## APPENDIX I: Comparison of decision-making processes under the Treaty of Nice and the Draft Constitution

| Topic | Treaty of Nice |  | Convention's Draft Constitution |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I. Decision-making processes |  |  |  |
| Qualified majority decisions | Transition period, from 1 May 2004 (enlargement to EU-25) | New procedures for the EU-25, from 1 November 2004 (beginning of the next Commission's term of office) |  |
| Voting procedure for the qualified majority | Majority requires: <br> - Majority of weighted votes <br> - Majority of the member states | "Triple majority": <br> - Majority of member states <br> - Majority threshold set at a specific level of weighted votes <br> - If a member state requests, votes representing 62 percent of the EU population are required | "Double majority": <br> - Majority of member states <br> - Votes representing at least three-fifths ( 60 percent) of the EU population <br> - Majority decisions become the standard legislative procedure |
| Weighting and division of votes in the Council of Ministers | ```- Retention of current vote weighting in an EU- 25 - Range from two (L, MAL, CY) to 10 votes (D, F, GB, I)``` | - New weighting of votes, according to the Treaty of Nice - Range from three (MAL) to 29 votes (D, F, GB, I) | - Weighted votes dropped in favor of "double majority" of states (more than 50 |
| Qualified majority (share of weighted votes) | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { - in EU-25: } 88 \text { of } 124 \text { total votes } \\ & (70.97 \%) \\ & (\text { compare with EU-15: } 62 \text { of } 87 \text { total votes } \\ & (71.26 \%)) \end{aligned}$ | - in EU-25: 232 of 321 total votes (72.27\%) <br> - in EU-27: 255 of 345 total votes (73.91\%) | percent) |
| Blocking minority | - in EU-25: more than 36 votes (compare with EU-15: more than 25 votes ) | - in EU-25: more than 89 votes <br> - in EU-27: more than 90 votes | - more than 50 percent of member states or <br> - more than 40 percent of the EU population |


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| II. Institutions: European Commission, European Parliament, Council of Ministers, European Council |  |  |  |
|  | Transition period, from 1 May 2004 (enlargement to EU-25) | New procedures for the $\mathbf{E U}$-25, from 1 November 2004 (beginning of the next Commission's term of office) |  |
| European Commission | - Current 20 Commissioners for the EU-15 retain their portfolios <br> - Ten Commissioners from the new members are initially without portfolio | - EU-25: One Commissioner per member state (25 Commissioners) <br> - EU-27 or more: Number of Commissioners must be lower than the number of member states (introduction of a procedure for equal rotation) | From 1 November 2009: <br> One Commissioner per member state: - 15 voting Commissioners, including the President of the Commission and the new European Foreign Minister as Vice President <br> - One additional non-voting Commissioner for each remaining member state (equal rotation) |
| European Parliament | Current EU-15: <br> - 626 deputies for 15 member states (old distribution formula) <br> - 162 observers from the 10 accession states, equal to the number of seats they will have for the 2004-2009 session (conversion of the distribution formula that the Treaty of Nice sets out for an EU27 to an EU- 25 by dividing the 50 seats that the Treaty earmarks for Bulgaria and Romania) <br> EP elections in June 2004 for 2004-2009 session: <br> - Total number of seats for EU-25 rises to 732 (conversion of the distribution formula that the Treaty of Nice sets out for an EU-27 to an EU-25) <br> - Hungary (H) and Czech Republic (CZ) emerge as the main winners from the conversion; under the Nice formula for an EU-27, they would have had two fewer seats (20) than B, GR and P (22); now all five have the same number (24) <br> - Range from five seats (MAL) to 99 (D) |  | For EU-25+: <br> - Maximum 736 deputies <br> - Minimum 4 deputies per member state <br> EP elections in June 2004 for 2004-2009 session: <br> - Total deputies for EU-25: 732 <br> - Seats distributed by converting Nice formula from EU-27 to EU-25 <br> - Range from five seats (MAL) to 99 (D) |


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| European Parliament | If Bulgaria and Romania accede during the 2004-2009 session (targeted year of accession is 2007): <br> - temporary increase in the number of deputies to a maximum of 786 seats; Bulgaria sends 18 MEPs, Romania 36 <br> From 2009 elections: <br> - total number of deputies most likely 736, provided the likely adjustment of seats for the Czech Republich (20) and Hungary (22) takes place <br> - allocation according to the Nice formula for an EU-27, corrected for Hungary and the Czech Republic | If Bulgaria and Romania accede during the 2004-2009 session (2007): <br> - temporary increase to a maximum of 786 deputies <br> From 2009 elections: <br> - maximum of 736 deputies, regardless of the number of member states <br> - allocation according to a principle of degressive proportionality |
| Council of Ministers | Extension of the current EU-15 system: <br> - one representative per member state at the ministerial level <br> - chair in all Council formations identical with the rotating EU presidency | Once the Constitution enters into force: <br> - one representative per member state at the ministerial level - permanent chair for European Foreign Minister in the Council for External Affairs <br> - chair in remaining Council formations lasting at least one year and rotated equally among the member state representatives |
| European Council | - not an official EU organ under Treaty of Nice <br> - de facto composed of the member states' heads of state and government, the President of the Commission and an additional member of the Commission | - official EU organ <br> - composed of the member states' heads of state and government, the newly created President of the European Council and the President of the Commission <br> - European Foreign Minister takes part in meetings <br> - President elected by qualified majority for a term of $21 / 2$ years |

## APPENDIX II: Votes in the Council and composition of the European Parliament

1. Votes in the Council for an EU-25 or EU-27 (under the Nice formula and for the transition period)

| State | Votes in Council |  | Population (in millions, as of 2000) | Percentage of population of EU-25 | Percentage of votes of EU-25 <br> (Nice formula) | Percentage of population of EU-27 | Percentage of votes of EU-27 <br> (Nice formula) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Transition period (from 01/05/2004) | Nice formula (from 01/11/2004) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 10 | 29 | 82.04 | 18.22 | 9.04 | 17.05 | 8.41 |
| United Kingdom | 10 | 29 | 59.25 | 13.15 | 9.04 | 12.31 | 8.41 |
| France | 10 | 29 | 58.97 | 13.09 | 9.04 | 12.25 | 8.41 |
| Italy | 10 | 29 | 57.61 | 12.79 | 9.04 | 11.98 | 8.41 |
| Spain | 8 | 27 | 39.39 | 8.74 | 8.42 | 8.19 | 7.83 |
| Poland | 8 | 27 | 38.67 | 8.58 | 8.42 | 8.04 | 7.83 |
| Netherlands | 5 | 13 | 15.76 | 3.50 | 4.05 | 3.27 | 3.77 |
| Greece | 5 | 12 | 10.53 | 2.34 | 3.74 | 2.10 | 3.48 |
| Czech Republic | 5 | 12 | 10.29 | 2.28 | 3.74 | 2.14 | 3.48 |
| Belgium | 5 | 12 | 10.21 | 2.27 | 3.74 | 2.12 | 3.48 |
| Hungary | 5 | 12 | 10.09 | 2.24 | 3.74 | 2.10 | 3.48 |
| Portugal | 5 | 12 | 9.98 | 2.21 | 3.74 | 2.07 | 3.48 |
| Sweden | 4 | 10 | 8.85 | 1.96 | 3.12 | 1.84 | 2.90 |
| Austria | 4 | 10 | 8.08 | 1.79 | 3.12 | 1.68 | 2.90 |
| Slovakia | 3 | 7 | 5.39 | 1.20 | 2.18 | 1.12 | 2.03 |
| Denmark | 3 | 7 | 5.31 | 1.18 | 2.18 | 1.10 | 2.03 |
| Finland | 3 | 7 | 5.16 | 1.15 | 2.18 | 1.07 | 2.03 |
| Ireland | 3 | 7 | 3.74 | 0.83 | 2.18 | 0.78 | 2.03 |
| Lithuania | 3 | 7 | 3.70 | 0.83 | 2.18 | 0.77 | 2.03 |
| Latvia | 3 | 4 | 2.44 | 0.55 | 1.25 | 0.51 | 1.16 |
| Slovenia | 3 | 4 | 1.98 | 0.44 | 1.25 | 0.41 | 1.16 |
| Estonia | 3 | 4 | 1.45 | 0.33 | 1.25 | 0.30 | 1.16 |
| Cyprus | 2 | 4 | 0.75 | 0.17 | 1.25 | 0.15 | 1.16 |
| Luxembourg | 2 | 4 | 0.43 | 0.09 | 1.25 | 0.09 | 1.16 |
| Malta | 2 | 3 | 0.38 | 0.08 | 0.94 | 0.08 | 0.87 |
| EU-25 | 124 | 321 | 450.46 | 100 | 100 | - | - |
| Romania |  | 14 | 22.49 |  |  | 4.60 | 4.06 |
| Bulgaria |  | 10 | 8.23 |  |  | 1.71 | 2.90 |
| EU-27 |  | 345 | 481.18 |  |  | 100 | 100 |

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## 2. Division of seats in the European Parliament

 (2004-2009 session, considering modifications and probable accessions)| $\begin{gathered} \text { Seats } \\ \text { (current EU-15) } \end{gathered}$ | for the 2004-2009 session | for the 2004-2009 session* | $\begin{gathered} \text { EU-27 } \\ \text { from } 2009 * * \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Germany (99) | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| United Kingdom (87) | 78 | 78 | 72 |
| France (87) | 78 | 78 | 72 |
| Italy (87) | 78 | 78 | 72 |
| Spain (64) | 54 | 54 | 50 |
| Poland (54 Obs.) | 54 | 54 | 50 |
| Netherlands (31) | 27 | 27 | 25 |
| Greece (25) | 24 | 24 | 22 |
| Czech Rep. (24 Obs.) | 24 | 24 | 22 |
| Belgium (25) | 24 | 24 | 22 |
| Hungary (24 Obs.) | 24 | 24 | 22 |
| Portugal (25) | 24 | 24 | 22 |
| Sweden (22) | 19 | 19 | 18 |
| Austria (21) | 18 | 18 | 17 |
| Slovakia (14 Obs.) | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| Denmark (16) | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| Finland (16) | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| Ireland (15) | 13 | 13 | 12 |
| Lithuania (13 Obs.) | 13 | 13 | 12 |
| Latvia (9 Obs.) | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| Slovenia (7 Obs.) | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Estonia (6 Obs.) | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Cyprus (6 Obs.) | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Luxembourg (6) | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Malta (5 Obs.) | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| EU-25 (626 + 162 <br> Obs.) | 732 |  |  |
| Romania |  | 36 | 33 |
| Bulgaria |  | 18 | 17 |
| EU-27 |  | 786 | 736 <br> (732 seats under Treaty of Nice, + two additional seats each for $C Z$ and $H$ ) |

[^1]
[^0]:    © Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Thomas Fischer, Almut Metz

[^1]:    * Presuming Bulgaria and Romania join in 2007
    ** Probable modification of the Nice formula by increasing the number of seats for Hungary and the Czech Republic from 20 to 2

