

The transformation of the euro: law, contract, solidarity Borger, V.

# Citation

Borger, V. (2018, January 31). *The transformation of the euro: law, contract, solidarity. Meijers-reeks*. E.M. Meijers Instituut voor Rechtswetenschappelijk onderzoek van de Faculteit Rechtsgeleerdheid van de Universiteit Leiden, Leiden. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/60262

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: <a href="https://hdl.handle.net/1887/60262">https://hdl.handle.net/1887/60262</a>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

# Cover Page



# Universiteit Leiden



The handle <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/1887/60262">http://hdl.handle.net/1887/60262</a> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Borger, Vestert

**Title:** The transformation of the euro : law, contract, solidarity

Date: 2018-01-31

#### BOOKS, ARTICLES, SPEECHES (ALPHABETICAL)

- 'Political Questions, Sovereign Rights, and Sovereign Immunity' (2016) 130
   Harvard Law Review 723.
- Acharya VV and Schnabel P, 'How Banks Played the Leverage Game' in Acharya VV and Richardson M, Restoring Financial Stability: How to Repair a Failed System (John Wiley & Sons 2009) 83.
- Ackerman B, We the People II: Transformations (HUP 1998).
- -- 'The Emergency Constitution' (2003-2004) 113 Yale LJ 1029.
- Adam S and Parras FJM, 'The European Stability Mechanism through the Legal Meanderings of the Union's Constitutionalism: Comment on *Pringle*' (2013) 38 EL Rev 848.
- Adamski D, 'Economic Constitution of the Euro Area after the *Gauweiler* Preliminary Ruling' (2015) 52 CML Rev 1451.
- Adloff F and Mau A, 'Giving Social Ties, Reciprocity in Modern Society' (2006) 47 European Journal of Sociology 93.
- Agamben G, State of Exception (The University of Chicago Press 2005).
- Aglietta M, 'A Lender of Last Resort for Europe' in CAE Goodhart, Which Lender of Last Resort For Europe (Central Banking Publications 2000) 31.
- Alesina A, 'Macroeconomics and Politics' (1988) 3 NBER Macroeconomics Annual 13.
- -- and Summers LH, 'Central Bank Independence and Macroeconomic Performance: Some Comparative Evidence' (1993) 25 Journal of Money, Credit and Banking 151.
- Alexander JC, 'The Centrality of the Classics' in Giddens A and Turner JH (eds), *Social Theory Today* (Polity Press 1987) 11.
- Alexy R, A Theory of Legal Argumentation: The Theory of Rational Discourse as Theory of Legal Justification (OUP 1989).
- − − *A Theory of Constitutional Rights* (OUP 2010).
- Altavilla C, Giannone D and Lenza M, 'The financial and macroeconomic effects of OMT announcements' (ECB Working Paper series No 1707, August 2014).
- Amtenbrink F, 'The Democratic Accountability of Central Banks: The European Central Bank in the Light of its Peers' (DPhil thesis, University of Groningen 1998).
- -- 'On the Legitimacy and Democratic Accountability of the European Central Bank: Legal Arrangements and Practical Experiences' in Arnull A and Wincott D (eds), Accountability and Legitimacy in the European Union (OUP 2002) 147.
- 'Europe in Times of Economic Crisis: Bringing Europe's Citizens Closer to One Another?' in Michael Dougan, Niahm Nic Shuibhne and Eleanor Spaventa (eds), Empowerment and Disempowerment of the European Citizen (Hart 2012) 171.

De Haan and Sleijpen OCHM, 'The Stability and Growth Pact: Placebo or Panacea
 (I) (1997) 9 EBLR 202.

- De Haan J and Sleijpen OCHM, 'The Stability and Growth Pact: Placebo or Panacea (II) (1997) 10 EBLR 233.
- -- and De Haan J, 'The European Central Bank: An Independent Specialized Organization of Community Law: A Comment' (2002) 39 CML Rev 65.
- and De Haan J, 'Economic Governance in the European Union: Fiscal Policy Discipline versus Flexibility' (2003) 40 CML Rev 1075.
- -- and De Haan J, 'Reforming the Stability and Growth Pact' (2006) 31 EL Rev 402.
- -- Geelhoed LA and Kingston S, 'Economic, Monetary and Social Policy' in Kapteyn PJG and others (eds), The Law of the European Union and the European Communities (Kluwer Law International 2008) 881.
- - and Van de Gronden JW, 'Economisch recht en het Verdrag van Lissabon II: Europese Economische en Monetaire Unie' (2008) 56 SEW 389.
- Anagnostaras G, 'In the ECB We Trust...the FCC We Dare! The OMT Preliminary Ruling' (2015) 40 EL Rev 744.
- Andersen H, 'Functionalism' in Andersen H and Kaspersen LB (eds), Classical and Modern Social Theory (Blackwell Publishers 2000) 213.
- Arato J, 'Treaty Interpretation and Constitutional Transformation: Informal Change in International Organizations' (2013) 38 Yale J Int'l L 289.
- Archer MS, Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach (CUP1995).
- Aristotle, Politics (CDC Reeve tr, Hackett Publishing Company 1998).
- -- Nichomachean Ethics (C Rowe tr, S Broadie and C Rowe eds, OUP 2002).
- -- On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse (GA Kennedy tr, OUP 2007).
- Arnull A, The European Union and Its Court of Justice (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, OUP 2006).
- Ash TG, The Polish Revolution: Solidarity (YUP 2002).
- Asmussen J, 'Key issues about the crisis and the European response' (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, 20 April 2012).
- Athanassiou P, 'Of Past Measures and Future Plans for Europe's Exit From the Sovereign Debt Crisis: What is Legally Possible (and What is Not)' (2011) 36 EL Rev 558.
- Attinasi M-G, Checherita C and Nickel C, 'What Explains the Surge in Euro Area Sovereign Spreads During the Financial Crisis of 2007-2009?' (ECB Working Paper Series 2009, No 1131).
- Bagehot W, Lombard street: a description of the money market (London 1875).
- Bardutzky S and Fahey E, 'Who Got to Adjudicate the EU's Financial crisis and Why? Judicial Review of the Legal Instruments of the Eurozone' in Adams M, Fabbrini F and Larouche P (eds), *The Constitutionalization of European Budgetary Constraints* (Hart Publishing 2014) 341.
- Barnard C, 'EU Citizenship and the Principle of Solidarity' in Eleanor Spaventa and Michael Dougan (eds), *Social Welfare and EU Law* (Hart Publishing 2005) 157.
- Barker E, The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle (Dover Publications 1972).
- Baroncelli S, 'The *Gauweiler* Judgment in View of the Case Law of the European Court of Justice on European Central Bank Independence: Between Substance and Form' (2016) 23 MJ 79.

Barrett G, 'The Treaty Amendment on the European Stability Mechanism: Does it Require a Referendum in Ireland?' (2011) 29 Irish Law Times 152.

- Barro RJ and Gordon DB, 'A Positive Theory of Monetary Policy in a Natural Rate Model' (1983) 91 Journal of Political Economy 589.
- Bast J, 'Don't Act Beyond Your Powers: The Perils and Pitfalls of the German Constitutional Court's *Ultra Vires* Review' (2014) 15 GLJ 167.
- -- 'Deepening Supranational Integration: Interstate Solidarity in EU Migration Law'
   (2016) 22 European Public Law 289.
- Bastasin C, Saving Europe: Anatomy of a Dream (Brookings Institution Press 2015).
- Bayertz K, 'Four Uses of "Solidarity" in Bayertz K (ed), Solidarity (Kluwer 1999) 3.
- Beck G, The Legal Reasoning of the Court of Justice of the EU (Hart Publishing 2013).
- 'The Court of Justice, Legal Reasoning and the *Pringle* Case' (2014) 39 EL Rev 234.
- 'The Court of Justice, the Bundesverfassungsgericht and Legal Reasoning during the Euro Crisis: The Rule of Law as a Fair-Weather Phenomenon' (2014) 20 European Public Law 539.
- Bengoetxea J, The Legal Reasoning of the European Court of Justice: Towards a European Jurisprudence (Clarendon Press 1993).
- 'Book Review Essay: Text and Telos in the European Court of Justice Four Recent Takes on the Legal Reasoning of the ECJ' (2015) 11 EuConst 184.
- Bernhard W, Broz JL and Clark WR, 'The Political Economy of Monetary Institutions' (2002) 56 International Organization 693.
- Bernoth K, Von Hagen J and Schuknecht L, 'Sovereign risk premiums in the European government bond market' (2012) 31 Journal of International Money and Finance 975.
- Beukers T, 'The Eurozone Crisis and the Legitimacy of Differentiated Integration' in De Witte B, Héritier A and Trechsel AH (eds), *The Euro Crisis and the State of European Democracy* (EUI 2013) 7.
- 'The New ECB and Its Relationship with the Eurozone Member States: Between Central Bank Independence and Central Bank Intervention' (2013) 50 CML Rev 1579
- - 'The Bundesverfassungsgericht Preliminary Reference on the OMT Program: "In the ECB We Do Not Trust. What About You?" (2014) 15 GLJ 343.
- - 'Legal Writing(s) on the Eurozone Crisis' (EUI Working Papers No 11, 2015).
- and Reestman J-H, 'On Courts of Last Resort and Lenders of Last Resort' (2015)
   11 EuConst 227.
- Bhaskar R, The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences (Routledge 2000).
- Bickerton CJ, Hodson D and Puetter U, 'The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era' (2015) 53 JCMS 703.
- Bieber R and Maiani F, 'Sans solidarité point d'Union européenne' (2012) 48 RTD eur 295.
- Birks P and Mcleod G, *Justinian's Institutes* (with the Latin text of P Krueger, Duckworth 1987).
- Böckenförde E-W, 'The Concept of the Political: A Key to Understanding Carl Schmitt's Constitutional Theory' in Dyzenhaus D (ed), *Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism* (Duke University Press 1998) 37.

Bonefeld W, 'Freedom and the Strong State: On German Ordoliberalism' (2012) 17 New Political Economy 633.

- Bordo MD, 'The Lender of Last Resort: Alternative Views and Historical Experience' in Charles Goodhart and Gerhard Illing (eds), Financial Crises, Contagion, and the Lender of Last Resort: A Reader (OUP 2002) 109.
- Borger V, 'De eurocrisis als katalysator voor het Europese noodfonds en het toekomstig permanent stabilisatiemechanisme' (2011) 59 SEW 207.
- -- 'The ESM and the European Court's Predicament in *Pringle*' (2013) 14 GLJ 113.
- -- 'How the Debt Crisis Exposes the Development of Solidarity in the Euro Area' (2013) 9 EuConst 7.
- 'The European Stability Mechanism: a crisis tool operating at two junctures' in Matthias Haentjens and Bob Wessels (eds), Research Handbook on Crisis Management in the Banking Sector (Edward Elgar 2015) 150.
- -- 'Outright Monetary Transactions and the Stability Mandate of the ECB: Gauweiler'
   (2016) 53 CML Rev 139.
- and Cuyvers A, 'Het Verdrag inzake Stabiliteit, Coördinatie en Bestuur in de Economische en Monetaire Unie: de juridische en constitutionele complicaties van de eurocrisis' (2012) 60 SEW 370.
- Bratman ME, 'Shared intention' (1993) 104 Ethics 97.
- Brunkhorst H, Solidarity: From Civic Friendship to a Global Legal Community (The MIT Press 2005).
- -- 'Constituent Power and Constitutionalization in Europe' (2016) 14 ICON 680.
- Brunnermeier MK, 'Deciphering the Liquidity and Credit Crunch 2007-2008' (2009) 23 Journal of Economic Perspectives 77.
- Brunot F, Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900 IX: La Révolution et l'Empire (Librairie Armand Colin 1937).
- Buiter WH, 'Alice in Euroland' (1999) 37 JCMS 181.
- -- 'The 'Sense and Nonsense of Maastricht' Revisited: What Have We Learned About Stabilization in EMU?' (2006) 44 JCMS 687.
- and Rahbari E, 'The European Central Bank as a Lender of Last Resort for Sovereigns in the Eurozone' (2012) 50 JCMS Annual Review 6.
- Buti M and Carnot N, 'The EMU Debt Crisis: Early Lessons and Reforms' (2012) 50 JCMS 899.
- Calliess C, 'Das Europäische Solidaritätsprinzip und die Krise des Euro: Von der Rechtsgemeinschaft zur Solidaritätsgemeinschaft?' (Vortrag an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 18 January 2011).
- Carmassi J, Gros D and Micossi S, 'The Global Financial Crisis: Causes and Cures' (2009) 47 JCMS 977.
- Cerny PG, Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism (OUP 2010). Challenger DF, Durkheim Through the Lens of Aristotle: Durkheimian, Postmodernist, and Communitarian Responses to the Enlightenment (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 1994).
- Chalmers D, Jachtenfuchs M and Joerges C, 'The retransformation of Europe' in Damien Chalmers, Markus Jachtenfuchs and Christian Joerges (eds), *The End of the Eurocrats' Dream: Adjusting to European Diversity* (CUP 2016) 1.
- Chang M, Monetary Integration in the European Union (Palgrave Macmillan 2009).

Chiti E and Teixeira PG, 'The Constitutional Implications of the European Responses to the Financial and Public Debt Crisis' (2013) 50 CML Rev 683.

- Chivvis CS, The Monetary Conservative: Jacques Rueff and Twentieth-century Free Market Thought (Northern Illinois University Press 2010).
- Claes M and Reestman J-H, 'The Protection of National Constitutional Identity and the Limits of European Integration at the Occasion of the *Gauweiler* Case' (2015) 16 GLJ 917.
- Comte A, System of Positive Polity (JH Bridges tr, Longmans, Green & Co. 1875).
- Constâncio V, 'Challenges to monetary policy in 2012' (Speech at the 26<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Interest Rates, Frankfurt, 8 December 2011).
- -- 'Contagion and the European debt crisis' (Banque de France, Financial Stability Review No 16, April 2012).
- Conway G, The Limits of Legal Reasoning and the European Court of Justice (CUP 2012). Cooper JM, Reason and Emotion: Essays on Ancient Moral Psychology and Ethical Theory (Princeton University Press 1999).
- Corbett R, The Treaty of Maastricht From Conception to Ratification: A Comprehensive Reference Guide (Longman 1993).
- Cour-Thimann P, 'Target balances and the crisis in the euro area' (April 2013) 14 CESifo Forum Special Issue 5.
- -- and Winkler B, 'The ECB's non-standard monetary policy measures: the role of institutional factors and financial structure' (2012) 28 Oxf Rev Econ Policy 765.
- Coutts S, Constitutional Change Through Euro Crisis Law: Ireland (EUI 2014) <eurocrisis law.eui.eu/ireland/> accessed 2 May 2017.
- Craig P, 'Constitutions, Constitutionalism, and the European Union' (2001) 7 ELJ 125.
- -- EU Administrative Law (OUP 2012).
- - 'The Stability, Coordination and Governance Treaty: Principle, Politics and Pragmatism' (2012) 37 EL Rev 231.
- -- 'Pringle and Use of EU Institutions outside the EU Legal Framework: Foundations, Procedure and Substance' (2013) 9 EuConst 263.
- -- 'Pringle: Legal Reasoning, Text, Purpose and Teleology' (2013) 20 MJ 3.
- -- 'Pringle and the Nature of Legal Reasoning' (2014) 21 MJ 205.
- 'Economic Governance and the Euro Crisis: Constitutional Architecture and Constitutional Implications' in Adams M, Fabbrini F and Larouche P (eds), *The* Constitutionalization of European Budgetary Constraints (Hart Publishing 2014) 19.
- -- and Markakis M, 'Gauweiler and the Legality of Outright Monetary Transactions' (2016) 41 EL Rev 4.
- Cristi R, 'Carl Schmitt on Sovereignty and Constituent Power' in Dyzenhaus D (ed) *Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism* (Duke University Press 1998)
  179.
- Crow G, Social Solidarities: Theories, Identities and Social Change (Open University Press 2002).
- Cukierman A, 'Reflections on the Crisis and on its Lessons for Regulatory Reforms and for Central Bank Policies' in Eijffinger S and Masciandaro D (eds) *Handbook of Central Banking, Financial Regulation and Supervision: After the Financial Crisis* (Edward Elgar 2011) 66.

Cuyvers A, 'The Confederal Comeback: Rediscovering the Confederal Form for a Transnational World' (2013) 19 ELJ 711.

- Dashwood A, 'States in the European Union' (1998) 23 EL Rev 201.
- -- 'The Relationship Between the Member States and the European Union/European Community' 41 CML Rev 355.
- Darvas Z, 'The Euro Crisis: Ten Roots, but Fewer Solutions' (Bruegel Policy Contribution No 17, October 2012).
- Dawson M and De Witte F, 'Constitutional Balance in the EU after the Euro-Crisis' (2013) 76 MLR 817.
- and De Witte F, 'From Balance to Conflict: A New Constitution for the EU' (2016)
   22 ELJ 204.
- Enderlein H, and Joerges C (eds), The Governance of Europe's Economic, Political and Legal Transformation (OUP 2015).
- De Boissieu and others, National Leaders and the Making of Europe: key episodes in the life of the European Council (John Harper Publishing 2015).
- De Grauwe P, 'The Banking Crisis: Causes, Consequences and Remedies' (CEPS Policy Brief No 178, November 2008).
- -- 'The euro at ten: achievements and challenges' (2009) 36 Empirica 5.
- - 'Fighting the wrong enemy' (*Vox*, 19 May 2010) <voxeu.org/article/europe-s-private-versus-public-debt-problem-fighting-wrong-enemy> accessed 6 April 2017.
- - 'The European Central Bank as Lender of Last Resort in the Government Bond Markets' (2013) 59 CESifo Economic Studies 520.
- -- Economics of Monetary Union (10<sup>th</sup> edn, OUP 2014).
- and Ji Y, 'Mispricing of Sovereign Risk and Macroeconomic Stability in the Eurozone' (2012) 50 JCMS 866.
- -- and Ji Y, 'Self-fulfilling crises in the Eurozone: An empirical test' (2013) 34 Journal of International Money and Finance 15.
- and Ji Y, 'From Panic-Driven Austerity to Symmetric Macroeconomic Policies in the Eurozone' (2013) 51 JCMS 31.
- De Gregorio Merino A, 'Legal Developments in the Economic and Monetary Union During the Debt Crisis: The Mechanisms of Financial Assistance' (2012) 49 CML Rev 1613.
- De Haan J and Gormley LW, 'The Democratic Deficit of the European Central Bank' (1996) 21 EL Rev 95.
- Oosterloo S and Schoenmaker D, Financial Markets and Institutions: A European Perspective (2nd ed, CUP 2012).
- De Haan L, Hessel J and Van den End JW, 'Are European Sovereign Bonds Fairly Priced? The role of modeling uncertainty' (DNB Working Paper No 399, November 2013).
- Deters H, 'Deliberative Supranationalism in the Euro Crisis? The European Central Bank and the European Council in Times of Conflict' in Joerges C and Glinksi C (eds), *The European Crisis and the Transformation of Transnational Governance* (Hart Publishing 2014) 245.
- De Witte B, 'Treaty Revision Procedures after Lisbon' in Biondi A, Eeckhout P and Ripley S (eds), EU law after Lisbon (OUP 2012) 107.

 - 'The European Union as an international legal experiment' in De Búrca G and Weiler JHH (eds), The Worlds of European Constitutionalism (CUP 2012) 19.

- -- Using International Law In the Euro Crisis: Causes and Consequences (Arena Working Paper No 4, June 2013).
- -- 'Euro Crisis Responses and the EU Legal Order: Increased Institutional Variation or Constitutional Mutation?' (2015) 11 EuConst 434.
- -- 'Variable geometry and differentiation as structural features of the EU legal order' in Bruno De Witte, Andrea Ott and Ellen Vos (eds), Between Flexibility and Disintegration: The Trajectory of Differentiation in EU Law Today (Edward Elgar 2017) 9.
- and Beukers T, 'The Court of Justice approves the creation of the European Stability Mechanism outside the Union legal order: *Pringle'* (2013) 50 CML Rev 805.
- De Witte F, *Justice in the EU: The Emergence of Transnational Solidarity* (OUP 2015). Diamond DW and Dybvig PH, 'Bank Runs, Deposit Insurance and Liquidity' (1983) 91 Journal of Political Economy 401.
- Doukas D, 'The Frailty of the Stability and Growth Pact and the European Court of Justice: Much Ado about Nothing?' (2005) 32 LIEI 293.
- Dumbrovsky T, Constitutional Change Through Euro Crisis Law: "Czech Republic" (EUI, February 2014).
- Durkheim É, The Division of Labor in Society (G Simpson tr, The Free Press 1933).
- Montesquieu and Rousseau: Forerunners of Sociology (R Manheim tr, The University of Michigan Press 1960).
- The Rules of Sociological Method (SA Solovay and JH Mueller trs, The Free Press of Glencoe 1962).
- Suicide: A Study in Sociology (JA Spaulding and G Simpson trs, The Free Press 1966).
- Dworkin R, Taking Rights Seriously (Duckworth 1977).
- − − Justice in Robes (HUP 2006).
- Dyson K, The Politics of the Euro-Zone: Stability or Breakdown? (OUP 2000).
- - 'Sworn to Grim Necessity? Imperfections of European Economic Governance, Normative Political Theory, and Supreme Emergency' (2013) 35 Journal of European Integration 207.
- and Featherstone K, The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union (OUP 2003).
- Dyzenhaus D, 'The compulsion of legality' in Ramraj VV (ed), *Emergencies and the Limits of Legality* (CUP 2008) 33.
- Eichengreen B, Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System (Princeton University Press 1996).
- -- 'European Monetary Integration with Benefit of Hindsight' (2012) 50 JCMS 123.
- and Wyplosz C, 'The Unstable EMS' (1993) Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 51.
- Eijffinger S, 'Defining and Measuring Systemic Risk' in Eijffinger S and Masciandaro D (eds), Handbook of Central Banking, Financial Regulation and Supervision: After the Financial Crisis (Edward Elgar 2011) 315.

 - and De Haan J, 'The Political Economy of Central Bank Independence' (Special Papers in International Economics, Princeton University 1996).

- Eijsbouts WT, 'The European Way. History, Form and Substance' (2005) 1 EuConst 5.
- 'Wir Sind Das Volk: Notes About the Notion of 'The People' as Occasioned by the Lissabon-Urteil' (2010) 6 EuConst 199.
- -- 'De Governance Driehoek: Accountability, Legitimiteit en Transparantie' (Working Paper March 2017).
- and Beukers T, 'The EU and Constitutional Change: A Research Proposal' (2010)
   6 EuConst 335.
- -- and Claes M, 'From Confederacy to Convoy: Thoughts About the Finality of the Union and its Member States' (2010) 6 EuConst 1.
- and Nederlof D, 'Rethinking Solidarity in the EU, From Fact to Social Contract' (2011) 7 EuConst 169.
- and Michel B, 'Between Frankfurt and Karlsruhe: The Move, the Law and the Institutions' (2013) 9 EuConst 355.
- Beukers T and Reestman J-H, 'Between the Constitutional Document and the Constitutional Settlement' (2014) 10 EuConst 375.
- -- and Reestman J-H, 'In Search of the Union Method' (2015) 11 EuConst 425.
- Elder-Vass D, The Causal Power of Social Structures: Emergence, Structure and Agency (CUP 2010).
- Enderlein H, 'Break it, Don't Fix it!' (2004) 42 JCMS 1039.
- Engelhardt Jr. HT, 'Solidarity: Post-Modern Perspectives' in Bayertz K (ed), *Solidarity* (Kluwer 1999) 293.
- Evans-Jones R and MacCormack G, 'Obligations' in Ernest Metzger (ed), A Companion to Justinian's Institutes (Duckworth 1998) 127.
- Everson M, 'An Exercise in Legal Honesty: Rewriting the Court of Justice and the *Bundesverfassungsgericht*' (2015) 21 ELJ 474.
- Fabbrini F, 'The Euro-Crisis and the Courts: Judicial Review and the Political Process in Comparative Perspective' (2014) 32 Berkeley Journal of International Law 64.
- -- Economic Governance in Europe: Comparative Paradoxes and Constitutional Challenges (OUP 2016).
- Fassbender K, 'Der europäische "Stabilisierungsmechanismus" im Lichte von Unionsrecht und deutschem Verfassungsrecht' (2010) 29 NVwZ 799.
- Fatás A and Mihov I, 'On Constraining Fiscal Policy Discretion in EMU' (2003) 19 Oxf Rev Econ Policy 112.
- Fernandes S and Rubio E, 'Solidarity within the Eurozone: how much, what for, for how long?' (Notre Europe Policy Paper No 51, February 2012).
- Feteris ET, Fundamentals of Legal Argumentation: A Survey of Theories on the Justification of Judicial Decisions (Kluwer 1999).
- Folkerts-Landau D and Garber PM, 'The European Central Bank: A Bank or a Monetary Policy Rule' (NBER Working Paper Series No 4016, 1992).
- Forder J, 'Why is Central Bank Independence So Widely Approved?' (2005) 39 Journal of Economic Issues 843.
- Frankenberg G, 'The Return of the Contract: Problems and Pitfalls of European Constitutionalism' (2000) 6 ELJ 257.

Freixas X and others, 'Lender of Last Resort: A Review of the Literature' in Charles Goodhart and Gerhard Illing (eds), Financial Crises, Contagion, and the Lender of Last Resort: A Reader (OUP 2002) 27.

- Friedman M, 'The Role of Monetary Policy' (1968) 58 The American Economic Review 1.
- Garben S, 'Confronting the Competence Conundrum: Democratising the European Union through an Expansion of its Legislative Powers' (2015) Oxf J Leg Stud 55.
- Gärtner M and Griesbach B, 'Rating agencies, self-fulfilling prophecy and multiple equilibria? An empirical model of the European sovereign debt crisis 2009-2011' (Universität St. Gallen Discussion Paper No 2012-15, June 2012).
- Gavilán A and others, 'The crisis in Spain: origin and developments' in Beblavý M, Cobham D and Ódor L (eds), *The Euro Area and the Financial Crisis* (CUP 2011) 81.
- Geeroms H, Ide S and Naert F, The European Union and the Euro: How to Deal with a Currency Built on Dreams (Intersentia 2014).
- Gerner-Beuerle C, Küçük E and Schuster E, 'Law Meets Economics in the German Federal Constitutional Court: Outright Monetary Transactions on Trial' (2014) 15 GLJ 281.
- Gianviti F and others, 'A European mechanism for sovereign debt resolution: a proposal' (Bruegel Blueprint Series No 10, 2010).
- Giavazzi F and Pagano M, 'The Advantage of Tying One's Hands: EMS Discipline and Central Bank Credibility' (1988) 32 European Economic Review 1055.
- and Spaventa L, 'Why the current account may matter in a monetary union: lessons from the financial crisis in the euro area' in Beblavý M, Cobham D and Ódor L (eds), The Euro Area and the Financial Crisis (CUP 2011) 199.
- Gilbert M, A Theory of Political Obligation: Membership, Commitment, and the Bonds of Society (Clarendon Press 2006).
- - 'A Theory of Political Obligation: Responses to Jeske, Horton, Stoutland and Narveson (Review Symposium)' (2013) 4 Jurisprudence 301.
- - Joint Commitment: How We Make the Social World (OUP 2014).
- Gil E, 'Judicial Answer to Political Question: The Political Question Doctrine in the United States and Israel' (2014) 23 Boston University Public Interest LJ 245.
- Giubboni S, 'A Certain Degree of Solidarity? Free Movement of Persons and Access to Social Protection in the Case Law of the European Court of Justice' in Ross M and Borgmann-Prebil Y (eds), *Promoting Solidarity in the European Union* (OUP 2010) 166.
- Gocaj L and Meunier S, 'Time Will Tell: The EFSF, the ESM and the Euro Crisis' (2013) 35 Journal of European Integration 239.
- Goddeeris I, 'Solidarność, the Western World and the End of the Cold War' (2008) 16 European Review 55.
- Gold J, Legal and Institutional Aspects of the International Monetary System: Selected Essays (IMF 1979).
- Goldman M, 'Adjudicating Economics? Central bank independence and the appropriate standard of judicial review' (2014) 15 GLJ 265.
- -- 'Constitutional Pluralism as Mutually Assured Discretion' (2016) 23 MJ 119.

Goodfriend M and King RG, 'Financial Deregulation, Monetary Policy, and Central Banking (excerpts)' in Charles Goodhart and Gerhard Illing (eds), Financial Crises, Contagion, and the Lender of Last Resort: A Reader (OUP 2002) 145.

- Goodhart C, 'Myths About the Lender of Last Resort' in Charles Goodhart and Gerhard Illing (eds), Financial Crises, Contagion, and the Lender of Last Resort: A Reader (OUP 2002) 227.
- and Schoenmaker D, 'Should the Functions of Monetary Policy and Banking Supervision Be Separated?' (1995) 47 Oxford Economic Papers 539.
- Gouldner AW, 'The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement' (1960) 25 American Sociological Review 161.
- Grant C, Delors: Inside the House that Jacques Built (Nicholas Brealey Publishing 1994). Greene AS, Against Obligation: The Multiple Sources of Authority in a Liberal Democracy (HUP 2012).
- Green CJ, "The day the music died": the financial tsunami of 2007-2009 in Green CJ, Pentecost EJ and Weyman-Jones T (eds), The Financial Crisis and the Regulation of Finance (Edward Elgar2011) 9.
- Grilli V, Masciandaro D and Tabellini G, 'Political and Monetary Institutions and Public Financial Policies in the Industrial Countries' (1991) 13 Economic Policy 341.
- Grimm D, 'Does Europe Need a Constitution' (1995) 1 ELJ 282.
- Gros D, 'On the Stability of Public Debt in a Monetary Union' (2012) 50 JCMS 36.
- -- and Thygesen N, European Monetary Integration: From the European Monetary System to Economic and Monetary Union (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Longman 1999).
- Gross O, 'Extra-legality and the ethic of political responsibility' in Victor V Ramraj (ed), *Emergencies and the Limits of Legality* (CUP 2008) 60.
- Habermas J, The Lure of Technocracy (Polity Press 2015).
- Häde U, 'Haushaltsdisziplin und Solidarität im Zeichen der Finanzkrise' (2009) 20 EuZW 399.
- 'Die europäische Währungsunion in der internationalen Finanzkrise: An den Grenzen europäischer Solidarität' (2010) 45 EuR 854.
- Hahn HJ, 'The Stability Pact for European Monetary Union: Compliance With Deficit Limit as a Constant Legal Duty' (1998) 35 CML Rev 77.
- Hall PA, 'From Keynesianism to monetarism: Institutional analysis and the Brisish economic policy in the 1970s' in Steinmo S, Thelen K and Longstreth F (eds), *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis* (CUP 1992) 90.
- -- and Franzese RJ Jr, 'Mixed Signals: Central Bank Independence, Coordinated Wage Bargaining, and European Monetary Union' (1998) 52 International Organization 505.
- Harmon MD and Heisenberg D, 'Explaining the European currency crisis of September 1992' (1993) 29 German Politics and Society 19.
- Hart HLA, 'Are There Any Natural Rights?' (1955) 64 The Philosophical Review 175. The Concept of Law (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, OUP 2012).
- Hartley TC, 'The European Court, judicial objectivity and the constitution of the European Union' (1996) 112 LQR 95.

Havrilesky T and Granato J, 'Determinants of inflationary performance: Corporatist structures vs. central bank autonomy' (1993) 76 Public Choice 249.

- Hayo B, 'Inflation culture, central bank independence and price stability' (1998) 14 European Journal of Political Economy 241.
- Heipertz M and Verdun A, *The Politics of the Stability and Growth Pact* (CUP 2010). Hentschelmann K, 'Finanzhilfen im Lichte der No Bailout-Klausel: Eigenverantwortung und Solidarität in der Währungsunion' (2011) 46 EuR 282.
- Herdegen MJ, 'Price Stability and Budgetary Restraints in the Economic and Monetary Union: The Law as Guardian of Economic Wisdom' (1998) 35 CML Rev 9.
- Herrmann C, 'Griechische Tragödie: der währungsverfassungsrechtliche Rahmen für die Rettung, den Austritt oder den Ausschluss von überschuldeten Staaten aus der Eurozone' (2010) 21 EuZW 413.
- -- 'Die Bewältigung der Euro-Staatsschulden-Krise an den Grenzen des deutschen und Europäischen Währungsverfassungsrechts" (2012) 24 EuZW 805.
- -- 'National report: Germany' in Neergaard U, Jacqueson C and Danielsen JH (eds), The Economic and Monetary Union: Constitutional and Institutional Aspects of the Economic Governance within the EU (XXVI FIDE Congress Publications Vol 1, 2014) 341.
- -- 'Differentiated integration in the field of economic and monetary policy and the use of "(semi-) extra" Union legal instruments: the case for "inter se Treaty amendments" in De Witte B, Ott A and Vos E (eds), Between Flexibility and Disintegration: The Trajectory of Differentiation in EU Law (Edward Elgar 2017) 237.
- Hillebrand R, 'Germany and its Eurozone Crisis Policy' (2015) 33 German Politics and Society 6.
- Hilpold P, 'Understanding Solidarity within EU Law: An Analysis of the "Islands of Solidarity" with Particular Regard to Monetary Union' (2015) 34 YEL 257.
- Hinarejos A, The Euro Area Crisis in Constitutional Perspective (OUP 2015).
- - 'Gauweiler and the Outright Monetary Transactions Programme: The Mandate of the European Central Bank and the Changing Nature of Economic and Monetary Union' (2015) 11 EuConst 563.
- Hobbes T, Leviathan (first published 1651, JCA Gaskin ed, OUP 1998).
- Hodgson GM, 'Meanings of methodological individualism' (2007) 14 Journal of Economic Methodology 211.
- Hodson D, Governing the Euro Area in Good Times and in Bad (OUP 2011).
- -- and Maher I, 'Soft law and sanctions: economic policy coordination and reform of the Stability and Growth Pact' (2004) 11 Journal of European Public Policy 798.
- Hoffmann S, 'The Social Contract, or the mirage of the general will' in McDonald C and Hoffmann S (eds), *Rousseau and Freedom* (CUP 2010) 113.
- Hofmeister H, "To Bail Out or not to Bail Out?: Legal Aspects of the Greek Crisis" (2010-2011) 13 CYEL 113.
- Hördahl P and Tristani O, 'Macro factors and sovereign bond spreads: a quadratic no-arbitrage model' (mimeo, 10 May 2013) < hkimr.org/uploads/seminars/469/paper\_08-08.pdf> accessed 5 April 2017.
- Horton J, Political Obligation (Palgrave Macmillan 2010).
- Howarth DJ, 'Making and breaking the rules: French policy on EU "gouvernement économique" (2007) 14 Journal of European Public Policy 1061.
- Hughes G, 'Rules, Policy and Decision Making' (1967-1968) 77 Yale LJ 411.

Ioannidis M, 'Europe's New Transformations: How the EU Economic Constitution Changed During the Eurozone Crisis' (2016) 53 CML Rev 1237.

- Irwin N, The Alchemists: Three Central Bankers and a World on Fire (Penguin Books 2014).
- Issing O, The Birth of the Euro (CUP 2008).
- Itzcovich G, 'The Interpretation of Community Law by the European Court of Justice' (2009) 10 GLJ 537.
- Jabko N, 'In the name of the Market: how the European Commission paved the way for monetary union' (1999) 6 Journal of European Public Policy 475.
- Jaffee D and others, 'Mortgage Origination and Securitization in the Financial Crisis' in Acharya VV and Richardson M (eds), *Restoring Financial Stability: How to Repair a Failed System* (John Wiley & Sons 2009) 61.
- James D, 'Rousseau on Dependence and the Formation of Political Society' (2011) 21 European Journal of Philosophy 343.
- James H, International Monetary Cooperation Since Bretton Woods (IMF and OUP 1996). Jellinek G, Verfassungsänderung und Verfassungswandlung: Eine staatsrechtlich-politische Abhandlung (Verlag von O Häring 1906).
- Jennings J, 'Rousseau, social contract and the modern Leviathan' in Boucher D and Kelly P (eds), *The Social Contract From Hobbes to Rawls* (Routledge 1994) 115.
- Joerges C, 'Brother Can You Paradigm?' (2014) 12 ICON 769.
- -- 'Europe's Economic Constitution in Crisis and the Emergence of a New Constitutional Constellation' (2014) 15 GLJ 985.
- - 'Law and Politics in Europe's Crisis: On the History of the Impact of an Unfortunate Configuration' (2014) 21 Constellations 249.
- -- 'Pereat Iustitia, Fiat Mundus: What is Left of the European Economic Constitution after the Gauweiler Litigation?' (2016) 23 MJ 99.
- and Glinski C (eds), The European Crisis and the Transformation of Transnational Governance: Authoritarian Managerialism versus Democratic Governance (Hart Publishing 2014).
- Kadelbach S (ed), Solidarität als Europäisches Rechtsprinzip? (Nomos 2014).
- Kaelberer M, Money and Power in Europe: The Political Economy of European Monetary Cooperation (State University of New York Press 2001).
- Kaufman GG, 'Lender of Last Resort: A Contemporary Perspective' in Charles Goodhart and Gerhard Illing (eds), Financial Crises, Contagion, and the Lender of Last Resort: A Reader (OUP 2002) 169.
- Kaupa C, The Pluralist Character of the European Economic Constitution (Hart Publishing 2016).
- Kelemen DR, 'On the Unsustainability of Constitutional Pluralism: European Supremacy and the Survival of the Eurozone' (2016) 23 MJ 136.
- Kelsen H, Pure Theory of Law (University of California Press 1967).
- Kenen P, 'The Theory of Optimum Currency Areas: An Eclectic View', in Mundell RA and Swoboda AK (eds), Monetary Problems in the International Economy (University of Chicago Press 1969) 41.

Kilpatrick C, 'Are the Bailouts Immune to EU Social challenge Because They Are not EU Law?' (2014) 10 EuConst 393.

- Klamert M, The Principle of Loyalty in EU Law (OUP 2014).
- Klosko G, *The Principle of Fairness and Political Obligation* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2004).
- Knodt M and Tews A (eds), Solidarität in der EU (Nomos 2014).
- Knopp L, 'Griechenland-Nothilfe auf dem verfassungsrechtlichen Prüfstand' (2010) 29 NVwZ 1777.
- Koedooder C, "The *Pringle* Judgment: Economic and/or Monetary Policy?' (2013-2014) 37 Fordham Int'l LJ 111.
- Kydland FE and Prescott EC, 'Rules Rather Than Discretion: The Inconsistency of Optimal Plans' (1977) 85 Journal of Political Economy 473.
- Krugman P, 'Currency Regimes, Capital Flows, and Crises' (2014) 62 IMF Econ Rev 470.
- Kube H and Reimer E, 'Grenzes der Europäischen Stabilisierungsmechanismus' (2010) 63 NJW 1911.
- Kücük E, 'Solidarity in EU Law: An Elusive Political Statement or a Legal Principle with Substance' (2016) 23 MJ 965.
- 'The Principle of Solidarity and Fairness in Sharing Responsibility: More than Window Dressing?' (2016) 22 ELJ 448.
- Kumm M, 'Rebel Without a Good Cause: Karlsruhe's Misguided Attempt to Draw the CJEU Into a Game of "Chicken" and What the CJEU Might Do About It' (2014) 15 GLJ 203.
- Kreuder-Sonnen C, 'Global Exceptionalism and the Euro Crisis: Schmittian Challenges to Conflicts-Law Constitutionalism' in Joerges C and Glinski C (eds), *The European Crisis and the Transformation of Transnational Governance* (Hart Publishing 2014) 71.
- Laitinen A and Pessi AB, 'Solidarity: Theory and Practice. An Introduction' in Laitinen A and Pessi AB (eds), *Solidarity: Theory and Practice* (Lexington Books 2015) 1.
- Lane PR, 'The Irish crisis' in Beblavý M, Cobham D and Ódor L (eds), *The Euro Area and the Financial Crisis* (CUP 2011) 59.
- Lastra RM, 'The Independence of the European System of Central Banks' (1992) 33 Harvard Int'l LJ 475.
- - 'Lender of Last Resort, an International Perspective' (1999) 49 ICLQ 340.
- "The division of responsibilities between the European Central Bank and the National Central Banks within the European System of Central Banks' (2000) Colum J Eur L 167.
- -- 'The Governance Structure for Financial Regulation and Supervision in Europe' (2003/2004) 10 Colum J Eur L 49.
- 'The Evolution of the European Central Bank' (2011-2012) 35 Fordham Int'l L J 1260.
- and Louis J-V, 'European Economic and Monetary Union: History, Trends, and Prospects' (2013) 32 YEL 57.
- Leigh Grove T, 'The Lost History of the Political Question Doctrine' (2015) 90 NYU Law Review 1908.

Lenaerts K, 'The Court's Outer and Inner Selves: Exploring the External and the Internal Legitimacy of the European Court of Justice' in Adams M and others (eds), Judging Europe's Judges: The Legitimacy of the Case Law of the European Court of Justice (Hart Publishing 2013) 13.

- -- 'EMU and the EU's Constitutional Framework' (2014) 39 EL Rev 753.
- -- and Gutiérrez-Fons JA, 'To Say What the Law of the EU Is: Methods of Interpretation and the European Court of Justice' (2013-2014) 20 Colum J Eur L 3.
- -- and Van Nuffel P, European Union Law (Sweet & Maxwell 2011).
- Leontsini E, 'The Motive of Society: Aristotle on Civic Friendship, Justice and Concord' (2013) 19 Res Publica 21.
- Llorens A, 'The European Court of Justice, More than a Teleological Court' (1999-2000) 2 CYEL 373.
- Locke J, *Two Treatises of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration* (first published 1689, J Shapiro ed, YUP 2003).
- Loevy K, Emergencies in Public Law (CUP 2016).
- Loubert A, 'Sovereign Debt Threatens the Union: The Genesis of a Federation' (2012) 8 EuConst 442.
- Loughlin M, "The concept of constituent power" (2014) 13 European Journal of Political Theory 218.
- Louis J-V, 'Het Europees Monetair Stelsel' (1979) SEW 441.
- -- "Monetary Capacity" in the Single European Act' (1988) 25 CML Rev 9.
- -- 'Differentiation and the EMU' in De Witte B, Hanf D and Vos E (eds), *The Many Faces of Differentiation in EU Law* (Intersentia 2001) 43.
- -- 'The Review of the Stability and Growth Pact' (2006) 43 CML Rev 85.
- 'Guest Editorial: The No-Bailout Clause and Rescue Packages' (2010) 47 CML Rev 971.
- 'Managing Public Finances. Lessons and Perspectives for the EU and the Euro Area' (Vortrag and der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 15 December 2011) .
- - 'The EMU After the Gauweiler Judgment and the Juncker Report' (2016) 23 MJ
   55.
- Ludlow P, 'Van Rompuy Saves the Day: The European Council of 11 February 2010' (Eurocomment Briefing Note Vol 7, No 6).
- 'In the Last Resort: The European Council and the euro crisis, Spring 2010' (Eurocomment Briefing Note Vol 7, No 7/8).
- -- 'The euro crisis once again: The European Council of 28-29 October 2010 (Eurocomment Briefing Note Vol 8, No 3, December 2010).
- - 'Doing Whatever is Required? The European Council of 16-17 December 2010 (Eurocomment Briefing Note Vol 8, No 4, March 2011).
- -- 'The European Council of 8/9 December 2011' (Eurocomment, 12 January 2012).
- 'A turning-point in the euro crisis? The informal European Council of 23 May 2012' (Eurocomment No 3, 2012).
- - 'Short-term help and long-term conditionality: The European Council of 28-29
   June 2012' (Eurocomment No 4, 2012).
- Lynn M, Bust: Greece, the Euro and the Sovereign Debt Crisis (Bloomberg Press 2011).

- MacCormick N, Legal Reasoning and Legal Theory (Clarendon Press 1978).
- and Summers R, 'Interpretation and Justification' in MacCormick N and Summers R (eds), *Interpreting Statutes: A Comparative Study* (Darmouth Publishing Company 1991) 511.
- Maduro MP, 'The importance of being called a constitution: Constitutional authority and the authority of constitutionalism' (2005) 3 Int J Const Law 332.
- Maessen P, 'Schäuble's Vindication: How Article 136(3) TFEU Sets the New Legal Standard for Solidarity in the Euro Area' (Master thesis, Leiden University 2012).
- Maher I, 'Economic policy coordination and the European Court: excessive deficits and ECOFIN discretion' (2004) 29 EL Rev 831.
- Manganelli S and Wolswijk G, 'What Drives Spreads in the Euro Area Government Bond Market?' (2009) 24 Economic Policy 191.
- Marcussen M, 'The Dynamics of EMU Ideas' (1999) 34 Cooperation and Conflict 383. Marias EA, 'Solidarity as an Objective of the European Union and the European Community' (1994) 21 LIEI 85.
- Marsh D, The Euro: The Politics of the New Global Currency (YUP 2009).
- Marx K, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (T Carver tr)' in Cowling M and Martin J (eds), *Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire: (Post)modern interpretations* (Pluto Press 2002).
- Marzinotto B, Pisani-Ferry J and Sapir S, 'Two Crises, Two Responses' (Bruegel Policy Brief No 1, March 2010).
- Matthijs M, 'Powerful rules governing the euro: the perverse logic of German ideas' (2016) 23 Journal of European Public Policy 375.
- and McNamara K, 'The Euro Crisis' Theory Effect: Northern Saints, Southern Sinners, and the Demise of the Eurobond' (2015) 37 Journal of European Integration 229.
- Mayer FC, 'Rebels Without a Cause? A Critical Analysis of the German Constitutional Court's OMT Reference' (2014) 15 GLJ 111.
- Mayer T, Europe's Unfinished Currency: The Political Economics of the Euro (Anthem Press 2012).
- McKinnon RI, 'Optimum Currency Areas' (1963) 53 The American Economic Review 717.
- McNamara KR, *The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union* (Cornell University Press 1998).
- -- 'Rational Fictions: Central Bank Independence and the Social Logic of Delegation' (2002) 25 West European Politics 47.
- -- 'Banking on Legitimacy: The ECB and the Euro Zone Crisis' (2012) 13 Georgetown Journal of International Affairs 143.
- Menéndez AJ, 'Editorial: A European Union in Constitutional Mutation?' (2014) 20 ELJ 127.
- Merler S and Pisani-Ferry J, 'Sudden Stops in the Euro Area' (Bruegel Policy Contribution No 6, March 2012).
- Metz KH, 'Solidarity and History. Institutions and Social Concepts of Solidarity in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Western Europe' in Bayertz K (ed), *Solidarity* (Kluwer 1999) 191.
- Mihata K, 'The Persistence of "Emergence" in Eve RA, Horsfall S and Lee ME (eds), *Chaos, Complexity, and Sociology: Myths, Models, and Theories* (SAGE Publications 1997), 30.

- Mitterand F, De l'Allemagne, de la France (Editions Odile Jacob 1996).
- Möllers C, 'Pouvoir Constituant, Constitution, Constitutionalisation' in Von Bogdandy A and Bast J (eds), *Principles of European Constitutional Law* (Hart Publishing 2009) 169.
- Mongelli FP and Wyplosz C, 'The euro at ten: unfulfilled threats and unexpected challenges' in Maækowiak B and others (eds), *The Euro at Ten: Lessons and Challenges* (Fifth ECB Central Banking Conference, Frankfurt, 2009) 24.
- Moravcsik A, 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach' (1993) 31 JCMS 473.
- The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power From Messina to Maastricht (Cornell University Press 1999).
- -- 'Europe After the Crisis: How to Sustain a Common Currency' (2012) 91 Foreign Affairs 54.
- Mundell RA, 'A Theory of Optimum Currency Areas' (1961) 51 The American Economic Review 657.
- Munoz-Dardé V, 'Fraternity and Justice' in Bayertz K (ed), *Solidarity* (Kluwer 1999) 81.
- Murswiek D, 'ECB, ECJ, Democracy, and the Federal Constitutional Court: Notes on the Federal Constitutional Court's Referral Order From 14 January 2014' (2014) 15 GLJ 147.
- Neely S, A Concise History of the French Revolution (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2008).
- Neframi E, 'The Duty of Loyalty: Rethinking its Scope Through its Application in the Field of EU External Relations' (2010) 47 CML Rev 323.
- Nettesheim M, 'Europarechtskonformität des Europäischen Stabilitätsmechanismus' (2013) 66 NJW 14.
- Newman A, 'The Reluctant Leader: Germany's euro experience and the long shadow of reunification' in Matthijs M and Blyth M (eds), *The Future of the Euro* (OUP 2015) 117.
- Niemann A and Ioannou D, 'European Economic Integration in Times of Crisis' (2015) 22 Journal of European Public Policy 196.
- Nikolaou K, 'Liquidity Risk Concepts: Definitions and Interactions' (ECB Working Paper Series No 1008, February 2009).
- Obama B, Dreams From My Father (Canongate 2016).
- Padoa-Schioppa T, The Road to Monetary Union in Europe: The Emperor, the Kings, and the Genies (OUP 1994).
- - 'EMU and Banking Supervision' (1999) 2 International Finance 295.
- - 'Central Banks and Financial Stability' (Speech given in Jakarta, 7 July 2003).
- Palmstorfer R, 'To Bail Out or Not to Bail Out? The Current Framework of Financial Assistance for Euro Area Member States Measured Against the Requirements of EU Primary Law' (2012) 37 EL Rev 771.
- -- 'The Reverse Majority Voting under the "Six-Pack": A Bad Turn for the Union?'
   20 ELJ (2014) 186.

Parrish JM, 'Collective Responsibility and the State', (2009) 1 International Theory 119.

- Parsons T, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (Prentice Hall 1966).
- -- Politics and Social Structure (The Free Press 1969).
- − − *The System of Modern Societies* (Prentice-Hall 1971).
- -- 'Durkheim on Organic Solidarity' in Mayhew LH (ed), *Talcott Parsons on Institutions and Social Evolution* (The University of Chicago Press 1982) 189.
- -- The Social System (Routledge 1991).
- Pattipeilohy C and others, 'Unconventional monetary policy of the ECB during the financial crisis: An assessment and new evidence (DNB Working Paper No 381, May 2013).
- Payandeh M, 'Constitutional Review of EU Law After *Honeywell*: Contextualizing the Relationship Between the German Constitutional Court and the EU Court of Justice' (2011) 48 CML Rev 9.
- Peers S, 'The Future of EU Treaty Amendments' (2012) 31 YEL 17.
- -- "The Stability Treaty: Permanent Austerity or Gesture Politics?" (2012) 8 EuConst 404.
- -- 'Towards a New Form of EU Law?:The Use of EU Institutions Outside the EU Legal Framework' (2013) 9 EuConst 37.
- Pipkorn J, 'Legal Arrangements in the Treaty of Maastricht for the Effectiveness of the Economic and Monetary Union' (1994) 31 CML Rev 263.
- Pisani-Ferry J, 'The Euro Crisis and the New Impossible Trinity' (Bruegel Policy Contribution No 1, January 2012).
- -- 'The Known Unknowns and Unknown Unknowns of EMU' (Bruegel Policy Contribution No 18, October 2012).
- Pliakos A and Anagnostaras G, 'Saving Face? The German Federal Constitutional Court Decides *Gauweiler*' (2017) 18 GLJ 213.
- Popper KR, The Open Society and Its Enemies Volume II The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx and the Aftermath (Princeton University Press 1971).
- Praet P, 'Sound money, sound finances, a competitive economy: principles of a European culture of stability' (Symposium on perspectives for a common stability culture in Europe, Berlin, 27 February 2012).
- Prati A and Schinasi GJ, 'Financial Stability in European Economic and Monetary Union' in CAE Goodhart (ed), Which Lender of Last Resort for Europe? (Central Banking Publications 2000) 69.
- Puetter U, The Eurogroup: How a secretive circle of finance ministers shape European economic governance (Manchester University Press 2006).
- - 'Europe's deliberative intergovernmentalism: the role of the Council and the European Council in EU economic governance' (2012) 19 Journal of European Public Policy 161.
- Rasmussen H, 'Towards a Normative Theory of Interpretation of Community Law' (1992) University of Chicago Legal Forum 135.
- Rawls J, A Theory of Justice (CUP 1999).
- Raz J, 'Legal Principles and the Limits of Law' (1972) 81 Yale LJ 823.
- -- Practical Reason and Norms (Hutchinson of London 1975).
- -- Engaging Reason: On the Theory of Value and Action (OUP 1999).

Reestman J-H and Eijsbouts T, 'Watching Karlsruhe/Karlsruhe Watchers' (2012) 8 EuConst 367.

- Rehg W, 'Solidarity and the Common Good: An Analytical Framework' (2007) 38 Journal of Social Philosophy 7.
- Rey J-J, 'The European Monetary System' (1980) 17 CML Rev 7.
- Rippe KP, 'Diminishing Solidarity' (1998) 1 Ethical Theory and Moral Practice 355. Ritzer G, Sociological Theory (McGraw-Hill 2008).
- Roberts A, *The Logic of Discipline: Global Capitalism and the Architecture of Government* (OUP 2010).
- Rodríguez M, 'A Missing Piece of European Emergency Law: Legal Certainty and Individuals' Expectations in the EU Response to the Crisis' (2016) 12 EuConst 265.
- Ross M and Borgmann-Prebil Y (eds), *Promoting Solidarity in the European Union* (OUP 2010).
- Rousseau J-J, 'Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men' in Cress DA (ed), *Basic Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (first published 1755, DA Cress tr, Hackett Publishing Company 1987) 25.
- 'Of the Social Contract or Principles of Political Right' in Gourevitch V (ed) The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings (first published 1762, CUP 1997)
   39.
- Ruffert M, 'The European Debt Crisis and European Union Law' (2011) 48 CML Rev 1777.
- Sabine GH and Thorson TL, A History of Political Theory (4<sup>th</sup> edn, The Dryden Press 1973).
- Sadeh T and Verdun A, 'Explaining Europe's Monetary Union: A Survey of the Literature' (2009) 11 International Studies Review 277.
- Sandholtz W, 'Choosing union: monetary politics and Maastricht' (1993) 47 International Organization 1.
- Sangiovanni A, 'Solidarity in the European Union' (2013) 33 Oxf J Leg Stud 213.
- Sankari S, European Court of Justice Legal Reasoning in Context (Europa Law Publishing).
- Sauer H, 'Doubtful It Stood...: Competence and Power in European Monetary and Constitutional Law in the Aftermath of the CJEU's OMT Judgment' (2015) 16 GLJ 971.
- Sawyer RK, Social Emergence: Societies As Complex Systems (CUP 2005).
- Scharpf FW, 'After the Crash: A Perspective on Multilevel European Democracy' (2015) 21 ELJ 384.
- Schäuble W and Lamers K, 'Europa braucht einen Verfassungsvertrag: Überlegungen zur europäischen Politik II' (UiD-Extra, 1999).
- Schermers HG, 'Besluiten van de vertegenwoordigers der Lid-staten; Gemeenschapsrecht?' (1966) 14 SEW 545.
- Schimmelfennig F, 'Liberal intergovernmentalism and the euro area crisis' (2015) 22 Journal of European Public Policy 177.
- Schinasi GJ, 'Responsibility for central banks for stability in financial markets' (IMF Working Paper No 03/121, June 2003).
- Scholz SJ, Political Solidarity (The Pennsylvania State University Press 2008).
- Searle JR, Making the Social World: The Structure of Human Civilization (OUP 2010).

Schmelter J, Solidarität: Die Entwiklungsgeschichte eines socialethischen Schlüsselbegriffs (Inaugural dissertation, University of München 1991).

- Schmitt C, *The Concept of the Political* (George Schwab tr, University of Chicago Press 1996).
- Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty (George Schwab tr and ed, The University of Chicago Press 2005).
- Constitutional Theory (Seitzer J tr and ed, Duke University Press 2008).
- Schneider K, 'Questions and Answers: Karlsruhe's Referral for a Preliminary Ruling to the Court of Justice of the European Union' (2014) 15 GLJ 217.
- Schoenmaker D, 'Central Banks Role in Financial Stability' in Gerard Caprio Jr (ed), Handbook of Safeguarding Global Financial Stability: Political, Social, Cultural and Economic Theories and Models, Vol 2 (Elsevier 2013) 271.
- - Governance of International Banking: The Financial Trilemma (OUP 2013).
- Schønberg S and Frick K, 'Finishing, Refining, Polishing: On the Use of Travaux Préparatoires as an Aid to the Interpretation of Community Legislation' (2003) 28 EL Rev 149.
- Schuknecht L and others, 'The Stability and Growth Pact: Crisis and Reform' (ECB Occasional Paper Series No 129, September 2011).
- Schuyt K, 'The Sharing of Risks and the Risks of Sharing: Solidarity and Social Justice in the Welfare State' (1998) 1 Ethical Theory and Moral Practice 297.
- Schütze R, 'On "Federal Ground": The European Union as an International Phenomenon' (2009) 46 CML Rev 1069.
- Schwarzenbach SA, 'On Civic Friendship' (1996) 107 Ethics 97.
- Scicluna N, 'Politicization without democratization: How the Eurozone crisis is transforming EU law and politics' (2014) 12 ICON 545.
- Segers M and Van Esch F, 'Behind the Veil of Budgetary Discipline: The Political Logic of the Budgetary Rules in the EMU and the SGP' (2007) 45 JCMS 1089.
- Selmayr M, 'Artikel 282' in Von der Groeben H, Schwarze J and Hatje A (eds), Europäisches Unionsrecht (Nomos 2015).
- Sester P, 'The ECB's Controversial Securities Market Programme (SMP)' (2012) 9 ECFR 156
- Shah A, 'Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008' (2009) 46 Harv J on Legis 569.
- Simmons AJ, Moral Principles and Political Obligations (Princeton University Press 1979).
- - 'Associative Obligations' (1996) 106 Ethics 247.
- -- 'Locke's State of Nature' in Morris CW (ed), The Social Contract Theorists: Critical Essays on Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers 1999)
   97.
- Simon S, 'Direct Cooperation Has Begun: Some Remarks on the Judgment of the ECJ on the OMT Decision of the ECB in Response to the German Federal Constitutional Court's First Request for a Preliminary Ruling' (2015) 16 GLJ 1025.
- Smaghi LB, 'Who Takes Care of Financial Stability in Europe?' in CAE Goodhart (ed) Which Lender of Last Resort for Europe? (Central Banking Publications 2000) 225.
- Smits R, 'Het Europees Monetair Stelsel' (1979) 28 Ars Aequi 303.
- -- The European Central Bank: Institutional Aspects (Kluwer Law International 1997).
- -- 'Het begin van de muntunie: besluitvorming en regelgeving' (1999) 47 SEW 2.

-- 'The European Constitution and EMU: An Appraisal' (2005) 42 CML Rev 425.

- -- 'Correspondence' (2012) 49 CML Rev 827.
- Smulders B and Keppenne J-P, 'Artikel 125' in Von der Groeben H, Schwarze J and Hatje A (eds), *Europäisches Unionsrecht* (Nomos 2015).
- Sommerville J, 'The Social Contract (Contract of Government)' in Klosko G (ed), *The History of Political Philosophy* (OUP 2011) 573.
- Snyder F, New Directions in European Community Law (Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1990).
- Steinbach A, 'The Lender of Last Resort in the Eurozone' (2016) 53 CML Rev 361.
- -- 'The "Haircut" of Public Creditors under EU Law' 12 (2016) EuConst 223.
- 'Effect-Based Analysis in the Court's Jurisprudence on the Euro Crisis' (2017)
   42 EL Rev 254.
- Stjernø S, Solidarity in Europe: The History of an Idea (CUP 2004).
- Stiglitz JE, The Euro and its Threat to the Future of Europe (Penguin 2016).
- Strong TB, 'The Sovereign and the Exception: Carl Schmitt, Politics, Theology, and Leadership' in Schmitt C, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (Schwab G tr and ed, The University of Chicago Press 2005) vii.
- Summers R and Taruffo M, 'Interpretation and Comparative Analysis' in MacCormick N and Summers R (eds), *Interpreting Statutes: A Comparative Study* (Dartmouth Publishing Company 1991) 461.
- Szász A, The Road to European Monetary Union (Macmillan Press 1999).
- - 'Een Duits dilemma: de euro van geloofwaardigheids- naar vertrouwenscrisis' (2012) 66 Internationale Spectator 137.
- Temple Lang J, 'Community Constitutional Law: Article 5 EEC Treaty' (1990) 27 CML Rev 645.
- Ter Kuile G, Wissink L and Bovenschen W, 'Tailor-made Accountability Within the Single Supervisory Mechanism' (2015) 52 CML Rev 155.
- Thatcher M, The Downing Street Years (Harper Collins Publishers 1993).
- Thiele A, 'Friendly or Unfriendly Act? The "Historic" Referral of the Constitutional Court to the ECJ Regarding the ECB's OMT Program' (2014) 15 GLJ 241.
- − − '(No) Haircut for Hellas? (2016) 12 EuConst 520.
- Thomas JAC, Textbook of Roman Law (North Holland Publishing Company 1976).
- Thym D, 'In the Name of Sovereign Statehood: A Critical Introduction to the Lisbon Judgment of the German Constitutional Court' (2009) 46 CML Rev 1795.
- -- 'Euro-rettungsschirm: zwischenstaatliche Rechtskonstruktion und verfassungsrechtliche Kontrolle' (2011) 22 EuZW 167.
- - 'Anmerkung: Europarechtskonformität des Euro-Rettungsschirms' (2013) 60 Juristenzeitung 259.
- and Wendel M, 'Préserver le respect du droit dans la crise: la Cour de justice, le MES et le mythe du déclin de la Communauté de droit (arrêt *Pringle*)' (2012) CDE 733.
- Tomkin J, 'Contradiction, Circumvention and Conceptual Gymnastics: The Impact of the Adoption of the ESM Treaty on the State of European Democracy' (2013) 14 GLJ 169.
- Torrent R, 'Whom is the ECB the Central Bank of?: Reaction to Zilioli and Selmayr' (1999) 36 CML Rev 1229.

Trenz H-J, 'Social Theory and European Integration' in Favell A and Guiraudon V (eds), *Sociology of the European Union* (Palgrave Macmillan 2011) 193.

- Trichet J-C, 'State of the Union: The Financial Crisis and the ECB's Response between 2007-2009' (2010) 48 JCMS Annual Review 7.
- Tridimas T, The General Principles of EU Law (OUP 2006).
- and Xanthoulis N, 'A Legal Analysis of the *Gauweiler Case*: Between Monetary Policy and Constitutional Conflict' (2016) 23 MJ 17.
- Tsoukalis L, *The Politics and Economics of European Monetary Integration* (George Allen & Unwin 1977).
- Tuomela R, Social Ontology, Collective Intentionality and Group Agents (OUP 2013). Tuori K and Tuori K, The Eurozone Crisis: A Constitutional Analysis (CUP 2014).
- Tushnet M, 'The political constitution of emergency powers: some conceptual issues' in Ramraj VV (ed), *Emergencies and the Limits of Legality* (CUP 2008) 145.
- Usher J, 'Legal Background of the Euro' in Paul Beaumont and Neil Walker (eds), Legal Framework of the Single European Currency (Hart Publishing 1999) 7.
- Van Esch F, 'Why Germany Wanted EMU: The Role of Helmut Kohl's Belief System and the Fall of the Berlin Wall' (2012) 21 German Politics 21.
- Van den Bogaert S, "'Ich bin ein Europäer": Een uitweg uit de monetaire crisis?' (Inaugural Lecture Leiden University, 10 September 2010).
- and Borger V, 'Twenty Years After Maastricht: The Coming of Age of the EMU?'
   in De Visser M and Van der Mei AP (eds), The Treaty on European Union 1993-2013:
   Reflections from Maastricht (Intersentia 2013) 451.
- -- and Borger V, 'Differentiated integration in EMU' in De Witte B, Ott A and Vos E (eds), Between Flexibility and Disintegration: The Trajectory of Differentiation in EU Law (Edward Elgar 2017) 209.
- -- and Cuyvers A, 'Of Carrots and Sticks: What Direction to Take for Economic and Monetary Union?' in Steunenberg B, Voermans W and Van den Bogaert S (eds), Fit for the Future?: Reflections from Leiden on the Functioning of the EU (Eleven International Publishing 2016) 125.
- De Gans T and Van de Gronden J, 'National report: The Netherlands' in Neergaard U, Jacqueson C and Danielsen JH (eds), The Economic and Monetary Union:
   Constitutional and Institutional Aspects of the Economic Governance within the EU (XXVI FIDE Congress Publications Vol 1, 2014) 465.
- Van der Sluis M, 'Maastricht Revisited: Economic Constitutionalism, the ECB and the Bundesbank' in Adams M, Fabbrini F and Larouche P (eds), *The Constitutionalization of European Budgetary Constraints* (Hart Publishing 2014) 105.
- Van Hoecke M, 'Legal Doctrine: Which Method(s) for What Kind of Discipline?' in Van Hoecke M (ed), *Methodologies of Legal Research: Which Kind of Method for What Kind of Discipline*? (Hart Publishing 2011) 1.
- Van Malleghem P-A, 'Pringle: A Paradigm Shift in the European Union's Monetary Constitution' (2013) 14 GLJ 141.
- Van Middelaar L, The Passage to Europe: How a Continent Became a Union (YUP 2013).
- -- 'The Return of Politics: The European Union after the crises in the eurozone and Ukraine' (2015) 54 JCMS 495.

 - - 'De Europese Unie en de gebeurtenissenpolitiek' (Inaugural Lecture Leiden University, 23 September 2016).

- Van Rompuy H, Europe in the Storm: Promise and Prejudice (Davidsfonds Uitgeverij 2014).
- Van den Brink A and Van Rossem JWC, 'Sovereignty, Stability and Solidarity: Conflicting and Converging Principles and the Shaping of Economic Governance in the European Union' (UCD Working Papers in Law Criminology and Socio-Legal Studies No 4, 2014).
- Verdun A, 'The role of the Delors Committee in the creation of EMU: an epistemic community?' (1999) 6 Journal of European Public Policy 308.
- 'A historical-institutionalist explanation of the EU's responses to the euro area financial crisis' (2015) 22 Journal of European Public Policy 219.
- Ver Loren Van Themaat P, 'Some Preliminary Observations on the Intergovernmental Conferences: The Relations Between the Concepts of a Common Market, A Monetary Union, An Economic Union, A Political Union and Sovereignty' (1991) 28 CML Rev 291.
- Vinx L, 'Carl Schmitt's defence of sovereignty' in Dyzenhaus D and Poole T (eds), Law, Liberty and State (CUP 2015) 96.
- Von Bogdandy A, 'Founding Principles' in Von Bogdandy A and Bast J (eds), *Principles of European Constitutional Law* (Hart Publishing 2009) 11.
- Walters AA, Sterling in Danger: The Economic Consequences of Pegged Exchange Rates (FONTANA/Collins 1990).
- Ward A, 'Friendship and Politics in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics' (2011) 10 European Journal of Political Theory 443.
- Weidmann J, 'Money creation and responsibility' (Speech given at 18<sup>th</sup> colloquium of the Institute for Bank-Historical Research, Frankfurt, 18 September 2012).
- Weiler JHH, 'The Transformation of Europe' (1991) 100 Yale LJ 2403.
- Wendel M, 'Judicial Restraint and the Return to Openness: The Decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court on the ESM and the Fiscal Treaty of 12 September 2012' (2013) 14 GLJ 21.
- -- 'Exceeding Judicial Competence in the Name of Democracy: The German Federal Constitutional Court's OMT Reference' (2014) 10 EuConst 263.
- Wendt A, Social Theory of International Politics (CUP 1999).
- 'The State as Person in International Theory' (2004) 30 Review of International Studies 289.
- White J, 'Emergency Europe' (2015) 63 Political Studies 300.
- Wight C, Agents, Structures and International Relations: Politics as Ontology (CUP 2006).
- Wildt A, 'Solidarity: Its History and Contemporary Definition' in Bayertz K (ed), *Solidarity* (Kluwer 1999) 209.
- Wilkinson MA, 'Authoritarian Liberalism in the European Constitutional Imagination: Second Time as Farce?' (2015) 21 ELJ 313.
- Wilsher D, 'Ready to Do Whatever It Takes? The Legal Mandate of the European Central Bank and the Economic Crisis' (2012-2013) 15 CYEL 503.
- Wyplosz C, 'European Monetary Union: The Dark Sides of a Major Success' (2006) 21 Economic Policy 207.

- 'They still don't get it' (Vox, 25 October 2011) <voxeu.org/article/eurozone-leaders-still-don-t-get-it> accessed 16 April 2017.

- Yiangou J, O'keeffe M and Glöckner G, 'Tough Love: How the ECB's Monetary Financing Prohibition Pushes Deeper Euro Area Integration' (2013) 35 Journal of European Integration 223.
- Zilioli C, 'The ECB's Powers and Institutional Role in the Financial Crisis: A Confirmation From the Court of Justice of the European Union' (2016) 23 MJ 171.
- and Selmayr M, 'The External Relations of the Euro Area: Legal Aspects' (1999)
   36 CML Rev 273.
- -- and Selmayr M, 'The European Central Bank: An Independent Specialized Organization of Community Law' (2000) 37 CML Rev 591.
- Zoll R, Was ist Solidarität heute? (Suhrkamp 2000).

#### NEWSPAPER ARTICLES (CHRONOLOGICAL)

- · 'Comment & Analysis: Germany's blame game' Financial Times (24 February 1999).
- · Parker G, 'Euro rules 'stupid', says Prodi' Financial Times (18 October 2002).
- · Wise P, 'Portugal learns to love stability pact' Financial Times (29 January 2003).
- · Arnold M, Guerrera F and Johnson J, 'France refuses to take steps to curb budget deficit' *Financial Times* (26 February 2003).
- · Parker G, 'EU haunted by spectre of pact no one will let die' *Financial Times* (*FT.Com*) (2 July 2003).
- · Williamson H and Wassener B, 'Transcript of the interview with Gerhard Schröder' *Financial Times (FT.Com)* (11 July 2003).
- · Williamson H, "Many countries" back easing stability pact' *Financial Times* (*FT.Com*) (28 August 2003).
- Bickerton I, 'Dutch slash spending to haul economy out of crisis' Financial Times (17 September 2003).
- · Johnson J and Parker G, 'France given more time to pull back budget deficit' *Financial Times* (21 October 2003).
- Benoit B and others, 'Sanctions deal leaves euro pact in tatters' Financial Times (26 November 2003).
- 'Solomonic ruling: The possibility of a sensible eurozone reform is preserved' Financial Times (14 July 2004).
- · Münchau W, 'A great chance for Europe to get its act together' *Financial Times* (19 July 2004).
- Schröder G, 'A Framework for a Stable Europe' Financial Times (17 January 2005).
- · Nakamato M and Wighton D, 'Bullish Citigroup is "still dancing" to the beat of the buy-out boom' *Financial Times* (10 July 2007).
- Larsen PT, Steen M and Barber T, 'Fortis thrown 11.2 bn lifeline' *Financial Times* (*FT.Com*) (28 September 2008).
- · Croft J, 'B&B deal holds banks to account' Financial Times (30 September 2008).

 Bintliff E, 'Government guarantee boosts Irish banks' Financial Times (1 October 2008).

- · Brown JM, 'Irish solution is not an answer EU wants' *Financial Times* (1 October 2008).
- Daneshky S and Hall B, 'Dexia receives € 6.4bn funding from European governments' Financial Times (1 October 2008).
- Steen M, 'Dutch government takes over Fortis units' *Financial Times (FT.Com)* (3 October 2008).
- · Steen M, Chaffin J and Larsen PT, 'Belgium in Fortis deal with BNP' *Financial Times* (6 October 2008).
- Wilson J and Benoit B, 'Berlin agrees second package to save Hypo' Financial Times (6 October 2008).
- Farrell G, Sender H and Ward A, 'US agrees bail-out for Citigroup' Financial Times (FT.Com) (24 November 2008).
- · Hope K, 'Weakened Karamanlis calls snap election in Greece' *Financial Times* (3 September 2009).
- · Hope K, 'Greek socialists ride wave of popular discontent' *Financial Times* (3 October 2009).
- Donadio R and Carassava A, 'Voters give Greek socialists a landslide win' The New York Times (5 October 2009).
- Barber T, 'Greece rapped for understating deficit' Financial Times (FT.Com) (20 October 2009).
- Münchau W, 'European farce descends into Greek tragedy' Financial Times (14 December 2009).
- · Hope K, 'Greek PM rejects fears over eurozone' Financial Times (14 January 2010).
- · Hope K and Oakley D, 'Greece unveils 3-year plan to curb deficit' *Financial Times* (*FT.Com*) (14 January 2010).
- · Giles C and Edgar R, 'Greek PM denies reports of EU bail-out' *Financial Times* (*FT.Com*) (28 January 2010).
- · Peel Q and Hall B, 'Germany and France to boost faltering alliance' *Financial Times* (4 February 2010).
- · Meier L, 'Merkel beugt sich Sarkozys Willen' *Financial Times Deutschland* (5 February 2010).
- · Barber T, Wiesmann G and Hall B, 'Athens' salvation lies with Paris and Berlin' *Financial Times* (9 February 2010).
- · Leparmentier A, 'Paris et Berlin vont présenter un plan commun pour sauver la Grèce' *Le Monde (Le Monde.fr)* (10 February 2010).
- · 'Greek "firewall" talk drives markets' Financial Times (10 February 2010).
- · Issing O, 'A Greek bail-out would be a disaster for Europe' *Financial Times* (16 February 2010).
- · Wiesmann G and Hope K, 'Merkel hits out at banks over Greek deals' *Financial Times (FT.Com)* (17 February 2010).
- · Hall B, 'French press home need for governance', Financial Times (18 February 2010).
- · 'Titelseite: Betrüger in der Euro-Familie' Focus (22 February 2010).
- · Peel Q, 'First big step towards more integrated eurozone' *Financial Times* (8 March 2010).

· Peel Q, Hall B and Barber T, 'EMF plan needs new EU Treaty, says Merkel' *Financial Times* (9 March 2010).

- · Schäuble W, 'Why Europe's monetary union faces its biggest crisis' *Financial Times* (12 March 2010).
- Wiesmann G and Atkins R, 'Schäuble calls for tough EMF sanctions' Financial Times (12 March 2010).
- Peel Q and Tait N, 'Germany warms to IMF bail-out for Greece', Financial Times (18 March 2010).
- Peel Q, 'Stability not solidarity at root of response to debt crisis' Financial Times (19 March 2010).
- · Wiesmann G and Peel Q, 'Germany warms to giving IMF a role in any Greek debt rescue' *Financial Times* (19 March 2010).
- · 'Interview Transcript: José Manuel Barroso' Financial Times (FT.Com) (23 March 2010).
- Atkins R, 'ECB takes on Merkel over Greece' Financial Times (FT.Com) (24 March 2010).
- · Peel Q, 'Merkel raises defence shields' Financial Times (25 March 2010).
- Hankel W and others, 'A euro exit is the only way out for Greece' Financial Times (26 March 2010).
- · Peel Q, Hall B and Pignal S, 'Deal shows Merkel has staked out a strong role' *Financial Times* (27 March 2010).
- · Hope K, Oakley D and Hughes J, 'Greeks attract € 5bn with new bond' *Financial Times* (30 March 2010).
- · Sakoui A, 'Greek sovereign debt yields near year-highs' *Financial Times (FT.Com)* (8 April 2010).
- · Hope K, Pignal S and Sakoui A, 'Greece downgraded as deficit revised up' Financial Times (FT.Com) (22 April 2010).
- Barber T, Hope K and Wiesmann G, 'Greece grasps € 30 bn lifeline' Financial Times (24 April 2010).
- Hope K, 'Van Rompuy quells Greek restructuring fears' Financial Times (FT.Com) (28 April 2010).
- Hope K, Tait N and Peel Q, 'Eurozone agrees Greek bailout' Financial Times (3 May 2010).
- Barber T, Peel Q and Demos T, 'Markets tumble on European debt fears' Financial Times (7 May 2010).
- Garnham P, 'Euro suffers violent price action' Financial Times (FT.Com) (7 May 2010).
- Davis B and Hilsenrath J, 'U.S. Presses Europe to Contain Greek Fallout' The Wall Street Journal (8 May 2010).
- Barber T and Hall B, 'EU to expand emergency fund by at least € 60 bn' Financial Times (FT.Com) (9 May 2010).
- · Hall B, Peel Q and Atkins R, 'Twelve hours that tested the limits of the Union' *Financial Times* (11 May 2010).
- Schaaf J, 'Interview mit Bundesbankpräsident Axel Weber' *Börsen-Zeitung* (11 May 2010).
- · Hall B, Peel Q and Atkins R, 'The day that tested the limits of the Union' *Financial Times* (11 May 2010).

 Hall B, 'EU bail-out scheme alters bloc treaties, says France' Financial Times (28 May 2010).

- · Cienski J, Pignal S and Wiesmann G, 'Slovakia under fire over bail-out' *Financial Times* (13 August 2010).
- · Barber T, 'Dinner on the edge of the abyss' Financial Times (11 October 2010).
- · Hall B and Peel Q, 'Paris and Berlin seek "reset" with Moscow, *Financial Times* (18 October 2010).
- · Ehrlich P and Meier L, 'Merkel schont Defizitsünder' Financial Times Deutschland (19 October 2010).
- Peel Q and others, 'Germany confident of "crisis resolution" deal' Financial Times (FT.Com) (19 October 2010).
- Walker M and Forelle C, 'Merkel Cedes Ground in Pact on Debt Rules' The Wall Street Journal Online (21 October 2010).
- · Peel Q, Wiesmann G and Chaffin J, 'Rift in Germany over EU budget accord' *Financial Times* (22 October 2010).
- Chaffin J and Spiegel P, 'Franco-German pact divides EU', Financial Times (25 October 2010).
- Peel Q and Spiegel P, 'Merkel demands rewrite of EU treaties' Financial Times (28 October 2010).
- · 'EU leaders to give green light to tweak treaty' EUobserver (28 October 2010) <euobserver.com/institutional/31154> accessed 14 April 2017.
- · Chaffin J and Spiegel P, 'EU leaders rebuff Merkel plan' *Financial Times* (29 October 2010).
- Chaffin J, Spiegel P and Peel Q, 'Merkel's horse trading secures fragile triumph' Financial Times (30 October 2010).
- · Spiegel P, 'Trichet warns on bail-out risk' Financial Times (30 October 2010).
- Spiegel P and Oakley D, 'EU ministers move to calm bond markets' Financial Times (FT.Com) (12 November 2010).
- · Atkins R and others, 'A punt too far' Financial Times (20 November 2010).
- · Parker G, 'UK to lend €7bn to Ireland' *Financial Times (FT.Com)* (22 November 2010).
- · Atkins R, 'Trichet urges greater flexibility on debt crisis' *Financial Times (FT.Com)* (14 December 2010).
- · Schäfer D, 'Weber says his hawkish views drove decision over ECB presidency' *Financial Times* (14 February 2011).
- · Shotter J, 'Merkel appoints central bank chief' Financial Times (17 February 2011).
- Krugman P, 'The Printing Press Mystery' New York Times (17 August 2011) < krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/08/17/the-printing-press-mystery/> accessed 5 April 2017.
- · Atkins R, 'ECB resumes bond-buying role' Financial Times (5 August 2011).
- Dinmore G and others, 'Berlin welcomes Rome's action on economy' *Financial Times* (6 August 2011).
- Atkins R and Wiesmann G, 'ECB rocked by Stark resignation' *Financial Times* (*FT.Com*) (9 September 2011).
- · Cienski J, 'Slovakia stuck on eurozone rescue fund' Financial Times (FT.Com) (4 October 2011).

Rousek L, Fairclough G and Walker M, 'EU bailout fault lines exposed in Slovakia'
 The Wall Street Journal Online (12 October 2011).

- · Cienski J, 'Slovaks strike deal to ratify deal' Financial Times (13 October 2011).
- Santa M and Lopatka J, 'Slovak EFSF approval completes ratification process' Reuters (13 October 2011).
- Dinmore G and Segreti G, 'Berlusconi resigns' Financial Times (FT.Com) (12 November 2011).
- Atkins R and Sandbu M, 'FT interview transcript: Jens Weidmann' Financial Times (FT.Com) (13 November 2011).
- Mallet V and Johnson M, 'Rajoy sweeps to record victory in Spain's elections' Financial Times (21 November 2011).
- Barker A and Wiesmann G, 'Rescue fund's impact in doubt' *Financial Times* (25 November 2011).
- Atkins R and Carnegy H, 'Draghi hints at more robust ECB response' Financial Times (2 December 2011).
- Carnegy H and Milne R, 'Deal over eurozone fiscal rules' Financial Times (6 December 2011).
- Milne R, 'Sarkozy's plan to prop up sovereigns is a worrying sign' Financial Times (15 December 2011).
- · Atkins R, 'Stark admits bond-buying led to ECB resignation' *Financial Times* (18 December 2011).
- Milne R, 'Debt fears return as ECB funds are used up' Financial Times (27 April 2012).
- Watkins M, 'Spanish bond yields jump to euro-era highs over Germany' Financial Times (29 May 2012).
- Jones M and Jenkins P, 'Madrid fails to win support for its improvisation' Financial Times (30 May 2012).
- Milne R, 'Fears grow over Spain as warning lights flash red' Financial Times (30 May 2012).
- · Watkins M, 'Spanish bond yields rise sharply' Financial Times (12 June 2012).
- Mallet V, 'Rajoy urges battle for euro's survival' Financial Times (FT. Com) (13 June 2012).
- Atkins R and Steen M, 'Transcript: FT interview with Benoît Coeuré' Financial Times (FT.Com) (20 June 2012).
- Carnegy H, Spiegel P and Peel Q, 'Markets rebound following EU deal' Financial Times (30 June 2012).
- 'German French statement for eurozone integrity' Deutsche Welle (27 July 2012),
   <www.dw.com/en/german-french-statement-for-eurozone-integrity/a-16128287>
   accessed 25 April 2017.
- Shellock D, 'ECB pledge to preserve euro fires up markets' Financial Times (28 July 2012).
- · Wilson J, 'ECB seeks to ease bond fears' Financial Times (28 August 2012).
- Mascolo G, Sauga M and Seith A, 'Bundesbank president on ECB Bond purchases'
   Spiegel Online International (tr Cohen P, 29 August 2012).
- · Draghi M, 'So bleibt der Euro stabil!' Die Zeit (30 August 2012).
- · Wolf M, 'Draghi alone cannot save the euro' Financial Times (12 September 2012).

 De Grauwe P, 'Stop this guerrilla campaign against the ECB policy' Financial Times (23 October 2012).

- · Marsh D, 'Unfair to mark out Bundesbank chief on OMT credibility' *Financial Times* (25 October 2012).
- · 'An interview with Athanasios Orphanides; What happened in Cyprus' *The Economist (Economist.com)* (28 March 2013).
- · Spiegel P, 'If the euro falls, Europe falls' Financial Times (16 May 2014).
- · Foy H and Wagstyl S, 'Greece's eurozone future in doubt after decisive No victory' *Financial Times (FT.Com)* (6 July 2015).
- 'EU officials plan short term loans for Greece' Financial Times (FT.Com) (14 July 2015).
- · Barker A, Spiegel P and Parker G, 'Cameron frustrated by bailout manoeuvre; Greece fallout' *Financial Times* (16 July 2015).

## Cases

#### **EUROPEAN UNION**

## Court of Justice

- · Case 6/64 Costa v ENEL [1964] ECLI:EU:C:1964:66.
- Joined Cases 6/69 and 11/69, Commission v France [1969] ECLI:EU:C:1969:68.
- · Case 22/70 Commission v Council [1971] ECLI:EU:C:1971:32.
- · Case 2/74 Reyners [1974] ECLI:EU:C:1974:68.
- · Case 283/81 CILFIT [1982] ECLI:EU:C:1982:335.
- · Case 294/83 Les Verts [1986] ECLI:EU:C:1986:166.
- · Case C-217/88 Commission v Germany [1990] ECLI:EU:C:1990:290.
- Case C-106/89 Marleasing [1990] ECLI:EU:C:1990:395.
- · Case C-374/89 Commission v Belgium [1991] ECLI:EU:C:1991:60.
- · Joined Cases C-181/91 & C-248/91 Parliament v Council [1993] EU:C:1993:271.
- Case C-184/99 Grzelzcyk [2000] ECLI:EU:C:2001:458.
- · Case C-11/00 Commission v ECB [2003] EU:C:2003:395.
- Case C-397/01 Pfeiffer [2004] ECLI:EU:C:2004:584.
- · Case C-82/03 Commission v Italy [2004] ECLI:EU:C:2004:433.
- · Case C-27/04 Commission v Council [2004] EU:C:2004:436.
- · Case C-209/03 Bidar [2005] ECLI:EU:C:2005:169.
- · Case C-158/07 Förster [2008] ECLI:EU:C:2008:630.
- · Case C-75/11 Commission v Austria [2012] ECLI:EU:C:2012:605.
- · Case C-102/12P Städter v ECB [2012] ECLI:EU:C:2012:723.
- · Case C-370/12 Pringle [2012] ECLI:EU:C:2012:756.
- · Case C-583/11 P Inuit [2013] ECLI:EU:C:2013:625.
- · Case C-140/12 Brey [2013] ECLI:EU:C:2013:565.
- · Case C-62/14 Gauweiler [2015] ECLI:EU:C:2015:400.
- · Case C-8/15 P Ledra [2016] ECLI:EU:C:2016:701.
- · Joined Cases C-105/15 P to C-109/15 P Mallis and others [2016] ECLI:EU:C:2016:702.

#### General Court

- · Case T-259/10 Thomas Ax v Council [2011] ECLI:EU:T:2011:274.
- · Case T-532/11 Städter v ECB [2011] ECLI:EU:T:2011:768.
- · Case T-492/12 Von Storch v ECB [2013] ECLI:EU:T:2013:702.

#### Austria

Austrian Constitutional Court, Judgment of 16 March 2013, Case No SV 2/12-18.

402 Cases

#### Estonia

· Supreme Court of Estonia, Judgment of 12 July 2012, Case No 3-4-1-6-12.

#### Ireland

- · High Court of Ireland, Thomas Pringle v Government of Ireland, Ireland and the Attorney General [2012] IEHC 296.
- · Supreme Court of Ireland, Pringle v The Government of Ireland, Ireland and the Attorney General [2012] IESC 47.

#### Germany

- BVerfG, 2 BvR 2134/92 & 2159/92, 12 October 1993.
- BVerfG, Cases 2 BvR 1877/97 & 2 BvR 50/96 of 31 March 1998.
- · BVerfG, 2 BvE 2/08 of 30 June 2009.
- · BVerfG, 2 BvR 2661/06 of 6 July 2010.
- · BVerfG, 2 BvR 987/10 of 7 September 2011.
- · BVerfG, 2 BvE 8/11 of 28 February 2012.
- · BVerfG, 2 BvE 4/11 of 19 June 2012.
- BVerfG, 2 BvR 1390/12 of 12 September 2012.
- · BVerfG, 2 BvR 1390/12 of 17 December 2013.
- BVerfG, 2 BvR 2728/13 of 14 January 2014.
- · BVerfG, 2 BvR 1390/12 of 18 March 2014.
- BVerfG, 2 BvR 2728/12 of 21 June 2016.

#### Poland

Polish Constitutional Tribunal, Judgment of 26 June 2013, Case No K 33/12.

#### The Netherlands

Rechtbank Den Haag 1 June 2012, Case No 419556, KG ZA 12-523, LJN: BW7242.

#### **United States**

- · Marbury v Madison 5 US 1 Cranch 137 (1803).
- · Baker v Carr 369 US 186 (1962).
- Zivotofsky v Clinton 132 S Ct 1421 (2012).

Primary Law and other instruments concluded by the member states in full

- · Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, Vienna, 23 May 1969.
- Single European Act, signed at Luxembourg on 17 February 1986 and at The Hague on 28 February 1987 [1986] OJ L 169/1.
- Treaty on European Union, signed at Maastricht on 7 February 1992 [1992] OJ C 191/1.
- Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe [2004] OJ C 310/01.
- Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007 [2007] OJ C 306/01.
- Intercreditor agreement between the creditor euro area Member States, 8 May 2010
- Loan Facility Agreement between the euro area lenders, Greece, and the Bank of Greece acting as agent of the latter, 8 May 2010.
- EFSF Articles of Association (last amended on 23 April 2014).
- EFSF Framework Agreement between the euro area Member States and the EFSF (consolidated version incorporating the amendments agreed on during the summits of the euro area heads of state or government on 11 March 2011 and 21 July 2011).
- · Treaty establishing the European Stability Mechanism, Brussels, 2 February 2012.
- Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union, Brussels, 2 March 2012.

## Secondary Law

- Council Decision 64/300/EEC of 8 May 1964 on cooperation between the central banks of the Member States of the European Economic Community [1964] OJ 77/ 1206.
- Council Decision 64/301/EEC of 8 May 1964 on cooperation between Member States in the field of international monetary relations [1964] OJ 77/1207.
- Council Decision 70/192/EEC of 6 March 1970 on the procedure for economic and monetary cooperation [1970] OJ L 59/44.
- Council Regulation (EC) 1969/88 of 24 June 1988 establishing a single facility providing medium-term financial assistance for Member States' balances of payments [1988] OJ L178/1.
- Council Regulation (EC) 3603/93 of 13 December 1993 specifying definitions for the application of the prohibitions referred to in Articles 104 and 104b(1) of the Treaty [1993] OJ L 332/1.

 Council Regulation (EC) 3604/93 of 13 December 1993 specifying definitions for the application of the prohibition of privileged access referred to in Article 104a of the Treaty [1993] OJ L 332/4.

- Council Decision 96/737/EC of 13 December 1996 in accordance with Article 109j(3) of the Treaty establishing the European Community, on entry into the third stage of economic and monetary union [1996] OJ L 335/48.
- Council Regulation (EC) 1466/97 of 7 July 1997 on the strengthening of the surveillance of budgetary positions and the surveillance and coordination of economic policies [1997] OJ L 209/1.
- Council Regulation (EC) 1467/97 of 7 July 1997 on speeding up and clarifying the implementation of the excessive deficit procedure [1997] OJ L 209/6.
- Council Decision 98/317/EC of 3 May 1998 in accordance with Article 109j(4) of the Treaty [1998] L 139/30.
- Council Regulation 2531/98 of 23 November 1998 concerning the application of minimum reserves by the European Central Bank [1998] OJ L 318/1, as last amended by Council Regulation 134/2002 of 22 January 2002 [2002] OJ L 24/1.
- Council Decision 2000/427/EC of 19 June 2000 in accordance with Article 122(2) of the Treaty on the adoption of Greece of the single currency on 1 January 2001 [2000] OJ L 167/19.
- Council Regulation (EC) 332/2002 of 18 February 2002 establishing a facility providing medium-term financial assistance for Member States' balance of payments [2002] OJ L 53/1, as last amended by Council Regulation 431/2009 of 18 May 2009 [2009] OJ L 128/1.
- Council Decision 2002/923/EC of 5 November 2002 on the existence of an excessive deficit in Portugal Application of Article 104(6) of the Treaty establishing the European Community [2002] OJ L 322/30.
- Council Decision 2003/89/EC of 21 January 2003 on the existence of an excessive deficit in Germany – Application of Article 104(6) of the Treaty establishing the European Community [2003] OJ L 34/16.
- Council Recommendation 2003/90/EC of 21 January 2003 with a view to giving early warning to France in order to prevent the occurrence of an excessive deficit [2003] OJ L 34/18.
- Council Decision 2003/487/EC of 3 June 2003 on the existence of an excessive deficit in France – application of Article 104(6) of the Treaty establishing the European Community [2003] OJ L 165/29.
- Regulation 1745/2003 of 12 September 2003 on the application of minimum reserves (ECB/2003/9) [2003] OJ L 250/10, as last amended by Regulation 1358/2011 of 14 December 2011 (ECB/2011/26) [2011] OJ L 338/51.
- Council Decision 2006/135/EC of 11 May 2004 abrogating the decision on the existence of an excessive deficit in Portugal [2005] OJ L 47/24.
- Council Regulation (EC) 1055/2005 of 27 June 2005 amending Regulation (EC) 1466/97 of 7 July 1997 on the strengthening of the surveillance of budgetary positions and the surveillance and coordination of economic policies [2005] OJ L 174/1.
- Council Regulation (EC) 1056/2005 of 27 June 2005 amending Regulation (EC) 1467/97 of 7 July 1997 on speeding up and clarifying the implementation of the excessive deficit procedure [2005] OJ L 174/5.

Council Decision 2006/495/EC of 11 July 2006 in accordance with Article 122(2) of the Treaty on the adoption by Slovenia of the single currency on 1 January 2007 [2006] OJ L 195/25.

- Council Decision of 10 July 2007 in accordance with Article 122(2) of the Treaty on the adoption by Cyprus of the single currency on 1 January 2008 [2007] OJ L 186/29.
- Council Decision 2007/504/EC of 10 July 2007 in accordance with Article 122(2) of the Treaty on the adoption by Malta of the single currency on 1 January 2008 [2007] OJ L 186/32.
- Council Decision 2010/320/EU of 10 May 2010 addressed to Greece with a view to reinforcing and deepening fiscal surveillance and giving notice to Greece to take measures for the deficit reduction judged necessary to remedy the situation of excessive deficit [2010] OJ L245/6, as last amended by Council Decision 2011/ 257/EU of 7 March 2011 [2011] OJ L110/26.
- Council Regulation (EU) 407/2010 of 11 May 2010 establishing a European financial stabilisation mechanism [2010] OJ L 118/1.
- Regulation (EU) 1092/2010 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 November 2010 on European Union macro-prudential oversight of the financial system and establishing a European Systemic Risk Board [2010] OJ L 331/1.
- European Council Decision 2011/199/EU of 25 March 2011 amending Article 136 of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union with regard to a stability mechanism for Member States whose currency is the euro [2011] OJ L 91/1.
- Council Decision 2011/734/EU of 12 July 2011 addressed to Greece with a view to reinforcing and deepening fiscal surveillance and giving notice to Greece to take measures for the deficit reduction judged necessary to remedy the situation of excessive deficit (recast) [2011] OJ L 296/38, last amended by Council Decision 2013/6/EU of 4 December 2012 [2013] OJ L4/40.
- Regulation (EU) 1173/2011 of the European Parliament and the Council of 16 November 2011 on the effective enforcement of budgetary surveillance in the euro area [2011] OJ L 306/1.
- · Regulation (EU) 1174/2011 of the European Parliament and the Council of 16 November 2011 on enforcement measures to correct and address macroeconomic imbalances in the euro area [2011] OJ L 306/8.
- Regulation (EU) 1175/2011 of the European Parliament and the Council of 16 November 2011 amending Council Regulation 1466/97 on the strengthening of the surveillance of budgetary positions and the surveillance and coordination of economic policies [2011] OJ L 306/12.
- Regulation (EU) 1176/2011 of the European Parliament and the Council of 16 November 2011 on the prevention and correction of macroeconomic imbalances [2011] OJ L 306/25.
- Council Regulation (EU) 1177/2011 of 8 November 2011 amending Regulation 1467/97 on speeding up and clarifying the implementation of the excessive deficit procedure [2011] OJ L 306/33.
- Directive (EU) 2011/85 of 8 November 2011 on requirements for budgetary frameworks of the Member States [2011] OJ L 306/122.
- Regulation (EU) 472/2013 of the European Parliament and the Council of 21 May 2013 on the strengthening of economic and budgetary surveillance of Member

States in the euro area experiencing or threatened with serious difficulties with respect to their financial stability [2013] OJ L 140/1.

- Regulation (EU) 473/2013 of the European Parliament and the Council of 21 May 2013 on common provisions for monitoring and assessing draft budgetary plans and ensuring the correction of excessive deficit of the Member States in the euro area [2013] OJ L 140/11.
- Guideline (EU) 2015/510 of the European Central Bank of 19 December 2014 on the implementation of the Eurosystem monetary policy framework (ECB/2014/60) [2015] OJ L 91/3, as last amended by Guideline (EU) 2016/2298 of the European Central Bank of 2 November 2016 [2016] OJ L 344/102.
- Council Implementing Decision (EU) 2015/1181 of 17 July 2015 on granting shortterm financial assistance to Greece [2015] OJ L 192/15.
- Council Implementing Decision (EU) 2016/542 of 17 July 2015 on granting shortterm financial assistance to Greece (2015/1181) [2016] OJ L 91/22.
- Council Regulation (EU) 2015/1360 of 4 August 2015 amending Regulation (EU) 407/2010 establishing a European financial stabilization mechanism [2015] OJ L 210/1.

#### Other binding legal instruments

- Agreement of 16 March 2006 between the European Central Bank and the national central banks of the Member States outside the euro area laying down the operating procedures for an exchange rate mechanism in stage three of Economic and Monetary Union [2006] OJ C 73/21, as last amended by the Agreement of 6 December 2013 [2013] OJ C 17/1.
- Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the 27 Member States of 5 May 2010 in Council document 9417/10.
- Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the 27 EU Member States, 10 May 2010, Brussels, 9614/10.
- Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Euro Area Member States Meeting Within the Council of the European Union, Brussels, 10 May 2010, 9614/10.
- Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States of the European Union, Brussels, 20 June 2011, 12114/11.

#### European Council, Euro Summit, and other meetings at heads of state level

- · European Council, Conclusions, Bremen, 6-7 July 1978.
- Resolution of the European Council of 5 December 1978 on the establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS) and related matters, annexed to European Council Conclusions, Brussels, 5 December 1978.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Hannover, 27-28 June 1988.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Madrid, 26-27 June 1989.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Strasbourg, 8-9 December 1989.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Dublin, 18 April 1990.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Dublin, 25-26 June 1990.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Amsterdam, 16-17 June 1997.

 Resolution of the European Council on the establishment of an exchange-rate mechanism in the third stage of economic and monetary union, Amsterdam, 16 June 1997 [1997] OJ C 236/5.

- Resolution of the European Council on the Stability and Growth Pact, Amsterdam,
   17 June 1997 [1997] OJ C 236/1.
- European Council, Presidency Conclusions, Luxembourg, 12-13 December 1997.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 17-18 June 2004.
- Summit of the Euro area countries, 'Declaration on a concerted European Action Plan of the euro area countries', 12 October 2008.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 15-16 October 2008.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 11-12 December 2008.
- Statement by the Heads of State or Government of the European Union, Brussels, 11 February 2010.
- Statement by the Heads of State and Government of the Euro Area, Brussels, 25 March 2010.
- European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 25-26 March 2010.
- Statement of the Heads of State or Government of the euro area, Brussels, 7 May 2010.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 28-29 October 2010.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 16-17 December 2010.
- Conclusions of the Heads of State or Government of the euro area, Brussels, 11 March 2011.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 25-26 March 2011.
- Statement by the Heads of State or Government of the euro area and EU institutions, Brussels, 21 July 2011.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 23 October 2011.
- · Euro Summit statement, Brussels, 26 October 2011.
- Statement by the euro area Heads of State or Government, Brussels, 9 December 2011.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 29 June 2012.
- · European Council, Conclusions, Brussels, 18-19 February 2016.
- · The Rome Declaration, 25 March 2017.

#### Council of Ministers, Eurogroup, and other meetings at ministerial level

- Declaration 64/306/EEC of 8 May 1964 of the representatives of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community, meeting within the Council, on the prior consultations between the Member States in the event of changes in the exchange-rate parities of their currencies [1964] OJ 78/1226.
- Resolution of the Council and of the Representatives of the governments of the Member States of 22 March 1971 on the attainment by stages of economic and monetary union in the Community [1971] OJ C 28/1.
- Resolution of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States of 21 March 1972 on the application of the Resolution of 22 March 1971 on the attainment by stages of economic and monetary union in the Community [1972] OJ C 38/3.

 Council Recommendation of 21 January 2003 with a view to bringing an end to the situation of an excessive government deficit in Germany – Application of Article 104(7) of the Treaty Establishing the European Community, Brussels 28 January 2003, No 5540/03.

- Council Recommendation to France with a view to bringing an end to the situation of an excessive government deficit – Application of Article 104(7) of the Treaty, Brussels 18 June 2003, No 10125/03.
- Council minutes in 2546<sup>th</sup> Council meeting (ECOFIN), Brussels, 25 November 2003, 14492/1/03 REV1.
- Council report to the European Council, Improving the implementation of the Stability and Growth Pact, Brussels, 21 March 2005, 7423/05.
- Eurogroup statement on the support to Greece by Euro area Member States, Brussels, 11 April 2010.
- · Statement by the Eurogroup, Brussels, 2 May 2010.
- · Conclusions Ecofin Council meeting, Brussels, 9-10 May 2010, 9602/10.
- · Eurogroup statement, Brussels, 28 November 2010.
- · Statement by the Eurogroup and ECOFIN ministers, Brussels, 28 November 2010.
- Press release, 'Council approves aid to Portugal, sets conditions' (Brussels, 17 May 2011).
- · Statement by the Eurogroup, 11 July 2011.
- · Statement of the Eurogroup, Brussels, 30 March 2012.
- · Eurogroup Statement on Spain, 9 June 2012.
- · Statement by the president of the Eurogroup, 25 June 2012.
- · Euro Summit statement, Brussels, 29 June 2012.
- Council of the European Union, Rules for the Organisation of the Proceedings of the Euro Summits, Brussels, 14 March 2013.
- · Eurogroup Statement on Cyprus, 25 March 2013.
- · Eurogroup statement on Greece, Brussels, 16 July 2015.

#### European Commission

- Commission, Report of the study group "Economic and Monetary Union 1980" (8 March 1975).
- · Commission, 'Communication of 21 August 1990 on economic and monetary union' SEC (90)1659 final (Bulletin of the European Communities 1991, supplement 2/91).
- Commission, One Market, one money: An evaluation of the potential benefits and costs of forming an economic and monetary union (October 1990).
- Commission, *Draft Treaty amending the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community with a view to achieving economic and monetary union* (Bulletin of the European Communities, supplement 2/91).
- Commission, Commentary to the Draft Treaty on Economic and Monetary Union (Bulletin of the European Communities, supplement 2/91).
- · Commission, 'Convergence Report 1998' (European Economy No 65, 1998).
- · Commission, 'Public Finances in EMU 2001' (European Economy No 3, 2001).
- Commission, 'Recommendation of 8 October 2003 for a Council decision establishing, in accordance with Article 104(8) EC, whether effective action has been taken

by France in response to recommendations of the Council according to Article 104(7) EC of the Treaty establishing the European Community' SEC (2003) 1083.

- Commission, 'Recommendation of 21 October 2003 for a Council decision giving notice to France, in accordance with Article 104(9) of the EC Treaty, to take measures for the deficit reduction judged necessary in order to remedy the situation of excessive deficit' SEC (2003) 1121 final.
- Commission, 'Recommendation of 18 November 2003 for a Council decision establishing, in accordance with Article 104(8) of the EC Treaty, that the action taken by Germany in response to the recommendations made by the Council pursuant to Article 104(7) of the Treaty is proving to be inadequate' SEC (2003) 1316 final.
- Commission, 'Recommendation of 18 November 2003 for a Council decision giving notice to Germany, in accordance with Article 104(9) of the EC Treaty, to take measures for the deficit reduction judged necessary in order to remedy the situation of excessive deficit' SEC (2003) 1317 final.
- Commission, 'Greece: Report of 19 May 2004 prepared in accordance with Article 104(3) of the Treaty' SEC (2004) 623 final.
- Commission, 'Statement on the Court of Justice ruling relating to the excessive deficit procedure' (IP/04/897, 13 July 2004).
- Commission, 'Communication of 3 September 2004 to the Council and the European Parliament on strengthening economic governance and clarifying the implementation of the Stability and Growth Pact' COM (2004) 581 final.
- Commission, 'Towards economic and monetary union (EMU): A chronology of major decisions, recommendations or declarations in this field' (European Economy Occasional Papers No 13, 2005).
- · Commission, 'EMU@10: successes and challenges after 10 years of Economic and Monetary Union' (European Economy No 2, 2008).
- Commission, 'Communication of 26 November 2008 to the European Council' COM (2008) 800 final.
- · Commission, 'Public Finances in EMU 2009' (European Economy No 5, 2009).
- Commission, 'Report of 8 January 2010 on Greek government deficit and debt statistics' COM (2010) 1 final.
- · Commission, 'Proposal of 9 May 2010 for a Council Regulation establishing a European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism' COM (2010) 2010 final.
- Commission Press Release, 'EU economic governance: the Commission delivers a comprehensive package of legislative measures' (Brussels, 29 September 2010).
- Commission, 'Proposal of 29 September 2010 for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the effective enforcement of budgetary surveillance in the euro area' COM (2010)524 final.
- Commission, 'Proposal of 29 September 2010 for a Council Regulation amending Regulation (EC) 1467/97 on speeding up and clarifying the implementation of the excessive deficit procedure' COM (2010) 522 final.
- Commission, 'Communication of 30 November 2010 to the Council and the Economic and Financial Committee on the European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism' COM (2010) 713 final.
- Commission, 'Opinion of 15 February 2011 on the Draft European Council Decision Amending Article 136 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

with regard to a stability mechanism for member states whose currency is the euro' COM(2011)70 final.

- Commission, 'Green paper of 23 November 2011 on the feasibility of introducing Stability Bonds' COM (2011) 818 final.
- Commission, 'Communication of 20 June 2012 on common principles on national fiscal correction mechanisms' COM (2012) 342 final.
- Commission Communication of 16 October 2013 from the Commission concerning two lists of financial assistance instruments under Regulation (EU) 472/2013 [2013] OJ C 300/1.
- Commission, 'Proposal of 24 November 2015 for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Regulation (EC) 806/2014 in order to establish a European deposit insurance scheme' COM (2015) 586 final.
- Commission, 'Convergence Report 2016' (European Economy Institutional Paper 026, 2016).
- Commission, 'Report of 22 February 2017 presented under Article 8 of the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union' C(2017) 1201 final.

#### European Parliament

- Resolution of the European Parliament of 23 March 2011 on the Draft European Council Decision amending Article 136 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union with regard to a stability mechanism for member states whose currency is the euro [2011] OJ C 247 E/22.
- Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, 'Text of the Monetary dialogue with Mario Draghi president of the ECB' (Brussels, 19 December 2011).
- · Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, 'Text of the Monetary Dialogue with Mario Draghi president of the ECB' (Brussels, 25 April 2012).

#### European Central Bank

- · European Central Bank, 'Monthly Bulletin' (ECB January 1999).
- · European Central Bank, Annual Report 1999 (ECB 2000).
- European Central Bank, Code of Conduct for the Members of the Governing Council [2002] OJ C 123/9.
- · European Central Bank, 'The Monetary Policy of the ECB' (ECB 2004).
- · ECB Press Release, 'Monetary Policy Decisions' (ECB, 8 October 2008).
- · 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 14 January 2010).
- 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 4 February 2010).
- · 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 4 March 2010).
- 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 6 May 2010).
- ECB Press Release, 'ECB decides on measures to address severe tensions in financial markets' (ECB, 10 May 2010).
- European Central Bank, 'The ECB's Response To the Financial Crisis' (ECB Monthly Bulletin, October 2010) 59.

'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 4 August 2011).

- · Statement by the President of the ECB, Frankfurt, 7 August 2011.
- · European Central Bank, 'The Monetary Policy of the ECB' (3<sup>rd</sup> ed, ECB 2011).
- European Central Bank, 'The implementation of monetary policy in the euro area' (ECB 2011).
- Opinion of 17 March 2011 of the European Central Bank on a Draft European Council Decision amending Article 136 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union with regard to a stability mechanism for member states whose currency is the euro [2011] OJ C 140/8.
- ECB Press Release, 'Jürgen Stark resigns from his position' (ECB, 9 September 2011).
- · 'Introductory Statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 6 October 2011).
- · 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 3 November 2011).
- Draghi M, 'Introductory Statement' (Hearing before the Plenary of the European Parliament on the occasion of the adoption of the Resolution on the ECB's 2010 Annual Report, 1 December 2011).
- · 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 8 December 2011).
- · 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 6 June 2012).
- Verbatim of the remarks made by Mario Draghi (Global Investment Conference, London, 26 July 2012).
- · 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 2 August 2012).
- 'Introductory statement to the press conference (with Q&A)' (ECB, 6 September 2012).
- ECB Press Release, 'Technical features of Outright Monetary Transactions' (ECB, 6 September 2012).
- · 'Stellungnahme Europäische Zentralbank' (Göttingen, 16 January 2013) <a href="https://downloads/8135244/3/EZB%20Gutachten">https://downloads/8135244/3/EZB%20Gutachten</a> accessed 3 May 2017.
- ECB Press Release, 'Governing Council decision on Emergency Liquidity Assistance by the Central Bank of Cyprus' (ECB, 21 March 2013).
- · Asmussen J, 'Einleitende Stellungnahme der EZB in dem Verfahren vor dem Bundesverfassungsgericht' (Karlsruhe, 11 June 2013).
- European Central Bank, 'The Eurosystem collateral framework throughout the crisis' (ECB Monthly Bulletin, July 2013) 71.
- European Central Bank, 'Assessing the retail bank interest rate pass-through in the Euro Area at times of financial fragmentation' (ECB Monthly Bulletin, August 2013) 75.
- · European Central Bank, 'ELA Procedures' (21 February 2014).
- European Central Bank, 'The determinants of euro area sovereign bond yield spreads during the crisis' (ECB Monthly Bulletin, May 2014) 67.
- European Central Bank, 'The short-term fiscal implications of structural reforms' (ECB Economic Bulletin No 7, 2015) 52.
- · European Central Bank, 'Convergence Report June 2016' (ECB 2016).

Other reports, declarations and statements

- · Schuman Declaration, Paris, 9 May 1950.
- Final communiqué of the meeting of Heads of State or Government, The Hague,
   1-2 December 1969.
- Werner Group, Report to the Council and the Commission on the realization by stages of Economic and Monetary Union in the Community (Luxembourg, 8 October 1970).
- Committee for the study of economic and monetary union, *Report on economic and monetary union in the European Community* (17 April 1989).
- · Deutsche Bundesbank, 'Statement on creating Economic and Monetary Union in Europe' (Bundesbank, 19 September 1990).
- Committee of Governors of the Central Banks of the Member States, 'Draft Statute
  of the European System of Central Banks and of the European Central Bank'
  (Agence Europe No 1669/1670, 8 December 1990).
- · French Government, *Draft Treaty on economic and monetary union* (Agence Europe No 1686, 31 January 1991).
- · German government, Overall proposal by the Federal Republic of Germany for the intergovernmental conference (No 1700, Agence Europe 20 March 1991).
- Monetary Committee of the European Communities, Report by the Alternates on the Excessive Deficit Procedure (12 April 1991).
- · Deutsche Bundesbank, 'Monthly Report' (Bundesbank February 1992).
- · Deutscher Bundestag, 13. Wahlperiode, 67. Sitzung, Bonn, 8 November 1995.
- · Waigel T, Stabilitätspakt für Europa: Finanzpolitik in der dritten Stufe der WWU (Bundesministeriums der Finanzen, 10 November 1995).
- · Group of Ten, Report on Consolidation in the Financial Sector (January 2001).
- · Almunia J, 'Situation of the world financial system and its effects on the European economy' (European Parliament Plenary Debate, 24 September 2008).
- Regierungserklärung von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel zum Europäischen Rat am 25. und 26. Marz, Berlin, 25 March 2010.
- · Statement by president Van Rompuy on the Eurogroup agreement on Greece, Brussels, 11 April 2010.
- Joint statement by the European Commission, European Central Bank and Presidency of the Eurogroup on Greece, Brussels, 23 April 2010.
- Regierungserklärung von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel zu den Euro-Stabilisierungsmassnahmen, Berlin, 19 May 2010.
- Remarks by Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, following the first meeting of the Task Force on Economic Governance, Brussels, 21 May 2010.
- · Franco-German declaration, Deauville, 18 October 2010.
- Report of the Task Force to the European Council, Strengthening Economic Governance in the EU (Brussels, 21 October 2010).
- Regierungserklärung von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel zum EU-Gipfel in Brüssel und zum Gipfel der G20-Staaten in Seoul, Berlin, 27 October 2010.
- HC Deb 20 December 2010, cols 1187-88.
- · Regierungserklärung von Kanzlerin Merkel zum Europäischen Rat und zum Eurogipfel, Berlin, 26 October 2011.

 Van Rompuy H, Towards a stronger Economic Union: Interim Report (Brussels, 6 December 2011).

- Joint letter from Nicolas Sarkozy, President of the Republic, and Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, to Herman Van Rompuy, president of the European Council, Paris, 7 December 2011.
- Regierungserklärung von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel zu Finanzhilfen für Griechenland und Europäischer Rat am 1./2. März 2012 in Brüssel.
- Invitation letter of President Van Rompuy to the informal dinner of the members of the European Council, Brussels, 21 May 2012.
- Remarks by President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy following the informal dinner of the members of the European Council, Brussels, 24 May 2012.
- Prime Minister Cameron's speech at the Mexico G20, 18 June 2012.
- · Report by President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy, *Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union* (Brussels, 26 June 2012).
- Joint communiqué issued by M. François Hollande, President of the Republic, and Mrs Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, 27 July 2012.
- · Declaration on the European Stability Mechanism, Brussels, 27 September 2012.
- Van Rompuy H, 'Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union' (Brussels, 5 December 2012).
- 'Stellungnahme Bundesbank' (21 December 2012) <www.handelsblatt.com/ downloads/8124832/1/stellungnahme-bundesbank\_handelsblatt-online.pdf> accessed 3 May 2017.
- · Weidmann J, 'Eingangserklärung anlässlich der mündlichen Verhandlung im Hauptsacheverfahren ESM/EZB' (Karlsruhe, 11 June 2013).
- German Council of Economic Experts, Annual Economic Report 2013/2014 (November 2013).
- Juncker J-C, 'Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union' (Commission, June 2015).
- Conservatives, 'Strong leadership, a clear economic plan, a brighter, more secure future' (Conservative Party Manifesto 2015).
- · Pressekonferenz von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel zum ausserordentlichen Treffen der Staats- und Regierungschefs der Eurozone, Brussels, 7 July 2015.
- Remarks by president Donald Tusk after the Euro Summit of 7 July 2015 on Greece, Brussels, 7 July 2015.
- Joint declaration by the Commission and the Council on the use of the EFSM, Brussels, 16 July 2015, 10994/15.
- ESM Guideline on Financial Assistance for the Direct Recapitalization of Financial Institutions.
- · ESM Guideline on Precautionary Financial Assistance.
- ESM Guideline on Pricing Policy.