

**THE IEUSS GUIDE TO THE SUNY MODEL EUROPEAN
UNION – 16th Edition (SUNYMEU 2022)**



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SUNY GUIDE TO THE MODEL EUROPEAN UNION
16th Edition (for SUNYMEU 2022)



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Table 1 List of Abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean, Pacific
AFSJ	Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (see JHA)
AU	African Union
BREXIT	UK withdrawal from the EU
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CEEC	Central and Eastern European Countries
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CoR	Committee of the Regions
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
DG	Directorate General
EAA	European Agency for Asylum
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
EBCGA	European Border and Coast Guard Agency
EC	European Community
ECB	European Central Bank
ECJ	European Court of Justice
Ecofin	Council of Economic and Finance Ministers
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDA	European Defence Agency
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy (now CSDP)
ESF	European Social Fund
ETS	Emissions Trading System
Europol	European Police Office
FRONTEX	European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (replaced in 2016 by EBCGA) – referred to as Frontex-EBCGA
FTT	Financial Transaction Tax
GNI	Gross National Income
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
MFF	Multiannual Financial Framework
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NTB	Non-tariff barrier
OECD	Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
OMC	Open Method of Coordination

OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
SEA	Single European Act
SEM	Single European Market
SGP	Stability and Growth Pact
SPS	Sanitary and Phytosanitary
TEFU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TEC	Treaty establishing the European Community
TEU	Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VAT	Value-added tax
WTO	World Trade Organization

SUNY and the Model European Union

The [SUNY Model European Union](#) (SUNYMEU) is a program activity of the Institute for European Union Studies at SUNY ([IEUSS](#)) and the [SUNY Office of Global Affairs](#).

The IEUSS sponsors research, teaching, and service through collaborations with institutions of higher education, K-12, nonprofits, and businesses. The IEUSS co-sponsors the [SUNY Model European Union](#) (SUNYMEU) with a SUNY campus and SUNY's Office of Global Affairs. The Institute also publishes this SUNYMEU training manual.

As a SUNY academic institution, IEUSS is guided by [SUNY's mission](#) of providing the highest quality affordable programs with the broadest possible access to the people of New York State. The IEUSS is governed by a board of SUNY faculty and administrators (with representation of EU scholars from European universities). The IEUSS Board Chair and its Director report the Institute's annual activities to the SUNY Office of Global Affairs and academic administration at partner SUNY campuses.

SUNYMEU is held in either March or April. In even years it is hosted by a SUNY campus and in odd years at the SUNY Global Center located in New York City. The IEUSS Board of Directors selects the SUNY campus through a Call for Proposals process.

SUNYMEU 2022 is hosted by SUNY Buffalo State, April 7-9.

The SUNYMEU webpage contains information about SUNYMEU and links to upcoming SUNYMEUs.

<https://ieuss.buffalostate.edu/suny-model-european-union-0>



Find us on
Facebook

<http://www.facebook.com/groups/sunymodeu/>

About the Model European Union

The SUNY Model European Union was founded in 1987 by the State University of New York (SUNY) as an adaptation of the popular Model United Nations (MUN), but differs in its conception, organization, roles, and outcomes. The MUN is, by and large, a simulation for students of diplomacy and foreign affairs, while the Model EU (MEU) simulates policymaking at the ministerial and head of government levels in the European Union. While the UN is an international organization, most scholars regard the EU as being more than this, though the terms they use to describe it, vary. Some, for example, view it as a rather special type of international organization (IO). Some emphasize that it has state-like properties. And some suggest it is a quasi-federal system. Thus, the MEU offers students the opportunities to hone their skills both in diplomacy and governance.

SUNYMEU simulates a summit of the European Council. The summits that signal the end of an EU presidency take place each year in June and December, but with the EU facing a succession of crises in recent years “special” summits of European Councils occur much more often now. The European Council meets on average seven times per year and since March 2017 at the [Europa Building](#) in Brussels.

SUNYMEU is reported on and documented by The SUNYMEU Press Corps through various media (e.g., newspapers and video) prior to and during the event.¹

Using this Manual

This is the 16th edition of the SUNYMEU Manual. European Union scholars, SUNYMEU faculty, and program coordinators have written this manual to assist students and faculty advisors to prepare for SUNYMEU 2022, which is a simulation of the **June 2022** European Council summit ending the French Presidency. The manual is written with both American and European readers in mind. Therefore, when deemed helpful, comparisons are made between the US and EU governing systems.

SUNYMEU 2022 will be chaired by the European Council President, working in close cooperation with the delegation playing the **French Presidency** of the Council (formerly called the “Council of Ministers”), which is in place from 1 January – 30 June 2022.

The “output” of the simulation will take the form of “Conclusions of the European Council,” which will consist of a document of approximately 10-15 pages. These Conclusions will be posted to the SUNYMEU Facebook page to enable all participants to download and print to include in their dossiers and files.

¹ Previous SUNYMEUs can be accessed at <https://sunymeus.wordpress.com>. Students can also find earlier work on other websites. For example, SUNYMEUs and video of SUNYMEU 2010 - Limerick are archived on <http://www.thesunymeus.blogspot.com/>.

This manual is divided into five parts.

Part I is written by EU scholars who have served as SUNYMEU faculty and program directors. This part covers aspects of the European Union's history, institutions, and treaties that are relevant to the conduct of SUNYMEU.

Part II of each edition includes a discussion of policies that represent a current challenge (or set of challenges) which is (are) affecting the EU.

Part III is written as a guideline to the European Council simulation, including the roles and meetings to be simulated. This part also includes tips for making the most of one's participation, including chairing meetings and best practices in negotiation.

Part IV contains the SUNYMEU pre-simulation and simulation programs.

Part V lays out the rules of procedures for SUNYMEU.²

The Appendices contain various useful documents.

We encourage participants to print out a hard copy of this manual, but also to utilize the e-copy, which contains a dynamic table of contents, embedded links to tables and figures, and many hyperlinks to internet sources.

PART I: BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION³

This section provides an overview of the European Union and is not intended as a substitute for the many excellent general texts. The following topics are considered: Member States, Treaties, Integration Typology, Institutions, and EU Policies.

EU Member States & the EU's Neighbors

The European Union was established as the European Economic Community (EEC) with the Treaty of Rome (1957). The six founding states were: Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and West Germany (now Germany). States that wish to be considered for EU membership must be European and satisfy the Copenhagen Criteria.⁴

² This manual serves as the official document of the rules and regulations of SUNYMEU. SUNYMEU rules are agreed by the IEUSS Board of Directors, with annual input from student and faculty participants of the simulation.

³ The principal sources for this section are Nugent, Neill. (2017). *Government and Politics of the European Union*. 8th ed. (Bloomsbury/Red Globe Press) and Buonanno, Laurie and Nugent, Neill. (2021). *Policies and Policy Processes of the European Union* 2nd ed. (Bloomsbury/Red Globe Press). This section authored by L. Buonanno and N. Nugent.

⁴ Applicants must: have market economies; have democracies maintaining the highest standards for civil rights and civil liberties; and, be capable of applying EU laws and policies (the *acquis*).

Box 1 contains key information on the EU's 27 member states.

Box 1 Key Information on EU Member States

Member State (listed by population size)	2018 Population (millions)	% of Pop	Euro per capita	Surface Area (1000 sq.km)	Size of GDP (million euro)	Euro Member	Schengen Member
Germany	82,850,000	16.18	39,600	357	3,277,340	X	X
France	67,221,943	13.12	34,200	551	2,291,705	X	X
Italy	60,483,973	11.84	28,500	302	1,724,955	X	X
Spain	46,659,302	9.10	25,100	506	1,166,319	X	X
Poland	37,976,687	7.43	12,200	312	467,167		X
Romania	19,523,621	3.82	9,500	238	187,517		
Netherlands	17,118,084	3.37	43,000	42	737,048	X	X
Belgium	11,413,058	2.24	38,700	31	439,052	X	X
Greece	10,738,868	2.10	16,700	130	180,218	X	X
Czechia	10,610,055	2.07	18,100	79	191,643		X
Portugal	10,291,027	2.01	18,900	92	467,167	X	X
Sweden	10,120,242	1.98	47,200	438	475,224		X
Hungary	9,778,371	1.91	12,700	93	124,050		X
Austria	8,822,267	1.74	42,100	83	369,899	X	X
Bulgaria	7,050,034	1.38	7,300	110	51,663		
Denmark	5,781,190	1.12	50,800	43	292,806		X
Finland	5,513,130	1.08	40,600	338	223,843	X	X
Slovakia	5,443,120	1.06	15,600	49	84,850	X	X
Ireland	4,838,259	0.93	61,200	70	23,615	X	
Croatia	4,105,493	0.81	11,800	57	48,990		
Lithuania	2,808,901	0.56	14,900	65	42,191	X	X
Slovenia	2,066,880	0.40	20,800	20	43,000	X	X
Latvia	1,934,379	0.38	13,900	64	27,033	X	X
Estonia	1,319,133	0.26	18,000	45	23,615	X	X
Cyprus	864,236	0.17	22,800	0.9	19,570	X	
Luxembourg	602,005	0.12	92,600	0.3	55,299	X	X
Malta	475,701	0.09	24,100	0.3	11,295	X	X
TOTAL	446,409,959	100.0	30,000	4,358	15,377,371		

*Population data from Eurostat, GDP/per capital GDP (2017) from [EuroStat](#)

Figure 1 Map of the EU's 27 Member States



Source: Europa.eu

Membership of the EU is preceded by lengthy accession negotiations. There have been several “enlargement rounds” in the European Community’s/EU’s history, which has resulted in states joining the EU in the following years as listed in Box 2.

Box 2 Enlargement Rounds

1973	Denmark, Ireland, the U.K. (the UK left the EU January 31, 2020)
1981	Greece
1986	Portugal and Spain
1995	Austria, Finland, and Sweden
2004	Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovenia, Estonia, Cyprus, Malta
2007	Bulgaria and Romania
2013	Croatia

Membership in the European Union is formally recognized in **accession treaties**. There are currently seven countries seeking EU membership, as listed in Box 3:

Box 3 Candidates and Potential Candidates for EU Membership

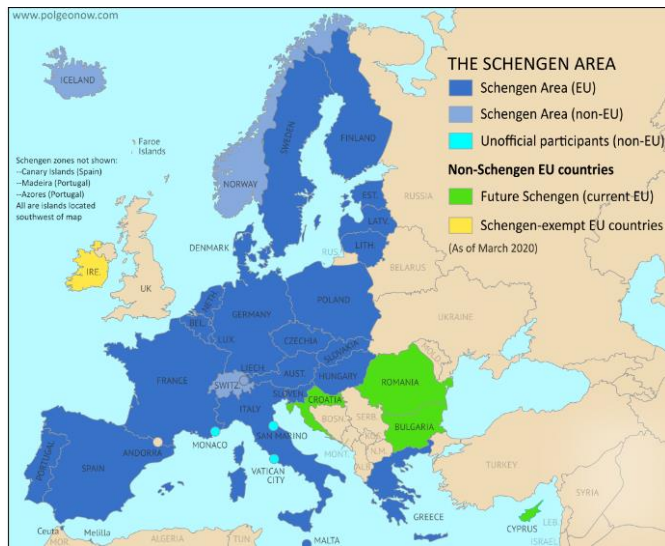
- Montenegro (negotiations underway)
- Serbia (negotiations underway)
- Turkey (negotiations underway)
- Albania (European Council approved the opening of accession talks in March 2020, negotiations expected to begin at the end of 2021)⁵
- The Republic of North Macedonia (European Council approved the opening of accession talks in March 2020, negotiations expected to begin at the end of 2021-bundled with Albania)
- Bosnia and Herzegovina (promised prospect of joining)
- Kosovo (promised prospect of joining)

Three other European countries—Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland—are not EU members, although they clearly qualify for membership.

Most EU member states are linked to some neighboring European states by what is known as the **Schengen Convention**, which provides for passport-free travel between the 26 signatory states. (See Figure 2 Schengen Members.)

⁵ See state of play for candidate and potential candidates at https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/check-current-status_en. At the time of this writing (November 2021), the intergovernmental conferences for enlargement negotiations have been held up by a dispute between Bulgaria and the Republic of North Macedonia. As this is a fluid situation, SUNYMEU participants will want to watch for developments. See [Balkan Insight Fact-Check: Can North Macedonia Meet Bulgaria's Six Demands for Breakthrough?](#) (October 19, 2021)

Figure 2 Schengen Members (2021)



[Source](#)

Not all EU members have agreed to take part in the Schengen Agreement, but only certain countries that belonged to the EU prior to 2004 have the right to “opt-out” of Schengen. (Similar arrangements apply in respect of the adoption of the Euro, a subject to be covered under “policies.”) Ireland, although not a member of the passport-free zone, participates in some of the judicial and police aspects of the Schengen area. Three non-EU states are permitted to participate in the Schengen area—namely, Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland. Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, and Romania have not yet implemented Schengen, but are expected to do so once they have modernized border policing.

EU Treaties

The EU is governed by treaties (rather than a constitution). Nevertheless, the treaties are interpreted and enforced (e.g. the levying of fines to constituent units in breach of treaty obligations) in a similar fashion as that of a federal constitution in federal states. Unlike the “anarchic” international system, the EU takes the form of a quasi-federal political system (though not a quasi-federal state). Until recently, a new treaty was negotiated every four or five years. The treaties are not stand-alone treaties but rather are reforming treaties that amend and build on the existing treaties. The latest reforming treaty is the Lisbon Treaty that came into effect in December 2009. Because the Lisbon Treaty was very difficult to ratify in some member states, there is now no great enthusiasm for further treaty reforms, even though after the crises of recent years reforms are perhaps necessary.

Since the founding treaties of the 1950s, later treaties have thus consisted primarily of making amendments and additions to earlier treaties. Inevitably, as new treaty articles have been created and old treaty articles have been removed, the treaty system has become unwieldy, and virtually incomprehensible to the layperson. The key point to know is that there are two main treaties: **The Treaty on European Union** and **The Treaty on the**

Functioning of the European Union. Together, the TEU and the TFEU form the legal basis for governance in the European Union. The TEU contains 55 articles and the TFEU 358.⁶

The broad distinction between the two treaties is that:

the [TEU](#) establishes the broad principles and operating structures of the European Union.

The [TFEU](#) deals mainly with the policies of the EU and with the details of how policies are made.

Integration Typology

The Hungarian economist, Bela Balassa (1962), was one of the earliest students of European integration. He wrote that the EU would need to pass through a number of stages before achieving the goal of political union that its founders (including Monnet, Adenauer, Schumann, DeGasperi) had envisaged. (See Table 2 Balassa's Theoretical Evolution of Political and Economic Integration.) And although Balassa constructed his paradigm in the early years of European integration, it continues to serve as a useful conceptual framework to examine policy integration and the evolution of European institutions.

Free Trade Area

A free trade area removes tariffs on goods among member countries. Current examples include the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade (CETA) trade agreement. The six founding member states of the EEC agreed to a free trade area, but within the framework of a more integrative economic area – a customs union. However, the internal free trade aspect of the customs union has always been problematical, partly because of non-tariff barriers to free trade and partly because services have replaced manufactured goods as the major sector in which Europeans are employed. Should services—which must be delivered by people—be considered in the same category as "trade in goods"? The UK had originally wanted a preferential trade agreement (PTA) rather than a more integrated entity, a principal reason why the UK did not join the EEC at its founding. This is an important point to keep in mind for understanding the positions taken by those who argued for Brexit.

⁶ Consolidated versions of the two treaties are available at:
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:SOM:EN:HTML>

Table 2 Balassa's Theoretical Evolution of Political and Economic Integration

Integration Type	Removal of Internal Tariffs	Common External Tariff	Free Flow of Capital & Labour	Harmonization of Social & Economic Policy	Single Currency	Political Integration
Free Trade Area	X					
Customs Union	X	X				
Common Market	X	X	X			
Economic Union	X	X	X	X		
Economic Federalism	X	X	X	X	X	
Political Union	X	X	X	X	X	X

Customs Union

In addition to removing internal tariffs, member states surround themselves with a tariff wall. In other words, a U.S. exporter faces the same tariff whether exporting an automobile part to the Czech Republic or France. Tariffs are set by a common authority, in this case, in Brussels. The EEC had largely completed its customs union by 1968, well within the guidelines established in the Treaty of Rome. Customs are collected by the member state, an administrative fee collected, and the balance remitted to Brussels. These customs duties comprise a portion of the EU's budgetary revenue.

Common Market

A common market extends free movement to capital and labor. The EU no longer uses the term "common market." Today, most frequently, the term "**internal market**" is used, although the earlier terms of "Single European Market" (SEM) and "single market" are still widely heard. The internal market can be said to have accomplished the EU's goals of the *Four Freedoms*: freedom of movement of goods, services, people, and capital. The extent to which the EU has satisfied adequately common market criteria is debatable. Is Europe's trade in goods and services and its movement of people and capital as free of restrictions as that of federal systems such as Canada or the United States? Do barriers to trade and the circulation of people and capital continue to impede European (economic) integration?

Economic Union

Integration deepens substantially in an economic union because the member states agree to harmonize their economic and social policies such as regional, environmental, and competitiveness. Nevertheless, most social policies remain under the jurisdiction of national governments. While Eurozone monetary policy is harmonized and the Treaty on Stability,

Coordination and Governance (TSCG)⁷ constrains fiscal maneuverability, the EU lacks the central fiscal authority of a modern state. For instance (and this is a big "for instance"), the EU does not have power over direct taxes (personal, corporate) and has no direct power over member states' citizens. As a result of reforms associated with the eurozone, banking and debt crises, the eurozone area has moved closer to fiscal federalism, but by no means to the extent found in a federal system.

Economic Federalism

Oddly enough, the 19 members of the Eurozone have accomplished this stage while not fully-completing the previous stages.⁸ Some observers would argue that by skipping the *Economic Union* stage the Eurozone members set themselves up for fiscal difficulties. In all probability, the next few years will see further cautious and tentative steps being taken in the direction of the building of economic and monetary union. But, the near future is unlikely to see anything that even approaches fiscal union. (See "Economic and Monetary Union," below.)

Political Union

Political Union is quite simply a 'United States of Europe'. Whilst no one suggests that the EU is a *federal state*, there is extensive debate amongst academics over the extent to which it displays characteristics of a federal *political system*. Most commentators suggest that to be *really* federal, the EU needs such features as stronger supranational institutions, a common immigration policy, a European army, a much larger EU-level budget, and a European Constitution.

EU Institutions

Introduction

The EU is constituted quite differently than sovereign nation-states. In democratic nation-states one thinks in terms of governmental branches—legislative, executive, judicial. So, for instance, in the US there is a legislature (Congress), an executive (the president and the executive agencies), and an independent federal judiciary. Because the US is a federal system, this configuration is repeated in the 50 states. Similarly, in the UK there is a legislature (House of Commons and House of Lords), an executive (prime minister and cabinet), and an independent judiciary. While certainly there are differences between these two democracies – with, for example, the UK being a parliamentary system (the parliament elects the prime minister, who is also an MP) and the U.S. being a presidential system (where the president is elected by the people)⁹— the two systems appear very much alike in comparison to governance in the European Union. The following pages summarize the EU's system of governance, with descriptions of the main EU institutions and their roles and responsibilities.

⁷ Title III of the TSCG, an extra-EU treaty due to the UK's refusal to sign on, contains a "Fiscal Compact."

⁸ Interactive map of the Euro area: <http://www.ecb.int/euro/intro/html/map.en.html>

⁹ To be precise, in the U.S. system the president is indirectly-elected. The popular vote is cast for electors pledged to a specific presidential candidate. The electors cast their votes in the Electoral College. The Electoral College is not a college at all, of course, but 50 states and the District of Columbia voting in December of the election year in their respective state capitals. The votes are then sent to Washington, D.C. where they are opened in a joint session of Congress, with the winner announced by the sitting vice-president (who is also president of the U.S. Senate).

Commission¹⁰

The Commissioners form, in effect, the board of managers of the European Union. They are supposed to provide the motor force to drive the EU toward ever-closer union by taking policy initiatives and supervising policy implementation. According to TEU Article 17 (3), Commissioners “shall be chosen on the grounds of their general competence and European commitment from persons whose independence is beyond doubt.” They should “neither seek nor take instructions from any Government or other institution, body, office or entity.” Most Commissioners have been active in the politics of their countries, some very prominently so. Although the [President of the Commission](#) is one of 27 in a collegial body (its name is the [College of Commissioners](#)), they are more than *primus inter pares*. Depending upon the personality and skills of the occupant, this can be a very powerful position. Policy areas are divided into Directorates General (DGs), which are grouped under individual Commissioners, who, together, make up the College of Commissioners.

There is no comparable institution to the European Commission in American politics, but in European parliamentary systems most governments have similar powers to the Commission in that they too are normally expected to take policy leads, although a few European states, such as France, have a “hybrid” form called a semi-presidential system. However, unlike the American system, in Europe the Prime Minister and Cabinet Members are normally simultaneously members of parliament.¹¹ This is expressly prohibited in the US. The framers of the US Constitution purposely constructed a system that would ensure independent branches. Europeans, however, have tended to believe that separation of powers is a recipe for incendiary politics, hardly conducive to the orderly conduct of business. Americans, on the other hand, think the separation of powers checks governmental power. It is not surprising, then, that the EU invests the Commission with writing legislation; in fact, the Commission has the power of sole initiation (akin to that of a state cabinet) in virtually all EU policy areas apart from foreign and defence policy.

The High Representative/Vice President of the Commission and the EEAS

In effect, the HR/VP is the ‘Union Minister for Foreign Affairs’, but this “symbolically charged” title (in the failed Constitutional Treaty) was dropped and replaced with the more cumbersome title of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

The HR’s institutional position is complex, with the incumbent having a base in both the Commission and the Council. In the Commission, the HR/VP is the Commissioner for External Relations. In the Council, the HR/VP chairs the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC) – more on the FAC, below. The HR also heads the European External Action Service (EEAS), the EU’s diplomatic corps created in the Lisbon treaty (in a responsibility that parallels the

¹⁰ The Commission maintains excellent web pages, which are an important source for any student of the EU. Start at homepage: https://ec.europa.eu/info/index_en. To learn more about the European Commission, see Nugent, N., & Rhinard, M. (2015). *The European Commission* (2nd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan; Kassim, H., Peterson, J., Bauer, M. W., Connolly, S., Dehousse, R., Hooghe, L., & Thompson, A. (2013). *The European Commission of the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Ban, C. (2013). *Management and Culture in an Enlarged European Commission: From Diversity to Unity?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹¹ There are exceptions to this fusion of powers found in Westminster parliamentary systems. In the Dutch parliamentary system, for example, members of the cabinet must vacate their seats in parliament.

foreign minister's management function in national governments).

The HR's roles are established in the TEU as being ones of proposer, promoter, facilitator, and implementer. The HR is not a major independent decision-maker: the making of key policy decisions is left to the European Council and the Council of Ministers.

It was hoped by many observers that the HR would be able to give the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) a significant external boost, not least by giving it a "human face." But the TEU built in uncertainty in this regard with Article 15, which covers the responsibilities of the European Council President: "The President of the European Council shall, at his level and in that capacity, ensure the external representation of the Union on issues concerning its common foreign and security policy, without prejudice to the powers of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy."

Council of the European Union

(commonly referred to just as the Council)

Ministers

Members of the Council represent their national governments in making the main decisions for the European Union. The Council meets in ten configurations, with ministers from each of the member states represented on each of the councils below:¹²

General Affairs¹³

Foreign Affairs

Economic and Financial Affairs (Ecofin)

Justice and Home Affairs

Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs

Competitiveness (Internal Market, Industry, Research)

Transport, Telecommunications and Energy

Agriculture and Fisheries

Environment

Education, Youth, Culture and Sport

¹² See <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/> for links to each Council configuration. While the Council sits in ten different configurations, its decisions are made in the name of "the Council." The Council's seat is in Brussels with some meetings taking place in Luxembourg.

¹³The General Affairs Council (GAC) deals with policies that cut across several policy areas such as enlargement and preparation of the EU's Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF). The GAC also coordinates the preparation and follow-up of European Council meetings. Its members can be foreign ministers, permanent representatives, European Affairs ministers—the choice of representative depends upon the policy area under consideration and the judgment of the member state.

Council Presidency

The Council Presidency rotates between states on a six-monthly basis (See

Table 3.) **FRANCE HOLDS THE PRESIDENCY DURING SUNYMEU 2022.** The Presidency chairs all Council meetings except meetings of the Foreign Affairs Council, which are chaired by the “High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy” (discussed in detail, above).

The Council Presidency is a key device for organizing and carrying out the work of the Council over the six-month period. While member states bring one or two priorities that they hope will leave a positive legacy—“during the Swedish Presidency the EU achieved...”—real world (unexpected) events can sometimes derail proposed plans. Nevertheless, Council Presidencies do work from 18-month programmes developed as “trios”: every 18 months, the three Presidencies due to hold office prepare, in close cooperation with the Commission, and after appropriate consultations, a draft programme of Council activities for that period.



France Presidency’s website at <https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/>

The trio programme was drawn up by France (January-June 2021), the Czech Republic (July-December 2021), and Sweden (January-June 2023).

Trio Programme:

<https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/programme/trio-programme/>

French Presidency Programme:

<https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/programme/programme-of-the-presidency/>

In addition to the above programmes, the French Presidency of the Council of the European Union includes links to news and events.

Table 3 Council Presidency Rotation of Trio January 2022-June 2023

COUNTRY	TERM	YEAR
France	January-June	2022
Czech Republic	June-December	2022
Sweden	January-June	2023

Council (General Secretariat)

The Council Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General, who is assisted by the Deputy Secretary-General. The Council Secretariat services the Council and assists the Council presidency.

The Council Secretariat prepares draft agendas, keeps records, provides legal advice, processes and circulates decisions and documentation, and monitors policy developments to provide continuity and coordination in Council proceedings.

The students playing the Council Secretariat at SUNYMEU take meeting minutes, keep close and accurate track of agreements, and ensure those documents developed in the Council and Coreper meetings are promptly shared with the European Council. They also serve as final arbiters of disputes involving parliamentary procedure.

COREPER

Each member state has a national delegation in Brussels, called a permanent representation, which is best thought of as an embassy to the European Union. Each permanent representation is headed by a senior diplomat, known as the permanent representative. The Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER) is a key EU body. According to the TFEU, COREPER is “responsible for preparing the work of the Council and for carrying out the tasks assigned to it by the Council.”

The ministers come and go from their nation's capital to Brussels and Luxembourg, while the permanent representatives remain in Brussels to carry out the day-to-day activities of the Council. The work of these permanent delegations is divided into COREPER 1 and COREPER 2.

COREPER 1, headed by the deputy permanent representatives, deals mainly with routine business, while COREPER 2 deals with more high-profile matters and works for the most prominent Councils: General Affairs, Foreign Affairs, and Ecofin. Reflecting its importance, COREPER 2, is composed of the permanent representatives.

Council committees and working groups prepare the work needed by COREPER in order to advise the Council.

SUNYMEU simulates COREPER 2.

Council Voting

The Council utilizes three different types of voting procedures, as shown in Box 4.

Box 4 Council Decision-making

Decision-making in the Council

Ministers may take decisions in one of three ways:

By **unanimity**. Although rounds of treaty reform have greatly reduced the number of decisions that require unanimity, it still applies to many types of decision – including all major decisions in such key policy areas as foreign, defence, enlargement, and taxation.

By **qualified majority**. This consists of a double majority system in which majorities require the approval of at least 55% of the member states (72% if the proposal does not come from the Commission) representing at least 65% of the EU's population. To safeguard against the possibility of three of the largest states joining together to limit a proposal, a blocking minority must consist of at least four states.

By **simple majority**. This applies only to relatively minor and procedural matters.

In practice, there is always a preference for consensus whatever procedure applies.

Unanimity is required in virtually all policy recommendations made to the European Council. Thus, unanimity is required in SUNYMEU because all Council deliberations will be transmitted to the European Council as policy recommendations.

European Council

The European Council is a (normally) two-day gathering of “the big shots” of the European Union, i.e., the Heads of State or Government of the member states.¹⁴ (The term “Heads of State *or* Government” is used because in semi-presidential systems, e.g. Cyprus, France, Poland, and Romania, the Head of State is also the Head of Government.)

Under the Lisbon Treaty, only Heads of State or Government, the European Council President, and the Commission President are European Council members, although the latter two cannot vote. The European Council thus has a membership of 29. The European Council member may be accompanied to formal summit sessions by one minister – without Foreign Ministers being prioritized. The High Representative also attends for external affairs agenda items. Virtually all European Council decisions are taken by unanimous agreement of the member states. Beyond these people, the only others who are permitted into meetings are a few Council Secretariat and Commission officials, who undertake advisory and administrative tasks. The European Council is required by treaty to meet at least four times per year.

¹⁴A guide to the European Council is available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/european-council/members/>

European Council meetings are chaired by the President of the European Council, who is elected by qualified majority of the members of the European Council for a 2½ year term, renewable once. In practice, both of the first two Presidents – Herman van Rompuy (2009-14), who was the Belgian Prime Minister at the time of his appointment, and Donald Tusk (2014-19), who was the Polish Prime Minister, served five-year terms. The third President, Charles Michel, who was the Belgian Prime Minister at the time of his appointment in July 2019, is scheduled to serve his initial term of office from December 2019 until May 31, 2022. The powers of the President are defined only vaguely (in Article 15 TEU), but they are enough to give this individual the potential to exercise important policy roles.

European Council meetings are usually focused on between eight and ten agenda items, with discussions and negotiations being directed to getting agreed statements on these items. Everything that is agreed is included in a final document that is formally called "Conclusions of the European Council meeting of....."

These Conclusions usually provide **broad policy outlines**, with details and arrangements for their implementation being left to the Council (of Ministers) and the European Commission. The contents of the Conclusions are extremely important, with few major policy matters of concern to the EU not requiring to be at least passed through the European Council. In some policy areas, such as enlargement, treaty reform, and withdrawals from the EU, the European Council takes **final decisions**. In many other policy areas – from the identification of major foreign policy goals to considering which Member States should be permitted to join the euro system – the European Council sets out policy statements that act as guidelines other EU institutions must then follow.

There is no doubt that the European Council has been vital in shepherding the European integration process. But it has been at its best when it has focused on big picture issues more than when it has sought, or has been obliged, as has been occasionally the case, to become involved in policy details. The spotlight is too intense when the European Council meets: negotiations on the intricacies of policy are best left to the closed-door meetings of the Council and the Commission, where the different interests can negotiate without fear of initial positions leaking to the press and creating uproar among opponents in their respective Member States.

European Parliament

The Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are the only EU representatives elected directly by the EU polity through universal suffrage. EP elections are, mainly, contests between national rather than European-wide political parties.¹⁵ In the EP, most MEPs decide their policy positions on a partisan more than a national basis. The EP began as a strictly advisory body but, by treaty revisions and practice, it has become substantially involved in policy making. Although it still has little influence in some highly sensitive areas—including foreign affairs and taxation—it is now a co-decision maker with the Council in respect of most EU legislation. **The EP does not directly feature in SUNYMEU.**

¹⁵See <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en>. The most recent EP elections were held in May 2019.

Table 4 EU Institutions

Institution	Number of Members	Who are they?	Role
European Commission	27	One per member state. Most are former national ministers	Several duties, including drafting legislation and overseeing policy implementation
Council (of Ministers)	27	Ministers of the member states plus the High Representative	Final decision-maker (increasingly with the EP) in respect of EU policies and legislation
European Parliament	751	Direct election (MEPs elected by country allotment)	Consultative & legislative powers depending upon “pillar”
European Council	29	Heads of government + the President of the Commission + the European Council President	Sets agenda/priorities. Makes some final (political, not legal) decisions.
European Court of Justice	27	One appointee per member state	Interprets the laws and treaties
Economic and Social Committee	329	Interest groups	Consultative
Committee of the Regions	350	Reps of local and regional governments	Consultative
Court of Auditors	27	One per member state	Examine EU revenues and expenses
European Ombudsman	1	Elected by European Parliament	Uncovers “maladministration”
Decentralized Agencies (approx. 30)		Independent legal entities under EU public law	Specialized policy areas such as food safety, environment, fisheries, energy regulators, border control, banking
Defence Agencies (3)			Defence, police & judicial cooperation
Financial Bodies (2)			European Central Bank European Investment Bank

Decision-making Procedures and Terms

There are numerous procedures for the development and promulgation of EU policies and laws. In very broad terms, they can be dichotomized into two main forms: *supranational* (EU institutions are prominent and individual member states do not have a veto) and *intergovernmental* (member states determine the outcome and decisions are taken by unanimity). Given that the powers of the various political actors – notably the governments of the member states and the EU institutions – vary enormously according to the policy and decision-making procedure that is used, the factors that determine the use of particular procedures are clearly very important. The single most important factor is treaty provision. That is to say, for most forms of policy and decision-making, the treaties stipulate what type of procedure must be used. So, for example, if an EU law concerning an aspect of market regulation is being proposed, then decisions are made using the *ordinary procedure*. For the European Council, Article 15 TEU states: “Except where the Treaties provide otherwise, decisions of the European Council shall be decided by consensus.” The Treaties do provide otherwise, but only in a very few cases. **This means that for the purposes of SUNYMEU all European Council decisions must be taken by unanimity.**

So, formally all Member States have a veto on European Council decisions. However, it must be emphasized that such vetoes are rarely exercised, because:

- Member states usually want decisions to be made on agenda items.
- The working culture of European Council meetings is that all efforts will be made to find compromise solutions when differences exist.
- It is not usually in the interests of a member state to exercise a veto, because it will not want an agenda item it supports to be vetoed by another member state on a future occasion.
- It can be politically difficult for small states to veto matters on which the large states want a decision to be made.

EU Policies

After the previous brief overview of EU membership, treaties, integration theory, and institutions, this section is written as an introduction to what the EU actually *does*—its policies. The large number of American participants in SUNYMEU, many of whom are new to EU studies, will naturally compare the EU’s policymaking reach to that of the US. Table 5 compares the EU and the US on the major policies. One can readily see, for example, that the US federal government has sole competence in foreign policy while in the EU foreign policy is shared between Brussels and the member states.¹⁶

¹⁶ Participants from Canadian universities may wish to consult the following excellent text comparing Canadian and European Union governance and policymaking. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Achim Hurrelmann, and Amy Verdun. Eds. 2018. [*European Union Governance and Policy Making: A Canadian Perspective*](#). University of Toronto Press.

The Expanding Policy Portfolio

A central feature of the nature of the policy portfolio is that it has increasingly moved beyond its early focus on direct market issues. Immediately after the EEC Treaty came into operation in 1958 the main tasks were seen as the EEC Treaty obliged them to be: the creation of a common market in goods – which was achieved in 1968 when most internal tariffs and quota restrictions were removed, and a common external tariff established – and the construction of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). But once these early policy priorities had been reached, decision-makers began to widen their policy horizons, a process that continues to the present day.

Some of this widening has taken the form of identifying direct market-related policies that have needed to be developed to improve market performance. Since the late 1960s this has resulted in much attention being given to the removal of non-tariff barriers to internal trade. Since the early 1980s it has resulted in extensive policy activity directed at opening up the free movement of capital, services and labour and also the outlawing of anti-competitive practices. Since the early 2000s it has resulted in strategic plans, such as Europe 2020, a ten-year blueprint for member state governments and the EU to work cooperatively to achieve “smart, sustainable, inclusive growth as a way to overcome the structural weaknesses in Europe’s economy,” with targets specified for employment; R&D; climate change and energy; education; and poverty and social exclusion.

Some of the widening has taken the form of developing policies that, though certainly market-related, are less concerned with creating market efficiency *per se* than with managing undesirable market consequences and problems that the market is not seen as being able to handle satisfactorily. Examples include environmental policy, which first began to appear on the EC’s policy agenda in the early 1970s, social policies, supported from the late 1980s by an increasing acceptance that the internal market should have “a social dimension,” and energy policy, which received increased attention beginning in the 2000s, in no small part because of concerns over supply problems. Some of the widening has taken the form of policy being developed in non-market policy areas that formerly were regarded as being national preserves. Until the late 1990s policy development in such areas – essentially a) foreign and security policy and b) justice and home affairs policy – was very slow because of the sensitivities involved, but development has since been rapid and considerable.

The former UK Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, was broadly correct when she compared EU policy development to being like a ratchet: once a notch is turned on the ratchet it is all but impossible to turn it back. And over the years there have been many such turns of the ratchet. But the turns have not occurred at a uniform pace. Rather, the pace of EU policy development has varied, both as regards general policy development and in specific policy areas.

Table 5 The Varying Depths of EU and US (national government) Policy Involvement

	Extensive EU/US Federal Involvement	Considerable EU/US Federal involvement	Policy responsibilities shared between the EU and the member states/US and states	Limited EU/US Federal involvement	Virtually no EU/US Federal policy involvement
EU	External trade Agriculture Fishing (exclusive economic zone) Monetary (for eurozone members)	Market regulation Competition/Antitrust Asylum & Refugee	Regional/Cohesion Industry Foreign Development Environment Equal opportunity Working conditions Consumer protection Macroeconomic (especially for euro members) Energy Cross-border crime Civil liberties	Health Higher education Defence Social welfare Transport Immigration (except Blue Card)	Housing Domestic crime Primary and secondary education
US	Defense Foreign Monetary Agriculture Fishing (exclusive economic zone) Movement across external borders Macroeconomic Crime (federal statutes and federal penitentiaries) Immigration & Asylum Cross-border crime	Market regulation (include Financial Services Regulation) Competition/Antitrust	Environment Equal opportunity Working conditions Consumer protection Energy Interstate crime Civil liberties Health Social Welfare Transport Housing Industry Regional	Higher education (financial aid) Crime (local/state) Primary and secondary education (mainly involved through financial incentives offered to the states to implement federal education initiatives)	

Buonanno and Nugent (2015). *The New and Changing Transatlanticism: Politics and Policy Perspectives*. New York: Routledge. Updated November 2021.

As regards general policy development, the 1960s saw the rapid creation of the customs union and the CAP, but the next fifteen years or so, although certainly not – as is sometimes suggested – completely stagnant in policy development terms, witnessed a slow-down as the Luxembourg Compromise (the 1966 agreement between the member states that resulted in all major decision-making having to be based, in effect, on unanimous decision-making) took its toll. The launch of the Single European Market (SEM) programme in the mid-1980s then led to a flood of policy activity, much of it as part of the programme itself but some of it a consequence of programme spillover into related policy areas – as with the attention given to the social dimension and with the movement towards Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Since the completion of the SEM program in 1992, general policy advancement has continued, though at a slower pace. This has partly been because as the easier negative integration has increasingly been achieved, what has remained has been located in the most difficult and sensitive of policy areas.¹⁷ It has been partly also because of the emphasis that has been given since the early 1990s to the principle of subsidiarity. In essence, subsidiarity means that policy actions should be taken at the level that is closest to the citizens as possible. So, the EU should not be engaging in policy activity unless it can be demonstrated that the objectives of the proposed activity cannot be sufficiently achieved at national levels. The subsidiarity principle is given bite by an obligation on the Commission to justify new policy proposals in terms of subsidiarity and by the application of the principle being subject to judicial proceedings.

Unquestionably, the EU policy portfolio has never ceased developing in an ever-expanding direction. A key question thus arising is whether it will continue doing so. The underdeveloped and only partially developed nature of many policy areas certainly indicates that there is no shortage of areas where further policy development could occur. Moreover, the strong pressures from some policy actors for the further development of EU policies—in such policy areas as macroeconomic coordination, the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ), Common European Asylum System (CEAS), the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)—suggest that in some areas it will occur, albeit in some cases on a differentiated basis. But such development is likely mainly to take the form of incremental advances and to be confined to policy areas where a significant EU presence has already been established.

Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

The EMU project has always been controversial. At the center of the controversy have been different views, among both policy practitioners and observers, as to whether a stable European currency system can exist when:

- there are great economic differences – in terms of both levels of economic development and the nature of economic structures – between the states participating in the system;
- the single currency is not underpinned by extensive economic integration; and

¹⁷ Jan Tinbergen saw achieving the Four Freedoms as a process of negative integration: eliminating or reducing artificial barriers which impede the single market became the first priority of the common market project. Positive integration involves adopting common policies to promote integration. Tinbergen, J. (1954). *International Economic Integration*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

- the EMU system is accompanied by only weak political integration, with no strong central body with the authority to move significant economic and financial resources around the system or to impose necessary policies on states within the system.

Nineteen EU Member States use the euro as their currency. (See Box 1 Key Information on EU Member States.)

Most other EU states are obliged by their terms of accession to eventually adopt the euro. The Ecofin Council and the European Commission make recommendations as to the preparedness of member states to join the Eurozone. Denmark and Sweden have chosen not to adopt the euro, even though both meet the accession criteria.¹⁸

There are two components of a full economic and monetary union: fiscal policy and monetary policy. The Maastricht Treaty laid down the basis for a “monetary” or “currency” union, with a single currency managed by a central bank. It did not, however, lay any such basis for a “fiscal union,” which would have needed at its core an EU Finance Ministry or similar entity with strong fiscal (that is, revenue raising and spending) powers.

In the debate as to the proper sequencing of fiscal and monetary policy in the context of EMU, those who argued that monetary policy could precede fiscal policy gained the upper hand. As experts on EMU have observed, the debate was “won” by a brand of monetarists who argued that convergence between the economies would naturally result from monetary integration, thus there was no pressing need to coordinate and harmonize economic and monetary policies in advance of monetary union.

The eurozone debt crisis was really comprised of two interrelated crises: a sovereign debt crisis and a banking crisis. The eurozone has enacted several reforms since 2010 that are designed to stabilize it. The three most important are: (i) the establishment of a permanent rescue (bailout) fund, called the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) that operates along the same lines as IMF funds loaned to countries on the verge of fiscal default; (ii) the strengthening of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) via a range of voluntary, legislative and (non EU-wide) treaty measures, and (iii) a banking union with the European Central Bank (ECB) as the supervising authority.

There is no shortage of suggestions from EU policymakers with respect to continued strengthening of the banking union and establishment of a fiscal union.

Attention has turned toward the extent to which the EU’s budget could be used as a fiscal stability mechanism for eurozone countries.

¹⁸ Technically, Sweden did not qualify for an opt-out because the TEU was adopted prior to Sweden’s accession.

PART II: CURRENT CHALLENGES

The EU faces no shortage of challenges and crises. This section offers a brief discussion of some of these challenges along with a list of possible SUNYMEU agenda topics associated with each challenge discussed. This section, however, does not replace reading the French Presidency Programme and the Trio Programme, both of which are available for download at <https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/> (click “Programme”).

Financing the EU¹⁹

One key to understanding the EU is to study its budget, which reveals a complex balance of power between the EU’s institutions as well as its member states.

The European Commission is responsible for proposing the EU budget. While a new budget is agreed each year, the overall framework of revenues and expenses is laid out in Multiannual Financial Frameworks (MFFs) in which the European Council and the EU institutions responsible for the budget (Council and the European Parliament) agree to seven-year budget programmes, which are then altered only slightly in each year of the MFF. This system has worked well in achieving its principal goal of containing institution-crippling disputes to once every few years rather than with each annual budgetary cycle, but has diminished the ability of the EU to deal with emerging priorities.²⁰ It has also become useful as an exercise in which stakeholders and lawmakers debate the future of the EU in the run-up to the next MFF. The EU is currently operating under the 2021-17 MFF.

The EU’s budget is, in relative terms, very modest in size – accounting for only 1 per cent of total EU GNI. But notwithstanding this relative modesty, the nature of the budget’s revenues and expenditures and the behavior of the budget’s decision-makers reveal much about the EU’s policy priorities and policy-making processes. For, behind each revenue source are tugs-of-war between integrationists and intergovernmentalists and between “getters” and “spenders.” And beneath each expenditure item lie an array of – often sharply clashing – policy priorities and images of the EU’s purpose. The 2021-27 MFF uses the following headings:

- Category 1: Single Market, Innovation and Digital
- Category 2: Cohesion, Resilience and Values
- Category 3: Natural Resources and the Environment
- Category 4: Migration and Border Management
- Category 5: Security and Defence
- Category 6: Neighbourhood and the World
- Category 7: European Public Administration

¹⁹This section is based on Chapter 19 in Buonanno, L. and N. Nugent. 2021. *Policies and Policy Processes of the European Union*. Red Glob Press/Bloomsbury.

²⁰Cipriani, G. (2018). The EU Budget. In N. Zahariadis & L. Buonanno (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of European Public Policy* (pp. 142-153). London: Routledge.

Expenditures

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and Cohesion/Structural policies continue to be the EU's budget largest categories, together accounting for 68.3 percent of the 2021-27 MFF. Nevertheless, as per previous MFF's CAP and cohesion funding spending have been decreasing. The areas with substantially more spending reflect the EU's current priorities: climate change (Green Deal objectives), the EU Health Programme, R& D (through Horizon Europe), Digital Europe (high-performance computing, AI, cybersecurity), and migration and border management.

Revenues

Revenues are derived from four “own” sources (% revenues in 2022 budget):

- 1) customs tariffs and agricultural levies (“Traditional Own Resources”) (10.57%)
- 2) a VAT component collected from each member state (11.26%)
- 3) a Gross National Income (GNI)-based source (67.09%)
- 4) a new contribution started January 1, 2021, a contribution based on non-recycled plastic packaging waste (3.54%).

Additional resources come from fines imposed when businesses fail to comply with EU rules, taxes paid by EU employees, and unspent amounts from previous years. As part of the negotiations for the 2021-27 MFF, the European Council agreed – for the first time in the EU's history –to raise funds on the capital markets, using the EU budget as collateral. These funds are financing the NextGenerationEU, which the European Council agreed to create to aid member states to revive economies devastated by the coronavirus pandemic. The funds are to be used to help implement the EU's Green Deal (climate change initiatives) and enhance member states' digital sectors.

The GNI resource takes the form of “contributions” to the budget from all member states based on their size and wealth. So, it is based on ability to pay. The resource was conceived of as a “top-up” to bridge the gap between budgetary expenditure and income, and in effect is still treated as a budgetary balancing mechanism with the GNI resource makes up the shortfall. Naturally, the larger and richer member states are the main contributors.

The debate on revenue sources

As has been implied in the above account of revenue sources, the existing system is unsatisfactory in several respects. Among its defects are its complexity, its lack of transparency, and its appearance of not being an own resources system at all but rather a system based on national contributions. This latter defect has been seen by many as being especially problematic because of its highlighting of the lack of financial independence of the EU and its encouragement of a *juste retour*²¹ attitude amongst national governments in budgetary negotiations.

As a result of these perceived weaknesses, many proposals have been made over the years for a fundamental revision of the revenue raising system. Most of the proposals have focused on

²¹ The *juste retour* principle – members states try to get as much out of the budget as they put in, and thus undermines attempts for the EU budget to be an instrument of fiscal federalism (including redistribution from richer to poorer EU member states).

eliminating, or at least reducing, the GNI revenue source and replacing it with an EU tax or charge of some sort. In addition to the tax on non-recyclable plastics, the Commission has identified the following as being among the possibilities to reduce dependence on the GNI resource: a financial transactions tax; revenues from auctioning under the greenhouse gas Emissions Trading System; a charge related to air transport; a revised VAT; an energy tax; and a corporate income tax.²² A personal income tax, however, would simply never be contemplated in the EU not least because it undermines an essential power of the member states.²³

A central problem with proposals for EU taxes or charges is that they have always faced a major obstacle: the governments of some member states – most notably the UK, but it has not been alone – have consistently opposed the idea of the EU being given a more independent financial base resting on some sort of direct taxation system. Their opposition has been based partly on sovereignty concerns and partly on concerns that EU budgetary processes should not become more independent. With the UK no longer an EU member state, it is expected that this will be an issue that will receive more attention in the coming years.

Another innovation in the MFF 2021-27 was the tying of funding from the NextGenEU to the rule of law, something that the European Parliament insisted on as a condition of their approval of the MFF. The EP was targeting particularly Central and Eastern European countries, particularly Hungary and Poland. To receive NextGen funding, member states must submit national plans, which must be approved by the European Commission. The Commission withheld approval for Hungary and Poland based on concerns over undermining of media freedom and independence of the courts.²⁴

Possible SUNYMEU 2022 Topics:

- Other sources for funding the EU budget.
- New Code of Conduct for tax rules. (The Estonian and Hungarian finance ministers blocked revised tax rules in December 2021.)

EU-African Relations

Relations between the EU and Africa will be of special interest to the French Presidency. There are two main fora through which the EU interacts with African states: the African Union and the Contonou (trade) agreement. We will discuss each in turn.

The African Union and the European Union

²² The rationale, for supporters of an EU corporate tax, rests with the single market. They argue that without the single market, which is a product of the EU, EU businesses would have lower revenues because sales would be depressed by both tariff and non-tariff barriers. See Begg, I. (2011). *An EU Tax: Overdue Reform or Federalist Fantasy?*: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id/ipa/07819.pdf>.

²³ Note that the US federal personal income tax was not permanently levied until World War I, over 100 years after the founding of the American republic.

²⁴ See, for example, EURACTIV (2021, September 2) “Commission Says its Holding up Recovering Money for Poland.” <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/commission-says-it-is-holding-up-recovery-money-for-poland/>

The [African Union](#) (AU) is comprised of the 55 member states that make up the continent of Africa. The AU was launched in 2002 as a successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which was founded in 1963 by 32 heads of independent African states. AU is headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The EU works both with sovereign states in Africa, but also with the AU. The joint Africa-EU Strategy was adopted in 2007 as the “formal channel for EU relations with African countries,” including a roadmap for 2014-2017.²⁵ It was agreed to by the AU, EU institutions, and AU and EU member states.

In March 2020, Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission and European External Action Service (EEAS), proposed a new comprehensive strategy with Africa that seeks to jointly define a new basis for EU-AU Summits. The new strategy proposes joint AU-EU action on five “key global trends”:

1. A Partnership for the Green Transition and Energy Access
2. A Partnership for Digital Transformation
3. A Partnership for Sustainable Growth and Jobs
4. A Partnership for Peace, Security and Governance
5. A Partnership on Migration and Mobility.

The Council approved conclusions on Africa (June 2020).²⁶ In the Conclusions, the Council reiterated that “Africa and Europe are natural partners bound by history, geography, and culture. The EU and the African Union (AU) enjoy a unique partnership, built on common values and a shared commitment to regional integration and effective multilateralism.”²⁷

Regular annual AU-EU ministerial meetings take place, with the EU’s High Representative leading the EU’s delegation. So, too, the European Commission and the African Union Commission (AUC) meet in their capacities as the executive arms of the EU and the AU. The AU and the EU had planned to hold its sixth high-level summit in October 2020 (attended by some 80 heads of government), but it was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. It was rescheduled for February 2022. (See <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2022/02/17-18/>)

The need to agree a new EU-Africa Strategy is particularly urgent for several reasons. With respect to population, the two continents are diverging dramatically. The EU’s population is ageing through a combination of low birth rates and increased life expectancy. The share of the population aged 65 and over is projected to reach 30 per cent by 2060, compared to 19 per cent in 2017, with the median ages highest in Germany and Italy.²⁸ The very old – aged 80 and above – will account for 13 per cent of the EU’s population by 2080. Age dependency

²⁵ See “The Africa-EU Strategic Partnership: A Joint Africa-EU Strategy.” https://africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/eas2007_joint_strategy_en.pdf and Fourth EU-Africa Summit, 2-3 April 2014, Roadmap 2014-2017 <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21520/142094.pdf>.

²⁶European Council. Council Conclusions on Africa. Annex. June 2020. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/44788/st_9265_2020_init_en.pdf

²⁷ Ibid, p. 1.

²⁸ Eurostat. (2018). Population structure and ageing.

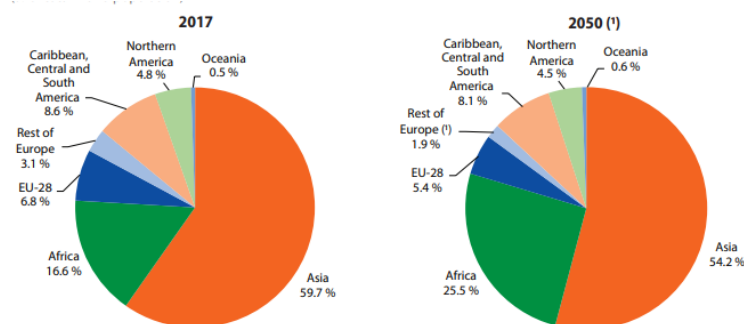
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics/explained/index.php/Population_structure_and_ageing

ratios are key to understanding whether there will be adequate numbers of people to fill job vacancies and support government expenditures, especially in that social security systems depend upon a large base of younger workers to support pensioners. The old-age dependency ratio in the EU was 29.1 per cent on 1 January 2017 (a 4.7 increase from 2007) or just over three persons of working age for every person aged 65 or older. By 2080 the old-age dependency ratio is projected reach 52.3 per cent. The total age dependency ratio (combination of young and old-dependency ratio) compared to working age persons (15 to 64) was 53.9 percent in 2017 (two working age persons for every dependent person), an increase of five percentage points from 2007. Indeed, Eurostat predicts the total age dependency ratio to reach 79.7 per cent by 2080.²⁹

The EU’s population is expected to peak at 528.6 million around 2050, and then begin a gradual decline to 518.8 million by 2080. In the meantime, the African continent – an area already exerting enormous migrant pressure on Europe – has 1.3 billion people (2017) with a growth rate of 2.6 per cent per annum (1995-2017), a higher growth rate than in all other continents. As Figure 1 indicates, by 2050 the countries of Africa will account for 25.5 per cent of the world’s population (and the EU-28, 5.4 per cent).³⁰ Africa has the “youngest, fastest growing middle-class in the world.” At the same time, 36 of the “world’s most fragile countries” are in Africa, with 390 million people living below the poverty line.³¹

Figure 3 World Population by Regions, 2017 and 2050

(% of total world population)³²



Note: 'Rest of Europe' comprises the countries Albania, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Faeroe Islands, Iceland, Kosovo*, Liechtenstein, North Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Norway, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland and Ukraine.
 (*) The designation 'Kosovo' is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSCR 1244 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo Declaration of Independence

(*) 2050: UNPD estimate, medium fertility scenario
 Source: Eurostat (online data code: demio_pjan and proj_13ndbrmq) and United Nations Population Division

The EU is also heavily invested in Africa.

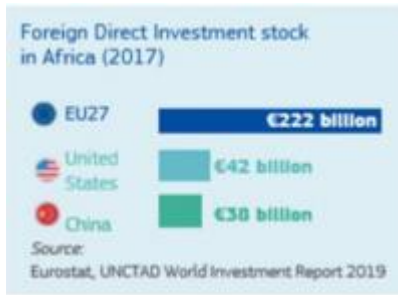
²⁹ Buonanno, L., & Nugent, N. (2021). *Policies and policy processes of the European Union* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.

³⁰ Eurostat. 2020. *The European Union and the African Union: A Statistical Portrait*. 2019 edition. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/9767596/KS-FQ-19-001-EN-N.pdf/376dc292-0d2d-4c66-9a36-5bc63c87466c?t=1556886137000>. Figures pre-date UK’s exit from the EU.

³¹ Ibid.

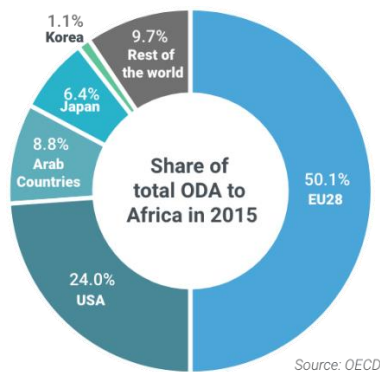
³² Ibid.

Figure 4 Foreign Direct Investment in Africa³³



As illustrated in Figure 2, the EU has substantially more foreign investment in Africa than does China and the US. To what extent can foreign direct investment be targeted responsibly to promote youth and women empowerment? Green economies? Government accountability?

Figure 5 OECD Official Development Assistance (ODA)



The EU is the biggest donor to the African continent, accounting for approximately €80 billion per year in development aid through programs implemented at a continental, regional, and national level. Around 20% of these funds are managed by the EU’s European Commission.

The EU/Africa-Caribbean-Pacific Partnership Agreement (ACP-EU Agreement)

The EU also maintains multilateral relations with developing countries through a “mixed agreement.”³⁴ The EU-ACP Agreement was negotiated by the Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (OACPS) and agreed in December 2020 by the 27 EU member states and 79 ACP states.³⁵ It is a 20-year agreement that replaces the previous Cotonou Agreement. The EU negotiates “unilateral” agreements with countries in Africa with respect to customs tariffs. These agreements differ from multilateral and bilateral agreements in that they are ‘non-reciprocal’ and under World Trade Organization (WTO) rules are permitted only for economically-disadvantaged countries as defined by the United Nations. The EU’s agreements with developing countries are comprised of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) and the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), which are guided by the ACP-EU Agreement. Other trade related matters (such as intellectual property, trade in services,

³³ European Commission - High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. (2020). Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council: Towards a comprehensive Strategy with Africa (p. 6), <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legalcontent/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020JC0004&from=FR>

³⁴ A mixed agreement deals with more than trade issues (which fall under the sole competence of the EU institutions). Mixed agreements, therefore, require ratification by all 27 EU member states – and, this takes time.

³⁵ European Commission (2020, December 3). Press Release - Post-Cotonou: Negotiators Reach a Political Deal on a New EU/Africa-Caribbean-Pacific Partnership Agreement. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_2291

technical and phyto-sanitary practices, public procurement) are covered in the agreement.³⁶ The agreement centers on human rights, democracy and governance; peace and security; human and social development; environmental sustainability and climate change; inclusive sustainable economic growth and development; and, migration and mobility along with three “specific, action-oriented regional protocols (Africa, Caribbean, Pacific)” focusing on each region’s needs.³⁷ Not surprisingly, the most “contentious subject” during the agreement’s negotiations was “migration,” as the EU seeks to leverage its market power to persuade ACP countries to clamp down on irregular migration to the EU. The agreement also terminates the European Development Fund (EDF), which has been the basis of ACP-EU cooperation for over 60 years, replaced by cooperation funded by the EU’s general budget.³⁸ The ACP-EU Agreement includes an African protocol pertaining to the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa (countries in North Africa are covered by separate bilateral agreements with the EU). A challenge will be to integrate the Africa Protocol into the AU, which seeks to take a more important role in African-European relations. Along these lines, another important aspect that makes African-European relations particularly important for students of European integration is the relatively new African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA), comprised of 54 of the 55 members of the AU, which has been in force since 1 January 2021. Upon full implementation, AfCFTA will be the biggest free trade area in the world and its protocols will enhance freedom of persons, labor, and capital.

Possible Simulation Topics:

- Key priorities for AU-EU relations
- Countering China’s influence in African countries

Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

Increasing concerns have been expressed by EU institutions and several member states as the EU's influence on the world stage has seemingly declined. This decline has been demonstrated recently by the EU’s inability to deal with rising tensions in the Balkans and also the increasingly aggressive international national stance adopted by Russia (as illustrated by its support for the authoritarian regime in Belarus and when France assumed the Presidency, fears of a Russian invasion of Ukraine persisted as Russia continued to deploy troops near Ukraine’s border).

The main reasons for this decline in global influence have been seen as the EU’s reluctance to establish and maintain its own standing army plus the decision in the Lisbon Treaty to retain unanimous voting for all foreign and defence policy decisions (which means that little can be done unless all 27 member states are in agreement). Accordingly, voices have increasingly been heard within the EU advocating: 1) the creation of a European army (Ursula van der Leyen, the president of the Commission, has been a particularly prominent voice in this

³⁶ The ratification process in the signatory states is taking place at the time of this writing (November 2021).

³⁷ Ibid, p. 2.

³⁸ Boidin, Jean. (2020, December). “ACP-EU Relations: The End of Preferences?” The European Centre for Development Policy Management. <https://ecdpm.org/wp-content/uploads/ACP-EU-Relations-End-Preferences-Personal-Assessment-Post-Cotonou-Agreement-ECDPM-Discussion-Paper-289-2020.pdf>

regard); and 2) that all foreign policy decisions other than those with defence policy implications be moved from a unanimity requirement to qualified majority voting (QMV) (member states that have been traditionally neutral on foreign policy issues have been the most reluctant to agree with this policy idea).

Possible Simulation Topics:

- The Commission proposes that a European army, drawn proportionately from the member states, be established. The army shall operate within the NATO framework.
- France proposes that all foreign policy decisions, other than those with defence implications, be taken in the future by QMV.
- Discussion in the European Council as to whether the Council supports NATO's expansion to the east. ([Map of NATO's expansion since 1997.](#))

The Covid-19 Crisis

Having initially thought the Covid-19 crisis had been successfully tackled, rising coronavirus infections, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, obliged the EU to return to the issue in late November 2021: new travel restrictions were announced, the Austrian government decided that Austrian citizens would be obliged to be vaccinated, and the German government stated that mandatory vaccination was being considered.

Possible Simulation Topic

- The Commission recommends that all member states establish mandatory anti-covid vaccination schemes.

PART III: GUIDELINES FOR SUNYMEU³⁹

Introduction

The overall purpose of SUNYMEU is to provide a framework for a partial simulation of the decision-making process of the European Union. The advance preparations and the simulation should give all participants a better understanding of the EU; of international and supranational organizations in general; of the EU Member States, their peoples, politics, and policies; and of major current issues of international relations. Also, the simulation should provide the participants with opportunities to develop their skills and techniques at negotiation and conflict resolution, public speaking, debate, expository writing, logic and reasoning, small-group dynamics, leadership, and problem-solving.

Purpose and Nature of the European Council Simulation

The purpose of the simulation is for the European Council to reach agreement on a minimum of four and a maximum of eight agenda items.⁴⁰ Member state delegations and the Commission submit agenda items for consideration by the Presidency of the Council of the EU (assisted by the Council General Secretariat) in the months prior to the simulation. The European Council President is also likely to submit items.

Preparation

Students preparing to participate in SUNYMEU should concentrate their efforts on these activities:

- Gaining an understanding of the structure and dynamics of the European Union, especially those institutions that are included in the simulation in which the student is participating.

- Learning as much as possible about the policies currently of concern to the European Union and its Member States.⁴¹

- Acquiring an understanding of the domestic and international concerns of the Member State to be represented.

³⁹ The editors of this volume wish to acknowledge the work of William Andrews, the founder of SUNYMEU (then called “SUNYMEC”). Professor Andrews wrote the SUNYMEU Guidelines from 1988- 1996. L. Buonanno wrote the guidelines for SUNYMEC (then operating under the name “Eurosims,” from 2000-2005) and the first edition of the SUNYMEU Manual (2006). Because the guidelines have been revised each year, precise attribution of Professor Andrew’s original language has become impossible. The editors take full responsibility for any errors.

⁴⁰ Each functional group (European Council, FAC, EcoFin, Coreper II) consider an agenda item. Sometimes a group will consider an alternative agenda item proposed the first evening of SUNYMEU.

⁴¹ A good resource is Member States and the European Union by Bulmer and Lequesne, C. [Download book review](#).

- Gaining a good, general knowledge of some current international area or issue. If each member of a delegation takes a different area or issue, collectively it should be well-informed.

- Improving their skills at negotiating, conflict resolution, parliamentary procedure, parliamentary prose, public speaking, debate, and logic and reasoning.

- Learning about the specific person to be represented, i.e., the alter ego of the student-participant.

Communication

Questions about country assignments and council agenda can be sent to sunyeiuss@gmail.org or to Dr. Laurie Buonanno buonanl@buffalostate.edu

SUNYMEU utilizes web platforms for:

- Conference registration
- Member state/Commission requests. Special role requests (European Council President, The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy)
- Submission of agenda items.

All surveys are linked to <https://ieuss.buffalostate.edu/sunymeu-2022-suny-buffalo-state>

Research Guide

The EU is widely studied and reported. The IEUSS maintains a website with resources for learning about and staying current about the EU. The visitor will find links to the official website of the European Union, links to thinktanks, current periodicals, report depositories and so forth. Please bookmark: <https://ieuss.buffalostate.edu/resources>

Participants should be well versed in the priorities of the current presidency, the trio presidency, as well as familiar with the accomplishments of the previous presidency.

1. [The 1 January 2022-30 June 2023 trio programme.](#)
2. [The programme for the French Presidency](#) of the Council of the European Union.

All participants should also take a look at the long-term priorities of the EU/

3. European Union Priorities for 2019-2024. “Following the European elections in

May 2019, the EU set a number of priorities that shape the political and policy agenda until 2024...” Available at https://european-union.europa.eu/priorities-and-actions/eu-priorities_en

4. The delegation playing the European Commission should read the Commission priorities for 2019-24 at https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024_en

Alter Egos

A complete list of country delegation assignments will be sent to student and faculty organizers and posted to the SUNYMEU 2022 webpages. Students should begin conversing and caucusing using the student run SUNYMEU Facebook site—post to wall for public viewing and use messaging function for private correspondence (e.g., negotiations). Naturally, participants can use other forms of communication once they have made contact via Facebook or email. To facilitate communication prior to SUNYMEU, faculty advisors or student delegation leaders should include the name of the student, their email address, and their alter ego when sending delegation information to SUNYMEU staff.

Each country will be represented by a head of government (prime minister, chancellor or president), who acts as head of his/her delegation, a foreign minister, an Economic and Finance (Ecofin) Minister, and a Permanent Representative (ambassador). The Council Presidency can seat an additional member, Deputy Foreign Minister for Europe, who can float between meetings. Delegations reserve the right to add additional members such as a deputy prime minister or in the case of semi-presidential systems, the prime minister. The HOG of five-member delegations will determine which meetings the fifth delegate will attend. The European Commission will be comprised of the Commission President and commissioners holding policy portfolios relevant to the agenda items.

Commission

The Commissioners are the only participants in the simulation who have an exclusive obligation to the welfare of the EU. In the simulation they have two main roles. First, they will meet to make appropriate decisions on the matters at issue in the simulation. Second, at all other times, they will act as problem-solvers, facilitating the decision-making process in such a way as to maximize the supranationalism of the result. The real-life Commissioners distribute among themselves the policy areas of the EU, but the simulation assumes they are working under the leadership of their President on the issue at hand. The Commission works closely with the General Secretariat of the Council to ensure that the simulation proceeds on a smooth course.

Heads of Government

The Heads of Government (HOGS)⁴² meet in the European Council (often called “EU summits”). At European Councils, key policy issues covering such matters as treaty reform,

⁴² Participants should be mindful of the distinction between head of government and head of state. In constitutional monarchies the prime minister is head of government and the monarch is head of state.

EU enlargement, membership of the eurozone, EU border controls, and pressing foreign policy matters are considered and negotiated. Sometimes, the HOGS need to step in at the last minute, when all other efforts have failed, to solve knotty problems by personal negotiation with peers. The European Council makes declarations, acting as a “board of directors,” that it expects the Commission and/or Council to act on in the near future. So, while the Commission drafts legislation and the Council and the European Parliament labour over the legislation, the European Council meets in summits to discuss longer-range issues and issue policy statements. It sets the overall direction of the EU in these policy statements, especially in its “Conclusions.” This means that its policies should be as clear as possible so that the institutions (Commission, Parliament, and Council) can draft the supporting legislation.

As is specified in Article 15 of the TEU and in the European Council’s Rules of Procedure (see Appendix 2: European Council). European Council meetings are prepared by the European Council President, “in cooperation with the President of the Commission, and on the basis of the work of the General Affairs Council.”

In SUNYMEU 2022, the Presidency of the Council of the EU (United States Air Force Academy), the President of the European Council (Hochschule Schmalkalden student playing Charles Michel), and the President of the Commission (Ursula von der Leyen) consult in selecting the agenda item (s) to be considered throughout SUNYMEU. The General Secretariat (SUNY Buffalo State) facilitates communication among the parties and document preparation and dissemination.

European Council meetings are chaired by the European Council President.

SUNYMEU 2022 simulates (and anticipates) the **June 2022** meeting of the European Council. The outcome of SUNYMEU 2022 is the drafting of the **European Council Meeting – Conclusions (9 April 2022)**, which contain everything on which the summit has been able to agree. The Conclusions will be presented and voted on by the European Council at the closing session (late Saturday afternoon) of SUNYMEU.

COREPER II

(Committee of Permanent Representatives)

The TEU defines the responsibility of COREPER as “preparing the work of the Council and...carrying out the tasks assigned to it by the Council.” Members of COREPER II are the ambassadors from their governments to the EU. They are high-level professional

diplomats, heads of missions, specializing in the relations between their countries and the EU. Their main job is liaison between the decision-making institutions of the EU and their governments, keeping the EU informed of their governments' views and helping their governments keep track of what is happening in the EU. They are coordinators, fixers, and trouble shooters.⁴³ While taking direction from their nation's HOGS and ministers, they also work indefatigably behind-the-scenes to broker deals for their "political masters." Thus, in the simulation, they will be engaged mainly in advising and serving as diplomatic staff to their HOG and ministers.

In a sentence, COREPER are the unsung heroes of SUNYMEU (and the EU).

It is important to distinguish between the COREPER and the Council Secretariat. COREPER work for their governments and should be solicitous of the desires of their HOG and ministers, making every effort to receive clear direction as to policy positions. COREPER should (diplomatically) advance their Member State positions, but as directed by their HOG and ministers. The Council Secretariat, on the other hand, works for the entire Council and should be neutral as to its judgments, i.e., it serves and assists, especially the Presidency of the Council of the European Union.

Council Secretariat

As has just been indicated, the Secretariat (GS) works closely with the Council Presidency. Before Council meetings at all levels Secretariat officials give the Presidency a full briefing about subject content, the current state of play on agenda items and possible tactics: "the Danes are isolated," "there is strong resistance to this in Spain and Portugal, so caution is advised," "a possible vote has been signalled in the agenda papers and, if taken, will find the necessary majority," and so on.⁴⁴ Students playing roles within the Council Secretariat must become experts in the policy area to which they are assigned and be willing to advise the Presidency accordingly. The Secretariat should also be fully apprised of voting rules and be prepared to make and record votes. In most cases, unanimity is required before adopting an agenda item and sending it on to the European Council.

The GS also takes meeting notes electronically and "marks up" the agenda as it is agreed in each of the functional meetings (European Council, FAC, EcoFin, and Coreper), being careful to save earlier versions for reference.

It is the responsibility of the General Secretariat to ensure the final version of SUNYMEU Council Conclusions are posted to the SUNYMEU 2022 website. The Council Secretariat should also make available a pdf version for the Press Corps to post to the SUNYMEU Press Corp website.

⁴³See D. Bostock (2002). "Coreper Revisited," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2): 215-34.

⁴⁴ Examples drawn from Nugent (2017).

In the event of a dispute or other misunderstanding during SUNYMEU which the Council Secretariat feels unable to resolve, the Secretariat will bring this dispute to a student council comprised of four students from different campuses and the SUNYMEU student director. They will resolve the dispute in consultation with the faculty co-directors.

Ministers

Ministers represent their national governments through the EU institution called “the Council.” All ministers act, in effect, as the representatives of the interests of their Member States in the policy areas for which they are responsible. As nearly as is possible in the European Union today, ministers are charged to look after their national interests rather than a vague European-wide interest, though they try to bring these two interests together. So, they are the guardians of the national interest. All ministers are active politicians in the partisan politics of their home countries, which gives them specific partisan and ideological orientations as well. They endeavour to ensure that nothing is decided that will undermine their respective national policies.

SUNYMEU ministers (typically foreign ministers and finance ministers) should learn about the political and ideological orientation of their alter egos. It is important to keep in mind that in coalition governments a minister’s political party may differ from that of their HOG.

There are nine formations of the Council, each of which deals with policy matters that fall within their domain.

Chairing Meetings

All Council meetings apart from meeting of the Foreign Affairs Council are chaired by the Council Presidency.

The Foreign Affairs Council (FAC) is chaired by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

Descriptions of the responsibilities and work of the different formations of the Council can be found on the Council’s website at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/>.

Foreign Ministers

Foreign Ministers, who deal with all aspects of foreign policy, meet in the Foreign Affairs Council. This formation of the Council is chaired by the **High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy**.

Foreign Ministers also often make up the composition of the General Affairs Council, especially when there are particularly important matters on the agenda. The GA Council is chaired by the rotating Council Presidency.

Ecofin Ministers

Economic and Finance Ministers (who are normally referred to as Ecofin Ministers) deal with most matters concerning economic and financial affairs. However, on sensitive eurozone policies, ministers from non-eurozone states are not normally permitted to attend.

Press Corps

Just as students are assigned alter egos and expected to participate in the simulation as that alter ego, members of the press corps are expected to simulate the role of real journalists. Their function during the simulation is to cover the activities of the simulation and report on them through the production of a simulation newspaper, blogs, and videos. This includes attending simulation meetings, interviewing participants, and participating in press conferences.

Members of the press corps are expected to act in a professional manner and adhere to professional standards of journalism. Information obtained through covering meetings or interviews or press conferences should be reported in as accurate a way as possible. They should remember that during meetings, their role is to cover the meetings and should not be engaged in an active way in topic discussions during those meetings. Nor should they interfere with the meeting process.

Participants working with the press corps should remember that an important experience of the simulation is learning how to work with the press. They are expected to cooperate with the press corps in terms of requests for interviews, participation in press conferences, etc.

All meetings of the SUNY MEU simulation are open to the press corps, including the HOGs sessions (despite the rules followed in Brussels). No member of the press corps may be asked to leave a meeting. If participants feel that a member of the press corps has not accurately reported information at a meeting they attended or did not accurately report information that they have given a reporter, they may write a letter to the editor of the press corps that may be published.

The SUNYMEU Press Corps reports on SUNYMEU through various media (e.g. newspapers and video) prior to and during the event. It is the Press Corps decision as to which media to employ.

Faculty Advisors

Students are not required to be accompanied by a faculty or graduate student adviser to SUNYMEU. Nevertheless, the Institute for European Union Studies at SUNY welcomes faculty and graduate student advisers and sponsor two events for them—teaching/research

panels and a Friday evening faculty/graduate student advisor dinner. Faculty and graduate student advisors are, of course, free to organize their relationship with their students during the simulation as best suits their needs. Past experience, however, suggests that the simulation proceeds best if the advisors avoid coaching the students or assisting them too much in solving problems. They serve informally as sources of information and in counselling the students on how to maintain the integrity of the simulation. For this reason, no formal arrangements for such consultation are included in the simulation schedule.

Expert Witnesses

Academic specialists or professionals testify at sessions of the full European Council on relevant matters (items on the simulation agenda). Their roles will be to provide the participants with information and ideas on the institutions and issues involved in the simulation. Participants and witnesses should bear in mind that the witnesses are not supposed to lecture to the participants. They will summarize their testimony in brief, five-minute statements and, then, respond to the questions of the participants. The participants should behave as though they are in full charge of those sessions and not be intimidated by the status and expertise of the witnesses.

Official Observers

Participants who are not representing EU Member States will have the status of official observers. This will enable them to attend all sessions, to lobby participants, and to speak or pose questions at plenary sessions when given special leave, but not to vote.

Part IV: SUNYMEU 2022 PRE-SIMULATION AND PROGRAM

Pre-Simulation and Delegation Advancement of Agenda Items

Country delegations and the European Commission are asked to submit TWO agenda items to be considered for inclusion in the simulation by the Presidency of the Council and Council Secretariat.

Delegations often ask for assistance in the identification of agenda items that are relevant, timely, and accurately represent real events/possibilities in the EU. The best place to start is with the trio programme, the Presidency programme, and an online paper such as euobserver, *Politico*, or *The Guardian* online (checking their EU reporting for the past two months or so). See “[Staying Current on the EU](#)” located on the IEUSS website.

Selection and Submission of Agenda Items to SUNYMEU 2022 Organizers

Each member state delegation and the European Commission delegation should attempt to submit at least TWO proposals by **March 1, 2022** on the survey web platform established for this purpose. The survey link is posted to the SUNYMEU 2022 website.

Proposals may be sponsored jointly by Member States. Delegations are encouraged to work together to produce joint proposals.

Preliminary Program

Building locations and room numbers will be specified on the printed program made available in the conference packet which is provided to all recipients at the conference registration table.

Wednesday, April 6 (OPTIONAL)

Wednesday, April 6: all day

Tour of Buffalo & Niagara Falls, meet government officials

Date	Time	Event
Thursday, April 7	10 a.m.-Noon	Walking tour of SUNY Buffalo State campus and Elmwood Village (optional)
Thursday, April 7	1-4	Conference Check-in
Thursday, April 7	4 p.m.-5:00 p.m.	Keynote Speaker
Thursday, April 7	5:30-6:45 p.m.	SUNYMEU Opens with Welcome, followed by banquet
Thursday, April 7	7:00-8:00 p.m.	<p>Student Directors Open SUNYMEU, Alternative Agenda Items Presented by Country Delegations & Commission</p> <p>The Council Presidency (France) announces general rules of debate and presents the <u>four</u> agenda items to be debated on the first day, and by which functional group. The Council Presidency will make it clear as to what it wants the functional meetings to achieve in terms of the agenda items they are to consider and indicate also a target schedule. Of course, all agreements reached “below” the European Council will ultimately have to be approved by it. After the Council Presidency has spoken, delegations should be given a chance to ask procedural questions. (Parliamentary procedure will be observed, as is the requirement for all plenary meetings.) At the end of this session, everyone in the room should be in no doubt about what is to be done.</p> <p>The simulation then moves to the next phase: the presentation and discussion of additional agenda items. These should be introduced with a (maximum) two-minute speech by their sponsors. This gives simulation participants Thursday evening and Friday to lobby other delegations to support their preferred agenda items.</p>
Thursday, April 7	8:00-8:30 p.m.	<p><u>Organizational Meetings</u></p> <p>European Council FAC ECOFIN COREPER II</p>

		General Secretariat (GS) Commission
Friday, April 8	Breakfast at hotel	
Friday, April 8	9:00-9:30 a.m.	Country delegation & Commission meetings
Friday, April 8	9:30-11:15 a.m.	<u>Functional Meetings</u> European Council FAC ECOFIN COREPER II GS Commission
Friday, April 8	11:30 a.m.- 12:15 p.m.	Plenary – Expert Witnesses
Friday, April 8	12:00-1:00 p.m.	LUNCH
Friday, April 8	1:15-3:15 p.m.	<u>Functional Meetings</u> European Council FAC ECOFIN COREPER II GS Commission
Friday, April 8	3:15-3:30	Coffee Break
Friday, April 8	3:30-5:15 p.m.	<u>Functional Meetings</u> European Council FAC ECOFIN COREPER II GS Commission
Friday, April 8	5:15-6:00	<u>Plenary</u> The Presidency should: 1. Update delegates on progress made to date and allow French Foreign Minister and The High Representative to speak to Foreign Ministers progress; 2. The GS conducts the vote on new agenda items to be added Saturday morning, if work completed on original agenda items. Followed by Press Conference
Friday evening	7:30 p.m.	Student event, Faculty dinner

Saturday, April 9	Breakfast at hotel	
Saturday, April 9	9:00-9:30 a.m.	Country delegation & Commission meetings
Saturday, April 9	9:30-11:15 a.m.	<u>Functional Meetings</u> European Council FAC ECOFIN COREPER II GS Commission
Saturday, April 9	11:30-12:00	Press Conference
Saturday, April 9	Noon-1 p.m.	Lunch
Saturday, April 9	1:15-3:15 p.m.	<u>Functional Meetings</u> European Council FAC ECOFIN COREPER II GS Commission
Saturday, April 9	3:15-3:30 p.m.	Coffee Break
Saturday, April 9	3:30-4:30 p.m.	<u>Final Functional Meetings</u> European Council FAC ECOFIN COREPER II GS Commission
Saturday, April 9	4:30-5:00 p.m.	The European Council finalizes its conclusions
Saturday, April 9	5:30 p.m.-5:45 p.m.	The European Council - Conclusions
Saturday, April 9	5:45 p.m.-7:00 p.m.	Closing Ceremony with Certificate of Completion, Photos, Banquet

Part V: Rules and Procedures for SUNYMEU

The European Council Meeting – Conclusions

SUNYMEU produces “SUNYMEU European Council meeting – Conclusions (9 April 2022).” This is the final product of SUNYMEU and participants should keep a copy for their dossier. See Appendix II for links to recent European Council – Conclusions.

The report should be prepared by a member of the Council Secretariat who is assigned to that meeting. The Secretariat may request the assistance of the European Commission.

All members of the European Council should be given opportunity to review and revise the draft of the Conclusions before it is submitted.

What should FAC, EconFin, and Coreper produce?

Each of these functional groups should submit a report to the European Council.

This report is not the drafter's work product, but the product of the entire committee. This means that all members should approve (the Chair will need to call for a vote by all member state representatives at the meeting, if necessary). Keep in mind that at the end of the process, if even one HOG votes against the measure, it cannot be included in the European Council – Conclusions.

What content should the report contain?

The report should be written to have an impact on those who read it. After reading the content, the reader must be convinced the conditions the proposal seeks to remedy are serious enough to justify action, understand the details of the proposal and how it will remedy the problem conditions, and be assured that the proposal is practical, reasonable, and will bring no undesirable side outcomes. The reader must also believe the proposal is the best alternative. Several content elements are usually "necessary" to fulfill the functions of a report:

Preamble. A preamble or introduction contains boilerplate information (such as the name of the committee and the names of the members), a statement of the charge or mission given to the committee (making the organizational context of the report clear), and a review of the procedures used in the problem-solving process.

Background. The report should give needed background on the nature of the problem indicating a need for a solution. It should succinctly and objectively explain the committee's factual findings and conclusions about the nature of problem, its causes, its effects, and related matters should be presented. Appropriate documentation should be given. If there is a large amount of material as a result of the committee's work, often this material is best summarized briefly in the report with supporting documents in an appendix.

Recommendation. The report should clearly present a request for the higher authority to take some action on the work of the committee. For example, if the committee's function is largely advisory, then the report should request that the committee be informed of actions or decisions on the matters covered in the report. If the committee's role was to provide information, then the request might be that the receipt of the information be acknowledged. If the committee's role was decision-making or action-taking, then the request should be for feedback to guide future work.

Each functional group should submit a report formatted as above (preamble, background, recommendation). COREPER, FAC, and EcoFin send their reports to the European Council. It is a good idea to get an early draft into the hands of the European Council so that the HOGs can comment and provide direction. The General Secretariat can facilitate communication between the functional meetings and the European Council.

Seating Order

1. European Council, the COREPER and the ECOFIN seating order.

The Presidencies and the members of the institutions take the central position in circular formation or sit at the head of the room. The member states' representatives sit according to the official EU listing order⁴⁵, which is by Presidency rather than alphabetical order and rotate counter-clockwise around the table. See Table 6 Member State Codes.

Hence, starting from the member holding the rotating presidency (France for SUNYMEU 2022), the seating order is as follows: Czech Republic, Sweden, Spain, Belgium, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Cyprus, Ireland, Lithuania, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Slovakia, Malta, Estonia, Bulgaria, Austria, Romania, Finland, Croatia, Germany, Portugal, Slovenia.

It is preferable if the European Council sits in a circular formation.

⁴⁵ See <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/07/26/council-rotating-presidencies-revised-order/>

2. Foreign Affairs Council Seating Order.

The Foreign Affairs Council (FAC) follows the same seating order rules as above, but is chaired by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (rather than the foreign minister holding from the EU member state holding the EU's presidency).

Table 6 Member State Codes

EU-27: names, codes and listing order ⁴⁶			
Short name (source language)	Short name (English)	Official name	Code
Belgique/België	Belgium	Kingdom of Belgium	BE
България	Bulgaria	Republic of Bulgaria	BG
Česká republika	Czech Republic	Czech Republic	CZ
Danmark	Denmark	Kingdom of Denmark	DK
Deutschland	Germany	Federal Republic of Germany	DE
Eesti	Estonia	Republic of Estonia	EE
Éire/Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	IE
Ελλάδα	Greece	Hellenic Republic	EL
España	Spain	Kingdom of Spain	ES
France	France	French Republic	FR
Hrvatska	Croatia	Republic of Croatia	HR
Italia	Italy	Italian Republic	IT
Κύπρος	Cyprus	Republic of Cyprus	CY
Latvija	Latvia	Republic of Latvia	LV
Lietuva	Lithuania	Republic of Lithuania	LT
Luxembourg	Luxembourg	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	LU
Magyarország	Hungary	Hungary	HU
Malta	Malta	Republic of Malta	MT
Nederland	Netherlands	Kingdom of the Netherlands	NL
Österreich	Austria	Republic of Austria	AT
Polska	Poland	Republic of Poland	PL
Portugal	Portugal	Portuguese Republic	PT
România	Romania	Romania	RO
Slovenija	Slovenia	Republic of Slovenia	SI
Slovensko	Slovakia	Slovak Republic	SK
Suomi/Finland	Finland	Republic of Finland	FI
Sverige	Sweden	Kingdom of Sweden	SE

⁴⁶ <http://publications.europa.eu/code/pdf/370000en.htm>

Conduct of Business

All participants should be familiar with Roberts' Rules of Order (parliamentary procedure). Participants should also review the proper forms for addressing chairs.

With **smaller meetings** (generally, meetings other than plenary sessions), the chair should use "Rules for Debate in Small Committees." Chairs should use their discretion whether to use Roberts' Rules or Order (parliamentary procedure) or rules for debate in small committees.

Parliamentary procedure (Roberts' Rules of Order) is inappropriate for smaller meetings and will only serve to slow down the business of the meeting unnecessarily. Suggesting Roberts' Rules/parliamentary procedure is used as a delaying tactic by obstructionist members – Chairs should not "fall" for this tactic.

Rules for Debate in Small Committees

The rules for small committee meetings are different from the rules which apply to large meetings of assemblies or plenary bodies.

1. Members are not required to obtain the floor before making motions or speaking, which they can do while seated.
2. There is no limit to the number of times a member can speak to a question, and motions to close or limit debate generally are not allowed. (Note: In practice, even these motions are in fact usually allowed.)
3. Informal discussion of a subject is permitted while no motion is pending.
4. The chair can speak during discussions, make motions, and usually votes on all questions.
5. Sometimes, when a proposal is perfectly clear to all present, a vote can be taken without a motion having been introduced. Unless agreed by general consent, however, all proposed actions of a committee must be approved by vote under the same rules as an assembly.

Parliamentary Procedure (Roberts' Rules of Order)

These should be used for larger meetings that cannot be run more informally. Roberts's Rules are always used in SUNYMEU plenary meetings. How formal other meetings should be is a matter for the chair to decide based on progress achieved.

Five kinds of knowledge for an effective meeting participant:

1. Knowledge of the subject matter at hand
2. Knowledge of parliamentary rules of order
3. Knowledge of rhetoric-the power to persuade
4. Knowledge of problem solving and decision making
5. Knowledge of human social-emotional dynamics

Basic Principles of Parliamentary Procedure:

1. Parliamentary procedure exists to facilitate the transaction of business and to promote cooperation and harmony.
2. All members have equal rights, privileges, and obligations.
3. The majority has the right to decide.
4. The minority has rights which must be protected.
5. A quorum must be present for the group to act. Full and free discussion of every motion considered is a basic right.
6. Only one question at a time can be considered at any given time.
7. Members have the right to know at all times what the immediately pending question is, and to have it restated before a vote is taken.
8. No member can speak until recognized by the chair.
9. No one can speak a second time on the same question as long as another wants to speak a first time.
10. The chair should be strictly impartial.

Box 5 Terms use in Parliamentary Procedure

Terms used in Parliamentary Procedure

Point of Order

If a member feels the rules are not being followed, he uses this motion. It requires the chair to make a ruling and enforce the rules. Avoid overuse; save it for when someone's rights are being violated.

Point of Personal Privilege

Another phrase used for a *Question of Privilege*. An urgent request or motion relating to the privileges of a member of the assembly. This is used if a participant wishes to raise a question, leave the room for an extended time, or make a request to personal comfort.

Point of information

⁴⁷ Participants may also wish to consult *Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised* (<http://www.robertsrules.com>).

A nonparliamentary question about business at hand. This is used when a participant seeks clarification on a matter.

Handling a Motion

Three steps by which a motion is brought before the group:

- Step 1: A member makes a motion.
- Step 2: Another member seconds the motion.
- Step 3: The chair states the question on the motion.

Three steps in the consideration of a motion:

- Step 1: The members debate the motion (unless no member claims the floor for that purpose).
- Step 2: The chair puts the question to a vote.
- Step 3: The chair restates the question.

The chair takes the vote:

"All in favor of the motion, say aye."
"Those opposed, say no."

The chair announces the result of a vote. A complete announcement should include:

- Report on the voting itself, stating which side prevailed (and giving the count if a count prevailed).
- Declaration that the motion is adopted or lost.
- Statement indicating the effect of the vote or ordering its execution.
- Where applicable, announcement of the next item of business or stating the question of the next motion that consequently comes up for a vote.

Rules Governing Parliamentary Debate

The term debate applies to the discussion on the merits of a pending question.

1. A member may not speak until recognized by the chair.
2. When no special rule relating to the length of speeches is adopted by the group, a member can speak no longer than ten minutes unless the consent of the group is obtained.
3. Rights in debate are not transferable. A member cannot yield an unexpired portion of his/her time to another member (the chair controls who speaks) or reserve any portion of time for later.
4. No member may be allowed to speak more than twice to the same question on the same day.
5. Proper decorum in debate must be observed:

6. Remarks must be germane to the question before the group.
7. Speakers should speak loudly and clearly.
8. Speakers should refrain from attacking another member's motives.
9. Remarks should be addressed through the chair.
10. Speakers should stand when speaking.
11. If any member objects, a speaker has no right to read from or to have the secretary read from any paper or book as part of his/her speech, without permission of the assembly.

Thomas Jefferson's advice is still good: "No one is to disturb another in his speech by hissing, coughing, spitting, speaking or whispering to another, etc."

Table 7 Frequent Things You Want to Do

Objective	Appropriate Motion
Present an idea for consideration or action	Main motion or Resolution; Consider subject informally
Improve a pending motion	Amend; Division of the question
Regulate or cut-off debate	Limit or extend debate; Previous question (vote immediately)
Delay a decision	Refer to committee; Postpone definitely; Postpone indefinitely (kills motion)
Suppress a proposal	Object to consideration; Postpone indefinitely; Withdraw a motion
Meet an emergency	Question of privilege; Suspend rules; Lay on the table
Gain information on a pending motion	Parliamentary inquiry; Request for information; Question of privilege; Request to ask member a question
Question the decision of the chair	Point of order; Appeal from decision of the chair
Enforce rights and privileges	Division of assembly; Division of question; Parliamentary inquiry;
Point of order	Appeal from decision of chair
Consider a question again	Resume consideration; Reconsider; Rescind
Change an action already taken	Reconsider; Rescind; Amend motion previously adopted
Terminate a meeting	Adjourn; Recess

Chairing Meetings

Effective chairing is crucial for an enjoyable experience in SUNYMEU. All chairs should practice chairing meetings using both procedures for small meetings and parliamentary procedure.

1. Who Chairs & Facilitates Meetings?

- The President of the European Council chairs the European Council meeting.
 - The President of the European Council may ask the HOG of the Presidency team to co-chair, which may make keeping track of procedure and minutes

easier. Meetings of **groups of countries** (other than those which the Council of Ministers' Presidency attends), will select their chair at their first meeting.

- EcoFin and Coreper II are chaired by the country holding the Council presidency.
- Foreign Affairs Council is chaired by the High Representative
- The head of government, or his/her foreign minister, will chair individual country meetings.
- The President of the Commission chairs the European Commission meetings.
- The HOG of the member state holding the Council Presidency chairs plenary sessions.
- The GS assigned to a meeting takes notes and keeps track of the agenda item as it progresses. The same GS is assigned to each functional group throughout SUNYMEU.

2. Chair's Powers

All questions, motions, etc. must be recognized by the Chair. Chairs should take special care to learn rules and guidelines and they should always have the rules with them to be able to quote the rules if questions about procedure come up.

The Chair will decide on the closure of debate, but a participant must move for closure, and be given a maximum of one minute to explain his/her rationale. If at least two other participants second the motion, it will immediately be put to a vote, and requires the support of at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of the participants to be successful. The Chair will declare the debate closed if the vote is successful. The same rules apply for closure of debate.

Council Secretariat (GS)

The Council Secretariat may interrupt on a **Point of Order** or a **Point of Information**.

In the event of conflicts, disagreements, or questions about the simulation program, it is the responsibility of the Council General Secretariat to arbitrate and resolve the matter. The Council Secretariat should therefore be present with at least one representative at all meetings and keep track of procedural matters to support the chair.

3. Hints for Effective Chairing of Meetings

Achieving objectives

The purpose of meetings is to get decisions made collectively. It has been found that if a meeting is structured formally or semi-formally, this objective is achieved more easily and more effectively.

The pivotal figure in a formal or semi-formal meeting is the Chairman. S/he needs to create the right circumstances in which decision-making is possible.

Making effective decisions

A chairman can assist in making effective decisions by having regard to their three main

ingredients:

a) use of all the skills available within the meeting; at least comparative consensus; and clarity of procedure

b) The Chairman can achieve the first by enabling all participants to contribute.

That is:

- everyone needs to be encouraged to take part
- no one should be discouraged by ill-mannered behaviour on the part of other participants, such as interruptions, rudeness etc

This means that the Chairman has to make sure that all participants understand that the person speaking “has the floor,” and will be protected from interruption by the Chairman. It also means that the Chairman may need to encourage silent members by directly seeking their views, and ensuring that their contributions are presented as useful and relevant – e.g.: “that is a useful/valuable point...”

Full participation will lead to the majority “owning” the final decision, particularly if the Chairman acknowledges each person’s contribution in her/his summing up (see below), blunting the edges of dogmatic/offensive pronouncements by participants. This can be done by restating what has been said in less abrasive language.

c) The Chairman is solely responsible for clarity of procedure.

Nothing makes participants more frustrated than uncertainty about what is being debated, or what is being voted upon. In case of uncertainty about procedures the Chair should be able to refer to the Council Secretariat.

Controlling a meeting

The best way to control a meeting is establish one’s authority as Chairman at the start. It also helps to get to know the participants as soon as possible – spot the shy ones, the over-talkative or the awkward ones, and deal with them accordingly. Shy people need to feel reassured and valued; over-talkative ones need to be prevented from dominating, whilst awkward ones need to be kept in order (see below).

There are extensive rules of debate that need not concern the Chairman unless a rigid structure has been prescribed as part of a body’s constitution. (See below regarding procedures.)

The main rule is always that the Chairman is right, even when s/he is wrong. It saves a lot of argument and confusion if meeting participants understand that from the first. A really confident chairman can make sure that they do, but it is not necessary to *be* really confident. An appearance of confidence tends to do the trick just as well, and can be achieved simply by welcoming participants to the meeting (that makes it the chairman’s

meeting to begin with).

Not all meetings are all that formal, and the Chairman may need to decide how formally the situation should be managed at the start of a series of meetings. However, where a definite decision is to be made *and* is likely to be controversial, rules of debate may be applied:

4. *The Chairing Process*

Initiating debate

Before a discussion can begin, a motion should be proposed by one person, who may speak to the motion as s/he moves it.

In really formal meetings (using parliamentary procedure), this motion should be seconded by another person, who may also speak to it.

Conducting the debate

Other people can follow with their contributions, when invited to do so by the Chairman. Strictly speaking, they should speak once only, and should *never* be interrupted whilst they are speaking. They may need a time limit set by the Chairman. Debate should be as extensive as the Chairman thinks is necessary, and the Chairman should be prepared to say when s/he thinks that everything useful has been said.

Closing the debate

At this point, in really formal meetings, the original mover has the right to sum up, and this should close the debate...

... except that the Chairman can sum up for the sake of clarity (but should not express a personal point of view).

Holding the vote

The vote should be put by the Chairman, and normally a show of hands is sufficient (but the Chairman should not count the votes personally – it is better to let someone else do that), unless a secret ballot is requested by the participants.

The Chairman should then announce the results of the vote. At this point a *motion* becomes a *resolution*.

The Chairman should thank all speakers and commend the decision (whatever it is).

After...

It may be that the decision made needs to be followed up with specific action (eg., who is to implement the decision).

This too will be a matter for the Chairman's initiative, and s/he should introduce this as

the next step.

Complications, i.e., amendments

Sometimes the terms of a motion are not acceptable to one or more participant. In this case, an amendment to a resolution will be proposed.

Before it can be discussed, an amendment too ought to be seconded, strictly speaking.

At this point the Chairman can rule whether it really is an amendment – i.e., a relatively minor change to the original motion – or whether it is a direct negative (i.e., would achieve the opposite of what the motion calls for).

If it is a direct negative, then the would-be amender can be informed that the amendment is not acceptable and advised simply to say her/his piece and then vote *against* the motion

A decision on an amendment must be taken before the vote on the original motion. Each amendment should therefore be discussed separately.

If it is carried, then it becomes the motion, and a final vote should be taken on that

If it is not carried, then the original motion is put to the vote

Occasionally participants put forward a *second* amendment before the first has been disposed of (i.e., voted on)

In such cases, the Chairman should instruct the proposer of the second amendment that it will not be considered until after the result of the vote on the first amendment

The Chairman can say: “I shall take that as notice of a further amendment.” and the Council Secretariat should write down who put forward the second amendment.

After the vote on the first amendment has been taken, the Chairman can invite the proposer of the second amendment to state her/his case and debate, followed by a vote, can proceed

It does not often happen that anyone puts forward a *third* amendment, but if they do, then the procedure as for the second amendment is repeated.

Movers of amendments do *not* have the right to sum up before the vote is taken. They should only speak once, when proposing their amendment

Dealing with Awkward participants

Very often participants at a meeting do not understand meeting procedures because of lack of experience.

This can be an advantage to the Chairman, because they can be blinded with science.

It can also be a disadvantage, because, not knowing the rules, participants do not know how to behave.

If this is the case, then a short reminder of the rules at the start of the meeting (or at the start of trouble, whichever is earlier) can resolve the matter.

There are, however, two other sorts of awkward participants:

- those who want to talk too much
- those who want to disrupt proceedings

People who want to talk too much (or too often – usually the same people) can be controlled by a stricter adherence to the rules of debate (see above)

People who want to be difficult cannot be controlled, but they can be persuaded that they should control themselves.

This may be achieved by icy calm and courtesy, sometimes humour, on the part of the Chairman.

It may *not* be achieved by an exhibition of temper or panic by the Chairman.

Icy calm and courtesy nearly always work when warmth and friendliness do not, but it is probably better to try the warm and friendly approach to begin with.

Box 6 Checklist for Meeting Chairs

Checklist for Meeting Chairs

1. Be brief.
2. Exercise leadership.
3. Speak with authority.
4. Stand above petty differences.
5. Maintain an orderly meeting.
6. To control others, control yourself.
7. Keep the assembly informed.
8. Be modest.
9. Be patient.
10. Show interest.
11. Retain objectivity.
12. Seek to understand people.
13. Be alert.
14. Analyze.
15. Synthesize.
16. Be ready to phrase and rephrase remarks.
17. Be judicious in your power as Chair.

Some Tips for Meeting Participants Regarding Addressing Committee Chairs

Interrupts any speaker

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I rise to a point of order... Comment: the Chair's decision

Admissibility of a Matter

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move that this matter is admissible...

Closure of Debate

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move that we close debate.

Call to Order

Wording: I call this meeting to order (Comment: this is done only by the Chair)

Setting the Agenda

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move to make... the order of our agenda.

Adjournment of Debate

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move that we adjourn... (Comment: only appropriate before or during debate)

Closure of Sitting

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move that we close the sitting.

Move to Vote on Amendments

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move to vote on the amendment...
Comment: Voting on farthest amendment first.

Motion to vote on the Text

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move to vote on...

Motion to Table

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move that we table... Comments:
Applies to amendments and text.

Motion to Withdraw

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I wish to withdraw my motion to...

Voting by Roll Call

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I move that we vote by roll call.

Comment: must be written proposal.

Division of the Question

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I call for a division of the question...

Comment: Must be done before the voting procedure begins.

Objections

Wording: Mr./Madame President or Chair, I object to motion on the floor...

Comment: At the President's or the Chair's discretion.

Appendix 1: European Council Meeting - Conclusions

SUNYMEU participants are encouraged to read European Council Meeting, Conclusions to get a sense of the expectations for the European Council conclusions that SUNYMEU 2022 will produce.

European Council Conclusions of 25 June 2021 at
<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/50763/2425-06-21-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council Conclusions of 16 December 2021 at
<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/53575/20211216-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

Appendix 2: European Council

(These are the rules laid out in the TEU for the European Council.)

Composition

1) The Treaty on European Union provisions on the European Council

Most of the treaty rules on the European Council are laid down in Article 15 of the TEU:

Article 15

1. The European Council shall provide the Union with the necessary impetus for its development and shall define the general political directions and priorities thereof. It shall not exercise legislative functions.
2. The European Council shall consist of the Heads of State or Government of the Member States, together with its President and the President of the Commission. The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy shall take part in its work.
3. The European Council shall meet twice every six months, convened by its President. When the agenda so requires, the members of the European Council may decide each to be assisted by a minister and, in the case of the President of the Commission, by a member of the Commission. When the situation so requires, the President shall convene a special meeting of the European Council.
4. Except where the Treaties provide otherwise, decisions of the European Council shall be taken by consensus.
5. The European Council shall elect its President, by a qualified majority, for a term of two and a half years, renewable once. In the event of an impediment or serious misconduct, the European Council can end the President's term of office in accordance with the same procedure.
6. The President of the European Council:
 - (a) shall chair it and drive forward its work;
 - (b) shall ensure the preparation and continuity of the work of the European Council in cooperation with the President of the Commission, and on the basis of the work of the General Affairs Council;
 - (c) shall endeavour to facilitate cohesion and consensus within the European Council;
 - (d) shall present a report to the European Parliament after each of the meetings of the European Council.

The President of the European Council shall, at his level and in that capacity, ensure the external representation of the Union on issues concerning its common foreign and security policy, without prejudice to the powers of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. (EN 30.3.2010 Official Journal of the European Union C 83/23)

The President of the European Council shall not hold a national office.

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

These are laid down in a decision of the European Council taken on 1 December 2009:

Article 1

Notice and venue of meetings

1. The European Council shall meet twice every six months, convened by its President . At the latest one year before the beginning of a six-month period, in close cooperation with the Member State which will hold the Presidency during that six-month period, the President of the European Council shall make known the dates which he or she envisages for the meetings of the European Council during that six-month period.

When the situation so requires, the President shall convene a special meeting of the European Council.

2. The European Council shall meet in Brussels.

In exceptional circumstances, the President of the European Council, with the agreement of the General Affairs Council or the Committee of Permanent Representatives, acting unanimously, may decide that a meeting of the European Council will be held elsewhere.

Article 2

Preparation for and follow-up to the proceedings of the European Council

1. The President of the European Council shall ensure the preparation and continuity of the work of the European Council in cooperation with the President of the Commission, and on the basis of the work of the General Affairs Council.

2. The General Affairs Council shall prepare and ensure the follow-up to meetings of the European Council, in liaison with the President of the European Council and the Commission.

3. The President shall establish close cooperation and coordination with the Presidency of the Council and the President of the Commission, particularly by means of regular meetings.

4. In the event of an impediment because of illness, in the event of his or her death or if his or her term of office is ended in accordance with Article 15(5) of the Treaty on European Union, the President of the European Council shall be replaced, where necessary until the election of his or her successor, by the member of the European Council representing the Member State holding the six-monthly Presidency of the Council.

Article 3

Agenda and preparation

1. In order to ensure the preparation provided for in Article 2(2), at least four weeks before each ordinary meeting of the European Council as referred to in Article 1(1), the President of the European Council, in close cooperation with the member of the European Council representing the Member State holding the six-monthly Presidency of the Council and with the President of the Commission, shall submit an annotated draft agenda to the General Affairs Council.

Contributions to the proceedings of the European Council by other Council configurations shall be forwarded to the General Affairs Council at the latest two weeks

before the meeting of the European Council.

The President of the European Council, in close cooperation as referred to in the first subparagraph, shall prepare draft guidelines for the European Council conclusions and, as appropriate, draft conclusions and draft decisions of the European Council, which shall be discussed in the General Affairs Council. (EN L 315/52 Official Journal of the European Union 2.12.2009.)

A final meeting of the General Affairs Council shall be held within the five days preceding the meeting of the European Council. In the light of that final discussion, the President of the European Council shall draw up the provisional agenda.

2. Except for imperative and unforeseeable reasons linked, for example, to current international events, no other configuration of the Council or preparatory body may, between the session of the General Affairs Council at the end of which the provisional agenda for the European Council is drawn up and the European Council meeting, discuss any subject submitted to the European Council.

3. The European Council shall adopt its agenda at the beginning of its meeting.

As a rule, issues entered on the agenda should have been examined beforehand, in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

Article 4

Composition of the European Council, delegations and the conduct of proceedings

1. Each ordinary meeting of the European Council shall run for a maximum of two days, unless the European Council or the General Affairs Council, on the initiative of the President of the European Council, decides otherwise.

The member of the European Council representing the Member State holding the Presidency of the Council shall report to the European Council, in consultation with its President, on the work of the Council.

2. The President of the European Parliament may be invited to be heard by the European Council (1). Such exchange of views shall be held at the start of the meeting of the European Council, unless the European Council unanimously decides otherwise.

Meetings in the margins of the European Council with representatives of third States or international organisations or other personalities may be held in exceptional circumstances only, and with the prior agreement of the European Council, acting unanimously, on the initiative of the President of the European Council.

3. Meetings of the European Council shall not be public.

4. The European Council shall consist of the Heads of State or Government of the Member States, together with its President and the President of the Commission. The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy shall take part in its work (2).

When the agenda so requires, the members of the European Council may decide each to be assisted by a minister and, in the case of the President of the Commission, by a member of the Commission (3).

The total size of the delegations authorised to have access to the building where the meeting of the European Council is held shall be limited to 20 persons for each Member State and for the Commission, and to five for the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. That number shall not include technical personnel assigned to specific security or logistic support tasks. The names and functions of the members of the delegations shall be notified in advance to the General Secretariat of the

Council.

The President shall be responsible for the application of these Rules of Procedure and for ensuring that discussions are conducted smoothly.

Article 5

Representation before the European Parliament

The European Council shall be represented before the European Parliament by the President of the European Council.

The President of the European Council shall present a report to the European Parliament after each of the meetings of the European Council .

The member of the European Council representing the Member State holding the Presidency of the Council shall present to the European Parliament the priorities of its Presidency and the results achieved during the six-month period.

Article 6

Adoption of positions, decisions and quorum

1. Except where the Treaties provide otherwise, decisions of the European Council shall be taken by consensus.

2. In those cases where, in accordance with the Treaties, the European Council adopts a decision and holds a vote, that vote shall take place on the initiative of its President. The President shall, furthermore, be required to open a voting procedure on the initiative of a member of the European Council, provided that a majority of the members of the European Council so decides.

3. The presence of two thirds of the members of the European Council is required to enable the European Council to vote. When the vote is taken, the President shall check that there is a quorum. The President of the European Council and the President of the Commission shall not be included in the calculation of the quorum.

4. Where a vote is taken, any member of the European Council may also act on behalf of not more than one other member).

Where the European Council decides by vote, its President and the President of the Commission shall not take part in the vote.

5. Procedural decisions adopted by the European Council by virtue of these Rules of Procedure shall be adopted by a simple majority.

Article 7

Written procedure

Decisions of the European Council on an urgent matter may be adopted by a written vote when the President of the European Council proposes to use that procedure. Written votes may be used when all members of the European Council having the right to vote agree to that procedure.

A summary of acts adopted by the written procedure shall be drawn up periodically by the General Secretariat of the Council.

Article 8

Minutes

Minutes of each meeting shall be drawn up; a draft of those minutes shall be prepared by the General Secretariat of the Council within 15 days. The draft shall be submitted to the

European Council for approval, and then signed by the Secretary-General of the Council. The minutes shall contain:

- a reference to the documents submitted to the European Council,
- a reference to the conclusions approved,
- the decisions taken,
- the statements made by the European Council and those whose entry has been requested by a member of the European Council,

Article 9

Deliberations and decisions on the basis of documents and drafts drawn up in the languages provided for by the language rules in force

1. Except as otherwise decided unanimously by the European Council on grounds of urgency, the European Council shall deliberate and take decisions only on the basis of documents and drafts drawn up in the languages specified in the rules in force governing languages.
2. Any member of the European Council may oppose discussion where the texts of any proposed amendments are not drawn up in such of the languages referred to in paragraph 1 as he or she may specify.

Article 10

Making public votes, explanations of votes and minutes and access to documents

1. In cases where, in accordance with the Treaties, the European Council adopts a decision, the European Council may decide, in accordance with the voting arrangement applicable for the adoption of that decision, to make public the results of votes, as well as the statements in its minutes and the items in those minutes relating to the adoption of that decision.

When the result of a vote is made public, the explanations of the vote provided when the vote was taken shall also be made public at the request of the member of the European Council concerned, with due regard for these Rules of Procedure, legal certainty and the interests of the European Council.

2. The provisions concerning public access to Council documents set out in Annex II to the Rules of Procedure of the Council shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to European Council documents.

Article 11

Professional secrecy and production of documents in legal proceedings

Without prejudice to the provisions on public access to documents, the deliberations of the European Council shall be covered by the obligation of professional secrecy, except insofar as the European Council decides otherwise.

The European Council may authorise the production for use in legal proceedings of a copy of or an extract from European Council documents which have not already been released to the public in accordance with Article 10.

Article 12

Decisions of the European Council

1. Decisions adopted by the European Council shall be signed by its President and by the Secretary-General of the Council. Where they do not specify to whom they are addressed,

they shall be published in the Official Journal of the European Union. Where they specify to whom they are addressed, they shall be notified to those to whom they are addressed by the Secretary-General of the Council.

2. The provisions concerning the form of acts set out in Annex VI to the Rules of Procedure of the Council shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to decisions of the European Council.

Article 13

Secretariat, budget and security

1. The European Council and its President shall be assisted by the General Secretariat of the Council, under the authority of its Secretary-General.

2. The Secretary-General of the Council shall attend the meetings of the European Council. He or she shall take all the measures necessary for the organisation of proceedings.

3. The Secretary-General of the Council shall have full responsibility for administering the appropriations entered in Section II – European Council and Council – of the budget and shall take all measures necessary to ensure that they are properly managed. He or she shall implement the appropriations in question in accordance with the provisions of the Financial Regulation applicable to the budget of the Union.

4. The Council's security rules shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the European Council.

Appendix 3: SUNYMEU 2011 Council Conclusions

This is a sample from a previous SUNYMEU.

European Council Conclusions

SUNY New Paltz, 16 April 2011

From: General Secretariat of the

Council To: Delegation

Delegations will find attached the conclusions of the European Council (16 April 2011)

Enlargement

The European Union has been an evolving body that has been incorporating new European democratic states since its creation. Today the EU is comprised of 27 Member States and a population of over 500 million people, with a number of states in the process of accession. These prospective states must fulfil the requirements of the Copenhagen criteria as set out in December 1993 by the European Council requiring a candidate country to have: 1) stable institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities; 2) a functioning market economy, as well as the ability to cope with the pressure of competition and the market forces at work inside the Union; and 3) the ability to assume the obligations of membership, in particular adherence to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union. The country also must be able to put the EU rules and procedures into effect.

In its 2010 strategy document on enlargement issued on 9 November 2010, the Commission reported that developments in prospective states were generally favourable and making progress towards accession.

Currently, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Croatia, Turkey, and Iceland are in the process of fulfilling the necessary requirements. In light of the recent economic crisis, it is imperative that the European Commission take into consideration the state of the prospective countries' economies. This has also generated some controversy over the accession of some prospective nations. Therefore we recognize that the process of accession might be delayed.

To tackle the challenges associated with enlargement, the Commission has:

- 1) Decided to retain the current Copenhagen criteria in regards to Turkey's accession, establishing the deadline of December 2015 for the country to comply with all conditions, and close all chapters set by the EU before an accession treaty can be drawn up
 - 2) Accepted Iceland's candidacy to the EU, while imposing an extension of the Copenhagen criteria for the country's acceptance. The conditions agreed upon are: stabilization of the banking system, setting concrete fishing laws, and establishing a fiscal framework. Bearing in mind the economic situation in
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Iceland, a review commission should be set for December 2014, when the country's candidacy will be reviewed.

3) Agreed on December 2011 as the date for Croatia's accession to the EU.

4) Reached an agreement of opening negotiations on Macedonia's accession today, 15th of April 2011, later establishing a review committee on December 2012.

5) Accepted for negotiations on Albania's and Montenegro accession to begin in 2013.

6) Recognized the need to postpone negotiations on accession for candidate states that do not fulfil the Maastricht Treaty criteria rule until they have been able to prove significant change or showed the willingness to change.

Political Stability in Africa and the Middle East

Consistent with the objectives set forth in the extraordinary European Council of March 11, 2011, the Council expressed its strong solidarity with the Libyan people and the victims of the violence there. We firmly condemn the violent repression the Libyan regime applies against its citizens and the gross and systematic violation of human rights. We expressed support for UN Security Council Resolution 1970 and demanded that the use of force, especially with military means, against civilians stop immediately. The safety of the people must be ensured by all necessary means. The European Council expresses its deep concern about attacks against civilians, including from the air. In order to protect the civilian population, Member States will examine all necessary options, provided that there is a demonstrable need, a clear legal basis and support from the region. Those responsible will be held accountable and face grave consequences. We will continue to work with the United Nations, the Arab League, the African Union and our international partners to respond to the crisis.

The Council adopted a decision on April 1 to support a European Union military operation in support of humanitarian assistance (the safe movement and evacuation of displaced persons at the request of the United Nations). The mandate agreed to would last four months, and 7.9 million Euros were allocated to fund EUFOR Libya. Additionally, in order to deal with these challenges, the EU at its April 16th council summit resolves to:

Understand that only a collective foreign policy can address the needs facing both the EU and Libyan people;

Establish an exploratory commission into the influence of external actors in the upholding of the Gadhafi regime. The report will be distributed to all EU members of the UN and those members of the Security Council will act to uphold

the common EU position brokered during this summit and push for urgent Security Council action. The EU will wait for the support of such bodies as the UN, AL and AU before further sanctions are imposed on the nation of Libya or individuals within the Gadhafi regime.

Member states shall move to recognize the transition authority of Libya as the Interim National Council and a representative from European External Action Service will be sent to Benghazi to establish formal contact with the council;

Continue to support the active engagement of NATO forces in upholding the no-fly zone and protecting the civilian population. Member states have individually agreed to support the mission through the following means;

Logistical: Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, Lithuania, Latvia

Financial: Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, United Kingdom

Military: Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, Czech Republic.

Encourage a review into current NATO practice in order to reduce rebel and civilian casualties;

The EU will send an exploratory commission in order to better understand all aspects of the Libyan rebel movement. Based on these findings, the commission will report to the EU heads of government when further action will be agreed upon.

Urge-the Arab league to take a far more active approach in enforcing the resolutions;

Provide further financial and/or logistical support to those members currently experiencing a vast flow of asylum seekers seeking safe havens from politically oppressive regimes. Member states have agreed to take on additional civilian refugees case by case based on economic indicators such as GDP, Debt levels and other economic factors, current refugee numbers and land mass proportional to population;

Maintain good working communication practices with the Arab world through the forum

of the Arab League with the UN. Initially, the EU will establish, in cooperation with the Arab League, a joint review of the current crises and propose recommendations on how best EU members can ensure long lasting political and economic stability. Based on these findings, an advisory commission will be established to advise EU members and EU bodies on the ongoing implementation of support to the region and how best to support individual countries. The commission will include the most affected member states of the EU, African Union and Arab League.

The establishment of a summit with the EU, AI and AU in order to establish a common foreign policy on the issue of Libya. With the main agenda proposal being the establishment of a commissioner;
Continue to support all ongoing aid efforts within Libya with an increase in relief including personnel. Once dropped aid will be distributed through NGOs and existing UN framework through OCHA. Further aid will be provided should the UN decided that it is necessary and would effectively deal with the ongoing humanitarian crisis;

The EU will investigate the feasibility of putting in a protection force in place if civilian casualties remain at current levels for implementation or in case of drastic escalation of human rights violations and with unanimous support from security council and after discussion with NATO;

In support of and committing to no fly zone: Denmark, Czech Republic, Malta, United Kingdom, Portugal, Sweden, Spain, Slovenia, Slovakia, Poland, Netherlands, Lithuania, Belgium, Latvia, Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, France, Hungary. Denmark committed to an increase of fighter jets from 8 to 16. Spain is willing to increase levels to what is necessary.

A Stronger Financial Europe

In order to ensure responsible fiscal behavior at the national level and to prevent future large bail outs and debt crises, certain new measures will be introduced: These are designed to ensure that all countries stay within the EU limit of 3% GDP by allowing them to apply for further small loans.

Make the funds of the European Financial Stability Facility available to any member state which meets certain criteria, established by an investigatory committee, working in collaboration with the ECB that will propose criteria for austerity measures which countries must be working towards before they are considered for a loan.

The Establishment of a new committee that investigates new cases, on an individual basis

to determine whether they meet the criteria for further loans, with a fixed sliding scale of interest rates, for example a country with 3% debt of GDP would pay an interest rate of 5%, should they reduce their debt to 2.5% their interest rate is reduced to 4%. This set scale is to be determined by the investigatory committee. This provides countries receiving these loans to reduce their debt level to below the specified EU limit and introduce austerity measures to do so.

The members of the special committee are to be selected by the European Central Bank and approved by the EP by a super majority of 2/3rds.

If the EP doesn't approve the candidates selected by the ECB the latter is obliged to propose other candidates within no more than one calendar month. The procedure is to take place until the EP gives its consent to the appointment of the candidates proposed by the ECB.

Countries previously accepting bail-out money may, if the situation arises, apply for funds through EFSF under conditions outlined in this document.

The European Financial Stability Facility is currently funded by the Euro-Zone countries, but member-states who are not part of the Euro-Zone may opt-in but not receive until they have met a minimum of 5 years of net contribution to any European Stability Fund.

Border Control, Immigration, Social Cohesion

1. On the issue of immigration we would like to combine agencies like FRONTEX in an umbrella organization designed to respond rapidly and efficiently that can more readily handle immigration issues. That would be handled under the EU Commission. This new organization formed will be termed the EU Joint Immigration Border Control Task Force. This task force which comprises of ground support is deployed by members under the charge of the EU Commission that have specific pertinent knowledge of border and immigration issues.
2. Under the EU commission a board of experts would decide on the usage of the force and the EU Commission cannot exercise an editing power. The EU Commission has a simple up or down vote on what the board of experts has presented to the body. This board of experts will provide invaluable assistance to the Commission.
3. The actions being undertaken by the task force will be subject to review by the Head of Government of the nation in which actions are being undertaken and on a monthly basis or as necessary by the Commission.
4. Request for these services must come from a member state's HOG before deployed. A response must be manufactured by the board of experts within 72 hours and presented to EU Commission for a decision.
5. On the points of social cohesion and immigration we have decided it is essential to set minimal recommendations of education for immigrants and migrants.

6. (Unanimous Motion) was reached to leave the decision that autonomy will still remain within the national government over whether or not language study is required for immigrants and migrants. We mandate that the resources be made available for immigrants and migrants to learn the language of member states if desired. It is the holding of this body that the EU as a whole should highly encourage such language programs
7. (Unanimous Motion) to set minimum requirements on having education and labour training available is to be set by the member states.
8. Funding has been decided unanimously to be dealt with by the Commission in all points herein.

Following a vote by the Heads of Government, Bulgaria will join the Schengen Agreement as of 1st September 2011 after they have fulfilled all criteria set out by the EU.