

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	v
<i>Contributors</i>	vi
<i>Contents</i>	ix

PART I

CHAPTER 1 **Introduction: Political Accountability in a European Perspective**

Luc Verhey and Monica Claes

I	Introduction	3
I.1	The Question of Political Accountability	3
I.2	Democratic Deficit of the EU	3
I.3	The EU is not a Nation State	4
I.4	European Parliamentary Democracy	5
I.5	Could the EU Learn From National Parliamentary Systems?	6
I.6	Scope of the Research	7
2	What is Political Accountability?	9
2.1	Different Concepts	9
2.2	Definition	10
3	Research Framework	13
3.1	General Approach	13
3.2	Research Questions	14
3.3	Structure	15

PART II

CHAPTER 2 **Political Accountability in Belgium**

Ilse Van den Driessche

I	Origin and Embedment of Political Accountability in the Belgian Parliamentary System	27
2	Terminology and Definition	28
3	The Forum	29
3.1	<i>Kamervan Volksvertegenwoordigers</i> as the Political Chamber	29
3.2	Questions and Interpellations	30
3.2.1	Questions	30
3.2.2	Interpellations	31
4	The Actors and the Scope of Political Accountability	32
4.1	Accountability for Governmental Acts	32
4.2	Reform of the Departmental Structure	33
4.3	The Scope of the Accountability for Civil Servants	34
4.4	Independent Agencies	35

5	The Consequences	35
6	Other Forms of Accountability	37
7	Conclusion	39
CHAPTER 3	Political Accountability in the Czech Republic Mahulena Hofmann and Jiří Kopal	
I	Introduction	43
2	Accountability: General Aspects	43
2.1	The Procedure of Appointment of Ministers	43
2.2	The Concept of Political Accountability as a Constitutional Aspect	44
2.3	The Political and Legal Academic Debate and Other Relevant Types of Accountability	44
3	Accountability: The Actors	46
3.1	Who Within the Government is Politically Accountable to the National Parliament?	46
3.2	To Whom is the Government or Actors Within the Government Accountable?	46
3.3	The Collective or Individual Form of the Accountability	48
4	The Scope of Accountability	48
4.1	The Accountability of the Government and/or Ministers for Policy-making and for the Execution of Policy	48
4.2	Political Advisers of the Ministers	49
4.3	The Extent of the Accountability of Ministers for Functions of Governmental Departments: The Powers to Give Instructions to Civil Servants	50
4.4	'Other Administrative Agencies'	50
5	Activating Accountability: Parliamentary Control and Transparency	51
5.1	Means of Political and Budgetary Control at the Disposal of Parliament	51
5.1.1	The Right to Interpellate the Government	51
5.1.2	The Approval of the State Budget	52
5.1.3	The Right to Require Information for Carrying Out the Duties Associated with Parliamentary Membership	53
5.2	Obligations Resulting from Political Accountability	53
5.2.1	The Duty to Attend Personally the Meeting of the Chamber of Deputies	54
5.2.2	The Duty to Respond Interpellations	54
5.2.3	The Duty to Appear before the Committees and Commissions of the Chamber of Deputies	55
5.3	Legal Grounds for Refusing to Answer	55

CONTENTS

5.4	Right to Question Heads of Central Administrative Agencies and Civil Servants	56
5.5	Commission of Inquiry – An Instrument for Activating Political Accountability?	57
5.6	Transparency in the Chamber of Deputies and its Openness to the Public	58
6	Consequences	59
7	Conclusion	60
CHAPTER 4	Political Accountability in Denmark Jørgen Albæk Jensen	
1	Introduction to the Danish Political System	65
2	Political and Legal Accountability	65
3	Who is Accountable for What?	70
4	Holding Formally Independent Authorities Accountable	73
5	Day to Day Parliamentary Control and Transparency	74
6	Consequences	76
7	Concluding Remarks	77
CHAPTER 5	Political Accountability in France Jacques Ziller	
1	Introduction	83
2	The Notion of Political Accountability in French Law and Politics	84
3	Accountability in the French Parliamentary System	85
4	Accountability: The Actors	89
5	The Scope of Accountability	91
6	Parliament's Means of Political and Budgetary Control	93
7	Supplementary Means to Ensure Rendering Account	95
8	Discrepancies between Law and Practice of Accountability	96
CHAPTER 6	Political Accountability in Germany Veith Mehde	
1	Introduction: Specific Problems of Accountability in the German Constitutional Structure	101
2	Accountability: General Aspects	102
3	Accountability: The Actors	106
4	The Scope of Accountability	107
5	Activating Accountability: Parliamentary Control and Transparency	109
6	Consequences	113

CHAPTER 7	Political Accountability in Italy	
	Lorenza Violini, Stefania Ninatti and Giulia Tiberi	
I	The Complex Configuration of Political Accountability: The Italian Legal Perspective	123
I.1	Preliminary Remarks: The Role of the Political Configuration and Dynamics in the Italian System of Government	123
I.2	Setting the Scene: The Constitutional Framework	125
I.3	The Role of ' <i>Indirizzo Politico</i> ' as a Means for Identifying Individuals Subject to Political Accountability.	127
I.4	Main Features and Limits of Political Accountability	129
2	The Government-Parliament Circuit	132
2.1	Political Accountability in the Italian System: Rules <i>vs.</i> Practice	132
2.2	Political Accountability in Italy in the Constitutional Design: A Bi-Directional Relationship Between the Government and the Parliament	133
2.3	The Question of Confidence and a Vote of No-Confidence: Between Normative Elements and Constitutional Practice	135
2.4	A Vote of No-Confidence for an Individual Minister	138
2.5	The Problem of Transparency in Parliament and the Influence of the Government in Parliament	139
2.6	The Parliament's Instruments for Exercising Political Control over the Government	140
3	Beyond Political Accountability: The Separation Between General Policy (<i>indirizzo politico</i>) and Administrative Responsibilities (<i>responsabilità dirigenziale</i>) Within the Public Administration; the Italian Independent Regulatory Agencies	142
3.1	The Separation Between General Policy (<i>indirizzo politico</i>) and Administrative Responsibilities (<i>responsabilità dirigenziale</i>) in the Public Management Reform	142
3.2	The Institution of Independent Authorities in the Italian Experience: A Brief Overview	145
3.3	Independent Authorities in Italy: Their Establishment and Responsibilities	145
3.4	The Regulatory Powers of Independent Authorities: Rule Making, Administrative, Quasi-Judicial	147
3.5	Accountability and the Regulatory Authorities	148

CHAPTER 8	Political Accountability in the Netherlands	
	Hansko Broeksteeg	
1	Introduction	157
1.1	Government, Parliament and Parliamentary System	157
1.2	A Short History of Political Accountability	159
2	Accountability: The Actors	160
2.1	Who is Accountable?	160
2.1.1	Ministers	160
2.1.2	Collective Political Accountability	161
2.1.3	Secretaries of State	162
2.2	And to Whom?	162
3	The Object and Scope of Accountability	163
3.1	Accountability and Competences: The Scope of Political Accountability	163
3.2	Object	164
3.2.1	The Minister	164
3.2.2	The Civil Service	164
3.2.2.1	Civil Servants, Fundamental Rights and Political Accountability	164
3.2.2.2	The Fiction of Political Accountability and the Doctrine of Reproach	165
3.2.2.3	Political Accountability by Civil Servants	166
3.3	Agencies	167
4	Obligations Resulting from Accountability	169
5	Other Forms of Public Accountability	169
6	Activating Accountability: Parliamentary Control and the Process of Rendering Account	171
6.1	Parliamentary Control	171
6.2	The Process of Rendering Account	172
7	Consequences	173
7.1	Sanctioning Stage	173
7.2	Vote of No-confidence	173
7.3	The Vote of No-confidence and the Upper House	175
8	Summary and Conclusions	175
CHAPTER 9	Political Accountability in Poland	
	Ryszard Piotrowski	
1	Constitutional Framework	183
2	The Notion of Political Accountability in Polish Constitutional Law	184
3	Government and its Accountability	187
4	Accountability: The Government and its Obligations	194

5	The Scope of Accountability	195
6	Activating Accountability: Parliamentary Control and Transparency	197
7	Consequences	205
8	In Conclusion	206
CHAPTER IO	Political Accountability in Spain Enoch Alberti	
I	Scope of the Study	213
2	Political Accountability Within the General Framework of the System of Parliamentary Government Established by the Spanish Constitution of 1978	214
2.1	Rationalised Parliamentarism and Government Stability	214
2.2	The Central Role of the President of the Government	215
2.3	The Power to Dissolve Parliament	216
2.4	Criminal Accountability	216
3	The Actors in Accountability: Accountable Persons and Instances in Which Accountability May be Demanded	217
3.1	The President and Joint Government Accountability	217
3.2	Ministers	217
3.3	Senior Officials and Civil Servants	217
3.4	Directors of Independent Governmental Agencies	218
3.5	The Congress of Deputies as an Instance of Demands for Enforcement of Accountability	220
4	The Scope of Accountability	221
4.1	Subjective Scope	221
4.2	Objective Scope	221
5	Mechanisms of Accountability	222
5.1	Motion of Censure	222
5.2	Vote of Confidence	223
5.3	Ordinary Mechanisms for Political Control	223
5.4	Specific Procedures involving Control of Government Action	225
6	The Consequences of Enforcement of Accountability	225
CHAPTER II	Political Accountability in Sweden Joakim Nergelius	
I	General Aspects and Constitutional Framework	229
2	The Actors	232
3	The Scope of Accountability	233
4	Activating Accountability: Parliamentary Control and Transparency	235

CONTENTS

	5	Consequences	237
	6	A Case Study: The Tsunami Report	239
	7	Analysis	240
CHAPTER 12		Political Accountability in the United Kingdom Adam Tomkins	
	I	Introduction: British Parliamentary Government	245
	I.1	Composition and Structure of British Government	245
	2	Political Accountability and Parliament	248
	2.1	Collective Responsibility	248
	2.2	Individual Responsibility	251
	2.2.1	Responsibility to Whom?	251
	2.2.2	Responsibility for What?	252
	2.2.3	Individual Responsibility and the Major Government (1991-97)	254
	2.2.4	Parliament's Response	258
	2.3	The Mechanisms of Parliamentary Accountability	261
	3	Political Accountability Outside Parliament	265
	4	Conclusion: The Reputation and Future of Political Accountability	267
PART	III		
CHAPTER 13		Political Accountability in the EU Member States: Different Concepts and Practical Implications Hansko Broeksteeg, Ilse Van den Driessche and Luc Verhey	
	I	Introduction	273
	2	Limitations on Comparative Research	273
	3	Concepts of Political Accountability	275
	3.1	Different Concepts	275
	3.2	The 'Parliament-oriented' Model of Political Accountability	276
	3.3	The 'Government-oriented' Model of Political Accountability	277
	3.4	Germany: A Mixed System	278
	4	The Scope of Political Accountability	279
	4.1	Governmental Powers	279
	4.2	Political Accountability for Policy-making	280
	5	Collective or Individual Accountability	281
	5.1	Introduction	281
	5.2	Primarily a Collective Accountability	281
	5.3	A Pivotal Role of the Prime Minister	282
	5.4	Primarily an Individual Accountability	283
	6	Political Accountability for the Civil Service	284

6.1	Democratic Control on the Civil Service	284
6.2	Limiting Accountability?	285
6.3	Rendering Account by Civil Servants	286
7	Political Accountability for Agencies	287
7.1	Introduction	287
7.2	No Accountability	287
7.3	Full Accountability	288
7.4	Limited Accountability	289
7.5	Conclusion	290
8	The Process of Rendering Account	290
8.1	Obligations Following from Accountability	290
8.2	Refusal to Answer	291
9	Facing Consequences	292
9.1	Positive and Negative Vote of Confidence	292
9.2	Procedures	293
9.3	The Role of the Prime Minister	294
9.4	Summary	294
10	Concluding Remarks: A <i>Ius Commune</i> ?	295

CHAPTER 14 **Political Accountability in the European Union:
Conceptual Analysis and Future Prospects**
Luc Verhey, Monica Claes and Hansko Broeksteeg

I	Introduction	301
2	Political Accountability in the European Union: A Brief Outline	301
2.1	Towards a Parliamentary System?	301
2.2	The Accountability of the EU Executive	304
3	The Concept of Political Accountability	307
3.1	Introduction	307
3.2	Accountability: The Actors	308
3.2.1	Who is Accountable and to Whom?	308
3.2.2	Collective or Individual Accountability?	310
3.2.3	The President of the Commission	311
3.3	Accountable for What?	311
3.3.1	Introduction	311
3.3.2	Policy-making and Execution	312
3.3.3	Accountability for Civil Servants	312
3.3.4	Accountability for Agencies	314
3.4	Mechanisms for Political Accountability	315
3.4.1	Parliamentary Powers	315
3.4.2	Transparency	316
3.5	Consequences: Censure	317

CONTENTS

4	Political Accountability in the European Union: What can be Learned from the Member States?	319
4.1	Introduction	319
4.2	The Apparent Absence of a Clear ' <i>Ius Commune</i> '	320
4.3	The 'Parliament-oriented' Model of Political Accountability	321
4.4	The 'Government-oriented' Model of Political Accountability	322
4.5	What the Traditional Concept of Political Accountability Cannot Offer	324
4.6	What the Traditional Concept of Political Accountability can Offer	326
4.7	Practical Guidelines on Political Accountability	327
4.7.1	A Clear Definition of Political Accountability	327
4.7.2	Evading Accountability	329
4.7.3	Collective Accountability	330
4.7.4	Resignation: Collective or Individual?	331
4.7.5	A Clear Chain of Command	332
4.7.6	Reducing Fragmentation of the Executive	333
4.7.7	Focusing on the Quality of the Account	335
5	Concluding Remarks	335