Contents

Tai	ble of Cases	ix		
Short Bio				
Lis	List of Abbreviations			
1.	Introduction	1		
2.	The EU during Brexit: The Withdrawal Negotiations	9		
	1. Introduction	9		
	2. The Unity of the EU	11		
	2.1 Organizational Arrangements	11		
	2.2 Strategic Priorities	14		
	3. Between 'Hard Brexit' and 'No Brexit'	17		
	3.1 Preparations	18		
	3.2 Extensions	21		
	4. The Emergence of the EU27	25		
	4.1 The Debate on the Future of Europe	25		
	4.2 The Development of EU Common Security and Defence Policy			
	5. Conclusion	33		
3.	The EU because of Brexit: Transitional Institutional Issues	35		
	1. Introduction	35		
	2. The European Parliament	37		
	2.1 The Outlook: European Parliament Composition	37		
	2.2 The Outcome: European Parliament Elections	43		
	3. The Functioning of the EU	47		
	3.1 European Commission	48		
	3.2 Council of the EU	50		
	4. The Financing of the EU	52		
	4.1 EU Revenues and Expenditures	53		
	4.2 The New Budget Negotiations	55		
	5. Conclusion	57		
4.	The EU besides Brexit: Crises Governance	59		
	1. Introduction	59		
	2. Old Crises	61		
	2.1 Euro-crisis	61		
	2.2 Migration Crisis	63		
	2.3 Rule of Law Crisis	66		

viii CONTENTS

	3. New Crises	68
	3.1 Enlargement	68
	3.2 Climate Change	70
	3.3 Covid-19	71
	4. Competing Visions	75
	4.1 Polity	76
	4.2 Market	78
	4.3 Autocracy	79
	5. Conclusion	80
5.	The EU after Brexit: Constitutional Reforms	83
	1. Introduction	83
	2. Objectives of Reform	85
	2.1 The Shortcomings of the EU System of Governance	86
	2.2 The Exigencies of the EU Recovery	90
	3. Obstacles to Reform	95
	3.1 The Rules on EU Treaty Amendment	95
	3.2 The Problem of the Veto	98
	4. Opportunities for Reform	103
	4.1 The Use of Intergovernmental Agreements in EMU	104
	4.2 Overcoming the Veto	105
	5. Conclusion	108
6.	The EU beyond Brexit: the Conference on the Future	
	of Europe	109
	1. Introduction	109
	2. Plans for the Conference	111
	2.1 Pre-Covid-19	111
	2.2 Post-Covid-19	116
	3. Precedents for the Conference	119
	3.1 The Conference of Messina	119
	3.2 The Convention on the Future of Europe	121
	4. Prospects for the Conference	123
	4.1 The Option of a Political Compact	124
	4.2 The Challenge of a Defining Moment	129
	5. Conclusion	132
7.	Conclusion	135
In	dex	139