

One has observed that there is a large gap between the political level and the implementation level, which results from a democratic deficit of the EU (visible in the high levels of abstention in the recent elections for the European Parliament) and from the excessive predominance of the political and economic factors over the cultural factor in the Bologna process. The appropriation by the EU of the Bologna process, which at least in some cases is dominated by national interests, may result in their overlap with the European interests. The Commission by promoting or supporting new initiatives within the Bologna framework may be seen as changing its traditional policy of indirect intervention in higher education, just overstepping the limits imposed by the subsidiarity principle.