ACTIVIST GUIDE TO THE BRUSSELS MAZE 2.0
The purpose of this booklet is to provide activists with an insight into where EU legislative and non-legislative Proposals come from, and what can be achieved at each stage of the administrative process. As the lifetime of any EU Proposal of any description is very long, it is important to know where to target any activity at any given moment. Every institution is very powerful and influential at certain moments and very much a spectator at other moments. We hope that this guide will help serve as a map of the Brussels maze.
INTRODUCTION TO THE INSTITUTIONS
THE MAIN LEGISLATIVE BODIES EXPLAINED

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE

THE PROPOSAL
FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE MAZE
European Commission

The European Commission consists of 28 Commissioners (including the EU High Representative, the President and six Vice Presidents), nominated by the 28 Member States and approved by the European Parliament.

The new Commission that took office in November 2014 has a very different structure from the previous Commissions. Responsibilities are divided between the President (Jean-Paul Juncker), the High Representative (Frederica Mogherini) and the First Vice-President (Frans Timmermans). Each of the other five Vice-Presidents is responsible for some - or in the case of budgets, all - of the remaining Commissioners. An interactive guide to the overlapping responsibilities of the new tiered structure of the Commission is available at: http://ec.europa.eu/about/juncker-commission/structure/index_en.htm.

Each Commissioner has a Cabinet or private office staff. As all of the Commission’s decisions are taken collectively, each Commissioner’s Cabinet must monitor all the Commission’s activity - although it will take time for the nature of collective responsibility in the radically new structure to become clear. In addition, the Cabinet members divide up the policy dossiers of the Directorate General (DG) for which their Commissioner is responsible. It is often more productive to discuss the details of a particular dossier with a Cabinet member rather than with the Commissioner him- or herself as they are the day-to-day bridge between the Commission services and the Commissioner. However, they are exceptionally busy and therefore meetings should only be requested when needed and when you can provide detailed and specific expertise.

“It is often more productive to discuss the details of a particular dossier with a cabinet member…”
The fascinating thing to note about the Commission is that each Directorate General has its own corporate identity - often closely reflecting the personality of the Commissioner responsible. So, few if any accurate generalisations can be made about the “attitude of the Commission” on any dossier. The Commission is simultaneously open and closed, transparent and secretive. This is likely to change during the five years of the Juncker Commission, as the more cohesive structure reshapes the institutional character of the Commission.

**Consultative bodies of the EU**

The Economic and Social Committee represents civil society, employers and employees.

The Committee of the Regions is meant to represent regional and local authorities. It rarely works on digital issues, except on network rollout.

**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

The European Parliament is the only directly elected European institution. The representation is “weighted” in a way which gives smaller Member States proportionately more votes than the larger ones. As of November 2014, there is a total of 751 Members of the European Parliament (MEPs).

MEPs organise themselves into political groups based on political persuasion rather than country. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Abbr</th>
<th>No of MEPs</th>
<th>% of MEPs</th>
<th>Member States</th>
<th>Political orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European People’s Party</td>
<td>EPP</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Centre-right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists and Democrats</td>
<td>S&amp;D</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Centrist to left-wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Conservatives and Reformers</td>
<td>ECR</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Centre-right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe</td>
<td>ALDE</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Centrist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European United Left / Nordic Green Left</td>
<td>GUE/NGL</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Strongly left-wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greens / European Free Alliance</td>
<td>Greens/EFA</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Diverse, generally left-wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe of Freedom and Democracy</td>
<td>EFDD</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Anti-EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-attached members</td>
<td>NI</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(These figures are correct at time of writing [February 2015] but are subject to fluctuation. Please refer to the European Parliament’s website for the most up-to-date information.)
**Committees**

Parliamentary work is undertaken by 20 Committees. Broadly speaking, each Committee’s membership corresponds to the size of each political group and to the proportion of MEPs from each Member State.

MEPs are organised by political group in each Committee. Each political group appoints a Coordinator, who is basically a “leader” for the delegation in that particular Committee.

**Committee secretariat**

Each Committee is supported by a non-political secretariat, whose staff are often impressively expert on the subject matter of the Committee in question, providing very high-level support for MEPs. Activists can have very productive cooperation with these staff members, but the non-political nature of their role must be respected and in no communication with Committee staff members must you either ask for, or be liable to be misunderstood as asking for, political interference or bias.

**Political group secretariat**

Each political group also has its own staff that support the work of MEPs from that political group in the Committee. These staff are also frequently very expert on the policies covered by their Committee. They are also closely involved in negotiations on individual proposals and are therefore very significant in the political process. They almost always welcome input from activists, particularly from those who are knowledgeable and who have demonstrated trustworthiness and willingness to be involved.

**Assistants**

Each MEP has one or more assistants. There are as many MEPs in the Parliament as there are types of assistant – their role depends very much on the personality of the MEP. They have become increasingly important in recent years, often playing a role of equal importance to that of their MEP on some legislative dossiers. Only ongoing contact with an MEP will allow insight into the role of an assistant.

**Management of Proposals**

In a national parliament a minister is responsible for guiding each proposal through the legislative process. In the European Parliament any individual MEP can be given responsibility for a Proposal. The MEP responsible for a particular Proposal is known by the French word “Rapporteur”. All of the other political groups nominate an MEP to follow the proposal for their group and these are known as Shadow Rapporteurs.
**Information is power.... and hard to find**

Unfortunately, each political group organises its website, so identifying the staff members or Coordinators for each political group involves trawling through each political group’s website. The political groups also like to fundamentally redesign their websites very often, so providing links to the current locations of this information is of limited value.

There is no detailed public directory of Parliament secretariats working on any dossier and no directory of which political group staff are working on any given dossier. Activists can rely on organisations, such as EDRi in order to find such information. For example, EDRi maintains a database of priority dossiers including all of the above information, which is available to its members and groups with which we cooperate.

**THE COUNCIL**

**What’s the Council?**

The Council is made up of the Member States. Each Member State has a Permanent Representation to the EU in Brussels. The “Perm Reps” (as they are known in Brussels jargon) are staffed with ministry officials that do most of the hard work on negotiations, under instruction from their home ministries.

At the top of the hierarchy of the Perm Reps are the Permanent Representatives, who can negotiate on behalf of ministers (in a forum known as Coreper II) and their deputies, who oversee mainly technical issues (Coreper I). Obviously, as the range of issues that Coreper covers is wide, the Permanent Representatives must rely heavily on the relevant ministry in their home country when working on any particular dossier. However, as happened in the Software Patents Directive, political directions and manoeuvres which Coreper undertakes can be decisive. Coreper is chaired by the representative of the Member State which currently holds the six-month revolving EU Council presidency.

While the Council itself is still very closed and secretive, the Perm Reps themselves have undergone something of a revolution in transparency over the past few years. Most Perm Rep staff from most Member States are very interested in receiving input from interest groups. Unfortunately, it often takes a bit of:

- detective work to find out who is responsible for the dossier you are working on and
- time in order to build up enough trust to work effectively with the official in question.
While the Perm Reps are becoming more transparent individually, the Council itself has failed miserably to keep pace. There is little public information about which working groups are responsible for which dossiers, what was discussed in working groups, public access to working group meetings, details regarding which Member States take which positions, timetables, negotiating drafts, etc.

Council Presidency

The Presidency of the Council is rotated every six months between the EU Member States. At any given moment, there are three Member States with a role in the Presidency – the incoming Presidency, the outgoing Presidency and the Presidency-in-office.

Presidency politics

Presidencies believe that the whole world is looking at them and that adopted texts are proof of a good presidency. As a result, Presidencies frequently vote in favour of whatever will lead to an agreement – even if this is contrary to their own country’s best interests. This is particularly - but not exclusively - the case for presidencies from the smaller Member States. Larger Member States can, although this is comparatively rare, exploit their position as President - as happened under the French Presidency in the 2008/2009 telecoms package and the UK Presidency, which pushed through the illegal Data Retention Directive.

When does the Council do what?

If the dossier is considered urgent, the Council will work in parallel with the Parliament and negotiate compromises ahead of the Parliament’s First Reading. While this so-called First Reading Agreement (see below) weakens the Parliament’s negotiating position, the Parliament has an odd and inexplicable habit of consenting to it. As a result, the speed and timing of the Council’s activities changes on a case-by-case basis.

Key Online Resources

**MEP Directory**

**Political Group Directory**

**European Parliament Work In Progress**

**Parliament Tracker**
http://parltrack.euwiki.org/

**Vote Tracker**
http://www.votewatch.eu/

**Political Memory**
https://memopol.lqdn.fr/

**European Parliament Video Broadcasts**
Where do Proposals come from?

While virtually all Proposals originate in the Commission, the reason behind any particular Proposal varies a lot. For example:

- sometimes the EU sees that the USA is responding to a particular development and feels the need to follow a similar route for competitive reasons (the E-Commerce Directive is an example of this, reacting to the US DMCA);
- sometimes legislation is necessary to implement an international agreement signed by the EU, as happened with the Copyright in the Information Society Directive, proposed to implement the WIPO Copyright Treaty;
- sometimes (although this is only available to larger members) Member States that hold the Presidency of the Council (ab)use their position to push through legislation, as happened with the UK Council Presidency and the Data Retention Directive;
- sometimes large industries devote large lobbying resources to “selling” a Directive to the EU, as happened with the Term Extension Directive;
- sometimes the Commission becomes aware of divergences in approach between Member States in an area that is under the EU’s competence and proposes legislation to resolve this. The E-Privacy Directive is an example of this.
01 LAUNCH OF THE PROPOSAL, THE “ORDINARY LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE”

The Commission

Draft Proposal from the Commission → Inter-service Consultation → Adoption by college of commissioners → Proposal from the Commission

ESC opinion
COR opinion

fig 01: Start of the process

The first steps on the journey

Once an issue has been identified as possibly needing legislation, it is added to the annual work programme. The Directorate General responsible will then publish a document, which will be - depending on the level of advancement of its thinking at that stage - a Green Paper, a White Paper or, most advanced, a Communication.

At this stage in the process, activists and activist groups can respond to the consultation documents. While it is easy to be cynical, it is really valuable to respond to consultations. If the Commission’s thinking is positive, it needs support, if it is not positive, it needs to be prevented from being able to say that nobody opposed its approach.

Groups that have sufficient resources - individually or through associations such as EDRi - can can very valuably maintain personal contact with the relevant officials in the Commission, and provide input from our perspective on an ongoing basis. Again, this can be more or less effective, depending on the good will of
the Commission. The “collegial” nature of the Commission should always be remembered – it is a collection of often competing parts and not a single unit. No Proposal is ever supported by every part of the Commission, so there are always allies to oppose or support a particular measure; it is just a question of finding them.

**Commission approval process**

When the responsible Directorate General has adopted a Proposal, it is sent to the rest of the Commission, with a deadline of three weeks for a process called Inter-service Consultation. No proposed Commission Proposal can be approved unless it is supported by all parts of the Commission. This is therefore a key moment – although Commissioners must always take care that their opposition to a particular measure will not lead to opposition to any legislation that they have in the pipeline.

**Final steps**

Finally, a draft Directive or Regulation will be proposed, together with an Impact Assessment. The Impact Assessment is meant to be a careful weighing of the different options available, in order to produce better legislation. In reality, by the time the Impact Assessment is written, a political decision has normally already been taken. Therefore, decisions that are more political than fact-based have Impact Assessments which use very tortured logic and provide very interesting clues regarding where the Commission sees its own weaknesses. For example, the Impact Assessment on the Child Exploitation Directive basically came to the conclusion that the Commission’s Proposal on blocking was illegal!

“While it is easy to be cynical, it is really valuable to respond to consultations”
02 FIRST READING IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Receipt of the Proposal by the European Parliament and Council

Once a legislative procedure has been proposed by the European Commission, it is communicated to the European Parliament and the Council.

**European Parliament**
- EP president refers to Committee for report & others for opinion if appropriate
- Appointment of Rapporteurs + Shadows
- Committee vote (lead & opinions)
- EP Plenary vote by simple majority (majority of members voting)
- Proposal communicated to the EP
- First reading by the EP (opinion)

**Council**
- Proposal communicated to Council
- Preparatory work in Council working parties
- COREPER I or II
- General approach
- Political agreement
- Commission can withdraw or amend its proposal at any time before the EP First Reading ends.
- Possible informal Trialogue Meetings: These are initiated when the institutions want to achieve an agreement in First Reading.
- Not in all cases: usually achieved when the three institutions try to come to an early agreement

*Fig 02: Receipt of the Proposal by the European Parliament and Council*
As most dossiers touch more than one policy area (a Directive may have an industry element, a cultural element and a civil liberties aspect, for example), it is normal for more than one Committee to work on a Proposal. Therefore, the first decision to be made is which Committee will be in charge (the Lead Committee) and which Committees will provide Opinions. With an Opinion a Committee provides expertise related - in theory at least - to their area of competence.

**Procedure in Committee**

**Appointing the MEP in charge**

The next step is for the lead and the Opinion Committees to decide on which MEP will be in charge of the dossier (the Rapporteur). If an MEP has worked previously on a subject, they are normally the automatic choice, unless they seriously mismanaged a dossier in the past. The decision is made by the Coordinators of the political groups. Once the Rapporteur has been chosen, each of the other political groups needs to appoint an MEP that will be in charge of dossier (the Shadow Rapporteur).

**Debates**

There are then discussions on the dossier in Committee meetings, where the Commission, and sometimes also the Council, present their views. At this stage the Commission is often very active behind the scenes in the Parliament, seeking to gain support for its approach. This process can take quite a long time, as there is no time limit for the Parliament to complete its First Reading.

**Draft Report/Opinion(s) and amendments**

The procedure is identical in each Committee regardless of whether it is the Lead Committee or an Opinion Committee.

The Rapporteur produces a Draft Report, indicating the amendments that s/he would like to propose to the Commission’s text. A deadline for amendments is then set and MEPs (oddly enough, any MEP, even those not on the Committee and who have not been following the dossier at all!) have an opportunity to table their own amendments. These can be accompanied by a short “justification” to explain the logic behind the proposed change. A few key points to remember for activists at this stage are:

- to think strategically about which MEPs from which political groups would be best to table their particular amendment (obviously the Rapporteur and Shadows are most influential);
- to think about how to gather support from MEPs from other political groups, the Rapporteur and Shadow Rapporteurs in particular;
• to ensure that MEPs, assistants and advisers fully understand the essence of why the amendment is needed, so that this can be maintained during negotiations.

Compromise amendments
The next stage in the process is the most undemocratic. Based on the very laudable EU approach (in all institutions) to seek compromise and consensus, the various political groups seek to adopt compromise amendments on key points. Compromise amendments try to represent the consensus on a given point, based on the amendments that were tabled.

However, the process fails for two main reasons – firstly, large lobbies have the capacity to persuade large numbers of MEPs to table “their” amendments, creating a false sense of consensus favouring the corporate lobbyists and, secondly, the discussions happen behind closed doors, with little or no insight into how they were reached. In any event, by the time a compromise is reached, it is too late.

Vote in Committee
A voting list is then prepared by the Committee secretariat. Where there are several amendments on one particular article from the Commission’s text, they are voted on in a sequence starting from the least similar to the Commission’s text and ending with the most similar. When an amendment is adopted, the rest of the amendments “fall” and are not voted on, because this would lead to contradictory texts being adopted. Voting is by simple majority.

Vote in Plenary
The Lead Committee’s text is then sent to a full sitting of the Parliament (Plenary), to be voted on by all MEPs. At that stage, it is still possible to table amendments, but this can only be done by political groups or by 10% of MEPs co-signing a proposed text.

In the Plenary (although usually before), the Commission explains what amendments it can accept and which it cannot accept. If it rejects an amendment of the Parliament, unanimity is needed in the Council for that amendment to be adopted. The Commission’s position is therefore very important.

The Lead Committee’s Report, as amended by the Plenary is the Parliament’s First Reading Report.

Following the adoption of the Report in Parliament, the European Commission produces a revised Proposal.
First Reading Agreements / Trialogues

The European Parliament, since the first EU-wide elections in 1979, spent 30 years trying to get equal decision-making power with the Council. Even before the Parliament succeeded in getting this power, it started giving it away through the use of First Reading Agreements.

Under the Ordinary Legislative Procedure, as we saw above, each institution works independently, in order to allow a thorough analysis of each proposal and enable a balance between the institutions.

This procedure is now limited by First Reading Agreements. Under this process, in the First Reading, the Lead Committee adopts a preliminary agreement, approving a mandate for the Rapporteur to negotiate with the Council. These discussions take place behind closed doors, in parallel with the public discussions in the Parliament Committees. These closed negotiations (1557 of which took place in the 2009-2014 period) are called Trialogue Meetings.

The aim of these meetings is for the Rapporteur and Shadows to agree to a compromise with the Council. Both sides then go back to their respective institutions and rubber-stamp the agreement, bringing the procedure to a close.

From an activist perspective, this means that the Rapporteur and Shadows become much more powerful. The other MEPs will generally trust their Rapporteur/Shadows to get the best possible deal from the negotiations. As a result, building a majority to vote against a position agreed in this way is exceptionally difficult, but not impossible.

The number of legislative cases where the Parliament adopts an independent line and pushed the Proposal through the full legislative procedure dropped from 21% to 5% in the 2004 to 2009 legislature\(^1\) and dropped from 5% to 2% in the 2009 to 2014 legislature. At the same time, the number of files completed in First Reading has gone up to 85%.\(^2\)

---

**03 FIRST READING IN THE COUNCIL & COMMISSION**

Draft amended proposal prepared by the responsible DG discussed in Inter-institutional Relations Group and approved by College of Commissioners

First reading by the Council

Council votes by qualified majority in almost all policy areas

EP has approved the commission text without amendments?

**YES**

Council adopts unchanged proposal?

**YES**

Act is adopted

Text is submitted for signature of the Presidents and Secretaries-General of the EP and Council and published in the Official Journal

**NO**

**NO**

Common position of the Council by unanimity

Adoption possible:
1. Without debate (A-item in agenda)
2. With debate (B-item on agenda)
3. By written procedure (rare)

Second reading by the EP

Council adopts the EP amended text?

**YES**

Act is adopted

**NO**

ESC opinion

COR opinion
**Commission revised Proposal**

After the Parliament adopts its First Reading text and, ideally, before the Council adopts its First Reading, the Commission produces a revised Proposal, taking the changes in the political context created by the Parliament’s First Reading into account.

**Steps to reach an agreement**

The relevant Council Working Groups work together to reach an agreement on all of the elements of the Commission’s text, with one eye on the developments in the Parliament. Depending on various factors, a General Approach (basically an informal agreement on the whole text) may be produced before the Parliament’s First Reading. More difficult/contentious issues are pushed higher up the hierarchies of the ministries for decisions to be made there (with correspondingly higher ranked officials participating in meetings in the Council – up to Coreper).

If the Council decides to adopt all of the Parliament’s amendments, then the Commission Proposal, as amended by the Parliament, will be adopted and the legislative process is finished.

---

**fig 04: End of the First Reading and beginning of the Second Reading**
The Second Reading in the European Parliament is a simplified version of the First Reading.

Only the Lead Committee prepares a Report, normally with the same Rapporteur and Shadow Rapporteurs. No amendments which would introduce new elements to the Proposal are allowed. No amendments which contradict the Council common position are permitted if the Parliament did not take a position in the First Reading.

Amendments are adopted in the Committee on the basis of a simple majority. The Parliament has a three month time limit during which it must respond. This can be extended to four months if, for example, the summer holidays take place during the three-month period.

After the Committee has finished its work and has sent its Report to be adopted by the Plenary, there are three possibilities:

- The Parliament approves the Council Common Position by simple majority and the legislation is adopted.
- The Parliament rejects the Council Common Position by absolute majority and the legislation is definitively rejected.
- The Parliament (by absolute majority) adopts amendments to the Council Common Position and the revised text is referred back to the Council.
EP approves Council Common Position or makes no amendments by simple majority

Act is adopted

Text is submitted for signature of the Presidents and Secretaries-General of the EP and Council and published in the Official Journal

EP rejects Council Common Position by absolute majority (393 votes)

Act is not adopted

EP proposes amendments to Council Common Position by absolute majority (393 votes)

Commission delivers positive or negative opinion

If the Commission gives a negative opinion on one single amendment, the opinion is negative and the Council requires unanimity to accept the EP’s position

Second Reading by the Council

fig 05: Second Reading in the EP
When the text is referred back to the Council, it must take the Commission’s view of the Parliament’s text into account. If the Commission has adopted a negative opinion on any part of the Parliament’s text, unanimity is needed by the Council to adopt the text.

![Diagram: Second Reading in the Council](image)
If the Council does not approve the Parliament’s text, negotiations are organised between the Parliament (Rapporteur and Shadows), Commission (DG responsible) and Council (Presidency, on behalf of the Member States). These meetings set the scene for Conciliation meetings between the institutions.

Within strictly defined time limits, a Conciliation Committee made up of 27 Member States, 27 MEPs (reflecting the strengths of the different political groups) and the Commission is convened. This either produces a compromise text... or it does not. If it does not, the legislative procedure finishes without any legislation being adopted.

If a text is agreed on, then it is sent to the Council and Parliament for adoption. As both institutions were involved in the negotiations, this is almost always a formality. If both do accept the compromise, then the legislation is adopted. If either institution does not accept the text, the legislative Proposal is abandoned.

“Conciliation involves negotiations between the institutions”
fig 07: Conciliation

Informal Trialogues start

Formal Trialogue before meeting of the Conciliation Committee

Start of conciliation procedures between the three institutions

Conciliation Committee is convened

Conciliation Committee agrees on a joint text?

YES

3rd reading by the EP

EP approves or rejects the joint text by simple majority

NO

3rd reading by the Council

Council votes by qualified majority in almost all policy areas

EP & Council approve joint text

YES

Act is adopted

Text is submitted for signature of the Presidents and Secretaries-General of the EP and Council and published in the Official Journal

NO

Act is NOT adopted

(Happened in two cases since 1992. Resulted from rejection of text by EP. Council has so far never rejected a joint text, but tends to vote after the EP)

Act is NOT adopted

(Has not happened since 1999)
PARLIAMENTARY NON-LEGISLATIVE DOSSIERS

The European Parliament very frequently decides to prepare non-legislative Resolutions, often in reaction to non-legislative instruments which have been published by the European Commission or to take a position on upcoming legislative Proposals. Sometimes they are also a reaction to current events or issues where the Parliament has limited or no competence, such as Internet governance.

Purely unintentionally - one can only assume - such non-legislative instruments fit the interests of well-funded industry lobbies far better than those of civil society. Where civil society succeeds in minimising risks in such a dossier – or even when we succeed in including a positive text in a non-legislative dossier – huge amount of effort is needed in order to ensure that the Parliament takes its own position into account when any subsequent legislation is tabled. On the other hand, where the Parliament adopts resolutions which are contrary to our interests, the well-funded lobbies that inserted these resolutions will usually have the manpower and funding to ensure that the Parliament is not allowed to forget.

The procedure in Parliament is the same as for the First Reading under the Ordinary Legislative Procedure.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS

The European Commission has responsibility to negotiate international agreements. In recent years, these have generally been in the security field (agreements on exchange of data on innocent citizens with foreign governments concerning passenger data, financial data, etc), but they can also be in the areas of international trade (such as bilateral trade agreements as CETA and TTIP) and copyright, trademarks, etc (ACTA).

It is normal for the European Parliament adopt a non-legislative Resolution in order to provide input into the negotiations – as was done with the EU-Australia Passenger Name Record (PNR) and Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) dossiers. However, the Council and Commission have repeatedly found that ignoring the Parliament’s wishes has no particular negative consequences. The Parliament adopted the EU-Australia PNR Agreement, which rejected many of the Parliament’s demands, for example.
01 Be early. Being involved in a dossier early shows knowledge of the dossier and willingness to be engaged. Policy-makers appreciate this greatly.

02 Be reliable. Policy-makers have limited time and need to be credible vis-à-vis their colleagues. Understandably, they listen to people more who have been more reliable – and tend not to forget mistakes.

03 Be honest. Policy-makers eventually forgive - but not forget - mistakes. They neither forgive nor forget being misled.

04 Be understanding. Know and make allowances for the practical and political options available to a policy-maker. Politics is the art of the possible. Being asked for what you can’t deliver is unsurprisingly not flattering for a policy-maker.

05 Be nice! However important a particular dossier is, being aggressive will never be productive and will limit your options the next time you need to communicate with that policy-maker.

06 Be thorough. Policy-makers appreciate expert and complete analysis.

07 Be brief.
08 Be consistent. You need to ensure that your analysis and policy are clear and consistent. It is also important to liaise with other, similar, civil society groups to ensure that the message is not diluted by confusion.

09 Be personal. Policy-makers get zillions of communications from interest groups. Non-personalised messages have less impact.

10 Be a bridge builder. Alliances are crucial, even with individuals, groups and industries that you compete with on other issues.
**A-Point** Dossier on a Council agenda which will be adopted without discussion.

**Assent procedure** In certain very limited cases (amendments to structural funds, for example), the Parliament can be asked to either approve or reject a Proposal but not amend it.

**B-Point** Dossier on a Council agenda which will be debated.

**Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union** The Charter contains the human rights (called “fundamental rights”) that the EU and its Member States are obliged to respect. Although it contains broadly the same rights as the Convention it should not be confused with it. The court responsible to deal with violations of the Charter is the CJEU, not the ECtHR.

**Codecision** The former name for the Ordinary Legislative Procedure.

**Committee of the Regions** Advisory body that represents sub-national (and non-state national) administrative structures at an EU level.

**Conciliation** The stage after the Second Reading in the Ordinary Legislative Procedure where the three institutions meet to find a final compromise.

**Coreper** Committee of Permanent Representatives – the highest level of authority below the ministerial level in the Council.

**Council of Europe (CoE)** The CoE, not to be confused with the European Council or the Council of the European Union, is an international organisation promoting cooperation between 47 European countries. Its best known body is the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), which enforces the European Convention on Human Rights.

**Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU)** The Court consists of one judge per Member State and eight to eleven Advocates General. Its task is to interpret Union law. The court can give rulings on whether instruments of the EU institutions and Member States governments are in line with the treaties and on the interpretation or the validity of provisions contained in Community law.

**Decision** Directly applicable legislative act of the European Commission or Council on a narrow point of regulation, such as an anti-dumping measure or a competition ruling.

**Directive** The most common form of EU legislation. A Directive establishes (normally) detailed policy that must be transposed into national law, as it is not directly applicable.
**Double majority**  The new Council voting system under the Lisbon Treaty. Under this system, a majority is at least 55% of the members of the Council, comprising at least 15 of them and representing at least 65% of the European population. A blocking minority may be formed comprising at least four members of the Council. Unofficially, Presidencies do not put Proposals to the vote if two large Member States (FR, DE, IT, UK) are opposed.

**Economic and Social Committee**  Advisory body that is meant to represent the interests of employers and civil society at the EU level.

**European Citizens’ Initiative (ECI)**  Requiring one million signatures from at least one quarter of the EU Member States, the newly created ECI allows citizens to formulate initiatives inviting the Commission to bring forward Proposals in areas where the Commission has the power to do so.

**European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR)**  The ECtHR is an international court based in Strasbourg dealing with applications by states and individuals on alleged violations of the European Convention of Human Rights.

**Green Paper**  A form of communication from the European Commission, intending to stimulate discussions on a certain topic on a European level. It is often published as a first step in policy making.


**Inter-service Consultation**  The consultation process that takes place inside the European Commission as the last editing stage before a document is finalised.

**MEP**  Member of the European Parliament.

**Mixed agreement**  An international agreement which contains elements that are EU competences and elements which are Member State competences. It requires ratification at both EU and national level.

**Opinion**  The advice given by a European Parliament Committee to the Committee in charge (Lead Committee).

**Ordinary Legislative Procedure**  The most common decision-making procedure, which theoretically gives Parliament, Council and Commission equal powers (previously known as “codetermination”).

**Own-initiative Report**  Non-legislative, non-binding position of the European Parliament.

**Proportionality**  Measures instigated by EU institution must be an effective and necessary way to achieve the objectives outlined in the treaties.

**Rapporteur**  MEP in charge of a particular dossier.

**Recommendation**  Non-binding act which points at desirable actions needed by EU Member States without forcing them in any way.

**Regulation**  Binding legislative act that is effective directly in all EU Member States without needing a transposition into national law.

**Shadow Rapporteur**  MEP in charge of a particular dossier for their own political group.

**Subsidiarity**  The rule whereby only those decisions that are best taken at EU level should be taken at EU level.

**Transposition**  The process of implementing an EU Directive into national law.

**White Paper**  A Proposal from the Commission for action in a particular policy area. It is not as developed as a Communication but more specific than a Green Paper.