## Contents

List of Figures and Tables	xi
List of Abbreviations	xiii
·	1
1. The Integration Paradox and the Rise of New Intergovernmentalism	_
1.1 The Legacy of the Maastricht Treaty	7
	10
1.2 The Peak and End of Legislative Field The Expansion of Policy  1.3 Three New Areas of EU Activity and the Expansion of Policy	18
Coordination	25
1.4 Methods Matter	30
1.5 Conclusions	30
1.5 Conclusions	33
2. Deliberative Intergovernmentalism and Institutional Change	34
2.1 The Community Method and New Intergovernmentalism	
2.1.1 The Community Method and the	35
a	40
Supranationalism and Intergovernmentalism  2.1.2 Supranationalism and Intergovernmentalism	
2.2 The Study of New Governance, the Europeans	44
and the Council So Far	44
and the Council So Fai  2.2.1 The Debate about New Modes of Governance  2.2.1 The Debate about New Modes of Governance	
2.2.1 The Debate about New Woods of a council as Forums 2.2.2 The European Council and the Council as Forums	48
of Intergovernmental Decision-making	55
2.3 A New Analytical Framework	57
2.3 A New Analytical Hamework  2.3.1 The Underlying Institutional Dynamic	61
2.3.2 Institutional Engineering	65
2.4 Conclusions	68
3. The European Council: the New Centre of Political Gravity	69
nd Note in the Policy-Haking 1 10000	74
7 A miles of Distance Duller Design	7 <del>4</del> 78
3.2 The Matrix of European Goal 3.3 Codifying Change: from Maastricht to Lisbon	76 91
3.4 The Agenda	71

## Contents

	3.5	The Core Working Method: Participation, Secrecy, and	
		Access to Dialogue	98
	3.6	The Introduction of New Working Methods: Extraordinary,	
		Informal, and Single-issue Meetings	104
	3.7	A Full-time President	111
	3.8	The Euro Summits	126
	3.9	The European Council Conclusions as an Instrument	_
		for Exercising Leadership	133
	3.10	Conclusions	141
4.	The (	Council: from Law-making to Policy Coordination	148
	4.1	Reforming the Council	150
	4.2	The Eurogroup and the ECOFIN Council	155
		4.2.1 Working Methods: the Emphasis on Informal	
		Policy Dialogue	156
		4.2.2 The Presidency Regime	164
		4.2.3 Enlargement and Multi-speed Integration	167
	4.3	The Foreign Affairs Council	171
		4.3.1 Refocusing the Agenda	171
		4.3.2 Working Methods: Participation Regime and	
		Gymnich Meetings	174
		4.3.3 The Role of the High Representative as Chair	177
	4.4	The EPSCO Council	180
		4.4.1 The Core Working Method: a Hybrid and a Mega	
		Council	181
		4.4.2 Relations with ECOFIN and the European Council	186
	4.5	The Proliferation of Expert Committees and the New	
		Bureaucratic Intergovernmental Infrastructure	189
		4.5.1 The EFC and the Eurogroup Working Group	192
		4.5.2 The PSC	195
		4.5.3 The Policy Unit and the EEAS	202
		4.5.4 Other Socio-economic Governance Committees	207
	4.6	•	210
		4.6.1 The General Affairs Council	211
		4.6.2 The Rotating Presidency of the Council	213
		4.6.3 COREPER	217
	4.7	Conclusions	219
5.	New	Intergovernmentalism and the Future of European	
		gration	226
	5.1	The Role of Supranational Actors	227

	Contents
5.2 The Challenge of Democratic Control	235
5.3 Deliberative Intergovernmentalism and	
Integration Theory	240
List of Interviewees	247
References	249
Index	261