

**THE IEUSS GUIDE TO THE  
SATURDAY  
SUNY MODEL EUROPEAN UNION  
2<sup>nd</sup> edition**



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**Editors**

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IEUSS GUIDE TO THE SUNY MODEL EUROPEAN UNION  
2nd Edition (for SUNYMEU 2025)



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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
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](#)), the [SUNY Office of Global Affairs](#), and SUNY Buffalo State University (BSU). BSU hosts the IEUSS office and its website.

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. The IEUSS also invites practitioners and academics with expertise in the European Union to serve as IEUSS fellows.

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.

**Saturday SUNYMEU 2025 will be hosted by SUNY Buffalo State University, April 26 from 10 a.m. – 3 p.m.**

The [SUNYMEU homepage](#) contains information about SUNYMEU and links to upcoming SUNYMEUs.

[Testimonials about SUNYMEU](#)

[SUNYMEU 2025 webpage](#)





## About the SUNY 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 student-run and student-directed, with SUNYMEU faculty directors providing continuity, expertise in the EU, and fundraising (mainly grant writing) to support SUNYMEU.

## Using this Manual

This is the 2nd edition of the SATURDAY SUNYMEU Manual. European Union scholars, SUNYMEU faculty, and program coordinators have written this manual to assist students and faculty advisors to prepare for SUNYMEU 2025, which is a simulation of the **June 2025** European Council summit ending the Polish Presidency. British spelling is used to conform with EU English language usage.

We encourage participants to download and utilize this e-copy, which contains a dynamic (clickable) table of contents, embedded links to tables and figures, and many hyperlinks to internet sources.

Saturday SUNYMEU 2025 will be chaired by the European Council President, working in close cooperation with the **Polish Presidency** of the Council (formerly called the “Council of Ministers”), which is in place from 1 January – 30 June 2025.

The “output” of the simulation will take the form of “Conclusions of the European Council,” which will consist of revisions to the agenda. These Conclusions will be posted to the SUNYMEU website to enable all participants to download and print for inclusion in their dossiers.

Example: See [Fall 2023 Saturday, SUNYMEU Conclusions](#).

This manual is divided into five parts.

Part I is written by EU scholars who have served as SUNYMEU faculty advisers 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 section written by professors who teach courses in the EU as an information/research guide for students to learn about the current priorities of the EU, the trio programme of the Council Presidency, and the Council Presidency programme. There is also a link to a resource guide compiled by the IEUSS.

Part III, written by SUNYMEU student and faculty directors, contains information on the purpose, guidelines, and alter egos (roles) for SUNYMEU. Participants may find the step-by-step guide helpful for writing proposals for consideration on SUNYMEU's agenda. This section includes a sample proposal and a link to a previous SUNYMEU agenda documents. The last section of this part focuses on the alter egos (roles) simulated in SUNYMEU.

Part IV lays out the rules of procedures for SUNYMEU.<sup>1</sup>

## **PART I: BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

This section<sup>2</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 a variety of sources: SUNYMEU faculty and student directors, faculty advisers who were on site during the simulation, the student leadership team, and the post-event survey sent to all SUNYMEU participants.

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

Figure 1 Map of the EU's 27 Member States



Source: Europa.eu

## EU Member States & the EU's Neighbours

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.<sup>3</sup> Table 2 contains key information on the EU's 27 Member States.

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<sup>3</sup> 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*).

Table 2 Key Information on EU Member States

<b>Member State</b> (listed by population size)	<b>2022 Population</b> (millions)	<b>% of Pop</b>	<b>Real GDP per capita 2022</b>	<b>Surface Area</b> (1000 sq.km)	<b>Euro Member</b>	<b>Schengen Member*</b>
Germany	83,797,985	16.18	36,010	357	X	X
France	67,971,311	13.12	33,180	551	X	X
Italy	58,940,425	11.84	28,100	302	X	X
Spain	47,778,340	9.10	24,910	506	X	X
Poland	36,821,749	7.43	14,620	312		X
Romania	19,047,009	3.82	10,080	238		X
Netherlands	17,700,982	3.37	43,800	42	X	X
Belgium	11,685,814	2.24	37,040	31	X	X
Greece	10,427,919	2.10	18,710	130	X	X
Czechia	10,672,118	2.07	18,460	79		X
Portugal	10,409,704	2.01	19,310	92	X	X
Sweden	10,486,941	1.98	46,280	438		X
Hungary	9,643,048	1.91	14,350	93		X
Austria	9,041,851	1.74	38,080	83	X	X
Bulgaria	6,465,097	1.38	7,680	110		X
Denmark	5,903,037	1.12	51,660	43		X
Finland	5,556,106	1.08	37,670	338	X	X
Slovakia	5,431,752	1.06	16,340	49	X	X
Ireland	5,127,170	0.93	77,430	70	X	
Croatia	3,856,600	0.81	14,660	57	X	X
Lithuania	2,831,639	0.56	15,100	65	X	X
Slovenia	2,111,986	0.40	21,860	20	X	X
Latvia	1,879,383	0.38	13,280	64	X	X
Estonia	1,348,840	0.26	16,250	45	X	X
Cyprus	912,703	0.17	27,490	0.9	X	
Luxembourg	653,103	0.12	86,130	0.3	X	X
Malta	531,113	0.09	24,650	0.3	X	X
<b>EU TOTAL</b>	<b>447,033,117</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>28,950</b>	<b>4,358</b>		

Table Source: Eurostat

\*Air and sea border controls lifted in March 2024. Lifting of land border controls was under discussion when this manual went to press.

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 1.

## Box 1 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 eight countries seeking EU membership, as listed in Table 3

Table 3 Candidate Status & Accession Negotiations

Potential Member State	European Council granted candidate status (Y/N)	Accession Talks approved by the European Council	State of Accession Talks - Commencement of Intergovernmental Conference (IGC)
Albania	Y June 2014	Y approved March 2020	First IGC on July 2022
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Y December 2022	N	
Georgia	Y December 2023	N	Suspension of accession talks with Georgia until 2028
Moldova	Y June 2022	Y approved December 2023	
Montenegro	Y December 2010	Y approved December 2011	First IGC June 2012
The Republic of North Macedonia	Y December 2005	Y approved March 2020	First IGC July 2022
Serbia	Y February 2012	Y approved January 2013	First IGC January 2014
Turkey	Y December 1999	Y approved December 2004	First IGC October 2005, negotiations stalled since 2016
Ukraine	Y June 2022	Y approved December 2023	

Three other European countries—Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland—are not EU members, although they clearly qualify for membership. Kosovo has been promised the prospect of 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 27 signatory states. 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. Cyprus has not been admitted to Schengen.

## 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.<sup>4</sup>

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 several stages before achieving the goal of political union that its founders (including Monnet, Adenauer, Schumann, DeGasperi) had envisaged. (See Table 4 Balassa's Theoretical Evolution of Political and

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<sup>4</sup> [Consolidated versions of the two treaties](#)

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 of a FTA is 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.

Table 4 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 labour. 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)<sup>5</sup> constrains fiscal manoeuvrability, 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.<sup>6</sup> Some observers would argue that by skipping the *Economic Union* stage the Eurozone members set themselves up for fiscal difficulties. The next few years will see further cautious and tentative steps being taken in the direction of the building of economic and monetary union. The near future, however, 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. See Table 5 for a list of the EU's institutions. The following pages summarize the EU's system of governance, with descriptions of the types of institutions and bodies and their roles and

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<sup>5</sup> Title III of the TSCG, an extra-EU treaty due to the UK's refusal to sign on, contains a “Fiscal Compact.”

<sup>6</sup> Interactive map of the Euro area: <http://www.ecb.int/euro/intro/html/map.en.html>



responsibilities in EU governance. We recommend that readers who are new to EU studies view this video, “[How does the EU work?](#)” (Other videos such as the EU’s history and the Eurozone can be found on the [IEUSS Resources](#) webpage.)

Table 5 EU Institutions

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Number of Members</b>	<b>Who are they?</b>	<b>Role</b>
European Commission	27	One per member state. Most are former national Ministers	Several duties, including drafting legislation and overseeing policy
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)
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”
<a href="#">Decentralized Agencies</a>	Over 30 agencies	Independent legal entities under EU public law	Specialized policy areas such as food safety, environment, fisheries, energy regulators, border
<a href="#">Defence Agencies</a>	3 agencies		Defence, police & judicial cooperation
<a href="#">Executive Agencies</a>	6 agencies		Research, fund management, manages Commission’s green
Financial Bodies	2 agencies		European Central Bank European Investment Bank

Institution	Number of Members	Who are they?	Role
Euroatom	2 agencies		Euroatom (nuclear fuel), Fusion

## Decision-making bodies of the European Union

The major decision-making institutions of the EU are summarized in Box 2.

### Box 2 The EU's Principal Decision-making Institutions

- European Parliament** (Brussels/Strasbourg/Luxembourg)  
 The only directly elected EU institution. Takes legislative decisions jointly with the Council of the European Union. Approves the EU budget.
- European Council** (Brussels)  
 The heads of state or government of the EU countries meet as the European Council to define the general political direction and priorities of the EU. The European Council is chaired by a president who is elected for a 2.5-year terms, renewable once. It does not adopt laws except for possible EU Treaty amendments.
- Council of the European Union** (Brussels/Luxembourg)  
 Represents the governments of EU countries. The Council of the EU where national ministers from each government meet to adopt laws and coordinate policies. Ministers meet in different configurations depending on the topic to be discussed. The Council takes decisions on European laws jointly with the EP.
- European Commission** (Brussels/Luxembourg/Representations across the EU)  
 Represents the common interests of the EU and is the EU's main executive body. It uses its "right of initiative" to put forward proposals for new laws, which are scrutinized and adopted by the EP and the Council of the EU (the EU's legislative bodies). The Commission manages the EU's policies (except for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, which is conducted by the High Representative for CFSP), the EU's budget, and ensures that Member States apply EU law correctly.

[More information about EU institutions](#)

### *Commission*

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.

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 Council of the European Union*

(Commonly referred to just as “the Council”)

#### Ministers

Previously known as the “Council of Ministers,” the Council of the European Union is comprised of ministers from national governments. The Council meets in ten configurations (see Box 3), with ministers from each of the Member States represented on each of the councils.<sup>7</sup> 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. For students who are familiar with federal systems, one might think of the Council as the chamber representing regions, but one which sits in committees rather than in plenary. Indeed, it has sometimes been observed that while the Council is undoubtedly a legislative body, it is the only legislative body in democratic system that deliberates and legislates in committees rather than in the whole.

#### Box 3 Configurations, Council of the European Union

General Affairs <sup>8</sup>
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

#### The Presidency of the Council

[The Council Presidency](#) rotates between states on a six-monthly basis (See Table 6 and Figure 2) **POLAND HOLDS THE PRESIDENCY DURING SUNYMEU 2025.** The

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<sup>7</sup> [Council configurations](#)

<sup>8</sup>The 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.

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.”

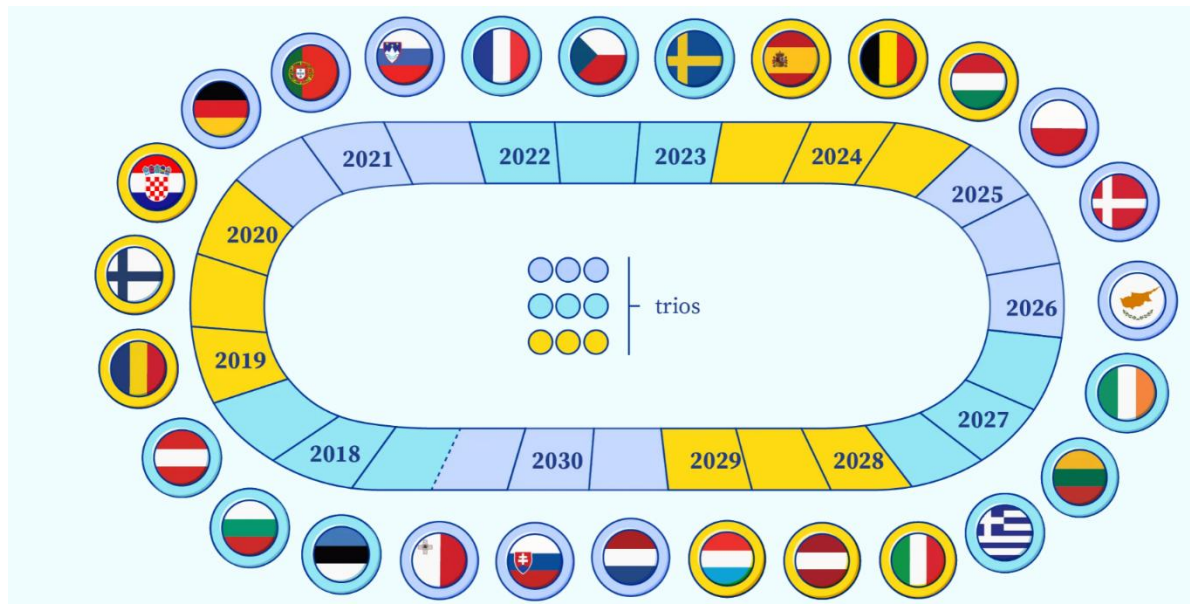
The Council Presidency is a key device for organizing and carrying out the work of the Council over the six-month period. While Member States bring one or two priorities that they hope will leave a positive legacy—“during the Swedish Presidency the EU achieved....”—real world (unexpected) events can 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.

[Information](#) about how the Council Presidency functions.

Table 6 Council Presidency Rotation of Trio January 2023-December 2024

Country	Term	Year
Poland	January-June	2025
Denmark	July-December	2025
Cyprus	January-June	2026

Figure 2 Council Rotation



Committee of Permanent Representatives (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.

#### 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 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.”

#### *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. (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.

**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, all the prior European Council Presidents – Herman van Rompuy (2009-14), who was the Belgian Prime Minister at the time of his appointment, Donald Tusk (2014-19), who was the Polish Prime Minister, and the third President, Charles Michel (2019-2024), who was the Belgian Prime Minister at the time of his appointment, served five-year terms. The current President is [António Costa](#), formerly the Prime Minister of Portugal (2021-2024). 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.

### **Other European Union Institutions**

The EU has other important institutions – judicial (the Court of Justice of the EU, located in Luxembourg), economic and financial (the European Central Bank, located in Frankfurt), the European Court of Auditors (located in Luxembourg), and an extensive network of EU (decentralized) agencies that work to ensure proper interpretation, knowledge, and implementation of EU legislation. These agencies, which are located throughout the EU (see Table 7), are part of the executive “branch” of the EU’s governance structure. Because the topics discussed in SUNYMEU often deal with policy issues such as climate change, irregular migration, public health, defence cooperation, and justice and home affairs, it is important for SUNYMEU participants to have a basic understanding of the function of the EU’s decentralized agencies and have a quick reference guide (as provided in Table 7) of these agencies.

#### *The EU’s Decentralized Agencies*

Since the 1970s, and more particularly since the early 1990s, a variety of quasi-independent EU agencies have been established to carry out policy tasks which otherwise would have been assigned to the European Commission. They have been created for two main reasons: to relieve work pressure on the Commission and to bring subject specialists together in a less political and bureaucratic working environment than exists within the Commission. These decentralized agencies, or as are sometimes called “independent agencies,” have increasingly been a favoured mechanism in contemporary democracies and in Europe especially so since privatization of previously nationalized industries beginning in the 1970s (Majone, 1994, 1996). Though varying considerably in their responsibilities, powers and organizational structures, agencies are of two broad types: regulatory agencies and executive agencies.<sup>10</sup> The most important type of agencies for SUNYMEU negotiations are the EU’s regulatory agencies, of which there are over 30. These agencies have a wide range of tasks to perform (see Box 4). They thus have relatively large staffs. The European Chemicals Agency (ECHA),

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<sup>9</sup>The most recent EP elections were held in June 2024.

<sup>10</sup> *Executive agencies* have narrower tasks to perform than regulatory agencies in that they are created to manage EU programmes on behalf of the Commission. This management is undertaken under the tight control of a “parent” Commission DG. Examples of executive agencies include The Consumers, Health, Agriculture and Food Executive Agency (CHAFEA) and the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA).

for example, has a staff of over 500 and the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) a staff of around 450. What is often assumed to be the largest agency, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) only directly employs around 300 officials because most of the front-line work in its areas of responsibility are undertaken on its behalf by national officials, of which there are thousands deployed at the sea, land, and air borders of the Member States (which, of course, are also the EU's borders). The European Police Office (Europol) is the largest agency with over 1,000 employees.

The tasks and powers of agencies vary considerably. Normally, however, most agencies are responsible within their subject area(s) for some mixture of undertaking research, collecting and disseminating information, providing scientific and technical advice (mainly to the Commission), making policy recommendations, facilitating cross-border policy coordination, and – in the case of a few agencies – carrying out policy implementation (almost invariably within a limited scope and under Commission supervision).

Given the nature of SUNYMEU, participants debate current policy issues that may involve recommendations for devolving study, recommendations, and/or implementation to existing EU agencies. Therefore, SUNYMEU participants should consult the comprehensive list of decentralized EU agencies found in Table 7 when considering whether an agency should be assigned to take up a particular task. So, too, it is important for SUNYMEU participants to know that a particular agency exists rather than recommending the establishment of a new agency to deal with the policy problem under consideration.

#### Box 4 The main types of regulatory agencies

- *Agencies adopting individual decisions that are legally binding on third parties.* Notwithstanding the wide use of the term “regulatory agency” to encompass all the EU’s non-executive agencies, most of the regulatory agencies do not in fact have direct regulatory power. However, a few do, although their scope for regulating is invariably tightly drawn and limited usually to not much more than issuing individual technical clarifications and updates within the framework of existing EU legislation. None are empowered to issue general regulatory measures, and none have significant discretionary regulatory powers. Examples of agencies with regulatory powers include the Office for Harmonization in the Internal Market (trademarks and designs) (OHIM), the Community Plant Variety Office (CPVO), the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA), and the European Chemicals Agency (ECHA).
- *Agencies providing technical or scientific advice to the Commission and, where necessary, to the Member States.* Agencies in this category feed information directly into EU policy forums, principally the Commission, and make recommendations. They undertake regulatory work, but they are not regulators themselves. For example, the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) assesses risks arising from food safety issues, but it cannot itself manage the risks. Because much of the information that the agencies feed into EU forums is highly technical and specialised in nature, it can be difficult for policymakers to challenge and ignore. In respect, for example, of the authorisation of pharmaceuticals, which is handled by the European Medicines Agency (EMA), Gehring and Kraphol (2007) have shown that



although formally the EMA only advises the Commission, in practice it is almost invariably the real decision-maker and operates much like an independent agency. The EMA's power likely increased in this regard because of the COVID-19 pandemic and the prominent role the EMA played in authorizing vaccines. In addition to the EFSA and EMA, other examples of agencies of this type include the European Railway Agency (ERA) and the European Maritime Safety Agency (EMSA).

- *Agencies in charge of operational activities.* Some operational tasks are seen as being best handled not by the Commission but by agencies that have, or at least can be seen as having, a measure of distance and independence from it and, in some instances also, a subject specialism. The best-known agency of this type is Frontex, which has become a very prominent EU agency tasked with increased responsibilities since the onset of the 2015 migration crisis. While border checks are still mainly conducted by national officials and while Frontex is more of a coordination rather than an operational agency, it has an operational capacity – including via a rapid reaction pool of officers and equipment that can be used to undertake search and rescue operations and is increasingly involved in return operations (both in a supporting and lead role).

In addition to the benefit of not being, or not being seen to be, too close to the Commission, an additional reason for the existence of agencies of this sort is that prior to the Lisbon Treaty some operational matters fell under the EU's second and third pillars and, therefore, were not within the Commission's competence. The Lisbon Treaty weakened this rationale in so far as the three AFSJ agencies – Europol, the European Police College (CEPOL), and the European Union's Judicial Cooperation Unit (Eurojust) – were, as with all former third pillar AFSJ policies, placed in the TFEU. But, with many of the activities covered by these agencies involving highly sensitive matters and the use of specialist practitioners, strong reasons remained for their continuance as separate agencies. As for the three agencies created under the CFSP/ESDP policy umbrella – the European Defence Agency (EDA), the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), and the European Union Satellite Centre (EU Sat Cen) – the CFSP/ESDP policy areas remained, post-Lisbon, outside the TFEU and largely based on intergovernmental procedures.

- *Agencies responsible for gathering, analysing, and making available relevant information and/or networking.* In policy terms, these are the weakest of the regulatory agencies in that they are not usually direct policy practitioners. Many of them are akin to think-tanks, with their work focused on assembling and providing background information and, sometimes, on bringing policy practitioners together for exchanges on issues of shared interest. Examples of agencies of this type include the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP), the European Environment Agency (EEA), and the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC).

*Sources:* (Buonanno & Nugent, 2021; European Commission, nd; Nugent, 2017)

Table 7 EU's Decentralized Agencies

Agency Name	Abbreviation	Location	Year Established
<b><i>Single Market Agencies</i></b>			
European Agency for Safety and Health at Work	EU-OSHA	Bilbao, Spain	1994
European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training	Cedefop	Thessaloniki, Greece	1975
European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions	EUROFOUND	Dublin, Ireland	1975
European Environmental Agency	EEA	Copenhagen, Denmark	1994
European Training Foundation	ETF	Turin, Italy	1994
European Medicines Agency	EMA	Amsterdam (UK until 2019)	1995
European Intellectual Property Office	EUIPO	Alicante, Spain	1994
Community Plant Variety office	CPVO	Angers, France	1994
Translation Centre for the Bodies of the European Union	CdT	Luxembourg City, Luxembourg	1994
European Food Safety Authority	EFSA	Parma, Italy	2002
European Maritime Authority	EMSA	Lisbon, Portugal	2002
European Aviation Safety Agency	EASA	Cologne, Germany	2003
European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control	ECDC	Stockholm, Sweden	2002
European Union Agency for the Space Programme	EASA	Prague, Czechia	2005
European Railway Agency	ERA	Valenciennes & Lille, France	2004
European Fisheries Control Agency	EFCA	Vigo, Spain	2005
European Chemicals Agency	ECHA	Helsinki, Finland	2007
Body of European Regulators of Electronic Communications	BEREC	Riga, Latvia	2010
Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators	ACER	Ljubljana, Slovenia	2009
European Labour Authority	ELA	Bratislava, Slovakia	2019
<b>Area of Freedom, Security and Justice Agencies</b>			
European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training	CEPOL	Budapest, Hungary (UK until 2014)	2005
European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation	Europol	The Hague, Netherlands	1998

<b>Agency Name</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Year Established</b>
European Union Agency for the Enhancement of Judicial Co-operation	Eurojust	The Hague, Netherlands	2002
European Agency for the Operational Management of Large-Scale IT Systems in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice	EU-LISA	Tallinn, Estonia	2012
European Border and Coast Guard Agency	Frontex or EBCGA	Warsaw, Poland	Since 2004, transformed into a coastguard & border control agency in 2016
European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction	EMCDDA	Lisbon, Portugal	1993
European Union Agency for Cybersecurity	ENISA	Athens, Greece	2005
European Union Agency for Asylum	EUAA	Valletta, Malta	2011 as European Asylum Support Office, transformed to EUAA in 2022
European Institute for Gender Equality	EIGE	Vilnius, Lithuania	2007
Fundamental Rights Agency	FRA	Vienna, Austria	2007
<b>Common Security and Defence Policy Agencies</b>			
European Defence Agency	EDA	Brussels, Belgium	2004
European Institute for Security Studies	EUISS	Paris, France	2001
European Union Satellite Centre	SatCen	Torrejón de Ardoz, Spain	2002

## **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 procedures are clearly very important. The single most important factor is treaty provision. 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 8 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.<sup>11</sup>

## 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

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<sup>11</sup> 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. 2023. [\*European Union Governance and Policy Making: A Canadian Perspective\*](#). 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. University of Toronto Press.

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.

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.<sup>12</sup> 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.

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<sup>12</sup> 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.

Table 8 The Varying Depths of EU and US (national government) Policy Involvement

	<b>Extensive EU/US Federal Involvement</b>	<b>Considerable EU/US Federal involvement</b>	<b>Policy responsibilities shared between the EU and the Member States/US and states</b>	<b>Limited EU/US Federal involvement</b>	<b>Virtually no EU/US Federal policy involvement</b>
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.

## **Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)**

The EMU project has always been controversial. At the centre 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
- 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.

Table 2 for a list of current Eurozone members.

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.<sup>13</sup>

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.

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<sup>13</sup> Technically, Sweden did not qualify for an opt-out because the TEU was adopted prior to Sweden’s accession.



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

## **Financing the EU<sup>14</sup>**

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.<sup>15</sup> 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 2021-2027 MFF.

The EU's budget is, in relative terms, very modest in size – accounting for only one per cent of total EU GNI. But notwithstanding this relative modesty, the nature of the budget's revenues and expenditures and the behaviour 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.

### Expenditures

The 2021-2027 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

A key innovation of the MFF 2021-2027 has been “NextGenerationEU,” a €806.9 billion, a temporary instrument to power the COVID-19 recovery. Thus, the 2021-2027 MFF is €2.018 trillion (the long-term budget of 1.211 trillion plus the NextGenerationEU program of €806.9 billion).

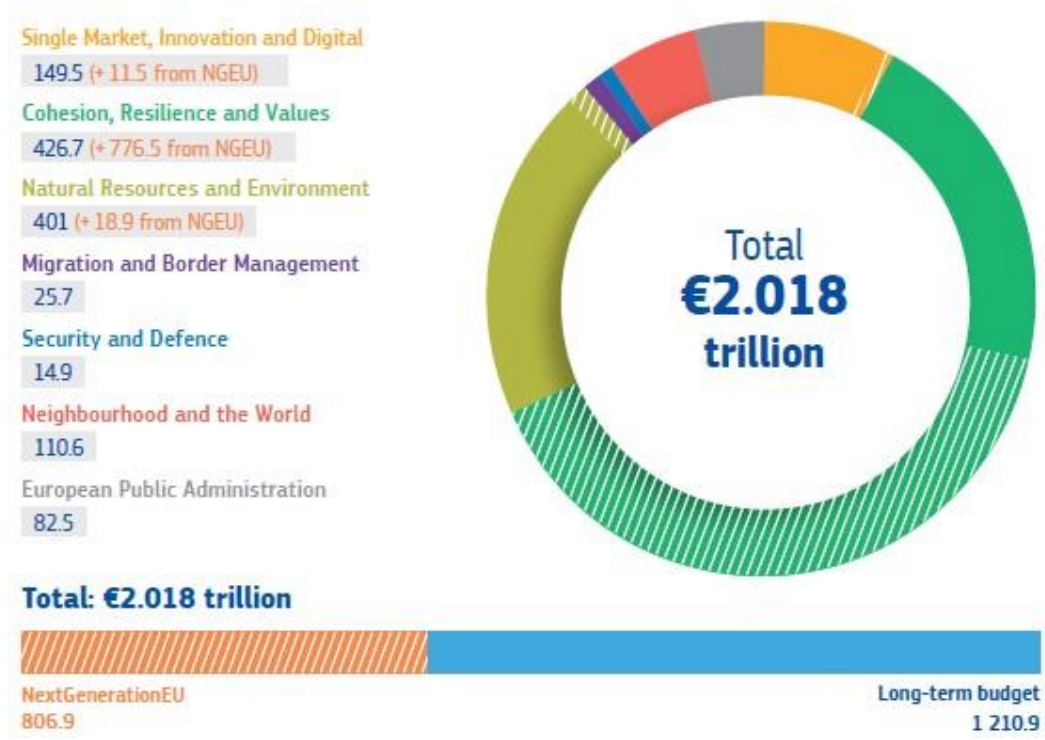
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<sup>14</sup>This section is based on Chapter 19 in Buonanno, L. and N. Nugent. 2021. *Policies and Policy Processes of the European Union*. Red Glob Press/Bloomsbury.

<sup>15</sup>Cipriani, G. (2018). The EU Budget. In N. Zahariadis & L. Buonanno (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of European Public Policy* (pp. 142-153). London: Routledge.

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 2021-2027 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. The NextGenerationEU (temporary) fund is designed to assist Member States with green technologies and digitalization as well as “repair the immediate economic and social damage caused by the coronavirus pandemic.”<sup>16</sup> Figure 3 provides the expenditures for each of the seven categories.

Figure 3 Expenditure & Categories, MFF 2021-2027



Wrapping up this discussion of budgetary expenditures, Figure 4 is a pictograph with the size of the circles illustrating the relative weight with respect to other expenditures, allowing the reader to compare the continued dominance in the EU’s budget of cohesion policy and the CAP vis à vis “newer and reinforced” priorities.

Revenues

Revenues are derived from four “own” sources. (Here are the percentage of revenues in the EU’s 2022 budget):

<sup>16</sup>European Commission (2021). [The EU’s 221-2027 Long-Term Budget and NextGenerationEU: Facts and Figures.](#)

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%)

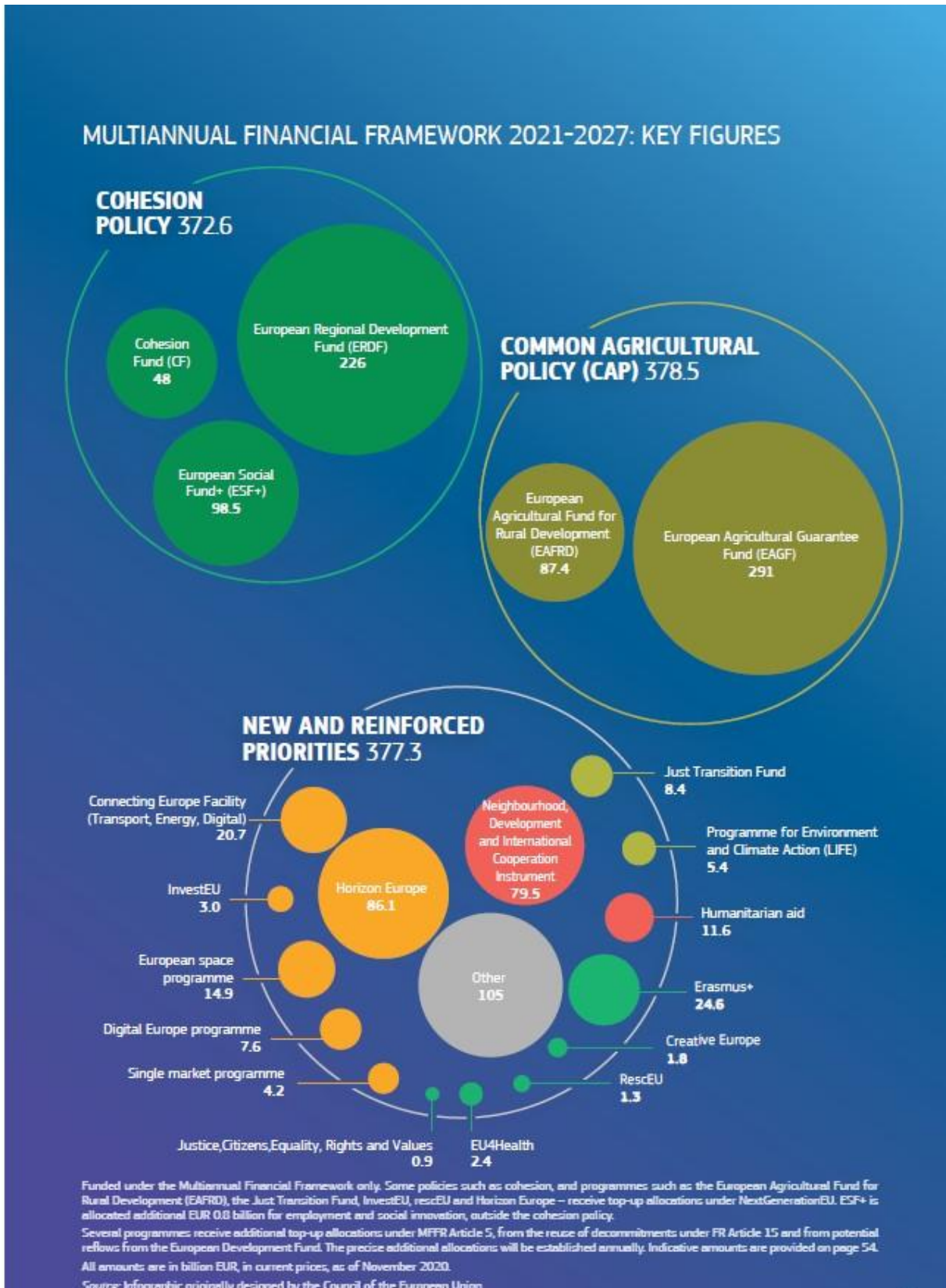
The GNI resource takes the form of “contributions” to the budget from all Member States based on their size and wealth. So, it is based on ability to pay. The resource was conceived of as a “top-up” to bridge the gap between budgetary expenditure and income, and in effect is still treated as a budgetary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

4) *a new contribution* started January 1, 2021, a contribution based on *non-recycled plastic packaging waste* (3.54%).

5) *other sources* – 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.

6) *NextGenerationEU* –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 borrowed amounts will be repaid over a long-term period, until 2058.

Figure 4 MFF 2021-27, Comparing Priorities



### *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*<sup>17</sup> 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 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> 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).

<sup>18</sup> 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>.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, EURACTIV (2021, September 2) “Commission Says its Holding up Recovering Money

## PART II: CURRENT ISSUES

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

### The EU's Strategic Planning & Priorities

These are your primary documents to begin your research. Once you have become familiar with the EU's priorities, particularly the trio programme and the Belgian Presidency Programme, you should then begin reading about current events.

Q: Why read the documents linked below?

A: You will be better able to contextualize current events if you are familiar with the EU's priorities.

1. The European Council  
European Union Strategic Agenda, 2024-2029.  
A good place to start learning about the EU's current concerns is with [European Union Strategic Agenda for 2024-2029](#). "Following the European elections in June 2024, the EU set a number of priorities that shape the political and policy agenda until 2029..."
2. European Commission  
[Priorities for 2024-2029](#).
3. The Trio (The three member states, Presidency of the European Council (1 January 2025-30 June 2026).  
[Trio Programme](#) (Poland, Denmark, Cyprus)  
Participants should become familiar with the priorities laid out in the trio programme.
4. [Website of the Polish Presidency](#).  
[Priorities of the Polish Presidency](#) (January 1-June 30, 2025)

### Reading articles in current periodicals

The Institute for European Union Studies at SUNY maintains a resource page "[Staying Current on the EU](#)."

We recommend you bookmark [Politico Europe](#), which is a free daily resource that will help you to identify current challenges facing EU Member States and the EU.

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for Poland." <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/commission-says-it-is-holding-up-recovery-money-for-poland/>

## **PART III: GUIDELINES FOR SUNYMEU<sup>21</sup>**

### **Introduction**

The overall purpose of **SATURDAY SUNYMEU** is to simulate a European Council summit. 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.

**SUNYMEU simulates the ending of a Council Presidency. For SUNYMEU 2025, it is the end of the Polish Presidency of the Council of the European Union.**

### **Purpose and Nature of the European Council Simulation**

The purpose of the simulation is for the European Council to reach agreement on the agenda items. Unlike in the three-day SUNYMEU, the IEUSS faculty and associated students write the agenda items.

Box 5 contains a sample of an agenda proposal.

Box 5 Sample Proposal submitted by a delegation to the SLT - European Health Union

**Agenda Title:** European Health Union

**EU Member State/EU institution proposing this agenda item:**  
Romania

**Background:**

Even though primary responsibility for health protection and health systems lies with the Member States, the Charter and the TEFU both indicate a significant role for the EU in health policy. Healthcare systems are organized and financed differently across the EU Member States, but universal access to quality healthcare at affordable cost is a principle set out in The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, Title IV Solidarity, Article 35. The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TEFU) also provides for EU public health policy in Article 168 (1) (protection of public health), Article 114 (single market)

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<sup>21</sup> 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.

and Article 153 (social policy). EU public health policy should: 1) protect and improve the health of EU citizens; 2) support the modernization and digitalization of health systems and infrastructure; 3) improve the resilience of Europe's health systems; and 4) equip EU countries to better prevent and address future pandemics (European Parliament (2021)).

Romania has the lowest healthcare spending in the EU, but Romania's per capita GDP (2021) was €838 (5.7% of GDP) (Source: World Bank). Among the EU Member States, the largest shares were recorded in Germany (11.5% of GDP) and France (11.3%), followed by Sweden (10.9%). Life expectancy is 81.3 in the EU-27, but only 75.6 for Romania (2019, Eurostat). These data suggest a wide gap between Romania, on one hand, and Northern European EU Member States. It has been increasingly difficult for Romania to keep up with health care spending due to the coronavirus pandemic.

### **Recommendations:**

#### 1. Advancement of European Disaster Risk Management

- a. Prevent humanitarian crises by acknowledging flaws regarding disaster management.
- b. Improve poor infrastructure between hospitals and rural, low income, and developing communities.
- c. Fund and support Prevention and Preparedness Projects to minimize human loss.

Refer to European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Operations,  
DG European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO)

#### 2. Support the International Rescue Committee's Goal to Help Ukraine

- a. Provide aid and promote mass-funding to refugees and migration detention centres for healthcare and pharmaceuticals.
- b. Promote unity and solidarity with respect to the European Social Model

Refer to European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Operations,  
DG European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO)

#### 3. Advancement of European Health Emergency Preparedness and Response Authority (HERA)

- a. Improve EU health security coordination before and during crises.
- b. Funding for security precautions and screening.
- c. Bring together the EU Member States, industry and relevant stakeholders.
- d. Produce vaccines, vaccine cards, vaccine centres available across Member States.
- e. Vaccine control centres available to the public, without overcrowding.
- f. Increase HERA's budget.

Refer to [HERA](#)



#### 4. Implement a Fixed Tax

- a. Tax higher-income EU Member States, based on their GDP expenditure towards healthcare by allocating .9% of GDP towards Romania and other Member States with poorer health outcomes.
- b. Change costs of exports towards higher-income states to minimize inequity between benefactor(s) and beneficiaries.

Refer to European Parliament's Committee for Environment, Public Health, and Food Safety

#### 5. Utilization of Cohesion Policy

- a. With the cohesion funds, modernization of hospitals is possible.
  1. Increasing staffing will help alleviate waiting times for patients in critical condition.
- b. Ensuring modern hospitals, adequate staffing, and equipping hospitals in rural areas.
- c. Provide more transport vehicles and air transport services for emergencies.
- d. Supply hospitals with electrical transportation vehicles to lessen greenhouse gas emissions as well as other modern technologies.
- e. Disperse resources to all parts of society equally to avoid a select few from accumulating mass amounts.
- f. Provide educational opportunities in low-income communities to increase the presence of local doctors and access to local medicine.
- g. EU to require 32 billion euros for healthcare improvement and reform from 2021-2027.

Refer to European Parliament's Committee for Environment, Public Health, and Food Safety

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## 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.<sup>22</sup>
- Acquiring an understanding of the domestic and international concerns of the Member State to be represented.
- 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.

## 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, thinktanks, current periodicals, report depositories, videos, and so forth. Please bookmark the [IEUSS Resources page](#).

## Alter Egos

The Heads of Government (HOGS)<sup>23</sup> meet in the European Council (often called “EU summits”). At European Councils, key policy issues covering such matters as treaty reform, 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 soon. So, while the

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<sup>22</sup>A good resource is Member States and the European Union by Bulmer and Lequesne, C. [Download book review](#).

<sup>23</sup> 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. In European republics organized as parliamentary systems, typically the “president” is head of state, and the prime minister or chancellor is head of government. The French President is both head of government and head of state.

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.

Each EU Member State will be represented by a head of government (prime minister, chancellor, or president).

Other members of the European Council are:

- The European Commission President (non voting)
- European Council President (non voting)

The European Commission President and the European Council President are the only participants in the simulation who have an exclusive obligation to the welfare of the EU, although the European Council President also must balance the interests of the 27 Member States. The Commission President works closely with the Council Presidency (POLAND) to ensure that the simulation proceeds on a smooth course.

**European Council meetings are chaired by the European Council President.**

SUNYMEU 2025 simulates (and anticipates) the **June 2025** meeting of the European Council. The outcome of SUNYMEU 2025 is the drafting of the **European Council Meeting – Conclusions (26 April 2025)**, a document which contains everything about which the summit participants have been able to agree. The Conclusions will be presented and voted on by the European Council at the closing session (Saturday afternoon) of SUNYMEU.

### **Chairing Meetings**

The European Council is chaired by the President of the European Council, assisted by the HOG of the Member State holding the Council Presidency, followed by the other two members of the trio.

### **European Parliament**

SUNYMEU participants should keep in mind that legislation is proposed by the Commission, but that the European Parliament (EP) and the Council (of Ministers) are the EU’s legislative decision-making bodies. Most EU law (directives and regulations) utilize

the [Ordinary Legislative Procedure](#) (OLP) in which the relevant Council (of Ministers) [configuration](#) (think of a configuration as a committee – there are 10 such configurations) and the EP “markup” and pass legislation. For Americans, the EP is roughly equivalent to the US House of Representatives in that the Members of European Parliament (MEPs) are directly elected and the number of MEPs is based on Member State population. The Council (of Ministers) is somewhat analogous to the US Senate (in representing the states and even more so before the passage of the 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the US Constitution providing for the direct elections of US senators).

What makes the Council (of Ministers) so unusual in terms of democratic systems is its seating and decision-making as a committee of 27 (one Member State in each Council configuration) rather than in the whole (a Council of 270). As with the US Senate, Council seats are allocated by Member State (one per Member State) rather than by population.

The EP has a **limited role** in the European Council summits but has long sought a more significant role. As of the present time, “The President addresses the European Council prior to each of its meetings, stating Parliament’s viewpoint on the subjects on the agenda in the framework of a debate with the heads of state and government.”<sup>24</sup>

**SUNYMEU includes this role of the EP’s President in this capacity. The student playing the EP’s President makes a speech at SUNYMEU’s opening and lays out the EP’s position on each of the agenda items.**

## **Faculty Advisors**

Students are not required to be accompanied by a faculty or graduate student adviser to SUNYMEU. For faculty advisers who are present, they can 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.

## **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.

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<sup>24</sup> See [“The President of the European Parliament.”](#)

## Part IV: Rules and Procedures for SUNYMEU

### The European Council Meeting – Conclusions

SUNYMEU produces “SUNYMEU European Council meeting – Conclusions (26 April 2025).” This is the final product of SUNYMEU and participants. It will be emailed to each participant and posted to the SUNYMEU 2025 website. Once the SUNYMEU 2025 website is closed, a pdf of the Conclusions will also be available on the SUNYMEU archive page on the IEUSS website.

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

### European Council 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 order<sup>25</sup>, which is by Presidency rather than alphabetical order and rotate counterclockwise around the table.

Hence, starting from the member holding the rotating presidency (Poland for SUNYMEU 2025), the seating order is as follows: Poland, Denmark, Cyprus, Ireland, Lithuania, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Slovakia, Malta, Estonia, Bulgaria, Austria, Romania, Finland, Croatia, Germany, Portugal, Slovenia, France, Czechia, Sweden, Spain, Belgium, Hungary.

### 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 try to 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.

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<sup>25</sup> See [Council Presidency Seating Order](#)

Parliamentary procedure (Roberts' Rules of Order) is inappropriate for smaller meetings and will only serve to slow down the business of the meeting unnecessarily. If the Chair can keep the meeting less formal, they should try to do so.

## 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.

### *Parliamentary Procedure Summarized*<sup>26</sup>

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.

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<sup>26</sup> Participants may also wish to consult *Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised* (<http://www.robertsrules.com>).

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 always know 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 if another wants to speak a first time.
10. The chair should be strictly impartial.

#### *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.

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 9 Frequent Things You Want to Do

<b>Objective</b>	<b>Appropriate Motion</b>
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 prior to SUNYMEU using both procedures for small meetings and parliamentary procedure.

### *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.

### *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.



## *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 Chair. They need to create the right circumstances in which decision-making is possible.

### Making effective decisions

A chair 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 Chair 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 Chair must make sure that all participants understand that the person speaking “has the floor,” and will be protected from interruption by the Chair. It also means that the Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair 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.

### *Controlling a meeting*

The best way to control a meeting is establish one’s authority as Chair 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).

The main rule is always that the Chair is right, even when they are wrong. It saves a lot of argument and confusion if meeting participants understand that from the first. A

confident chair 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 chair's meeting to begin with).

Not all meetings are all that formal, and the Chair 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:

### *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 the individual moves it.

In quite 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 Chair. 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 Chair. Debate should be as extensive as the Chair thinks is necessary, and the Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair, and normally a show of hands is sufficient (but the Chair 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 Chair should then announce the results of the vote. At this point a *motion* becomes a *resolution*.

The Chair 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 (e.g., who is to implement the decision).

This too will be a matter for the Chair's initiative, and they 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 Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair can invite the proposer of the second amendment to state their 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 Chair 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 Chair. It may *not* be achieved by an exhibition of temper or panic by the Chair. 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. Analyse.
15. Synthesize.
16. Be ready to phrase and rephrase remarks.
17. Be judicious in your power as Chair.

# **PART V: SATURDAY SUNYMEU PROGRAM**

## **Saturday SUNYMEU Program**

April 26, 2025

10 a.m. – 3 p.m.  
SUNY Buffalo State University

9:00-10:00 a.m.	<b>Check-in (TBA)</b> Coffee & Pastries Service
10:00 – 10:15 p.m.	<b>Polish Presidency Opens SUNYMEU</b>
10:15-11:45 a.m.	<b>Functional Meetings: Morning Session</b> European Council Meeting
12:00-1:00 p.m.	<b>LUNCH</b> <b>Bengal Kitchen</b>

SUNYMEU Student Director will distribute lunch tickets outside of the dining hall.

1:15-2:45 p.m.	<b>Afternoon Session 1</b> European Council Meeting
2:45-3:00 p.m.	<b>Certificates of Completion and Photos</b>

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