## Contents

| Sei | ries I           | Editors'     | ' Preface  | page xvii |  |  |  |  |
|-----|------------------|--------------|--|-----------|--|--|--|--|
| Pre | eface            |              |  | xix       |  |  |  |  |
|     | Acknowledgements |              |  |           |  |  |  |  |
|     | Table of Cases   |              |  |           |  |  |  |  |
| In  | trod             | luction      | n  | 1         |  |  |  |  |
| 1   | Th               | e EU I       | Treaty Framework as Constitutional   |           |  |  |  |  |
|     | To               | Touchstone   |  |           |  |  |  |  |
|     | Int              | Introduction |  |           |  |  |  |  |
|     | 1                |              | Treaty Framework and Internal  | 21        |  |  |  |  |
|     | YEL              |              | stitutionality   | 23        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  | 1.1          | The Foundations of the Treaty Framework as   | 20        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | Constitutional Touchstone  | 24        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  | 1.2          | The EU Treaty Framework's Scope of   |           |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | Application as Constitutional Touchstone   | 26        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  | 1.3          | The Normative Power of the EU Treaty   |           |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | Framework as Constitutional Touchstone   | 30        |  |  |  |  |
|     | 2                | The          | EU Treaties and the Three Issues for EU  |           |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  | Cons         | stitutionalism   | 32        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  | 2.1          | Constitutional Issue No. 1: What Is the Forma  | 1         |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | Status of Union Law under the Treaties and   |           |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | under What Conditions Does It Apply within   |           |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | Member States?   | 34        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | 2.1.1 The Formal Status of Union Law   | 34        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  | 2.2          | 2.1.2 The Domestic Application of EU Law Constitutional Issue No. 2: The Locus of EU | 37        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  | 4.4          | Political Authority within the EU Legal Order  | 41        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | 2.2.1 Constituent Authority  | 42        |  |  |  |  |
|     |                  |              | 2.2.2 Political Authority for Union Policymaking                                     |           |  |  |  |  |

|   | 2.3  | Constitutional Issue No. 3: The Objectives,<br>Values and Limits of EU Integration |            |  |      |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|------------|--|------|--|--|--|--|
|   |  |  | 2.3.1      | The Objectives of European Integration                           | 49   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  | 2.3.2      | The Values of European Integration                               | 51   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  | 2.3.3      | The Limits on European Integration                               | 53   |  |  |  |  |
|   | Co   | ncludi   | ng Remar   | ks   | 57   |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | The EU Treaty Framework and the Constitutional |  |            |  |      |  |  |  |  |
|   | Context of European Integration 6              |  |            |  |      |  |  |  |  |
|   | Introduction                                   |  |            |  |      |  |  |  |  |
|   | 1  | The  | Space bety | ween: The EU Treaties and the                                    |      |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | Constitutional Context of EU Integration   |            |  |      |  |  |  |  |
|   | 2  | Cons   | titutional | Supplementation  | 63   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 2.1  |            | titutional Agreements  | 64   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 2.2  |            | rt's Jurisprudence on 'General                                   | 67   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  | Principle  |  | 68   |  |  |  |  |
|   | 3  | _  |            | Contestation   | 71   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 3.1  | The Estal  | embourg Compromise (1966)<br>blishment of the European           | 71   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 2.2  | Council (  |  | 73   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 3.3  |            | sion on the New Settlement for the UK<br>ne EU (2016)            | 76   |  |  |  |  |
|   | 4  | Cons   | titutional | Supplementation, Constitutional                                  | + -  |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | Cont   | estation a | nd the Dynamics of EU Treaty                                     |      |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | Refo   | rm         |  | 78   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 4.1  |            | sation through Treaty Amendment                                  | 79   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 4.2  |            | rt of Justice as Intermediary                                    | 81   |  |  |  |  |
|   | 5  |  |            | is Management: A Study in  |      |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | Cons   | titutional | Contestation in the Political                                    |      |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | Sphe   | re         |  | 83   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 5.1  |            | zone Crisis: Background and Political                            |      |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  | Response   |  | 85   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 5.2  |            | zone Crisis and Constitutional                                   | 0.77 |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  | Contestar  |  | 87   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  | 1          | Challenges to the Locus of EU Political Authority                | 87   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  |            | Challenges to Objectives, Values and<br>Limits of EU Integration | 00   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 5.3  |            | Normalisation with the EU Treaty                                 | 90   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 0.0  | Framewo    |  | 91   |  |  |  |  |
|   |  | 5.4  |            | t's Role as Intermediary in Eurozone                             |      |  |  |  |  |
|   |  |  |            | nagement   | 91   |  |  |  |  |
|   | Concluding Remarks                             |  |            |  |      |  |  |  |  |

Index

|   |     |   | <ul> <li>2.2.1 The German Federal Constitutional Court in Honeywell</li> <li>2.2.2 'Push Back' as a Broader Constitutional Phenomenon</li> </ul> | 236 |  |  |
|---|-----|---|--|-----|--|--|
|   | 3   | Repo  | nses in the EU Scholarship   | 242 |  |  |
|   |     | 3.1   | EU Scholars and the Formal Status of EU Law:<br>Defending the Judicial Vision  | 243 |  |  |
|   |     | 3.2   | Legal Scholarship on the Court: A Fivefold   |     |  |  |
|   |     |   | Typology   | 245 |  |  |
|   |     | 3.3   | Legal Scholarship on the Court: Summary  | 255 |  |  |
|   | Co  | ncludi  | ng Remarks   | 256 |  |  |
| 7 | Co  | nclusi  | on: Three Contemporary Problems,   |     |  |  |
|   | For | ur Ref  | form Proposals   | 260 |  |  |
|   | Int | roduc   | tion   | 260 |  |  |
|   | 1   | Thre  | e Contemporary Problems for EU Judicial  |     |  |  |
|   |     |   | naking   | 262 |  |  |
|   |     | 1.1   | Problem No. 1: Judicial Challenges to  |     |  |  |
|   |     |   | Constituent Authority  | 262 |  |  |
|   |     | 1.2   | Problem No. 2: Judicial Challenges to Treaty   |     |  |  |
|   |     |   | Limits on EU Policymaking  | 263 |  |  |
|   |     | 1.3   | Problem No. 3: Judicial Challenges to EU   |     |  |  |
|   |     |   | Legislative Frameworks   | 265 |  |  |
|   | 2   | The Three Contemporary Problems: Challenges to the Legitimacy of European Integration |  |     |  |  |
|   |     |   |  |     |  |  |
|   | 3   | The (   | Court of Justice and the EU Treaty   |     |  |  |
|   |     | Framework as Constitutional Touchstone: For Proposals for Reform                      |  |     |  |  |
|   |     |   |  | 269 |  |  |
|   |     | 3.1   | Proposal No. 1: Closer Judicial Engagement   |     |  |  |
|   |     |   | with the Treaty Framework  | 270 |  |  |
|   |     |   | 3.1.1 Article 67 EEC on Capital Movements  | 272 |  |  |
|   |     |   | 3.1.2 Standing Rights in Annulment Proceedings   | 273 |  |  |
|   |     |   | 3.1.3 EU Citizenship   | 275 |  |  |
|   |     | 3.2   | Proposal No. 2: A Revised Approach to Scrutiny of the Court  | 277 |  |  |
|   |     | 3.3   | Proposal No. 3: Improving the Quality of   | 4// |  |  |
|   |     | 0.0   | the EU Treaty Framework  | 279 |  |  |
|   |     | 3.4   | Proposal No. 4: Establishing a New EU  | 2,7 |  |  |
|   |     |   | Framework for Compliance Monitoring  | 280 |  |  |
|   | Cor | ıclııdi   | ng Remarks   | 283 |  |  |
|   | 001 |   |  | 200 |  |  |
|   |     |   |  |     |  |  |

288