

CONTENTS

Foreword	x
Acknowledgement	xii
List of Abbreviations	xiii
 PART I: INTRODUCTION	 15
1 General Overview	17
1.1 Background	17
1.2 Aim, Problem, and Research Question	19
1.3 Methodology	20
1.4 Structure	22
 PART II: DIVISION OF POWERS	 27
2 General	29
3 External Powers of the European Union - existence and nature	32
3.1 Existence of Powers: Express and Implied	36
3.1.1 <i>Express External Powers</i>	37
3.1.2 <i>Implied External Powers</i>	43
3.1.2.1 <i>Implied External Powers Created by the Court of Justice</i>	43
3.1.2.2 <i>Article 216(1) TFEU</i>	48
3.1.3 <i>Concluding Remarks</i>	49
3.2 Nature of Powers: Exclusive, Shared or Supporting	49
3.2.1 <i>Exclusive Powers</i>	50
3.2.1.1 <i>General</i>	50
3.2.1.2 <i>A priori Exclusivity</i>	51
3.2.1.3 <i>Implied Exclusivity</i>	52
3.2.1.3.1 <i>ERTA Exclusivity</i>	52
3.2.1.3.2 <i>Opinion 1/76 Exclusivity</i>	58
3.2.1.3.3 <i>Article 3(2) TFEU</i>	64
3.2.1.4 <i>Concluding Remarks</i>	66
3.2.2 <i>Shared Powers</i>	69
3.2.2.1 <i>General</i>	69
3.2.2.2 <i>Examples of Shared Competence</i>	71
3.2.2.3 <i>Concluding Remarks</i>	73
3.2.3 <i>Supporting Powers</i>	74
3.2.4 <i>Concluding Remarks</i>	75
4 Common Commercial Policy of the European Union	77
4.1 General - Article 207 TFEU	77
4.2 Treaty of Rome and Origins of the CCP	78
4.3 Practical Establishment of the CCP and its Consolidation in the 1970s and 1980s	81
4.4 Extension of Trade Policy to New Subjects: the Uruguay Round, Maastricht and Opinion 1/94	85
4.4.1 <i>Uruguay Round - Overview</i>	85
4.4.2 <i>The EU in the Uruguay Round</i>	86
4.4.3 <i>Maastricht Treaty</i>	90
4.4.4 <i>Opinion 1/94</i>	92
4.4.4.1 <i>Questions Submitted to the Court</i>	92
4.4.4.2 <i>GATT, GATS and TRIPS, and Community (now Union) Competence</i>	93

4.4.4.3	<i>Analysis of the Previous Case Law of the Court of Justice</i>	95
4.4.4.4	<i>Duty of Cooperation</i>	96
4.4.4.5	<i>Critiques and Reflections on Opinion 1/94</i>	98
4.5	Political and Institutional Reply to Opinion 1/94:	
	<i>Amsterdam and Nice, and Opinion 1/08</i>	103
4.5.1	<i>Treaty of Amsterdam</i>	103
4.5.2	<i>Treaty of Nice</i>	105
4.5.2.1	<i>Interpretation of Article 133(5) and (6) TEC</i>	110
4.5.2.1.1	<i>Interpretation of Article 133(5) TEC</i>	111
4.5.2.1.2	<i>Interpretation of Article 133(6) TEC</i>	114
4.5.3	<i>Opinion 1/08</i>	117
4.5.4	<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	121
4.6	Convention, Constitutional Treaty and Treaty of Lisbon ..	122
4.6.1	<i>Convention and Constitutional Treaty</i>	122
4.6.2	<i>Treaty of Lisbon</i>	123
4.7	<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	130

PART III: EUROPEAN UNION INTERNAL DECISION-

	MAKING IN WTO MATTERS	133
5	General	135
6	Actors in European Union Decision-making in WTO Matters	136
6.1	Commission	136
6.1.1	<i>Tasks of the Commission</i>	136
6.1.2	<i>Composition of the Commission</i>	136
6.1.3	<i>Commission as Negotiator</i>	137
6.1.4	<i>Role of the Commission in Decision-making</i>	139
6.2	Council	140
6.3	Trade Policy Committee ("Committee")	142
6.3.1	<i>Establishment of the Committee</i>	142
6.3.2	<i>Composition of the Committee</i>	144
6.3.3	<i>Role of the Committee in Decision-making</i>	145
6.3.4	<i>Procedure within the Committee – How does the Committee Operate?</i>	147
6.3.5	<i>Voting Procedure in the Committee</i>	148
6.4	European Parliament	151
6.4.1	<i>General</i>	151
6.4.2	<i>European Parliament's role in CCP before the Treaty of Lisbon</i> ..	151
6.4.3	<i>European Parliament's Role in CCP under the Treaty of Lisbon</i> ..	155
6.4.4	<i>Framework Agreement on Relations between the European Parliament and the Commission 2010</i>	158
7	Decision-making in WTO Disputes	163
7.1	<i>EU in WTO Disputes</i>	163
7.2	<i>Procedure to a WTO Dispute under Article 207 TFEU</i>	166
7.3	<i>Procedure to a WTO Dispute under the Trade Barrier Regulation</i>	167
7.4	<i>Examples of EU Decision-making in WTO Disputes</i>	172
7.5	<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	174
8	Decision-making in conducting Trade Agreement Negotiations in the WTO	175

8.1	EU in Conducting Trade Agreement Negotiations in the WTO.....	175
8.2	Concluding Remarks	177

PART IV: REPRESENTATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

	IN THE WTO	179
9	General.....	181
9.1	Legal Basis for the European Commission's Representation of the EU	182
9.2	Duty of Cooperation and Article 4(3) TEU	183
9.3	Duty of Cooperation and Code of Conduct in the Uruguay Round	189
10	Representation of the EU in WTO Dispute Settlement Body	193
10.1	WTO Dispute Settlement Body – General Overview.....	193
10.2	Representation of the European Union in the Dispute Settlement Body	197
10.3	Concluding Remarks	199
11	Representation of the European Union in WTO Political Bodies.....	201
11.1	WTO Political Bodies – General Overview	201
11.2	Representation of the European Union in the WTO Political Bodies	206
11.3	Concluding Remarks	210

PART V: CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

12	General	213
12.1	Introduction	213
12.2	Historical Background	215
12.3	International and European Constitutionalism	217
13	'Political Inventions' of Constitutionalism.....	220
13.1	Rule of Law	220
13.2	Limitation of Governmental Powers by Checks and Balances and Separation of Powers	223
13.3	Democratic Self-Government	225
13.4	Protection of Human Rights	226
13.5	Concluding Remarks	228
14	Constitutional Principles	230
14.1	Transparency	233
14.1.1	<i>General.....</i>	<i>233</i>
14.1.2	<i>Elements of Transparency</i>	<i>235</i>
14.1.3	<i>Transparency in the European Union</i>	<i>245</i>
14.2	Accountability	247
14.2.1	<i>General.....</i>	<i>247</i>
14.2.2	<i>Elements of Accountability</i>	<i>250</i>
14.2.3	<i>Accountability in the European Union</i>	<i>252</i>
14.3	Legitimacy	254
14.3.1	<i>General.....</i>	<i>254</i>
14.3.2	<i>Elements of Legitimacy</i>	<i>254</i>
14.3.3	<i>Legitimacy in the European Union</i>	<i>258</i>
14.4	Democracy	261
14.4.1	<i>General.....</i>	<i>261</i>

14.4.2	<i>Elements of Democracy</i>	261
14.4.3	<i>Democracy in the European Union</i>	264
14.5	<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	268
PART VI: ASSESSMENTS		269
15	Assessment of the CCP and its Division of Powers between the European Union and its Member States in WTO matters	271
15.1	Transparency and the CCP and its Division of Powers in WTO Matters	271
15.2	Accountability and the CCP and its Division of Powers in WTO Matters	273
15.3	Legitimacy and the CCP and its Division of Powers in WTO Matters	276
15.4	Democracy and the CCP and its Division of Powers in WTO Matters	277
15.5	Concluding Remarks	278
16	Assessment of Internal European Union Decision-making in WTO Matters	279
16.1	Assessment of European Union Decision-making in Initiating WTO Dispute Settlement Proceedings	279
16.1.1	Transparency and European Union Decision-making in Initiating WTO Dispute Settlement Proceedings	280
16.1.1.1	Article 207 TFEU Route	280
16.1.1.2	TBR Route	281
16.1.1.3	Concluding Remarks	283
16.1.2	Accountability and European Union Decision-making in Initiating WTO Dispute Settlement Proceedings	283
16.1.2.1	Article 207 TFEU Route	283
16.1.2.2	TBR Route	284
16.1.2.3	Concluding Remarks	285
16.1.3	Legitimacy and European Union Decision-making in Initiating WTO Dispute Settlement Proceedings	285
16.1.3.1	Article 207 TFEU Route	285
16.1.3.2	TBR Route	286
16.1.3.3	Concluding Remarks	286
16.1.4	Democracy and European Union Decision-making in Initiating WTO Dispute Settlement Proceedings	287
16.1.4.1	Article 207 TFEU Route	287
16.1.4.2	TBR Route	287
16.1.4.3	Concluding Remarks	288
16.2	Assessment of European Union Decision-making in Initiating Trade Negotiations in the WTO	288
16.2.1	Transparency and European Union Decision-making in Initiating Trade Negotiations in the WTO	288
16.2.2	Accountability and European Union Decision-making in Initiating Trade Negotiations in the WTO	294
16.2.3	Legitimacy and European Union Decision-making in Initiating Trade Negotiations in the WTO	298
16.2.4	Democracy and European Union Decision-making in Initiating Trade Negotiations in the WTO	299
16.2.5	Concluding Remarks	300

16.3	Assessment of the Framework Agreement on Relations between the European Parliament and the European Commission 2010	300
16.3.1	<i>Transparency and the Framework Agreement on Relations between the European Parliament and the European Commission 2010.</i>	300
16.3.2	<i>Accountability and the Framework Agreement on Relations between the European Parliament and the European Commission 2010.</i>	302
16.3.3	<i>Legitimacy and the Framework Agreement on Relations between the European Parliament and the European Commission 2010 .</i>	303
16.3.4	<i>Democracy and the Framework Agreement on Relations between the European Parliament and the European Commission 2010 .</i>	303
17	Assessment of the Representation of the European Union in the WTO	305
17.1	Assessment of the Representation of the European Union in the WTO Dispute Settlement Body	305
17.1.1	<i>Transparency and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Dispute Settlement Body.</i>	305
17.1.2	<i>Accountability and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Dispute Settlement Body.</i>	306
17.1.3	<i>Legitimacy and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Dispute Settlement Body.</i>	307
17.1.4	<i>Democracy and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Dispute Settlement Body.</i>	307
17.2	Assessment of the Representation of the European Union in the WTO Political Bodies	308
17.2.1	<i>Transparency and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Political Bodies</i>	308
17.2.2	<i>Accountability and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Political Bodies</i>	309
17.2.3	<i>Legitimacy and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Political Bodies</i>	310
17.2.4	<i>Democracy and Representation of the European Union in the WTO Political Bodies</i>	311
	PART VII: CONCLUSION	313
18	Introduction.	315
18.1	Division of Powers and the CCP	315
18.2	EU Internal Decision-making in WTO Matters	318
18.3	Representation of the European Union in the WTO	326
18.4	Concluding Remarks	329
	Bibliography	332
	Appendices I–VI	387
	About the Author	494