Contents

	Lis	t of Il	lustrat	tions	xviii
	Lis	t of T	ables		xix
	Pre	eface			xxi
	Ac	knowi	ledgem	ients	xxii
	Ta	ble of	Cases		xxiii
	Ta	ble of	Equiv	alences	xxxvi
	Lis	t of A	bbrevi	ations	lii
	int	roduc	tion:	European Constitutional Law	1
	Pa	rt I:	Hi	story and Structure	
1	Co	nstitu	tional	History: From Paris to Lisbon	9
		Intr	oducti	on	9
	1.	Froi		s to Rome: the European Coal and Steel Community	12
		(a)	The	(supranational) structure of the ECSC	13
		(b)		(failed) European Defence Community	16
	2.	Froi		ne to Maastricht: the European (Economic) Community	18
		(a)		native supranationalism: the nature of European law	19
		(b)		sional supranationalism: the governmental structure	20
		(c)		governmental developments outside the EEC	23
		(d)	-	anational and intergovernmental reforms through the	
			_	le European Act	26
	3.			astricht to Nice: the (old) European Union	27
		(a)		Temple Structure: the Three Pillars of the	
				astricht) Union	29
			(i)	The First Pillar: the European Communities	29
			(ii)	The Second Pillar: Common Foreign and Security Police	y 32
			(iii)	The Third Pillar: Justice and Home Affairs	33
		(b)	A de	cade of 'constitutional bricolage': Amsterdam and Nice	33
			(i)	The Amsterdam Treaty: dividing the Third Pillar	33
			(ii)	The Nice Treaty: limited institutional reform	35

	4.	From Nice to Lisbon: the (new) European Union	37
		(a) The (failed) Constitutional Treaty: formal 'total revision'	38
		(b) The Lisbon Treaty: substantive 'total revision'	41
		Conclusion	45
2	Cor	nstitutional Nature: A Federation of States	47
		Introduction	47
	1.	The American constitutional tradition: federalism as	
		(inter)national law	49
	2.	The European constitutional tradition: international versus	
		national law	53
		(a) Conceptual polarisation: 'Confederation' versus 'Federation'	54
		(b) Early criticism: the European tradition and the (missing)	
		federal genus	56
	3.	The European Union in light of the American constitutional	50
		tradition	59
		(a) The foundational dimension: Europe's 'Constitutional	60
		Treaty'	60
		(b) The institutional dimension: a European Union of States and people(s)	62
		(c) The functional dimension: the division of powers in Europe	64
		(d) Overall classification: the European Union on federal	
		'middle ground'	65
	4.	The European Union in light of the European constitutional	
		tradition	66
		(a) The sui generis 'theory': the 'incomparable' European Union	67
		(b) The international law theory: the 'Maastricht Decision'	68
		(c) Europe's statist tradition unearthed: three constitutional	
		denials	71
		(d) Excursus: Europe's democratic 'deficit' as a 'false problem'?	74
		Conclusion	77
3	Go	vernmental Structure: Union Institutions I	80
		Introduction	81
	1.	The 'separation-of-powers' principle and the European Union	83
	2.	The European Parliament	87
		(a) Formation: electing Parliament	87
		(i) Parliament's size and composition	88
		(ii) Members of the European Parliament and	
		political parties	91
		(b) Internal structure: parliamentary organs	93
		(c) The plenary: decision-making and voting	94

		(d) Parliamentary powers	96					
		(i) Legislative powers	96					
		(ii) Budgetary powers	97					
		(iii) Supervisory powers	98					
		(iv) Elective powers	99					
	3.	The European Council	100					
		(a) The President of the European Council	102					
		(b) The European Council: functions and powers	103					
	4.	The Council	104					
		(a) The Council: composition and configuration	105					
		(b) Internal structure and organs	106					
		(i) The Presidency of the Council	106					
		(ii) 'Coreper' and specialised committees	107					
		(iii) Excursus: the High Representative of Foreign Affairs						
		and Security Policy	110					
		(c) Decision-making and voting	111					
		(d) Functions and powers	114					
4	Go	Governmental Structure: Union Institutions II						
	1.	The Commission	116					
		(a) Composition and structure	117					
		(i) The President and 'his' college	118					
		(ii) The Commission's administrative organs	119					
		(b) Decision-making within the Commission	122					
		(c) Functions and powers of the Commission	123					
		(d) Excursus: European Agencies and the Commission	125					
	2.	The Court of Justice of the European Union	128					
		(a) Judicial architecture: the European court system	129					
		(i) The Court of Justice: composition and structure	130					
		(ii) The General Court: composition and structure	131					
		(iii) Excursus: the Advocates General	132					
		(iv) The 'specialised court(s)': the Civil Service Tribunal	134					
		(b) The judicial procedure(s)	135					
		(c) Judicial reasoning: methods of interpretation	136					
		(d) Jurisdiction and judicial powers	138					
	3.	The European Central Bank	139					
		(a) The special status of the ECB	140					
		(b) Organs and administrative structure	142					
		(c) Internal divisions and decision-making	143					
		(d) Functions and powers	144					
	4.	The Court of Auditors	145					
		Conclusion	147					

Part II: Powers and Procedures

5	Leg	jislative Powers: Competences and Procedures	151
		Introduction	151
	1.	The scope of Union competences	152
		(a) Teleological interpretation	153
		(b) The general competences of the Union	157
		(i) The harmonisation competence: Article 114 TFEU	157
		(ii) The residual competence: Article 352 TFEU	160
	2.	The categories of Union competences	162
		(a) Exclusive competences: Article 3 TFEU	164
		(b) Shared competences: Article 4 TFEU	166
		(c) Coordinating competences: Article 5 TFEU	167
		(d) Complementary competences: Article 6 TFEU	168
	3.	Legislative procedures: ordinary and special	169
		(a) The 'ordinary' legislative procedure	171
		(i) Constitutional theory: formal text	171
		(ii) Constitutional practice: informal trilogues	174
		(b) The 'special' legislative procedures	176
	4.	The principle of subsidiarity	177
		(a) Procedural standard: subsidiarity as a political safeguard	
		of federalism	178
		(b) Substantive standard: subsidiarity as a judicial safeguard	
		of federalism	181
		Conclusion	184
6	Ext	ternal Powers: Competences and Procedures	187
		Introduction	188
	1.	The external competences of the Union	190
		(a) The Common Foreign and Security Policy	192
		(b) The Union's special external powers	192
		(c) The residual treaty power: Article 216 TFEU	194
		(d) The relationship between the CFSP and the special	
		external competences	197
	2.	The nature of external competences	199
		(a) The sui generis nature of the CFSP competence	200
		(b) Article 3 (2) TFEU: subsequent exclusive treaty powers	201
		(i) Three lines of exclusivity: codifying constitutional	
		practice?	201
		(ii) Subsequent exclusivity: criticising constitutional	
		theory	203

	3.	External decision-making procedures	204
		(a) The 'specificity' of CFSP decision-making procedures	205
		(i) Institutional actors and institutional balance	205
		(ii) Voting arrangements in the Council	206
		(b) The Union's (ordinary) treaty-making procedure	207
		(i) Initiation and negotiation	208
		(ii) Signing and conclusion	210
		(iii) Modification, suspension (and termination)	211
		(iv) Union succession to international agreements of the	
		Member States	212
	4.	Sharing external power: constitutional safeguards of unitarianism	213
		(a) Mixed agreements: an international and political safeguard	214
		(b) The duty of cooperation: an internal and judicial safeguard	216
		(i) Member States as 'trustees of the Union'	217
		(ii) 'Reversed' subsidiarity: restrictions on the exercise of	
		shared State power	218
		Conclusion	220
7	Exe	ecutive Powers: Competences and Procedures	223
		Introduction	223
	1.	Governmental powers: the Union's dual executive	225
		(a) The legal instruments of political leadership	226
		(b) The informal procedure(s) of government	228
	2.	Law-making powers: delegated and implementing acts	230
		(a) The delegation of 'legislative' power: Article 290 TFEU	231
		(i) Judicial safeguards: constitutional limits to	
		delegated acts	233
		(ii) Political safeguards: control rights of the Union	
		legislator	236
		(b) The 'conferral' of executive power: Article 291 TFEU	238
		(i) The scope of Article 291 TFEU	238
		(ii) Constitutional safeguards for implementing	
		legislation	240
	3.	Administrative powers I: centralised enforcement	243
		(a) The scope of the Union's administrative powers	244
		(b) Administrative powers and the subsidiarity principle	248
	4.	Administrative powers II: decentralised enforcement	250
		(a) The effects of national administrative acts	251
		(b) National administrative autonomy and its limits	253
		Conclusion	256

8	Jud	dicial Powers: Competences and Procedures	258
		Introduction	259
	1.	Annulment powers: judicial review	262
		(a) The existence of a 'reviewable' act	263
		(b) Legitimate grounds for review	264
		(i) 'Formal' and 'substantive' grounds	265
		(ii) In particular: the proportionality principle	267
		(c) Legal standing before the European Court	268
		(i) The Rome formulation and its judicial interpretation	270
		(ii) The Lisbon formulation and its interpretative	
		problems	273
		(d) The indirect review of European law	275
		(i) Collateral review: the plea of illegality	275
		(ii) Indirect review through preliminary rulings	276
	2.	Remedial powers: liability actions	278
		(a) Procedural conditions: from dependent to independent	
		action	279
		(b) Substantive conditions: from Schöppenstedt to Bergaderm	280
	3.	Adjudicatory powers I: enforcement actions	283
		(a) Enforcement actions against Member States	283
		(i) The procedural conditions under Article 258 TFEU	283
		(ii) Judicial enforcement through financial sanctions	286
		(b) Enforcement actions against the Union: failure to act	287
	4.	Adjudicatory powers II: preliminary rulings	289
		(a) Paragraph 1: the jurisdiction of the European Court	291
		(b) Paragraph 2: the conditions for a preliminary ruling	292
		(i) 'Who': national courts and tribunals	293
		(ii) 'What': necessary questions	295
		(c) Paragraph 3: the obligation to refer and 'acte clair'	296
		(d) The legal nature of preliminary rulings	299
		Conclusion	301
	Pa	art III: Rights and Remedies	
9	Eu	ropean Law: Direct and Indirect Effect	305
		Introduction	306
	1.	Constitutional law: the effect of European primary law	310
		(a) Direct effect: from strict to lenient test	312
		(b) The dimensions of direct effect: vertical and horizontal	
		direct effect	314

	2.	Direct Union law: regulations and decisions	317
		(a) Regulations: the 'legislative' instrument	317
		(i) General application in all Member States	317
		(ii) Direct application and direct effect	318
		(b) Decisions: the executive instrument	320
		(i) Specifically addressed decisions	321
		(ii) Non-addressed decisions	322
	3.	Indirect Union law: directives	323
		(a) Direct effect and directives: conditions and limits	323
		(i) The no-horizontal-direct-effect rule	326
		(ii) The limitation to the rule: the wide definition of	
		State (actions)	327
		(iii) The exception to the rule: incidental horizontal	
		direct effect	329
		(b) Indirect effects through national and (primary) European law	331
		(i) The doctrine of consistent interpretation of national law	331
		(ii) Indirect effects through the medium of European law	334
	4.	External Union law: international agreements	337
		(a) Direct effects of Union agreements	338
		(i) The conditions for direct effect	339
		(ii) The dimensions of direct effect	341
		(b) Indirect effects: the interpretation and implementation	
		principles	342
		Conclusion	344
10	Eur	opean Law: Supremacy and Preemption	347
		Introduction	347
	1.	The European perspective: absolute supremacy	349
		(a) The absolute scope of the supremacy principle	350
		(i) Supremacy over internal laws of the Member States	350
		(ii) Supremacy over international treaties of the	
		Member States	352
		(b) The 'executive' nature of supremacy: disapplication, not	
		invalidation	355
	2.	The national perspective: relative supremacy	358
		(a) Fundamental rights limits: the 'so-long' jurisprudence	359
		(b) Competences limits: from 'Maastricht' to 'Mangold'	361
	3.	Legislative preemption: nature and effect	363
		(a) Preemption categories: the relative effects of preemption	364
		(i) Field preemption	365
		(ii) Obstacle preemption	366
		(iii) Rule preemption	366
		(b) Modes of preemption: express and implied preemption	367

	4.	Constitutional limits to legislative preemption	368
		(a) Union instruments and their preemptive capacity	369
		(i) The preemptive capacity of regulations	369
		(ii) The preemptive capacity of directives	371
		(iii) The preemptive capacity of international agreements	372
		(b) Competence limits to preemption	374
		(i) Competences for minimum harmonisation	375
		(ii) Complementary competences excluding	
		harmonisation	376
		Conclusion	378
11	Eur	ropean Law: Remedies and Liabilities	380
		Introduction	380
	1.	The (consistent) interpretation principle	383
	2.	The equivalence principle	384
		(a) Non-discrimination: extending national remedies to European	
		actions	385
		(b) 'Similar' actions: the equivalence test	386
	3.	The effectiveness principle	387
		(a) The historical evolution of the effectiveness standard	388
		(b) Procedural limits to the invocability of European law	393
	4.	The liability principle	396
		(a) State liability: the <i>Francovich</i> doctrine	397
		(i) The three conditions for State liability	399
		(ii) State liability for judicial breaches of European law	402
		(b) Private liability: the Courage doctrine	405
		Conclusion	407
12	In	Particular: European Human Rights	409
		Introduction	410
	l.	The 'unwritten' bill of rights: human rights as 'general principles'	411
		(a) The birth of European fundamental rights	412
		(i) The European standard – an 'autonomous' standard	414
		(ii) Limitations, and 'limitations on limitations'	418
		(b) United Nations law: external limits to European	
		human rights?	419
	2.	The 'written' bill of rights: the Charter of Fundamental Rights	422
		(a) The Charter: structure and content	423
		(i) (Hard) rights and (soft) principles	425
		(ii) Limitations, and 'limitations on limitations'	426
		(b) Relations with the European Treaties (and the European	
		Convention)	427

3.	The	'external' bill of rights: the European Convention of	
	Hun	nan Rights	429
	(a)	The Convention standard for Union acts	430
		(i) Before accession: (limited) indirect review of Union acts	431
		(ii) After accession: (full) direct review of Union acts	433
	(b)	Union accession to the European Convention: constitutional	
		preconditions	434
4.	The	'incorporation doctrine': European rights and national law	435
	(a)	Incorporation and general principles: implementation and	
		derogation	436
	(b)	Incorporation and the Charter of Fundamental Rights	439
		(i) General rules for all Member States	439
		(ii) Special rules for Poland and the United Kingdom	441
	(c)	Incorporation and the European Convention of	
		Human Rights?	443
	(d)	Excursus: incorporation and individuals - human rights and	
		private actions	444
	Con	clusion	445
Ap	pendi	ices	
1.		opean Treaties (Chronology)	448
2.	Terr	ritorial Evolution of the European Union	450
3.	Extr	racts from the 'Luxembourg Compromise'	453
4.	Extr	racts from James Madison's 'Federalist No. 39'	457
5.	Extr	racts from the 1976 'European Parliament Direct Election Act'	460
6.	Extr	acts from Decision 2009/908 on the Council Presidency	464
7.	Dire	ectorate-General Home Affairs (Organigramme)	466
8.	Extr	racts from the 'Comitology' Regulation	467
Ina	lex		473