Contents

List of Abbreviations	xv
Table of Cases and Legislation	xvii
Chapter 1 Reform, Process, and Architecture	1
1. From Nice to Laeken: The Shaping of the Reform Agenda	1
(a) The Council and the European Council	2
(b) The Commission	2 4
(c) The European Parliament	5
2. The Convention on the Future of Europe: From Talking	
Shop to Draft Constitutional Treaty	6
(a) Spring 2002: a viable way forward through Working Groups	7
(b) Autumn 2002: the defining 'convention moment'—the	
decision to press for a Constitutional Treaty	8
(c) Autumn 2002: sketching the constitutional architecture	
through the Preliminary Draft Constitutional Treaty	10
(d) Winter and spring 2003: internal and external discourse	
about institutions	10
(e) Spring and summer 2003: centralization of initiative to the	• /
Praesidium and the Secretariat in the closing stages	14
3. The Inter-Governmental Conference: Deliberation, Discord,	_
and Decision	16
(a) The IGC deliberations: an Italian autumn	16
(b) The Brussels European Council December 2003:	
the 'winter of our discontent'	18
(c) The Brussels European Council June 2004: the Irish	10
secure agreement	19
4. From Constitutional Treaty to Lisbon Treaty: Crisis,	
Reflection, and Ratification	20
(a) 2005: 'Ratification' and 'Reflection'	20
(b) January to June 2007: from reflection to action	21
(c) July to December 2007: the IGC and the Lisbon Treaty	23
5. Lisbon Treaty: Architecture and Structure	25
(a) Formal architecture	25
(b) Substantive architecture: general	25
(c) Substantive architecture: the pillar structure and the	077
Common Foreign and Security Policy	27
(d) Substantive architecture: the pillar structure and Police and	28
Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters	28

viii Contents

6. Reflections on Constitutional Reform	29 29
(a) Content (b) Process	30
(b) 110ccss	50
Chapter 2 Legislation, Regulation, and Participation	32
1. Legislative Power and Democracy	33
(a) Legislative acts: initiation and agenda setting	33
(b) The European Parliament: voting and empowerment	36
(c) The Council: formations and voting	39
(d) National Parliaments: input and subsidiarity	45
2. Delegated Acts and Power	48
(a) Political history: contestation and power	48
(b) Treaty reform: Commission objectives	56
(c) The Lisbon Treaty: delegated and implementing acts	57
(d) Delegated acts: survival of Comitology	58
(e) Delegated acts: demise of Comitology	59 61
(f) Delegated acts: the inter-institutional balance of power	01
(g) Implementing acts: Comitology and the inter-institutional balance of power	64
	66
3. Participatory Democracy and Inclusion (a) The EC Treaty: promise and performance	67
(b) Lisbon Treaty: promise and expectation	70
4. Conclusion	71
(a) Legislative acts: democracy, improvement, and deficit	71
(b) Delegated acts: power, value choices, and control	75
(c) Participatory democracy: expectation, hope, and fulfilment	77
(e) Tallopatory democracy, exponentially nope, and familient	,,
Chapter 3 Executive Power, Contestation, and Resolution	78
1. Process	79
2. The President(s) of the Union	81
(a) One President or two: hats and labels	81
(b) The President(s) of the Union: power and authority	83
3. The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs	
and Security Policy	88
4. The Commission	89
(a) The Commission President: election and legitimacy	89
(b) The Commission: size and appointment	92
5. Agencies	97
(a) Agencies: pre-Lisbon	97
(b) Agencies: post-Lisbon	100
6. The Post-Lisbon World: The Disposition of Executive Power	100
(a) The argument against shared executive power	101
(b) The argument for shared executive power	101

Contents	ix
----------	----

/.	The Post-Lisbon World: The Reality of Shared Executive Power	103
	(a) Commission, Council, and European Council: priorities	
	and agenda setting	104
	(b) Commission, Council, and European Council: development	
	of policy choices	108
	(c) Commission, Council, and European Council: the High	
	Representative	110
	(d) EU institutions: financial resources and the budget	112
	(e) Council and Commission: agencies	113
8.	The Post-Lisbon World: Accountability and Shared Executive	
	Power	115
	(a) Legal accountability: closing the gaps	115
	(b) Political accountability: securing political responsibility	116
9.	Conclusion	120
-		
Char	oter 4 Courts, Continuity, and Change	122
_	·	122
	Lisbon Treaty, Courts, and Appointment	124
2.	Lisbon Treaty, Courts, and Jurisdiction	124 124
	(a) Continuity: general heads of jurisdiction	
	(b) Change: particular heads of jurisdiction	125 127
	(c) Change: particular heads of jurisdiction and privileged applicants	12/
	(d) Change: particular heads of jurisdiction and standing	129
	for individual applicants	132
2	(e) Change: scope of jurisdiction	
3.	Lisbon Treaty, Judicial Architecture, and the Status Quo	133
	(a) Judicial architecture: Convention deliberations	133
	(b) Judicial architecture: ECJ, General Court, and direct actions	136
	(c) Judicial architecture: ECJ, General Court, and	140
	preliminary rulings	
4.	Lisbon Treaty, Courts, and Judicial Doctrine	145
	(a) Direct effect	146
	(b) Supremacy	146
5.	Lisbon Treaty, Ratification, and National Courts	151
6.	Conclusion	154
Chap	pter 5 Competence, Categories, and Control	155
1.	The Nature of the 'Competence Problem'	156
2.	The Aims of the Laeken Declaration	157
3.	Categories and Consequences	158
	Exclusive Competence	159
-	(a) Basic principles: meaning and scope	159
	(b) Area exclusivity: demarcation and delimitation	159
	(c) Conditional exclusivity: demarcation and delimitation	161

x Contents

5. Shared Competence	16/
(a) Basic principles: meaning and scope	167
(b) Shared competence: demarcation and delimitation	169
(c) Shared competence: EU action and pre-emption	171
(d) Shared competence: variation and specification	173
6. Supporting, Coordinating, or Supplementary Action	173
(a) Basic principles: meaning and scope	173
(b) Supporting, coordinating, or supplementing: demarcation	
and delimitation	174
(c) Supporting, coordinating, or supplementing:	_
scope and variation	174
(d) Tensions: legal acts and Member State competence	176
(e) Tensions: legal acts and harmonization	177
7. Economic, Employment, and Social Policy	178
(a) Basic principles: meaning and scope	178
(b) Social policy: demarcation and delimitation	180
(c) Economic, employment, and social policy:	
category and consequence	180
(d) Economic policy: power and limits	181
8. Common Foreign and Security Policy and Defence	182
9. The 'Flexibility' Clause	182
10. Subsidiarity, Proportionality, and the Role of	
National Parliaments	184
11. Conclusion	187
(a) Clarity: aim and realization	187
(b) Containment: aim and realization	188
(-,	
Chapter 6 Rights, Legality, and Legitimacy	193
1. Charter of Fundamental Rights	193
(a) Fundamental rights: origins and development	193
(b) Charter: genesis and drafting	196
(c) EU: human rights policy	198
2. Lisbon Treaty	199
(a) Charter: status and place	199
(b) ECHR: status and place	201
3. Charter Content	204
4. Reach of the Charter	206
(a) Union institutions: verticality and horizontality	206
(b) Member States: verticality and horizontality	210
5. Competence and the Charter	214
6. Rights, Principles, and the Charter	216
(a) Rights and principles: rationale for the divide	216
(b) Rights and principles: nature of the divide	217
(c) Rights and principles: consequences of the divide	219

Contents	xi
Contents	xi

7.	Limitations and the Charter	221
	(a) Limitation of rights: prior jurisprudence	221
	(b) Limitation of rights: Article 52(1)	222
8.	Treaty and Charter	226
	(a) Application: Charter rights and Treaty rights	227
	(b) Application: Charter rights and Union legislation	228
	(c) Application: Charter rights and the Courts' jurisprudence	230
	(d) Principle: to replicate or not to replicate	232
9.	ECHR and Charter	232
	(a) Approach: Charter rights that correspond to ECHR rights	232
	(b) Consequence: same meaning and scope	233
10.	National Constitutions and the Charter	234
	(a) National constitutions: interpretative obligation	234
	(b) National constitutions: substantive obligation	235
	International Law and the Charter	236
12.	UK/Poland Protocol and the Charter	237
	(a) Protocol; content	237
	(b) Protocol: political background	238
	(c) Protocol: legal effect	238
	Remedies and the Charter	240
14.	Conclusion: Judicial Review, Legitimacy, and the Charter	243
	(a) Charter: the profile of judicial review	243
	(b) Charter: the legitimacy of judicial review	244
Chapt	er 7 Legal Acts, Hierarchy, and Simplification	246
1.	Constitutional Treaty and the Hierarchy of Norms	247
	(a) Rationale: simplification, democratic legitimacy, and	
	separation of powers	247
	(b) Constitutional Treaty: categories and hierarchy of legal act	248
2.	Lisbon Treaty and the Hierarchy of Norms	250
	(a) Lisbon Treaty: types of legal act	250
	(b) Lisbon Treaty: categories and hierarchy of legal act	252
3.	Lisbon Treaty and Legislative Acts	255
	(a) Political dimension: democracy and enhanced legitimacy	255
	(b) Legal dimension: formalism and attendant problems	256
4.	Lisbon Treaty and Delegated Acts	260
	(a) Political dimension: delegated acts and the balance of power	260
_	(b) Legal dimension: delegated acts and judicial control	263
5.	Lisbon Treaty and Implementing Acts	270
	(a) Political dimension: objective and tension	270
	(b) Legal dimension: dichotomy and tension	272
6.	Lisbon Treaty and Incomplete Categorization	282

xii Contents

7.	Lisbon Treaty and the Common Foreign and Security Policy	283
	Conclusion	284
Chap	oter 8 The Treaty, the Economic, and the Social	286
1	EC Treaty	287
1.	(a) Output legitimacy: original intent and subsequent	
	development	287
	(b) Input legitimacy: rationales for the shift	306
2.	Constitutional Treaty	309
	(a) Working Group on Social Europe	309
	(b) Working Group on Economic Governance	311
3.	Lisbon Treaty: General	311
-	(a) Values and objectives	311
	(b) Competence and consequences	313
	(c) Duties and mandatory considerations	313
	(d) Duties and administrative cooperation	314
4.	Lisbon Treaty: The Economic	315
	(a) Continuity	315
	(b) Change	319
5.	Lisbon Treaty: The Social	322
	(a) Continuity	322
	(b) Change	326
6.	Conclusion	329
Cha	pter 9 Freedom, Security, and Justice	331
	Maastricht to Lisbon	332
1.	(a) Maastricht: Three Pillars	332
	(b) Amsterdam: Three Pillars modified	335
2	Lisbon Treaty: General Principles	336
۷.	(a) Values and objectives	336
	(b) Treaty and architecture	337
	(c) Competence and the AFSJ	338
	(d) Courts and judicial doctrine	339
	(e) UK and the AFSJ	341
3.	Lisbon Treaty: General Provisions	343
	(a) The 'lead' provision	343
	(b) Role of European Council	344
	(c) Role of the Council	344
	(d) Role of Council committees	344
	(e) Role of the European Parliament	346
	(f) Role of national parliaments	346
	(g) Role of evaluation	346
	(h) Role of Member States	347
	(i) Substantive scope of EU power	347

	Contents	xiii
4.	Lisbon Treaty: Borders, Asylum, and Immigration	348
	(a) Pre-Lisbon	348
	(b) Post-Lisbon	350
	(c) Dualities and tensions	354
5.	Lisbon Treaty: Civil Law and Procedure	357
	(a) Pre-Lisbon	357
	(b) Post-Lisbon	357
_	(c) Dualities and tensions	359
6.	Lisbon Treaty: Criminal Law and Procedure	361
	(a) Pre-Lisbon	361
	(b) Post-Lisbon (c) Dualities and tensions	363 370
7		
/.	Conclusion: Looking Back and Looking Forward	374 374
	(a) Looking back: Tampere and Hague (b) Looking forward: Stockholm	374
	(b) Looking forward: Stockholm	370
Chap	oter 10 External Action, Foreign Policy, and Defence	379
1.	Lisbon Treaty: Architecture, Principles, and Institutions	380
	(a) Architecture	380
	(b) Principles	381
	(c) Institutions	383
	(d) Legal personality	387
2.	Lisbon Treaty: EU External Action	387
	(a) Common Commercial Policy	388
	(b) Cooperation with third countries and humanitarian aid	391
	(c) Restrictive measures	395
	(d) International agreements	396 402
	(e) Association agreements (f) EU relations with international organizations, third	402
	countries, and union delegations	404
2	Lisbon Treaty: Common Foreign and Security Policy	405
٦.	(a) Pre-Lisbon	405
	(b) Post-Lisbon	408
4	Consistency, Coherence, and Coordination	422
	(a) Purpose	422
	(b) Institutions	426
	(c) Doctrine	429
5.	Conclusion	435
Chaj	oter 11 Enhanced Cooperation, Amendment, and Conclusion	437
1.	Enhanced Cooperation Pre-Lisbon	437
	Enhanced Cooperation Post-Lisbon	439
~-•	(a) General rules	440
	(b) Particular rules	442

xiv Contents

3. Amendment Pre-Lisbon	443
4. Amendment Post-Lisbon	444
(a) Ordinary revision procedure	444
(b) Simplified revision procedures	446
5. Conclusion	448
(a) Enhanced cooperation	448
(b) Amendment and revision	450
(c) Process	451
(d) Content	453
Chapter 12 Financial Crisis, Response, and Europe's Future	457
1. The Maastricht Settlement	457
(a) Monetary policy	458
(b) Economic policy	460
2. The Financial Crisis	462
(a) Non-compliance	462
(b) System failure	463
3. The Legal and Political Response: Assistance	465
(a) European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism	466
(b) European Financial Stability Facility	467
(c) European Stability Mechanism	467
(d) European Central Bank	471
(e) ESM, assistance, and Treaty imperatives: prohibition on bailouts	472
(f) ESM, assistance, and Treaty imperatives: competence and	
EU institutions	478
4. The Legal and Political Response: Supervision	481
(a) Change pursuant to the Lisbon Treaty: the six-pack and the two-pack	481
(b) Change outside the Lisbon Treaty: the Treaty on Stability,	
Coordination and Governance	484
(c) TSCG, supervision and Treaty imperatives: change in the EU	490
(d) TSCG, supervision and Treaty imperatives: conferral of new functions	494
(e) TSCG, supervision and Treaty imperatives: use of existing powers	496
(f) TSCG, supervision and Treaty imperatives: legal enforcement	499
5. 'Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union'	501
(a) Assistance	501
(b) Supervision	503
6. Political, Economic, and Legal Consequences	504
(a) Political consequences	505
(b) Economic consequences	509
(c) Legal consequences	514
7. Conclusion	517
Index	519