

INDEX

acceptance, 143, 225, 251, 258, 326 accountability, 5, 23, 158, 191-93, 196, 200, 205, 208-9, 213, 250, 327 administrative, 193, 312 democratic, 184, 204 executive, 23, 192-93, 214 forums, 191-92 informal accountability relations, 192, 194, 212 parliamentary, 185, 215 relations, 193, 213-14 informal, 192, 194, 212 political, 193, 212 relationship, 193, 198, 213 requirements of, 208, 213 accountable governments, 44, 47 adjustment, 9, 18, 55-56, 59-60, 72, 98, 101, 211, 273, 274 agency costs, 222, 223 aggregate demand, 31, 41, 43, 46 amendments, constitutional, 255, 279 anti-European entrepreneurs, 147-49, 154, 155, 158-61 assets, financial, 97, 100, 103 asymmetric economic and monetary union, 90, 97-98 asymmetric integration, 14-16, 19 asymmetries, 5, 19, 20, 45, 55, 60, 246, 284, 310, 328 attenuated citizenship, 284-90 Austria, 12, 93, 98, 106, 232 automatic exchange of information, 115-16, 118 autonomy national tax, 82, 116-18 political, 57, 294, 305, 320, 326, 327

backstops, 72-73 balanced budget rule, 176, 278-80, 284 balanced budgets, 14, 42, 177, 271, 272, 279-80, 286, 290 Bank of International Settlements, 111 banking crises, 37, 45, 104, 179, 210 resolution, 183-84 supervision, 2, 166, 178-80, 183, 210 union, 7, 61, 69, 102, 179, 183, 190, 203, 212 bankruptcy, 150-51 banks, 30-31, 37, 39, 59, 68-69, 71, 73, 103, 104, 108, 178, 210-11 central, 21, 32-34, 39, 73, 96, 174 German, 94, 106 bargaining, 221, 222, 309, 314 bargaining costs, 222-23 Basic Law, 279, 304, 315, 330 Belgium, 12, 64, 84, 93 benchmarks, normative, 52-53 benevolent hegemon, 232-33 blockade effect, 23, 168, 173, 184 bonded government, 266-67, 269-78, 287, 291, 294 bonds, 24, 37-38, 39, 73, 253, 267, 275, 283, 291 Bretton-Woods regime, 30, 31 Buchanan, J., 236-37 budget deficits, 175, 270, 285 budgetary policies, 176-77, 278, 281, 285, 288, 290, 291-93 budgetary powers, 5, 228, 319 budgetary surveillance, 175-78, 318



340 INDEX

budgets, 5, 8, 24, 55, 171, 174, 178, 200, 266, 268-69, 274, 291 balanced, 14, 42, 177, 271, 272, 279-80, 286, 290 Bundesbank, 30-33, 36, 85, 233 model, 30-33, 34 Canada, 48, 93 capacity, 33, 37-38, 56, 61, 62, 69, 93, 94-95, 96, 101, 171, 173 building, 23, 171-72, 174 by conflict-minimizing means, 180 - 84capacity building European fiscal, 174, 180-81 capital, 11, 90, 92-94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 106-8, 112, 116, 118 mobility, 32-34 owners, 100, 112 capital flows massive, 98 capitalism, 12, 18, 143, 316 central banks, 21, 32-34, 39, 73, 96, 174 centralisation, 56, 70, 72, 167, 238 centralised functions, 72-74 citizens, 15-16, 127-29, 130-32, 137-42, 156-57, 158-60, 190-91, 251-52, 266, 284-85, 286-88, 323-24 European, 51-52, 120, 130, 159, 301, 329 citizenship, 5, 15–16, 19–20, 127–44, 266-67, 268, 284-85, 286-87, 290, 294 attenuated, 284-90 democratic, 22, 127, 131 democratisation, 135-39 in European era, 139-44 modern, see modern citizenship national, 15-16, 20, 129-31, 285, 287 political, 129, 132, 134-35, 137, 139 of resistance, 284-90 social, 128-29 civil society, 133-34, 139, 268, 330 CJEU, see Court of Justice clarity, 65, 192, 321 club goods, 23, 235-38 clubs, 54, 235-36 economic theory of, 236-37 Europe of, 238-39

coherence, 15, 89-90, 238 collective action, 236 paradoxical logic, 218-20 collective decision making, costs of, 222 collective goods, 218-20, 227, 236 collective leadership, 224, 226-27, 235 collective ownership, 221-22, 223 costs, 221-22, 223 comitology, 309 Commission, 4, 43–44, 64–66, 86–88, 170-71, 227-29, 230-31, 254-55, 273-74, 286-87, 291, 308-9 Delors, 33, 306 as leader, 226-31 political accountability, 200-204 Prodi, 231, 307 commitments, 3, 5, 30, 33-34, 62-63, 69, 71, 73, 266, 271, 275, 284-86 mutual, 74, 268, 278, 285 common currency, 1, 17, 34, 35, 55, 151, 158, 232, 313, 316, 317 common interest, 63, 218–19, 236, 238 common market, 80, 82-83, 86, 232, 242, 244-45, 247, 250-51, 254 community of risks, 102, 278-84 competences, 14, 52, 135, 226, 230, 236, 248, 260, 299, 305, 316 competition, 11, 30, 92, 94, 140, 238, 246 tax, 93-94, 116 competitiveness, 40, 67, 277, 279, 321, 328 compliance, 53-54, 66, 73, 175, 276-77, 285 - 86deficit, 53-55 conditionality, 38, 53-55, 58, 66, 71, 73, 74, 181-82, 326-27 Troika, 71, 74 conflict constellations, 300-301, 323, 326 - 27diagonal, 305, 312-13, 316-17 conflict-minimising integration, 166 - 85conflicts, 6-7, 24, 112, 152, 154, 155-56, 158, 181, 182, 260, 323, 324 intergovernmental, 167, 170



INDEX 341

conflicts-law constitutionalism, 323-25, 327 consensus, 13, 23, 72, 220, 227, 234, 255, 257, 290 consent, 268 consolidating tax state, 107, 113, 116, 119 constitutional and legal entrenchment, 113-15 consolidation, 84, 85, 117, 118 constitutional amendments, 255, 279 constitutional courts, 182, 243, 248, 255-56, 260-61, 267, 274, 283-84, 288, 326-27, 329, 331 federal, 174, 243 constitutional democracies, 17, 20, 294, 303, 319 constitutional guardianship, 315, constitutional law, 248, 254, 256, 302 constitutionalisation, paradigm, 302, 304 constitutionalism, 254, 331 conflicts-law, 323-25, 327 economic, 301, 303-4, 311, 314 constitutionalisation, 244, 254-55, 259-60, 262-63, 301, 303-4 integration through law as, 301-3 constitutions, 113, 139-40, 242-43, 244, 248-49, 250, 254-56, 259, 261-63, 269, 289, 294 constraining dissensus, 166–67, 173, 177, 181-82, 185 constraints, 9, 40, 41, 53, 57, 133, 272, 274, 280, 282, 284, 288, 327 contestation, 19, 156, 281-82, 301, 322-23, 325 contracts, incomplete, 13, 167, 170-71, 173, 174, 177, 181, 183–85 cooperation, 5, 9, 54, 66, 115, 180, 231, 238, 245 tax, 88, 94, 107, 115 coordination, 32-33, 56, 70, 72, 75, 80-82, 176, 237, 307-8, 314, 317, 328 core state powers, 64, 167, 171, 185 corporate income taxation, 87-88, 99 corporate taxation, 170-71 correction plans, 273, 274, 278

corrective processes, 286-87, 290-91 COSAC (Conference of Parliamentary Committees for Union Affairs of Parliaments of the European Union), 199, 212, 214, 293 Costa v. ENEL, 243, 244, 302, 319 costs, 7-8, 10, 47-48, 103, 106, 109, 172, 174, 218–19, 220–22, 236, 292 agency, 222, 223 bargaining, 222-23 of collective decision making, 222 of disintegration, 47-48 influence, 222-23 labor, see labor costs legacy, 61, 65, 75 of non-disintegration, 29-48 of over-integration, 45 social, 40, 45-46, 52 transaction, see transaction costs Council, 13–14, 43–44, 47, 95–96, 168-70, 177-78, 244, 250-51, 260-63, 273-74, 287, 290-91 Court of Justice, 83, 89–91, 170–71, 185, 241-56, 258-63, 282, 299, 301-2, 309-11, 314-15, 328-31 use of newly acquired power, 244-48 courts, 283, 289, 330-31 constitutional, 24, 182, 255, 274, 283, 326-27, 329, 331 and legitimacy, 241-63 national, 8, 241, 243, 245, 247, 255, 258, 261, 289 credibility, 273-74 credit, 21, 36, 39, 45, 67, 69, 311 creditor countries, 5, 29, 37, 39, 58, 59-60, 65, 112, 115, 222, 232-33, 283 creditors, 3, 39, 59, 61, 72, 79, 108, 109, 190, 232 crises, 1-6, 10-11, 16-17, 21-23, 58-61, 102-7, 115-17, 146-49, 152-54, 155-57, 158-60, 184-85 banking, 37, 45, 104, 179, 210 of confidence, 103, 275 continuation and amplification of structural features of Union, 6 empty chair, 1, 228 and European integration, 147-49 Eurozone, 319



342 INDEX

crises (cont.) democratic, 127, 130, 140, 158, 304 financial, 67, 102-4, 108, 150, 196, excessive, 45, 47, 175, 273, 276, 210, 214, 263, 299-300, 312, 317, 286, 318 governance, 53-57, 69 fiscal, 102, 107, 108, 112-15 justice, 55-56 oil, 146, 150 public-sector, 33, 38, 46 political, 20, 29, 149 stabilisation, 55, 60, 67 public finance, 2, 178 structural, 273, 285 Suez, 150-51 de-legalisation, 11, 308, 317 crisis law, 319-22, 325 delegation, 13, 167, 170, 173, 179, 184, 222, 223, 309, 327 crisis management, 65, 113, 147, 148, 182, 330 to non-majoritarian actors, 170, 184 and language, 155-56 Delors, Jacques, 33, 229-30 crisis politics, 22, 148, 155-57, Delors Commission, 33, 306 159-61, 185 demand, aggregate, 31, 41, 43, 46 currencies, 32, 57, 73, 75, 150-51, 233 democracies, constitutional, 17, 20, common, 1, 17, 34, 35, 55, 151, 158, 294, 303, 319 232, 313, 316, 317 democracy, 57, 127-28, 136, 137-39, unitary, 40, 45-46 144, 148, 157, 158-59, 254, 255, currency area 257, 324 national, 57, 261-62 non-optimal, 45-46, 58, 67, 75 optimal, 34, 41, 92, 98 parliamentary, 292, 293-94 democratic accountability, 184, 204 currency markets, 32-33, 150 democratic citizenship, 22, 127, 131 democratic deficit, 127, 130, 140, de jure accountability arrangement, 158, 304 195-96, 213 debt, 37-38, 63, 93, 96, 97, 101, 107, democratic institutions, 254, 327 democratic legitimacy, 22, 47-48, 109, 113, 115, 117, 275-76 160-61, 197, 226, 251, 302, 303, brakes, 106, 113, 318 public, 37, 70, 90, 96, 99, 101, 105, 315, 321 democratic politics, 17, 44, 159 113, 172, 182, 185, 273 debt state democratic processes, 17-18, 29, 250-51, 253, 260, 262-63, 330 partial return, 96 democratic space, public, 141, 143 debtor countries, 59, 61, 65, 112, democratisation of citizenship, 135-39 232, 326 debtor states, 3, 5, 29, 39, 45, 47, 110, demoicracy, 52, 57, 64, 74 recovered, 66-74 109-12, 115, 190, 275 at risk, 58-66 debtors, 59, 63, 106, 108, 112, 233, demoicratic approach to EMU 283, 328 decision-making blockades, 170, 172 governance, 50-75 decision-making processes, demoicratic lens, 56-57 222, 260, 307 demoicratic path, 52-53 Denmark, 12, 93 deficit countries, 45, 58, 71 deficits, 36-38, 40, 54-56, 57, 59, depoliticisation, 260 63-64, 65-66, 67-68, 90, 101, destabilisation 279, 285 of law, 14-16 mutual, 15, 16 budget, 175, 270, 285 compliance, 53-55 devaluation, internal, 109, 112-13, 320



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-10718-2 - The End of the Eurocrats' Dream: Adjusting to European Diversity Edited by D. Chalmers, M. Jachtenfuchs and C. Joerges Index

INDEX 343

diagonal conflict constellation, 305, economic actors, 55, 79-80, 83, 312-13, 316-17 86, 245, 247 dialogue, 119, 199-200, 203-4, 213 economic and monetary union, monetary, 205-9, 212-13 asymmetric, 90, 97-98 differentiated integration, 177, 235 economic constitutionalism, 301, differentiation, 23, 198 303-4, 314 ordoliberal, 313 diffuse reciprocity, 54 directives, 10, 47, 83, 88, 90, 93, 104, technocratic alternative, 311-12 115-16, 172, 247-48 economic freedoms, 11, 22, 82, 86, 89-91, 116, 118-19, 245-46, 247, discretion, national, 69 discretionary powers, 11, 309, 311 259, 303, 319 disintegration, 1, 29, 45, 48, 117, economic governance, 41-43, 46, 66, 167-68, 184-85 190-91, 196, 203-4, 303, 305, 317 costs, 47-48 legitimate, 314 orderly, 173, 184 new European regime, 43-45, 116, dissensus, 22, 139, 142, 182 321, 328 constraining, 166-67, 173, 177, when macroeconomic policies 181-82, 185 disabled, 41-43 distrust, 44, 50, 131, 139 economic growth, 11, 34, diversity, 8, 13, 18, 21, 227, 237, 290, 41-42, 137economic integration, 80, 85, 218, 245, 306, 324 adjusting to, 16–20 248, 251, 303, 315 economic liberalism, 154, 303 socio-economic, 307, 327-29 economic over-integration, economic divided sovereignty, 278-84 and social costs, 45-46 division of sovereignty, 280-82, 288 economic policy, 6, 9, 142-43, 200, domestic institutions, 6, 20, 21, 24, 70 - 71201, 203-4, 221, 223, 283, 286, 314, domestic law, 242, 245-46, 247, 253 316 - 17domestic politics, 51, 69, 74, 159 economic prosperity, 150, 151, 157, 159 - 60Draghi Mario, 182, 190 economic stability, 280, 284 and European Parliament, 205-10 economics, 24, 134, 142, 300 effet utile, 243, 245, 259 and interparliamentary EFSA (European Food and Safety forums, 212 Authority), 309 and national parliaments, 210–12 Durkheim, E., 129, 134-37, 139, EFSF (European Financial Stability Facility), 10, 39, 173, 180-81, 182, 141, 143 duties, 8, 55-56, 61, 80, 131, 269, 275, 203, 318 279, 282, 284, 289, 290 EIOPA (European Insurance and Occupational Pensions EBA (European Banking Authority), Authority), 180 180, 183 elections, 139, 142, 250, 253, 254 ECB (European Central Bank), 2-5, 6, electorates, 184, 191, 250 elites, 7, 148, 152, 158 14, 36–39, 61–62, 73, 108–9, 182–83, 185, 205-14, 232-33, 320 empty chair crisis, 1, 228 ECJ, see Court of Justice EMS (European Monetary System), ECON committee, 195, 197, 205-6, 32 - 33, 45208-9, 213 imperfect compromises, 32-33



344 INDEX

EMU (Economic and Monetary Union), 21, 55-56, 64-69, 70-72, 74-75, 107-8, 211-12, 230, 231-32, 312-14, 320, 322 as diagonal conflict constellation, 312-13, 316-17 governance, 50-75 as Pyrrhic victory of ordoliberalism, 313-14 energy markets, 150 enforcement, 13, 19, 54, 58, 64-65, 210, 254, 258, 275 legitimate, 53, 54 entrepreneurs political, 147, 151-53, 155, 157-58, 160, 220 pro-European, 153, 160 EP, see European Parliament EPW (European Parliamentary Week), 204 equality, 16, 81, 128, 143, 224, 228, 236, 285, 288, 329 Ersatzunionsrecht, 319 ESFS (European System of Financial Supervisors), 14 ESM (European Stability Mechanism), 3-5, 10, 16, 166, 173, 180-81, 182-83, 275, 280-83, 287-88, 318, 326 ESMA (European Securities and Markets Authorities), 180, 310-11 ESRB (European Systemic Risk Board), 71, 180 establishment, freedom of, 89, 91, 94 Estonia, 199, 279-81 ethical life, 133-34 ethos, 57, 131, 132, 135, 137-38, 142 Euro, 1, 2, 34, 35, 43, 47-48, 57-58, 150, 151, 176, 179, 190 Euro area States, 4, 5, 19, 23, 205, 266-67, 270-71, 273, 276-77, 283, 284, 287 Eurocrats, 50-52, 57, 62, 65 and public crisis politics, 146-61 Euro crisis, 1-3, 37-38, 45-46, 51-52, 53, 55, 146-48, 155, 158-59, 160, 169-70, 172 political economy of, 58-66 and reluctant hegemon problem, 231-36

Euro-group, 4-5, 65-66, 287, 291 Europe des Patries, 157 Europe of clubs, 238-39 European Banking Authority, see EBA European citizens, 51-52, 120, 130, 159, 301, 329; see also citizenship European Commission, see Commission European Court of Justice, see Court of European dilemma, 184–85 European Financial Stability Facility, see EFSF European fiscal capacity building, 174, 180 - 81European Food and Safety Authority (EFSA), 309 European institutions, 108, 141, 180, 223, 228, 250, 251 European Insurance and Occupational Pensions Authority (EIOPA), 180 European level, 44, 143, 191, 204, 205, 233-34, 246, 251, 261, 262, 303, 305 European Parliament, 44–45, 178–79, 191, 193-96, 228, 230, 234, 249, 250-51, 260-63, 325, 327 ECON committee, 195, 197, 205-6, 208-9, 213 and Herman Van Rompuy, 195-97 and Mario Draghi, 205-10 and national parliaments, 325-27 and Olli Rehn, 200-202 European Parliamentary Week (EPW), 204 European Securities and Markets Authorities (ESMA), 180, 310-11 European Semester, 176-77, 185, 200, 202-4, 274, 277, 287, 290, 292-93, 317, 320, 327 European social model, 320, 328 European Stability Mechanism, see ESM European System of Financial Supervisors (ESFS), 14 European Systemic Risk Board (ESRB), 71, 180 Europeanisation, 306, 323 of national tax systems, 78–120



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-10718-2 - The End of the Eurocrats' Dream: Adjusting to European Diversity Edited by D. Chalmers, M. Jachtenfuchs and C. Joerges Index

INDEX 345

63-65, 92, 96-99, 107-8, 109, 114, 157-58, 175 excessive deficit, 45, 47, 175, 273, 276, 286, 318 procedure, 39, 44, 62, 90, 175, 177, 270 excessive imbalance procedure, 44, 47, 177, 274, 278, 321 exchange rates, 32–33, 98 real, 36, 40, 42 exclusive powers, 1, 250 executive accountability, 23, 192-94, 214 executive actors, 191, 194, 212 executive power, 23, 128, 190, 192, 214-15, 307, 308 expertise, 273-74, 300, 311-12 professional, 311 exposures, 59, 111 external imbalances, 21, 34 externalities, 6, 57, 62, 67, 70, 75, 256, 285 fairness, 55-56, 326 federal state, 74, 106, 128, 153, 175, 181, 241, 262 federal United States of Europe, 154, 157 federalist agenda, 156-57 finances, 12, 30, 100, 202, 266-67, 327 financial assets, 97, 100, 103 financial assistance, 10, 82, 86, 107-14, 117, 318, 326 financial crisis, 67, 102-4, 108, 150, 196, 210, 214, 263, 299-300, 312, 317, 321 financial institutions, 99, 103-6, 107-9, 112 financial integration, 67-68, 73, 75, 101, 293 financial risks, 79, 103-4, 106-7, 108-9, 181 financial stability, 275, 311, 318-19 financial support, 4-5, 11, 16, 19, 267,

Eurozone, 34, 35-36, 39-40, 41,

fiscal capacity, 21-22, 174, 176, 178, Fiscal Compact, 62, 70, 176, 177-78, fiscal consolidation, 60, 80, 102, 107 - 15, 203fiscal crises, 107, 108, 112-15 general but asymmetric, 102-7 fiscal policy, 30, 34, 58, 64, 70, 90, 97, 109, 114–15, 166, 173–74, 180–81 European, 107 national, 44, 90, 151, 174 fiscal rules, 101, 113-14, 271, 274, 285-86, 287 fiscal union, 29, 56, 102 formal powers, 113, 200, 213 fragility, 20, 104, 107, 315, 317 fragmentation, 66, 130, 238 France, 33, 93, 94, 96, 103, 104, 111, 199, 203, 231-32, 279, 284 Constitutional Council, 1, 278 free movement, 11, 82, 83, 86, 90, 94, 118, 226, 229, 245-46, 303 freedom of establishment, 89, 91, 94 freedoms, economic, 11, 22, 82, 86, 89-91, 116, 118-19, 245-46, 247, 259, 303, 319 Freiburg tradition, 320 fundamental rights, 245, 248, 282 funds, rescue, 39, 45 GDP, 36-37, 55, 59, 90, 92, 104, 171, 172, 175, 229, 279, 285 genetically-modified organisms (GMOs), 309 Germany, 30-32, 33-37, 40-43, 59-60, 84-85, 96-98, 102-3, 104, 111, 174-75, 181, 303-4 banks, 94, 106 Basic Law, 279, 304, 315, 330 Constitutional Court, 16, 255, 261, 278, 281, 283-84, 288, 289, 313, 314-16, 326-27, 330 as reluctant hegemon, 231-36 GIIPS countries, 35-37, 40-42, 45 globalisation, 17, 50, 237 GMOs (genetically-modified organisms), 309

271, 275-77, 281, 283, 284, 288, 291

financialisation, 100-101

Finland, 93, 98, 181, 279



346 INDEX

goods, 8, 56, 80, 82, 83, 86, 112, 118, macroeconomic, 10, 14, 37, 43-44, 226, 229, 236, 245 46, 177, 271, 273, 286 club, 23, 235-38 IMF (International Monetary collective, 6, 18, 218-20, 227, 236 Fund), 5, 38, 59, 61, 63, 65, 72-74, public, 56, 81, 148, 151, 156, 158, 108-9 160, 272-74, 278, 290 imports, 34, 35, 42 governance, 1, 20, 55, 57, 64, 74, 158, incentives, 21, 57, 59, 67, 69, 71, 101, 166, 192, 304, 305-9, 317 219, 224, 236, 277, 280 deficits, 53-57, 69 selective, 219, 220 income, tax, 171, 178 economic, see economic governance turn to, 307-11 incomplete contract, 13, 167, 170-71, government(s), 2, 30-32, 39-45, 56, 71, 173, 181, 183-85 120, 136-37, 181-82, 241-42, 249, and integration by regulation, 252-53, 280-82 174 - 80bonded, 266-67, 269-78, 287, indebted states, 79, 112 291, 294 taxes in, 102-19 interlocked levels, 13-14 independence, 8, 21, 33, 253, 254, by law, 9-11 260, 315 national, 2, 6, 13, 44, 67, 70, 75, 249, indicators, 10, 39, 42, 70, 177, 273, 326 252, 276, 278, 279 inequalities, 81, 140–41, 289, 294 governmentalisation, 281-82 inflation, 31, 34–35, 41–42, 85, 96 Greece, 2, 35–39, 40, 58, 59, 63, 94, 96, rampant, 30-31 rates, 32, 35, 174, 175 98-99, 104, 108, 180-81 influence costs, 222-23 Council of State, 281, 283, 289, 292 informal accountability relations, growth, 13, 31, 33, 56, 96, 98, 99-101, 192, 194, 212 109, 112, 277, 279, 286 information, 193-96, 198, 200, 209, economic, 11, 34, 41-42, 137 213, 288, 290, 293 automatic exchange of, 115-16, 118 harmonisation, 7, 21, 79, 81, 84, 87, 115, 118, 227, 237, 308, 310 input legitimacy, 51, 184-85, 327 institutional leadership, 226 tax, 80, 82, 85-87, 117 Hayek, F. von, 46, 303, 321 institutional self-interests, 13, 168, 244 institutionalisation, 6, 138, 274, Hegel, G., 129, 131–37, 139, 141, 290, 312 143, 314 institutions, 12, 19-20, 23, 52, 128-31, hegemonic stability, 234–35 hegemons, 231, 235, 237 133-34, 148-49, 158-59, 180-81, benevolent, 232–33 191, 225-27, 282 hegemony, 33, 66, 233-35 democratic, 254, 327 domestic, 6, 20, 21, 24, 70-71 German, 232, 233-34 heterogeneity, 8, 19, 184, 317, 323 non-majoritarian, 3, 13, 21, 173, 329 and interdependence, 11-13 political, 2, 128, 131, 250 history, 1, 137-40, 143, 144, 150, 151, insurance, 61, 72, 102, 104 integration 153, 166, 169, 173, 232, 233 asymmetric, 14-16, 19 identities, 16, 118, 144, 261 conflict-minimizing, 166-85 imbalances, 34, 36, 41, 43-44, 45-46, differentiated, 177, 235

64, 73, 101, 177

external, 21, 34

economic, 80, 85, 218, 245, 248, 251,

303, 315



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-10718-2 - The End of the Eurocrats' Dream: Adjusting to European Diversity Edited by D. Chalmers, M. Jachtenfuchs and C. Joerges Index

INDEX 347

financial, 67-68, 73, 75, 101, 293 market, 34, 88, 229, 245-46 monetary, 1, 29, 46, 78, 92, 174 negative, 226, 247 political, 220, 229, 313 process, 21, 53, 146, 168, 229, 239, 324 project, 300, 303-4, 306, 312, 324 by regulation, 23, 167, 170, 171-73 and incomplete contract, 174-80 social, 88 by stealth, 14, 230, 241 sustainable, 66, 72 through law, 248, 299-311 interactive adjudication, 330-31 interdependence, 57, 61, 74-75, 133, 200 and heterogeneity, 11-13 interdependencies, 53, 69, 70-71 interest rates, 32, 34-35, 39, 107, 174, 175 real, 35, 42 interests, 12, 13, 19, 23, 24, 79, 112–13, 218, 222, 246-47, 258-59, 323 common, 63, 218-19, 236, 238 vested, 13, 72 intergovernmental conflicts, 170 avoidance, 167-73 intergovernmental treaties, 176, 178, 185 internal devaluation, 109, 112-13, 320 internal market, 80, 86, 168, 171-72, 179, 229, 300, 310, 312 international financial crisis, 36-37, 45international law, 6, 242, 244, 302, 312 interparliamentary forums, 203 and Herman Van Rompuy, 199-200 and Mario Draghi, 212 and Olli Rehn, 203-5 interpretation, 64, 148-49, 151, 153, 156-60, 243, 247-48, 249, 252-54, 257, 258, 310-12 Ireland, 35-38, 39, 58-59, 67, 70, 87, 93, 94, 96-100, 103, 104-6, 108 iron cage, 50-51 Italy, 35, 38, 84, 87, 93, 94, 96, 98, 103, 104, 111, 113-14

Japan, 39, 48, 93, 111 joint-decision making, 167-73, 183 joint-decision trap, 167-69, 173, 184 judicial review, 257, 258, 282, 318 judicial self-restraint, 258-60 judiciary, 182, 254, 258, 260-61 jurisprudence, and legitimacy, 248-52 deficit, 55-56 distributive, 56 social, 20, 56 Keynesian concertation, 30-31 knowledge, 20, 46, 47, 127, 136-37, 311 labor costs, 98, 112, 142-43 unit, 35, 40, 42, 43 law in crisis, 317-22 integration through, 248, 299-311 law-politics relationship, 300–301 unfreezing through conflicts law, 323 leaders, 139, 147, 203, 224-25, 227, 232, 235, 314 Commission as leader, 226-31 political, 62, 66, 136-37, 138-39, 142, 144 leadership, 227-28, 231, 234, 236 collective, 224, 226-27, 235 institutional, 226 kinds of, 224-26 legacy costs, 61, 65, 75 legal norms, 10, 253, 257, 270, 294 legal subjectivities, 14-16 legality, 282-84, 319 legitimacy, 41, 47, 54, 157, 158, 185, 193, 300, 305, 307, 324, 326–27 and courts, 241-63 democratic, 22, 47-48, 160-61, 197, 226, 251, 302, 303, 315, 321 difficulty of solving problem, 252-59 gap, 250-52 input, 51, 184-85, 327 and jurisprudence, 248-52 legitimate enforcement, 53, 54 liberalism

economic, 154, 303 embedded, 305



348 INDEX

Lisbon Treaty, 140, 169, 181, 196, 198, 227, 260 Luxembourg, 84, 279

Maastricht Treaty, 38, 90, 93, 174, 223, 230, 251, 299, 300, 312–14, 316, 320 Maastricht-Urteil, 299, 313, 314-16 Macroeconomic Imbalance Procedure (MIP), 64, 70, 176, 287, 327 macroeconomic imbalances, 10, 14, 37, 43-44, 46, 177, 271, 273, 286 macroeconomic management, 31, 32, 41 macroeconomic performance, 176-77, 270 macroeconomic policies, 10, 41, 44, 47, macroeconomic steering, 21, 30-31, 33-34, 43, 87, 101 majority voting, 169, 228, 300, 306 market economies, 46, 47, 132, 137 market integration, 34, 88, 229, 245-46 market-based mechanisms, 67–68, 69 markets, 12, 30-31, 42, 50, 51, 53, 67, 68-69, 75, 102, 175, 182 currency, 32-33, 150 energy, 150 internal, 80, 86, 168, 171-72, 179, 229, 300, 310, 312 Marx, K., 129, 132, 133, 135, 137 mediations, 133, 137 memoranda of understanding, 16, 23, 46, 114, 271, 275, 320, 326, 328–29 MEPs, 209, 210, 213

Procedure modern citizenship, 128–29, 131, 285 institutional conditions, 130–35 monetary dialogues, 205–9, 212–13 monetary integration, 1, 29, 46, 78,

MIP, see Macroeconomic Imbalance

92, 174 monetary policy, 19, 31, 32, 34, 190–91, 205, 206, 208, 210, 313, 316, 320 monetary reflation, 41–42

monetary union, 60–62, 74–75, 90, 92, 173–75, 223, 230, 232–33, 235–36, 270, 312–14, 315–16 costs of non-disintegration, 29–48

as dysfunctional macroeconomic regime, 33 and imbalances, 36–37 non-federal governance, 66–74 monitoring, costs, 221, 222 monopoly, 13, 227, 231, 269 moral economy, 283, 291 moral hazard, 58–59, 62, 73 multinationals, 89 mutual commitments, 74, 268, 278, 285 mutual destabilisation, 15, 16

nation states, 18, 148, 154, 159, 161, 229, 238, 258, 315, 323 national actors, 8, 191 national administrations, 8-9, 19, 24, 291 national citizenship, 15-16, 20, 129 - 31, 287dilution, 285-90 national constitutional courts, see constitutional courts national constitutions, 80, 176, 243, 249, 250, 256, 261 national courts, 8, 241, 243, 245, 247, 255, 258, 261, 289 national discretion, 69 national fiscal policies, 44, 90, 151, 174 national governments, 2, 6, 13, 44, 67, 70, 75, 249, 252, 276, 278, 279 national laws, 6, 15, 24, 86-88, 89, 198, 229, 242–44, 245–46, 248, 288 national level, 53, 56, 70, 73, 116, 198, 204, 210, 214, 224, 246, 251 national parliaments, 24, 176, 178, 190-91, 193-94, 260, 262, 274, 290-91, 293, 326, 327

national sovereignty, 1, 17, 116, 174, 278, 283 national tax autonomy, 82, 116–18 national tax laws, 79, 87–89, 116, 118 national tax systems, 78–120 national veto, 168–69

and European Parliament, 325-27

and Herman Van Rompuy, 197-99

and Mario Draghi, 210-12

and Olli Rehn, 202-3



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-10718-2 - The End of the Eurocrats' Dream: Adjusting to European Diversity Edited by D. Chalmers, M. Jachtenfuchs and C. Joerges Index

INDEX 349

negotiations, 4, 139, 143, 173, 222, 230-31, 291, 326 neo-liberalism, 85, 304-6 Netherlands, 12, 84, 93, 94, 96-98, 103, 104, 140, 175, 181, 203, 241-42 Neumark, F, 78-120 new European configuration, 21-24 no-bail-out clause, 38, 175 non-disintegration, 29, 41, 45, 47 costs, 29-48 politico-economic costs, 46-47 social costs, 40-41 non-majoritarian actors, delegation to, 170, 184 non-majoritarian institutions, 3, 13, 21, 173, 329 non-optimal currency area, 45-46, 58, normative benchmarks, 52-53 norms, 6, 9, 23, 62, 113, 253, 256, 263, 271, 273, 280, 322 legal, 10, 253, 257, 270, 294 quasi-constitutional, 113 threshold, 273 Norway, 93 obstacles to economic freedoms, taxes as, 90-91 oil crises, 146, 150 oil-price crisis, 30-31 OMC (Open Method of Coordination), 64, 88, 177, 307-8 OMT (Outright Monetary Transactions), 3, 61, 73-74, 211, 283 Open Method of Coordination, see OMC optimal currency area, 34, 41, 92, 98 ordoliberalism, 64, 85, 304, 313 Outright Monetary Transactions, see OMT over-integration cost, 45 economic, 45, 48 oversight, 9, 269-71 heavy, 271-72 ownership, 51, 204, 221-22, 247, 268, 291, 327 collective, 221-22, 223

Padoa-Schioppa Report, 32-33 parliamentarisation, 262 parliamentary accountability, 185, 215 parliamentary democracy, 292, 293-94 parliamentary opportunism, 290-94 parliamentary powers, 24, 266-67 parliaments, 191, 194, 195, 197, 199-201, 203, 206, 209, 269, 272, 290-94, 326-27 passivity, 137 personal taxes, 83-84 Plamenatz, J., 225-26, 228 polarisation, 138, 141 policy instruments, 32, 44 political accountability, 190-215, 223, 321 Commission, 200-204 de facto, 196, 198 executive, 192-94 levels of, 191, 215 post-crisis, 212–15 President of the European Council, 195-200 relations, 193, 212 political autonomy, 57, 294, 305, 320, 326, 327 political branches of government, 252-53, 254, 256, 263 political decisions, 81, 141, 228, 241, 262, 315 political economy, 18, 55, 218, 274 of euro-area crisis, 58-66 political entrepreneurs, 147, 151-53, 155, 157–58, 160, 220 political institutions, 2, 128, 131, 250 political integration, 220, 229, 313 political leaders, 62, 66, 136-37, 138-39, 142, 144 political order, 17, 149-50, 153-54, 157 political powers, 128, 129, 139, 143, 254 political processes, 71, 146, 221, 253-54, 314, 317, 325 political salience, 43, 46, 305 political systems, 8, 22, 149, 153-54, 157-58, 159-60, 259 political transaction costs, 221-24 political union, 29, 74, 212, 230, 232-33, 237, 299, 315



350 INDEX

politicians, 29, 50-52, 65, 139, 257-58 public crisis politics and Eurocrats, politicisation, 3, 22, 147, 160 politics, 57, 59, 127, 128, 130-32, 137, public debt, 37, 70, 90, 96, 99, 101, 105, 139, 142, 148, 152, 253-54, 255 113, 172, 182, 185, 273 crisis, 22, 148, 155-57, 159-61, 185 public democratic space, 141, 143 democratic, 17, 44, 159 public expenditure, 3, 38, 96, 100, domestic, 51, 69, 74, 159 109, 113 high, 299, 331 public good, 156-59 polity-building, 53, 54-55, 73 public goods, 56, 81, 148, 151, 272-74, Portugal, 16, 29, 35-38, 84, 94, 96-99, 278, 290 103, 104-7, 108, 181-82, 271, 279 public sector, 40, 59, 111, 250, 277, 288 Constitutional Tribunal, 288, 292 public services, 16, 95, 112, 143, 246-47 government, 329 public sphere, 22, 131, 139, 148, 155 post-crisis world, 50, 267, 289 wider, 148, 155, 156, 160 postfunctionalism, 166-67 public-sector deficits, 33, 38, 46 poverty, 138, 141 power, executive, 23, 128, 190, 192, qualified majority, 44, 169, 177 214-15, 307, 308 quasi-constitutional norms, 113 powers, 4-5, 78-80, 157-58, 172, rampant inflation, 30-31 179-80, 200-201, 243-45, 248-50, ratchet effect, 168, 173, 184-85 259-63, 266-69, 280-83, 309-11 budgetary, 5, 228, 319 ratification, 10, 169, 249, 255, 304 rating agencies, 37-38 discretionary, 11, 309, 311 real estate, bubbles, 97, 99 exclusive, 1, 250 real exchange rates, 36, 40, 42 formal, 113, 200, 213 legislative, 246, 251, 307 real interest rates, 35, 42 recessions, 21, 30, 31, 34, 37, 40, 45, 55 parliamentary, 24, 266-67 Rechtsstaat, Social and Democratic, political, 128, 129, 139, 143, 254 78-81, 84, 85, 120 sovereign, 267, 281-82 tax collecting, 80, 81-83, 91-92, reciprocity, 53-54, 73 diffuse, 54 117, 119-20 vertical division of, 23, 172, 183 referral procedure, 245 reflation, monetary, 41-42 Presidents reforms, 7, 113, 182, 211, 262, of the European Central Bank, 190 270-72, 320 of the European Council, 190–91, structural, 4, 69, 142, 155, 212, 277, 213 - 15political accountability, 195-200 321, 328 price stability, 31, 33, 39, 313-15 regulation integration by, 23, 167, 170, 171-73, primacy, 6, 15, 24, 56, 243, 254, 303-4 private debt, 37, 61, 96–101, 102, 108 174, 181, 184 as booster of tax revenue, 96-100 turn to, 306 growth, 96-99, 100-101 regulatory policies, 3, 46, 178, 180, 309 Rehn privatisation, 2, 272, 289 Olli, 190, 201-4, 206, 213 pro-European entrepreneurs, 153, 160 and European Parliament, 200–202 pro-Europeans, 154, 156-57 and interparliamentary forums, prosperity, economic, 150, 151, 157, 159 - 60203 - 5and national parliaments, 202-3 prudential supervision, 4, 7, 14, 208



INDEX 351

reluctant hegemon problem, 231-36 removal of tax obstacles, 85, 89-91, 95, 100 - 101integration through, 100-101 renationalisation, 159 representation, 5, 16, 136, 142, 148, 268 representatives, 199, 203-4, 249-50, 288, 309, 313, 327 rescue funds, 39, 45 rescue packages, 38, 180-81, 326 resources, 8, 84, 171, 172, 222, 225, 236, 269 responsibility, 31, 60, 67, 70, 73, 75, 102, 109, 225, 227, 231, 233 retransformation of Europe, 1-24 revenue, 81, 92, 94-95, 101, 117, 140, 269, 285-86 tax, 38, 84, 94, 96, 99-100, 102, 104 review, judicial, 257, 258, 282, 318 revisionist agendas, 152, 154, 159 rights, 54, 118, 128, 131–32, 138, 142-43, 195, 201, 248, 261, 302 fundamental, 245, 248, 282 social, 138, 269, 329 risk costs, 222, 224 risk regulation, 63, 266-67, 269-78, 290, 292, 294 risks, 21-22, 55-56, 58, 60-61, 70-72, 102, 224, 267, 273, 277-79, 284-85, 299 community of, 102, 278-84 financial, 79, 103-4, 106-7, 108-9, 181 widow, 101-2, 104, 107

salience, political, 43, 46, 305 sanctions, 9, 10, 44, 47, 54, 175, 177, 236, 271, 273–74, 286 scale issue, 6–7 Schoenberger, C., 233–35 securities, 3–4, 180, 310 security, 50, 150–51, 160, 171 policy, 150, 231 selective incentives, 219, 220 self-interest, institutional, 13, 168, 244 self-restraint, judicial, 258–60 services, 35, 38, 79, 81, 89, 118, 221, 229, 235, 245-46 public, 16, 95, 112, 143, 246-47 SGP, see Stability and Growth Pact shared rules, 53, 54 shocks, 67-68, 71-72, 112, 148-53, Single European Act, 249, 251, 300, 306 single market, 11, 14, 17, 19, 86–88, 229, 244 Single Resolution Fund, 179–80, 183 - 84Single Supervisory Mechanism, see SSM skills, 50, 67, 141, 143 Social and Democratic Rechtsstaat, 78 - 120Social and Democratic Tax State, 81, 116-19, 120 social citizenship, 128–29 social conflict, 18-19, 24 social costs, 45-46, 52 non-disintegration, 40-41 social model, European, 320, 328 social policy, 4–5, 17, 127, 247, 269, 287, 289, 307, 315 social regulation, 306-7, 312 social rights, 138, 269, 329 social security, contributions, 84, 94-96 social solidarity, 139, 141 social State, 5, 81, 143 socialisation, 129, 132, 134-35 socio-economic diversity, 307, 327-29 solidarity, 112, 129, 135, 143, 326, 329 European, 39 social, 139, 141 sovereign powers, 267, 281-82 sovereign states, 56, 171, 238, 242, 324 sovereign-bank nexus, 2, 178, 180 sovereignty, 5, 24, 65, 118, 131, 146, 179, 266-68, 269, 272, 288, 294 divided, 278-84 division of, 280-82, 288 national, 1, 17, 116, 174, 278, 283 Spain, 35-38, 42, 58-60, 67, 84, 93, 94, 96-100, 102-3, 104-7, 108, 113-14 SSM (Single Supervisory Mechanism), 179, 208-11



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-10718-2 - The End of the Eurocrats' Dream: Adjusting to European Diversity Edited by D. Chalmers, M. Jachtenfuchs and C. Joerges Index

352 INDEX

stabilisation deficit, 55, 60, 67 tax cooperation, 88, 94, 107, 115 stability, 19, 56, 64, 172, 175-76, 181, tax gap, 96, 99, 100-101, 104 225, 231, 270, 275, 310, 314 tax harmonisation, 80, 82, 85-86, 117 economic, 280, 284 1970s, 86-87 financial, 275, 311, 318-19 1980s, 87-88 hegemonic, 234-35 tax income, 171, 178 prices, 31, 33, 39, 313-15 tax laws, national, 79, 87-89, Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), 37, 116, 118 38, 41, 44, 60, 64, 172, 175-76, 181, tax obstacles, removal, 85, 89-91, 95, 300, 314, 315 100 - 101stability community, 315 tax policies, see fiscal policy state aids, 104, 246 tax revenue, 38, 84, 94, 96, 99-100, state of the Union, 1-5, 299 102, 104 statehood, facade of, 172, 178 total, 94-96 status quo, 1, 13, 117, 169 tax systems, Europeanisation, 78–120 stealth, 14, 102, 251-52, 260 taxation, 16, 79, 84, 90, 93, 100, 114, integration by, 14, 230, 241 117, 119, 266, 268-69, 272 structural deficits, 273, 285 see also fiscal policy structural reforms, 4, 69, 142, 155, 212, and modern European constitutional 277, 321, 328 settlement, 267–69 taxes, 79-83, 87-88, 89, 91-93, 94-96, subsidiarity, 260 Suez crisis, 150-51 99-102, 104, 112, 117-20, 266, supervision, 4, 61-62, 102, 114, 151, 267 - 69see also fiscal policy 179, 210, 326 as obstacles to economic freedoms, banking, 2, 166, 178-80, 183, 210 prudential, 4, 7, 14, 208 90 - 91support, financial, 4–5, 11, 16, 19, 267, personal, 83-84 271, 275-77, 281, 283, 284, 288, 291 turnover, 80-81 supranational level, 52, 66, 80, 92, 114, taxpayers, 2-3, 91, 94, 100-101, 103, 120, 222, 226, 227, 236 108-12, 273 supremacy, 219, 243-44, 249, 302, 305, technocracy, 14, 20, 64 317, 319 TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union), 169, 174-75, surplus countries, 36, 58–59, 61, 66, 71, 179, 182, 200-201, 205, 270, 272, 75, 182 310, 313, 317-18, 319-20 surveillance, budgetary, 175-78, 318 sustainable integration, 66, 72 time pressure, 149, 160, 311 TINA (There Is No Alternative), 18 Sweden, 12, 48, 93, 179, 236 Switzerland, 93 top-down disciplines, 74 trade, 98, 99, 132-33 tasks, 144, 147, 172, 179, 183, 191, 193, transaction costs, 18 208, 225, 234, 237, 238 political, 221-24 tax bases, 11, 22, 72, 86, 92, 94, transparency, 5, 65, 191-92, 200 99, 115, 118 treaties, intergovernmental, 176, 178, 185 tax collecting powers, 80, 81–83, 91-92, 117, 119-20 Treaty of Rome, 218, 226, 235, 241-42, abandonment of plans to transfer, 243, 304 91 - 92Trichet, Jean-Claude, 103, 117, 206-8,

210, 213-14

tax competition, 93-94, 116



INDEX 353

Troika, 47, 62–65, 74, 159 conditionality, 71, 74 trust, 22, 44, 131, 135, 139, 142, 167, 226, 276 TSCG (Treaty on Stability, Co-ordination and Governance), 10, 176, 293, 318 Turkey, 82 turnover taxes, 80–81

unanimity, 4, 14, 95, 168–70, 177, 179, 184, 255, 293 underwriting, 106–7, 109 unemployment, 31, 35, 41, 60, 96, 140 union, political, 29, 74, 212, 230, 232–33, 237, 299, 315 unit labor costs, 35, 40, 42, 43 unitary currency, 40, 45–46 United Kingdom, 29, 93–94, 96, 99, 104, 111 United States, 39, 55, 68, 103, 111, 169, 171, 175, 183, 229, 231–32, 235 United States of Europe, 29, 212 USA, see United States

Value Added Taxation, see VAT Van Gend & Loos case, 241, 242, 244, 301, 319 Van Rompuy Herman, 190, 213, 277 and European Parliament, 195-97 and interparliamentary forums, 199-200 and national parliaments, 197-99 VAT (Value Added Taxation), 83, 86-87, 92, 96, 119 vertical division of powers, 23, 172, 183 vested interests, 13, 72 veto, national, 168-69 veto players, 13, 169, 182, 246, 250 Vice-Presidents of the Commission, 190 voting, majority, 169, 228, 300, 306

wages, 31, 34–35, 38, 40, 60, 96–97, 140, 281 weak central resources, 8, 9 wealth, 87, 101, 118, 119–20, 140 Weber, M, 50–51 welfare policies, 9, 56, 287, 292 welfare State, 19, 84, 143, 268 Werner Plan, 224, 230 Westphalian system, 147, 149, 154, 160 widow risks, 101–2, 104, 107