for annulment – žaloba na neplatnost

apply law – uplatňovat legislativu

infringement proceeding – přízení pro nesplnění povinnosti

proceeding for failure to act – žaloba pro nečinnost

lodge a complaint – podat stížnost

violation – porušení, přestupek

Advocate General – generální advokát

reasoned opinion – odůvodněné stanovisko

impartial – nestranný

President of the Court – předseda soudu

six-year term – šestileté období

Grand Chamber – Velký senát

registry – kancelář (soudu), podatelna

public hearing – veřejné slyšení

urgency of a case – naléhavost případu

expedited procedure – zrychlené řízení



European Central Bank – Evropská centrální banka  
 monetary policy – měnová politika  
 sustained economic growth – trvalý hospodářský růst  
 per annum – ročně  
 raise living standards – zvýšit životní úroveň  
 interest rates – úrokové sazby  
 loan – půjčka  
 money supply – zásoba peněz  
 collate data – shromažďovat data  
 foreign (exchange) reserves – devizové rezervy  
 Economic and Monetary Union – Hospodářská a měnová unie  
 adopt the single currency – přijmout jednotnou měnu  
 opt-out – výjimka  
 The General Council of the European System of Central Banks – Generální rada evropského systému centrálních bank  
 The Executive Board of the ECB – Výkonná rada ECB  
 The Governing Council of the ECB – Rada guvernérů ECB  
 comprise six member – sestávat ze šesti členů  
 economic governance – správa ekonomických záležitostí  
 welfare – sociální zabezpečení  
 bind – vázat, zavazovat  
 issue policy recommendations – vydávat politická doporučení  
 exercise democratic oversight – vykonávat demokratický dohled

## WEEK 6 CLASS HANDOUT

### Language work

#### I. Complete the correct prepositions. Then translate the sentences.

1. The Court interprets EU law ..... the request of national courts.
2. The Court of Justice deals ..... requests for preliminary rulings .... national courts.
3. The Court gives rulings ... cases brought before it.
4. If a national court is ..... any doubt ..... the interpretation or validity of an EU law it may, and sometimes must, ask the Court of Justice for advice.
5. Air hostesses have benefited several times from rulings on equal pay and equal rights from the Court of Justice of the EU.
6. The Commission or a Member State can initiate these proceedings if it has reason to believe that a certain Member State is failing to fulfil its obligations ..... EU law."
7. The Member States or other EU institutions can lodge a complaint ..... the Court.
8. The Court is assisted by eight 'Advocates General' who present reasoned opinions ..... the cases brought before the Court.
9. The General Court is also composed ... 27 Judges, appointed by the Member States ..... six-year terms.
10. Judgments of the Court are decided by a majority and pronounced .... a public hearing.
11. For example, when money is ..... plentiful supply, consumer price inflation rate may rise, making goods and services more expensive.
12. In response, the ECB can raise the cost of borrowing by increasing the interest rate ..... its loans to commercial banks.
13. The ECB stands ..... the core of the European System of Central Banks.



14. The Executive Board is responsible ..... implementing monetary policy, the bank's day-to-day operations
15. .... its second meeting, the Council mainly discusses issues related .... other tasks and responsibilities of the ECB.

**II. Replace the underlined words with their phrasal verb equivalents. Compose them from the words in the two boxes. Remember: phrasal verbs are usually less formal than non-phrasal verbs!**

set	weigh	look	put (2x)	sort	go	make	keep	kick	pick	sum
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out (3x)	into	off	in	up (5x)	forward
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1. The Court has the power to settle legal disputes between Member States, EU institutions, businesses and individuals.
2. The four most common types of case are listed below.
3. The Commission can initiate these proceedings if it has reason to believe that a certain Member State is failing to fulfil its obligations.
4. Court investigates the allegations and gives its judgment.
5. The Member States can lodge a complaint with the Court.
6. The Court of Justice is composed of 27 Judges.
7. The Court is assisted by eight 'Advocates General' who present reasoned opinions on the cases brought before the Court.
8. The Judges of the Court select a President who serves for three years.
9. The Judge assigned to the case draws up a report summarising these statements and the legal background to the case.
10. The purpose of the European Central Bank (ECB) is to maintain monetary stability in the euro area by ensuring low and stable consumer price inflation.
11. For example, when money is in plentiful supply, consumer price inflation rate may rise.
12. The Governing Council assesses economic and monetary developments and takes its monthly monetary policy decisions.

### III. Translate:

zahájit soudní řízení, podat stížnost, předložit odůvodněné stanovisko, nestranný soudce, zachovávat měnovou stabilitu. Hospodářská a měnová unie, být jmenován na šestileté období, přijmout jednotnou měnu, držet devizové rezervy, sestávat ze tří členů, cenová stabilita jako hlavní cíl, vykonávat demokratický dohled, zvýšit úrokové sazby, zvolit předsedu soudu, zneplatnění zákona, plnit závazky, pravomoc řešit právní spory, dát případ k soudu, řízení pro nečinnost, sepsat zprávu o právním pozadí případu, podporovat udržitelný hospodářský růst.

**Useful videos**

EU Court: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-9FOYAKHWnw>

EU lawmaking: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5f0IdyiKl3U>

What has the Court of Justice done for me? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mlNoq7Kn6I4>

European Central Bank: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRzFAvgBhU0>

ECB and the euro system: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRzFAvgBhU0>

Imperfect Union: the Eurozone in Crisis <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LpwpliU-5n0>

## **HOMEWORK FOR WEEK 7: EU'S ECONOMY**

**Read the text below and answer the following questions/complete the following tasks:**

1. Write a short summary of the article (3-4 sentences). In the summary, state what the main idea/argument of the articles is.
2. The author talks about the “great transformation” of the 1990. What does he mean by it?
3. What can be the effect/benefits of sanctions and other similar measures? What conditions do sanctions have to meet to be efficient?
4. What does the author mean by “direct management” and “assisted management”? Can you explain the difference? Consult the Internet if needed.

**Explain the following terms (their meaning, not just their name).**

GDP

Comecon

OECD

internal devaluation

European Pillar of Social Rights

### **Fifteen Years of Convergence: East-West Imbalance and What the EU Should Do About it**

By [László Andor](#)

From Intereconomics. A Review of European Economic Policy

<https://www.intereconomics.eu/contents/year/2019/number/1/article/fifteen-years-of-convergence-east-west-imbalance-and-what-the-eu-should-do-about-it.html>

This article is part of [Economic Convergence or Divergence in the EU?](#)

The year 2019 marks the 15th anniversary of the Eastern EU enlargement that incorporated the Visegrád Four, the Baltic Three and Slovenia into the EU. But it also marks the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the great political transformation that paved the way for the German as well as the pan-European reunification.

After the transformational recession of the early 1990s, the region demonstrated strong growth potential that has been consolidated by EU membership. However, the EU accession of East-Central European countries resulted in an imbalanced Single Market in which the positions and strategies of Eastern members have to be scrutinised from the perspective of economic as well as social sustainability.

In this article, I explore some key trends and point to some controversies. I argue that social convergence requires particular attention alongside economic convergence, and the decoupling of the two is a trend that should be a matter of concern. At the end, I highlight some ideas and initiatives in the context of East-West convergence policies.

### End of boom and bust – almost

The 'Eastern enlargement' in May 2004 opened the EU's doors to ten countries. Eight of these (the four Visegrád states, the three Baltic countries and a former Yugoslav state) had at that time completed their 15-year transition towards a market economy. In the first half of the 1990s these countries' income, measured in terms of GDP, had fallen by 20 to 30 percent. Poland was the first country to return to the same income levels as before the transition, followed by Hungary in 2000, and the other countries followed later on.

Even if East-Central Europe did not experience the same type of disintegration as the Soviet Union, the global economic significance of this region diminished in the 1990s, while emerging economies, especially in Asia, were catching up fast. The transformational recession in the early 1990s was unexpected but also unprecedented due to simultaneous challenges in micro- and macroeconomics as well as international economic relations. New markets had to be found to replace the collapsing Comecon system, while privatisation and repeated cycles of fiscal and monetary stabilisation dominated the domestic agenda.

The experience of the 'great transformation' which began in East-Central Europe 30 years ago played a key role in determining what citizens of the new Member States expected from their accession to the EU: stable and sustainable growth. If we look at the period since 2004, the region seems to have been catching up with Western Europe in terms of employment and economic performance.

However, the financial and economic crisis, which started in 2008, disrupted the previous trend of convergence to some extent. Greater differences between individual countries' performances also emerged. Poland managed to escape the recession in 2009 while the Baltic Three experienced double digit contraction. Among the Visegrád Four, Slovakia, for example, continued to catch up, while Hungary fell behind on growth, employment and social indicators. More recently, Romania joined the club of fast-growing economies. EU membership has played a major part in consolidating strong economic performance in East-Central Europe, despite the fact that post-crisis growth rates were modest compared to the 2002-2008 period.[3](#)

The European Community (which in 1957 originally comprised six Member States) had already taken in nine additional countries prior to this enlargement. But the 2004 enlargement was different because the income disparity between new and old Member States was much more significant than in any previous round. As a result, great imbalances have developed: capital flowed largely from West to East, while workers went mainly from East to West.

## Imbalanced Single Market: large labour outflows

Eastern enlargements doubled the volumes of intra-EU labour mobility. According to estimates, around five percent of the Polish labour force now resides in other EU Member States, while this number has exceeded 10% for Romania and Lithuania. Given the fact that young people are over-represented among Eastern EU-migrants, these labour outflows tend to generate and sustain population decline, especially in regions with lower than average fertility and higher than average mortality.

At the same time, personal remittances paid by expatriates to their home countries have reached significant magnitudes – over three percent of GDP in Romania, Bulgaria and Lithuania. In the short term, these inflows are important for the prosperity and the balance of payments of the home countries. However, in the long-run, it is questionable whether remittances can be sustained at sufficiently high levels to actually offset the negative consequences of workers' outflow from East-Central Europe and the increasing dependency ratio between the employed and non-employed population in these countries. If labour mobility is a threat to social security systems, it is mainly in the sending countries.

Fortunately, mobile workers also occasionally return. They bring valuable new skills and experience that benefit the economies of their countries. The example of Poland in 2011-2012 shows that returning workers can contribute to a country's above-average growth performance. Generally, most people entering East-Central European Member States are actually returning nationals.

Although the destination countries in Western Europe benefit a great deal from mobile East-Central European workers in economic terms, these countries are also witnessing a kind of 'welfare chauvinism', turning public opinion against EU migrants. Some people find it hard to accept that the EU's enlargement to the East has brought with it not only countries and markets but also people and these people have the same rights. In fact, the 2004 and 2007 enlargements brought more instead of less welfare to the receiving countries: a higher proportion of mobile citizens from East-Central Europe are of working age, in good health and more often employed, compared with nationals of the destination countries; therefore, they are actually net contributors to their social security systems.

The real risks of labour mobility from East to West are not in the recipient countries but in the sending countries. A large percentage of workers who migrate from East-Central Europe to the West are overqualified for the jobs in which they find themselves. In 2012 this was the case for about half of East-Central European migrants who had completed higher education. This rate of over-qualification is more than twice as high as for the nationals of the receiving countries. In certain sectors of employment, particularly health care, we can speak of a 'brain drain' which leads to serious problems in the sending countries.

## Behind mobility: an inner periphery

The eastward enlargements, which took place in 2004 and 2007, doubled the mobility of labour within the EU. This mobility is likely to be sustained as long as income disparities between Member States persist. However, this should not be seen as an automatic link that is independent of all other factors. For example, there is a large income disparity between the Czech Republic and its neighbour Germany, and yet relatively few Czechs migrate. This is obviously partly due to the fact that in the Czech Republic, the at-risk-of-poverty rate (10%) is even below that of Germany (16%), despite a much lower per capita GDP.

In several new Member States the issue of finding a way out of poverty is linked to the situation of the Roma population. While there is a sizeable Roma minority in some of the older Member States, for example Spain, Roma integration has really become an issue in the EU only since the 2004 enlargement. Not all Roma are poor, but in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the Roma minority and the rest of the population are worlds apart in terms of education, employment, health and housing. As a result of constant prejudice and open racism (in many cases with political support), it is difficult to overcome this disparity and often even to determine its extent.

Other features also distinguish East-Central Europe from older EU Member States, for example, working conditions. There are major differences between East and West with regard to the degree of organisation of employers and employees. According to the OECD, less than one-fifth of wage and salary earners in Poland or the Czech Republic are actually members of trade unions – compared with a share of almost 70% in the Scandinavian Member States. This means that in terms of economic policy there is a constant temptation to improve competitiveness at the workers' expense. Recent changes in Hungarian labour law provide examples that would not be acceptable in Western or especially Nordic countries. In the area of vocational education and innovation capacity, substantial progress has only been made in East-Central Europe in relation to individual foreign investments.

It can therefore be said that most of the newer Member States, irrespective of the varying speeds of convergence (in terms of GDP), have developed as an 'inner periphery' within the EU. The region's booming capital cities are an exception, which only reinforce the challenge in terms of economic, social and territorial cohesion.

#### Wage dynamics and competitiveness

East-Central European wage dynamics deserve attention for economic and social reasons. Wages are not only low compared to Western Europe but, as demonstrated by a number of variables, also tend to be lower than what the economic potential of these countries would allow.<sup>4</sup> After the initial and turbulent phase of the transformation process, wages in all East-Central European economies started to grow dynamically from the mid-1990s up until the 2009 recession.<sup>5</sup> In the wake of the crisis, however, wage convergence either experienced a sudden halt or slowed down substantially.

Wage trends are not simply by-products of the macroeconomic processes. Maintaining wage cost competitiveness has been part of a reindustrialisation and broader economic development strategy in many cases. In Poland, for example, the early 2000s saw an aggressive reduction of wage share in the manufacturing industry. And even in the past five years of strong GDP growth, wage convergence has been sluggish, which is a trend increasingly frustrated by sectoral or more general labour shortages.

Can the EU do anything about East-Central European wages, and should we think about this at all? Wages and wage setting represent an area where the EU has no direct competences but in various ways the issue has gradually come under EU influence. Most importantly, the EU crisis response brought pressure towards a decentralisation of wage-setting mechanisms, a disruption of pre-crisis collective agreements, and a downward adjustment of the minimum wage in programme countries in particular. This came in addition to a longer-term trend of a declining wage share in a number of countries. In order to counter such negative trends, a campaign for a European Wage Alliance was launched to focus on the central question of East-West upward wage convergence.

Some concrete proposals have already been outlined for a prospective wage coordination policy. For example, agreement could be sought on a guaranteed wage floor in each country, based upon

a coordinated approach towards minimum wages at the EU level that ensure that the levels are set above the poverty threshold and represent decent pay for the work undertaken. Guaranteed national minimum wages would help sustain internal demand while also improving the situation of posted workers and helping to fight social dumping.

Further, a guaranteed minimum income (at different levels per country) could be an effective way of ensuring adequate income support and fighting poverty while providing for activation incentives where relevant. Such a 'national social floor' would also indirectly define the minimum performance expected from national automatic fiscal stabilisers in times of economic crisis.

### East-West imbalance and the social question

Beyond wages, the more general state of social security and social protection had an influence on East-West relations in the EU. In certain periods (e.g. 2011-2013) certain segments of Western media and politics were obsessed with poor migrants from the East and their access to social benefits in receiving countries. The purpose of that discourse was not so much to develop a common strategy to improve the well-being of those citizens, but to exclude them somehow from the richer countries and their welfare systems.

The never ending debate on social dumping supports the feeling in the East, and especially in the Visegrád countries that the West does not want to see economic competition from the East and that arbitrary rules in the area of the mobility of services were introduced to push back Eastern companies in the very few sectors where they might be competitive: namely construction and road transport.<sup>6</sup>

Such controversies reflect the general fear that the enlargement of the EU to the East puts the feasibility of a 'Social Europe' into question. Rounds of enlargements created a geographical divide in Europe in terms of productivity and wage levels and made the EU much more imbalanced and heterogeneous as compared to its predecessor, the European Economic Community, which in itself can be seen as an obstacle to a deep social dimension whether it requires more common legislation or common funds.<sup>7</sup>

It is of course good news that there is economic convergence between East and West. However, those who believe that all problems in the East will be slowly resolved by experiencing higher than average GDP growth need to look beyond the GDP growth figures and see the gaps in health conditions, life expectancy and, in particular, the extraordinary population decline in Eastern Member States.

Economic convergence seems to be happening simultaneously with divergence regarding political values and social models. Therefore, the EU has to make efforts to ensure that economic growth in the East is sustained and is coupled with convergence in terms of political and social policy standards. In the long run, this is the real solution to the problem of social dumping, which has been the focus of legislative activity in the past decade. This is the reason for the significance of the 2017 European Pillar of Social Rights and the insistence of the Commission on the participation of non-Eurozone countries.

The East-West divide is often observed through the lens of controversies around labour mobility. Upholding the right to free movement and to ensure equal treatment for mobile workers remains a pivotal issue. But today a key question is how the peripheral regions (mainly the Eastern ones) can rebuild human capital, which is being lost through constant migration towards the West and disinvestment in health and education sectors. Besides, the EU must remain active in addressing the situation of Roma and promote integration, which is arguably Europe's biggest social challenge today.



## Social investment imperative

To sustain economic growth in East-Central Europe, but also to reproduce the growth potential in the region for the long term, a first necessary step for the governments would be to rethink their role in the development of human capital and invest in it. As the coming decades must combine better living conditions for all with higher productivity growth, new investments are necessary in education, health and social inclusion, where the emphasis – until now – has tended to be on cutbacks.

Greater social investment is not only a responsibility of the public sector but is also in the best interest of companies. However, survey data confirm that businesses in East-Central Europe tend to attribute lower priority to human capital issues than their Western European peers. This is especially true for businesses in Romania and Bulgaria. Poland also stands out: on the one hand, Polish business seems to be more optimistic than in Western countries when it comes to the availability of skilled, educated, competent and experienced human resources. On the other hand, investments in human capital formation (apprenticeships, attracting talents, training, workers' motivation) tend to be seen as a lower priority in Poland compared to the EU average. Such an attitude may be explained by the strength of the cohorts entering the Polish labour market in recent years, but cannot be sustained when the workforce begins to age and shrink as in the rest of Europe.

The great human capital challenge in East-Central Europe is well illustrated by data on workers' participation in lifelong learning. With the exceptions of Slovenia and Estonia, East-Central Member States tend to have a far lower percentage of workers or unemployed people who participate in training and education compared to 'older' Member States. According to the Labour Force Survey, in Romania, Slovakia and Bulgaria the share is only around five percent.

The necessity to step up investment in human capital should be reflected by the way East-Central European countries make use of resources available from EU Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF). The European Social Fund, for example, could play a much greater role than before in helping to promote the employment of women, young professionals starting their career (by introducing the Youth Guarantee), Roma integration, labour market integration for people with disabilities and active ageing. It can also make a major contribution to improving the quality of education systems. The EU has established a rule for 2014-2020 that a certain minimum share of each country's allocation from the Structural Funds has to be dedicated to human capital investment through the European Social Fund. However, more effective financing of these programmes depends primarily on the political will in the individual countries.

## Reformed Cohesion Policy needed

While the contribution of Cohesion Policy,<sup>8</sup> including ESIF, has been obvious in regions that lag behind, the effectiveness of these old budgetary tools in a new environment of East-Central Europe and the Balkans have been questioned in both qualitative and quantitative aspects. With support from academic researchers,<sup>9</sup> new conditionalities have been proposed, with particular reference to countries that tend to violate EU values and norms (namely Hungary and Poland).

Cohesion policy and EU funds are certainly not 'gifts' to Member States, but rather indispensable parts of a balanced and fair functioning economic governance and single market in Europe. However, we have seen that systemic corruption can lead to a situation in which EU funds simply do not fulfill their original goal of improving competitiveness, developing infrastructure and investing in human capital or better governance. In some countries the situation is indeed grave and include examples of state-level fraud organised by political actors. That results in a waste of EU resources that inevitably undermines democracy, the public interest and the rule of law.

Because of the lack of ability to exert control, some even accuse the EU of funding an autocratic regime in Hungary.

Beyond the already functioning procedures of interruptions and suspensions, sanctions can play a stronger role in stamping out irregularities, abuse and systemic fraud. However, the triggering of sanctions needs to be objective and transparent which requires a solid set of indicators and benchmarks as opposed to political considerations. Besides, sanctions must be well-targeted to punish the perpetrator of the fund abuse rather than the innocent bystanders.

The EU could take funds into its own hands and distribute them in the Member States according to the original goals. In other words, the Commission should suspend shared management in cases of repeated abuse or systemic fraud. This way the EU's actions cannot be regarded as blackmail; it could avoid the corrupted allocation channels and financing of oligarchs with close government ties.

Direct management solutions could be introduced in a gradual and proportional manner: first, only the funding that has already been refused due to significant irregularities or detected fraud would come under direct control of the Commission. Next, in case of systemic problems in operative programmes or the failure of management systems and democratic control mechanisms in a Member State, a more comprehensive direct management by the Commission could be established. Alternatively, a third type – assisted management – could be invented by placing EU experts in national agencies.<sup>10</sup> Assisted management could be either requested by the Member State or, above a certain threshold launched by the Commission.

In other words, the solution shouldn't be to punish citizens of the affected Member States but to repair the management system in a way that is able to efficiently prevent systemic misuse of funds by national political or management systems. Choosing the best way forward is by no means easy, especially with such a highly politicised instrument. However, a greater effort in defense of EU values and resources is necessary. This should not only translate into taking a strong stand against populism, but also defend the rights and opportunities of the victims of misbehaving governments.

#### Eurozone enlargement: unfinished business

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that economic and social development programmes (where they exist) should be tailored not only to the use of EU funds but also to plans for monetary reform. The euro was successfully introduced over the past decade in five East-Central European countries. Significantly, these were all among the smaller countries in the region. However, there was a price to be paid for this monetary success: for example, greater social inequality in Latvia and greater geographical inequality in Slovakia.

Eastern countries with an impressive adjustment record have earned international acclaim and Riga, the capital of Latvia, became a kind of Mecca of internal devaluation. However, while pursuing an aggressive strategy of internal devaluation (i.e. the reduction of wages, pensions and government expenditure) government policy pushes up unemployment, poverty and out-migration and this can undermine the potential for economic growth in the longer run.

For example, from 2008 to 2013, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic have all seen their unemployment rates increase by two to three percentage points. That said, these shifts in unemployment were below EU average (+3.8 percentage points) and certainly more modest than under the 'Baltic model' where priority was given to maintaining the currencies' peg with the euro. In addition, over the same period in countries that kept their own currencies, pressure on wages had led to a noticeable decline in the real compensation per employee only in Hungary. External devaluation through the exchange rate has reduced the pressure on these countries to pursue



internal devaluation. The crisis may have led to more detrimental labour market outcomes if these countries had attempted to maintain the pre-crisis exchange rate of their currencies.

However, while currency devaluations reduce the pressure on labour markets during a downturn, they can hardly be seen as sustainable compensation for lacking competitiveness in the long run. Likewise, internal devaluation at the expense of the economy's human capital is socially unacceptable and represents an equally poor substitute for reforms and investments that genuinely strengthen productivity and competitiveness. The point is again that East-Central European countries need to invest in human capital in order to be able to reap the benefits of joining the Eurozone. The problem of economic adjustment within the monetary union is European by nature, so that satisfactory answers must be found at the European level: Member States confronted with economic shocks should not be left alone and condemned to internal devaluation in an effort to restore growth.

## Conclusions

The last 15 years of economic transition in East-Central Europe can be characterised by a more convincing convergence process as compared to the pre-EU phase. However, economic convergence in these countries was not necessarily coupled with social convergence, which may undermine the continuation of strong economic performance for the next 15 years. The EU has to pay attention to the East-West imbalances and consider new strategies for cohesion and convergence.

The major question for the next stage is whether the EU's eastern region can continue to catch up without the internal socio-economic polarisation observed thus far, and how exactly the latter process could in fact be reversed. Whether EU membership has been positive for the new Member States is something that cannot be measured only in terms of GDP. The quality of economic development and the changes in society are at least as important, if not more important. That makes the overall picture somewhat uneven.

If the 'new' Member States wish to create a new development path for themselves that has the qualities of being smart, sustainable and inclusive, and allows for convergence towards Western social models and not only the EU income average, they must promote stronger (and genuine) social dialogue and social investment. If Europe moves towards a more successful, globally competitive 'balance of interests' model of economy and society, this may bring significant benefits for East-Central Europe. The question remains whether the necessary social and political will exists on the ground and if the East and West can work together in partnership for such a purpose.

EU enlargement – rozšíření EU

reunification – znovusjednocení

convergence policy – konvergenční politika

boom and bust – konjunktura a krach

transition to a market economy – přechod na tržní ekonomiku

income – příjem

GDP (gross domestic product) – HDP (hrubý domácí produkt)

emerging economies – rozvíjející se ekonomiky

Comecon – RVHP

accession to the EU – vstup do EU

economic performance – ekonomický výkon

double digit contraction – dvouciferný pokles (ekonomiky)

to fall behind on growth – začít zaostávat v růstu  
growth rate – míra růstu  
income disparity – příjmová nerovnost  
labour mobility – mobilita pracovních sil  
to exceed – překročit, přesáhnout  
outflow – odliv  
sustain - udržovat  
population decline – pokles populace  
brain drain -odliv mozků  
per capita GDP – HDP na osobu  
wage level – úroveň mezd  
remittance – úhrada, platba  
life expectancy – průměrná délka života  
competitiveness – konkurenceschopnost  
European Pillar of Social Rights – evropský pilíř sociálních práv  
apprenticeship – vyučení, učňovské školství  
minimum wage – minimální mzda  
divergence – rozdílnost, neshoda  
Roma – Romové  
enter the labour market – vstoupit na trh práce  
allocation – přidělení  
to lag behind – zaostávat  
violate values – porušovat hodnoty  
devaluation – devalvace  
in the long run – v dlouhodobém měřítku  
suspension – pozastavení  
unemployment rate – míra nezaměstnanosti  
labour market – trh práce  
exchange rate – směnný kurz  
to catch up with - dohnat (koho, co)  
balance of interests – vyváženost zájmů  
to reap the benefits – sklízet plody výhody

## **WEEK 8 HOMEWORK: MIGRATION**

**Read the text below and answer the following questions.**

1. The article is fairly critical of EU's migration policy. What are some of the problems the author identifies?
2. What is the EU's "externalisation agenda" and what are its disadvantages?
3. What is meant by the sentence "migration has broken the trust lines"?

4. Do you think the EU should be tougher on immigration than it currently is or, on the contrary, should it be more welcoming and accept more migrants?
5. What do you think of migrant quotas? Do you think the Czech Republic should pledge to some burden-sharing help to ease the situation of other EU countries affected by migration? If not, why?
6. **Explain the following terms:**
  - Dublin Regulation
  - SAR
  - “not-in-my backyard” approach
  - non-refoulement

## All at sea: Europe’s crisis of solidarity on migration



[Shoshana Fine](#) (abridged)

Source: [https://ecfr.eu/publication/all\\_at\\_sea\\_europes\\_crisis\\_of\\_solidarity\\_on\\_migration/](https://ecfr.eu/publication/all_at_sea_europes_crisis_of_solidarity_on_migration/)

The European Union’s approach to migration has created a crisis of solidarity. As it stands, the bloc has no system through which member states can share responsibility for hosting migrants in a fair manner. As a consequence, they continue to wrangle with one another over which of them should host the asylum seekers and other migrants who reach Europe’s shores. These disputes go to the heart of member states’ current inability to agree on the reform of the Dublin Regulation.

Member states on the EU’s southern border call for the institutionalisation of relocation quotas and greater shared responsibility for migrant arrivals, but the members of the Visegrád group (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) refuse to support any form of solidarity mechanism. Meanwhile, countries in northern and western Europe tend to emphasise their relative openness to limited relocations yet seem mostly concerned about stopping secondary movements. Simultaneously, the European Commission is pushing for reforms that would increase the role of what it calls “safe third countries” in hosting migrants.<sup>[1]</sup> Amid this disarray, these countries are concerned that they will become a dumping ground for the EU’s unwanted migrants, not least because the bloc’s relocation arrangements continue to be ad hoc and to lack transparent procedures.

This paper analyses some of the major flaws in the EU’s current approach to migration. It explores how the bloc’s efforts to assign responsibility for asylum processing to north African countries may weaken its capacity to reform its migration and asylum system, and to protect individuals fleeing persecution. The paper shows that providing safe, legal migration pathways is necessary

to reduce dependency on smugglers and the risk that migrants will embark on dangerous journeys. The EU's migration policies will only be credible and sustainable if they avoid producing panic and promote solidarity both within Europe and between Europe and third countries.

The bloc's current approach to cooperation with third countries is marked by unstable, security-driven deals and an insular, not-in-my-backyard approach that leads to chaotic governance. There is a significant possibility that, in time, this will exacerbate anti-immigrant populism in Europe by warping EU citizens' view of contemporary migration. Nonetheless, the EU now has an opportunity to take a more productive and sustainable approach to migration across the Mediterranean. If the bloc's leaders seize the opportunity, they can redefine its migration policies in ways that improve Europe's internal cohesion and create mutually beneficial relationships with north African countries.

There are several promising indications of a shift in the European migration agenda. These include:

In December 2018, 152 countries ratified the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration. The agreement sets out 23 objectives on good migration governance, grounded in the values of state sovereignty, shared responsibility, anti-discrimination, and human rights. Even though nine countries – including the United States and the members of the Visegrád group – did not sign it, the agreement demonstrates that most nations desire change.

In July 2019, French President Emmanuel Macron announced that 14 EU member states had signed up to the “solidarity mechanism” for relocating migrants across the bloc.

The newly appointed leaders of the EU's institutions have repeatedly declared that they want a “fresh start” on migration governance. The new president of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, has [called](#) for the bloc to develop “a new way of burden sharing” and “a more sustainable approach to search and rescue” (SAR). At the same time, she has advocated stronger humanitarian cooperation with third countries and affirmed Europe's “moral duty” to help those fleeing persecution and conflict. In a similar vein, the mission letter to the commissioner-designate for justice and home affairs, Ylva Johansson, [states](#) that “we should aim to unite around our common values and humanitarian responsibilities, and seek to make our communities and our society more cohesive and integrated”. Together, these developments may indicate a shift towards a more sustainable, cooperative form of migration governance – one that reassures European voters. Nonetheless, member states' decision not to support Italian SAR operation Mare Nostrum in 2014 has had several negative knock-on effects: every rescue operation in the Mediterranean since then has been the product of an ad hoc emergency arrangement and states' temporary assumption of responsibility. Indeed, member states' reluctance to take sustained responsibility for SAR and their policy of outlawing attempts by NGOs to fill the resulting gap in rescue operations has made it increasingly difficult for migrants who are rescued in the Mediterranean to reach an open, safe port in Europe. This has, in turn, exacerbated voters' sense that the EU has lost control of the situation.

Member states' approach to cooperation on migration and asylum [establishes](#) no transparent rules, procedures, or processes on SAR, disembarkation, or relocation. The EU initially began to address the relocation of asylum seekers through a temporary, Europe-wide instrument with specified rules and procedures, but it now seems to be moving backwards to engage in relocation with less formality, fewer players, and more room for discriminatory practices. The bloc seems to favour informal, locally negotiated initiatives on migration governance, including those on cooperation with third countries – as seen in its disembarkation arrangements, the EU-Turkey agreement on migration, and the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa. Meanwhile, SAR in Europe is at a standstill, as EU member states increasingly assign responsibility for it to countries on the other side of the Mediterranean.

European cooperation with north African countries is also driven by a desire to delegate responsibility for border security and asylum processing to them. Morocco and Tunisia lack asylum systems that meet international standards. Attempts to reform these systems have reached an impasse, partly because these nations fear that the EU will label them as safe third countries and thereby make them responsible for the vast majority of asylum seekers in the region. Under EU pressure, the Libyan authorities have dramatically extended their SAR zone, barring NGOs from entering it. This has also led to a rise in the number of migrants returning to Libya – where they are at risk of torture, slavery, and death – despite the United Nations’ calls for a halt to such activity.

Between 2015 and 2018, the annual number of migrants arriving in Europe fell sharply, to 140,000. Some European politicians have argued that EU migration agreements with north African countries are a success story, in the sense that they appear to have dramatically reduced the number of migrants who reach European shores. Yet there is a price for this policy of delegation to countries that are [low](#) on the democracy index and non-signatories to the 1951 Geneva Convention. Although the absolute number of migrants has fallen, the EU’s delegation of border control and SAR activities to Libya has [increased](#) the rate of migrants deaths, from one in every 38 arrivals in 2017 to one in every 14 in 2018, to one in every three in the first four months of 2019. A similar trend is apparent along the [route](#) between Spain and Morocco.

Since 2017, the EU and its member states have [criminalised](#) NGOs’ rescues at sea and imposed hefty fines on the organisations. They have denied their boats access to ports, confiscated vessels, and arrested ship captains. For instance, in June 2019, Sea Watch – an NGO [led](#) by Captain Carola Rackete – rescued more than 60 migrants off the coast of Libya. After the migrants were denied embarkation access for two weeks, several German cities [indicated](#) that they would accept them. But there was no mechanism for safe disembarkation that would allow the migrants to reach Germany. Rackete eventually defied Italy’s ban by bringing the migrants to Lampedusa, invoking an obligation to do so under international law. Salvini, then in government, banned commercial and private boats from disembarkation in Italian ports. This [led](#) to a disembarkation crisis in which Italy prevented the Aquarius, an NGO vessel carrying more than 600 migrants, from entering Italian waters in August 2018. The Spanish government subsequently allowed the ship to dock in Valencia.

Nonetheless, the Spanish government has also criminalised NGO rescue operations – albeit with much less media fanfare than there was in Italy. Spain has refused to grant departure permits to NGO rescue vessels since January 2019. The Spanish Ministry of Development recently [threatened](#) Spanish NGO Proactiva Open Arms with a fine of up to €900,000 for defying orders to confine its rescue ship to port.

In combination with their attempts to step up border security and dismantle SAR, European countries have increasingly emphasised cooperation with third countries. They have presented this as a humanitarian move that builds local capacity, thereby limiting the need for onward migration and deterring migrants from risking their lives by embarking on perilous journeys. This is why north African countries have become such important players in European migration governance. It is also part of the reason why the EU established the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa at a summit in Valletta in November 2015. The [declared objective](#) of the north African element of the fund – whose 2015-2020 budget of €647.7m [covers](#) Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia – is to “contribute to safe, secure, legal and orderly migration from, to and within the region and support an effective management of migration flows that protects human rights”.

European leaders have long [called](#) for a system that externalises migrant and asylum seeker processing. For instance, the UK government proposed the creation of transit processing centres outside the EU as early as 2003. The German government [renewed](#) this proposal in 2005. Today, there are similar calls for bilateral and EU-supported initiatives to return migrants and asylum seekers for processing in Libya, Morocco, and Turkey. In June 2018, the European Council

advanced the idea of establishing regional disembarkation platforms to “eliminate the incentive [for migrants] to embark on perilous journeys”.

European leaders hoped that they could ease public concerns about migration if they signalled that they were managing migration at a distance, shifting responsibility for it to third countries. Thus, the European Council said that Europe would [create](#) the platforms “in close cooperation with relevant third countries”, as well as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration. It added that “such platforms should operate distinguishing individual situations [to give applicants a fair hearing], in full respect of international law and without creating a pull factor”. Under these arrangements, the process of returning migrants to north African countries after they had been intercepted in the Mediterranean would [centre](#) on respect for international law. Particularly important in this are the principle of non-refoulement – not returning migrants to places where they would be in danger – and provisions such as the [prohibition](#) against collective expulsions stipulated by the European Court of Human Rights. The process would also call for returning people to a safe port where they would be guaranteed a reception in humane conditions and granted the opportunity to apply for asylum. However, the EU has sought partnerships with many states that are ill-equipped to fulfil these conditions.

North African countries eventually rejected the European Council’s proposal for disembarkation platforms. The African Union, which pushed for these countries not to succumb to the EU’s demands, [expressed](#) suspicion that the platforms would become de facto detention centres. An AU position paper [stated](#): “African capitals worry that this plan will see the establishment of something like modern-day slave markets, with the ‘best’ Africans being allowed into Europe and the rest tossed back”. Although the idea of the disembarkation platforms never entirely gained traction, the EU has implemented many elements of them – including returns of migrants and asylum seekers to countries such as Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey, as well as outsourced asylum processing that enables only a select few to enter the EU.

Since 2004, the Spanish and Moroccan governments have deployed joint patrol teams that have covered the Strait of Gibraltar and, later, the Atlantic coast. Joint stations in Spain and Morocco have enabled the countries’ police forces to work side by side every day. A Spanish-Moroccan commission on police cooperation meets regularly. Due to an increase in patrols along the Central Mediterranean Route in 2017, Spain [received](#) 34,000 migrants – more than any other EU country – the following year. This prompted Spain to call for the Moroccan authorities to take on a more active role in SAR activities in their waters. [\[8\]](#)

Under Spain’s February 2019 [deal](#) with Morocco, Spanish SAR operation Salvamento Marítimo was tasked with taking migrants rescued at sea to Moroccan ports in certain situations: where the Spanish authorities were assisting the Moroccan Coast Guard in Morocco’s maritime area of responsibility and where the nearest port was located in Morocco. A spokesperson for [the CGT](#), the lead union at Salvamento Marítimo, commented: “this kind of measure could turn us into someone to avoid. Deaths will rise. They will stay away from anything that smells of repatriation.” Libya, which suffers from a long-running war and endemic instability, has become a key migration priority for the EU. This is because more migrants travelling towards Europe pass through Libya than any other country. Nonetheless, migrant departures from Libya have slowed since 2018, due to fragile European deals with the country.

Italy and Libya have engaged in bilateral cooperation on migration since the late 1990s. They stepped up this cooperation after signing the 2008 friendship treaty, under which the Italian government promised to finance infrastructure in return for access to oil and help in “combating illegal migration”. This has resulted in joint Italian-Libyan patrols since 2009 and an increase in returns of migrants to Libya.

While UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration are supposed to maintain a presence at disembarkation points to conduct a medical and protection needs assessments, they



have little knowledge of what happens to migrants and refugees thereafter. The numbers of migrants recorded at disembarkation points do not correspond to those placed in detention centres.<sup>[9]</sup> One interviewee described the disembarkation point as a “cattle market” from which unmarked cars would take migrants to unknown locations.<sup>[10]</sup>

Libya has not signed the Geneva Convention, while UNHCR’s branch in Tripoli is severely underfunded.<sup>[11]</sup> Moreover, the organisation does not have access to all detained migrants. Indeed, Libya first holds many migrants in informal detention centres run by militias. In this way, the criminal exploitation of migration in Libya has become big business.

According to the Global Detention Project, the EU and the Italian government have [pushed](#) the Tunisian Coast Guard to intercept boats carrying migrants towards the EU from Libya. They expect Tunisia to process asylum claims on its own soil and return those it deems to have no protection needs. On both sides of the Mediterranean, then, there are attempts to shift responsibility for migration. For instance, a group of 75 migrants were [stranded](#) off the coast of Tunisia for three weeks after the authorities claimed that they could not disembark because the local reception facilities were full. The authorities eventually allowed the migrants – most of whom had Bangladeshi nationality – to disembark, on the understanding that they would be deported immediately. The Bangladeshi embassy’s envoy threatened to withdraw the migrants’ food and water if they refused to agree to their return. One migration analyst based in Tunisia told the author that such threats are frequently used to pressure migrants to return to their country of origin.

All this undermines a key premise of the EU’s externalisation agenda in Tunisia and Morocco: that these countries can provide adequate reception conditions and protections to migrants and asylum seekers. Similarly, although Morocco was the first African country to sign the Geneva Convention, there are major gaps in its human rights protections.

Nonetheless, Morocco has [made](#) some positive steps in its migration policy in recent years. In 2013 the country introduced new asylum and migration policy commitments designed to bring it into compliance with international standards. The Moroccan government has also carried out “exceptional” regularisation procedures for some undocumented migrants, allowing them to obtain residence permits. However, migrants and asylum seekers have continued to [report](#) threats to their safety and wellbeing in Morocco. Since 2018, the Moroccan authorities have [engaged](#) in extensive crackdowns on these people, especially those from sub-Saharan Africa. The authorities have often subjected them to mass round-ups, arbitrary arrests, forced displacement to remote areas of the country, and summary deportations – all in the name of the fight against irregular migration.

All these factors have contributed to the crisis of solidarity within the EU. As one migration official in Brussels recently commented, “migration has broken the trust lines ... coastal countries like Greece, Italy, and Spain do not trust other member states that they will help with arrivals and the main countries of asylum in Europe do not trust the Mediterranean countries that they will register the arrivals”. Thus, while migration arrivals have declined, so have cooperation and responsibility sharing within the EU. This leads to an endless state of emergency, with ad hoc national measures that weaken both solidarity between member states and voters’ confidence in the bloc. It may also perpetuate a closed-border mentality in which migration and EU cooperation are a threat to national sovereignty. There is a severe risk that the widespread perception of weak European solidarity on migration governance will fuel Euroscepticism across the EU.

## Vocabulary

Dublin Regulation  
quota  
safe third country

dublinké nařízení  
kvóta  
bezpečná první země

dumping ground  
arrangement  
flaw  
governance  
exacerbate  
not-in my-backyard  
burden sharing  
knock-on effect  
SAR (search and rescue)  
to outlaw  
to disembark  
to assign responsibility  
asylum seeker  
departure permit  
apply for asylum  
signatory  
vessel  
migration flows  
non-refoulement  
expulsion  
pull factor  
to deter someone  
to be at a standstill  
patrol  
hefty fine  
mutually beneficial  
incentive  
repatriation  
coast guard  
to fall sharply  
to intercept  
dismantle  
rescue ship  
slave market  
perilous journey  
to stipulate  
expulsion  
underfunded  
undocumented migrants  
repatriation  
to obtain a permit  
to sign up to st.  
to be stranded  
displacement  
fatality  
humane  
crackdown on st.

odkladiště, skládka  
plán, opatření, ujednání  
chyba, nedostatek  
řízení, spravování  
zhoršit  
sobecký, nevstřícný k nově příchozím  
sdílení břemene  
dominový efekt  
pátrání a záchrana  
postavit mimo zákon  
vylodit se  
přisuzovat zodpovědnost  
žadatel o azyl  
povolení k odjezdu/odplutí  
žádat o azyl  
signatář  
plavidlo  
migrační toky  
nenavracení  
vyhnání, vyhoštění  
přitažlivý účinek (motivace k migraci)  
zastrašit, odstrašit někoho  
nehýbat se, váznout, stát  
hlídka  
tučná pokuta  
vzájemně prospěšný  
pobídka, iniciativa  
vrácení (do země původu)  
pobřežní hlídka  
prudce klesnout  
zadržet  
rozebrat, zrušit  
záchranná loď  
trh s otroky  
nebezpečná cesta  
stanovit  
vyhnání (od "to expel")  
podfinancovaný  
migranti bez dokumentů  
navrácení do země původu  
získat povolení  
zavázat se k něčemu  
uvíznout  
přesídlení  
úmrtí  
humánní (nezaměňovat s human = lidský)  
zákrok proti komu



## WEEK 8 CLASS HANDOUT

Choose the more appropriate option and translate.



1. EU countries wrangle with one another over which of them should host the asylum **applicants/seekers**.
2. If the bloc's leaders seize the opportunity, they can redefine its migration policies in ways that improve Europe's internal **cohesion/coherence** and create mutually beneficial relationships with north African countries.
3. The agreement **sets up/ sets out** 23 objectives on good migration governance, grounded in the values of state sovereignty, shared responsibility, anti-discrimination, and human rights.
4. 14 EU member states **had signed up to/signed out** the "solidarity mechanism" for relocating migrants across the bloc.
5. The bloc wants to develop "a new way of **load/burden** sharing" and "a more sustainable approach to search and rescue" (SAR).
6. Ursula von den Leyen affirmed Europe's "moral duty" to help those **fleeing/flying** persecution and conflict.
7. The operation had a negative **knock-down/knock-on** effect.
8. But there was no mechanism for safe **disembarkation/unloading** that would allow the migrants to reach Germany.
9. The process would also call for returning people to a safe port where they would be guaranteed a reception in **human/humane** conditions and granted the opportunity to apply for asylum.
10. The African Union expressed suspicion that the platforms would become de facto **containment/detention** centres.
11. Since 2004, the Spanish and Moroccan governments have **deployed/situated** joint patrol teams that have covered the Strait of Gibraltar and, later, the Atlantic coast.
12. They expect Tunisia to process asylum **claims/requests** on its own **soil/land** and return those it deems to have no protection needs.

## II. Watch the following video and answer the questions:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CKjE6hKaLsl>

1. Why were people fleeing Syria in 2015?
2. What were some other countries from which people were escaping?
3. Why did Barole and Hamber run away from their countries?
4. How did their individual experiences differ?
5. What are the findings of the Department for Education and Family at the Institute for Economic Research?

## WEEK 9 CLASS HANDOUT: GRAMMAR PRACTICE!

### 1. Read the letter and complete the correct tense forms.

Brussels, 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2014

*To the Members of the European Parliament,*

The European Parliament election results .....(demonstrate) a strong desire for change. From today you have the opportunity to turn a new page, make daring political choices and propose institutional changes that ..... (bring) the EU closer to its citizens. If you ..... (not act) now, others ..... (take) take the opportunity for negative reform.

Successive EU treaties ..... (grant) increasing powers to the European Parliament, consolidating its role as co-legislator. For many citizens, a “democratic deficit” .....(remain), which you are there to fill. Given the European Parliament’s status as the centre of decision-making we ..... (believe) you can do just that, by taking the lead in ensuring citizens’ concerns remain at the heart of EU decision-making

**Europe+ (Civil Society for the Renewal of European Democracy) is willing and ready to engage with MEPs in a constructive dialogue to ensure civil society ..... (participate) participates fully in this new legislative term.** Decisions made by the European Parliament ..... (affect) the daily lives of millions of citizens in Europe, citizens whose concerns we represent and whose rights we defend.

Yours sincerely,

Europe +



**Look again at the sentence: If you ..... (not act) now, others ..... (take) take the opportunity for negative reform. It is an example of the so-called first conditional. Continue similar sentences from the two columns below. Don’t forget that that -if clause has present simple, not future.**

1. I  you an answer when I have more information.

2. I'll call you as soon as I .

3. When you read this email, I  on a plane to Germany.

4. I won't stay unless you  as well.

5. He won't stop insisting until he  what he wants.

if I give you my contact details?

6. If he knows that you are here, he  to contact you.

7. When I  experienced enough, I'll get a job in some EU institution.

8. I'll sort this problem once I  back from my business trip.

## Practice the tenses!

### Past Simple or Progressive

Complete the sentences. Decide if you need the simple past or the past progressive.

1. I  (look) out of the window when I  (see) a strange black car.

2. I  (help) to finish the report when the angry boss  (ring) me up.

3. While they  (debate), I  (check) my email.

4. The suspect  (die) while the police  (investigate) the murder case.

5. Although the President  (speak) with great enthusiasm, the audience  (fall) asleep.

14. Because  (not pay) attention, I  (not notice) my name being called.

15. I  (drive) my car when the election results  (be announced) on the radio.

### Past Simple or Present Perfect

Put the verbs into either past simple or present perfect forms.

1. I  complete training yesterday. (complete)

2.  in an exam? (you ever cheat)

3. The symposium  last month. (be held)

4. A few days ago, we  to the beach for a picnic. (drive)

6. He  his vote. (already cast)

7. The judge  the verdict a few moments ago. (announce)



8. I  of running for President. (never think)
9. The General Assembly  yesterday. (convene)
10. She  yet. (not make up her mind)

## Present Perfect – For and Since

Fill in for or since into the gaps.

1. Nobody has seen him  last Friday.
2. It has been foggy  some days.
3. They've been debating  six o'clock.
4. They've been living in France  eight years.
5. The pilots have been on strike  two months.
6. We've had terrible weather  Saturday.
7. I've known Tom  1990.
8. We have been waiting for the bus  half an hour.
9. The party hasn't lost an election  2010.
10. Things have changed  she's become headmaster.



## The Future

Fill in the correct future tense –*will* future, *going to* or present progressive.

1. When the election turnout is high, we  the victory of opposition parties. (probably see)
2.  help me with my seminar paper? (you ask)
3. Susan  spend two months in Strasbourg as an intern. (spend)
4. I think he  as a result of the scandal. (resign)
5. The High Commissioner  in Prague on Friday afternoon. (arrive)
6. I  on my finishing my studies from now on. (concentrate)
7. Let's hope that the crisis  our retailers. (destroy)
8. Mary  because she's worked hard. (get promoted)
9. My supervisor  to a conference tomorrow. (go)
10. I feel a bit unwell  a day off work. (take)

## **HOMEWORK FOR WEEK 10: BREXIT**



The article below presents an explanation of the reasons for Brexit based on the research of British political scientist Matthew Goodwin. Before reading, answer the following question:

**1. Based on what you have read/heard in the media or based on your own judgment, what may have been some of the reasons why Britons voted to leave the UK?**

**2. Now read the article and answer the following questions:**

1. What is the main reason Matthew Goodwin (a professor at Reading University) gives for Brexit?
2. According to him, what mistake did the Remain campaign make? What should they have done instead?
3. What, according to Goodwin, is the profile of a typical Brexit voter? (think of economic and social background, geography, opinions, etc.)
4. The author talks about “angst and alienation and resentment.” What do you think causes these sentiments among a significant section of society nowadays?
5. What was the role of Nigel Farage in the Brexit process?

**3. During the Brexit process, the following expressions emerged. Using the Internet, can you explain them?**

**hard Brexit**

**soft Brexit**

**transition period**

**the Irish backstop**

# Inequality, not personalities drove Britain to Brexit

Source: <https://www.politico.eu/article/inequality-not-personalities-drove-britain-to-brexit/>

Angst, alienation and resentment fueled the vote to leave the EU.

BY [MATTHEW GOODWIN](#)

LONDON — Brexit delivered a political earthquake, the tremors of which will be felt for generations. Within only a matter of days Britain voted to end its membership of the European Union, saw its currency slump to a 31-year low, watched the prime minister resign, revived an old constitutional crisis in Scotland and triggered a new one in Northern Ireland, and looked on as the main opposition Labour Party spiraled into a full-blown crisis.

As one journalist quipped the day after the referendum: “It’s been a rather strange day. The prime minister has resigned and it’s only our third most important story.”

How could Euroskeptics — who had been consistently underestimated — defeat the Remain camp by nearly 4 percentage points or 1.3 million votes? The difference between the two sides was even more pronounced in England where Leave won by nearly 7 points.

It would be a mistake to view this as primarily a judgment on Britain’s relationship with Europe or a simplistic verdict on the preceding referendum campaign. Instead, voting patterns give full expression to deeper divides that have been bubbling away under the surface of British politics for decades, and which are also visible in other Western democracies. The Remain campaign’s miscalculation was to fail to grasp them.

The Remain camp should have made a positive case for Britain’s EU membership. Instead, it focused the campaign on the negatives of Brexit.

The town that gave the strongest support for Brexit was the small, East Midlands port of Boston where 76 percent voted to leave the EU. Boston — which also delivered the highest support for UKIP in the 2014 European Parliament elections — offers insight into Brexit heartlands.

The town, which has experienced significant migration from Central and Eastern Europe, is also noticeable for economic deprivation. The median income in Boston is less than £17,000 and one in three people have no formal qualifications at all.

Filled with disadvantaged, working-class Britons who do not feel as though they have been winning from European integration, immigration, and globalization, life in Boston contrasts sharply with that in the area that returned the strongest vote for Remain, the London borough of Lambeth. Here, where 79 percent voted to remain in the EU, life is remarkably different. Compared to Boston, there are more than twice as many professionals, nearly twice as many 18- to 30-year-olds and fewer than half as many working-class voters, pensioners and people with no qualifications. The average voter in Lambeth earns nearly £10,000 more each year than the average voter in Boston.

Voting patterns in other heartlands for Remain and Leave paint a picture of a country sharply divided along three dimensions: social class, generation, and geography.

On average, for example, across the 20 authorities where support for remaining in the EU was strongest, 45 percent of voters have a university degree, 42 percent are professionals, 26 percent describe themselves as “non-white,” only 11 percent are pensioners and the median income is £27,000. But across the 20 authorities where support for leaving the EU was strongest, only 16 percent of voters have a degree, only 23 percent are professional, less than 5 percent are non-white, nearly 20 percent are pensioners and the median income is £18,000.

My [academic research suggested](#) that the Remain camp would be best placed making a positive case for Britain’s EU membership. Instead, it spent almost all of the campaign focusing on the negatives of Brexit, robotically claiming leaving the EU would jeopardize Britain’s economic future. The problem was that most economically disaffected voters who were tempted by Brexit were already resigned to believing that their future would be worse than the past. And they were clear about who was to blame.

Brexit drew most of its strength from voters who have felt left behind by the rapid economic transformation of Britain, or more accurately of London and south-east England. They hold a more socially conservative outlook on Europe, immigration, and national identity that in recent years have become just as important as old disputes between labor and capital.

Brexit owed less to personal charisma than to a deep sense of angst, alienation and resentment among the financially disadvantaged.

Such voters have also felt increasingly cut adrift from established parties who have spent much of the past two decades pitching to the middle-classes. Tony Blair and David Cameron both gambled in their own ways that as they battled to win over the middle-classes, the more working-class sections of their electorates would stay loyal. But then along came the issues of Europe and immigration that cut directly across the old left-right divide and were instead rooted in a divide between liberals and authoritarians.

This presented blue-collar workers on the left and social conservatives on the right with a unique opportunity to rebel against socially liberal and middle-class elites who promote values that they abhor. Last week they seized this opportunity.

By voting for Brexit these voters imposed a different set of values on the political landscape than those that unite the London-centric media and political classes. As my co-author Robert Ford noted after the result: “Feeling upset by wrenching social change that has been imposed on you by people whose values you don’t share or understand? Now you know how UKIP voters have felt.

Brexit, therefore, owed less to the personal charisma of Boris Johnson, the failings of David Cameron or the ambivalence of Jeremy Corbyn than to a much deeper sense of angst, alienation and resentment among more financially disadvantaged, less well-educated and older Britons who are often only one financial crisis away from disaster. They are the voters of former industrial strongholds, like the northern towns of Barnsley, Mansfield, Stoke and Doncaster, Welsh towns like Merthyr Tydfil that once fueled the industrial revolution, fading coastal towns such as Blackpool, Great Yarmouth and Castle Point, or blue-collar but aspirational places like Basildon, Havering and Thurrock.

It is certainly true that Brexit also found support in more leafy, affluent Conservative areas such as Aylesbury, Chichester, South Bucks and West Dorset where previously loyal Tories rejected Cameron’s increasingly desperate pleas to remain. By doing so they have ensured that Cameron becomes the third prime minister in post-war Britain who will principally be remembered for just

one thing; after Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis, and then Tony Blair and Iraq, future generations of students will write about Cameron as the man who took Britain out of the EU and also, given the now high probability of a second independence referendum in Scotland, caused the break-up of the entire United Kingdom. For this reason, he may be remembered as one of the most unsuccessful leaders in Britain's modern political history.

But it remains the case that support for Brexit was unquestionably strongest in a more economically marginal and left-behind Britain.

This is why Nigel Farage and UKIP are an unpopular but important part of the story of how Brexit came to life, having cultivated this political discontent throughout the early years of the 21st century. Brexit built on UKIP's foundations. Farage and his party already averaged 39 percent of the vote across the 50 areas that would go on to give the strongest support to Brexit but only 13 percent in areas that gave the strongest support to Remain.

Farage failed to lead a UKIP charge into the House of Commons — the party has just one MP — but his decision to fuse Europe with immigration enabled him to politicize these grievances and achieve something far greater: to transform Euroskepticism from a fringe interest into a mainstream concern that would eventually deliver his lifelong ambition of Brexit.

Areas where objections are loudest are often those where the turnout was lowest.

Remainers have unsurprisingly criticized the result and demanded a re-run of the vote, though such an outcome will not be forthcoming. It is worth noting that of the 50 areas that recorded the lowest levels of turnout, no fewer than half of them were in London and Scotland, two areas that were supposed to be hotbeds of Remain fervor.

But in the end, the campaign failed to enthuse who it needed to enthuse. Prior to the result, the Remain camp talked enthusiastically about targeting large, young, diverse cities but when the dust cleared these were the places — Manchester, Nottingham, Dundee, Birmingham and Liverpool — where voters turned out in lower numbers.

Most academics, including myself, would reject the claim that higher turnout in such areas would have altered the final result but it is worth noting that areas where objections are loudest are often those where the turnout was lowest. For instance, while the London districts of Hackney and Camden are among the top five areas in terms of the number of people wanting a second referendum, these same areas were also among the bottom 10 percent for turnout, a fact that Remainers might like to reflect on.

It is difficult to see how the underlying divides that gave birth to Brexit can be resolved. If anything they may sharpen further as those who are now responsible for negotiating with the EU begin to backtrack on earlier promises about reducing immigration, which was by far the dominant concern for Brexit voters.

Should a post-Brexit government fail to respond quickly and clearly on this issue then it would be the equivalent of pouring a gasoline all over the fire of populist, anti-establishment sentiment. Britain's left-behind have already demonstrated their willingness to punch the political elite in the face. I wouldn't test them again.

## **Vocabulary**



inequality	nerovnost
to slump	propadnout se, prudce poklesnout
constitutional crisis	ústavní krize
Euroskeptic	euroskeptik
percentage point	procentní bod
heartland	domovina, srdce země
economic deprivation	ekonomická nouze
borough	čtvrť, městská část
pensioner	důchodce
voter	volič
university degree	vysokoškolský titul/vzdělání
median income	střední/mediánový příjem
authority	úřad (často v plurálu – the authorities)
to make a case for	argumentovat za/ve prospěch
alienation	odcizení
resentment	nechuť, odpor, resentment
electorate	voliči, elektorát
to impose st. on so.	vnutit někomu něco
backtrack on a promise	vycouvat ze slibu
concern	obava, starost

### WEEK 11: VOCABULARY FOR THE FINAL TEST

European Coal and Steel Community – Evropské společenství uhlí a oceli  
 standard of living – životní úroveň  
 levy (pl. levies) – daň, odvod  
 unfair competition – nekalá soutěž  
 headquarters – sídlo  
 convene a summit – svolat summit  
 enter into force – vejít v platnost  
 Treaties of Rome – Římské smlouvy  
 European Economic Community – Evropské hospodářské společenství (EHS)  
 indefinite period of time – doba neurčitá  
 weighted voting system – systém váženého hlasování  
 adopt sanctions – přijmout sankce  
 binding – závazný  
 EU enlargement – rozšíření EU  
 common defense policy – společná obranná politika  
 Schengen Agreement – Schengenská smlouva  
 qualified majority voting – hlasování kvalifikovanou většinou  
 accession – přistoupení  
 subsidy – dotace  
 treaty provisions – ustanovení smlouvy  
 monetary union – měnová unie  
 security policy – bezpečnostní politika  
 Treaty of Lisbon – Lisabonská smlouva  
 legal act právní úkon  
 regulation – nařízení, předpis  
 directive – směrnice  
 commissioner – komisař  
 foreign affairs – zahraniční věci/záležitosti

Council of the European Union – Rada Evropské unie  
European Parliament – Evropský parlament  
European Council – Evropská rada  
European Commission – Evropská komise  
exercise legislative functions – vykonávat legislativní funkce  
decision – rozhodnutí  
monetary policy – měnová politika  
fiscal policy – fiskální/daňová politika  
simple majority – prostá většina  
unanimous voting – jednomyslné hlasování  
amendment – změna, dodatek  
conciliation committee – smírčí výbor  
advisory body – poradní orgán  
oversight – dohled, kontrola  
internal market – vnitřní trh  
hold elections – pořádat volby  
plenary session – plenární zasedání  
parliament seat – parlamentní křeslo  
MEP (Member of European Parliament) – europoslanec  
pass laws – schvalovat zákony  
approve or reject – schválit nebo odmítnout  
term – volební období  
assent – souhlas  
hold an office – zastávat úřad  
head of state – hlava státu  
intergovernmental organization – mezivládní organizace  
draw up – sestavit, sepsat  
European Convention on Human Rights – Evropská úmluva o ochraně lidských práv  
European Court of Human Rights – Evropský soud pro lidská práva  
be answerable to – zodpovídat se (komu)  
conclude agreements – uzavírat smlouvy  
political group – politická skupina/frakce v EP  
non-attached members – nezařazení poslanci  
appoint a chair – jmenovat předsedu  
political affiliation – politická příslušnost  
European Personnel Selection Office – Evropský úřad pro výběr pracovníků  
enforce law – vymáhat dodržování zákonů  
legal obligations – právní závazky  
set a deadline – stanovit termín  
judgment – rozsudek  
World Trade Organization – Světová obchodní organizace  
subsidiarity check – kontrola subsidiarity  
comply with a principle – splňovat zásadu  
bring st. before court – dát něco k soudu  
The Court of Justice of the European Union – Soudní dvůr EU  
settle legal disputes – řešit soudní spory  
preliminary ruling – předběžné opatření  
proceeding for annulment – žaloba na neplatnost  
apply law – uplatňovat legislativu  
infringement proceeding – přízení pro nesplnění povinnosti  
proceeding for failure to act – žaloba pro nečinnost  
lodge a complaint – podat stížnost  
violation – porušení, přestupek  
reasoned opinion – odůvodněné stanovisko

impartial – nestranný  
President of the Court – předseda soudu  
six-year term – šestileté období  
Grand Chamber – Velký senát  
public hearing – veřejné slyšení  
European Central Bank – Evropská centrální banka  
raise living standards – zvýšit životní úroveň  
interest rates – úrokové sazby  
loan – půjčka  
money supply – zásoba peněz  
foreign (exchange) reserves – devizové rezervy  
EU enlargement – rozšíření EU  
reunification – znovusjednocení  
convergence policy – konvergenční politika  
boom and bust – konjunktura a krach  
transition to a market economy – přechod na tržní ekonomiku  
income – příjem  
GDP (gross domestic product) – HDP (hrubý domácí produkt)  
emerging economies – rozvíjející se ekonomiky  
Comecon – RVHP  
accession to the EU – vstup do EU  
economic performance – ekonomický výkon  
growth rate – míra růstu  
income disparity – příjmová nerovnost  
labour mobility – mobilita pracovních sil  
population decline – pokles populace  
brain drain – odliv mozků  
per capita GDP – HDP na osobu  
wage level – úroveň mezd  
life expectancy – průměrná délka života  
competitiveness – konkurenceschopnost  
minimum wage – minimální mzda  
divergence – rozdílnost, neshoda  
allocation – přidělení  
devaluation – devalvace  
unemployment rate – míra nezaměstnanosti  
labour market – trh práce  
exchange rate – směnný kurz  
to benefit from st. – mít z něčeho prospěch, užitek  
quota – kvóta  
SAR (search and rescue) – pátrání a záchrana  
to outlaw – postavit mimo zákon  
to disembark – vylodit se  
asylum seeker – žadatel o azyl  
apply for asylum – žádat o azyl  
vessel – plavidlo  
repatriation – vrácení (do země původu)  
to obtain a permit – získat povolení  
inequality – nerovnost  
percentage point – procentní bod  
economic deprivation – ekonomická nouze  
electorate – voliči, elektorát  
election turnout – volební účast  
to impose st. on so. – vnutit někomu něco

